

"TOXIC STRIP CLUBS":

THE INTERSECTION OF RELIGION, LAW, AND FANTASY

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines a segment of the politically active Christian Right (SPACR) that works toward controlling sexual expression in accord with their desire to live in a Scripture-based society. At the local and state levels, a focus is on adult entertainment exotic dance. Under the United States First Amendment to the Constitution and established law, exotic dance, a form of expression, cannot be banned solely on the grounds that some people deem it immoral. Recasting their religion-based objections within the Supreme Court "adverse secondary effects" doctrine (governments may regulate clubs if the aim is to prevent crime, property depreciation, and disease), SPACR pursues its opposition to exotic dance through laws and social actions that harm the business. The rationale for hostility is compared to facts. SPACR's secular reasoning gains support for regulations to marginalize and punish those who do not adhere to their moral values causing free speech advocates, consumers, and involved businesses to fight back. At issue are civil liberties under the U.S. Constitution, the separation of church and state, and harm to the economy.

Keywords: Christian Right, exotic dance adult entertainment (strip clubs), separation of church and state, civil liberties, theocracy, democracy

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Adult entertainment exotic dance, often referred to as strip clubs, is controversial in the United States. In 1995, a Christian clergyman organized adults and children to carry banners proclaiming "Washington Together Against Pornography!" and picket an exotic dance club in Seattle at night. In the more than 117 exotic dance controversies nationwide that I have examined since (see Addendum 1), and others that I have heard about, a clergyman was also involved in the effort to wipe out the alleged "moral cancer" of exotic dance, the "playground of the damned." During the past decade there have been more than 500 attacks on exotic dance through regulation at the city, county, and/or state levels (see Addendum 2). Spearheaded by a segment of politically active Christian Right (SPACR), these attacks illustrate *The God Strategy* that Domke and Coe (2008) describe at the national level. At the same time, exotic dance is a popular attraction for men, and recently women too--a multi-billion dollar business with about 4,000 clubs nationwide, the stocks of some traded on the NASDAQ NASDAQ(National Association of Securities Dealers Automated) and American Stock Exchanges.

Although exotic dance is opposed by various groups (as noted below), this paper examines the Christian Right position and *a politically powerful segment's* actions juxtaposed to the exotic dance industry facts. There is research on the Christian Right's growth and focal issues; the First Amendment; as well as on exotic dancer history, agency, stigma, and self-esteem. However, the interplay among contemporary exotic dance, religion, politics, and law that is symptomatic of a broad effort to diminish the separation of church and state has yet to be addressed. I present the Christian Right's moral-religious objections to exotic dance, the Constitutional constraints to eliminating it, the legally accepted justification for regulating it, the lack of proof for this rationale, the political-legal strategy and tactics of SPACR against it, and the implications of these actions for freedom of religion and democracy.

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS AND METHODS

Four theoretical frameworks undergird my discussion: (1) First Amendment doctrine: The U.S. Constitution's Amendment I: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech" and related jurisprudence. Integral to American culture, the Constitution provides the fundamental principles of law to which all other laws must conform and is designed to protect the rights of all individuals against restrictive actions of government. (2) In the interdisciplinary cognitive science of religion (Andresen 2001) and social constructionism, religion is considered as a crucible of meanings in discourse and action and directs attention to "code word" subterfuge (Beckford 2003). (3) In Turner's (1974:38) concept of social drama, first there is a breach of the norms of a social group, then a mounting crisis, followed by a legal redressive process, and ultimately public and symbolic expression of an irreparable schism or conciliation. (4) Foucault theorizes the body as a locus of power struggles, an object and a subject, and a discourse that has been socially, historically, and culturally constructed (1977, 1978; see also Giddens 1991:218). Postmodern theory explores various discourses about the body.

As an anthropologist/political scientist who explores dance and its interrelationship with society and religion, I began investigating exotic dance in 1995 by drawing upon the ethnographic methods I used to study dances in Africa and schools, playgrounds, and theaters in America (see author's references). This paper summarizes primary data: observations and analyses of no fewer than 1,500 dance performances and dancer-patron interactions in 140 adult entertainment clubs in 20 states and Washington, D.C., interviews with more than 600 people in the exotic dance business and members of the communities in which the clubs are located, and notes from public hearings and courtrooms. My informal "focus groups" in dancers' dressing rooms, discussions with lawyers,

interviews with plaintiffs and defendants in civil and criminal cases, and a systematic community survey yielded further data. I analyzed federal, state, and local laws, club rules and economic and performance space constraints on dancers and patrons, police records, court pleadings, numerous website reports, and newspaper archives. In addition, I explored the relationship of dance to religion, law, and politics through related literature, media, websites (e.g., Citizens for Community Values, Focus on the Family), list-servs (e.g., First Amendment Lawyers Association, Woodhull Foundation, Cultural Policy, and Association of Club Executives).

KEY PLAYERS IN A SOCIAL DRAMA

Exotic Dance

Exotic dance (also called erotic, striptease, stripper, topless, titty bar, barroom, nude, go-go (when performed to a particular Washington, D.C., African-American style of music), sports bar, table, lap, couch, and gentlemen's club dance) is a form of nonverbal communication (Hanna 2008b), dance, art, and adult entertainment performed in a cabaret. Dancing and patronage are voluntary and behind closed doors and windows. All about fantasy, exotic dance usually has two sequential parts. First, a dancer performs onstage for the audience as a whole to entertain and to showcase herself for the second part of the dance. Generally there is a three-song performance in which the dancer appears on stage clothed for the first song, partially removes her clothes during the second, and **as the** climax of the dance. strips to nudity at the end. In part two. for a fee a performer dances for individual patrons next to where they are seated (or in lap dancing a performer dances on, straddling, or between a patron's legs). The dancer acts out through body and facial movement, proximity, and touch, the fantasy of "I am interested in you; I understand you; you're special and important to me." Patrons are generally aware that their purchased "commodity" is a license to dream (Liepe-Levinson 2002, Frank 2002, Roach 2007, Hanna 1998, 2011 on dancer-patron motives and interactions; 2005b on the diversity of clubs and laws). Fantasy creates an illusionary world that might provide a blueprint for later activities or an end point to be achieved--escape from reality. Exotic dancers are primarily female, and the audience members are commonly male, though increasingly females come to the gentlemen's clubs.

The Christian Right

The Christian Right is composed of fundamentalists, Protestants who believe the Bible is literally true and who demand its strict interpretation. White Evangelical Christians, about 50,000,000, who outnumber mainline Protestants, comprise the Christian Right core. There are also Pentecostals and Catholics. But note that the Evangelical traditionalist, centrist, and modernist divisions contest theology and politics (Luo 2006), while they share disapproval of exotic dance.

The Rev. Gregory A. Boyd speaks for the apolitical: "The church should steer clear of politics, give up moralizing on sexual issues, stop claiming the U.S. as a 'Christian nation' and stop glorifying American military campaigns" (Goodstein 2006; see also Warren 2002). Pastor Joel C. Hunter stepped down as president-elect of the Christian Coalition because the group rejected an agenda to include reducing poverty and fighting global warming (Banerjee 2006c). Dick Arney, former Texan congressman and House majority leader, criticized the political evangelicals--such as Dr. James Dobson, founder of Focus on the Family, his "gang," and other "self-appointed Christian leaders" as "thugs and "bullies" who have split the conservative Christian movement into those who want to "practice their faith independent of heavy-handed government" and "big government sympathizers who want to impose their version of 'righteousness' on others" (Cooperman and Eilperin 2006; Kirpatrick 2006). This paper spotlights SPACR leaders and followers engaged in aggressive politics to promote their values of sexual expression--a vocal active minority in the U.S. with, however, a disproportionate impact on public policy and law (see Addendum 3).

Religious opposition to dance led by male clergy is integral to American history (Wagner 1997). However, many of the arguments advanced by adversaries of social dancing up to the mid 20th

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century that Wagner reports are not voiced by the 21st century Christian Right. The former generally did not target theater dance or dance of the “honky-tonks” because few of their parishioners engaged in it (p. 206). Contrary to Wagner’s conclusion that religious objections have largely receded, SPACR adversaries against dance are more widespread and assertive than were religious opponents in the past. Moreover, SPACR’s campaign against exotic dance is, according to some Christian Right leaders, part of Dominionism, a political religious movement that seeks to replace American democracy with Christian-governing theocratic elite (see Rushdoony 1973, Yurika 2004, Balmer 2006, Hedges 2006, Sandler 2006, Weinstein and Seay 2006). The Christian Reconstructionist and Joel’s Army factions are prominent in Dominionism.

The fundamentalist movement had retreated from the national public scene after the Scopes’ 1925 evolution “monkey trial” (Tennessee v. John Scopes) which received nationwide negative publicity. But in the 1970s, SPACR became “an association of conservative preachers and politicians, along with their grassroots followers” (Lienesch 1993:8) to “play a role in shaping public policy” (p. 3). Jerry Falwell “converted, or rather diverted, dispensational Bible prophecy from a rationale for separation from the world into a rhetoric of urgent engagement with the world,” Harding argues (2000:243). By 1976, Falwell was preaching, “This idea of ‘religion and politics don’t mix’ was invented by the devil to keep Christians from running their own country” (quoted in Harding 2000:22). Falwell founded the Moral Majority in 1979 to mobilize fundamentalists as voters and to reverse secularism. Medvetz (2006) describes the business elite and intellectuals in magazines, journals, and think tanks who have facilitated the success of SPACR.

Believing that modern culture is toxic, SPACR says at public hearings and in its media that it wants to return to “traditional values” (relying on the Bible as sole authority) by imposing sweeping “decency standards” and censoring and criminalizing discussion, artistic depictions, and any kind of non-marital non-heterosexual consensual sexual expression (Klein 2006, Ince 2005). SPACR believes that expanding state control over sex and sexuality is critical to creating a salutary environment for their children. Herzog (2008) argues that SPACR achieved its power primarily through its sex activism. Attacks on exotic dance are thus enmeshed in a desire to shape public policy by undermining what the Christian Right regard as the institutional secular and sinful strongholds of modern American liberalism.

Illustratively, Dr. D. James Kennedy of Coral Ridge Church with 10,000 congregants, and weekly sermons broadcast to over 40,000 cities and towns in the U.S. and over 200 nations, proclaimed, “As the vice regents of God we are to exercise godly dominion and influence over our neighborhoods, our schools, our government, our literature and arts, our sports arenas, our entertainment media, our news media, our scientific endeavors--in short, over every aspect and institution of human society” (quoted in Crier 2005:110-11, see Boston 2006). Roach (2007:145) views “Christianity as seeing itself in competition with sexuality for control over human desire.”

SPACR’s accomplishments, helping the Republicans gain control of Congress for the first time in 40 years and putting George W. Bush, an evangelical, into the White House, embolden SPACR action against exotic dance. Bush’s Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, continued by President Obama, further links church and state: government-funded religious social service providers can discriminate, proselytize, and play by different rules than other charities receiving taxpayer dollars (Religion News Service 2006, Kuo 2006). To further its agenda, SPACR occupies positions on school boards and in local, state, and federal legislatures as well as in judicial bodies and the military.¹

CHRISTIAN RIGHT RATIONALE FOR HOSTILITY TO EXOTIC DANCE

Exotic dance, part of what SPACR considers the sinful, sexualized, secular society it seeks to change, breaches Christian Right norms, the first stage of Turner’s social drama. Scripture does not prohibit dancing so adversaries rely on passages that stipulate proscribed behavior. Objections to

exotic dance are related to Christian interpretations of the body, dance, patriarchy, nudity, lust, and the nature of men.

The Body and Dance

Because the body is the instrument of both dance and sex, Christianity's love-hate relationship with the body has led to both positive and negative attitudes toward dance. Genesis 3:8 recognizes that God created Adam and Eve in his own image, naked: "And God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good." Acknowledging Christ as fleshly, Christianity views the human body as a temple housing the Holy Spirit and calls its church the "body of Christ." Apostle Paul proclaimed that humans should glorify Christ in their bodies as well as spirits (see 1 Corinthians 6:19-20, Adams and Apostolos-Cappadona 1990). "Why represent Jesus to others without looking confident, put together, and beautifully appealing--inside and out?" ask Allen and Winters (2003).

From the second century, Christians (for example, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Clement of Alexandria) described dance as an imitation of the perpetual dance of angels, the blessed and righteous expressing physically their desire to enter heaven. Christianity built upon the Hebrew tradition of demonstrating through pious dance that no part of the individual was unaffected by the love of God. The Talmud commands dancing at weddings, rejoicing with the whole being. A metaphor for the mysteries of faith, dance has been a part of Christian processions and Biblical dramas. Liturgical or congregational dance is a means to rejoice, to dedicate oneself to the Lord, to repent, and to promote community. The language of movement is God-given within a Protestant view that considers performing a choreographed dance to be analogous to the self-expression of God as creator (Adams 1980, Wolterstorff 1980:51).

Yet Christianity has also scorned flesh as a root of evil to be transcended, even mortified. Gnostic heretics deemed all flesh corrupt. Paul viewed "unrestrained" sex as immoral (I Corinthians 6:18). Early Christianity's textual and visual depictions of the naked female body reveal her as a symbol for sin, the material, and finite (Miles 1989:169-85). Dancing round the golden calf and the story of Salome and John the Baptist was "proof" that dancing is evil, an enticement to whoredom. Dance as theater--deceit and pretense that bears false witness-- links theater with sin and blasphemy in "mocking" nature and God. Popular perception holds it is a short step from selling one's body onstage to selling it offstage (Allen 1991:48, 50). Consequently, all dance has been banned or held in disfavor in some communities (e.g., Purdy, Missouri, and Baylor University until 1996). Compatible with such negativity about the body, SPACR guardians of "family values" target it as a surveillance zone central to the operation of power, and in Foucault's theory, a locus of struggles. The Christian Right's "prudential" rules interdict what they believe might lead a person to perdition (Rosin 2007, Oppenheimer 2007:35), and this includes exotic dance. Of course, the meaning of the body depends on the eye that reads it.

Patriarchy Challenged

As patriarchal males impose cultural control to perpetuate their lineage, the female body is especially contested terrain (Ellis et al. 1988) Any glorification of the body outside of marriage is an anathema; such attention to the body would undermine faith and unsettle the patriarchic status quo. The Platonic antagonistic dualism of soul and flesh and the Cartesian mind/body distinction, along with a masculine/feminine polarity of male-mental activities/female-bodily functions, appear in Christian Right belief (Cooley 1994:64). "Sexual roles are clear and distinct..." (Lienesch 1993:53). Men, the Christian Right claim, were made in God's image, and He commanded them to rule wife and family to preserve social cohesion. The Christian Right expects women to be submissive and responsive to the husband, according to the commonly cited St. Paul in Ephesians 5:22-23 (Lienesch 1993:73).

Women are promised security, dependability, and love for self-surrender (Mathews 1996). This may be acceptable to those who feel powerless (Brink and Mencher 1997). Coontz (1997) suggests The Intersection of Religion, Law, and Fantasy

that some women become "born again" after failing to achieve economic independence or make their marriages more egalitarian. Christian Right spokespersons say private sex in marriage has a pleasurable function in bringing husband and wife together in raising a family. In this union, the dominant, sexually assertive patriarch has the sole right to the sight and touch of his wife's nude body.

Consequently, exotic dance is perilous to the patriarchal social order: the "ungodly" exotic dance clubs destroy femininity and undermine men. "Passive," "modest" woman steps out of the domestic realm into the "demimonde" public arena where she shamelessly removes her clothing and moves her nude, or semi-nude, body for sexually enticing commercial purpose and economic independence. Moreover, single dancers compete in sexual appeal with married women and economically with men, in effect challenging their sense of masculinity (Lienesch 1993:70). Furthermore, SPACR men have said that exotic dancers created unrealistic expectations for what women should look like. Men become disappointed with the appearance of their wives who then see themselves as lacking and devalued.

The dancer reinforces the male/female polarity as well as the good woman/bad woman: dressed/undressed, culture/nature, activity/passivity, aggressive/receptive, spiritual/carnal, and rational/emotional opposites (Hanna 1988b, 2005b). The existence of exotic dancers signals males' insufficient surveillance and weakened masculinity.

Nudity, Lust, and the Nature of Men

The Christian Right believes that God commands women to "adorn themselves in modest apparel" (1 Timothy 2:9; see Pollard 2004). Certainly, what is considered modest varies. The Christian Right, implicitly recognizing that the key sexual organ is the individual's imaginative brain, believes that seeing a woman nude causes men to lust, to feel intense sexual excitement, and to relish a woman, which according to Matthew 5:28 is a sin.²

Not only does the Christian Right accept mainstream culture's view of men as often out of line, "boys will be boys" (Roffman 2006), but it believes that men lack self-mastery and are unable to act independently of their sexual and aggressive urges. Seeing the nude, semi-nude or "simulated" nude bodies of females, SPACR states at public hearings, in legislative predicates, and in exotic dance litigation, that men will assault women, inside or outside a club, or engage in prostitution and sexually transmit disease. Baptist pastor LaHaye, in *How to Be Happy Though Married* (1963), attributes men's nature to their "constant production of sperm and seminal fluid." The male sex drive is "almost volcanic in its latent ability to erupt at the slightest provocation." Therefore, he argues that patriarchal strictures are necessary to control this male anarchic, destructive, and predatory sexuality. Conservatives warn women to beware of "scanty dress" and other provocation. Men marry for sex, whereas women marry out of a desire for security and reproduction.³ Falwell observed that by women's "willing and joyous submission, a man may be domesticated" and his "naturally monstrous urges" tamed (quoted in Griffith 2004:186).

Concerned about the issue of male lack of self control, some members of SPACR want to extirpate adult entertainment to eliminate temptation with prudential rules enacted into law. They fear exposure and stigma of being in "sinful" clubs or embarrassment if their own members get caught. Performers have recognized Christian Right adversaries in clubs where they have danced. These patrons may hold their co-religionists' negative perspectives on exotic dance but yet enjoy themselves, with or without guilt. Phil Burress, Ohio's adamant crusader against exotic dance who turned out the Christian Right vote in a pivotal state to put George W. Bush in the White house and caused the State of Ohio to pass a draconian law against "pornographic" exotic dance, is a self-proclaimed 25-year pornography addict which he claims contributed to his two divorces.

Furthermore, according to Christa Brown (www.stopbaptistpredators.com), founder of Voice to Stop Baptist Predators, the Christian Right has been hypocritical about the "dangers" of exotic dance sexual fantasy. SPACR fails to root out sexual molesters among its own male clergy, hiding the abuse in one church as the abuser moves on to another church to protect the institution's finances and public

image. In the case of Robert Gray, the former long-time pastor of Trinity Baptist Church in Jacksonville, although 22 people accused him of sexually abusing them, the church continued to support him. And The Reverend Falwell said at a three-day meeting of the Southwide Baptist Fellowship held at the church:

When you hit a bump in the road. . .forget the bump in the road. That's all it is. You've got to move on...nothing nor anyone can hurt any of us as we keep our eyes on him. If I get disloyal to this Book, or to the Lord or to my wife and family, I can hurt myself. But as long as I stay focused on Him, there's no way anyone, anywhere, from the *Washington Post* to the *New York Times* to all the television networks, and etcetera, etcetera, who can hurt me or you, or any of us, because we are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.

Falwell said not a word about protecting the flock's innocent children (Allen 2006).

THE FIRST AMENDMENT UMBRELLA

Exotic dance breaches Christian Right norms of patriarchy and sexuality, triggering the first stage of a social drama. Consequently, SPACR would like to ban exotic dance outright. However, the U.S. Supreme Court has recognized exotic dance as expression, "speech," with First Amendment protection. A ban would breach norms set out in American jurisprudence. In *Barnes v. Glen Theatre* (1991), a fractured Supreme Court allowed exotic dance regulation on moral grounds. But an expression-restricting law based on public morality reflects a political consensus among a majority of elected representatives and violates two foundational principles embodied in the Constitution--limited government and residual individual sovereignty (Foley 2006). In the more recent *City of Erie v. Pap's A.M.* (2000), the Court held that government may regulate adult entertainment clubs if the aim is to prevent crime, property depreciation, and sexually transmitted disease--the legal doctrine of "adverse secondary effects." Time, place, and manner regulations of exotic dance were possible, the amount of regulatory control dependent upon whether or not alcohol was sold (Hudson 1997)..

Premises for First Amendment protection are to assure individual self-fulfillment, dignity, and autonomy; attain truth; secure participation in decision-making; and maintain a balance between stability and change (see Emerson 1963, Tiersma 1993, Hansen 2001, Robbins and Mason 2003, Zelezny 2007, Stone et al. 2008). A key assumption informing the underlying First Amendment jurisprudence is that expression as an abstract category is valued over its contents. Regulation of speech based on its communicative impact is forbidden by the First Amendment; the hearer/observer is responsible for his/her response except when it is likely to provoke violence (Heyman 2008:91, 142). In general, therefore, speech that aims to reconcile the individual's and society's interests must be justified by evidence that expression creates a clear and present danger, or that it is "obscene" under the difficult three-pronged "Miller test" (*Miller v. California*, 1973), or that the restrictions otherwise further a compelling government interest. Besides, regulation of speech must combat the danger by the least restrictive means.

Adler (2005) adds a unique perspective on the First Amendment and traditional views: when exotic dancers asked the Court to categorize their stripping as speech, the demand violated the convention of woman as an object for the projection of male fantasy rather than a subject who can imbue her body with meaning. In keeping with an old-fashioned view that female speech emanates from the body and not the mind, the woman's genitals are seen as like her mouth, so the imposition of the G-string on the nude dancing women in the U.S. Supreme Court *Barnes* and *Pap's* cases "becomes a gag, a way to silence the female dancers' disturbing, irrational, vaginal speech." (p. 1136).

Dating at least to 1972, the courts did not question legislatures' stated intentions for regulations to counter the alleged "negative" effects of exotic dance. However, *City of Los Angeles v. Alameda Books* (2002), and subsequent cases, now allow the merit of a government's evidence for the need to control exotic dance to be challenged in court. The court said "shoddy" evidence or reasoning does not suffice. *Alameda* even spelled out a procedure for testing enacted or sustained ordinances. First,

the government must prove it relied upon substantial data. Second, if the government satisfies stage one, the opposition must cast direct doubt on the government's data or reasoning; if it fails, the ordinance stays. Third, if the opposition satisfied stage two, the government can rebut; only successful rebuttal saves the ordinance. This procedure makes it harder for governments to overcome the many hurdles to withstand First Amendment challenges to their ordinances. Consequently, exotic dance clubs and associations have commissioned social scientists not only to critique "studies" that localities previously had been permitted to rely upon to justify their legislation but also to conduct new research. Police, too, have conducted studies disproving a negative impact of nudity and alcohol (Fuller and Miller 1997).

Government restrictions on nudity, "simulated" nudity, "simulated" sex (simulated is undefined), proximity between performer and audience member in exotic dance, expression that occurs in other forms of theater dance, performing arts, and social dance, may violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Requiring only exotic dancers to get licenses also violates the Amendment. A lack of procedure to appeal a license rejection may also violate "due process of the law," the Fifth Amendment.

THE SOCIAL DRAMA BATTLEFIELD

General Political Strategy

To deal with the crisis of the breach of Christian Right norms about the body, modesty, and patriarchy (stage two of Turner's social drama), in 1997, Pat Robertson told SPACR to follow the rough and tumble "Tammany Hall" and "Chicago political machine" models noted for bossism and corruption (Kirpatrick 2006). SPACR has been operating through a network of Christian Right organizations and highly organized cells in churches, manipulating emotions through a media empire, and harnessing TV, music, videos, radio, and electronic technology for its mobilization effort (Kintz 1997). An "electric church" network of TV preachers appears on some 1,300 radio and TV stations, claims audiences of up to 130 million, and profits of \$500 million to billions (Lienesch 1993:1; Apostolidis 2000). Political activism is a duty for the SPACR, so its members lobby government, run for political office, and transform prayer-action groups into political action committees. Stay-at-home women become available platoons to "put on the full armor of God" and "do battle" against evil to further the conservative agenda. Troops against the enemy come from local churches, regional associations, along with a segment of feminists and the uninformed.

A pervasive rhetoric of militarism (training warriors, an army, battle plan, and guerrilla warfare) motivates SPACR (Balmer 2006) in pursuing their agenda. Weinstein and Seay(2006:48) note,

The Bible...is rife with martial imagery, from the scorched-earth conquest of Canaan, to David's stalwart stand against Goliath, to Paul's familiar Ephesians metaphors for the well-equipped Christian: 'the breastplate of righteousness,' 'the shield of faith,' 'the helmet of salvation,' and 'the sword of the Spirit.' Together they comprised 'the whole armor of God,' in which believers would sally forth to do battle. . . against spiritual wickedness in high places.

Some political actors offer foot-soldier workshops and prepare model anti-exotic dance legislation (see Munsil 1988, 1994) and litigators to help local governments fight adult entertainment. The National Family Legal Foundation has been training 1,000 attorneys to develop "secure cities." The foundation's 1997 National Legal Conference brought in experts to equip prosecutors, law enforcement personnel, and activist attorneys who have a passion for "the quality of life" in their communities to do battle. Falwell founded Liberty University in 1971 to train more than 23,000 students to be public policy analysts and professionals dedicated to protecting traditional family life. Robertson founded Regent University in 1978 and its Law School in 1986 for the same purpose, placing 150 of its graduates in the Bush administration. Patrick Henry College, founded in 1998 for home-schooled students, prepares them to directly translate the tenets of evangelical faith into political

action "to take over" (Riley 2006). After graduating from Pensacola Christian College in 1994, Scott Bergthold received his law degree from Regent University Law School and became involved with the American Center for Law and Justice, also funded by Robertson. The ACLJ had a \$14.5 million budget and helped vet Bush's Supreme Court nominees. Bergthold ran the Community Defense Counsel (tied to the Alliance Defense Fund) that fights adult entertainment before setting up his legal practice that is "focused exclusively on the drafting and defense of municipal adult business regulation."⁴

"Adverse Secondary Effects" Campaign

When the Supreme Court cast away morality as justification for regulating exotic dance, SPACR continued its crusade against adult entertainment using the "adverse secondary effects" doctrine, a discourse code and emotionally charged mental representation of "toxic" sin and secularism (see Geertz 1973). Unstintingly publicizing allegations that exotic dance clubs cause crime, property depreciation, and disease, SPACR uses secular reasoning to gain public support for governmental regulation of exotic dance clubs for "the public good," driving them out of business or preventing them from opening. Yet nearly every local government already has laws on the books to address the alleged problems. Repeated charges acquire the cachet of truth as other factors commingle: the morality of the Christian Right and others (West and Orr 2007), the media search for the sensational, a purported history of gangster-run strip joints, generalizations about all exotic dance clubs without being familiar with any contemporary or representative club, and "not in my backyard" (NIMBY) attitudes. Beginning with a conclusion that exotic dance is toxic, SPACR turns to a plausible justification.

Some feminists in the Catherine MacKinnon/Andrea Dworkin mold aid SPACR's campaign against exotic dance. They view dancers as degraded objects of the male gaze, and they assert adult entertainment hurts all women, while overlooking male legislators' regulatory attacks on exotic dancers as attempts to dominate women. Inadvertently spreading disinformation, these feminists infantilize performers, claiming them to be hapless, exploited victims of patriarchy and unbridled male control, lust, and avarice. Yet in the 1900s some other early feminists sought emancipation of the body and its redefinition as a vehicle of expression through theatrical and social dance. Most exotic dancers (including about 500 nationwide with whom I have spoken and many more interviewed by others) say they are savvy entrepreneurs who are empowered, autonomous decisionmakers who control their bodies and perform with dignity; they want the freedom to manage their own exotic dance business without state interference, police harassment, or male dominance. Patrons, too, are subject of the gaze as dancers focus on their bodies for clues as to how they might seduce them in fantasy (Hanna 2008a).

Other female adversaries who may inadvertently support SPACR opposition to exotic dance include some mothers of school-age children who object to images of nude females on exotic dance club signage, because they recoil from educating their youngsters about sexuality when they ask about it. The American Planning Association also aides the SPACR by sending to local governments outdated "studies" alleging adverse secondary effects that are in reality inapplicable to their community's time, place, and circumstance. The APA also writes friend-of-the-court briefs against clubs, and it published a seriously flawed book about regulating adult entertainment (Hanna 2003a, b).

Judges unwilling (members of the Christian Right or elected by them) or unable to distinguish between allegation and evidence following professional standards of inquiry, or as prescribed in *Daubert V. Merrell Dow* (1993) and *City of Los Angeles v. Alameda Books* (2002), abet SPACR's fight against exotic dance. Although the Supreme Court said that for localities to justify a law (its legislative predicate, preamble or recital of finding), they must now have evidence related to their own communities and that the merit of that evidence can be challenged in court. In *Daytona Grand v. City of Daytona Beach, Florida*, (2007) and *"Tootsies" v. Hillsborough County, Florida*, (2008), the 11th Circuit Court ignored the decisions about evidence. In the Hillsborough case, Judge Richard A. Lazzara even went further than the *Daytona Grand* decision by suggesting that any adult business expert testimony is now irrelevant: "Given the existence of different conclusions based on studies, The Intersection of Religion, Law, and Fantasy

either empirical or anecdotal, the Court may not substitute its judgment for the Board (of county commissioners).” Apparently, government can impose any regulations that it wants short of "closing the businesses." In fact, it does close 21st century exotic dance business. First Amendment Attorney Luke Lirot notes,

Under this judicial standard, ...as long as they say 'magic words,' [like not intending to infringe upon the First Amendment] when enacting the law, we can't refute any accusation, regardless of how much of a lie it truly is, even with a mountain of evidence. .. I will ... try to get adult businesses on an equal playing field with pharmaceutical companies, tire manufacturers, bakeries, doctors, and every other litigant that can rely on the courts to listen to their experts and weigh the evidence.

What kind of data would the judges want as the basis for making decisions related to their financial well-being, family health, or national security?

(ACE National Newsletter 1(49), January 14, 2002)

Social scientists in the 21st century who have critiqued the "studies" that governments have relied on as evidence to justify regulations that harm exotic dance found these problems. Most "studies" do not follow professional standards of inquiry or basic requirements for scientific evidence. No control site is matched with an exotic dance cabaret site to ascertain if the latter is different regarding negative behavior, such as crime. No determination is made as to what exists before and what exists after a cabaret is opened in a particular location. No data is collected over several years to distinguish a relatively unstable or a one-time blip from what is usually the case. Studies conducted at one time and specific site do not apply to gentlemen's clubs located in the next century and other places. Findings concerning concentrations of a combination of different kinds of adult businesses, such as book stores, peep shows, and massage parlors, are not necessarily applicable to cabarets. Although adult entertainment cabarets in poor neighborhoods have more crime than businesses in other neighborhoods, this does not prove that the clubs cause crime (correlation is not causation). Change in police surveillance may also account for crime rates. Police calls by a cabaret may not indicate a troublesome business but rather its policy to maintain a safe and lawful establishment. Some police reports are proven false in court or do not reflect convictions. Charges for prostitution are at times merely based on the perception of "sexy" dancing or "come on" fantasy talk. Opinions of appraisers constitute speculation, not empirical evidence of a valid relationship between exotic dance cabarets and their actual impact on property values. A "potential" negative impact is not a real impact. People presume nightclubs in general also cause noise, drunkenness, and litter. And there have been no studies examining the impact of a particular type of dance or kind of expression (whether nudity, semi-nudity, simulated nudity, stage design, or dancer-patron interaction) taking place inside an adult business.

Despite the intuitive appeal of assumptions that exotic dance clubs cause adverse secondary effects, there is a surprising absence of proof according to recent valid and reliable research. Of course, clubs may have crime, though not disproportionate to other businesses that are public places of assembly, and clubs often have positive effects. Psychology, planning, criminology, police, real estate appraisal/ analysis, economics, biology, public health, and anthropology research using methods accepted in these disciplines and presented in court cases and peer-reviewed ("jurisprudence over the truth") journals is telling.⁵

Yet even after court rulings in which legislatures' shoddy data and reasoning were successfully challenged, the adverse secondary effects doctrine remains alive. Scientists have found that once an idea has been implanted in people's minds, it can be difficult to dislodge because the brain has a built-in mechanism for preserving falsehoods. Denials that repeat the bad information may paradoxically reinforce it (Schwarz et al. 2007, Vedantam 2007, Echterhoff, et al. 2008).

Government Regulation under the Assumption of Adverse Secondary Effects

In the social drama's crisis stage arising from a breach of Christian Right norms, SPACR

burrows into government in order to use the coercive power of local and state regulations to undermine what exotic dance clubs are licensed to do (Hedges 2007). The purpose is to promote "community standards" and eliminate the fictitious adverse secondary effects (Sharp 2005) even though the government regulations may violate the First Amendment tenants of free speech and separation of church and state. Licensing, which is often expensive, cumbersome to the licensee, and permitting administrative discretion, enables a locality to set standards for refusing, suspending, or revoking a license. Jackson, Mississippi, e.g., requires club licenses. But when Babe's applied, the city did not respond and without even holding a hearing, closed the club because it did not have a license! Babe's sought legal recourse, at some expense, and the judge ruled that the city violated Babe's due process. The club reopened.

Governments frequently draw upon for-profit and/or not-for profit SPACR representatives to draft and defend exotic dance regulations often borrowed verbatim from SPACR recommendations for what these ordinances should contain to constrain exotic dance. Concerning the omnipresent attorney Scott Bergthold, Knoxville City Council member Joe Bailey remarked, "To me, it seems like he's just a franchisee and goes around from city to city and sells these laws and municipalities pass them, and then we hire him to represent the city, at \$200 per hour" (quoted in *ACE National Newsletter* 2006). To counter the meta and empirical peer-reviewed studies that challenge the adverse secondary effects doctrine, Bergthold's expert witness is Richard McCleary. His offer to be a witness for the clubs, according to a First Amendment lawyer, may raise credibility issues. McCleary, with strong credentials in statistics but no peer-reviewed articles on exotic dance, puts forth an untested theory that predicts crime (illustrated with obtuse but impressive-looking charts): the average male customer carries much cash to avoid disclosure of his club attendance by using a credit card and therefore is a target for robbers; fear of disclosure makes it less likely for him to report such crime; and his cash and interest in sexual entertainment increase the likelihood of his using the services of a prostitute. However, most clubs have substantial credit card and in-house ATM business. Since 1993, Cabe & Cato alone has provided ATM machines and service in 200 adult nightclubs nationwide (Kay 2008). Furthermore, many patrons openly disclose their exotic dance visits. Some brings their wives or girlfriends. To show that they are doing something to merit being returned to office, and to distract people from serious issues requiring attention, government officials at election time often fan the flames of the exotic dance controversy and pass legislation regulating clubs, even if their jurisdictions have none, like the City of Litchfield. It expected that people would stay away from the as yet non-existent clubs because of the stigma if they knew a neighbor might be watching them. So Litchfield passed a zoning rule that required exotic dance clubs to operate downtown under the glare of street lights and patrons to use the front door entrance (*ACE National Newsletter* 1:49, January 14, 2002).

Zoning is the first line of government control of adult entertainment. Although there is no evidence of either the merit of the dispersal or concentration model, areas are often set aside for clubs with distances from school and churches specified. Typically exotic dance clubs are regulated the same regardless of their differences in operational character and economic contribution to the community. Legislation in one jurisdiction may influence another, and some governments even copy legislation against exotic dance clubs that courts have overturned (Hanna 2004).

Attorney Clyde DeWitt referred to the government tactic of "stealing in the name of the Lord." Casselberry City tried to eliminate Michael Pinter's Club Juana. Challenging a 1998 county anti-nudity referendum, the club (in existence since the 1930's without any problems) gained fame in 1999 with "Macbeth in the Buff," a nude production of Shakespeare's classic. Political satire with sexy repartee "in the best of American traditions" dating to King George's ouster from our shores, met the Judge's approval and the nude show went on. Pinter fought many legal battles throughout the years but ultimately lost through eminent domain. Florida's Department of Transportation purchased Club Juana for a road-widening plan. Why was his side of the street targeted for the right of way? In its unsuccessful efforts to eliminate an exotic dance club, Pasadena spent \$5.2 million to settle the

last of several lawsuits over nine years. Pasadena finally eliminated Taboo Gentlemen's Club and the two acres of land it sits on by buying it to use for other purposes.

Requiring clubs that never had problems to pay for two undercover inspections per year at a cost of \$3,058 per club, up from the \$490 clubs paid the year before, as in Sunnyvale, is questionable. New Jersey wants to require municipalities to station security personnel at clubs when children are somewhere near them--and to require clubs to pay the bill. "Our industry has *never* caused harmful effects on society; which we proved in *The Union, New Jersey Secondary Effects Study*. Now, the state is introducing a bill that has severe underlying connotations that WE, adult entertainment establishments, cause harm to children!" exclaimed Jeff Levy, head of the New Jersey Association of Club Executives.

Licensing exotic dancers (but not other kinds of dancers), imposes yet additional restraints and puts women at risk of being stalked when their license is public record. Criminal "obscenity," "public indecency," and "lewd conduct" laws tie the noose tighter. Restrictions on exotic dance include setting hours of operation, requiring specific lighting, and delineating the configuration of stage and seating. Some localities impede dancers' creativity by specifying costume and body parts that can show skin, as well as determining exotic dance styles and movements, the use of self-touch and dancer-patron touch, manner of tipping, and the distance between a performer and a patron. There may be special entertainment or "sin" taxes. The State of Texas imposed a \$5 fee for each customer entry. Adversaries attempt to ban "simulated" nudity and "simulated" sex and even require dancers in licensed sexually-oriented businesses to cover more of the body and move less than seen at the beach and in other public venues. In mainstream theaters, nude dance and mimed sexual intimacy are prevalent, and at social venues and school dances, adults and youngsters, respectively are "freaking": the female bends over and rubs her buttocks against the male's groin, similar to some lap dances in adult clubs.

Working through government, there are yet other SPACR tactics to harm clubs. Governments may change the rules as soon as exotic clubs comply with an ordinance and still thrive. When a government clearly sees it is going to lose a lawsuit, it often withdraws the contested ordinance leaving plaintiffs with legal costs. A government may go through lawsuits at three successive court levels and lose, and then draft new regulations that evoke yet another cycle of cases.⁶ Having lost exotic dance cases in court and paid the legal costs, the City of Grand Rapids, pressured by the Black Hills Neighborhood Citizens for a Better Community to pass an ordinance banning nudity and requiring a six-foot distance between dancers and patrons, first required the group to create a defense fund of \$100,000. It raised \$93,000, the government passed the ordinance (Harger 2006), and litigation ensued.

Other Government Actions

Working through governments, SPACR may root out, prosecute, and severely penalize violations of generally applicable laws at exotic dance clubs. Asking inspectors from fire, health, building, alcohol, and public works agencies to find any kind of code violation only at clubs is harassment. Club Exstasy in Prince George's County experienced four raids in thirty days, and customers received citations for jay-walking and not parking between a private parking lot's lines. Intimidating threats of undercover operations and vice-squad raids exert control. Prosecutors charge dancers and clubs with alleged legal violations. In some localities, law enforcement has prevented entry into a club and deterred patrons under the pretext of protecting demonstrators against the club while at the same time permitting the demonstrators to trespass. A Kansas law mandates a grand jury investigation if enough names (3,300 signatures) can be gathered on petition. Thus, SPACR forced grand jury investigations of adult cabarets.

Psychological and Physical Assault

Some SPACR members use psychological tactics against exotic dancers and patrons. Evangelists commonly bring born-again Christian former exotic dancers telling only negative stories to

public hearings and courtrooms. Their testimony (signed or anonymous) then appears on websites (e.g., www.ccv.org) and in publications. While some reported incidents may be true, they caricature the entire adult entertainment industry. Every business has disaffected participants. Moreover, the testimonies suggest that the rights women have gained through the feminist movement and 1960s sexual revolution are causing their lives to fall apart. New Friends New Life, a Dallas church group, tries to help dancers exit the industry in a city where some 35 clubs dot the landscape (Herskovitz 2002). The church group claims the typical "client" has spent several years stripping only to see her life overtaken by nasty boyfriends, mounting debts, and substance abuse--certainly problems not exclusive to exotic dancers.

SPACR pickets exotic dance clubs, notes patrons' license plate numbers, and phones their families and employers to shame them. In Sunny Valley, American Family Association picketers photograph patrons' faces and license plate numbers and then place them on a website called "seewhosthere." Going further, the Carolina Family Alliance in Wellford posts car tags on its website, tracks the vehicles' owners, and contacts them by phone or mail to encourage them to seek professional help, as well as notifies their family and friends of the potential "danger" they pose to loved ones. In Flagler, anti-Semitic comments about club owners appeared on a website. Letters making negative allegations against them and their wives were sent to their residential neighbors; this led to club owners' children being harassed in school.

Anti-club activists also engage in physical threats and assaults on property. Some slash tires in club parking lots. Others vandalized a building with sledgehammer-sized holes; smashed to slivers block-glass windows, mirrors, ceramic statues, and the stereo system; filled an inch of water in several hallways and rooms; and tore up the dance stage floor (AP 2001). Adult entertainment antagonists even send death threats to club owners about their kin.

DEFENSE OF EXOTIC DANCE

Industry Response to Attacks

From the exotic dance industry social drama perspective, SPACR has breached norms of governance and business. In Turner's legal and redressive stage, clubs take preemptive action explaining to legislative bodies their opposition to exotic dance restrictions before bills are passed. Failing this, they take legal action. The First Amendment Lawyers Association, the American Civil Liberties Union, Free Speech Coalition, National Coalition Against Censorship, Thomas Jefferson Center for the Protection of Free Expression, Woodhull Foundation, and other civil rights organizations, some feminists, exotic dance patrons, involved businesspeople, dancers, staff, goods and services suppliers, and civil libertarians fight back against antagonistic community residents, city, county, and state governments, and judges. The defense is armed with its lobbyists, lawyers, researchers/expert court witnesses, and publications. Clubs have formed national and state organizations to coordinate efforts.

Other Responses

Occasionally an elected official speaks out on behalf of the industry. In Nashville, Councilman Adam Dread filed a bill to repeal Metro's nuisance lap-dance law that required dancers to undergo a discriminatory background check, register with the city, and keep at least three feet from patrons. "Somebody has to stand up for them," he said. "I think a lot of people are politically terrified to go near this....It's a public safety thing for the girls (if registration is required personal information becomes public record], and it's an economic argument." Enforcing the letter of the law would mean "we are outlawing slow dancing and ballroom dancing" (*Tennessean.com*, November 13, 2005).

Many citizens object to exotic dance clubs regulations (Hanna 2004) because they infringe on civil liberties and cost taxpayer money to develop, enact, enforce, and defend. Moreover, there is opposition to government micromanaging businesses. Undercover Vice Squad, sometimes called The Intersection of Religion, Law, and Fantasy

"dance police," divert scarce resources from fighting crime that results in personal injury or death. Forcing clubs to comply with or to litigate regulations often decreases the clubs' contribution to the economy: paying taxes, employing people, supporting legitimate businesses through purchasing a range of goods and services, and attracting new businesses to their neighborhoods. If laws are successfully challenged, the government usually pays court costs, the challenger's attorney fees, and often damages to plaintiffs. A settlement for Anaheim's unconstitutional zoning ordinance cost the city \$2 million. A jury awarded a club owner \$1.4 million for profits lost because San Bernardino closed his club for four years, claiming the property was not located in an area zoned for adult cabarets. The city was liable under the Federal Civil Rights Act and had to pay attorney's fees as well.

Supporting friendly candidates is another defense tactic for exotic dance clubs. Although patrons do not rush the barricades to defend stigmatized and maligned exotic dance for fear of hurting their economic or social life, some patrons join citizens who parry against Dominionism. In 2003, 107,000 citizens petitioned for a referendum against Los Angeles restrictions on exotic dance causing the city to rescind them. In 2006, voters in Scottsdale and Seattle rejected anti-club government ordinances. Voters in Glendale defeated lawmakers who passed such regulations. A former exotic dancer became mayor in Georgetown. Newspaper readers go to websites that are virtual town squares and have their say (Hanna 2004).

Countering undeserving opprobrium of the exotic dance industry, benefits are publicized for business and patrons. Boris Buzak, manager of the downtown Pizza Parma, which sits across Ninth Street from the Blush nightclub, is quoted in "Neighbors: Strip Clubs Aren't Such Bad Bedfellows" (Amen 2007):

"If they [the Blush nightclub] closed down, it literally would hurt my business," says Buzak. It generates people coming down here... 'beggars and bums' around his pizza parlor cause more problems than the Blush patrons, whom he describes as mostly businessmen... The Pittsburgh High School for the Creative and Performing Arts is down the block from Blush, which, unlike most other Pittsburgh clubs, opens at noon. Yet Ebony Pugh, spokeswoman for the Pittsburgh Public Schools, says neither the club nor its clientele has bothered CAPA students or faculty in the five years since the school opened.

Besides finding fantasy and erotic pleasure, patrons often enjoy entertainment, companionship, acceptance, a pleasant environment in which to hang out or seal a business deal, male bonding through a shared experience, stress relief, and sympathetic, nonjudgmental listening from exotic dancers. Dancers gain the opportunity to express ideas and emotions about sexuality, pride, and health, and to have the income and flexible schedules that allow them to put themselves through school, to support their children, or to open their own business.

As do some Christians and other religious denominations, some exotic dance stakeholders view the body, clothed or nude, as divine manifestation, affirming life and sexuality intertwined with spirituality. (A compendium of such Christian thought appears in Cunningham 2006.) Many Christians consider the human body is God's greatest material creation and nudity is therefore worthy of the attentive gaze.

Inadvertently, overreaching SPACR fervor may boost toleration of exotic dance. Religious groups such as Americans United for the Separation of Church and State, Interfaith Alliance, and Freedom from Religion Foundation advocate pluralism and have publicly attacked the tactics of SPACR (Rudin 2006; Slevin 2006). The United Church of Christ sharply faulted the Institute for Religion and Democracy for supporting groups within mainline denominations that would further a conservative theological and political perspective (Banerjee 2006a). More than a thousand clergy from 39 states met "to wrest the mantle of moral authority from Conservative Christians" (Banerjee 2006b). The Campaign to Defend the Constitution placed a full page ad in the *New York Times* attacking SPACR leaders Robertson, Falwell, and Dobson.

CONCLUSION

This paper has examined the Christian Right's views of exotic dance and *actions against it by a segment of politically aggressive Christian Right leaders and their followers* who are pushing a Scripture-based agenda supportive of patriarchy and opposed to sexual expression outside the marital bedroom. SPACR's program is juxtaposed to the facts of the exotic dance industry, Constitution, related jurisprudence, and defense of adult entertainment.

Exotic dance, but one of many "liberal secular" targets in SPACR's fight for supremacy in America, is in the company of opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, *Roe v. Wade*, gay rights, sex education, discontinuing life support for the brain dead, pornography, and the Target chain store for not using the words "Merry Christmas" in its advertising (Cohen 2005). SPACR has also assailed mainstream arts, especially the National Endowment for the Arts, which instilled a chilling effect causing artists to self-censor and reducing public and private funding for controversial works (Atkins and Mintcheva 2006).⁷

Exotic dance is a lightning rod that encapsulates Turner's concept of a four-phase social drama: (1) Clubs *breach* Christian Right's scripture-based norms concerning the body, modesty, and patriarchy. In turn, the SPACR breaches constitutional and business norms. (2) In the *mounting crisis*, SPACR hews to myths that the clubs cause adverse secondary effects terms to justify restrictive laws in order to eliminate contemporary exotic dance. In Foucault's theory, such regulation is the attempted "discipline" that "produces subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile' bodies...it dissociates power from the body" (1977:182). Moreover, anti-club regulations and their enforcement impose censorship and hurt women's free artistic, moral, and economic choices, their opportunity to earn a livelihood with flexible hours, the performing arts more broadly, men's leisure (and often women's), the market economy, and civil liberties. SPACR discriminatory crusades against the exotic dance industry through government regulations increase what dancers say is their biggest problem--the stigma against them. Dancers' contributions for charities have even been rejected. Government efforts to "protect" exotic dancers through regulation actually endanger women who become branded as instigators of crime and therefore at risk of losing their children. Club closings push some women onto welfare and encourage underground performances. Females in general are harmed through the regulations of exotic dance that perpetuate entrenched patriarchal power.

(3) The legal *redressive process* of the social drama engages an active defense by exotic dance stakeholders, civil liberties activists, and people who do not want government micromanaging business. The defense offers scientific evidence that challenges the adverse secondary effects rationale for imposing regulations on exotic dance. Such laws may implode under the weight of inaccurate assumptions nurtured by SPACR, the media, and "common sense." Dancers expressively communicate fantasy with patrons in clubs licensed as sexually-oriented businesses that as an industry have not been shown to create a clear and present danger warranting legislation to further a substantial government interest and curtail civil liberties. Settlements, compromises, and wins and losses occur on both sides of the conflict. However, compared to their SPACR adversaries, exotic dance supporters are a mute group, diminishing the democratic process. (4) There is often public and symbolic *expression of an irreparable schism*. When clubs win, adversaries commonly enact new regulations. Clubs unable to mount a court challenge close. When SPACR wins in a particular jurisdiction, it moves on to enact the laws elsewhere.

SPACR leaders' statements and actions are intolerant of pluralistic views not merely to promote "family values," but to move toward a religiously-based patriarchal government that menaces our constitutional democracy. The opposition to exotic dance is a front in the dominion strategy. Among other tactics, SPACR elects its members to legislatures and judiciaries to try to impose the morals of its specific faith and eliminate the artistic expression of exotic dance--and frequently other art. By persistently publicizing the conceit that the clubs cause adverse secondary effects, SPACR gains some public support against exotic dance that inadvertently aids Dominionism.

In a country that includes people of many Christian denominations, other faiths, and none, to base public policy on narrow theological dictates championed by SPACR appears to undermine the

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Constitutional mandate for separation of church and state. SPACR fights against the subversion of the biblically-ordained institution of patriarchy and morality of modesty denies Christian naturists (some Protestants, Catholics, Mormons, and Quakers) and other denominations the practice of their religious views of the equality of men and women and nudity as divine manifestation, affirmation of life, and sexuality intertwined with spirituality. The suppression of legal, artistic, recreational, and economic choices through questionable scripture-based goals may foretell further erosion of American values. A minority of America's 300,000,000 create obstacles to individuals' realization of First, Fourteenth, and Fifth Amendment rights.

Hedges (2007) argues that SPACR is a mass movement fueled by unbridled nationalism and a hatred for an open society, much like the young fascist movements in Italy and Germany in the 1920's and early 1930's. Fritz Stern, a leading scholar of German history, said that Adolf Hitler saw himself as "the instrument of providence" and fused his "racial dogma with a Germanic Christianity." "Some people recognized the moral perils of mixing religion and politics, but many more were seduced by it. It was the pseudo-religious transfiguration of politics that largely ensured his success, notably in Protestant areas" (quoted in Hedges 2005). Government battles against sexuality eerily recall totalitarian countries' sequential acts that have eaten away at human rights. The Taliban are a contemporary example. So how will SPACR's efforts to conform American law to religious doctrine and impose its own Scripture-based morality, as exemplified in their battle against adult entertainment exotic dance, be halted?

Addendum 1: Judith Lynne Hanna's Expert Witness Testimony in Court
(Hanna also gave presentations at public hearings and regulatory boards and wrote reports for cases that precluded a lawsuit or were settled.)

1. State of Washington Superior Court, King County.
Ino Ino, Inc. v. City of Bellevue, 95-2-02025-9, 1995.
Ronda Remus v. City of Bellevue, 94-2-27797-9, 1995.
2. Municipal Court of Seattle, Washington.
City of Seattle v. Darcy Poole, 260398, 1996.
3. State of Washington Superior Court, King County.
Furfaro v. City of Seattle, 96-2-02226-8, 1997.
4. U.S. District Court, Clark County, Nevada.
Rojac Corporation v. Clark County, A341884, Dept. xii, 1996.
5. U.S. District Court, Southern District of Florida.
International Food and Beverage, Inc. v. City of Ft. Lauderdale, 96-6577-Civ-Hurley, 1996.
6. Commonwealth of Virginia Circuit Court, City of Roanoke.
Commonwealth of Virginia v. Girls, Girls, Girls, criminal action 97-957 & 971, 1997.
7. U.S. District Court, Northern District of Ohio.
J.L. Spoons, Inc. v. City of Brunswick, 1:97CV3269, 1998.
8. U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas, Dallas.
Baby Dolls Topless Saloons, Inc. v. City of Dallas, 3-97-Cv-1331-r, 1998.
9. State of California Superior Court, San Bernardino County.
Pritchett v. Tom L. Theatres, Inc. SCV23015, 1998.
10. State of New York County Court, Tompkins.
New York State v. Langer, 98-078A, 98-078B, 98-978C and 98-079, 1998.
11. District of Columbia Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs Alcoholic Beverage Control Board. *Protest Hearing v. 1720 H Street Corp.*, 35901-98062P, 1999.
12. U.S. District Court, Middle District of Tennessee.
Deja Vu of Nashville, Inc. v. Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County (Nashville 1997 Adult Ordinance Challenge), 3-97-1066, 1999.
13. State of Illinois Cook County Liquor Commission.
Cook County v. Licensee Loumar Corporation, 1999.
14. State of Wisconsin Circuit Court, St. Croix.
East of the River Enterprises II, L.L.C. v. City of Hudson (1999 Adult Ordinance Complaint), 99CV211, 1999.
15. State of Florida 18th Circuit Court, Seminole County.
McKee v. City of Casselberry, 99-CA1430-16E, 1999; *Koziara v. Seminole County*, 99-CA511-16P, 1999.
16. U.S. District Court, District of Arizona.
Sunset Entertainment, Inc. v. Joe Albo, 98-2099 PHY RGS, 1999.
17. U.S. District Court, Northern District of Ohio.
J.L. Spoons, Inc. v. O'Connor, 1:98CV2857, 1999.
18. State of Minnesota 1st Judicial District Court, Criminal Division, Goodhue County.
State of Minnesota, County of Goodhue, City of Cannon Falls v. Jessica Nicole Ann, T6-00-5844, 2000.
19. State of Minnesota 1st Judicial District, Court Criminal Division, Goodhue County.
State of Minnesota, County of Goodhue, City of Cannon Falls v. Carla Shalon Lyons, T6- 00-0004631, 2000.
20. U.S. District Court, Middle District of North Carolina.

- Giovani Carandola, Ltd. v. George Bason*, 147 Supp.2d (M.D.N.C.) 2001.
21. U.S. District Court, Eastern District, Pennsylvania.
Conchatta, Inc. t/d/b/a/ Club Risqué on the Delaware v. Col. Paul J. Evanko, 01-1207, 2001.
 22. State of Florida 13th Judicial Circuit, Hillsborough County.
State of Florida v. Shawna Bohne, 00-CM-024008, 2001.
 23. State of Florida 6th Judicial Circuit, Pinellas County.
State of Florida v. Laurie A. Anstine, 00-20520MOANO, 2001.
 24. State of Minnesota 7th Judicial District Court, Criminal Division, Benton County.
State of Minnesota v. Amy Jo Draeger, T2-01-2143, 2002.
 25. U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas, Dallas.
Millennium Restaurants Group v. City of Dallas, 3-01CV-0857-G, 2001.
 26. State of Florida 18th Judicial Circuit Court, Seminole County.
McKee v. City of Casselberry, No. 99-ca1430-16e; *Koziara and Derienzo v. County of Seminole*, 99-ca511-16p, 2002.
 27. State of Minnesota 7th Judicial District Court, Criminal Division, Benton County.
State of Minnesota v. Brandy Lee Morcomb, TX-01-2147, 2002.
 28. U.S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois, Western Division.
R.V.S., LLC. v. City of Rockford, 03-C-50048, 2003.
 29. U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas, Dallas.
Fantasy Ranch, Inc. v. City of Arlington, 3:03-CV-0089-R, 2003.
 30. U.S. District Court, Southern District of Mississippi, Jackson.
A & C Entertainment et al. v. City of Jackson, 3:01CV88WS, 2003.
 31. State of Florida 6th Judicial Circuit, Pinellas County.
State of Florida v. Shannon Malnick, 03-12309MOANO, 2003.
 32. State of Illinois, Civil Trial Division, Lake County.
XLP Corp. d/b/a/Dancers, Baby Dolls, 41 News and Video Magic v. County of Lake, No. 99-0788, 2003.
 33. U.S. District Court, Northern District of Ohio.
J.L. Spoons et al. v. Kenneth Morckel, et al., No. 1:04CV0314, 2004.
 34. U.S. District Court, Middle District of North Carolina.
Giovani Carandola, Ltd. v. Ann Scott Fulton, No. 1:01CV115, 2001, 2004.
 35. Superior Court of New Jersey, Bergen County.
Lighthouse Restaurant Services, Inc. v. Township of South Hackensack, No. BER-L-5025-3, 2004.
 36. State of Florida 6th Judicial Circuit Pasco/Pinellas County
State of Florida v. Porcha Annie Hope, 06-01316MMAWS-16, 2006.
 37. State of Florida 6th Judicial Circuit Pasco/Pinellas County
State of Florida v. Liberty Hacket, 06-00857-MMAWS, 2006.
 38. U.S. District Court, Baltimore.
Wet Sands, Inc. et al. v. Prince George's County, 8:06-cv-02243-DKC, 2006.
 39. State of Florida 6th Judicial Circuit Pasco County.
State of Florida v. Dawn Barr, CTC03-00798MMAWS-17, 2007.
 40. State of Florida 6th Judicial Circuit Pasco County.
State of Florida v. Alicia Julie Henry, CTC00600852MMAWS, 2007.
 41. State of Florida 6th Judicial Circuit, Pasco/Pinellas County
State of Florida v. Amy Melissa Gilbertson, 06-6977-17, 2007.
 42. U.S. District Court, Western District of Pennsylvania
Bottoms Up Enterprises, Inc. and Island International Ventures, LLC v. The Borough of Homestead, 2:07-CV-00344-TFM, 2007.

43. U.S. District Court, Northern District of Ohio
84 Video/Newsstand et al. (12 plaintiffs) v. Sartini et al. (66 prosecutors and law directions, defendants), 1:07-CV-03190-SO, 2007.
44. State of New York Division of Tax Appeals
Nite Moves v. NY State Department of Taxation and Finance, X55076770202, 2008.
45. U.S. District Court, Western District of Tennessee
Entertainment Productions, Inc., d/b/a Christie's Cabaret, et al. v. Shelby County, et al., 2:08-CV-2047, 2008.

Addendum 2: Jurisdictions that Attack Exotic Dance: Legislation and Litigation

(434 noted in the press, newsletters or observed by Judith Lynne Hanna, 1995 to 6-18-09)

Adams City, MS, Adams Township Butler County, PA, Aiken, AL, Alabaster, AL, Alamance County, NC, Albany, NY, Alexandria, LA, Allegheny County, PA, Amesbury, MA, Amarillo, TX, Ann Arundel, MD, Anaheim, CA, ARIZONA, Ascension, Parish County Donaldson, LA, Unalaska, AK, Atlanta, GA, , Arlington, TX, Augusta, GA, Austin, TX, Autauga County, AL, Baltimore, MD, Bangor, ME, Bates City, MO, Batvia, TX, Beaumont, FL, Beacon Wood, FL, Bedford Park, IL, Bellevue, WA, Beltsville, MD, Benton County, MN, Bettendors, TN, Billings, MT, Blountsville, TN, Bibb County, GA, Bluff City, IO, Boise, ID, Boone County, TN, Bosque Farms, NM, Boston, MA, Bothel, WA, Broadview, IL, Bridgeport, CN, Bridgeview, PA, Bristol, PA, Brook Park, IL, Brooklyn, NY, Brooksville, FL, Broward County, FL, Brunswick, CA, Burlington, NJ, Butler County, OH, Cajon, CA, California, Calumet City, IL, Campbell, CA, Campbell County, KY, Cambridge City, IO, Cannon Falls, MN, Canton, OH, Carlisle, IO, Carlstadt, NJ, Carmel, IN, Cass County, MO, Casselberry, FL, Center City, PA, Central City, KY, Charleston, WV, Chattanooga, TN, Chesterton, IN, Cicero, IL, Cincinnati, OH, City of North Charleston, SC, Chicago, IL, Clark County, NV, Clarke County, GA, Clay County, MO, Chicago, IL, Claremont, CA, Clayton County, GA, Clermont County, MI (also Ohio?), Cleveland, OH, Clemmons, NC, Cobb County, GA, Collierville, TN, Colquitt County, GA, Columbus, OH, Cook County, IL, Corpus Christi, TX, Council Bluffs, IO, Covington, KY, Cross Plains, WI, Cumberland, TN, Dallas, TX, Dade County, FL, Dalworthington Gardens, TX, Dayton, OH, Daytona Beach, FL, Davenport, IO, Denver, CO, Detroit, MI, Dickerson, TX, Dickenson County, KS, Dubuque, IO, [100] Duluth, MN, Eatonville, Easton, PA, Edwardsville, KS, Elkton, WI, Elkton, TN, Erie, PA, Everett, WA, Fall River, MA, Federal Way, WA, Ferndale, MI, Flagler, FL, Florence, TN, Fond du Lac, NY, Fort Erie, NY, Fort Lauderdale, FL, Fort Pierce, FL, Ft. Smith, AK, Fort Wayne, IN, Frisco, CO, Ft. Wayne, IN, Fulton, WI, Garland, TX, Gary, IN, GA, Grants Pass, OR, Gren Township, OH, Runkley (Beltrami County), MN, Glendale, CO, Grafton, WI, Grants Pass, OR, Greenville County, SC, Guadalupe, AZ, Hagar City, NJ, Hackensack, NJ, Halfmoon, NY, Hallandale Beach, FL, Hammond, IN, Hampton, VA, Hannibal, MO, Hartford, CT, Hartford, VT, Harvard, IL, Hattiesburg, MS, Henrietta, VA, Henrico, VA, Hickman County, TN, Hilliard, OH, Honolulu, HI, Hope, VA, Hopkins County, OH, Horry, AK, Hot Springs, AK, Houston, TX, Howell, MI, Hudson, WI, Huntsville, AL, Humphries County, TN, Indianapolis, ID, Indio City, CA, Islamorada, FL, Jackson, MI, Jackson, FL, Jackson County, MO, Jacksonville, FL, Janesville, WI, Jefferson, WV, Johnson County, KS, Johnston, RI, Juneau, WI, Kanawha County, WVA, Kansas, Kappa, IL, Kennedale, TX, Kennewick, WA, Kent, WA, Kenton County, KY, Kitsap County, WA, Knox, IN (no club), Knox County, TN, La Habra, CA, Lake County, FL, Lake County, IL, Lansing, IL, Lake Crystal, MN, Lakewood, WA, Las Vegas, NV, Latham, FL, Lavonia, FL, Lavonia, GA, Lawrenceville, LA, Layton, UT, Leon Valley, TX, Lexington, NE, Lincoln, NE, Lincoln City, OR, Leavenworth, KS, Lickdale, PA, Litchfield, MN, Littleville, AL, Lodi, CA, Lodi, NJ, Los Angeles, CA, Louisville, KY, [100] McHenry County (Chicago), IL, McCook County, SD, McHenry County, IL, Macon, GA, Madison Lake, WI, Manatee County, FL, Mappleton, IL, Mankato, MN, Marenisco Township, MI, Martinez, CA, Marysville, OH, Maumee, OH, Meadville, PA, Memphis, TN, Menasha, WI, Metro Lake, IL, Miami, FL, Miami Beach, FL, MI, Midvale, UT, Milford Township, PA, Mifflin, OH, Mills County, IO, Milford, PA, Milwaukee, WI, Mishawaka, IN, Missouri, Mobile, AL, Moline, MI, Monroe, MI, Monroe, OH, Monroe, WA, Montebello, CA, Morrisville, PA, Mt. Carmel, WI, Mt. Carmel, OH, Mt. Joy, NY, MT, Moreau, NY, Mt. Vernon, NY, Muldraugh, KY, Mundelein, IL, Nashville, TN, New Buffalo, MI, New Castle, NJ, New Harmony, IN, Newport, OH, Newark, NJ, Newport, KY, New Port News, VA, New Port Richey, FL, New York City, NY, New York, Nicollet, MN, North Bay Village, FL, North Brunswick NJ, North Webster, IN, Norwell, MA, Nye County, NV, Nyssa, OR, Oak Grove, KY, Oconee County, GA, Ogden, UT, Ohio, Oldham County, KY, Olympia, WA, Orion Township, MI, Oroville, CA, OHIO, OKLAHOMA, Oswego NY, PA, Paducah, KY, Palm Beach, FL, OHIO, Palm Shores, FL, Parker, CO, Pasadena, CA, Pasco County, FL, Pasquotank County, VA, Petoskey, MI, Phoenix, AZ, Pico Rivera, CA, Pierce County, WA, Pierce County, WI, Pine Grove, LA, Pittsburg, PA, Peru, IN, Pills, PA, Pittsburg, PA, Pitt County, NC, Platte County, MO,

Plymouth County, MI, Pomona, CA, Port Angeles, WA, Port Canaveral, FL, Port Chester, NY, Port Treverton, PA, Poseyville, IN, Post Falls, ID, Prince Georges County, MD, Princess Anne, MD, Providence, RI, Quakertown, PA, Rabun County, GA, Rack, NC, Raleigh, NC, Ramapo, NJ, RI, Richmond, IN, Richmond, VA, Ridgeley, W VA, Roanoke, VA, Rockford, IL, Rochester, NY, Romulus, MI, Rostraver, IL, Roy, UT, St. Augustine, FL, St. Charles, IL, St. Johns County, FL, St. Paul, MN, Salem, OR, Salem, SD, Salem Township, PA, Salem, WI, Saline County, KS, San Antonio, TX, San Bernardino, CA, San Diego, CA, Salpan, CA, Sandy Springs, GA, San Joaquin County, CA, Santa Fe, NM, Santa Fe Springs, CA, San Francisco, CA, Sandy Springs, GA, Santa Rosa, CA, Sarasota, FL, Schenectady, NY, Schodack, NY, Seattle, WA, Scottsdale, AZ, Sedwick, KS, Seminole County, FL, Shady Springs, GA, Shawnee County, KS, Shelby County, TN, Shoreline, WA, Simi Valley, CA, Sioux City, IO, Singer Island, FL, Snohomish County, WA, Snow Hill, MD, South Bend, IN, South Burlington, VT, South Hackensack, NJ, South Salt Lake, UT, Southgate, MI, Sparks, NV, Sparta, KY, Spencer, IN, Spotsylvania County, VA, Stark County, OH, State Line, ID, Stratford, WI, South Salt Lake, UT, Stephens County, SC (no club), Strongville, OH (no club), Sugar City, IO, Sullivan County, TN, Sunny Valley, OR, Sunny Isles Beach, FL, Sunnyvale, CA, Superior, WI, Suyrna, TN, Swansea, IL, Syracuse, NY, Tacoma, WA, Tampa, FL, Tarant County, TX, Tarzana, CA, Taylorsville, UT (no club), Tempe, AZ, Tennessee, Texas, Texarkana, AK, Tinley Park (Chicago), IL, TN, Toledo, OH, Tompkins, NY, Torrance County, NM, Troy, MI, Troy, OH, Tucson, AZ, Tukwila, WA, Tullytown, TN, Union Township, PA, Union Township, OH, Union, NJ, Utah, Virginia Beach, VA, Waldo, FL, Warnernobbing, GA, Warren, GA, Washington, DC., Washington, Wasella, AK, Waterbury, CT, Wayne County, MI, Wellford, N/SC, West Alles, WI, West Jordan, UT, West Virginia, Westminster, CA, Weymouth, MA, White River, VT, Mineral County, WV, Winslow NE, Winston-Salem, NC, Wichita, KS, Wyandotte, MO, Yucaipa, MT, Yellowstone City, MT, Zumbro Falls, MN

More than one contest may appear in a jurisdiction.

Addendum 3: Key Activists in the Christian Right Who Support the Fight Against Exotic Dance

PEOPLE: (* are listed in Church & State, October 2008, pp. 12-13 as the top ten)

David Barton (Wall Builders, Vice-chairman of the Texas Republican Party)

Gary Bauer (Americans United to Preserve Marriage & American Values, formerly Family Research Council, Arlington Group coalition)

Scott D. Bergthold (Law Office devoted to adult entertainment)

Phil Burress (Citizens for Community Values)

Ken Connor (Family Research Council)

David Caton (Florida Family Association)

Phil Cosby (Kansas City chapter, National Coalition for the Protection of Children and Families)

*James Dobson, Tom Minnery (Focus on the Family)

*Jerry Falwell (deceased, Jonathan Falwell replaced him, Christian Coalition)

Thomas Fitton (Judicial Watch)

Ted Haggard, Richard Dizik (National Association of Evangelicals)

Deal Hudson (conservative Catholic, publisher of *Crisis*)

Bill Johnson (American Decency Association)

Charles Keating (Child Welfare Foundation)

D. James Kennedy, deceased (Coral Ridge Ministries)

Peter La Barbera (Concerned Women for America's Culture and Family Institute)

*Tim and Beverly LaHaye (Concerned Women for America)

*Richard Land (Southern Baptist Convention; Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission)

Marvin Olasky (WORD)

*Tony Perkins, Jan La Rue (Family Research Council)

Ralph Reed (former Christian Coalition head)

*Pat Robertson (founder, Christian Coalition; Christian Broadcasting Network, his "electric church" beamed to a daily audience of 1 million)

Phyllis Schlafly (Eagle Forum)

*Alan Sears (Alliance Defense Fund)

*Jay Sekulow (American Center for Law & Justice)

Louis Sheldon, Andrea Lafferty, Phil Cosby (Traditional Values Coalition)

Bruce Taylor (National Law Center for Children and Families)

Paul Weyrich (Free Congress Foundation, National Empowerment Television)

*Donald E. Wildmon (American Family Association)

Wendy Wright (Concerned Women for America, CWfA)

ORGANIZATIONS:

Agape Press (American Family Association)

Alliance Defense Fund (Alan Sears)

American Center for Law & Justice (founded by Pat Robertson, Chief Counsel Jay Sekulow)

American Decency Association

American Family Association Center for Law and Policy

American Vision

Americans United

Arlington Group (collection of CR organizations)

Black Hills Neighborhood Citizens for a Better Community

Carolina Family Alliance

Center for Decency through Law

Center for Law & Justice
Child Welfare Foundation
CitizenLink (from Focus on the Family)
Citizens for Community Values
Citizens for Community Virtue
Citizens for Strengthening Community Values
Chalcedon Foundation
Christian Coalition
Coalition on Revival
Concerned Women for America
Council for National Policy
Empower America
Family Research Council
Florida Family Association
Focus on the Family
Family Foundation/Pastors for Family Values, Virginia
Free Congress Foundation
Independence Law Center
Institute for Religion and Democracy
Joel's Army
Judicial Watch
Operation Rescue
Landmark Legal Foundation
Leadership Institute
Liberty Legal Institute
Liberty University
Morality in Media
National Association of Evangelicals
National Family Legal Foundation
Simon Greenleaf School of Law in Orange County, now Trinity International University School of Law
Southern Baptist Convention
Traditional Values Coalition
Washington Together Against Pornography

CHRISTIAN NETWORKS:

Christian Broadcasting Network
Trinity Broadcasting
Inspiration Network
Daystar
Three Angles Broadcasting
World Harvest Television
Praise TV
Worship Channel
Gospel Music Television
The Word Network
Family Net

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2. Weinstein (2006:173) says evangelicals have used the Air Force Academy as "a wedge to insert their people in place within the entire command structure of the armed forces. Members of the army and navy, including officers, are also proselytizing (Banerjee 2008a, b).

3. After providing live coverage of the Shenandoah County Fair in Woodstock, Virginia, for 10 years, the Woodstock TV station refused to air a single minute when the fair had a "striptease-to-the-buff" tent show dance. The station owner said: "'We felt that by encouraging attendance, we would be flying in the face of Scripture, which specifically states that looking on a woman with lust is the same as committing adultery'" (quoted in Chandrasekaran 1995).

4. See Focus on the Family, www.family.org.

5. www.Sdblawfirm.com lists 33 clients, 2 co-authored books, 5 articles, 6 papers, 3 seminars, and admission to practice law in 14 jurisdictions. Information of CR alliance activity comes from *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, American Civil Liberties Union, Association of Club Executives (national and Minnesota, California, and New Jersey affiliates), Free Speech Coalition, National Coalition Against Censorship, *Church & State*, *Sexual Intelligence*, Woodhull Foundation, and *World Sex News* and the CR's own literature.

6. See, for example, Paul et al. 2001, Land et al. 2004, Enriquez et al. 2006, and affidavits in Addendum 1 court cases.

7. See Cranor 2006 on court procedure, expert court witness qualifications, and issues of scientific evidence.

8. Some "shocking" social dances and "debauched" ballets that created public outrage in the past have become our classics or influenced the art of dance. This phenomenon, and the fact that until the early 20th century ballet dancers were considered immoral and disreputable, provide an aesthetic rationale for assuring free expression in exotic dance (Hanna 2002).