



COUNTER-MISSIONARY CARNIVALESQUE: READING THE ADVERTISEMENTS OF "GODLESS AMERICA"

Desideria C. W. Murti
University of Atma Jaya Yogyakarta
Indonesia

Abstract

The ascendancy in the public sphere has excluded minor public and consequently the minority has to challenge the hegemonic value in the society through counter publics. However, the non-populist values, beliefs, and argumentations of counter publics push them to cultivate their creativity in producing work of art to attract media and broader publics to gain spaces in the public sphere. In this paper, I examine the development of atheist movement in the US who play a role as the counter public and communicate their message through advertisements. The Godless America used Carnavalesque approach to play their role as counter missionary by laughing at the habitual structure, sending a message on their socio-political perspectives, offering contemporary point of view to the audience, also attracting the public through provocative images. I argue that the counter public message in the public area is a process of renegotiation towards their identity as an atheist and offer new dynamics of social acceptance.

Keywords: counter public, advertisement, carnivalesque, public screen

Introduction

United States as one of the leading democratic country, still struggled with the idea of the plurality in religion or non-religion (Hartman et al, 2008). Hartman et al (2008) in his research on "One (Multicultural) Nation Under God" realized that, even though US could be included as a secular country but many aspects of primary literature, political perspective, and constitution derived from Judeo-Christian Culture especially by the 1980s. In the middle of 1980s, the Judeo-Christian influences have strengthened the current hegemonic core of American Society (Grossman, 1989). Consequently, Hartman et al (2008) in his research argue that Judeo-Christian perspective also influence the history, culture, laws, national identity, and religious pluralism in the US. Even more, challenge also happened in the American culture especially on the acceptance and boundaries with those who are not religious-atheist, agnostic, and the like (Edgell, Gerteis, &Hartmann, in press).

The challenge on American plurality especially with the Nones (those who are not religious, an abbreviation of No Religious Segment) remains intense, since US have an increasing number of The Nones. American Religious Identification Survey (in Kosmin et al 2008) indicated that there was an increasing number of the Nones. In 1990, the Nones increase from 8.1% of the US population become 15% in 2008, or from 14 million become 34 million adults. Kosmin et al (2008) even called that 'having no religion' become one of the fastest growing numbers of 'religious movement' in the US. Those numbers of people answer the question of "What is your religion, if any?" They answer it with "none," "atheist," "agnostic," "secular," or "humanist" (Kosmin et al, 2008, p. ii).

Even though the number of the Nones group is increasing, however, individual confession and honesty about their identity as atheist still considered as challenging in American culture (Cimino&Smith, 2011). "The practice of 'coming out' as an atheist has not been simply a matter of publicly claiming atheism along a well-worn, legitimate route. It has involved emerging from invisibility to claim a personal and social identity that has carried a fair degree of stigma"(Cimino&Smith, 2011, p. 25). The example of stigma according to a research from University of Minneapolis in 2006 is that the atheist people are included as America's most distrusted minority. According to Edgell (2006) in this research, 2000 household rate atheist below Muslims, immigrants, gays, and lesbians, the respondent also associates atheism with the moral indiscretions.

The Godless movement has used various media to challenge faith or believe about God. I analyze the atheist group movement by examining the text they produce, especially in the advertisement in seasonal billboard. The structure of this paper consists of three phases. First, I examine the development of atheist movement in the US, and deeply explain about who they are and what media they use to generate atheist perspective in the public arena. Second, I discuss the counter public dynamics to spread the message in the public sphere and how the effort of opposing public can be achieved through the current system of mass media. I also argue that contentious issue, provocativeness, and rhetorical work of art using images and laughter can be used to enter the discussion in the public sphere. Third, I focus to apply the theory and analyze the case study of the advertisement of the Godless America as a text to send counter message, interrogating habitual structure and discretionary approach for the audience as a negotiation towards atheist identity.

When the GodLess Go Mass

From etymological perspective, atheism came from Greek word *atheos*, which means godless; deny the existence of gods (Simon, 2010). In the 21st century, came up a term with additional word of "new" or new atheism, which started from the university community. The new atheist movement called as "new" because they expose the use of rational argument to counter, and criticized (Simon, 2010). The focus of the movement is to advance the secularism idea especially in the US, which arise majorly from scientist, best seller authors, and universities academician (Smith, 2003). However, Cimino&Smith (2011), argued that organization, which concern on secularism, has had less impact in American Society compare with the religious-based organization, because of the instability of organization and marginalization. The pressure from the religious-based organization is even stronger when it comes to political decision especially in church state area, for example, on civil right issue or feminism (Jacoby, 2004).

The notion of atheist publication perhaps comes from the argument of Dawkins (2006) that there are many intellectuals in US who are atheists, such as the people in the house of congress. However, they do not want to be honest about their identity because if everyone knows they are atheist, they cannot get people's voices. Thus, some movements promote the idea of (a) revealing "what you really think you are" and (b) comforting those who are in uncertain and afraid to "come out" as an atheist (Dawkins, 2006).

Before I go further, I would like to address the definition of atheist movement to be included as a social movement. Diani (1992) defined social movement as "networks of informal interaction between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict on the basis of a shared collective identity" (p. 13). Thus, atheist movement, could be described as a social movement since it consists of interaction between diverse individuals, and share the same identity as atheist or recurrent idea on secularity.

One of their activities is by creating ads campaign through outdoor advertisement, online interactions (website and discussion forum about atheism), etc. I highlighted the use of advertisement as their media. The advertisement can create awareness of atheist idea in the realm of public discourse. Advertising is non-personal communication, use mass media, persuasive, and conducted by sponsors (Arens et al, 2011). In the case of atheist movement, the organizations advertise the "idea" of atheism, which can be included as non-product advertising and non-commercial advertising. The atheist organization used Billboard as one of the most pervasive out of home advertisement especially in urban and suburban area (Arens et al, 2011). Even according to Outdoor Advertising Association of America (2008) various industry and NGO spend 66% of their budget for billboard. Arens et al (2010) argued that outdoor advertising offer extensive coverage of local market, high level of exposure frequency; specify demographic area for the target audience, and



timely exposure. Thus, billboard advertisement in an important public space will allow the Godless America to send their counter message to wider publics.

The GodLess VS the GodFans in the Battle of God Discourse in Public Sphere

Habermas in Calhoun (1992), argued that the public sphere, is the sphere where people engage with other, to discuss and debate about general rule. However, as Nancy Fraser (1990) argued that the singular notion of public in Habermas analysis was neglecting the minority issue. Fraser (1990) comes up with the idea of counter public. Asen (2000) also argues that counter publics "emerge in a multiple public sphere through constellations of persons, places, and topics" (p. 430). Asen also argued that counter publics are "formed by participants who recognize exclusions in wider public spheres and resolve to join to overcome these exclusions" (p. 444).

Thus, how does this counter public disseminate their message in the public sphere? De Luca and Peeples (2002) answered that question through their analysis on the public screen. They argued that the connection between public opinion and the nation state has altered as corporations establish superior financial holding than the nation states. Consequently, corporate interests influence public activities and public domain discussion. One of the examples of the corporate strength is the changing methods of communication. The media, which previously assumed to be a supporter of the public sphere, may create priority on their exposure to the audience.

DeLuca and Peeples argue, "Images over words, emotions over rationality, speed over reflection, distraction over deliberation, slogans over arguments..." (p. 133). DeLuca and Peeples lay out three factors to disseminate the message via public screen: 1) monopoly of private ownership, 2) News value need to have infotainment value, for example, using emotional appeal, and 3) Image as an essential communication tool in the public discourse. Those are the opportunity to enter the competition in media market place..

Carnavalesque: Making Sense Using Laughter

Human use various form of art to express their sense and feeling about the world around them. Burke (1959/1984) argued that dramatic or literature form such as epic, tragedy, and comedy can be used to express human experience related to social disorder. Human organized meaning and making process according to the historical situation and relate it to the relationship with other human beings (Burke, 1959). When people react to the human relation, it depends on their interpretation and definition to the situations. Burke used the notion of "frames of acceptance and rejection" to emphasize the idea of human relationship with arts production. The frames produced various literature categories. The frames of acceptance are epic, tragedy, and comedy (carnavalesque). While, the frames of rejection are elegy, satire, burlesque, the grotesque, and the didactic. The arts production can have rhetorical message to persuade, inform, and engage the audience. One of the rhetorical works of arts is Carnavalesque.

The function of Carnavalesque is to release audience from the communal norm through rhetorical work of art (Stallybrass & White, 1986, look also Martin & Renegar, 2007), motivate people not to have qualms of authority, commandment, or sanctified things in the social construction (Bakhtin, 1984), and challenge all aspect of society (Lacapra, 1999). Thus, Carnavalesque challenge the hegemonic genres, ideologies, and symbols through laughter which make those as 'strange' social constructions (Gardiner, 1992). However, Carnavalesque came up as an ambiguous message (Martin & Renegar, 2007) by communicating the progressiveness of message through interrogating the hierarchy and decoding the dominant message (Hall, 2006, look also Martin & Renegar, 2007). Al-Zobaidi (2010) also argue that through carnivalesque, people can have an opinion on the phenomenon which usually considered as taboo, and infiltrate the unbending social structure in classes, tribes, and elites. Thus, Bakhtin also argued that carnival allows the audience to think freely about the world without worrying about hierarchy (1965, p. 11).

The Counter Missionary of the Godless in Advertisement

Earlier the word "missionary" was used to connote the social agenda of the Godless movement in America. Derived from the Latin word *missionem* (nom. *missio*; also *mittere*), missioner refers to the "act of sending"(Online Etymology Dictionary, 2011). This word is central to the Christian vocabulary of evangelism, often used in reference to individuals or group of people who send "the good news" or "spread the gospel" in a new, often remote area (Hale, 2003). Underscoring this idea, Sharkey contends that missionary work in Christian history is not only about the spreading of Christianity and personal conversions, but also about sharing cultural vision, the idea of secularity, politics, and social points of view. I argue that Godless America also acts as a form of missionary work by sending messages of "atheist good news" and seeks to perpetuate an idea of secularism that is consonant with the nation's relatively "soft"/ "weak" religious practices (compared to such nations as Egypt according to Sharkey, 2008). However, the message they send functions as a kind of "counter message," one that runs in opposition to the dominant ideology expressed through many Christian's "God Discourse." If the dominant message is Judeo-Christian in orientation and content (Hartman et al, 2008), and if it is informed by the assumption that God exists, then the Godless movement, by contrast, disseminates counter messages that challenge the latter assumption and offer a different type of morality, one that is steeped in secularist, rather than Judeo-Christian, values. This is one of the examples of Carnavalesque in Advertisement which is created by atheist group.

Picture 1. The Godless Advertisement "What do you see?"



Source: <http://forthesakeofscience.com/2011/11/22/flagged-for-review/>

I take this sample because the advertisement is the most recent billboard on American Atheist "You Know It's a Myth" Campaign. In 2010, the atheist group conducted the campaign by placing billboard with the theme "You Know It's a Myth, This Season Celebrate Reason". While in 2011, the atheist group used the advertisement that I choose to read. Even more, the location of this billboard is at the



International Conference on Communication, Media, Technology and Design
ICMTD
09-11 May 2012
Istanbul - Turkey

end of the west side of Lincoln Tunnel, under Hudson River. This tunnel connects the Weehawken, New Jersey, and the region of Manhattan in New York City. The tunnel carries 120,000 vehicles per day, 1,700 buses, and 62,000 commuters. Consequently, Lincoln Tunnel becomes one of the busiest tunnels in the world (Michael, 2005). I argue that examining a billboard in significant locations is noteworthy to see the exposure of the text and the message in the public area. Even though, advertisement in 2010 is also fascinating and provocative, however, I choose the latest version of advertisement because by understanding their most recent approach will be helpful to update their newest vision in delivering Godless message, political and social objectives. Even more the advertisement billboard in 2011 also created public discussion in God discourse (New York Times, 2011), Christmas or happy holiday public debate (Liberty Council, 2011), and religious advertisement discourse in the public area (Huffingtonpost.com, 2011). Thus, the advertisement has produced counter public message in the public sphere.

The words "37 million of Americans know Myth when they see them," show the involvement of the communicator in the advertisement. Those words also provide the statistical data about the number of Atheist people (the 37 million Americans). According to New York Times (Otterman, 2011), the Billboard with the dominant color of orange and black, have cost \$ 25,000 for the placement price. David Silverman, The President of American Atheist argued that the purpose of this billboard is to "call out" the atheist to confess honestly about who they are. He says "We want people to realize that there may be atheists in their family, even if those atheists don't even know they are atheists" (Otterman, 2011).

The billboard not only brings the message of Atheist value but also emphasize their objective in conveying their cultural visions to challenge the hegemonic believe. The atheist group acts as the missionary who introduces a challenging perspective on four figures as myth. They send a message on social value using the statistical data that there are many atheists in the US. They also politically convey the message that the atheist is not minority anymore, because 37 million people is more than 10% of the total of the US population and even bigger than the population of Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, and Jews in the US (US Census Bureau, 2010). Here, the Godless movement plays the role as counter missionary.

The billboard shows the carnivalesque approach by questioning the hierarchy in social perception. The hierarchy in social perception is Jesus as a figure on the top (heaven) and Satan or devil as a figure down there in hell. Both Jesus and Satan are together in one line, is the typical approach of deconstructing the social structure or decoding dominant structure (Hall, 2006). The advertisement also bravely encourages people not to have fears on sanctify things (Bakhtin, 1984).

The atheist group used four figures. First, the atheist group used Neptune, the god of the sea according to the ancient Roman mythology or similar with Greek mythology of Poseidon (Toutain, 1905). The Neptune is a god who lives under the water, with beard, and weapon. Second, the atheist used Jesus, who become the "holy figure" in many religion and even in Christian religion considered as the "Son of God", the holy figure in the unification of God in Trinity. The classical picture of Jesus, with the dominant color of red and the heart open, could be associated with Catholic image in the devotion of "Immaculate Heart" or "The most Sacred Heart of Jesus". This is the devotion to mystical experience of Marguerite Marie Alacoque or famous as St. Marguerite Mary, and then the image appeared and adopted in the book of Litany of Immaculate Heart (Catholic Encyclopedia, 2006). Jesus has contrast color and image with Neptune, using yellow background, red and blue dominant color, while Neptune is blue and crème dominant color. They both have similarity in physical appearance such as they have beards and long hair.

Third, the atheist group used the picture of Santa Clause with red jacket, white beard, white hat, and black background color. Santa Clause is a figure in legend and folklore in western culture. He is a figure that brings gifts to obedient children in Christmas Eve, and even in the modern era Santa's story still exists in various movies from Hollywood. The image of Santa Clause is popular in US and Canada as red coat with white collar and white bearded man (Whipps, 2009). The image of Santa Clause image has contrast color with the image of Devil or Satan. Devil or Satan image has a white background color, red face and long horn in the head. The image amplifies the modern images of satan or devil, portrayed from the black suits and red tie.

The four figures create attractive juxtaposition to each other. For example, Neptune and Jesus are popular figure, and majorly come from Roman background, and the hierarchy of Neptune down in the deep ocean, while Jesus up in the sky. However, they put similar classical European style pictures for both Jesus and Neptune. While Santa and Satan or Devil, have similar red, white, and black dominant color but they put it in contrast to each other side by side. However, both Santa and Devil images are indicating modern images, while Jesus and Neptune from their classical or traditional costume, symbolizing the past or ancient figure. The advertisement conveys the message on the dimension of time to emphasize the diversity and similarity of the four figures.

However, the words "What do you see?" in the middle of the four figure shows the "soft" approach by giving options to the audience on how they want to interpret the four figures. The atheist group did not say "you see them as myth" to the audience or "dictating" the audience to perceive the four figures as myth. Instead, they give question to the audience by reflective and descriptive question of "what do you see?". The open question of towards the sanctified figures, provide spaces for the audience to believe in their own interpretation towards the figure, but also allow different interpretation that challenge the dominant construction. The question also strengthens the ambiguous message of carnivalesque (Martin&Renegar, 2007), and an interrogation to the audience about the dominant perception on the four figures (Hall, 2006).

The word "you" that has a different form show the emphasize value of human power. The word "you" also strengthen the value that human has the power to construct certain symbols, figures, and structures. In other words, the advertisement can convey the message that "you" are the one who decide who is the four figures. Even more, the word "see" as an active verb functions to emphasize the active participation of human towards their perception. The combination of implicit and deep meaning by playing the font of the words also bring atheist's objective to value intellectuality and human power in constructing the existence of mystical objects (Dawkins, 2006).

I argue that the role of counter missionary will have different consequences in negotiating their identity as an atheist in the American Society. Some group of people may interpret the advertisement as messages that intervene their habitual believe by interrogating their vernacular value system. The provocative message and the role of counter missionary in the public area can be a "threat" for some people. Dominant group has suppressed the atheist group, which make them afraid to confess because of the threat from domination. The atheist message has been condemned and even banned for many years. During that period, atheist remains invisible in the public either for individual or organization. Now, with the new wave of freedom in a secular country, the Atheist can publish their value freely in the public area. However, this condition may "threaten" the status quo system, structure, culture (such as seasonal holiday, Christmas) and other communal value. Thus, the confession on atheism is not only for individual but also for Atheist group or organization to confess publicly about their existence and visibly express their opinion using mass media. The negotiation would be the confession can be accepted as a part of the US diversity and pluralism, but can also be accepted as a threat that will sharpen the negative perception towards atheist from those who oppose atheist.



Conclusion

Doing the job of counter missionary is not an easy task. Just like the metaphor of David and Goliath, the minority public of atheist has to struggle on (1) the unpopular notion, exclusion, and minority value of atheism, entering public discourse in Judeo Christian dominant perspective. Similar with the story of Saul and Israel people do not believe in David when he first came with the idea of fighting the powerful Goliath. David has to convince his message on the notion of "The LORD who rescued me from the paw of the lion and the paw of the bear will rescue me from the hand of this Philistine," (Biblegateway.com, 2011) and the publics did not trust this message. Here, the atheist group has to convince their value, cultural vision, secular morality, and political point of view to publics. They have the challenge to make the public trust their notion while public already has stigma and association on atheist people as moral indiscretion (Kosmin et al, 2006), selfish indulgence (Amarasingham, 2010), communist (Clain, 2011), Nazi or Hitler (Clain, 2011), disconnection with American future vision (Edgall, 2006). The Godless movement has to face this negative stigma and re-conciliate their relationship with the community or publics in America. (2) As a counter public, Godless America has to put the atheist perspective in the public sphere. One of the ways is by entering the media market system through public screen using images and infotainment value.

Advertisement especially billboard is not just free-floating object with images and verbal messages, but it is a text, dedicated to real people and can be interpreted in various possible ways. As a counter public, there is a process of renegotiation on atheist identity after they put their provocative advertisement in the public area. The renegotiation process has different consequences depends on the approach also the interpretation on the message from the publics. Here, the Godless America sends their political, social, and atheist value to public, using laughter about communal norms and value, but also questioning each audience about their own interpretation towards the message. The Godless America provides options to negotiate their identity in the society, just like "this is my choice, and what's yours?" The Godless message in advertisement strengthen their objective to counter the dominant message with the new perspectives, comfort those who feel doubtful, give possible options of alternative beliefs, but also engaging the public in the God discourse using rhetorical arts.

Reference

- Amarasingam, A. (2010). *The new atheism*. Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill.
- Asen, R. (2000). Seeking the "counter" in counterpublics. *Communication Theory*, 10, 424-446
- Al Zobaidi, S. (2010). Hashish and the 'Carnavalesque' in Egyptian Cinema. *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, 3, 375-392. DOI 10.1163/187398610X538704
- Burke, K. (1984). *Attitudes Toward History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1984). *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics* (C. Emerson, Trans.). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. (Original work published 1963).
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1984). *Rabelais and his world* (H. Iswolsky, Trans.). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. (Original work published 1965).
- Booth, W. C. (1986). Freedom of interpretation: Bakhtin and the challenge of feminist criticism. In G. S. Morson (Ed.), *Bakhtin, essays and dialogues on his work* (pp. 145-176). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Burke, K. (1954). *Permanence and change: An anatomy of purpose* (3rd ed.). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Biblegateway.com. (2011, December 05). David and Goliath, Retrieved from: <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=1%20Samuel+17&version=NIV>
- Calhoun, C. (1992). *Habermas and the public sphere*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Catholic Encyclopedia*. New Advent. (2006, July 11). "Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus II. Historical Ideas on the Development of the Devotion. Retrieved from: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07163a.htm>
- Cimino, R., & Smith, C. (2007). Secular humanism and atheism beyond progressive secularism. *Sociology of Religion*, 407-424.
- Cimino, R., & Smith, C. (2011). The New Atheism and the Formation of the Imagined Secularist Community, *Journal of Media and Religion*, 10(1), 24-38
- Clain, A. (2011). Godless Atheists as Scapegoats: Atheists are Scapegoats for the Christian Right. Retrieved from: <http://atheism.about.com/od/godlessamericaamericans/p/ScapegoatAtheis.htm>
- Dawkins, R. (2007, December 7). Science and the new atheism. Point of Inquiry Podcast. Retrieved from: http://www.pointofinquiry.org/richard_dawkins_science_and_the_new_atheism
- DeLuca, K. M. and Peoples, J. (2002). From public sphere to public screen: Democracy, activism, and the "violence" of Seattle. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 19, 125-151.
- Diani, M. (1992) 'The concept of social movement', *Sociological Review*, vol. 40 (1), 1-25.
- D'Souza, D. (2007). *What's So Great About Christianity*. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing
- Edgell, P., Gerteis, J., & Hartmann, D. (in press). Atheists as "other": Moral boundaries and cultural membership in America. *American Sociological Review*.
- Edgell, P., Gerteis, J., & Hartmann, D. (2006). Atheists as "Other": Moral boundaries and cultural membership in American society. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 674-687.
- Flynn, T. (2007, April/May). Tour de force. *Free Inquiry*, 57-58.
- Fraser, N. (1992). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actual existing democracy. In C. Gardiner, Michael (2000). *Critiques of Everyday Life*. London: Routledge.
- Gardiner, M. (1999). Bakhtin's carnival: Utopia as critique. In C. Emerson (Ed.), *Critical essays on Mikhail Bakhtin* (pp. 252-277). New York: G. K. Hall & Co. (Reprinted from *Utopian Studies*, 3 [2], 21-49, 1992)
- Grossman, M. (1989). The violence of the hyphen in Judeo-Christian. *Social Text*, 22, 115-122.
- Hartmann, D., Zhang, X., Wischstadt, W. (2005). One (Multicultural) Nation Under God? Changing Uses and Meanings of the Term "Judeo-Christian" in the American Media, *Journal of Media and Religion*, 4:4, 207-234 Retrieved from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15328415jmr0404_1
- Hale, T. (2003). 'On Being a Missionary'. William Carey Library Pub, ISBN 0878082557
- Jacoby, S. (2004). *Freethinkers*. New York, NY: Metropolitan Books.
- Kosmin, B. A., Keysar, A., Cragum, R., Riveria, N. J. (2008). A Report base on the American Religious Identification Survey. Connecticut: Trinity College
- LaCapra, D. (1999). Bakhtin, Marxism, and the carnivalesque. In C. Emerson (Ed.), *Critical essays on Mikhail Bakhtin* (pp. 239-245). New York: G. K. Hall & Co. (Reprinted from *Rethinking intellectual history: Texts, contexts, language*, 1983, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press)
- Liberty Counsel. (2011). Atheists plan billboard campaign this Christmas season. Retrieved from: http://www.catholic.org/national/national_story.php?id=43708



International Conference on Communication, Media, Technology and Design
ICCMD
09-11 May 2012
Istanbul - Turkey

- Martin, P. P. & Renegar, V. (2007). "The Man for His Time" The Big Lebowski as Carnavalesque Social Critique, *Communication Studies*, 58(3), 299–313. DOI: 10.1080/10510970701518397
- Michael, L. (June 1, 2005). "Making Life Easier for Bus Riders". Trenton, NJ: The Times
- Nabors, B. (2009). The changing forms of organized nonbelief: The case of the Pacific City atheists. Unpublished paper presented at the meeting of the Association for the Sociology of Religion, San Francisco, CA.
- Olbyrs, S.G. (2006). Disciplining the Carnavalesque: Chris Farley's Exotic Dance, *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 3(3), 240_259 DOI: 10.1080/14791420600841435
- Online Etymology Dictionary. (2011, January 19). Missionary. Retrieved from: <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=mission>
- Otterman, S. (2011, November 10). This Christmas, Atheists' Billboard Tries a Softer Tack. Retrieved from: <http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/12/07/this-year-atheists-billboard-draws-yawns/>
- Sharkey, H. (2008). *American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008. doi:10.1017/S0009640711001636
- Simon, S. (2008, November 18). Atheists reach out—just don't call it proselytizing. *Wall Street Journal*, p. A14.
- Smith, C. (Ed.). (2003). *The secular revolution*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Stallybrass, P. & White, A. (1986). From carnival to transgression. In K. Gelder & S. Thornton (Eds.), *The subcultures reader* (pp. 293–301). New York: Routledge. (Reprinted from *The politics and poetics of transgression*; pp. 4–20, 26; 1986; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press)
- Tarrow, S. (1998). *Power in Movement: Collective Action, Social Movements and Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Tilly, C. (1978). *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley
- US Census Beureau, 2010. Retrieved from: <http://2010.census.gov/2010census/>
- Whipps, H. (2009, December 22). Santa Clause: The Real Man Behind the Myth. MSNBC. Retrieved from: http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/34525202/ns/technology_and_science-science/#.TuevMWNC_1Q