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THE INFLUENCE OF NATIONAL FUNDAMENTALIST RELIGIOUS
ORGANIZATIONS ON THE INTRODUCTION OF A
SEX EDUCATION PROGRAM IN
WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A Dissertation Presented

By

FRANK C. PIZZIFERRI

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February 1986

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ABSTRACT

The Influence of National Fundamentalist
Religious Organizations on the Introduction of a
Sex Education Program in Worcester, Massachusetts
(February 1986)

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This dissertation explored the influence of national, fundamentalist, religious organizations on local opposition groups which organized in Worcester, Massachusetts, in opposition to the introduction and implementation of a proposed sex education program in Kindergarten through grade 12.

Data was collected through a search of school administrator files and newspaper accounts relating to the topic, as

well as through semi-structured interviews with school committeemen, school administrators and officers and members of the two organizations opposed to sex education.

Mottl's theory on the developmental stages of a countermovement was utilized as the general theoretical framework within which to probe for the level to which the movement developed, and the various aspects of leadership, membership recruitment, and public awareness of its ideological message.

It was found that a national spokesman for a fundamentalist, religious organization visited Worcester and appeared on television and radio talk shows, as well as speaking engagements at churches. It was also found that the newspapers of national fundamentalist organizations were read by both of the local Worcester opposition groups, and that the ministers who supported the ideology of national, fundamentalist religious organizations served prominently as officers, advisory council members, and spokesmen for the local opposition groups. But, a further and more significant finding was the evidence of a reticulated structure of the national anti-sex education movement, a finding in line with the theoretical work of Gerlach concerning the structural aspects of social movements.

An understanding of the influence of social movements on curriculum change and on countermovements opposed to change in the curriculum is essential for administrators charged with such responsibilities.

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C H A P T E R I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

And there was, finally, the persistent uncertainty about whether schools were supposed to reflect the values of parents and society or to project a new set of values--different from those students brought with them. Those who saw the schools as the leading edge of social change believed that they could shape the values of children in ways that were broader, more humane, and more liberated than those of their parents; those who expected the school to respect parental and community values were appalled by the arrogance of educational theorists who presumed to impose their values on other people's children. (Ravitch, 1983, p. 112)

The author of this quote believed that until the early 1930s the traditionalist idea, i.e., that the central purpose of education is to increase the student's intellectual power, dominated the American school. After that time, she believes, efforts to make the school relevant to the needs of society have provoked intense struggles over the curriculum between groups with differing views. When the progressives (those who supported relevancy) held sway, this resulted in what she called "the worst problem of American education . . . faddishness." One example Ravitch uses is the rise in the divorce rate being followed by new courses in family life (Ravitch, 1983, p. 64).

This trend continued into the 1960s when the sexual revolution swept through American society, bringing with it changes in American social mores and customs, a social movement which significantly contributed to higher teen-age venereal disease and pregnancy rates (Chu, 1970, p. 6). The response in American education was to introduce sex education programs which would assist students in relating to their sexual lives and, hopefully, lower their venereal disease and pregnancy rates.

This new sex education movement spread quickly throughout the public school system of the United States during the 1960s, sanctioned by agencies of federal and state government as well as by professional organizations of educators and medical doctors, nurses, and officials of the major religions of our society.

However, certain fundamentalist religious organizations in America did not see the increase in pregnancy and venereal disease amongst teenagers as the problem, but rather as a symptom of the shift in values, mores, and customs which grew out of the sexual revolution. Thus, to these fundamentalists sex education programs would exacerbate the problem rather than resolve it, legitimizing the new values rather than restoring the old, traditional values which, if upheld, would obviate the need for programs in sex education.

The fundamentalists launched a nationwide anti-sex

education movement to stop public school administrations from introducing sex education programs, and with that movement hoped to roll back the earlier successes of the sexual revolution; a classic example of the tension described by Ravitch between those who wished to introduce programs into the public school system and those who resisted them.

The subject of this thesis is the influence of national, fundamentalist movements on the proposed introduction and implementation of a sex education program in the Worcester, Massachusetts, public schools during the years 1964 to 1975. Within this school system, there were ten administrators charged with the responsibility of introducing and implementing the demonstration programs in four pilot schools. Because none of these individuals had background or experience with such a program, they sought advice from other systems in Massachusetts which had successful programs, such as one which existed in Bedford, Massachusetts, and one run by the State Department of Education, and from national organizations of a religious and educational nature.

The Worcester Public School System, during the period between 1964 and 1975, included four high schools, six junior high schools, and fifty-two elementary schools, four of which were part of the Family Living Pilot Program. The total student population of the system was between 28,000 and 28,850. The City of Worcester, located forty miles west of Boston, in central Massachuseetts, was and still is the

second largest city in New England. In 1970, its population was 176,572. Politically and socially, it was then more conservative than Boston, Providence, or New Haven, a reflection, perhaps, of its large variety and number of first and second-generation Americans. There are still more ethnic Americans in Worcester than in any other American city of its size.

Although the fundamentalist opposition to the teaching of sex education in public schools can be found in a survey of the literature, no one, to my knowledge, has investigated the degree to which their activities developed into a full-fledged social movement. A social movement can be defined as "a collectivity acting with some continuity to either promote a change or resist a change in the society" (Turner and Killian, 1972, p. 246). I believe this fundamentalist opposition could be called a countermovement. A countermovement arises in reaction to a movement, in an attempt to resist the social changes that the social movement has promoted. This particular countermovement was opposed to the sexual revolution, which led to increasing sexual freedom in our society during the decade of the 1960s, and voiced its concern through their particular opposition to the introduction of sex education into our public schools.

The implication raised by this dissertation is whether or not there were reasons for school administrators in Worcester in 1969 to either 1) question the advisability

of undertaking the sex education program, or 2) approach its introduction as a clearly controversial program. The ex post facto analysis provided here suggests that there is evidence that an analytical framework suggested by social movement theory would have better guided Worcester school officials as they dealt with the introduction of the sex education program.

Purpose of the Study

The direction of this study was to determine whether the opposition to sex education in Worcester could be explained within the framework of analysis provided by social movement theory. If it did, then the insights gained from this theory would be useful to school administrators as they struggle to implement new programs in a rapidly changing society.

The methodology used in this thesis was a representative case study, focusing on the attempt and failure to implement a sex education program in the public school system of the second largest city in New England--Worcester, Massachusetts. This particular school system introduced the program in four elementary schools in a pilot study in 1970. A controversy over its introduction developed, which is the subject of this thesis, and the program was never implemented.

The manner in which the controversy originated and developed was studied to learn whether or not those who led the local opposition were selected by a national organiza-

tion, whether they had ties and affiliations with a national countermovement and were active members of it, and to learn the degree to which they received aid, assistance and support from this national countermovement.

Social Movement Theory

Social movements have been defined as collectivities acting with some continuity to either promote a change or resist a change in the society (Turner and Killian, 1972, p.246). Social movements are, therefore, somewhat different from other forms of collective behavior, first because they may last for decades or centuries, as in the case of the Prohibition Movement in the United States, and secondly because in order to be successful most social movements must become highly structured, taking on the form and functions of social organizations. Educators for Social Responsibility, one organization within the modern peace movement, is a good example of this.

A third characteristic of social movements is that in promoting change they seek to change the values, attitudes, behaviors, statuses and roles of the members of a society, which often leads to changes in the distribution of power and control within a society (Cameron, 1966, p.123). The power of unions today, as a result of past union victories, exemplifies this point.

In the United States, social movements have focused on political, religious, economic, social, sexual, dietary,

educational, and other societal issues. In discussing the functions of social movements, Metta Spencer relies on a model suggested by Touraine, in which "social movements have three functions: mediation, pressure and clarification of the collective consciousness" (p.505). Mediation is the means by which, through participation in a social movement, the individual may become involved with or participate in the society, and pressure refers to the fact that "social movements almost always give rise to organized groups that try to get their policies put into operation" (Spencer, p.505). The American Federation of Labor is an early example of this, in that it allowed union members to become involved in the mediation process through negotiations with their employers. Clarification of the collective consciousness relates to the notion that the social movement attempts to raise the consciousness of its members and the society in general to its issues and ideology, as was attempted by the Feminist Movement of the mid 1970s. They, indeed, used the phrase "consciousness raising" as part of their strategy. A second aspect of this characteristic is to create a sense of common concern or interest that will engender a sense of common identity, a sense of solidarity, as well as common sentiments and goals.

Rudolph Heberle, according to Vander Zanden (1978), used a model which described six aspects of a social movement that define its parameters:

1. It aims to bring about fundamental changes in the social order, especially in the basic institutions of property and labor relationships.
2. A consciousness of group identity and solidarity is necessary, along with the awareness of common sentiments and goals.
3. It is always integrated by a set of constitutive ideas, or an ideology.
4. They contain among their members groups that are formally organized, but the movements as such are not organized groups.
5. . . . they are as a rule, large enough to continue their existence even if there should be a change in the composition of the membership.
6. They are not short-lived, but have duration.
(pp. 137-38)

Genevie (1978) has written that

because goals are defined as obtainable through long range planning and organization, all social movements, by definition, develop some form of organizational structure, hierarchy and membership requirements. But these organizational characteristics vary considerably from movement to movement: Some movements develop a minimal structure, while others become more bureaucratized over time, and in some instances develop into formal organizations. (p.xx)

Gerlach has expanded on this theme of organizational development and writes of the reticulate and polycephalous nature of some social movements. He defines a reticulate structure as one in which the movement is "organized into as network or reticulate structure through cross-cutting links, 'traveling evangelist' or spokespersons, overlapping participation, joint activities, and the sharing of common objectives and opposition." (1978, p.283) Gerlach then goes on to define polycephalous as a movement which "does not have a central command or decision-making structure, rather it has many leaders or rivals for leadership, not only within

the movement as a whole, but within each movement cell."

(1978, p.283) The ecology movement of the 1970s displayed such structural characteristics in that it did not have centralized authority or a bureaucratic organizational structure (Zald and Ash, 1978).

According to mobilization theory, social movements arise when competition occurs amongst organized groups. Without such organized groups as a base, social movements cannot develop. These organized groups then recruit other groups in support of their goals. These organizations are commonly referred to as " social movement organizations." In the 1950s, the civil rights movement, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Brotherhood of Railroad Conductors, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were all operating in line with this theory.

Every social movement must have an ideology which represents the values held by the movement. A movement must also have an issue. The issue is that which is experienced as a threat to certain values strongly supported by members of a society. Herbert Blumer writes that the ideology of a social movement gives the movement "its philosophy and its psychology. . . .[its] set of values, . . . set of convictions, . . . set of criticisms, . . . set of arguments and set of defenses" (Blumer, p. 85).

For a social movement to succeed in promoting its

ideology, it must be able to mobilize resources such as members, who are willing to commit themselves to the movement's cause; financial support from both its members and the community; and finally, tactics which employ the media to the best advantage of the movement. The Civil Rights Movement accomplished all three of these goals.

Leadership in Social Movements

Turner and Killian have written that "the characteristics . . . that distinguish the leader of a movement are not fully apparent in the individual before he assumes leadership" (1972, p. 397). Rex Hopper, addressing the same issue, writes that the leader who is a "reformer attacks specific evils and develops a clearly defined program; he attempts to change conditions in conformity with his own conceptions of what is good and desirable" (1978, p. 123). Mahatma Ghandi's leadership of the Indian Nationalist Movement personifies these characteristics.

William Gamson writes on the subject of strategies used by the leaders of successful social movements. He states that they attempt to challenge those institutions or organizations which have the ability to alter or ameliorate the situation (1975, p. 91). As in the case of the leaders of the Vietnam peace movement in the United States who successfully pressured toy manufacturers to cease producing toys that were war related, they must attempt to influence those political or economic organizations which are policy

making bodies and thus have the ability to make those changes demanded by the leaders of the social movement.

According to Zald and Ash, the leader of a social movement whose goal is to change the society must be articulate in his presentation of the issues as well as sincere in his efforts to change the sentiments and beliefs of the public. The attributes are well exemplified by the charismatic leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1978, p. 272).

Dawson and Gettys (1935) have described four stages of leadership through which social movements move when they are successful.

1. A period of social unrest with the agitator as the typical leader.
2. The period of popular excitement in which the vision of the prophet or the objective defined by the reformer spreads by contagion.
3. The stage of formal organization headed by an administrator, with the beginnings of a division of labor, formal criteria for membership, etc.
4. The stage of institutionalization with the movement now bureaucratized and represented by a statesman. (Dawson and Gettys, 1935, p. 412)

A similar four-stage model has been developed by Hess, Markson and Stein, but is less descriptive of leadership characteristics:

1. An early period of personal discontent and vague unrest in the society.
2. A focusing of concern and the development of information networks.
3. The formation of organizations to embody the movement's beliefs.
4. Either acceptance of the movement's goals or its decline through gradual loss of membership. (1985, p. 542)

Classifying Social Movements:

Social movements may be classified according to specific characteristics which they display, such as goals or tactics. A specific movement would be one that targets a singular issue or cause, such as the anti-pornography movement. A general movement would have broader concerns that relate to issues common to the human condition, such as women's rights or the labor movement. Norm-oriented or reform movements concentrate on statutes or policies that are seen as discriminatory or unfair, such as those addressed by the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement. Revolutionary or value-oriented movements challenge the values and institutional arrangements of a society and seek fundamental changes in the social system, such as the Cuban Revolution of the 1960s.

Countermovements, also called resistance or conservative movements, are movements opposed to the changes won or sought by a successful social movement. Vander Zanden gives an example of such a countermovement; White Citizens Councils which arose in the South in response to the U. S. Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) school desegregation decision. He viewed this countermovement as an attempt to halt the Civil Rights Movement which was being led by such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (Genevie, p. 137).

Lewis Killian (1972) wrote of such movements, "the

ideology of a countermovement also has a certain distinctive characteristic merely because it is more preoccupied with promoting a particular program" (p. 318). He also noted that they depend chiefly on evoking the established myths of the society to oppose change (p. 319).

As with social movements, countermovements may also be described in terms of a four-stage process. Mottl gives the following characterization:

1. Resistance to change.
 2. Mobilization of protest.
 3. Transformation to militancy.
 4. Return to the status quo if successful; continued low resistance if not.
- (1978, p. 623)

Mottl's theory on the developmental stages of a countermovement was utilized as the general theoretical framework for this thesis in order to probe for the level to which the movement developed and the various aspects of leadership, membership recruitment, and public awareness of its ideological message.

Vander Zanden (1978) spoke to the need for such a study of countermovements when he wrote,

Unfortunately, sociologists in the field of social movement have tended to neglect those materials and the phenomenon of resistance in their studies. "Social movements" traditionally have been defined in a manner which would automatically exclude movements resisting change. (p. 36)

Social Movements and Social Change

General social movements are often preceded by cultural drifts, i.e., slow, gradual and widespread changes within the

people of a society. These newly held values create a new sense of identity, expectations, hopes and dreams, all of which set the stage for the acceptance of and identification with a new social movement once it has been initiated and developed. The Suffragette Movement, the Sexual Revolution Movement and the Nuclear Freeze Movement are all examples of such cultural drifts within the last century (Blumer (1978, p. 77)).

Thus, it can be demonstrated that social movements are attempts to institutionalize changes in terms of new policies, new statutes, or the creation of new social structures that have already been internalized within the minds of a majority of the general populace. The need for such social movements is created by the inherent rigidity and resistance to change of many large, bureaucratic organizations which are invariably the structure of education, government and religion organizations in a large, complex society such as the United States.

Social change may also be influenced by social movements that have a visionary charismatic leader with the ability to organize a large movement with members dedicated to an ideology deeply rooted in the fundamental principles of the society. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s leadership of the Civil Rights Movement is one of the best modern examples. Social movements which are successful, such as the Civil Rights Movement, will lose much of their influence as a result of

their successes as the ideology of the movement becomes institutionalized through the laws such as the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968.

Other means of ending a social movement are by bringing the leadership into positions of power and, thus, co-opting them, or by severe repression of the leaders and the members through imprisonment, exile or silencing of them as can be seen in the case of the various liberation movements in South Africa in the 1950s (Denisoff and Wahram, 1983, p. 527).

Significance of the Study

American public school education, unlike that of France and other societies, is controlled at the local town or city level by elected officials who, to a great extent, reflect the concerns of their constituencies.

The school curriculum is usually developed by the faculty and administration of the school system and approved by the school board or school committee. The board, in approving the curriculum, is likely to be concerned with the individual academic needs of the student as well as the community's concerns for the students in general. Thus, courses in health or drug abuse or vocational courses that reflect the occupational skills needed by industries in the community are likely to be offered.

It is therefore of some interest when educational programs created and developed by the faculty and administration and approved by the school committee are effectively

blocked by local organizations. It is also of some importance to know as much as can be determined concerning the development and function of such organizations.

It has been widely reported in the literature that by the early 1970s there were nationally organized and coordinated efforts throughout the nation to block the introduction of sex education in American public schools. It is important to question the validity of this statement, and the purpose of this study was to determine whether or not that happened in Worcester. It is also important for school administrators charged with implementing new school programs to understand the character of the protest and the way it was organized and operated.

Doing this study now, while most of the participants in the local and state organizations, school administrators and school committeemen are still available and could be interviewed, enabled the use of primary data relating to this issue.

This study will also fill a gap in the research in the relationship between national religious social movements and those local groups that support the ideologies and goals of such movements. It has also studied how a national organization's influence and power are brought to bear on a local school system when that system becomes involved in an issue labeled "controversial" by the national organization.

Other public schools in the future will certainly

address "controversial" issues. It would be helpful for school board members, school administrators and concerned parents to know how to determine whether an issue is locally inspired and home-grown, whether it is a transplant imported from a national organization, or whether a local issue is aided and abetted by a national group. Such awareness will enable them to identify the characteristics of the factions involved, the likely sources of their financial backing, and the strategies commonly used by such groups. To be so informed, local administrators would then be capable of desensitizing the issue and diffusing the negative support, sorting out local from national concerns and, hopefully, allowing them the right to respond to and maintain local choice and control of their community's schools, or of anticipating the opposition as sufficiently strong that they do not undertake the program in the first place. Further, this case example suggests that an understanding of the analytical concepts of "social movements" and "counter-movements" would be useful to school administrators as they struggle with Ravitch's description of the school's tightrope walk between continuity and change.

C H A P T E R I I

METHODS

Design

This thesis used a representative case study approach to investigate the implementation of a sex education program in the Public Schools of Worcester, Massachusetts. The object of the study was to determine 1) whether a nationally organized social movement directly or indirectly influenced those organizations in Worcester, Massachusetts, opposed to sex education, 2) the level of development of both the Worcester and the national social movement organizations, and 3) the form and structure of both the national and Worcester anti-sex education organizations, in order to determine whether they influenced the local organizations.

My hypothesis is that the forces, both for and against sex education in Worcester, Massachusetts, were influenced and are explainable by social movement theory. A detailed review of the sexual revolution, the sex education movement, the Fundamentalist movement and the anti-sex education movement, establishing them as social movements, will be discussed in Chapter III. Following the establishment of the general and theoretical context of the Worcester events, the details of those events will be examined to determine the

degree of influence and methods used by the national, Fundamentalist religious organizations.

As this was a descriptive, exploratory study utilizing grounded theory, categories have been developed based on social movement theory and an analysis and examination of the data. The major categories developed were a) the mode by which linkage was created and maintained between local and national organizations; b) the inter-relationships and ties between the local organizations themselves; c) multiple membership and multiple offices held within the local organizations; d) the nature of the local protest, and e) the nature of the national protest.

Data Sources

The first phase of this study was to identify those local organizations opposed to the introduction of a sex education program in Worcester. This was accomplished by an examination of the files of the Worcester Public Schools and of newspaper reports of the period. This search revealed two local organizations, the Good Government Committee and Citizens Upholding Responsible Education.

Identification of Interviewees

As a result of the review of these files, it was also possible to identify three individuals who were members or leaders of these two organizations. These individuals were the president of Citizens Upholding Responsible Education

(CURE), Massachusetts Chapter, the president of Citizens Upholding Responsible Education (CURE), Worcester Chapter, and a member of the Advisory Council, Citizens Upholding Responsible Education, Worcester Chapter.

I later used the files to identify individuals opposed to sex education and to learn the nature of their concerns and the manner in which they were presented to school administrators and school committee members. These newspaper articles were also useful in outlining a chronology of events relating to the introduction and implementation of the pilot sex education program in the Worcester Public Schools.

Referees From Contacts

It was from an interview with the CURE Advisory Council member that I indirectly ascertained the existence of another organization in Worcester that was opposed to sex education in its public schools. This was the Good Government Committee. I later interviewed seven officers and members of this organization, locating most through the last question on the interview which asked the respondent to refer me to someone else who might speak to me concerning the topic.

Proponents

The next phase of the study was to conduct semi-structured interviews with individuals who had held positions as school committee members during the late 1960 and early

1970 period in which the introduction of the Family Living Program in Worcester took place. Of the seven members of the committee I wished to interview, one is dead, one was unable to be located, and one refused to be interviewed. I interviewed the other four, all of whom were supporters of the Family Living Program and who had worked towards its implementation.

I then interviewed eleven members of the administration or school department, nine of whom were administrators charged with developing the program, its curriculum, procedures dealing with its implementation, selection of schools, personnel, materials and resources to be used and the manner in which it would be presented to the community, all of which occurred between 1967 and 1971.

The individuals held the positions of Superintendent, Deputy Superintendent for Education, Supervisor of Program Development, two supervisors of elementary education, the Director of the Family Living Program, the Assistant Director of Health and Physical Education, the Director of Adult Education and Extension Services, the Coordinator of the Family Living Program, the Principal of West Boylston Street School, and the Principal of the New Ludlow School, two of the four pilot schools for the Program.

All individuals interviewed in this study were granted partial anonymity, in that they would be identified only in terms of the position they held during the study years within

the school administration or protest organization, rather than by name. One member of a protest organization refused to be audio-taped during the interview, and two other respondents (one a school committee member and the other a member of a local protest organization) would allow only a telephone interview. Therefore, only twenty-three audio tapes were made of the twenty-six interviews.

The day after each interview was taped, I replayed the interview tape, checking for the accuracy of my transcript on the interview form, as well as filling in material stated by the respondent which I had not noted during the original interview. It was with this activity in mind that I explained to each individual interviewed the need to record the complete interview on tape. I found that the time required to complete the interviews varied with the degree of involvement in the issue, since they had more information to relate. Those individuals most involved had interview times between 30 and 60 minutes. Those least involved had interview times between 20 and 30 minutes.

The questionnaire for the leaders of local organizations was made up of eight questions, each of which was broken up into one to 19 sub-sections. Information solicited by these questions related to the nature of their organization, the local ties and affiliations of their organization, the manner by which they were organized and developed, the source of their local financial support, their

affiliation or ties to national organizations, the amount of financial, staff or material support they received from national organizations, as well as the content and references for written materials such as books, pamphlets and newsletters that may have been used. Questions were also asked concerning meetings, conferences and conventions held by national organizations and attended by members of the local organizations.

Opponents

The individuals interviewed from protest organizations were the president of the Massachusetts Chapter of CURE, the president, secretary, treasurer and member of the Advisory Council, and one other member of the Worcester Chapter of CURE.

The individuals representing the Good Government Committee (the other local protest organization) were the president, the vice president, two individuals who had served in the office of secretary, and three members. One of the individuals who had served as secretary was the same individual who served on the Advisory Council of CURE's Worcester Chapter. Another member of the Good Government Committee also served as the treasurer of CURE's Worcester Chapter. Therefore, the eleven individuals who were interviewed, represented thirteen members in the CURE and Good Government organizations.

Neither organization is in existence today. However, the president of the Worcester Chapter of CURE is still involved with this issue and serves as president of the National Congress for Educational Excellence, Massachusetts Chapter, a Tulsa, Oklahoma-based national organization concerned with educational issues. She is also one of three members of its national advisory board.

Questionnaire Content

The questionnaire for school administrators and school committee members was comprised of questions which related to their perception of what created the opposition; whether it could have been avoided; their past knowledge of the individuals and organizations involved in the protest; the degree of contact they had with these individuals; the frequency of discussion amongst administrators of the opposition and their goals, and the number and type of organizations within the community which actively supported the introduction of a program of sex education in the Worcester Public Schools.

After the interviews were completed, each of them was content-analyzed separately by organization; first to ascertain the degree of similarity in the yes-no response questions (these were tallied on an Interview Tally Form), and then in terms of similarity or differences to the more open-ended questions.

The next phase of this study was an analysis of all written material such as handouts, newsletters, organizational guidelines, conference reports, and notices of meetings which I received from officers of both the Good Government Committee and from CURE. Some of these materials were locally produced, some of them were reproductions, and others were original materials disseminated by national organizations opposed to sex education.

A review and analysis was also made of the documents obtained from the Director of Family Living, specifically relating to the Administration's dealings throughout the years of their relationship with CURE. Included was a chronology of events and a written request from the president of CURE's Worcester Chapter for curriculum guides, textbooks, audio-visual materials, and references which were or would be used in the program on sex education. This was useful in defining the exact period which was perceived by the Administration as being potentially threatening to its sex education program. An order had been given by the Superintendent that all documents, newspaper articles, letters and memos relating to the issue were to be preserved and maintained by the Director of the Family Living Program. Because of this directive, a record was available of all phone calls, letter requests, meetings and book deliveries to the president of CURE's Worcester Chapter.

Also found were administrative memos and letters detailing the tactics and strategies to be used in gaining public support, as well as data on the manner in which the Family Living Program would be presented to the community, and the development of a sex education course for the parents of students of the pilot program schools.

Information was also in these files concerning the budgetary requests for this program, the time frame for submission and consideration by the school committee, and the schedule for introduction and implementation into the pilot schools, along with proposals and a study for broadening the program for use within the total school system. Thus, the degree of planning as well as the intent of both the policy makers on the school committee and the plans for executing and administering the program by school administrators, were all reviewed and analyzed.

Subjects

Within Worcester, there were two local organizations (structured, hierarchial arrangements of individuals who share common goals and reside together within the community) which protested the introduction of a program of sex education. One of these, the Good Government Committee (GGC), numbered between six and twelve members during the study years. This Committee was concerned with public issues on a local, state, national and international scale. Two of the members of this committee, including the president, were

lifetime members of the John Birch Society. Other members of the committee had been asked to join the Birch Society, and most of the members of the Committee had attended rallies and meetings of the Birch Society in Boston. For the GGC, the introduction of sex education in the public schools was only one of many issues about which they had read and to which they had been sensitized in their Society's magazine, "Human Events." None of the four members interviewed had children in the Worcester Public School system.

The other local organization in Worcester which also became opposed to the introduction of sex education into the public schools was known as Citizens Upholding Responsible Education (CURE). The creation and growth of CURE paralleled that of the Family Living Program. There were between 30 and 35 members in the Worcester Chapter of CURE, but only 12 were considered "core" people by its president. Its membership was comprised mainly of parents of Worcester Public Schools students. Many of these children attended the four pilot schools of the Family Living Program. However, among its members were also a local pediatrician, a Worcester City Councilor, two Baptist ministers, a Worcester Police Captain, and a state representative.

The officers of CURE filed to incorporate as a non-profit organization in November, 1971. Since the names of the officers of the organization at that time were required on this document, as well as the articles of incorporation

which stated its purposes and goals, I obtained a copy of the document from the Office of Secretary of State. This document was reviewed, and data from it were used as a check on question #6 of the Questionnaire relating to aims and purposes of the organizations to which its officers had responded.

Research Instrument

The research instrument was a semi-structured interview. Two different questionnaires were created; one to be used for school administrators and school committees and the other for officers and members of local protest organizations. The questionnaire forms differed to take into account the experiential differences of each organization's members. School committee members were responding to questions which focused their attention on policy issues relating to the introduction of the program and the manner in which it should be introduced. The agenda for school administrators was to plan and prepare to execute such a program. The questionnaire form for those who had been members of the protest organizations focused on why this had become an issue, and how they had organized.

The interview schedule for members of the administration elicited information and data in the following areas:

1. Awareness of the local opposition and its composition.
2. Awareness of state and national opposition and its

composition.

3. The aims and goals of their opponents.
4. Community support for the program.

The interview schedule for members of organizations opposed to the sex education program elicited information and data in the following areas:

1. How they learned of the program and why they considered it to be controversial.
2. The nature and history of the organization(s) with which they were involved and its aims and goals.
3. Their awareness of national organizations opposed to sex education.
4. Ties or linkages between local and national organizations opposed to sex education.

Procedures

Prior to commencing with the interviews, two pilot interviews were conducted with individuals who had been peripherally involved with the program. One of these individuals had been a consultant and sex education professor who had held workshops for the teachers of the pilot schools. The other was an administrator for the Worcester Public Schools.

As a result of these interviews, the questionnaire was refined and the amount of time to be allotted to each interview was increased.

Data obtained through these interviews was important in that it was used in the selection of the interviewees, but it was not used as part of the larger study.

The interviews were conducted either at my office at Worcester State College, in the home of the interviewee, or at the interviewee's place of employment. Privacy and an uninterrupted state was possible within the first two settings, but in the third, as in the case of school principals and school administrators, secretaries and telephones did cause brief interruptions. Since time and place were the prerogative of the interviewee, however, this could not be avoided.

Initial contact with all interviewees was by telephone. At this time the purpose of the study was explained, and a request made for an interview. The subjects were informed that for the purposes of this study they would be identified only in terms of organizational membership, and that they could end the interview at any time they felt offended or threatened by it. All interviews were completed in one session; however, calls were made to some subjects to clarify points or to ask for materials that had been offered during the interview. The interviews were conducted in December, 1984, and in January and February of 1985 and, with three exceptions, all in Worcester County. One was conducted in Framingham, one in Norton, and one in Quincy, Massachusetts.

The questionnaires were as follows:

Questionnaire A: Opposition Leaders

1. Did you consider the proposal to introduce sex education into the Worcester Public Schools to be controversial? Why?

2. How did you first learn of the proposal to introduce sex education into the Worcester Public Schools? Were you contacted by other local, state or national organizations opposed to sex education?

3. Why did you decide to become involved? Any other reason?

4. Were you aware of national organizations such as the Christian Crusade or the American Council of Christian Churches or other such groups?

5. Had you ever heard of Rev. Bill Hargis or Rev. Carl McIntire?

a. Were you then, or are you now, a member of any of these organizations?

b. Have you ever contacted them for information?

c. Have they ever contacted you?

d. Have you ever attended conferences, meetings, conventions or rallies sponsored by these organizations?

6. How was your local organization started?

a. What was its initial purpose?

b. What goals were set for it?

c. How much grass-roots support did it have?

d. What was/is the size of the membership?

e. What was its budget?

f. What was the source of its revenue?

g. Were/are dues paid?

h. What affiliation exists with other local organizations?

i. What affiliation exists with national organizations?

j. Were you in contact or communication with national organizations opposed to sex education?

k. Did you or members of your organization attend conferences, meetings, conventions or rallies sponsored by them?

l. Did you discuss with members of these national organizations appropriate tactics or strategies to be used in your local opposition?

m. How did the strategies and tactics of the local organization differ from those of the national organization?

n. Did your group receive financial, material or tactical support from other local or national organizations opposed to sex education? If yes, specifically what form did it take?

7. Do you have scrapbooks, diaries or notes which relate to the topic?

8. Do you know of anyone I might interview who could give me further information on this topic?

Questionnaire B: Administration

1. What were the major objections of those opposed to the introduction of sex education into the Worcester Public Schools? In your opinion, which of these objections were valid? Why?

2. What, in your opinion, created the local opposition groups? a) What motivated them and what did they hope to achieve? b) Could their formation have been avoided? How?

3. Which local organizations or groups can you identify as being opposed to sex education programs in your schools?

4. Who were the leaders of these local organizations?

5. How many times did you have contact with these leaders, either personally or by telephone or letter?

6. Did they and the members of their organization attend school board meetings or other school-sponsored meetings on the topic? Did they distribute, at these meetings, any written materials produced by national organizations opposed to sex education programs?

7. Were you ever contacted by spokesmen from these national organizations, either personally or by telephone or letter? Did they ever send you written materials published by them? If not, have you ever seen written materials produced by them?

8. Do you have any evidence that would suggest that the local opposition groups were inspired and/or sponsored by national organizations which were in opposition to sex education? Which organizations?

9. Can you recall instances of opposition to the introduction of similar programs? a) What programs? b) How were they opposed? c) Who was involved in this opposition?

10. What support for the introduction of a sex education program did you receive from local, state or national organizations?

11. Did any of these organizations give you advice as to how to counter the actions of those groups opposing sex education? Did you attend conferences, seminars or lectures sponsored by them?

12. Did the administration hire consultants or experts to advise them in their dealings with the opposition groups? a) Can you remember any of their names? b) What strategies did they suggest?

13. How often did you discuss with other administrators the resistance to sex education that was occurring at this time? What aspects of this resistance did you discuss?

14. Do you have scrapbooks, diaries, or notes which relate to the topic?

15. Do you know of anyone I might interview who could give me further information on this topic?

Limitations

This dissertation was exploratory and descriptive, limited to a case study of one of many thousands of school districts in the United States. However, because the study covers an eleven-year period (1964-1975), from initial concern for the program to the withering away of the program, an understanding of the influence and impact of each of the competing organizations was more comprehensive. Other research in this area has been of a contemporary nature and, thus, could not comprehend the waxing and waning of such opposition organizations nor the evolution of other opposition organizations. Thus, because they concentrated on initial opposition organizations during the early stages of the introduction of sex education programs, other studies may have incorrectly assumed the identity, staying power or long-term influence of the organizations (NEA State of the Nation Bulletin No. 7). An historical case study such as this one, looking back two decades and removed from the immediacy and emotion of the time, has provided an understanding of the process which may be different from that which appeared in the midst of the controversy.

CHAPTER III

FOUR SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

An Overview of the Problem

The direction of this study was to determine whether or not the opposition to sex education in Worcester was explainable by social movement theory. The methodology used in this thesis was a representative case study, focusing on the failure to implement a sex education program in the public school system of the second largest city in New England--Worcester, Massachusetts. This particular school system introduced the program in four elementary schools in a pilot study in 1970. A controversy over its introduction developed, which is the subject of this thesis, and the program was never implemented.

The manner in which the controversy originated and developed was studied to learn whether or not those who led the local opposition were selected by a national movement, whether they had ties and affiliations with a national countermovement and were active members of it, and to learn the degree to which they received aid, assistance and support from this national countermovement.

It is necessary at this time to establish that two social movements and two countermovements existed, all having public positions and influence consistent with the events that occurred in Worcester. An understanding of that event can be gained by the use of social movement theory as a means of analyzing and understanding these respective social movements and countermovements.

Although the fundamentalist opposition to the teaching of sex education in public schools can be found in a survey of the literature, no one, to my knowledge, has investigated the degree to which their activities developed into a full-fledged social movement. A social movement has been defined as "a collectivity acting with some continuity to either promote a change or resist a change in the society" (Turner and Killian, 1972, p. 246). I believe this fundamentalist opposition could be called a countermovement. A countermovement arises in reaction to a movement, in an attempt to resist the social changes that the social movement has promoted. This particular countermovement was opposed to the sexual revolution, which led to increasing sexual freedom in our society during the decade of the 1960s, and voiced its concern through their particular opposition to the introduction of sex education into our public schools.

Sexual Revolution

It has been stated by Reiss that the sexual revolution which occurred in the 1960s was actually a shift in the

sexual attitudes and values and which were now coming into alignment with sexual behaviors practiced and first accepted in the 1920s. What is being said is that the behavioral sexual revolution preceded the attitudinal sexual revolution by about four decades (Reiss, Morgenthau, Sokoloff and Kinsey, 1972).

The early lack of alignment between behavior and values was perhaps caused by the strong mores and sanctions expressed overtly toward sexual behavior by Americans as well as by the code of silence concerning sexuality, a carry-over of our Victorian past. Thus, few individuals were fully aware of the frequency of pre-marital sexuality of their fellow Americans, and many believed themselves to be exceptions to the general practices. This code of silence was shattered by Kinsey's 1953 book, Sexual Behavior in Human Females and by Hugh Hefner's "Playboy" magazine's editorials on the new sexual philosophy. Sex in the 1960s now became an accepted topic of discussion in the living rooms, classrooms and court rooms of America. Laws and policies which in the past had been accepted now seemed outdated and outmoded and were openly challenged in the courts as well as in college and school administration offices of the nation.

Included amongst the concerns of students was the fact that courses in human sexual behavior, sex education, and other relevant courses be offered in college and high school curriculum programs. Similar concerns were expressed by

health officials who were treating what they perceived as an epidemic of venereal disease and a large increase in the number of teen-age pregnancies. They erroneously attributed this to a change in behavior brought on by the sexual revolution. It was, rather, a numerical increase, not an increase in percentages, caused by a demographic shift in the proportion of teen-agers to the general population, a result of the 1940-1950 population boom (Morganthau and Sokoloff, 1972, p. 780).

The Sex Education Movement

The history of sex education programs in America is somewhat vague and obscure. There are reports of some schools offering such courses in the late nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century. Most of this came about as a result of the individual initiative of teachers who attempted to address the issue in their physical education courses through the addition of sex-oriented topics added to the curriculum. Manley (1969) speaks of the University City High School in Missouri as one such example. Carrera (1981) notes that "in the 1920s and 1930s, the United States Public Health Service conducted workshops on sex education in high schools throughout the country" (p. 309).

It may be important at this point to review some definitions of sex education.

A position paper on Family Life Education by the National Council of Family Relations (1970) describes sex education in these terms:

Sex education is much more than a focus on the biological and physical aspects of sex, or the physiological processes of sexual development. It is this narrow and inadequate definition which education in family life seeks to change. Adequate sex education provides individuals with current and reliable information so that they may both understand themselves and be more capable of relating to others as total human beings in honest and responsible ways. (p. 186)

Lawrence Haims (1973) refers to a sex education definition approved by 82 % of parents in Manchester, Connecticut, and describes it as:

Information and discussion about sexual attitudes, standards, and behavior: sex roles and reproduction--especially as these affect personality development, the ways in which people relate to each other, and the decisions they make concerning sexual behavior. Sex education is NOT NECESSARILY ONE COURSE in high school called Sex Education, but it may instead be seen as content in several courses that in any way relate to sex and human relationships. For example, an English teacher is a sex educator when discussing sexual standards of characters in literature as related to the standards and relationships of student; the social studies teacher is a sex educator when reviewing how sex has been used and thought of in history up to the present time. (p. 32)

There are also those who speak of sex education as something that, if done well, starts with the birth of the child, helps to create the proper sexual identity, fosters a sense of love toward other members of the family and the larger community, and provides appropriate role models for the gender of the child, as well as models for the socio-

sexual relations with the opposite sex. Most educators argue that few American children have an early socialization which includes this type of socio-sexual development, and thus the public schools must develop programs to meet this vital need (Haims, 1973).

As early as 1912, the National Education Association passed a resolution favoring sex education. Twenty-nine years later, in 1941, the American Association of School Boards made the same recommendation. In 1948, the National Conference of Educators of Teachers recommended that sex education be part of the curriculum given to all prospective teachers. In the 1960s and 1970s, these groups were joined by major religious bodies of this nation, such as the Universalist Unitarians, the Catholics, and the Jewish community, as well as the White House Conference on Children and Youth in urging the implementation of such courses (Manley, 1969).

Two states which were quick to accept these recommendations were Oregon in 1945 and Michigan in 1949. Individual school districts in Ohio, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri and other states had developed their own programs without state prompting or guidelines as early as 1930. But most school districts waited until the mid-1960s, after the Sexual Revolution, when sex education was the "trendy" thing to do, before developing curricula which included it (Ferber and Sofokistis, 1969). The impetus for implementation was also a result of the announcement, made in August, 1966 by the U. S.

Department of Education, that

funds were available to assist communities in the integration of sex into their public school programs and in the training of teachers. The specifics of this program are left up to the judgement of the communities" (Reiss, 1972, p. 127).

Sex Education Objectives

Every educational curriculum has aims or objectives, if for no other reason than to evaluate the success of the program. The typical sex education program is no exception, as it has a variety of aims or objectives. The following are a representative sample of those aims identified by sex educators and researchers who have studied such programs:

1. . . . to help establish within the student a healthy, responsible and affirmative view of human sexuality (Minor, 1971, p. 15).
2. Concern for life and personhood, development of values, and responsibility in decision making . . . (Minor, 1971, p. 15).
3. The inclusion of two important aspects: first, sex information which includes the teaching of biological facts and sex information which develops attitudes conducive to the enhancement of social mores (Haims, 1973, p. 31).
4. A sound sex education can aid the individual student to choose his or her sex ethic in a more calm and less compulsive fashion (Reiss, 1972, p. 128).
5. [Sex education] would give all children information regarding healthy sexuality, [making them] feel more comfortable, better able to cope with the business of growing up, better prepared to defend their own morals and the basis for them (Zazzaro, 1969, p. 31).
6. [Sex education]. . . helps youngsters develop an appreciation for sex as an integral part of life, see it in the perspective of one's whole life, and

convey it to their own children in a comfortable and frank fashion (Zazzaro, 1969, p. 31).

7. Knowledge about themselves, their own sexuality, and the social role of their sex allows youngsters to develop personal standards and values based on understanding and concern for others (Zazzaro, 1969, p. 31).

8. The program of sex education must include information that includes attitudes as well as factual knowledge of a biological nature. This would include the attitude about the place of sex in life, its relationship to personality needs, and realistic information should be given concerning social and psychological hazards of promiscuous behavior (McQueen, 1969, p. 11).

9. Sex education programs, whenever possible, should be taught in a family context. This approach gives the program a meaningful reference in which the student can relate the subject to his personal future (McQueen, 1969, p. 11).

Values

One cannot read this list of objectives without understanding that implicit within them are a variety of values, some of which, in a pluralistic society such as ours, may not be universally accepted. It is these values that have made the study of sex education such a controversial subject in America for the last twenty years, and this aspect of the issue which must now be addressed.

A large part of the question of values is, which values will be taught and what are the values of those teachers who teach the courses? The seventh objective listed above relates to the development of "personal standards and values." We may well ask, do we really want students to develop their own personal standards and values, or do we

desire or expect that they accept the values held by the majority within our society? A broader question, of course, is whether education is for the benefit of the child or whether the process is symbiotic. Good education is a process by which the individual takes on those understandings of the society and culture which socialize the individual and help him or her to adapt, making him or her a more successful and more productive member of that society. In Render Unto Caesar, Roger D. Manwaring (1962) suggests that:

. . . the proper upbringing of its youth is of vital interest in any society . . . the school is expected to play its part in inducing these qualities--honesty, sexual morality, industry, courtesy, etc.--which go to make one a desirable and useful member of the group. (p. 1)

In the real world, education must provide socialization as well as an environment for personal development if it is to succeed and be accepted, and herein lies part of the problem of teaching sex education.

Gordon Drake (1972), in an article entitled "Is the Schoolhouse the Proper Place to Teach Raw Sex?," criticizes Lester Kirkendall for having written that "Sex education must be thought of as being educational not moral indoctrination." Kirkendall may be alluding to what has come to be a common practice of some sex educators. Johnson and Belzer (1973) describe the problem in the following manner. "In the school situation this usually means trying to present an overwhelming case in favor of traditional morality" (p. 224).

Reiss (1972) argues that any attempt to proscribe ethics or morality will not be successful. He writes:

The choice of sex ethics is already an accepted part of youth culture. Young people feel they have just as much right to choose sex ethics as to choose their own political party or their religion. They feel there are any number of ways best suited for different people. This is what is often called 'the New Morality.' (p. 128)

Reiss (1972) argues that parents had their opportunity to inculcate their values during primary socialization. If they didn't accomplish their goals, or the child did not accept their values, then the school is the arena in which other values, along with the traditional ones, will inevitably be discussed and debated. Chilman (1969) complements Reiss on this issue when she writes:

Values about sex which are different from those to which the student has been exposed at home or in his neighborhood can be presented as another way of looking at the subject, not as the way or a better way. (p. 69)

The major religions in the United States heartily disagree with Reiss and Chilman. An interfaith document published in the late 1960s by representative bodies of the Jewish, Protestant and Catholic faiths recommends that the issue of ethics and values in public school education programs is best resolved by presenting sex education within a framework of those values which are commonly accepted within Western civilization.

Powers and Baskin (1969) also disagree with Reiss on this issue. They believe American parents want their

children to be taught a code of sexual ethics and, although the authors do not state what that code should be, it is assumed it would be one that is acceptable to the parents. They further argue that teachers are not any more qualified than parents to discuss or teach sex morality to their students. This may seem to be contradictory, since the majority of parents in this country want and support sex education programs in the school. However, what is being said by Powers and Baskin is that parents are not aware that the teacher is not qualified to teach ethics or morality.

This lack of understanding on the part of the parents as to the limited qualifications of teachers and the content of the curriculum could and should be avoided by having the community involved in the development of the program. The American Association of Sex Educators and Counselors (1974) advises the following:

Probably one of the key considerations in establishing a family living program is the involvement and participation of community representatives. Since the material is often sensitive and there is a fear of intrusion on values or family matters, the community should always be both a starting and a finishing place. (p. 17)

Perhaps much of the heat engendered over whose ethics and what values should be taught in the sex education course emanates from the fact that there is still little public consensus on the theoretical foundations of sex education in schools and the methods of teaching the subject.

Theories of Sex Education

Johnson and Belzer (1969) have offered what they believe to be seven popularly held theories on sex education:

1. "The best sex education is no sex education of any kind at all." The child would learn in the home and through peers everything he needed to know about the subject. Most of the present generation of parents learned about sex in this manner.
2. There should be sex education programs and they should be quite frank and on a highly moral and/or religious plane. Something called the "Sex Sublimated" theory. Parochial schools and many public school programs currently subscribe to this theory.
3. The "best place to learn about sex is in the gutter. The 'Gutter Theory.'" Since, in the minds of some people, sex is a dirty and disgusting animalistic activity, then the only place to learn about such things are houses of ill repute.
4. Sex information should be presented with a restrained frankness and bluntness. Sometimes called the "Blunt-Blitz Shock Treatment" theory. The major concern is to frighten students by discussing the horrors of venereal disease, problem pregnancy, marital dysfunctions, etc.
5. Minimal sex education theory. The responsibility of the parent and educator is to ignore sex as much as possible, give the briefest response to all questions of a sexual nature, and recommend to the children that they take cold showers.
6. The naturalistic-humanistic love theory. This theory suggests that if all adults treated children with love and were honest in all their relationships with them, there would be no need for sex education programs.
7. Do it yourself, sex education theory. Each person should, on their own initiative, become competent sexual beings through research in the literature.

Because of this diversity in public opinion as to what the theoretical foundations of sex education programs, if any, should be, it is no wonder that the suggestion of

implementing a program within a school system has brought criticism to school administrators. Amongst some of these criticisms, according to Zazzaro (1969), has been that sex education was not being taught within the strict moral context in which it should be taught. This relates to both Johnson and Belzer's "Sex Sublimated" theory referred to above as well as the previously cited interfaith document, in which sex education should not be taught in the schools but rather in the church or home or by those who would teach it properly.

Another criticism of the programs, according to Minor (1971) is that sex education might "corrupt the minds of little children in their formative years" (p. 10). Drake (1972) writes that such programs, in the minds of their opponents, decrease the responsibility of the family, which helps to create greater problems for our society in that it leads to what they consider the moral degradation of our society. This suggests the first theory, or the "no need for sex education program."

Other critics of the program are parents who are sensitive to discussion on any aspect of the biological reproductive process. They cannot discuss with their children the process of the biological organs involved in the sex act nor the various ways the act might be completed, and are shocked that their child is discussing these topics in a classroom situation. These parents fall within the purview

of what the authors call the "minimal sex education" theory above.

Another major criticism of sex education is that what children learn in class will cause them to sexually experiment. It is feared that they will go home from school to try these new ideas on younger brothers or sisters or friends (Riezzo, 1981). However, research on this question by Kirby (1980) and others found that there is no change in the sex frequency or activity by those who take sex education courses.

Textbooks are also criticized and subjected to censorship from many quarters. In an article on "Censorship in the Schools," Dorothy Massie (1980) notes a complaint in the "Family Issues Voting Index" published by the Christian Voters Fund, that "we know that love and sex should be taught in the home, accompanied by Biblical values and genuine compassionate guidance. But we allowed our schools to become smut factories, our textbooks sexbooks" (p. 30).

Censorship of books which in any way touch upon sexual themes has spread like wildfire across our nation (Massie, 1980). The newspapers are constantly reporting censorship battles over school texts, as well as school library books, which may include the classics as well as the more popular novels read by the youth of our society.

As noted earlier, criticism of another dimension, reflecting the concerns of many professional educators has been

directed at the level of course preparation both in terms of knowledge base and emotional maturity of the teacher. Many teachers of sex education have been criticized for not understanding the depth and breadth of the discipline they have undertaken to teach. They are said to lack the sophistication to comprehend the subtleties that lie within many of the topics they discuss, and the emotional stability, ego strength or poise to know what they can teach effectively and what they cannot, often relying on some other format to cover the topic when this becomes necessary (Haims, 1973).

In the last decade, the universities and colleges involved in teacher education have been addressing this problem through changes in the graduate and undergraduate curriculum, as well as through workshops for teachers already in the field. But there is still much more to be done if we are to have a professionally trained base of sex educators nationwide, and avoid Reiss' (1972) criticism that,

The real danger in America today is that almost all of our schools will add a type of moralistic, unintegrated, and poorly staffed applied course in sex education and then feel that we have taken care of the needs for sex education. That is exactly what I see happening today in our country, and unless we take a longer and more careful look at the matter we may have a sex education program on a national scale that really is an anti-sex education program. (p. 124)

The Issue

These concerns must be considered, especially in light of past and recent community responses to the introduction

and implementation of sex education programs. For this criticism has been, at times, highly organized and orchestrated by professional activists who assist in the formation of local anti-sex education organizations. In the past, two major church groups involved in organizing the local opposition were the Christian Crusade and the American Council of Christian Churches. Harold W. Minor (1971) monitored the activities of these two groups and others involved in the opposition, and wrote of them,

According to newspaper accounts that appeared over the country, sex education battles had taken place in thirty states by the summer of 1969. This was only one year since the organized campaign on sex education had begun. By the spring of the next year, anti-sex education groups were at work in at least sixteen additional states. (p. 36)

Some of the organizations that are opposed to sex education programs today are religious organizations, such as the National Christian Action Coalition, the Christian Voice, the Moral Majority, and the Christian Defense League. The national leaders of their movements are the Rev. Edward McAteer, the Rev. Jerry Falwell, and Greg Dixon, to name but a few. The political arm of this movement is called the New Right, comprised of organizations such as the American Education lobby, Let Freedom Ring, and the Eagle Forum (Scales, 1981).

Community and Associational Support

The community most involved with sex education is most

supportive of it. Haims (1973) reports that three out of four teachers support sex education programs, and cites a Harris Poll conducted in March, 1970 which indicated that "93 percent of American school children want factual information about sexual conduct" (pp. 32-33).

Zazzaro (1969) writes of national, professional organizations which support sex education in the public schools. She lists nineteen of these which include:

. . . American Academy of Pediatrics; American Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation; American Association of School Administrators; American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists; American Medical Association; American School Health Association; American Public Health Association; National Congress of Parents and Teachers; National Council of Churches; National Education Association; National School Boards Association; National Student Assembly; YMCA and YWCA; Sixth White House Conference on Children and Youth; Synagogue Council of America; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; United States Catholic Conference; U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. (p. 32)

Writing in the Boston Globe, Beth Taylor (1981) quotes national polls that show "over 85 percent of the U. S. population wants the schools to provide sex education . . . yet a vocal minority helps keep good programs out of all but 10 percent of our schools" (p. 17).

Research by Gordon and Dickman (1980) shows that in 1976, while some states allowed it to be taught, only seven states and the District of Columbia required sex education programs. Those states were Hawaii, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, North Dakota and Delaware.

But even so, until December 1977, for instance, Michigan actually prohibited the discussion of birth control in its required courses. Of all public school districts, fewer than half and perhaps as few as a third offer any sort of sex education . . . that nationwide there are probably no more than 15 or 20 local school systems that can be said to offer adequate sex education or family life programs from kindergarten to 12th grade. (p. 3)

Since that time there has been little change in the number of districts which are involved in sex education. However, there is some agreement by most researchers in the field as to the steps that must be taken if sex education programs are to be successfully introduced and implemented in American public schools. One of the more important factors, according to McNab (1981), is the ability of school administrations to support and justify the need for the program.

In the face of budget cuts caused by Proposition 13 in California in 1978 and 2-1/2 in Massachusetts in 1980, and in the general climate of institutional economic frugality, as well as the desire to replace "non-academic" and "personal development" courses with a return to the "basics," school authorities are more concerned with maintaining programs currently in place. We are not likely for some time to see a stampede to introduce or reintroduce sex education into our schools.

The Anti-Sex Education Movement

The national opposition to sex education originated in the mid 1960s in California, first in Anaheim and then in other school systems in the state, and spread throughout the

country by the 1970s. The early opposition was to an extent sponsored and coordinated mainly by national fundamentalist movements such as the Christian Crusade, led by the Reverend Bill Hargis, and the American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC) led by the Reverend Carl McIntire. Both of these leaders had radio ministries and large followings. Both were opposed to sex education in public schools because they feared that secular, humanistic values would be taught in such programs to the detriment of the student's own religious values. They both believed sex education to be a prerogative of the family and/or the church--not the school (Minor, 1971, p. 36).

These organizations, along with the John Birch Society, cooperated and assisted in the formation of over 300 state and local groups, of which the following are but examples: Sanity on Sex, Mothers Organized for Moral Stability, Citizens for Parental Rights, People Against Unconstitutional Sex Education, The Citizens Committee of California Incorporated, Mothers for Decency in Action, Friends of the Connecticut Schools, Concerned Citizens Information Council, Parents Opposed to Sex Education, Citizens for Moral Education of Central Florida, Concerned Citizens of Hawaii, Parents Opposed to Sex and Sensitivity Education, Illinois Council for Essential Education, Committee to Halt Indoctrination and Demoralization in Education, and Associate Citizens for Responsible Education

(Sturch, 1970). Most of these associations were concerned with parents' rights on the issue of sex education.

Zazzaro (1969, p. 10), in a study of school districts which have been involved in sex education controversies, substantiated that there are thirteen basic elements, all of which follow a pattern first identified by the Sex Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS):

1. Committees spring up.
2. Speakers arrive on the scene.
3. Some churches give support.
4. Meetings are disrupted.
5. Half-truths and dubious documentation are circulated.
6. Emotional appeals are made.
7. Teachers and other school people become upset.
8. Publications are exchanged.
9. Letter writing starts.
10. Radio and TV coverage is employed.
11. Pressure is put on public officials.
12. Dark hints of future evils are issued.
13. Threats and intimidation become commonplace.

Zazzaro has found that all of these are used in most anti-sex education campaigns. Such tactics are capable of creating such a furor and controversy that programs have been changed or cancelled, for school administrators and school boards as a whole do not attempt to implement programs that are considered controversial. Collier (1981) and Scales (1981) support these findings, writing that the early successes of sex education were reversed when they became "too controversial," and since that time many have faded away. Gordon and Dickman (1980, p. 12) concur, writing,

. . . even today, the fear of negative community

reaction is still the chief reason for not establishing sex education or family life education programs. Yet if there is organized opposition, it is much more likely to come from outside pressure groups than from parents.

The Early Fundamentalist Movement

It has been of some interest to fix the time and level of development of the modern fundamentalist movement in America because, as a result of its political successes, concern is again being raised in the media over the question of its participation into issues which affect both our public and private lives.

Newsweek Magazine, in a recent edition, dates the movement back to 1979 with the creation of the Moral Majority. Preliminary investigations revealed the movement may have begun a decade and a half earlier (Newsweek, Sep. 17, 1984. (p. 34)

By 1969, the fundamentalist movement was a major ideological voice in America, raising questions concerning the dangers of the "new morality" and the consequences of the "sexual revolution."

A Recent History

During the last decade, a religious movement has captured the imagination of our society, dominating the media and, to some extent, centers of political power as well. This movement is called fundamentalism, and has as one of its chief spokesmen the Rev. Jerry Falwell of television's

"Gospel Hour."

One of the major goals of the fundamentalists, according to Marsden (1980), is to return this nation to the Christian truths and practices set forth in the Old and New Testaments of the Bible or to revert to, in their words, a Christian civilization. In reaching these goals, the movement has attempted to alter, revise or change policies and folkways that have come into practice over the last century in many of the major institutions of our society, as well as to counter the successes of those social movements in America such as the E. R. A., civil rights and student movements.

Today, many social scientists, as well as other observers of the American scene, are asking the questions, who are the fundamentalists, from where have they arisen, and exactly what do they want of our society? The answers to these questions are complex and are subject to a variety of interpretations which are somewhat dependent on the religious and ideological beliefs of the the observer.

To begin to answer these questions, we may take as our reference one of the leading books in the field, The New Right by Richard Viguerie, publisher of the "Conservative Digest." Viguerie (1980) describes the fundamentalists as a Christian organization composed mainly of rural Protestants, of which there may be as many as 15 million, who support the work of Dr. Falwell and the "Gospel Hour." John Warwick Montgomery, a theologian strongly identified

with Confessional-Evangelist movements, estimates that number to be even higher, as can be seen in the following table showing estimates of the numbers that support various movements within the Protestant Church (Marty, 1976, p. 82):

	<u>Theologians</u>	<u>Pastors</u>	<u>Laity</u>	<u>Total</u>
Fundamentalist	1%	20%	25% 17	million
Evangelical	55	24	20 13.5	million
Confessional	20	30	30 20.5	million
Liberal	20	25	25 17	million
Radical	4	1	.01 5 to 10	thousand

The fundamentalists have been a recognized religious movement in America since the early 1920s when they first organized against liberals and modernists within the Protestant Church, as well as within other institutions, notably the public schools of this country. Their prime concern at that time was the introduction within the biological science curriculum of Darwinian evolutionary theory, and through the famous Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee, a legal victory was won against its introduction into the Tennessee schools (Ellis, 1981).

However, although they won the trial, they later lost the support of the American people in general and many Protestant denominations in particular because of their extreme positions on the inerrancy of the Bible, their sense of religious exclusivity in that "those who do not share their religious viewpoint are not really true Christians at

all," and their general hostility to modern theology and its methods (Barr, 1978). Yet, perhaps no other outcome could be expected, for they were, after all, fundamentalists and those were the essential truths of their belief.

Theology

Two other controversial beliefs that differentiate them from other Protestants are dispensationism and pre-millennialism, the first holding that the,

sacred history of the Jews and Gentiles can be divided into a number of discrete periods or 'dispensations,' each of which has been placed under a separate covenant handed down by God,

and the second predicting that there will be, in the future, a one-thousand year reign of this planet by Jesus Christ and that certain events will take place prior to this reign (William, 1980, p. 161).

Ernest R. Sandeen, in The Roots of Fundamentalism (1970, p. 285), stresses the notion that if fundamentalism is to be understood, one must look at the influence of millennialism upon it. According to Sandeen, since the early nineteenth century, "it is millennialism which gave life and shape to the Fundamentalist movement." This particular belief, which goes back to 1878 and is called the Niagara Creed, came out of the Niagara Bible Conference. It was this emphasis on the imminent second coming of Christ that separated the fundamentalist movement from other denominations of the Protestant Church and, of course, incurred harsh criticism from the

established institution.

Fundamentalists hold certain other orthodox beliefs in common with other Protestants, however. Among these, which they believe to be basic, or "fundamental" to one's faith are the "Virgin Birth, the Satisfaction Theory of the Atonement, the bodily resurrection of Jesus, . . . and the authenticity of the Gospel miracles" (Marty, 1976, p. 82). Other fundamentalists within the movement have added as many as fourteen other points for the true Christian to hold, but these five are the most generally held.

The first attempt by fundamentalist leaders themselves to explain their beliefs and proselytize on a worldwide scale was in a series of articles on such topics as ethics, Christian stewardship and the problems created by scientific inquiry. Under the title of The Fundamentals: A Testimony to Truth, a total of twelve volumes were published in 1909, and over three million booklets were distributed. Some of the authors were James Orr, B. B. Warfield, Dyson Hague, A. T. Pierson and H. C. G. Moule. Amzi Dixon and Reuben Torrey edited them (Jorstad, 1980).

Definitions of the movement by writers in the field are varied, however. William E. Ellis (1981, p. 16) holds that

'fundamentalist' should be used specifically to identify militant conservative evangelicals who have led or supported attacks against liberal theology and modern science,

whereas Martin E. Marty (1976, p. 91), a church historian, characterizes the movement in the following manner:

Today the word 'fundamentalist' is often casually applied to people who are intransigent about religious change, advocates of religious orthodoxy, anywhere in the world. More properly, it should be applied to a loosely organized cluster of allies that could unite for certain causes in America.

In Fundamentalism and American Culture, George Marsden (1980, p. 4) identifies fundamentalists as,

evangelical Christians, close to the traditions of the dominant revivalist establishment of the 19th century, who in the 20th century militantly opposed both modernism in theology and the cultural change that modernism endorsed.

In The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, Rev. Falwell (1981, p. 17), places them within the context of a revivalist movement and speaks of fundamentalists joining with evangelicals "to return our nation to its spiritual and moral roots."

If one accepts Marsden's perspective and attempts to analyze the movement sociologically, then it would be labeled a "revitalization movement" which usually occurs during a period of cultural crisis when old, established cultural patterns are drawn into conflict with novel discoveries or ideas which challenge the basic assumption upon which the culture patterns are founded. Fundamentalism is part of a long history of religious resurgence in America starting with the Great Awakening of the 18th century and the Awakenings of the 19th century, continuing into the 20th century with the work of Rev. Billy Sunday, Rev. George McCready and Rev. Billy Graham (Maxson, 1959).

According to Lienesch (1982, p. 408), fundamentalism is

not a revitalized populist movement, but rather an alliance of conservative preachers who have created an interest group. He quotes the Rev. Falwell as saying to a meeting of Protestant ministers, "America is waiting for leadership and you're it." They, together with a few conservative politicians such as Helms, Kemp and Denton, have created an interest group that has effectively lobbied the Congress for legislation they support and has gained the attention and spotlight of the national media.

During the last 110 years, the fundamentalists have represented a countermovement opposed to the increasing secularization of the Protestant church and to the church's concentraion on social rather than on religious issues. The fundamentalists have helped to foster such sub-movements as creationism, the pro-family movement, and other counter-movements responding to some of the above-mentioned one-issue movements such as abortion and the sex education movement.

Membership

In an article on the development of religious movements, John L. Gillin (1910, p. 245) makes the point that these movements have:

. . . originated in the lower class as a protest against what they felt was oppressive by the superior classes. That their griefs were largely social is shown by their leanings toward apocalyptic hopes of a kingdom in which their wrongs would be righted.

In an analysis of the origin of the present movement, Ellis (1981, p. 34) writes "Fundamentalism would have developed

[anyway] as a countermovement to modernism without the evolution issue because conditions favored such activity in the 1920s." Addressing the same issue, Lawrence Haims (1973, p. 41) quotes,,

When people become concerned about their identity and place in the world or the uncertainties of the future for themselves and their children, they turn to those groups that offer certainty and reassuring solutions.

Other studies (Marsden, 1980) suggest that the fundamentalist membership is more likely to be rural, younger, highly geographically mobile and lower middle class, without the average educational attainment of Americans in general. Typical characteristics of the membership are that they are more likely to be women than men and more likely to be grade-school educated and unemployed than the national norm for such categories. Many of the members have recently experienced geographical mobility, having moved from rural areas to towns and cities, or have seen those rural areas become incorporated into towns or suburbs. In the view of some analysts, the new members often join the fundamentalist movement as a reaction to modernism and/or urbanization and the secularizing aspects of both (Lienesch, 1982). Prof. McLoughlin describes them as part of the "moving mainstream of America's pietistic culture" (Marty, 1976, p. 91).

Marsden (1980, p. 207) writes that their Christian faith has helped to shape the fundamentalist's view of his culture far more than his culture has shaped his faith. In

other words, their religiousity has far greater impact on the society than it, in turn, has upon them. In spite of this, the fundamentalists have had, for the most part, little influence or impact on the Protestant theological "establishment."

They did rally as a group in the 1920s. The movement created a set of ideological beliefs and established the issues it wished to address, and it widely publicized its views on a number of religious and secular concerns. However, in spite of these successes, it never reached the point of being formalized within a religious institutional setting. It never became a single recognized sect, and it never developed a central hierarchy of control, a widely accepted religious leadership, or an orthodoxy outside of the scriptures themselves.

It has enjoyed the support of a coalition of institutions such as the Religious Roundtable, the National Christian Action Coalition, the Christian Voice, the Campus Crusade for Christ, Bob Jones University, and the Rev. Falwell's "Gospel Hour." Yet, even within these institutions, it is seen as a movement, a goal to work toward rather than as an achieved institutional entity.

Emergence of the Moral Majority

Another more recent method of impacting on society was the formation of a political arm of the movement, enabling it

to speak out on issues of a political nature, such as "Aid for Israel" and "a stronger military," without losing their tax-exempt status. This organization is called the Moral Majority and, according to its president, the Rev. Jerry Falwell, is a political organization made up of people who share common moral views such as being pro-America, pro-morality, pro-life and pro-family.

There are 72,000 ministers in the organization, the most aggressive of whom are fundamentalist, as well as four million members of other religious persuasions. The organization has members in all fifty states, a mailing list of 400,000 and a budget of 1.2 million dollars. By the end of 1983 it hopes to have chapters in every county in the country (Henry, 1981).

The major goal of the Moral Majority, according to its president, is to help create a political climate of freedom in America that will assist in reaching the ultimate goals of the Christian churches of this country, namely the proselytizing of the Christian faith worldwide. All this can be accomplished only if "there is a real spiritual revolution against the trends of the times." ("Christianity Today," 1981) This, of course, is predicated on reaching Rev. Falwell's goal of making America a "Christian nation."

The New Christian Right

The Moral Majority is but one of many new political organizations founded by fundamentalist ministers. For

example, the Rev. Ed Rowe is Executive Director of Protect America's Children; the Rev. Robert Billings is president of the National Christian Action Coalition, and the Rev. Tim LaHaye founded the Council for National Policy. These, along with such religious organizations as the Christian Voice, the Religious Roundtable, and the Campus Crusade for Christ, are all part of what has been called the New Christian Right. As a coalition of many diverse organizations, they have joined together on single issues such as support for the "traditional family," or they have united on the broader issues encompassed within the political platform of one of the major parties. They may not agree on a political strategy or theological dogma, but have made a common stand on a number of issues, mainly of a narrow moral nature (Crawford, 1980).

One of their major issues is the change in the moral climate of America. They see increasing sexual permissiveness, divorce, drug usage, crime, lack of patriotism, etc. as a behavior that can only arouse God's anger at our society, and thus the need for repentance and reform by all members of society. Therefore, it is important for the members of the New Christian Right to work toward the repeal of laws that allow for moral choice, such as abortion, and substitute those which are more restrictive. In order to accomplish this, it is imperative that they use political power to gain control over society's major institutions and

the media so that the cultural values, rules and laws legitimized during the sixties and seventies can be repealed and replaced with Christian values. The New Christian Right has staked out four major issues, those being support for the Right to Life, support for the traditional family, support for Judeo-Christian morality, and support for the American way of life (Crawford, 1980).

For instance, an essential part of the New Christian Right coalition today is the support of a piece of legislation drafted by Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada, known as the Family Protection Act. This legislation's main thrust is to reestablish the dominancy of the traditional Christian family in America, and the fundamentalist movement has mobilized its maximum effort in an interesting attempt to legislate American morality. The Act runs over 50 pages in length and touches upon every institutional aspect of American life. The following are nine sections highlighting its direction:

1. Federal education money is denied states that don't allow prayer in public buildings....
2. Federal money may not be used to buy textbooks or other educational material that belittle the traditional role of women in society.
3. A tax exemption of \$1,000 is allowed a household which includes a dependent person age 65 or over.
4. College students may not receive food stamps.
5. A corporation may deduct from taxes its contributions to a joint employee-employer day care facility.

6. Right of Religious Institutions. Federal agencies may not regulate religious activities such as church school, religious homes and ministries.
7. Contributions by an employed person to a savings account for his non-working spouse are tax deductible, up to \$1,500 per year.
8. The current 'marriage tax' which penalizes married people with two incomes, is eliminated.
9. Legal Service Corporation money may not be used: (a) to compel abortions; (b) for school desegregation; (c) for divorce litigation; and (d) for homosexual right litigation. (Viguerie, 1980, p. 161)

The constituency in support of the Family Protection Act is being developed in America mainly through what has been called the "electronic ministry"--fundamentalist ministers who make popular, emotional appeals to their television audiences, predicting the eventual decline and fall of America if it does not quickly revert to its older, traditional values. For them, many of the contemporary political issues of the day, such as the desegregation of schools, abortion on demand, school prayer, aid to private schools, and women's rights have been moralized (Scimecca, 1981).

Sixty years ago, the fundamentalists united against modernism and evolution and stressed the dire effects they would have on American society. Today, the catch phrase has been changed to secular humanism. To the Christian Right, the phrase "secular humanism" is a "philosophy in which man and not God is the center of the universe," and,

. . . there are absolutes in the real world, there is a difference between right and wrong. When we [fundamentalists] see sin we call it sin, not a social condition. . . . The fundamentalist churches are teaching the only reality there is: the reality of God. (Nickerson, 1980, p. 2)

Today pornography, abortion, birth control clinics, the teaching of evolution, women's rights and sex education are the social issues being attacked by the Christian Right, but regardless of whether the issue is evolution or sex education, the expectations of the fundamentalist remains the same. Haims (1973, p. 40) explains that,

The fear on the part of some religious sects . . . [is] that the scientific approach in sex education will reduce religious faith. The teaching of evolutionary theory in schools has been opposed on the same grounds and still is in some jurisdictions.

The decision of many ministers to become politically involved came as a result of new regulations and new laws that created a society where "doing your own thing" was more important than upholding God's laws or society's rules (Sobran, 1980). Thus, it is social change they seek, and they hope that by managing dissent on highly charged emotional issues, they will attract a constituency that will support the New Christian Right's position.

Lienesch (1982, p. 403) quotes Weyrich in outlining another planned strategy, that of "so [framing] these issues that 'there is no mistaking who is on the right side and who is on the wrong side. . . . Ultimately everything can be reduced to right and wrong.'" In so doing, they will create

hostility towards those whom they consider to be on the wrong side of the issue, and drive them out of office or power.

The NEA Teachers Rights Committee (1981) has catalogued some of the tactics used to oust those on the wrong side of the issue; among them the formation of PACs (Political Action Committees) to support single issue candidates (Right to Life, e.g.), creation of hit lists, i.e. candidates to be attacked, use of smear tactics, politics of intimidation, and mindless but persuasive slogans.

Crawford (1980) writes of the "electronic network" controlled by the "Christian Media" which has 36 television stations, 1300 radio stations and reaches over 100 million people weekly. They have demonstrated their capacity to influence the thinking and behavior of these millions of supporters by mobilizing them for marches, rallies and boycotts in support of various issues, and have used them as a voting bloc in elections to replace liberal candidates with conservatives.

The New Christian Right groups opposing sex education in public schools include the Christian Crusade, the Church League of America, the American Council of Christian Churches, and the International Council of Churches. These and other fundamentalist groups had stood firmly against sex education in public schools in thirty states by 1969, and by 1970 they were involved in opposing sex education in forty-six states (Minor, 1971). In addition to providing legal

funds and organizational support, they have assisted in creating community organizations such as Parents Opposed to Sex Education (POSE), Mothers Organized for Moral Stability (MOMS) and Sanity on Sex (SOS), as well as providing detailed strategies for blocking the implementation of new sex education programs or closing those already in place (Frazer, 1972).

There has been a resurgence of New Christian Right activities within the local New England area within the last decade. These activities have been aimed at sex education programs, values clarification and secular humanism. The New Hampshire State Education Commissioner, Robert Brunelle, in giving advice to school committees and citizens as to how they might fend off these critics, said,

It behooves every school district to resolve these conflicts at the local level so that a minority does not have control. They should not allow a small group to make people dance to their tune. (Cohen, 1982, p. 19)

Some of the specific issues at stake are a course in sexuality for 10-14 year olds in Amherst, New Hampshire, sex education programs in Concord and Nashua, and opposition to a federally funded drug education program in Candia. In Merrimack the issue is the election of candidates who have "filed a bill in the state legislature that would allow parents to veto any test that would ask students about feelings, family relationships or similar issues" (Cohen, 1982, p. 19).

If the New Christian Right succeeds, Park (1980) predicts that children will be indoctrinated; not educated. They will be taught absolutes, i.e. set ways of behaving and thinking, and there will be restrictions on the flow of information as well as a lack of acceptance of the values and beliefs held by non-Christians. The pluralistic values once thought essential to the creation of a working consensus in a democracy will be lost.

Parker (1979) agrees with Park, and points out that these conditions are starting to appear in our public schools now, with books being censored because of their realistic appraisal of some aspects of American life. She states that fundamentalists view censorship as necessary to avoid their children being exposed to scenarios of life in which relative rather than absolute values might be presented. They do not want their children to be placed in moral dilemmas nor to have to make moral choices.

Crawford (1980, p. 155) reports that a study by the National Council of Teachers of English in 1978 concluded that "censorship of books, . . . and other curriculum materials in public schools had increased 78% in the last 15 [from 1963 to 1978] years." Kinchloe (1982) criticizes that if the New Christian Right is successful, such things as a "balanced curriculum" will be sacrificed in order to emphasize the basics, the inquiry method will give way to rote, memorization and drill, and cultural plurality will

give way to parochialism. Parker (1979), echoing Kinchloe, states that the goals of the Christian Right are to put the Bible and prayer back in the schoolhouse and get rid of sex education, values clarification and every last aspect of secular humanism.

When thwarted in their efforts, they have often responded by establishing their own schools as a "Christian alternative to humanism and amorality being taught in the public school system." In an article by Colin Nickerson entitled "Christian Schools Sprouting in New England," the author adds that the number [of Christian schools] has grown from a handful ten years ago to more than 155 in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Vermont, with more than 10,000 students. Nationally, the number of such schools has swelled from a couple of hundred in 1970 to approximately 16,000 today (Nickerson, 1982). According to Lienesch (1982), there is a new school construction started in this country every seven hours.

The school is so often the focus of Christian Right attention because they see the school as an extension of the family, where traditional family values and beliefs must be taught. They supported without reservation the U. S. Secretary of Education Terrel Bell when, in a speech in Washington in August of 1982 he said, "Education is a family matter. The parent is the foremost teacher, the home is the most influential classroom, and schools should exist to

support the home" (Anon., Worcester Telegram, Aug 2, 1982).

That this ideology will now have national implications appears to be evidenced by recent personnel appointments in the federal Department of Education. Robert Billings, former Executive Director of the Moral Majority, has been appointed Coordinator of the Education Department's regional offices and liaison to Christian schools; Susan Phillips, former researcher for the Conservative Caucus, is now a consultant to the Department, and Onalee McGraw, former Educational Consultant to the Heritage Foundation, is now a member of the National Council on Educational Research. Robert Sweet who, as Chairman of the School Committee in Peterborough, New Hampshire, was a strong critic of values clarification and sex education, now serves as a senior staff member in the Office of Policy and Development for President Reagan.

Critics such as David Florio, Executive Director of the American Education Research Council, say those appointments have given the New Right more influence in educational policy than in virtually any other area of federal activity (Cohen, 1982).

The Fundamentalist Challenge

It is difficult to gauge the influence of something as rapidly changing as a religious movement, for it has a tendency to develop through stages, some of which bring great attention and interest to its activities and some of which seem to lie dormant, waiting expectantly for the proper

conditions requisite for its development and growth. The fundamentalists have had such moments in their long history. The publication of The Fundamentals, the Scopes trial in the 1920s, the Christian Crusaders against Communism and other evils in the 1950s and 1960s, and today their stance against abortion, sex education, pornography and other moral issues are all examples of this.

The fundamentalists today, along with their political arm, the Moral Majority, present a challenge to American institutions, especially those that deal with the education of our young. This challenge by a religious minority is one that has been difficult to respond to while, at the same time, protecting the rights and freedoms of the majority. In a society as racially, religiously and ethnically diverse as the United States, this is not a new problem. Federal and state governments have a great deal of successful experience dealing with emergent minorities, religious separatists (Amish, Hutterites) and American racial minorities.

The procedural mechanisms for dealing with such issues are usually handled in the courts or through the legislative process. That neither system fully satisfies the demands and concerns of all involved is a consequence of the compromises necessary in a democratic society.

In conclusion, fundamentalism appears to be a reaction to the excesses of liberalism, especially apparent in our society in the 1960s and 1970s. Fundamentalism has acted as

a brake on this liberalism, bringing balance, for some, to a society that had become unbalanced. For others who do not support this ideology, it has forced at least an examination of goals and methods for attaining these goals. It is hoped that such an examination will be beneficial.

C H A P T E R I V

THE WORCESTER CASE STUDY

A review of all pertinent data concerning the introduction of sex education into the Worcester Public Schools reveals that the impetus and initiative for starting such a program did not come from the parents, the students, the school administrators or the faculty, but rather from the medical community of Worcester, which viewed it as a means of reducing teen-age pregnancy. The first request came on June 1, 1964, and was made by the President of the Worcester Medical Society. The Superintendent of Schools replied to the President the following day, saying that the school department would "explore with the Worcester medical profession the possibility of including sex education in the junior and senior high school curriculum." (Gazette, p. 17, June 2, 1964)

No proposals or programs emerged from this exploration. However, three years later, the medical community, through the office of the Worcester Public Health Commissioner, again repeated the request for a sex education program, citing the same concerns voiced earlier (Telegram, p. 5, Feb. 1, 1967).

Program Origination

The Commissioner followed this up by sending a letter to the Superintendent of Schools on May 10, 1967, urging the School Department to give "serious thought . . . to improving family health education in the Worcester school system." Within five weeks of this letter, an ad hoc committee had been created and had its first meeting with the purpose of exploring "the approach to and organization of a committee to investigate the subject of sex education as it relates to the Worcester Public Schools." (June 14, 1967 minutes)

On August 23, 1967, the Chairman of the Sex Education Committee, who was also the Director of Health, Physical Education and Safety, stated in a memo to the members of the Educational Association of Worcester (EAW), "We have started preliminary planning for the introduction of sex education into the Worcester Public Schools." He also requested representations from the E. A. W. to join the Sex Education Committee.

Family Living Committee

For the next two years, the Sex Education Committee reviewed the literature on the subject, developed student guidelines, prepared a curriculum guide, selected textbooks, trained the faculty which would teach the program, and changed its name to the Family Living Committee.

The Committee had also created an Advisory Council made up of individuals representing agencies and organizations of

a religious, civic, health, parental and social nature. The religious community was represented by a Catholic priest, a Jewish rabbi and two Protestant ministers; the civic community by the President of the National Council of Jewish Women; the health community by the Commissioner of Public Health and the Supervisor of Nurses; parents by the President of the Council of Parents' Groups and the President of the Parent-Teachers Association, and the social community by a representative of the Planned Parenthood League.

At a meeting of the Family Living Committee held on January 4, 1968, at which members of the Advisory Council were present, "It was agreed by both the guests and the committee that the primary function of the advisory group would be to function as liaison people, to explain the program, answer questions, and report back to the Committee for further consideration."

The Superintendent of Schools addressed the committee and "commented on the need to emphasize the 'what,' 'how' and 'why' of the program of school and family living and to anticipate possible objections to the program." (Minutes of Family Living Committee meeting of Jan. 4, 1968)

At this meeting, "the committee and invited guests discussed the manner in which parents would be informed of the purposes and methods to be used in the pilot program. The target date for instituting the pilot program has been tentatively set for September 1969." This would be twenty-

five months from the initial meeting of the ad hoc committee on sex education.

Throughout 1967 and 1968, the Worcester morning and afternoon papers, the Telegram and the Gazette, both owned by the same publisher, had been running editorials highly supportive of sex education, citing public health statistics on venereal disease and high school pregnancy, and urging the Worcester Public Schools to investigate and explore the possibility of implementing such a program. In an editorial of November 6, 1967, the Worcester Telegram wrote:

In the 20th century, society has turned more and more to the formal education process to take up the responsibilities abandoned by other societal institutions, or to break ground in new areas as needs develop or are discovered. The time for sex education in the schools seems to have arrived.

Initial Opposition

The school committee met on May 22, 1969, to consider the school department's proposal to implement a Family Living Program in four elementary schools. This pilot program would be evaluated in one year and, if successful, would be started in other schools. However, at that meeting, the sex education program was opposed by a Worcester Baptist minister who stated that, "his objections to teaching sex in schools was based on 'the word of God' and that it is part of a Communist plot to bring us one step downward." (Gazette, p. 1, May 23, 1969) According to the newspaper reporter's account, "about 40 residents attended the meeting. Half

applauded (the minister's remarks)--half applauded remarks made by school officials supporting the program."

The school committee tabled the motion, subject to reviewing the books and films to be used in the program.

On May 28, 1969, this same Baptist minister appeared on a local radio program "Talk of the Town," and said that "the teaching of sex is the prerogative of the parent; not the job of a teacher." He also repeated what he had said earlier in the week at the school committee meeting--that he would bring his opposition to the teaching of sex education to the highest court, if need be, to stop it.

Once the opposition to the program commenced, the morning and afternoon newspapers' Letters to the Editor column began to print letters from Worcester area readers denouncing sex education for religious and social reasons. Letters were also written by the leaders of educational, religious and social organizations supporting the program. It was now readily apparent that sex education had become a controversial public issue in Worcester, a topic of considerable discussion and debate. Who constituted the membership of those opposing sex education, and what objectives did they seek?

Good Government Committee

A committee called the Good Government Committee had been functioning in Worcester since the spring of 1966. Consisting of between 6 and 15 individuals, it espoused ultra

right-wing causes at international, national, state and community levels. Its president and one other member who was interviewed claimed to be life members of the John Birch Society. The Good Government Committee was opposed to federal aid to the Worcester Police, sensitivity training for the police, flouridation of drinking water, Zionism, and sex education in the public schools, as well as a number of other issues. Members of this committee passed out sex education materials published by the John Birch Society, Free-Men Speak, Inc., Catholics United for the Faith, the American Education Lobby, as well as by community-based organizations opposed to sex education.

Three members of the Good Government Committee were Protestant ministers. The Baptist minister who threatened to bring suit against the school committee for attempting to introduce sex education to the Worcester Public Schools served as the Committee's secretary for a period of time. The other two ministers were Pentecostal and religiously fundamentalist, as was the Baptist minister.

Citizens Upholding Responsible Education

The Good Government Committee held a meeting on sex education and pornography in the schools in early 1970 which was attended by about 60 people. At this meeting was one mother of a child who would be attending the pilot school program in sex education. As a result of this meeting, she became aware of their criticisms of the program and decided

to take an active role in fighting it. However, she did not join the Good Government Committee, but instead met with other concerned neighborhood mothers. At that meeting, a new opposition group was planned which would later be known as CURE and of which she would later become president. From her discussions with her neighbors and other parents, she learned of an educator who lived in the southern part of Massachusetts who was also opposed to sex education. He was invited to be present and speak at the first organizational meeting, and as a result, became the chief advisor and a major spokesman for the organization now known as CURE.

CURE Spokesmen

When CURE was incorporated on November 30, 1971, he became its State President. This person is a graduate of Eastern Nebraska Christian College, and while a student there, wrote a thesis entitled "S.O.S. Danger; Sex Education, Obscene Literature and Sensitivity Training." In the early 1970s, he worked for Dr. Carl McIntire during the summer, running a Christian hotel in Cape May, New Jersey, and has attended numerous rallies, conventions and conferences as well as marches sponsored by McIntire's organization. He was quite familiar with the national organizations opposed to sex education, and used the John Birch publication "Motorede" and The Christian Crusade's newspaper, both of which he considered excellent and most useful in his fight against sex education. Along with the local president of CURE, he

participated in a number of radio and television talk shows, as well as addressing church and parent groups. He claimed that, because of his educational background, he represented the religious aspect of CURE. In addition to being a member of the Advisory Board of Worcester CURE, he was also affiliated with other individuals and organizations opposed to sex education in Lowell, Springfield, Norton, and New Bedford, Massachusetts. However, his statewide organization came into being only after the Worcester group became organized.

Because of his religious training, his organizational and work affiliations with McIntire, his research on the topic of sex education and his teaching background, CURE members considered him to be the most knowledgeable resource person in the organization. His ties with the national fundamentalist movement, as well as with McIntire, were very important. However, because this was a reticulated social movement, most respondents, including the State President, did not consider themselves to be members of the American Council of Christian Churches or The Christian Crusade, even though they used the literature of these organizations and accepted their ideology and views on the issues. The above-mentioned national fundamentalist organizations created mailing lists of donors and those who purchased their magazines, newspapers and pamphlets. They did not send out membership cards nor create state or local

affiliations. This would not occur on the national scene until the late 1970s with the creation of the highly institutionalized Moral Majority, Inc.

CURE's Tie To The ACCC

Another of the members of the Advisory Board of CURE, the Baptist minister, also made contact with The American Council of Christian Churches. He invited its Director of Radio and Television Ministries, who lived in New Jersey, to come to Worcester and appear on radio and television talk shows in the city. This Director also gave sermons at various churches in the area, and spoke with assembled parents on the topic of sex education. This is one of two examples that can be documented of an individual who was a representative of a national organization who came to Worcester and actively assisted the local organization (CURE) in its opposition to sex education. In a telephone interview, this Director told the writer that he had worked for the ACCC in the late 1960s and early 1970s. He also reported that its former president, Rev. McIntire, had been deposed in 1969 and a new president, Dr. J. Philip Clark, had replaced him.

CURE also had input from The Christian Crusade, in the form of its newspaper which many of the CURE members received and used in proselytizing for their cause. The individuals who received this newspaper did not know how they were placed on the mailing list nor if they paid for the paper, but they

did have it. CURE also received materials and newsletters from a large number of similar protest organizations nationwide. See Diagram 1 on page 88, as further proof of the reticulate nature of the movement at that time.

CURE's Tie To CUFF

CURE also had a close relationship with a fundamentalist Catholic organization, Catholics United for the Faith, an organization that resisted the Catholic Church's attempt to bring sex education into parochial schools. This Catholic organization was also opposed to sex education programs in public schools for many of the same reasons. The President of this organization was invited by CURE's Worcester Chapter to speak at Holy Cross College to the parents of Worcester school children on this topic.

Other speakers were brought in from around the country by CURE, mostly educators, politicians, medical doctors and writers, to give lectures or conduct discussion groups on the subject to local parent groups. In most cases, the speakers were not paid, except for travel expenses, and they were housed at the homes of CURE's officers; again, supporting the reticulate structure of the movement. When invited, the State President and the Worcester President of CURE spoke on their opposition to sex education to religious, social and civic groups throughout the Commonwealth of Massachusetts on this topic, thus developing further networks of friendship and support within the state.

DISTRIBUTION NETWORK OF LITERATURE BETWEEN
NATIONAL AND WORCESTER ORGANIZATIONS

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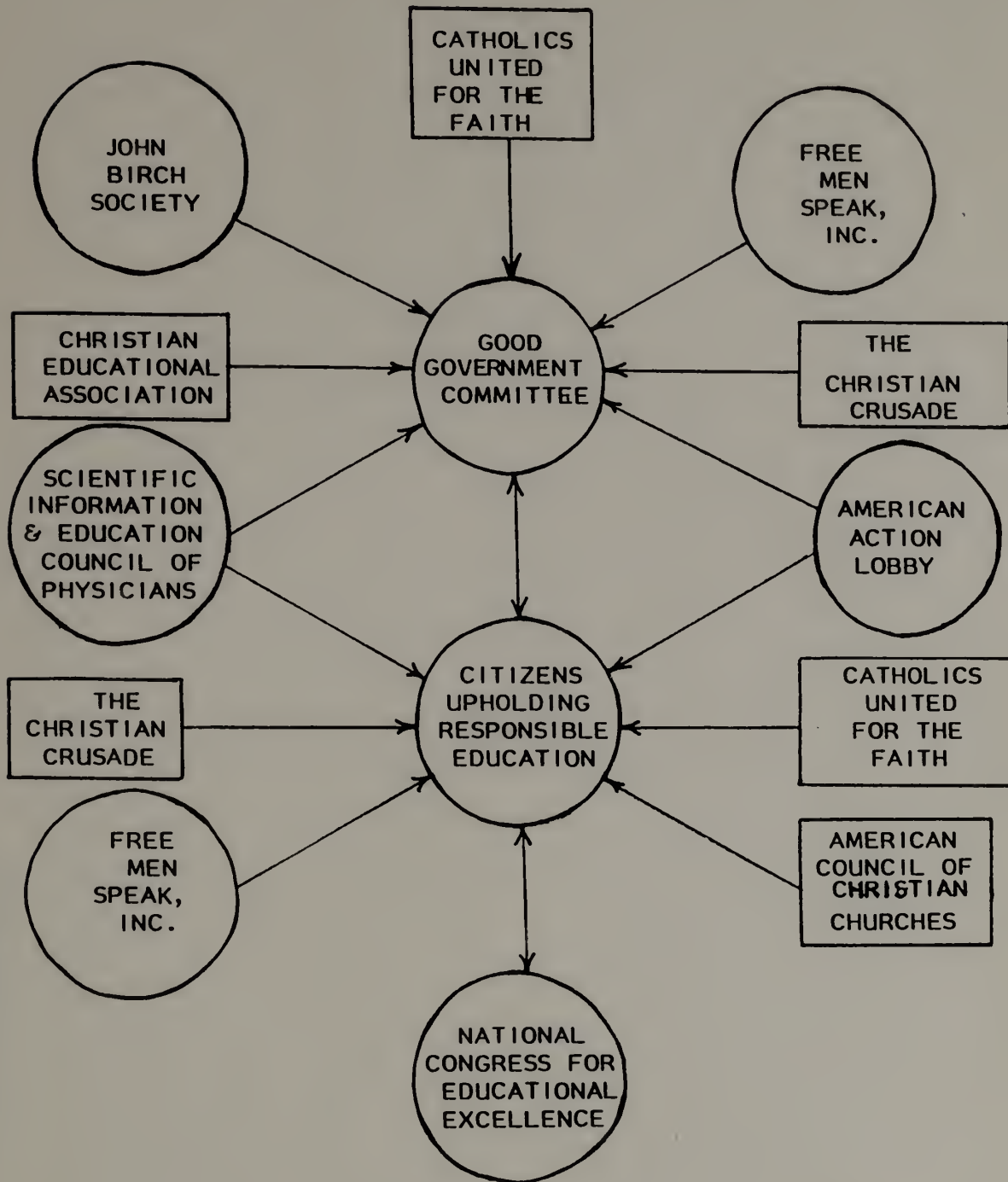


Diagram 1

The members of CURE who were interviewed included the State President, the Worcester Chapter President, Secretary, Treasurer, an Advisory Councilor, and a non-officer member of the organization. Three of these six respondents were aware of the Christian Crusade and three were aware of the American Council of Christian Churches. Four of these six had heard of Rev. Hargis and four had heard of Rev. Carl McIntire. None were members of either organization, although the Baptist minister who had served on the Advisory Board of CURE had been invited to join the ACCC by its Director of Radio and Television ministries. He declined.

Four of these six members of CURE had received monthly newspapers from Rev. Hargis' Christian Crusade. Three of the six believed they had had contact with national organizations as a result of receiving either magazines or newspapers from McIntire's organization, the Christian Crusade, the NCEE or the John Birch Society. Only one of the six had ever attended rallies, conventions or conferences held by either of these organizations, this being the State President who went to Washington, D. C. and Cape May, New Jersey functions held by McIntire.

Only one of the six, the Treasurer of both organizations, stated there was an affiliation between the two organizations. As to affiliations with national organizations, only the Scientific Information and Education Council of Physicians, Inc. (SIECOP) was listed by one member. Four

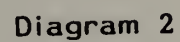
members gave the NCEE as an affiliation, but this is somewhat difficult to categorize since by 1976 CURE had ceased to exist and had become a chapter of the NCEE. If there had been an affiliation, it was short lived, before the metamorphosis.

There is no evidence in the data to indicate that funds were given by national organizations to local or state organizations. The finances of local groups were locally controlled and their revenues locally generated, mainly from the organization's members. When the officers of CURE attended conventions or conferences held by national organizations, they did so at their own expense.

Material support was given to the local by national and other local organizations in the form of written materials which they were allowed to reproduce, as well as low-cost reprints of literature, pamphlets and newsletters. The content of all these materials is very similar, in that they make similar charges and arguments against sex education, using the same authorities or references to support their allegations. Thus, the language used, the issues raised, and the style in which it was presented bears a striking resemblance to the materials published by the national organizations. See Diagram 2 on page 91.

In 1969, Zazzaro had listed 13 tactics used nationally

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by organizations opposed to sex education, all of which are listed above in Chapter I. All 13 of these tactics were used by one or the other or both of the Worcester organizations. (Zazzaro, p. 10)

Of course, it is not surprising that the Worcester organizations used tactics similar to other local organizations. An analysis of the literature disseminated by national organizations reveals that many pages were devoted to how to set up local opposition groups, or guides to forming local opposition organizations. The book on sex education that most influenced the President of Worcester Good Government Committee was The Sex Education Racket, written by Phoebe Courtney and published in 1969 by Free-Men Speak, Inc. Its last 12 pages were devoted to how individuals may organize to fight sex education, and suggests effective tactics and strategies.

"Motorede" also gave similar advice, as did many of the locally produced publications. Thus, local organizations did not, on their own, have to create tactics, but did urge their followers to attend the school board meetings or write letters to state representatives or congressmen and to attend lectures or speeches on the topic. They were very concerned with the number of people who supported them and their visible presence, because they believed numerical visibility could be translated into political power.

The information and encouragement to organize local

opposition organizations, provided by "Motorede," Courtney's Sex Education Racket, the Christian Crusade newspaper, and various California opposition organizations, were important to those contemplating such a measure. Nationally, there was no organization prepared or equipped to enroll members in a national, regional or local movement. There was no national organization in place that could train or prepare individuals for duty in such a social movement. Certainly, nothing existed that could be compared to the Civil Rights Movement or the activities and functions of the NAACP or CORE.

Structural Characteristics

The early anti-sex education movement, having accepted the ideology and issues of the fundamentalist countermovement, organized from the community level upward; first locally, then, by state and later by region. Its structure was less developed, more segmentary, and more decentralized, with polycephalic leadership and highly reticulated characteristics. These characteristics gave it an informality, spontaneity and freedom, as well as a capacity to create alliances and networks, and to test its leadership, not likely allowed in a more bureaucratic, formalized structure. (Gerlach, 1970, p. 139)

This reticulated structure also allowed for a greater sharing of resources, information and expertise, since all of the segments felt equally capable and responsible to all

other segments of the movement. A weakness can be seen in that it led to the duplication of effort and materials, as well as misplacement of human resources. However, the ties it created and the linkages that developed between members of the various segments were a strength that is not usually developed in a more bureaucratically structured movement. Evidence of this is found in the literature, advice and support exchanged between local opposition groups and the many free lectures and speeches given by CURE officers to the members and citizens of communities outside of Worcester.

Leadership Strategies

William Gamson writes on the subject of strategies used by the leaders of successful social movements. He states that they attempt to challenge those institutions or organizations which have the ability to alter or ameliorate the situation. In the Worcester example, the school committeemen made policy, and administrators executed those policies. (Gamson, 1975, p. 91).

Both of these groups were directly challenged by both the members of CURE and by the Good Government Committee. CURE members attended school committee meetings and openly challenged the Superintendent and his assistants when they spoke of the benefits and advantages of a sex education program. They also berated individual school committee members for supporting the program.

Members of the Good Government Committee verbally abused

the Coordinator of the Family Living Program to the point that he refused to attend orientation programs for the parents of pilot program students. Harassment came in the form of late evening telephone calls to the Director of the Family Living Program, and the constant distribution of anti-sex education leaflets on administrators' car windshields.

The Assistant Director of Health and Physical Education, speaking on the size of the opposition and the methods they used, remarked "How effective they were for a small group." He added, "Once this thing reared its head, the politicians ran for cover," alluding to the school committee's refusal to support the sex education program.

Methods of Opposition

Gamson states that an opposition movement seeks influence beyond what its constituency has the power to implement on its own. In the Worcester study, the opponents talked about running their own candidates for school committee positions, but never attempted it. It is unlikely they would have succeeded. Nationally, other opposition organizations had used this process with success, but neither Worcester organization had a large enough following or widely popular leaders. (Gamson, 1975, p. 91)

What is known is that the total number of individuals who were members of these two opposition organizations over the years would total about 75. This is a small number but

highly influential, as is the case with most intense minorities. What they lacked numerically, they more than made up for in commitment.

The strategy used by CURE was constant attack; a steady barrage of negative media attention on the schools, and threats of legal action. This strategy was successful in the long run, as the school committee refused further funding of the pilot program in 1976 and it ended. It appears that the program was reasonable and well conceived and that student response to it was positive. Over the course of the pilot study there were no negative evaluations. In 1975, one of the elementary education supervisors recommended to the school committee that, based on the success of the pilot program, full implementation of the sex education program be scheduled. The school committee never took action on this request. Therefore, it is not possible to say that the program would not have been continued even without the opposition, but there is no evidence to the contrary.

A poll taken in October of 1970 of parents whose children attended the schools proposed for the pilot study indicated that out of 430 parents, 348 favored the proposed sex education program, 11 opposed it, and 11 had no opinion. (Worcester Gazette, October 29, 1970, p. 21)

In a survey conducted by the Educational Association of Worcester comprised of administrators and faculty, two out of three favored a sex education program. (Worcester Gazette,

June 26, 1969, p. 1)

Ties to National Organizations

The five members of the Good Government Committee who were interviewed included its President, Vice President, Secretary, and two non-officer members. Two other officers were also interviewed, however, since they were members of CURE also, and their association with that organization lasted longer. They were placed with the CURE respondents.

Four of these five respondents were aware of the Christian Crusade and all five were aware of the ACCC. Four of five also had heard of Rev. Hargis and all had heard of Rev. Carl McIntire.

Three of these five respondents received a newspaper from the Christian Crusade; two had been in marches with Rev. McIntire in Washington, D. C.; four had been to rallies, conferences or conventions sponsored by either Rev. McIntire or Rev. Hargis.

Two of the five respondents stated that they had an affiliation with CURE, Worcester, and one acknowledged an affiliation with the John Birch Society, which was a national organization.

Four of the five claimed they had had contact with a national organization as a result of receiving literature from the Christian Crusade, the ACCC and the John Birch Society.

The Administration's Response

Fifteen school committee members, school administrators and principals were interviewed. Of these fifteen, less than half, or six, could identify CURE as a local opposition group in Worcester; three identified the Catholic Church; two identified the John Birch Society; one the Parent-Teachers Association, and four responded that there were no organizations opposed to sex education in Worcester.

When this is further broken down, it becomes apparent that the Superintendent, the Deputy Superintendent, the Superintendent of Program Development, the Director of the Family Living Program, the Assistant to the Director of the School Health and Safety Program, and one of the Supervisors of Elementary Education were aware of the highly publicized opposition organization known as CURE. Two of the fifteen, the Coordinator of the Family Living Program and the Assistant Director of School Health and Safety Program thought the John Birch Society was involved because they were given "Motorede" literature by those opposed to the sex education program. This was given to them by members of the Good Government Committee, as well as CURE members, since both organizations' members attended orientation meetings chaired by the aforementioned administrators. Not one of these fifteen identified the Good Government Committee, even though it was an opposition organization actively involved with this issue for over two years.

Nine of the respondents knew the name of the leader of the Worcester Chapter of CURE; two could identify the President of CURE, Massachusetts, who often visited Worcester. One identified the Baptist minister who had served as Secretary of Good Government and on the Advisory Board of CURE. One respondent identified a Catholic priest and another a member of Worcester CURE.

All but two of the respondents recalled having contact with these local leaders either after school committee meetings or after school-sponsored meetings or by telephone. Fourteen of the respondents could not recall being contacted by spokesmen from national organizations opposed to sex education, two could recall receiving written materials from them, and five could recall seeing materials produced by them.

The majority of the respondents (eight) did not think the local opposition organizations were inspired or sponsored by national organizations, whereas five said they were and two assumed they were. The only national organization identified by the two respondents was the John Birch Society.

The vast majority (eleven of fifteen) often spoke to other school administrators or school committee members about the resistance of the local opposition organization. The response of the other four to this question was "not often."

Three of the fifteen cited the Catholic Church as an opposition organization. It should be recalled that the

President of an organization called Catholics United for the Faith spoke at Hogan Center, College of the Holy Cross, at the behest of CURE, Worcester. His speech was a general attack against sex education in both private and public schools, after which he became involved in a debate with faculty and administrators from the Family Living Program.

Some Catholic pastors did reproduce a speech by the Pope, attacking sex education and other worldly trends, for their Sunday Bulletins. However, the official Church position in Worcester, both for its own schools and for the public schools, was in support of sex education; a stance which angered the officers of CURE.

Political Action at State Level

Opposition to sex education was usually initiated at the local level because most schools in the United States are locally or community controlled. Once these local organizations began to gain media attention and to make contact with opponents of sex education in other communities, they often took their fight to the State House and attempted to get legislation passed banning sex education throughout the state.

Through its support of state representative Thomas Farrell, the Good Government Committee found a friend at the State House in Boston. Farrell sponsored a bill that would "ban any sex education courses at all grade levels in the state's public schools." (Gazette, June 2, 1970, p. 5)

Farrell stated, in arguing for the bill, that "the move to initiate sex education courses in the schools is part of a Communist conspiracy." (Telegram, May 28, 1970, p. 3) One year later, he resubmitted the bill, now House No. 3771, and gave an interview to a reporter from a Marlborough, Massachusetts, newspaper in which he said that the people of his district "are a cross-section of conservative, God-fearing patriotic Americans." (Gazette, May 8, 1971, p. 10) Farrell's bill lost again, but he resubmitted it each year for the next five years. For his efforts, the Good Government Committee of Worcester held an awards dinner and presented Representative Farrell with their Good Citizens' Award in the early 1970s.

Shortly after, Representative Farrell became a member of the Advisory Board of Worcester CURE. and in 1976, when CURE was replaced by the Massachusetts Chapter of the National Congress for Educational Excellence, Farrell became its publicity director, a position he held until his death in October of 1981.

CURE was also politically active at the state level. It sought to have a law passed which would establish "local advisory committees on sex education to the school committees of the Commonwealth." (Catholic Free Press, June 27, 1975, p. 1) The bill, which was signed into law in mid June, 1975, was quoted on June 27, 1975, by the Catholic Free Press. It stated that:

every city, town or regional school district which accept, the school committee shall meet once every other month with an advisory board concerning reading materials pertaining to sex education. The local advisory committees would be appointed every June by the school committee. They would have 11 members, including at least one physician and at least seven parents of children in that school system, . . . Proponents of the bill, including the Worcester Chairman of the state-wide Citizens Upholding Responsible Education (CURE) . . . contended that it will put the sex education curriculum of the public schools 'into perspective' by taking direct input from the opinions of concerned parents (p. 6).

Less than a year after her success in helping to assure passage of the Advisory Committees on Sex Education law, the President of CURE, Worcester, joined the National Congress for Educational Excellence and became its Massachusetts Chapter President and, later, a member of its Executive Board. The goals of that organization are: 1) "to bring back basics;" 2) "to insure parental rights," and 3) "to make sure that sex education remains in the home and church." (Telegram, March 20, 1977).

CURE now ceased to exist at the state and local level; however, its President and two of its advisory board members were now Massachusetts President, Treasurer and Public Relations Officer of the new national organization, NCEE. NCEE is still in existence today, lobbying nationally in the congress, the state legislatures and in communities for the passage of laws that support the organization's goals. It holds national conferences, distributes a magazine called the "School Bell," and has a speaker service for parent or civic

organizations which would seek to know its stance on various educational issues.

C H A P T E R V

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The direction of this study was to determine whether the opposition to sex education in Worcester could be explained within the framework of analysis provided by social movement theory. The process of the research was to determine the degree of influence of a national fundamentalist movement on local organizations opposed to a proposed sex education program in the Worcester Public Schools. If national involvement was shown to exist, then the next step was to investigate and define the forms of their support, as well as the degree of contact and communication between the local and the national opposition organizations.

The study has filled a gap in the research in the relationship between national religious social movements and those local groups that support the ideologies and goals of such movements. It has also studied how a national organization's influence and power are brought to bear on a local school system when that system becomes involved in an issue labeled "controversial" by the national organization.

Because of the qualitative nature of the study and the methodology utilized, conclusions which may be drawn from the data gathered are necessarily suggestive rather than definitive. However, when compared with studies

discussed in the literature on the national anti-sex education movement, then the generalizations gain validity.

Structure of the Movement

An examination of the relationship between the local opposition organizations in Worcester, other local organizations, and national organizations revealed a reticulated structure in the national anti-sex education movement, thus explaining an apparent absence of national organizations in Worcester or in any other city (Gerlach, 1971, p. 139).

Widely publicized attempts in the early 1970s to block sex education--mainly sponsored by the ACCC and the Christian Crusade, were largely limited to newspaper, radio and television appeals to parents to form sex education opposition organizations. If there were concerted efforts, they were not the result of meetings or conferences where leaders of various national organizations met to plan united action against sex educators and sex education programs. Not one researcher in the field has been able to document such united or concerted action by the leaders of national anti-sex education organizations. The degree of influence that national fundamentalist organizations were able to bring to bear on any specific school district's sex education program was mitigated by a lack of state and local organizations directly under their control and in a position to carry out their directions on this issue. Therefore, they referred

parents to their own literature and to the literature of other national opposition organizations that might be used in organizing local opposition groups, and they suggested strategies and tactics which might be effective in their communities.

I found no evidence in Worcester of local or state chapters of either the Christian Crusade or the ACCC; nor were there active members of either of these organizations in the local Worcester opposition organizations or evidence of large-scale recruiting by these national organizations. It appears that neither of these national organizations had the organizational ability at the national level to develop state or local chapters or to recruit and mobilize local membership. Their major forte was in spreading their ideological message through their newspapers and their electronic media. They were the early voice of the movement, giving inspiration and instruction to those who would follow and who would create the local opposition organizations. They gave advice on strategy and tactics and allowed reproductions of their publications to be used freely.

Incidents which demonstrate a fundamentalist influence on the Worcester Public School sex education program are as follows: first, the initial protest against the introduction of a sex education program was by a Baptist minister who served at the same time as secretary to the GGC and on the advisory council of CURE. Secondly, the inordinate number of

fundamentalist ministers who were members of the GGC; third, the subscription by officers of the GGC to the Christian Crusade's newspapers and its general availability to the members of CURE, and fourth, the fact that the Director of Radio and Television ministries of the ACCC came to lend his voice to the local opposition, appearing on radio and television talk shows and at church assemblies.

The influence of the national fundamentalist organizations was thus felt in the early stages of development of the local opposition groups, giving encouragement and advice through their newspapers as to how to organize and gain membership and community support. Once in place, the local Worcester organizations sought aid and support from each other as well as from other local organizations throughout the state and nation, as would be expected given the reticulated nature of the early movement (Gerlach, 1971, p. 139).

Another example of the reticulated nature of the movement was that even though Reverends McIntire and Hargis were the spokesmen for the movement, they were not its leaders, nor is there evidence in the literature of any one leader of the movement. Leadership was largely dispersed, with many individuals at the state and local levels filling these roles. Opposition organizations at every level had leaders who traveled around the country lecturing to various groups and organizations which requested them. The president of

Catholics United for the Faith, for instance, gave a lecture at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester on behalf of CURE. This form of activity contributed to the rapid growth of the movement so often commented upon by various authors on the subject such as Haims, Minor and Fraser.

The development of the opposition movement to sex education in Worcester followed lines suggested by Mottl's "Stage II, Mobilization." Over a period of time it actively recruited membership, was capable of sustaining a large degree of public concern about the issue, and was able to spread its ideological message throughout the community--all signs of a highly viable organization--for a period of five years.

Assistance in spreading its message came from still another source. Social movements, when they appear successful, attract politicians because they quickly gain media attention and hold the potential to sway many voters. The Worcester case was no exception. Both the GGC and CURE had members who were local politicians, such as Rep. Farrell and Mayor George Wells, who supported them both politically and ideologically and were capable of controlling the outcomes of votes, if only temporarily, at both the state and Worcester level. This had an impact on all those school administrators throughout the state who sought to implement sex education programs, and in Worcester it delayed the implementation of the pilot program for a number of years. It also tagged the

program as politically controversial which, according to Chethik (1981), is and has been the death knell for many other educational programs.

When the National Congress of Educational Excellence was established in 1975, CURE Worcester quickly became a local chapter, changing its name but not its mission or objectives, as these were now carried out on behalf of NCEE. With the establishment of this organization, the movement began to lose its reticulated structure.

At this juncture, with the creation of the NCEE, it could be persuasively argued that the movement now had a hierarchial structure that was national in breadth and bureaucratic in organization, with an accepted leadership and political ties and connections at the federal, state and local levels.

Linkages

The strongest findings that came out of this study were the linkages between the GGC and CURE, Worcester. Not only did certain individuals serve as officers of both organizations, but they also shared materials and literature, and the President of CURE, Massachusetts, specifically singled out the GGC in his proposed by-laws as candidates qualified for offices in CURE. The GGC was influential, as noted previously, in getting CURE Massachusetts and CURE Worcester established; further proof of the reticulate structure of the movement.

This study was based on grounded theory, in which the major premise is that the facts, as they are uncovered and discovered, lead to new understandings and new hypotheses. Perhaps one of the most important of these facts was the manner in which the administration of the Worcester Public Schools reacted to the early opposition. Early harassment and verbal attacks by members of the GGC especially may have actually set the stage for the development of other opposition organizations. There is evidence that the administration was intimidated by the controversy that had developed and became uncooperative with the parents of students in the pilot program. According to the opponents, the administration delayed distribution of the program proposals, they refused to discuss the curriculum, and they withheld information on visual aids, materials and books which were to be used in the program. This led to a number of further confrontations between the school administration and certain parents of children in the pilot program, who later became officers of CURE Worcester. In fact, when asked why they organized CURE, Worcester, two of the officers gave as their reason the lack of responsiveness to their concerns as parents, as well as their inability to be involved in developing the program. They argued that they were not allowed to know what the program was about, as information concerning it was withheld by the superintendent and other administrators.

This is very instructive. Furthermore, as reported earlier, the administration was never aware that there was such an organization as the GGC in the city. No attempt was made to identify the source of the opposition or try to discover what was behind it. If they had, they would have learned that none of the GGC members had children in the public schools and, in fact, some did not even reside in the city.

It was also discovered that only half of the administrators were aware of CURE Worcester, mainly the top administrators and those in charge of implementing the program. Again, it would seem that there was little communication between these administrators and lower echelon administrators and the principals of the pilot program schools regarding the opposition of CURE, Worcester.

Perhaps because the administration had introduced over 400 programs over a period of two decades without opposition, according to the Superintendent (Interview with Superintendent), no opposition was anticipated for the sex education program. In any event, no policy was developed for responding to this opposition. A knowledge of social movement and countermovement theory would have alerted them to the significance of the opposition to this program. It is too easy for administrators or school committeemen to label a program controversial without understanding and identifying the level of organization and the degree of support for those

whose actions have created the controversy.

Lack of communication with the community and with parents whose children would be taking the program was also a problem. Another result of the harassment by GGC members was that the Coordinator of the Sex Education Committee refused to attend informational meetings for parents of pilot school students. This brought about a situation wherein parents learned of future plans for the program only through school notices or newspaper reports. Therefore, the parents were the recipients of one-way communications, were informed but not involved, and had little opportunity to participate in a program many supported.

This one-way communication is one aspect of a "public relations model" described by Hottois, and is one of the predominant in use by American public school administrators. Along with stress on one-way communication, the model also uses various techniques to gain support for school policies developed by administrators and views parents as consumers who support the "goals of education and the means to achieve them. Disagreement with the goals is seldom recognized as legitimate" (p. 224). This model can be problematic in a pluralistic society where many diverse values are held because it affords no mechanism for compromise or mediation of controversial issues.

Suggestions for Further Study

Every dissertation study is, by its nature, highly focused and specific. Yet, a number of interesting questions and corollaries of a tangential nature are posed by the data as it is uncovered, or by the backgrounds of the subjects as they are interviewed. This study, like others before it, raised more questions for the author than it answered, some of which will, hopefully, be addressed in the future.

For example, it would be of some interest to know the national distribution patterns of organizations similar to CURE and whether they were successful or unsuccessful in blocking the implementation of sex education programs. Given the reticulated nature of this movement, it is doubtful whether any one national organization would have such data on the state and local chapters of organizations involved in the movement and, thus, the study would have to focus on individual school districts with sex education programs and the resistance problems they encountered.

It would also be of some importance to attempt to determine the socio-economic status of the membership involved in the opposition movement. Additional questions concerning occupation and average educational attainment could also be added to the questionnaire. Questions of this nature were not a part of the interview format; however, some information of this nature was offered by the interviewees and there was some similarity of socio-economic status,

education and occupational background, at least among the officers of CURE. A more elaborate and detailed investigation of these organizations would more clearly identify the nature of the participants and thereby add to the understanding of the movement.

The religiosity of the members of the opposition organizations, as well as their affiliation with various denominations or churches would add to the understanding of the level of commitment to the issue demonstrated by members of the opposition organizations. For example, Frontline, a television news magazine, on April 23, 1985 ran a program entitled "Catholics in America; Is Nothing Sacred?" a segment of which concerned a trip to Rome by CUFF (Catholics United For the Faith), a highly conservative Roman Catholic organization which supports the Vatican rather than the more liberal bishops of America. The purpose of the delegation's trip was to discuss with the Church hierarchy subjects concerning American Catholics in general, but specifically to discuss a sex education program conducted by the Catholic diocese of Milwaukee to which they objected, showing that this issue is still very much alive.

Further, the degree of anomie felt by members of the opposition groups, especially in the early formative stages of the organizations, or for new members, would provide a variable to test for socio-psychological characteristics of individuals disposed to organize or join new organizations of

a protest nature. A sense of powerlessness can, obviously, be overcome by uniting with others to gain control of those aspects of one's life that are deemed important. Perhaps protest organizations serve as a vehicle for people in this situation.

This leads to the question of political affiliation and level of political activity of individuals involved in opposition movements. It is assumed that such individuals are not actively involved in the political process at levels of power where their influence could be felt. Thus, for some, the joining or the forming of an opposition organization may be a means of gaining power, but this assumption should be tested.

This study of the sex education program in the Worcester school system and its problems covered the period from 1964 to 1975. The Worcester chapter of CURE did not evolve into the NCEE until 1975, the period this study ended. Therefore, this research only touched upon NCEE, usually only where this group appeared in the material offered by an interviewee. Further study could be done to see what changes, if any, occurred in the decade after 1975 as a result of the existence of NCEE. Did they lobby for the Hatch Act of 1978, the federal law mandating that permission must be given by parents before a student takes a course and that parents have the right to examine course materials in certain controversial areas such as sex education? These and other

such questions which have come out of this research would, if studied, give an understanding of the problem--not only for the present but for the immediate future as well, because most of these problems, if not resolved, will come back to vex another generation of educators.

Implications for School Administrators

School administrators who propose curriculum changes which may be considered controversial should anticipate the possibility of the development of an opposition organization that would resist the proposed program. They must understand that these organizations need not be branches or chapters of national organizations but could very well be initiated by local citizens.

The appearance of pamphlets, brochures, broadsides and other written materials which attack the proposed program should alert administrators to the likely existence of organized opposition groups. The method of dealing with these groups which is most likely to bring about the successful implementation of the proposed program is to open up fully the lines of communication between the administration and all concerned parents after assurances have been made that only members of the community will be allowed to take part in the development of the new curriculum. Those who are not directly affected by the curriculum change should not in any way be allowed to influence its development.

In summary, the introduction of new courses or programs

that are considered to be relevant or timely may have been heavily influenced by the success of a social movement. If this is the case, then opposition to such courses by the members of a countermovement should be anticipated. School administrators should look to Dawson and Gettys or Mottl for the developmental stages of such movements as well as for the specifics and characteristics of their organizational formation.

When such a countermovement is identified, one of the more successful techniques for responding to its challenge is to democratize the program's planning and development by opening up these processes to the community. By doing so, the degree of community support could be fully gauged and the support of the parents fully appreciated.

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