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COMMUNICATION AND COMMUNITY IN A CITY OF SURVIVORS:

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COMMUNICATION AND COMMUNITY IN A CITY OF SURVIVORS:
(RE) FIGURING THE OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION

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ABSTRACT

This is an ethnographic study on the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. The purpose of this study is to examine survivor, volunteer, and rescuer accounts gathered through field notes, interview, and archival documents, in order to understand the survivor community of the Oklahoma City bombing. The Oklahoma Standard, conceptually, represents the goodness displayed by the citizens of Oklahoma City in a time of crisis. The term represents the incredible outpouring of love and support or response of the Oklahoma City community as coined by FEMA (Federal Emergency Management Agency). The Oklahoma Standard, as a metaphor, serves as the orienting construct for the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. As a metaphor, the Oklahoma Standard is in process. It is dynamic. It is ever-changing. The Oklahoma Standard represents not only the immediate response of the community but also the continual response in that the Oklahoma Standard is now (after 9/11 World Trade Center) the idea of communities that have experienced a crisis helping other communities in crisis. Many communities experience crises whether natural or unnatural and respond accordingly. However, the interesting thing about the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community is that they are still responding to a crisis today. The continual response by the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community is what sets it apart from other survivor communities. The Oklahoma Standard went from an immediate response to a continual response in that we now see a community that has experienced a major crisis helping other communities in crisis, helping them to heal and move on.

This paper identified the interaction between communication and community among the survivors of the Oklahoma City bombing. The crisis forced people to redefine themselves and to find out who they were in a reconstructed world. The weakening of traditional forms of community led human kind in search of alternative types of community that will provide them with a sense of belonging to a particular group or place. Symbolic meaning and collective memory results from everyday communication practices; hence, constructing the framework for building a “new-style community”: Ultimately (re) figuring the reality of the tragedy into the everyday lives of the survivors.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE

"The statue of the crying Jesus means more to me than the whole memorial. With all them dying babies, you just know he cried that day, girl, you just know he did."

Anonymous Survivor of the Oklahoma City bombing

April 1995

At 9:02 am, April 19, 1995, a bomb exploded outside of the Alfred P. Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City. In a matter of minutes the city is in a state of fearful chaos. People in downtown Oklahoma City are frantically running towards the building in disbelief. Traffic around the downtown area is jammed. All phone circuits are busy. People everywhere are glued to their television anxiously awaiting the disastrous news. People stood in hope at the fence just outside the building painfully anticipating the news of their loved ones. The bomb killed 168 people, including nineteen small children, injured 675 people, orphaned thirty children, rendered 462 temporarily homeless, and left 7,000 people without a workplace. The blast also damaged 335 buildings and destroyed sixteen buildings. It is estimated that 387,000 people in Oklahoma City knew someone killed or injured in the bombing that is more than one-third of the population (Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation, 1998).

April 1999

A fence stands along Harvey Avenue in downtown Oklahoma City as a symbolic reminder of those who were killed. At any given time of day or night, one can observe people visiting the fence in order to pay respect, to remember, or to place tokens of expression displaying grief and hope in process. On the other side of the fence lie the holy ground of 168 lost lives and the construction of the nations first memorial for terrorism.

April 2002

The first memorial for terrorism, now completed, includes three parts: An eloquent physical memorial on the site of the bombing, a memorial center whose intense museum exhibition tells the story of the events of April 19, 1995 and after, and the Oklahoma City National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism. Hundreds of mourners and tourists visit the memorial each week. A small open-air chapel has been built next to where the Murrah building used to loom. The fence enclosing two square blocks around the blast site stands adorned with stuffed toy animals, flowers, crosses, and ribbons. Employees at the Oklahoma City National Memorial “refresh” the symbolic fence by removing the hundreds of articles placed on it each month and then numerically organizing the articles in the archive warehouse located in the memorial center.

The urgency and the magnitude of the Oklahoma City crisis evoked a need for a surplus of outwardly support. Non-profit organizations, churches, social workers, volunteers, along with many other groups and businesses, came to the immediate aid of this community. Due to the exceptionally large number of people affected by the

actual event or involved in damage control, new patterns of interaction emerged among the citizens of Oklahoma City. The dynamics of communication within the larger community had forever changed. Consequentially, through all the suffering and chaos emerged an extraordinary survivor culture. This culture or community, which was subsequently created by the survivors themselves, functions both separate from and as part of the larger community of Oklahoma City. The survivors of the Oklahoma City bombing began constructing a community out of social interactions: Ultimately (re) figuring the reality of the tragedy into their everyday lives. This study identifies and focuses on the socially constructed survivor community of the Oklahoma City bombing.

Introduction

Longing for community is a serious problem in today's society. Meyrowitz (1985) contends that we have "no sense of place," while Mumford, (1961) forewarns about the "mechanical grinding down of landscape and human personality" (p.570), Mumford (1961) contends that we belong not to a particular community but to a social organization spread over a mass region. Adelman and Frey (1997) explain that yearning for community is due to the fragmented chaos of modernity. As people are being removed from a particular space or community, they are dissociated from interpersonal relationships and first hand experiences. "In such a world, community bespeaks what we have lost and are trying to regain" (Adelman & Frey, 1997, p. 1). Being "connected" to others, through sharing common values, identity, experiences, and beliefs is characteristic of human nature. It is through the connection of shared meaning found within a place that human kind constructs a community. This study

focuses on individuals who found a sense of community through sharing first hand experiences of a tragic event. This study seeks to identify the interactions between communication and community among the survivors of the Oklahoma City bombing.

The Nature of Community

Early communities consisted of clan and tribal societies in which no differentiation existed among humans and between humans and nature. The tribe or clan is identified and solidified through shared blood and experience. Kramer (1997) explains that as people move away from the tribe, they take on new consciousness of individuality. It is within this New World that people begin to think about time, space, and truth. Driven by predictability and control, people become more dissociated from their past. A person shifts from the tribe to the clan to the extended family to the nuclear family to the individual. The individual becomes isolated and discontent as he or she begins to see his or her own self as part of the system (Kramer, 1997). Identity becomes homogenous, and modern human beings suffer feelings of loneliness. City life perpetuates human's discontent because it lacks the connectedness of the village lifestyle. Consequently, the weakening of traditional forms of community led people in search for various types of lifestyles that will provide them with a sense of belonging to a particular group or place. Consequently, the "ideology of individualism" is creating a "new-style community" (Adelman & Frey, 1997). According to Adelman and Frey (1997), community is created and sustained by the everyday patterns of human interaction. As a "generative site where culture is made and re-made," shared meanings are learned through the exchange of symbols (Conquergood as cited in Adelman & Frey, 1997, p.5). Hence, it is through the

assigned meaning of the event that many Oklahoma City bombing survivors can understand and make sense of their world. Symbolically, these individuals found a new identity in a new co-culture of social interactions where meanings are learned through the exchange of symbols. The survivors of the Oklahoma City bombing began constructing a community out of social interactions grounded in the symbolic meaning of artifacts and the communication practices of memorializing and storytelling.

Specifically, this study considers the cultural context of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community and explores the ways in which members of the survivor culture talk about themselves, their participation with the Oklahoma City National Memorial, and their folk ways of knowing (Hymes, 1974). The Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation is the initial entry site of ethnographic research. Using the survivor's stories to illustrate their perspective about the survivor community allows them the opportunity to explicate their worldview (Hymes, 1974). This helps to set aside the researcher's biased explanation of the survivor's statements. The researcher as participant-observer is best suited for this project. By being a participant in the OKC survivor culture, the researcher can learn about it firsthand. Ethnographic or open-ended interviews will allow the participants to reveal their perceptual world, to use their own language to describe it). Through the use of an ethnographic approach, this study will illuminate the ongoing world of the participants in the OKC survivor community and the meaning of actions and events that make up this world.

The use of the ethnographic method will help to grasp the native's point of view (i.e., participants' perspectives) and to get access to the common sense constructs and

to analyze their role in the order of the natural social world of survivors. An ethnographic approach to inquire how communities are constructed and organized will give us an understanding of the many cultural components, such as *language use*, *context*, *speech event*, and *speech community* (Hymes, 1974; Spradley, 1979; Duranti, 1988). Also, by using an ethnographic approach, this study considers not only the individual survivor's message about the culture but also the organizational message. The members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor culture comprise a unique community complete with norms of behavior, a locale, and forms of speech, which are readily recognizable to the participants. It is the purpose of this study to examine how the Oklahoma City bombing community responded to the disaster and came together and evolved (as an empowered community) into the OKC National Memorial Foundation.

Very little is written on victims taking charge of their future nor has much been written on the empowered response of a community following a disaster. Most of the literature presents victims as powerless, passive, and unable to take care of themselves instead of being empowered individuals. In most cases, a great deal of the information will describe the event, the cause agent, and the helplessness that the event caused. There is a considerable amount of existing research on communities that have experienced disaster (Rappaport, 1981; Omar & Alon, 1994; Eynde & Veno, 1999; Echterling & Wylie, 1999), but little of that research has focused on communities that are characterized by individuals who work together in pursuit of collective goals. For example, a study conducted by Suketo (1996) on the Union Carbide disaster in Bhopal, India is one of the few disasters where an empowered community emerged

after a crisis. The Bhopal Gas Affected Women Workers Organization (BGPMUS) is a community of women created initially to find solutions to the women's need for jobs but grew into a group of like-minded women intent on demonstrating against Union Carbide for the deaths of 10,000 and the 50,000 + survivors of the disaster.

The study of a community that has an empowered response to a disaster is key to current literature. Therefore, it is important to examine not just the local Oklahoma City community's immediate empowered response to the crisis but to examine the entire response. This response includes the process of building the Oklahoma City National Memorial, the memorial as a finished product and what the OKC National Memorial Foundation is doing today to support its original mission. It is important to study the Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation's mission (empowering response) as it is carried out through the memorial. Individuals in the survivor community wanted the memorial built in such a way that it, as a tool, is empowering in itself.

Therefore, there is a dire need to go in and understand the Oklahoma City survivor community, specifically the Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation and the Oklahoma Standard. The data will be analyzed using Dell Hyme's SPEAKING model, Lawrence Wieder's conceptual network of ideas, and Ernest Bormann's Symbolic Convergence theory. These theoretical frameworks will provide a backdrop upon which to consider field notes taken through participant-observation, archival documents, and the qualitative interviews collected from the Oklahoma City survivor community.

(Re) Figuring Social Reality: The Oklahoma Standard as a Collective Metaphor

During this extremely emotionally, socially, and politically charged event, the term ‘Oklahoma Standard’ emerged. The Oklahoma Standard is a metaphor that political leaders and the media frequently use to describe the goodness displayed by the citizens of OKC during a time of crisis. It is also a term that allowed the people of OKC to withstand a tragic experience and to make sense of it in their daily lives. According to Luborsky, “metaphors serve as orienting constructs that sustain a sense of wholeness” (1998, p.327). Making sense of the world, translating information, and bridging various experiences of the world reflect the linguistic device of metaphorical thinking (Koro-Ljungberg, 2001). Adelman and Frey (1997) state that the common way in which people view themselves and others is what ties them together in a symbolic community.

The Oklahoma Standard was born out of the Oklahoma City bombing that occurred on April 19, 1995. Oklahomans overwhelmingly selfless response to the bombing was a recovery process that federal officials dubbed “the Oklahoma Standard” (Keating, 2000, p.7-A). The state of Oklahoma was praised for its response to the 1995 bombing of the Murrah building and became the example on how to handle a disaster, stated Michelann Ooten, Oklahoma Department of Civil Emergency Management (Godfrey, 2002). Government leaders talk of the good things that have occurred since the OKC bombing, specifically talking about the Oklahoma Standard set by the scores of rescue workers. Lt. Gov. Mary Fallin claimed, “they tell me that we set an Oklahoma Standard that they don’t think they will ever be able to match up in any type of rescue effort…in the nation” (Hinton & David, 1995, p. 10). House Speaker Glen Johnson stated, “the state of Oklahoma is more united and stronger than

we have ever been" (Hinton & David, 1995, p. 10). Rep. Debbie Blackburn, D-Oklahoma City, whose district includes downtown, stated the "Oklahoma Standard stands for 'can-do' in the worst of conditions" (Hinton & David, 1995, p. 10). The Oklahoma Standard conceptually represents the level of humanitarianism and competency in which we tackle the most trying of crises (Henry, 2003). "The people – that's the Oklahoma Standard – the volunteers, the people who had professional jobs and professional missions", stated Al Ashwood, deputy director of the Oklahoma Department of Emergency Management (English, 1995, p.12). "That is why this disaster seemed to work as well as it did – because of you, the people next to you, the people who work for you" claimed Ashwood (English, 1995, p. 12). NBC News anchor Tom Brokaw celebrated Oklahomans' response to the bombing claiming, "As a son of the Great Plains, I knew instinctively the response of the people of Oklahoma….Oklahomans may feel more vulnerable now, a little disoriented by what's happened to them, but in their response to this madness, they have elevated us all with their essential sense of goodness, community, and compassion" (Irving, 1995, pp. 104-105). Brokaw claimed that it was these values that revealed the character of the people of Oklahoma (Irving, 1995). "If the bombing was an event that would be remembered as a terrorist act of mass murder, the response would be recalled as a heroic saga, a moral lesson to be told and sung and celebrated for generations to come" (Linenthal, 2001, p. 46).

Governor Frank Keating called it the "Oklahoma Standard, the standard by which other states are judged in how they help their communities" (Clay, 2002, p. 4-A). The response to the bombing "was a great statement of the goodness and

compassion and the kindness and the heroism and the courage and the goodwill of men and women of Oklahoma", stated Keating. "It really was Oklahoma's proudest period where without regard to compensation, without regard to notoriety, without regard to attention or reaction, people gave of themselves from start to finish to try and make this awful period pass" (English, 1995, p. 12). "We demonstrated that we are more of a community than we thought we were", claimed Linda Edmondson, executive director of the Citizens League of Central Oklahoma. "I think we can set the Oklahoma Standard in the long term for community involvement" (David, 1995, p. 1). Oklahoma City Fire Chief Gary Marrs stated, "I don't see this winding down for a while, not only the incident itself but the support and the things that are going on around here. I think this has created a momentum that will take awhile to stop" (Hinton & David, 1995, p. 10). Duncan Mayor Phil Leonard stated, "We will always remember the good Oklahoma citizens who died in the blast or were injured, but it was also the best of times when the good Oklahoma citizens showed what they could do together, to show the Oklahoma spirit and to set the Oklahoma Standard that has become recognized around the world" ("Oklahomans find," 1996, p. 1). Governor Frank Keating claims that many plan to retire in Oklahoma due to the state's community spirit and standard (Clay, 2002).

The Oklahoma Standard represents the pride that Oklahomans took in offering rescue workers clean clothes, a bed, a hot meal, and a hug (Ingrassia, 2001). The Oklahoma Standard is a term that grew popular when thousands donated blood, batteries, gloves and many other items. Kary Cox, President of the Oklahoma

Emergency Management Association, claimed that Oklahomans know how to respond in times of crisis ("Officials say Oklahoma," 2003).

To this day, rescue and recovery workers speak passionately about what came to be known as the "Oklahoma Standard," not speaking only of the great kindness shown to them, but also the courage of the people of Oklahoma City. Such a response demonstrates the way people come together to repair the social fabric of community that was torn in an act of mass murder (Linenthal, 2001). Local boosters said the community spirit that has guided the city through much of the crisis has had a positive impact on the self-esteem of many Oklahomans, who are now perhaps prouder than ever before of their community. When referring to the Oklahoma Standard, city officials point to the fact that there was no looting in the ensuing chaos, not one incident despite the openness and devastation downtown and there was no price gouging on needed goods (Kovaleski, 1995; McGuigan, 1995). Outside of public view, the Oklahoma Standard was also demonstrated in private business. The Federal Employees Credit Union, who lost twenty employees and volunteers in the bombing, was re opened at a new site on April 20, 1995, the day after the bombing. Off-site data retrieval and volunteers from other credit unions in Oklahoma and around the nation made this possible (McGuigan, 1995). Such examples of practical work and relentless commitment combined to create what has been called the Oklahoma Standard.

Many in Oklahoma believe that the bombing backfired. It spread fear, but it also spawned a groundswell of compassion. Emergency workers, victims, even the news media seem awed by the "Oklahoma Standard," a faith in humanity that mocks mass murder. "The positive to it was how well we came together," claimed Robert E.

Lee, a columnist with the *Daily Oklahoman*. "'I mean, we've got rednecks and good ol'boys and millionaires. But we're all family now ("Aftermath of bombing," 1995, p. 3A). State emergency officials claim that as law enforcement agencies across the country work to streamline their response to large-scale emergencies, Oklahoma is serving as a model for others to follow. "If a terrorist attack happened here today or tomorrow, we would still respond like we did on April 19, 1995," stated Bob Ricks, Oklahoma Public Safety Department commissioner. "That's been called the 'Oklahoma Standard,' and we're proud of that"(Snyder, 2002, p. 1-A).

Oklahoma's history is one defined by tragedy. In the 1930's, the Dust Bowl forced thousands of Oklahomans to migrate to the promised land of California, where many individuals began as impoverished workers. Oklahoma suffered a boom-to-bust shock in the mid-1980s, with the closing of Penn Square Bank and the collapse of the domestic oil industry. In 1986, a postal worker in Edmond, Oklahoma killed fourteen of his co-workers, among the first of workplace killings in the United States. In May 1999, thousands of homes were demolished by tornadoes in the central part of the state (Keating, 2000). Through it all, Oklahoma and its people have endured, persevered, learned many lessons, and have moved on. Governor Frank Keating claims that the Oklahoma City bombing changed the way Americans view Oklahoma, even the way Oklahomans see themselves. "Something extraordinary happened after the bombing," claimed Keating. "After evil, good came" ("Out of the dust," 2000, p. 7). Prior to 1995, "I think the Dust Bowl and the oil bust were terminal moments in the Oklahoma psyche—they were very depressing and even destabilizing to our psyche and sense of self-worth and confidence,"("Out of the dust," 2000, p. 7). Keating claimed that the

state's response to the bombing helped change the way its residents saw themselves. " They saw a rather extraordinary people, and I think as a result we all felt better about ourselves and had more confidence as a state," ("Out of the dust," 2000, p. 7). " People dusted themselves off, shifted the glass from their shoulders, picked up their neighbors and friends, cleaned up and cared for them, fund-raised, rebuilt and moved on," ("Out of the dust," 2000, p. 7). "I think the professionalism and the excellence of the response, if anything is understated, not overstated" ("Out of the dust," 2000, p. 7). Rescue workers and disaster response teams now compare their performance to the "Oklahoma Standard," ("Out of the dust," 2000, p. 7). Parts of that standard are the high level of coordination during the emergency between city, state and federal law enforcement agencies, the lack of looting and near absence of lawsuits in the bombing's wake. Several rescuers from other states have assured Keating that Oklahoma is different. Ray Downey, a New York firefighter who died in the World Trade collapse and had worked the Oklahoma City bombing, told Keating he'd never seen anything like it. Keating claims, "This spirit of service is our greatest contribution to the next generation" (Clay, 2002, p. 4-A). The Oklahoma Standard reputation was reinforced by the May 3, 1999 when several tornadoes killed 44 people in the metro area (Godfrey, 2002). Early the next morning after the tornadoes tore through Oklahoma, Governor Keating visited the First Baptist Church in Moore, Oklahoma, expecting to find little going on as far as recovery. Instead Governor Keating found that, although the American Red Cross and Salvation Army had not yet arrived, Oklahomans were helping each other. Keating found hot meals that were prepared by volunteers, beds for individuals who lost their homes, and a staff to help out in a

moment's notice (Clay, 2002). "It's a great statement of the ethics of our state. We do things for others without expecting anything in return", claimed Keating. "People are stunned by our focus of volunteerism" (Clay, 2002, p. 4-A). Since then, the state has been struck by more tornadoes, ice storms, and countless floods and wind storms. So impressed with how Oklahoma City handled the bombing, and then the May 3, 1999, tornadoes, instructors now use Oklahoma's behavior when teaching across the country on disaster response.

The Oklahoma City National Memorial, whose intense museum exhibition tells the story of the events of April 19, 1995 and after, counts on more than fifty volunteers a week to keep the museum operating. Executive Director Kari Watkins claimed that volunteers are critical to the museum and offer a touch of the Oklahoma Standard to the more than 500,000 visitors who visit annually. "For many visitors, the museum's volunteers may be the only Oklahoman they meet", stated Watkins ("Volunteers," 2002, p. 1). Keating said he sees the *Oklahoma City National Memorial* as a way to remember the 168 people who lost their lives in the bombing and to "celebrate a society that held together and showed itself to be supreme good" ("Out of the dust," 2000, p. 7).

In order to understand the Oklahoma Standard metaphor conceptually, as it is in process, one must consider the following story of Victoria Cummock, a woman who lost her husband in the terrorist attack of Pan Am 103, and who established an empowering relationship with key individuals in the Oklahoma City bombing community. The strong sense of community constructed by OKC families enabled them to even lobby and pass anti-terrorism legislation in Washington, D.C.

Furthermore, the following story illustrates the beginning of an informal alliance between individuals affected by the Oklahoma City bombing and the Pan Am 103 terrorist attacks.

Victoria Cummock Story

When the Oklahoma City Bombing occurred on April 19, 1995, it had been more than six years since Victoria Cummock had lost her husband in the terrorist attack of Pan Am 103. Cummock had endured grief in all its manifestations, including being angry at her husband, John for deserting her and her three children leaving them with the rest of their lives to get through. This feeling was particularly strong after Hurricane Andrew. “Thanks a lot, John, for leaving me with three kids in a house trailer” (Gerson & Adler, 2001, p. 217).

Not long after, Cummock attended a memorial ceremony in Scotland at which the family members of Pan Am 103 were presented to Queen Elizabeth II. The queen’s residence at Windsor Castle had just suffered a disastrous fire. As a result, the queen found common ground with Cummock. “Are you the American Woman whose home was ravished by Hurricane Andrew?” (Gerson et al, 2001, p. 218) she asked. “Yes, Your Majesty,” Cummock replied. “But there were many houses damaged much worse than mine. People lost their belongings, their photographs and memories” (Gerson et al, 2001, p. 218). “Well, I supposed that’s another character building experience, isn’t it?’ ” (Gerson et al, 2001, p. 218). The widespread assumption that tragedy is invariably ennobling never fails to surprise Cummock when she encounters it. “With all due respect, Your Majesty, I’m trying to stay out of harm’s way for a while” (Gerson et al, 2001, p. 218).

Over the next couple of days, the disaster in Oklahoma became clear. Based on Cummock's own experience of sitting by the phone for days waiting to hear from someone in the government, Cummock decided to put in a call to the White House. Cummock put in a call to White House aide Bruce Lindsey to give some advice on how the White House ought to respond, "it is so important to say the right things, Bruce" (Gerson et al, 2001, p. 218) she told him.

After discussion with President Clinton, the White House called back requesting that Cummock present her suggestions in writing because the President intended to use it in his speech in Oklahoma City. Cummock put her feelings of six years on a two-page letter, along with what she'd hoped to hear from the government, but didn't. "As an American, I was stunned by the unspecific and general rhetoric that I heard from the White House, which left me feeling that no one shared in our grief, understood our anguish, or cared about the murder of my husband" (Gerson et al, 2001, p. 218-219) Cummock wrote.

The next day, a prayer service was held at the Oklahoma State Fair Arena in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. President Clinton spoke to a crowd of twenty thousand about the grief of those who lost loved ones in the bombing.

> Our words seem small beside the loss you have endured. But I found a few I wanted to share today. I've received a lot of letters in these last terrible days. One stood out because it came from a young widow and a mother of three whose own husband was murdered with over 200 other Americans when Pan Am 103 was shot down. Here is what that woman said I should say to you today:

> The anger you feel is valid, but you must not allow yourselves to be consumed by it. The hurt you feel must not be allowed to turn into hate, but instead into the search for justice. The loss you feel must not paralyze your own lives. Instead, you must try to pay tribute to your loved ones by continuing to do all the things they left undone, thus ensuring they did not die in vain (Gerson et al, 2001, p. 219).

The next day, Clinton himself called Cummock to thank her. He asked if there was anything else he could do to help. “How are the families doing?” (Gerson et al, 2001, p. 219), she asked. “The families?” Clinton responded in surprise. “I guess they’re being taken care of.’ ” (Gerson et al, 2001, p. 219). “I want to help,” (Gerson et al, 2001, p. 219) Cummock said.

Three days after her conversation with Clinton, Cummock flew off to Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Cummock credits her daughter, Ashley, for encouraging her to go to Oklahoma City. Cummock wanted to reassure the OKC families that they would be all right, just as the Cummock family was. Cummock had to get personal approval from the President of the Red Cross and required an intervention from the White House in order to work on the disaster-relief efforts. It was unprecedented for a volunteer whose only credential was her connection to another disaster to be allowed into the death notification center, where the families of the missing waited to hear that their loved one’s bodies had been found.

Cummock went through a several hour interview with the Red Cross. She told the FBI agent that her profession was “interior decorator.” What do you plan to do, he responded, redecorate the Murrah Building? The interviewers asked Cummock what

she planned to say to the families. “I will tell them,” Cummock said, “the waiting is the worst part. If someone is alive and in the hospital, you know what to do, if they’re dead you know what to do, but sitting and waiting is unbearable. Everyone around you is saying, this is day seven, wake up, but when you’re in shock, day one and day seven are the same” (Gerson et al, 2001, p. 226). One of her distinctive contributions was to expunge euphemisms from the discussions with family members. Cummock was the first person to use the word “murder” instead of “incident” or even “tragedy”. Cummock described disaster-relief work as the hardest thing she’s ever had to do in her life, apart from telling her own children about her husband (Gerson et al, 2001).

To any family members that asked, Cummock described her own experiences as “A million minutes of pain. Nothing but the minute of acute pain and the anguish that the next minute would be the same way” (Gerson et al, 2001, p. 227). One man she encountered, whose mother died in the bombing, wanted to sue everyone. He asked about Pan Am 103, Cummock replied, “we don’t even have our suspects yet” (Gerson et al, 2001, p. 227). Cummock stayed in Oklahoma City for two weeks. Back in Miami, Cummock thought there was more she could do. Cummock told friends in Miami (i.e., victims of Hurricane Andrew) to begin writing and speaking on how to help families cope with mass disasters.

In Oklahoma City, as at Lockerbie, hundreds of people were waiting to learn the fates of people they loved. One of those waiting was a woman named Diane Leonard. Her husband, Don, was a Secret Service agent who had an office on the ninth floor of the Murrah federal building. Three weeks after the bombing, Diane Leonard

attended a small meeting in a church with attorney general of Oklahoma, Drew Edmondson and family members of Secret Service employees that had been killed.

The meeting was prompted by a man that Leonard knew vaguely, Glenn Seidl, who lost his wife in the bombing. On May 1, 1995, not long after his wife's funeral, he saw on television a request for a stay of execution by Roger Dale Stafford. The story struck Seidl because he had remembered the Stafford case from more than a decade earlier. Stafford was probably the most notorious criminal in the state in decades. Stafford had been convicted of nine murders—a husband, wife and their twelve year old son who were ambushed in a road side stick-up, and six restaurant workers who'd been herded into a freezer and executed in a $1500 robbery.

What shocked Seidl was that Stafford was still alive in 1995. Under the law, at the time, Stafford's lawyers were permitted to raise different issues in turn. First in state appellate courts and the state's Supreme Court and then, through the mechanism known as habeas corpus appeal, in federal district court, federal appeals court, and the Supreme Court. The proceedings on each individual appeal would take years. Then, at the point that state officials had set a new execution date, the process would start all over again with a new claim. To Seidl, Stafford's sixteen years on death row was like rubbing dirt in the families' faces (Gerson et al, 2001).

The Pan Am Victims included some prominent and wealthy citizens close to the centers of national power. Unlike the Pan Am Victims, the people who died in Oklahoma were mostly ordinary civil servants and their children (Gerson et al, 2001). It was not like Seidl to just pick up the phone and call the White House. Seidl's sister in law worked in Oklahoma Attorney General Drew Edmondson's office and put Seidl

in touch with Edmondson's chief aide, Richard Wintory. Edmondson had sought long and hard to reform the handling of death-sentence appeals in Oklahoma. The average stay on death row in the state penitentiary was twelve years. This struck many observers as a perversion of the great principle embodied in the common-law writ of habeas corpus (Gerson et al, 2001). Wintory explained to Seidl that since the Murrah Bombing was a federal crime, then federal habeas corpus law would apply. Wintory explained to Seidl that if he were serious about the issue, he would have to lobby for reform in Washington (Gerson et al, 2001).

Seidl met with other Oklahoma City families and the Stafford case soon became a rallying cry for the OKC families. Stafford was executed on July 1, 1995. On his last day, judges rejected several additional requests for a stay. Edmondson, knowing that those who can command the media have political power, realized that the national outpouring of sympathy for the families of the victims could be harnessed to achieve in Washington the changes that had been stymied in Oklahoma City (Gerson et al, 2001). Edmondson did not want to ever be accused of taking political advantage of the Oklahoma City tragedy. So with the understanding that the idea originated with the Oklahoma family members, Edmondson agreed to advise them on lobbying Congress for changes in the federal habeas corpus law (Gerson et al, 2001).

The OKC families began meeting regularly on tactics. There was now a bill to lobby for because convicted Oklahoma City bomber, Timothy McVeigh, inadvertently touched off an explosion of antiterrorism legislation. On April 24, 1995, when Senator Orrin Hatch introduced the 25,000 word "Comprehensive Terrorism Prevention Act of 1995," bodies were still being retrieved from the Murrah building (Gerson et al, 2001).

The document combined elements of the house bill with antiterrorism proposals made by the Clinton administration in response to the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. The bill was meant to stop frivolous appeals that were driving people nuts (i.e., required defendants to bundle their legal challenges rather than string them out serially) (Gerson et al, 2001).

Immediately the anti-terrorism bill was engulfed with amendments. To help break the deadlock, Senator Hatch called a press conference and flew in a number of injured victims and family members from OKC, including Diane Leonard. "'We cannot allow anyone to commit a crime of this magnitude and make a mockery of our criminal justice system by remaining on death row for so many years,'" Leonard said. (Gerson et al, 2001, p. 227).

The bill passed on June 7, 1995. The bill, running into trouble from both sides of the political spectrum (i.e., liberal vs. conservative) did not pass the House as quickly as it had passed the Senate. A vote was scheduled for the week of Dec. 18, 1995; however, when whips reported that nearly one hundred Republicans were still opposed or undecided, Representative Henry Hyde pulled the bill.

A few weeks earlier, in mid May, a meeting between the two widows, Diane Leonard and Victoria Cummock, took place. This would change the political calculus. Leonard and Cummock hadn't met when Cummock went to the family center in Oklahoma City. As a law-enforcement family member, Leonard was cared for by two agents in her own home and therefore, didn't have to go to the family center (Gerson et al, 2001). In November, the law-enforcement families were flown to Miami for a celebrity party to raise money for a scholarship fund. The families were arriving the

day before Thanksgiving and nobody wanted to have Thanksgiving in the hotel. So Cummock invited all 143 people to her home for Thanksgiving. Glenn Seidl, along with his son, Clint and Diane Leonard were among the individuals at Cummock's home (Gerson et al, 2001). Seidl and Leonard were discussing the discouraging news out of Washington when Leonard noticed Cummock's souvenirs, including photographs of Cummock with Dole, Bush, and Clinton. "Come here and look at this" Leonard said, "'We ought to talk to her about what we're doing' " (Gerson et al, 2001, p. 231).

That marked the beginning of an informal alliance among those whose lives had been touched by these two immense crimes---between Cummock and others who wanted to make Libya pay and Leonard, Seidl, and their allies in Oklahoma, who wanted to see Timothy McVeigh die. In the winter of 1996 about a dozen OKC family members made a lobbying trip to Washington. Cummock joined them and hosted a dinner at the Capital in Washington, D.C. Victoria (Vickie) Cummock cleverly cemented relations with the Oklahoma families so they could join forces in lobbying. Cummock had a long view of the legislative process. The Pan Am families were way ahead of OKC in terms of lobbying (Gerson et al, 2001). Cummock saw early on how her interest could be merged with those of the OKC families. Over the coming months Cummock and Leonard would speak frequently, sharing notes about their lobbying efforts for the stalled House Bill. They had a common experience of grief and loss. The Pan Am and OKC families had been thrown together by acts of violence. The two issues they cared about were linked only because they happened to be part of the same "counter-terrorism" bill. Moreover, the two groups were different in their political

outlook. The Pan Am 103 families felt betrayed by the system. The OKC families mostly just blamed Timothy McVeigh.

Finally, in late winter of 1996—Hyde called a Capitol Hill press conference to rally support for the bill, highlighting its remaining counter-terrorism provisions. The largest and most potent political presence there that day was the OKC families and the Oklahoma Attorney General. The bond that Cummock had forged with the Oklahomans—with her own tears in helping OKC victims for two weeks at the family center right after the Oklahoma City Bombing, and then with the money and effort Cummock devoted to helping Oklahoma City families lobby for their cause—was now being repaid.

On April 24, 1996, the bill passed. The families of victims of various tragedies that inspired the bill had already been summoned to Washington for the signing ceremony set for the White House Lawn. Along with others from Oklahoma, Seidl and Leonard were there, and Cummock had flown up with her children (Gerson et al, 2001). After the bill signing, Cummock paid for and arranged a reception at the Ritz Carlton Hotel, two blocks down from the White House. The invited guests included all the families from Oklahoma who had been lobbying in Washington, Cummock's attorney, Allan Gerson and his Co-counsel, Mark Zaid, and the members of Congress and their aides who had helped bring the bill to passage. It was a glorious day for, at the time, victims of the two greatest crimes against U.S. citizens of the century.

Less than three weeks later, A ValuJet DC-9 had crashed in the Everglades, killing all 109 passengers and crew. A family center was being organized, and Cummock was asked to volunteer. The influence that Cummock had on the Oklahoma

City families is foundational to the representation of the Oklahoma Standard today. As an ongoing social phenomenon, the Oklahoma Standard began not only with the immediate response of the Oklahoma City citizens but with the immediate and continual response of Victoria Cummock.

Thus far I have addressed the Oklahoma Standard and presented the connection between Victoria Cummock and the Oklahoma City families, now I will discuss the history of the Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation. In addition to creating and sustaining everyday communication practices, the Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation attempts to be the "tie that binds" the Oklahoma City survivors together. The Memorial Foundation offers survivors a way to interact amongst one another and with the foundation.

The Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation

A few months after the bombing, Oklahoma City Mayor Ronald J. Norick appointed a 350-member task force comprised of family members, survivors, rescue workers, and community volunteers to develop an appropriate memorial that would preserve the memory of the tragedy. After an eight month input campaign from the task force and more that 10,000 people across the world, an objective was formed:

1) A Symbolic Memorial to be located on the footprint of the Murrah Building
2) The Memorial Center, an interactive learning center containing the history of the bombing and biographies of those who died and the stories of those who survived.
3) The Memorial Institute, an educational component aimed at teaching the senselessness of violence and promoting programs for the prevention of terrorism (Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation, 1998).

In September 1996, the Task Force evolved into a private non-profit organization: *The Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation*. This organization was designed to implement the three memorial components and to maintain the original philosophy of the task force. The foundation, which is the core of the communications network among the survivor community, works closely with the National Board of Trust, the Memorial Foundation Board of Directors, and thirty one memorial center committees and sub-committees in order to ensure a public consensus or collective voice from the members of the survivor community. The greatest challenge for the foundation was to represent the diversity of survivors of the bombing. With so many people affected by the bomb, each with individual experiences, losses, and injuries, it was imperative to develop a conceptual definition for the term "survivor" that would represent the collective voice of its members:

> We come here to remember those who were killed,
>
> Those who survived and those changed forever.
>
> May all who leave here know the impact of violence.
>
> May this memorial offer comfort, strength, peace, hope and serenity.
>
> (Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation, 1998).

The main criterion for a successful organization is a cardinal document that gives them power to implement regulation and shared social practices that guide behavior. The above mission statement represents the values and beliefs of the collective voice. The survivor community has many unique values and beliefs about appreciation of life, death, education, and restoration. The Mission Statement, which is interchangeably used as a prayer and as a logo, is the cardinal document that empowers the

community. *The Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation*, as a non-profit organization, only engages in formal type activities, such as meetings or ceremonies.

The communication process of implementing the three components promoted interaction between the foundation employees and survivors. They influence the survivors by implementing and maintaining common everyday communication practices in order to achieve their goals. The frequency of communication between the foundation employees and the survivors creates and sustains the notion of community by translating shared meaning through concrete social practices (Adelman & Frey,1997). By including the survivors' voice in the decision making process, the building of the memorial becomes a product of symbolic interaction.

In order to keep people up to date on all memorial activities, the foundation sends out mass mailing to all survivors and particular citizens instate and out of state. These mailing are to either update people on the memorial, budgetary memorandums, memorial archives, biographies, or to invite them to a ceremony.

Each event is ritualized. For example, the original position of the fence was directly in front of the Murrah building. The fence was placed there as a safety precaution due to lose pieces of debris dangling from above. The fence immediately became a place where people could grieve or memorialize. Removing the fence in order to implode the remainder of the building for the memorial angered many people. They felt that the "sacred ground" should remain untouched. When finally agreed upon by the survivors to relocate the fence, the foundation coordinated a fence moving ceremony. "Rituals can incorporate both sides of contradictions so that they can be managed simultaneously" (Roberts as cited in Adelman & Frey, 1997, p. 94). Ritual

behavior is common among this community. As explained by Adelman and Frey (1997), ritual is often the most significant aspect of community life:

> Rituals are typically acknowledged for their symbolic value in creating a shared world among group members. They both express and reinforce jointly-held values and represent ways of coming together as a group, feeling closer to one another. (p.94)

As part of the second component of the memorial history and story line, the foundation employees collect and house the biographies of survivors who wish to tell their story. Hundreds of biographies will eventually be rotated through the memorial museum. The employees also "refresh" the symbolic fence by removing the hundreds of articles placed on it each month and then numerically organize the articles in the archive warehouse. As part of the third component of the memorial, the foundation is in charge of distributing information on terrorism.

In addition to creating and sustaining everyday communication practices, the *Oklahoma City Memorial Foundation* attempts to be the "tie that binds" the survivors together. However, not all survivors feel the unity. Occasionally, their individual differences of experience keep them from participating. Adelman and Frey explain, "Managing diversity is perhaps the most important challenge facing contemporary organizations and other collectives" (1997, p. 31). Foundation employees refer to themselves as the "lightning rod" due to the fluxing emotions of the survivors. For instance, one day survivors will praise the new memorial, another day they will disparage it. Unlike the Holocaust and Vietnam memorials that were built many years after the tragedy and built in locations other than where they occurred, the new

memorial in Oklahoma City is a footprint in that it stands in the very place of the tragic event and is a social history being developed in the present. Individuals in the community are walking around with first hand experience. As the "lightning rod" to the survivor community, the OKC Memorial Foundation offers survivors a way to interact amongst one another and with the foundation.

There are commonalities and patterns that exist among communities that have experienced a disaster (Kaniasty & Norris, 1995). The Oklahoma City survivor community will validate past research of other communities that have experienced a disaster by confirming behaviors that were exhibited by the victims of the disaster. Even though the April 19, 1995 Oklahoma City bombing is a different time and a different survivor community, there are behaviors that were exhibited by Oklahoma City survivors that will be displayed by victims in future disaster scenes. Also, the social science literature suggests that communities with prior disaster experience are more likely to place emphasis on disaster preparedness and response and to incorporate the lessons learned into emergency operations (Kaniasty & Norris, 1995).

Therefore, to better understand the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community, the following analysis addresses the following research questions:

Research Questions

RQ1: What fantasies are shared among members of the survivor culture of the Oklahoma City bombing?

RQ2: What common fantasy themes exist in stories (fantasies) shared by members within the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community?

RQ3: What fantasy types make up the shared rhetorical vision of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community?

RQ4: What is the Oklahoma Standard?

RQ5: How did Oklahoma set the standard for surviving a disaster?

To answer these questions, this dissertation is divided into the following chapters. The second chapter provides a review of literature discussing communities who have had an empowered response to disaster. The third chapter describes three theoretical frameworks including Dell Hymes' SPEAKING Model, Lawrence Wieder's Conceptual Net, and Ernest Bormann's Symbolic Convergence theory. The fourth chapter discusses the method of data collection proposed in this analysis. The fifth chapter provides an analysis of the aftermath of the bombing using Dell Hymes' SPEAKING model. The sixth chapter provides a descriptive analysis of the Oklahoma City bombing speech community using Lawrence Wieder's conceptual net. The seventh chapter looks at the storyline of the community utilizing Ernest Bormann's Symbolic Convergence theory. The eighth chapter discusses limitations, areas of future research and draws final conclusions from this project's analysis.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The purpose of this study is to examine how the Oklahoma City bombing community responded to the disaster and came together and evolved as an empowered community. This response includes the immediate response, the process of building the Oklahoma City National Memorial, the Memorial as a finished product and what the *OKC National Memorial Foundation* is doing today to support its original mission. The examination of the local Oklahoma City community's immediate empowered response to the crisis (i.e., Oklahoma Standard) along with the examination of the response in its entirety is important to determine what the Oklahoma Standard construct represents today. This discussion will explore how the participants of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community talk about the Oklahoma Standard and will explore the *Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation's* mission (empowering response) as it is carried out through the memorial.

This project considers the empowerment of communities that have experienced a disaster. There is not much written on the empowered response of a community following a disaster. The literature addressing communities that have experienced a disaster describes the aftermath, the chaos, the terrorists, the natural calamity (i.e. hurricane), the destruction of property-lives-infrastructure, and the severe need and pain of the victims of the disaster. Very little is written about the victims taking charge of their future. When reviewing literature, this researcher focused on communities that have an empowered response to a disaster. Specifically, the researcher looked for the empowerment and not the helplessness of the victims that seems to represent the

majority of the literature. This study focused on communities that are characterized by individuals who work together in pursuit of collective goals.

In order to adequately understand the theoretical frame upon which this study will be based, considering the social values, beliefs, and behaviors of members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community, the following review of literature will examine communities empowered response to disaster while focusing on Dell Hymes' SPEAKING model, Lawrence Wieder's Conceptual Net, and Ernest Bormann's Symbolic Convergence theory. The combination of these factors should reveal a theoretical framework through which to better understand the shared phenomenal world of the members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community.

There are two types of disasters: natural and human induced (Eynde & Veno, 1999). Natural disasters include forces of nature such as tornadoes, floods, and earthquakes. Human induced disasters can be divided into "Acts of Commission" and "Acts of Omission."Acts of Commission include disasters such as terrorism and an "Act of Omission" includes an event such as negligence to prevent a crisis. A community that experiences one of these disasters has identifiable points in which the progress to recovery can begin. A natural disaster has a point at which the worst can be seen and the recovery begins to take place. A "human induced" disaster creates a sense of uncertainty of how to know when the next disaster will come, the reasons of why it began, and how it can be prevented from happening in the future (Ofman & Mastria, 1995). Victims of human induced disasters have different reactions to the disaster depending on whether it was an act of omission or commission. Anger and frustration at the government are indicative for victims who experience an act of

omission because it is difficult to name a responsible party. Acts of commission have more anger and frustration aimed at the responsible parties, as they are easier to identify.

Disaster victims did not receive official recognition as a population in need of a systematic and organized plan for mental health needs until 1989. The Red Cross has been developing a service program since 1989 to help the two different groups of people who are involved in a disaster. The first group includes victims or survivors. The second group are professionals and volunteers who all experience trauma from the disaster (Weaver, Dingman, Morgan, Hong, & North, 2000). Communities that experience a disaster have four types of organizations that are created to help out in a crisis situation (Hodgkinson & Stewart, 1991). These organizations include the following:

1. Established Organizations (e.g. Fire Departments, Ambulance service, and Police Departments).
2. Expanding Organizations (e.g. Red Cross).
3. Extending Organizations (e.g. Social Service Organizations, Mental Health Agencies).
4. Emergent Organizations (e.g. this type of organization is created by the citizens who are the victims of the disaster).

On March 6, 1987 a passenger car ferry capsized en route to the Belgian port of Zeebrugge killing at least one hundred fifty passengers and thirty-eight crew members. This disaster led the community to form an emergent organization. Emergent organizations are private citizens who work together in pursuit of collective goals

relevant to actual or potential disasters but whose organization has not become institutionalized. Such organizations may be motivated by feelings that the statutory agencies cannot or will not do what is needed. The Herald Families Association, a self help group providing mutual support but devoted to achieving prosecution to those who caused the Zeebrugge disaster and to campaigning for more stringent ferry safety regulations is an example of such an organization (Rappaport, 1981).

Rappaport (1981) proposed the term “Empowerment” to describe the most basic value seen in communities that experience a disaster. He challenged the academic community to study how local communities are solving their own problems and how they learn to do it (p.182). Saegert (1989) found this advice helpful by interviewing thirty seven residents in a New York tenement-housing crisis. A Harlem section of New York had faced a housing crisis when the owners had defaulted on paying their property taxes for the apartments occupied by the tenants. Saegert found an empowered group of individuals who had no prior experience in leadership roles but had formed a cooperative to manage, control, and even purchase their own buildings. Kieffer (1984) found a number of community led organizations with individuals evolving from relative powerlessness to relative empowerment. Kieffer’s research suggests a four stage developmental process of communities experiencing a crisis. One such community is the townspeople of Banksia. Banksia village located in Victoria, Australia found trauma in 1994, when townspeople found that the local Sunday school teacher had been sexually molesting children for the past forty years. Kieffer’s four stage model can be applied to the developmental stages that Banksia townspeople experienced.

These stages are as follows:

1. An era of entry. Individuals in a crisis sense their powerlessness but also recognize a shared sense of pride and determination. Banksia residents had a clear vision of how the community group should operate. To defend against further abuse of the townspeople, they decided meetings should be positive experiences for town members. They were defining a bottom up process of community participation, which had the potential of increasing the participants' feelings of control and allowed the opportunity to develop or select programs that matched their needs and values. (Eynde & Veno, 1999, p.183)

2. The era of achievement. Victims of the disaster will find a mentor who acts as a role model, ally, and friend. Community members become involved in an organization that helps them become more critical of the social, economic, and political situation. These insights deepen awareness and lead to a dedicated attempt to enter the political arena.

Outside agencies were working under the assumption that the community was needy, injured, or sick. This underestimated the commitment of the community, undervalued the community they were trying to fix, and disregarded the hidden but powerful supportive networks operating in helping organizations in the area. This ignited the community into action, and galvanized the community into a common cause: Reclamation of their right to determine their own healing. (Eynde et al, p.185)

3. The era of incorporation. Participants incorporate their newfound sense of mastery and an acceptance of themselves as political actors into a sense of identity. Organizational skills are intensified, multiple role conflicts are balanced, and

participants learn to contend with the permanence of institutional barriers. These factors serve to strengthen resolve and determination, and this sense of mastery heralds a newly developed sense of empowerment. (Eynde et al, p.186)

4. The era of commitment. Banksia's Recovery Community Group began as a small collection of residents who invited outsiders for assistance. It has survived many attacks on its viability and independence from outside government agencies and from within its own ranks. With its passage through time, it has reflected the town's pain and anguish while demonstrating its ability to resolve its problems constructively. It is a constantly evolving mechanism with its mission clearly designated as community healing. (Eynde et al, p.188)

Lahad (1990) found that coping strategies and skills of individuals and groups can be listed as a mnemonic acronym called 'BASIC Ph.' The 'B' stands for beliefs that groups rely on to guide them through a disaster. The 'A' stands for affect of emotions, as some groups will cope by openly sharing tears and laughter. The 'S' stands for the sociability and support that some groups create as part of their identity and role. The 'I' stands for imagination because groups will divert the awful facts by daydreaming and fantasizing to escape thinking about the disaster. The 'C' stands for cognition as some groups use that kind of strategy for gathering information, problem solving, and planning. The 'Ph' stands for physical, which allows some groups to cope by playing games and doing physical activities to deal with the disaster.

The task of the group leader is to identify a groups unique coping strategies by using these dimensions to help the group utilize the best mix for success. The following tools for disaster recovery have been found to help group leaders facilitate

in the groups healing. Group leaders must (a) organize a formal psychological debriefing; (b) enable the group to meet a new challenge; (c) facilitate small groupings; (d) mix with the group; (e) provide accurate information; (f) enable rituals. “The most useful thing the leader may be able to do is to create space for group discussion about the issue” (Hodgkinson & Stewart, 1991, p. 131).

The coping activities of a community to crises such as natural disasters have shown high levels of mutual helping. This type of community is known as an Altruistic or therapeutic community or the post disaster utopia (Kaniasty & Norris, 1999). Heightened internal solidarity and the disappearance of community conflicts are two important variables that distinguish this collective. Kutak (1938) observed that camaraderie and a sense of affinity replaced the formal and stereotyped relationships that exist prior to the disaster.

> For the moment we were as one, and I was the brother of the toothless Filipino crone who sat beside me and smoked a big black cigar. Near me was a charming Southern woman, the widow of an old friend of mine. She accepted a cigarette from a Negro piano player. Ours was the democracy of brotherhood of common disaster. (Carl Crows account of the bombing of Shanghai, *Harpers Magazine*, December 1937, cited in Kutak, 1938).

Disasters that befall a group of individuals that were a community before the disaster have a history of helping relationships that will aid with the recovery process (Hodgkinson & Stewart, 1991). The leader of such a group has a particularly important role in the recovery process, known as 'Grief Leadership.' Frequently, consultants or outside experts are brought in to deal directly with victims affected by

the disaster leaving out the leader of the affected group. Coping strategies require the group to maintain its relational structure with the directions coming from the individuals who already have the trust of the group. The group thus becomes responsible for its own recovery fighting off the sense of helplessness that a disaster can create. When citizens' come together to confront a crisis, their collective efforts may influence institutions and processes in which they had no prior leverage. As a result of their isolation from others in the community and their inability to rely on traditional institutions, they may develop a sense of common purpose among themselves and create new institutions specifically to meet the challenge (Rich, Edelstein, Hallman, & Wandersman, 1995, p. 664). Disasters can enable a community to acquire what ironically would appear to be taken away in a crisis situation: Empowerment.

In 1996, the NADA/F (National Air Disaster Alliance/Foundation) lobbied for the Aviation Disaster Family Assistance Act. This organization provides "emotional support and political advocacy for plane crash victims and those who have lost loved ones in air accidents" (Tragedy, 2001, p.68). Mary Kahl, a survivor of United Airlines Flight 232 that crash-landed in Sioux City Iowa on July 19, 1989 states, "I was given a gift and I like to share that with others" (p. 68). The crash claimed one hundred twelve lives. The NADA/F and similar organizations have created a web site (planesafe.org) to help survivors of this and other disasters to share memories and to find others who went through their own disaster. The site has "grown into a network of support tools since its launch in 1996, hosting an online memorial where victims of air accidents all over the world log on to share their pain and memories" (p. 68).

Most of the families of victims of the 1988 Pan Am Flight 103 (Lockerbie) terrorist attack were meeting within weeks of the crash to see how they could turn their grief and pain into something more tangible. Paul Hudson helped to create and lead the first association of family members of Pan Am Flight 103. The group called themselves *Victims of Pan Am Flight 103*. The community was articulate, had reason to be vocal, and had proximity to the press in New York City. This proved to be an effective combination in lobbying for justice. Their mission was to find the reason why the disaster occurred and to see if this kind of disaster could be stopped in the future. This group wanted action and became very competent in dealing with government and private agencies. The families of the victims formed a PAC (Political Action Committee), a legal committee, an investigation committee, and a press committee. They demanded "notification of passengers and airport and airline personnel of all serious threats, better detection equipment, better trained security personnel and more rigorous security procedures at airports" (Emerson and Duffy, 1990, p. 221-222). Their efforts helped to isolate Libya from international destinations for the airline industry (Gerson & Adler, 2001).

In the early part of the summer of 1989, the *Victims of Pan Am Flight 103* were publishing a newsletter and picketing the offices of Pan Am in New York and were well on their way to meeting with all hundred United States Senators or their aids" (Emerson & Duffy, 1990, p. 223). A similar group was formed in Great Britain called *United Kingdom Families Flight 103*. Its goals and tactics were similar and both groups communicated with each other regularly. Their mission was to ensure that those who were responsible would be brought to justice.

The Bhopal Gas Affected Women Workers Organization (BGPMUS) was the result of a group of sewing centers created after the Union Carbide disaster in India. On December 3, 1984 over forty tons of highly poisonous methyl isocyanate gas leaked out of the pesticide factory of Union Carbide in Bhopal. Thousands died in the immediate aftermath. At least 10,000 have died in the years that have passed. However, the hundreds of thousands who survived face a fate worse than death. They suffer from acute breathlessness, brain damage, menstrual chaos, and loss of immunity. But far from receiving sympathy or assistance from those responsible, the survivors are being treated as though they are criminals. Twelve years later, Union Carbide continues to victimize them by withholding information about the gas and possible courses of treatment.

The community of women (BGPMUS) were created initially to find solutions to the women's need for jobs but grew into a group of like minded women intent on demonstrating against Union Carbide for the deaths of 10,000 and the 50,000 + survivors of the disaster. Attorneys have been hired to make the guilty accountable for the disaster. Awareness of their power as a community has enabled the women of Bhopal to become conscience of this and many other inequities in their own lives (Suketu, 1996).

There can be a number of agendas connected to the peripheral groups that descend on a disaster. One such community that had to deal with another groups' agenda is the townspeople of the Westray coal mine. The Westray community empowered itself by denying journalists the power to sensationalize the disaster. The Westray community in Plymouth Nova Scotia witnessed twenty six men trapped in a

collapsed mine. Politicians as well as the press attempted to use the disaster for their own gain. Early in the five day wait, the "families declared a boycott of the press. Reporters were not allowed access to the fire hall where the families waited" (Oneill, 1999, p. 260). The families had decided early on that "they did not want to talk to the press. They had no interest in hearing press coverage that speculated constantly about the fate of the trapped miners" (p. 261).

Hurricane Andrew created a community of survivors who had been frustrated with the bureaucratic platform in place to deal with this type of emergency. FEMA (Federal Emergency Management Agency) was particularly proud of the eight hundred number it had acquired for the victims of the hurricane. It failed to impress the survivors, as it was not able to handle the volume of callers. A message had to be recorded ad hoc saying to try calling back in a few days, as no one could be currently available to answer the call. There was the assumption that everyone had access to a phone in an area with destroyed communication lines. Political maneuvering by George Bush Sr. and Governor Chiles dawdling over contracts and deliveries submitted by the lowest bidder effectively stalled the type of immediate relief desperately needed by those left homeless and hurt by the hurricane. If any kind of lobbying by the victims took place, it might be said that the election that year went to (Clinton) the candidate who did not hide behind bureaucratic excuses (Mathews & Katel, 1992).

The public's response following the Northridge earthquake of January 17, 1994, was consistent with an altruistic pattern. The premise of the altruistic community is a sense of community and ability to recover from a disaster. Individuals

demonstrated high levels of responsiveness and self-help amongst one another (Tierney, 1995). Community residents spontaneously helped one another, and many volunteered their assistance to those needing help. Communities that have "cohesion and mutual support become an all powerful shield that protects against longer term deleterious effects of disasters" (Kaniasty & Norris, 1999, p. 35). Donations poured into the area and even those who suffered losses in the earthquake helped other individuals that they considered worse off. Criminal activity dropped. For example, the Los Angeles Police arrested only seventy three people in a twenty four hour period following the earthquake, while the usual average is around 550 (Tierney, 1995). The initial search at the Northridge Meadows apartment complex, where the collapse of the first floor of one of the buildings killed sixteen people and left a number of victims trapped, was conducted by other apartment residents and neighborhood volunteers. When fire and rescue teams arrived, as many as 180 occupants had already gotten out either on their own or with the help of their neighbors. The public's response pattern of spontaneous altruism and self-help that occurred throughout the region during the post-impact period is consistent with what has been observed in other major earthquake events, such as the 1985 Mexico City earthquake and the 1989 Loma Prieta event (O' Brien & Mileti, 1993; Wenger & James, 1994).

Studies have demonstrated that the outpouring of support in a community emergency can create problems for the governmental and response agencies that are unprepared to handle the large convergence of volunteers and resources that occurs when disaster strikes (Fritz & Mathewson, 1957). Northridge earthquake responders reported the major challenge of effectively deploying and managing the immense

volume of human and material resources that were made available to them (Tierney, 1995).

In Miramesi Honduras, a community of families had lived together for generations. When Hurricane Mitch disrupted their normal routine by relocating people to temporary shelters, the community leaders decided to move the community to a safer place relatively free from flooding by the Cholucteca river. Contributions were solicited from a number of sources including the Internet. On the first Sunday in February the Miramesi settlers arrived early to clear brush and thorny acacia trees from their new neighborhood, men and women alike working under a cloudy sky, swinging their machetes, fueled with the energy that comes with hope. "We see now that the Lord hasn't abandoned us despite all that we have suffered" (Williams & Musi, 1999, p. 122).

The dominant disaster literature suggests that most communities perceive the disaster as negative, render the inhabitants to be incapable of coping with the disaster, and attempt to restore the community to pre disaster levels. However, research is inconsistent showing community outcomes of coping strategies to be on a continuum between failure and success. Studies conducted by Bravo, Rubio-Stipec, Woodbury and Ribera (1990) and Omar and Alon (1994) "hint at the possibility of communities being capable of managing their own affairs and drawing on their own resources to overcome environmental events" (Eynde & Veno, 1999, p. 171).

A large majority of disaster victims develop into survivors without professional intervention by mental health specialists. Survivors will, in many cases, develop a sense of self-efficacy coming from their own community. "In most

communities, a natural helping network evolves to promote the recovery process by offering practical assistance, sharing stories, giving emotional support, and performing rituals. Fundamentally and ultimately, the recovery depends on the members of the community" (Echterling & Wylie, 1999, p. 341).

Being "connected" to others, through sharing common values, experiences, and beliefs is characteristic of human nature. It is through the connection of shared meaning found within a place or group that humans construct a community. Community is created and sustained by the everyday patterns of human interaction. In a sense, culture is made and re-made as shared meanings are learned through the exchange of symbols. This study focuses on individuals who find a sense of community through sharing first hand experiences of a tragic event. It is through the social meaning of the event that the Oklahoma City bombing survivors can understand and make sense of their world. Mead's (1934) theory of symbolic interactionism states that the development of self occurs through messages and feedback received from others. The survivors of the Oklahoma City bombing began constructing a community out of social interactions: Ultimately (re) figuring the reality of the tragedy into their everyday lives. Survivor identity emerges out of interactions among victims. In other words, communication transforms victims into survivors. This study focuses on the socially constructed survivor community of the Oklahoma City bombing. There will be three different theoretical frameworks used to analyze the collected ethnographic data. This study follows the basic framework of Dell Hymes' (1972, 1974) ethnography of communication. The various concepts provided in the SPEAKING acronym act as a guideline for analysis of this study. Next, Lawrence Wieder's

conceptual network of ideas is considered, which will then be narrowed to a set of research questions for consideration in this analysis. This conceptual network of ideas will act as a frame upon which the data will be analyzed. Finally, the constructs of Ernest Bormann's symbolic convergence theory will be used to analyze data collected through field notes, archival documents, and interviews. Dell Hymes' (1972, 1974) SPEAKING theory, Lawrence Wieder's conceptual network, and Ernest Bormann's symbolic convergence theory provide an overall framework for the analysis of the shared phenomenal world of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community.

CHAPTER 3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Dell Hymes' SPEAKING model

In 1962, Hymes' proposed "ethnography of speaking" as a way to study how people talked. Later the name was changed to include other symbolic means of expression and called ethnography of communication. One of Hymes' goals was to create a model that helped researchers study language use in specific contexts. Hymes thought that by looking at how people actually *use* language, patterns could be discovered that otherwise would not be by just looking at the words themselves.

Hymes (1974) states that, "the starting point is the ethnographic analysis of the communication conduct of a community" (p. 9). Communication conduct is what people do when they communicate with each other. Hymes set out to show that researchers could use his methods to study this communication (talk) systematically. After deciding upon one of the six basic units to observe (i.e., a speech community, situation, event, act, style or way of speaking) a researcher can then proceed to analyze it by using one of the tools that Hymes developed. These tools can be remembered easily by thinking about the word, SPEAKING. By using the tools of SPEAKING, a researcher opens up the potential meanings of a speech community by examining these smaller units.

For purposes of investigation, this study follows the basic framework of Dell Hymes' (1972, 1974) ethnography of communication. Hymes SPEAKING model will act as a theoretical frame upon which the data will be analyzed. The various concepts provided in the SPEAKING acronym act as a guideline for analysis of this study. The data for the current study provide a detailed description of the Oklahoma City bombing

survivor culture. The use of ethnography as a research tool for considering the Oklahoma City bombing community will help to understand the statements of the survivors in order to grasp their point of view about being a member of the Oklahoma City survivor culture.

In taking an ethnographic approach to inquire about how communities are organized, we can understand many of the cultural components employed in the process of organizing (Duranti, 1988; Spradley, 1979; Hymes, 1974), including *speech community – participants and context*; and *language use – message form and content and norms of interaction*. By viewing language as a "device for categorizing experience" and as "an instrument of communication" (Hymes, 1974, p.19), the model highlights the role of language in performing communicative social functions. By exploring "the meaning of language in human life" (Hymes, 1972, p. 41), the SPEAKING model affords a means to view the interaction of language with social life as a matter of human action (Hymes, 1972, p. 53). Moreover, by focusing on the socially situated use of language, the SPEAKING model emphasizes the importance of context, or as Hymes words it, "the emergent properties of language whereby form and meaning emerge in contexts" (Hymes, 1972, p. 63).

According to Hymes (1974), a speech community is defined "as a community sharing knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech" (p. 51). The specific *speech community* to be considered in this project is the community of the Oklahoma City bombing survivors. The components of a speech community will be considered using the SPEAKING acronym grid. A definition for each component in the SPEAKING grid is as follows (adapted from Hymes, 1974).

Situation	Setting and Scene in which the communication takes place.
Participants	The people involved, their roles and relationship; Both the speaker, sender or addressor and the hearer, receiver, audience, or addressee.
Ends	Two aspects of purpose: goals and outcomes of the communication.
Acts	Message form and message content; syntactic structure; act sequence.
Key	Tone and manner of the communication; spirit of encounter.
Instrumentality	The channel (verbal, nonverbal, physical) or medium of the communication.
Norms of interaction And interpretation	Interpretation of norms within the cultural belief system; specific properties attached to speaking; guidelines for or standards of interaction; the production and perception of language within
Genre	Discourse, textual categories - such as prayers, mission statements, sermon, printed literature representative of the culture, tale, lecture, poem.

The SPEAKING grid can be used to consider culturally relative understandings and interpretations of communicative events as they occur within specific communities

(Schiffrin, 1994). When applied to the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community, a definition for each component in the SPEAKING grid is as follows:

Situation	The Oklahoma City bombing survivor community; The setting and scene immediately after the bombing.
Participants	Members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community – the rescue workers, the volunteers, the survivors and families of victims, and the local Oklahoma City community.
Ends	Purposes, goals and outcomes – Communicative behaviors which illustrate the purposes and goals of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community.
Acts	Message form and content – Topics appropriate for discussion; descriptions of experiences as a member of the culture, including one's view of the Oklahoma Standard.
Key	Tone, manner -- communicative behaviors that reflect the spirit and expectations of the Oklahoma City Bombing survivor community.
Instrumentality	Channel (physical memorial, verbal and nonverbal communication), Community repertoire: Use of formal vs. informal language.
Norms of interaction	Standards attached to speaking;

and interpretation	Interpretation of norms within the cultural belief system.
Genre	Textual categories – printed literature representative of the culture such as letters from children written to rescuers.

Next, a conceptual network of ideas is considered, which will then be narrowed to a set of research questions for consideration in this analysis. This conceptual network of ideas will act as a frame upon which the data will be analyzed.

2. Lawrence Wieder's Conceptual Net

This framework was developed by Dr. Lawrence Wieder, a professor at the University of Oklahoma's Department of Communication. Due to his untimely death, the conceptual net was not published. My ideas here are based on notes taken from a Qualitative Methods class at OU in Spring, 2000 under Dr. Wieder's instruction. A brief history of the conceptual net will be presented along with a conceptual network of ideas or research questions pertaining to the study underway.

Ethnographers are expected to speak the phenomena yielded through the standard schemes or to say why nothing of the standardized sort has been observed. Either one part of a standardized scheme is of main focus in a particular ethnography or concepts outside the scheme are guiding the ethnography, informing it along the way. Taking note of the scheme is useful in developing a conceptual net and in pursuing what McCall and Simmons (1978) call analytic description. Analytic description uses concepts, propositions, and empirical generalizations of a body of scientific theory as guidelines in analysis and reporting (McCall & Simmons, 1978).

Basic concepts for analytic description and anyone's ethnography include the idea of culture, standardized patterns of behavior, and social maps (Wieder, 2002). Of these constituents, the conception of culture is most fundamental to ethnography. Spradley (1979) provides a good sketch. Culture, as used in [Spradley's] book, refers to the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behavior. This concept of culture (as a system of meaningful symbols) has much in common with symbolic interactionism [Spradley refers to Cooley, Mead, Thomas, and Blumer. His conception is also related to the non-symbolic interactionists of Weber, Dilthey, and Schutz]. Emerson (1962), Goffman (1963), Schutz (1962), and Wax (1967), delineate the ethnographic task of uncovering culture in terms of examining ongoing worlds over their actual course, first hand, with the aim of uncovering the meaning of the activities (which make up that world) to those who do them.

The terms "ethnographic proposal" seem to be an oxymoron because ethnographies are designed over the course of doing them (Wieder, 2000, Lecture notes on the Ethnographic Proposal). Lofland and Lofland (1995) state the conventional ethnographic view of the enterprise:

> The researcher performs the tasks of selecting topics, decides what questions to ask, and forges <u>interest in the course of the research itself.</u> This is in sharp contrast to many "theory-driven" and "hypothesis-testing" methods of research in which the topics of observation and analysis, the questions about them, and the possible kinds of interests the findings might have are all carefully and clearly specified before one begins to gather data.
>
> [In ethnographic research]…focusing decisions are postponed…to allow the

> investigator more latitude…to attend to the setting under study in its own terms [emphasis added]… [Ethnographic studies] are inherently and by design open-ended….Intellectually and operationally, analysis emerges from the interaction of gathered data…and focusing decisions. (1995, p. 5)

Despite the fact that ethnographic research is substantially designed over the course of doing it, the ethnographer is often faced with the request or demand that some sort of proposal be constructed very early in the conduct of a study. The ethnographer recognizes that early commitment to a limited set of questions or hypothesis is likely to push observation and interpretation of it into the categories of the questions or hypotheses. Furthermore, the ethnographer with experience knows that research driven by smart questions fashioned without adequate reconnoitering of the setting is likely to be unfruitful. As protection against both of these forms of trouble, the ethnographer avoids firm commitment to a single question or small set of questions. He or she develops multiple questions that provide tentative guidance at early stages of the research. The ethnographer knows that many of these questions will be abandoned and is prepared to abandon all of them. Even if they are all abandoned (and this is rare), they still give initial direction that results in the posing of well-founded questions after the research is well under way.

At the heart of Wieder's ethnographic proposal is a conceptual net. Named after the fisherman's net, the conceptual net consists of an ensemble of research questions at different levels pertaining to the study underway. These questions are directly linked to subtopics of the study.

The conceptual net is a social reality map often defined in terms of: 1) the phenomenal world; 2) the definition of the situation; 3) and the concept of culture (which includes norms, values, beliefs, roles, and social selves). Patterns of behavior or social structures derive from culture. A social structure coupled with a social reality map answers the big sociological question: “Why do they act as they do?” The “causal connection” between both social reality and social structures is a matter of analysis in which “meaningfulness” and “predictability” are criteria. We must come to terms with a pre-conceptualized, pre-interpreted, pre-selected, pre-ordered world. A world of objects that is interlaced with common sense constructs. One of the ethnographers’ aims is to get access to these common sense constructs and analyze their part in ordering a natural social world (Wieder, 2000).

The conceptual net is a network of ideas. The ethnographer begins by asking many questions that pertain to the social world. A primary purpose of asking many detailed questions is that it leads the ethnographer to points of attention and wonder. In doing so, the ethnographer takes interest in constructs that otherwise, may have passed her by. It is important to note to the reader that not every question in the conceptual net is answered.

Some of the net's questions are logical alternatives to other questions on the list. Other alternatives are simple practical alternatives--if some questions turn out to be unanswerable, in some other way unresearchable, or their answers are uninteresting, then other questions on the list can be pursued. More questions are included in the net than will actually be answered in the research. The questions in the conceptual net are questions the researcher asks himself or herself. It is only in rare cases that versions of

these questions are asked of participants. Questions in the conceptual net are developed through brainstorming. The suggestions for developing the conceptual net that follow are based on the elaborated lecture notes taken in Wieder's Qualitative Method's course (2000) at the University of Oklahoma.

1. First ask yourself what in this setting interests you as a scholar? State these interests in as many questions as you can.
2. Reflect on each question, revise them if useful, and extend the list based on your reflections.
3. Underline the concepts. Ask yourself if taking note of these concepts suggests further questions. If further questions are suggested, add these to the list.
4. Attempt to put the questions in logical order. Some questions may be aspects of higher order questions. If you see that, then rearrange the list and use what you see to develop further questions. If questions appear to be missing at this point, then write them now.

Again, it is important to note that not every question in the conceptual net is answered or perhaps, the answer to a particular question lies within the answer of another question. Please note that these questions helped this ethnographer to conceptualize this project in its entirety. The following conceptual net directs attention to this ethnographer's study.

Conceptual Net

1. What is a <u>survivor community</u>?

    A. What is a <u>survivor</u>?

    B. What are their <u>rules</u>?

C. What are their rights?

D. Who defines survivor?

E. What is the geographic location of a survivor?

F. What are the survivors' expectations?

G. What are the different types of relationships established among survivors'?

H. What networks have been formed within the community?

I. What are the patterns of cliques developed within the survivor community?

J. What are some of the survivor beliefs and values?

K. What individual roles have been established?

L. What norms are considered to be socially correct within their community?

M. What is the Mission Statement?

2. What is the Oklahoma Standard?

A. When did the Oklahoma Standard begin?

B. Who refers to the Oklahoma Standard?

C. How is the Oklahoma Standard different from any other State's Standard?

D. Is the Oklahoma Standard a shared meaning among the greater community?

E. What is the nation's perception of the Oklahoma Standard?

3. What is the meaning of loss and innocence?

4. What is the story of the Oklahoma City bombing?

A. Whose voices authorized public and private versions of the story?

B. Who is the primary voice? Survivors

C. Who is the secondary voice? Rescuers

D. Who determined the story?

E. How many chapters are in the story?

F. What are the significant issues and content of the story?

G. What is the final chapter of the story?

5. Define the process of creating the story of the memorial?

A. How does the storyteller tell the story?

B. Are they emotional?

C. Are they speaking in first or third person?

D. Are they speaking in the present or past tense?

E. Do these speech-acts fluctuate?

6. Which storytellers claim the story?

A. What criteria must an individual meet to claim his/her story?

B. Are there discrepancies in claiming the story?

C. Is there dishonesty in claiming the story?

D. Why would an individual want to claim his or her story?

E. Why would an individual want to remain anonymous?

F. What sort of a thing is a story?

G. What is the moral lesson of the story?

H. How do survivors remember the story?

7. What is a Memorial?

A. What is the OKLAHOMA CITY National Memorial Act of 1997?

B. How did this Act create the Memorial Foundation Organization?

C. What is the purpose of the memorial foundation?

D. Is the Memorial foundation the center of the survivor community?

E. How many members are involved with the memorial foundation?

F. How many survivors are taking an active role in the memorial?

G. What is the foundation doing to gain survivor support?

H. How important is the memorial to the survivors?

I. What is the national relationship to the memorial?

J. What is Oklahoma's relationship to the memorial?

K. What is the survivor's relationship to the memorial?

L. What symbolic artifacts are used in relationship to the memorial?

M. How is space recreated to build the memorial?

N. What are the visitor's ways of seeing?

O. What does the survivor want the visitor to learn from the memorial?

Thus, the conceptual net is a network of ideas that assists in the formulation of questions that pertain to the natural social world understudy. The concepts of culture (i.e., speech rights, rules, values, norms, and beliefs, and language and memory) lend themselves to specific points of interest in the present study.

3. Ernest Bormann's Symbolic Convergence theory

Ernest Bormann explored various types of rhetorical narratives in the creation of human communication and cultures (Bormann, 1977). Convergence theory is based on Robert Bale's research on small-group communication. Bales found that groups will often become dramatic and share stories during moments of tension. Bormann applied this idea to rhetorical action in society at large. Bormann found that stories are created in symbolic interaction within small groups, and they are chained out from

person to person and group to group. Stories which groups create about themselves and outsiders enable members to share a group identity while teaching and reinforcing behavioral norms.

Bormann (1980) argues that symbolic convergence theory represents a general theory of communication. It transcends rhetorical communities and various communication contexts. Bormann (1983) argues that communication is culture. For Bormann, a fantasy is little more than a story. Bormann believes that group members share a fantasy when they listen to a story. When a collection of individuals share a set of common fantasies, that collection of individuals will be transformed into a cohesive group. Bormann calls this process of finding commonality, symbolic convergence. Symbolic convergence explains how individuals build a sense of community or a group consciousness. Convergence happens when people unite their private symbolic worlds to achieve a meeting of the minds. As these individual private worlds come together, people share symbol systems. Bormann uses fantasy theme analysis as the method to discover the meaning stories have for a group. Stock situations told over and over again and again within a group are known as fantasy types. Bormann (1980) compares a fantasy-type to a recurring script in a group's culture. Bormann believes group members come to share a rhetorical vision by sharing fantasies and fantasy types. The rhetorical vision pulls them together and gives them a sense of identification. In this process, people converge as they share their fantasy themes. Fantasy themes are story lines that contain possibly different characters, but the plot or the moral of the story will be the same. Such fantasy themes, in turn, may become part of a society's story about itself. This process serves to sustain the members' sense of

community. Shared rhetorical visions and fantasy types can be taken as evidence that convergence has taken place. By (re) figuring the reality of the tragedy into their everyday lives, the Oklahoma City survivors converged together and found a new identity in a new co-culture of social interactions.

The theoretical constructs of symbolic convergence theory provide a theoretical framework for the analysis of the shared phenomenal world of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. This study seeks to identify the interaction between survivors of the Oklahoma City bombing and to discover the meaning stories have for the community. Thus, the following research questions are posed:

RQ1: What fantasies are shared among members of the survivor culture of the Oklahoma City bombing?

RQ2: What common fantasy themes exist in stories (fantasies) shared by members within the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community?

RQ3: What fantasy types make up the shared rhetorical vision of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community?

Acknowledging the Oklahoma Standard is of critical importance if one is to understand the survivor community of Oklahoma City because when people refer to the tragic events that took place on April 19, 1995, they find comfort in discussing the goodness that emerged out of an evil act. For purposes of this study, the parameters of the Oklahoma Standard lie only within the lexica of the survivor community and how they articulate the concept. If the Oklahoma Standard construct is to be understood clearly, it must be answered by the participants themselves. Thus, the following research questions are posed:

RQ4: What is the Oklahoma Standard?

RQ5: How did Oklahoma set the standard for surviving a disaster?

CHAPTER 4

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The disciplines of communication, sociology, and anthropology offer a broad realm of research on survivors. When reviewing selected studies, I chose to fuse the terms 'survivor,' and 'community,' together to form a single phenomenon, which is atypical to communication research. Observation and review of literature enabled me to perceive this culture as a new style community in OKC. The type of data collected in ethnography increases the validity of the research. Data for this study was collected for thirteen months, in three time periods, over the course of five years. During the first time period, research was conducted from January 1999 to May 1999, four years after the April 19, 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. Data was collected by two coders and two observers for the first time period of this study. During the second time period, research was conducted from February 2002 to April 2002, seven years after the OKC bombing. There was one observer and two coders during the second time period of data collection. During the third time period, research was conducted from January 2003 to May 2003, eight years after the OKC bombing. Research was conducted again for a few weeks around the ninth anniversary, nine years after the OKC bombing. There was one observer and two coders during the third time period of data collection. This research focuses solely on the construction of community.

The Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation was the initial entry site of ethnographic research. In order to become acquainted with the survivor community, I had to become an intern of the Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation. Intern duties included stuffing envelopes, depositing donations, answering telephones,

photocopying, assisting during ceremonies and symposiums, and attending meetings. . By being labeled their intern, I had the unique opportunity to network among the survivor community, build relationships, and witness particular backstage behavior that permitted me access to first hand information. It was through the participation of meetings and ceremonies that I was introduced to various informants inside the survivor community. Early in my research, I was given special permission to attend survivor meetings that were held weekly. As a non-profit organization, the foundation only engages in formal type activities, such as meetings and ceremonies. This researcher did not have the opportunity to participate/observe at any informal activities coordinated by the survivors themselves.

The respondents were chosen as to include survivors, family members of victims, rescue workers, Memorial Foundation employees, volunteers, media reporters, and the local residents of OKC. Interviews were designed to elicit initial accounts of the respondents' bombing experience, followed by a series of questions relating to the symbolic artifacts, the memorial and the Memorial Foundation, the collective story, the media, the Fourth Anniversary, the Seventh Anniversary, the Eighth Anniversary, the Ninth Anniversary, the Oklahoma Standard, survivor interaction, and everyday communication practices.

The observations of the study were collected at two distinct settings. Outdoor observations were conducted at symbolic settings, such as the fence, the Ground Breaking Ceremony, the Remembrance Garden and Fountain of Tears, and at anniversary ceremonies. Indoor observations were conducted at settings such as formal meetings. Field work at these meetings focused on three aspects: 1) verbal information

transmitted to an audience; 2) feedback expected upon reception of the message; 3) parliamentary procedure used in all decision making. For example, survivors talk in their meetings with phrases such as, “We come here tonight folks… Tonight we’ll be giving you an update on… Can we see a show of hands?”

The first part of the data consists of thirty six accounts, collected four years after the bombing: ten individual interviews, eighteen first-person accounts, several survivor meetings ranging between thirty to forty people, two National Memorial Foundation meetings involving sixty to three hundred people, four months of volunteer work with the National Memorial Foundation (which permitted me to observe and take field notes), visits to the archives and the Federal Employees Credit Union, the Ground Breaking Ceremony, and the ceremony of the Fourth Anniversary.

The second part of the data consists of ten accounts, collected seven years after the bombing: four individual interviews, two OKC National Memorial Foundation meetings, visits to the archives, and the ceremony of the Seventh Anniversary.

The third part of the data consists of two hundred one accounts, collected eight and nine years after the bombing; seven individual interviews, ten visits to the archives (i.e., examination of archival documents including thirteen survivors, seventy nine volunteers, and ninety rescuer accounts of the Oklahoma City bombing), and the ceremonies of the Eighth and Ninth Anniversaries of the Oklahoma City bombing.

The participants include eleven USAR Rescue Teams that assisted with the recovery effort in Oklahoma City. Rescuer accounts were obtained from rescuers who were mostly from large urban areas including Pheonix, Arizona, Los Angeles, Menlo Park, and Sacramento, California, Dade County, Florida, Montgomery County,

Maryland, New York City, New York, Fairfax County and Virginia Beach, Virginia, Peirce-King counties, Washington. These rescuer accounts exist in archival documents housed in the archives of the Oklahoma City National Memorial.

Accounts of rescuers from Oklahoma City were obtained by both examining archival documents and conducting interviews. Interviews were in-depth and lasted between one to three hours depending on individuals desire to disclose. Discussions were tape recorded (with permission) and transcribed verbatim; thereby preserving the participants' own use of language. The data were first collected and then analyzed in order to develop working concepts and themes. Emphasis has been on participant observation and conceptual development.

Ethnographic research tends to maximize validity because people are studied communicating in a natural context. In attending the Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation meetings and survivor meetings, this researcher experienced firsthand real-life interaction as individuals were observed comforting one another as they shared stories. During the facilitation of meetings, I observed parliamentary procedure in negotiation and decision-making, and turn-taking as individuals discussed issues regarding the memorial and the survivor community as a whole. Studying this community in a natural context allowed the inclusion of all the elements that are part of a survivor's environment. Variables that are considered unimportant or extraordinary are all included in the ethnographic research. One never knows what piece of information is the key to unlocking the nature of the connection that holds a culture together (Frey, Botan, and Kreps, 2000).

This researcher recorded the behaviors that people do unconsciously, and consequently are never mentioned during an interview. I noticed this especially when observing survivor meetings. I observed individuals express, both verbally and nonverbally, their feelings intimately with one another. I don't think that I would have obtained such disclosure and intimacy through interviews.

Ethnographic research permitted long-term contact with subjects. This ethnographer observed people engaging in activities for long periods of time, which allowed for thorough data gathering. A long amount of time (thirteen months over the course of five years) was set aside to study the culture that emerged after the OKC bombing. This allowed the researcher to collect large sets of ethnographic data (e.g., longitudinal research). Due to longer observation periods, people became less self-conscious about the researcher's presence. Overtime, subjects in the survivor community were more interested in the demands of the situation than the fact that they were being studied.

Ethnography and Subjectivity

Both meetings held by the Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation and survivor meetings were very intense emotionally. Everyone seemed very alert to the agenda in order (i.e., process of building the memorial, consoling one another). This community openly and frequently cried together. As participant/observer of this community, was I to cry along with them? Researchers experience a multitude of emotions that can "contribute to understanding both the successes and failures of a project" (Hirschman, 1999, p.41). Goffman once wrote that in order to do participant observation one must:

> [subject] yourself, your own body, and your own personality, and your own social situation, to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals, so that you can physically and ecologically penetrate their circle of response to their social situation, or their work situation, or their ethnic situation….so that you are close to them while they are responding to what life does to them
>
> (Goffman as cited in Hirschman, 1999, p. 40).

Therefore, "Ethnography includes observing both the participants and ones' self to construct a meaningful account of how understandings emerge during interaction" (Hirshman, 1999, p.41).

Ethnography believes that reality is subjective with multiple versions of a particular description being valid (Frey et al, 2000). Reality is filtered through the subjective interpretations of the researcher (i.e., there were multiple ethnographers collecting data during the first time period of this study). Ethnography helps establish more secure relationships between the researcher and those being studied. Notes on the description of the culture during the second and third time periods must be compared to notes collected during the first time period. There needs to be a lot of cross checking to see if the largess of notes has changed from one time period to the next. Goetz and Le Compte (1984) claim that "collecting data for long periods provides opportunities for continual data analysis and comparison to refine constructs and to ensure the match between scientific categories and participant reality" (p. 221).

At first, this researcher was describing the survivor community at large (i.e., rules, rights, norms, values) and then there was the Oklahoma Standard construct. It wasn't until the data collected during the second time period that this researcher was able to perceive the Oklahoma Standard and its purpose in the community. By stepping back from the study and comparing data collected in both the first and second time periods, this researcher was able to see the Oklahoma Standard construct change, as a metaphor that serves as the orienting construct for the survivor community. Comparison proved advantageous in that the Oklahoma Standard construct was able to be refined. New data collected on the Oklahoma Standard during the third time period of this study along with data collected during the first two time periods provided opportunity for continual data analysis and comparison.

Data was collected by two coders and two observers for the first time period of this study. Having two observers/two coders during the first time period proved beneficial in that data was compared between me and another researcher to assess reliability. During the second and third time periods of data collection, there was one observer (myself, as researcher) and two coders (myself along with another independent coder). To assess reliability, this researcher utilized a different coder during the transition between the first time period of data collection and second and third time periods of data collection. However, the same coders were used for the second and third time periods of this study. Notes on the description of the culture were constantly compared from one time period to the next.

The collection of data over the course of three time periods provided opportunity for continual data analysis and comparison to refine constructs and ensure the match

between scientific categories. Potential threats to validity were minimized through triangulation of the data. By using various methods to collect data (i.e., field notes, interviews, and archival documents), this ethnographer checked on the validity of what was learned from each source. Triangulation of the data was conducted by consulting an independent coder who analyzed the transcripts independent of myself to test the degree of variability between the coders. When coding differences were identified in the compilation of themes, both coders reassessed the items until a consensus was obtained. Reliability values ranged from .71 to .87. Inter coder reliability was .71 for the first time period, .77 for the second time period, and .87 for the third time period of data collection.

When constructing scientific categories, two coders looked at the data individually to find similarities. This researcher read all the transcripts and started assigning themes to the topics from all of the interviews. This researcher utilized the coders' findings of similar themes. Common themes and leftovers were labeled and eventually merged into main themes with each theme being divided into smaller sub-categories. Similar themes were then grouped together into categories. Naming categories proved to be a challenging task. A category was carefully observed before assigning a name. Possible names were noted and left to ponder. Categories were put away for several days and then looked at again. This sequence of events occurred initially several times over the course of six weeks for the first time period of this study and later over the course of months and years for the second and third time periods of this study. Finally, an overall name was assigned to each category. The derived categories are entirely dependent upon the data.

Examples of similar themes that were grouped together into a category include 'selflessness,' 'sacrifice,' 'having something to offer others in need,' 'putting one's own needs second,' 'putting personal profits or professional gain aside to help in the disaster,' and 'voluntarily becoming involved in the experience as a response to people in need.' These themes were pondered carefully before deciding on an overall name for the category. After time and reflection, an overall name was given to the category. Upon analyzing the themes mentioned above, an overall name of "Unconditional Support" was assigned to the category. Another concrete example of this process includes themes such as 'ran toward the building to help,' 'went back inside the building to get others out,' 'ran to the building instead of running away,' 'and 'running to the disaster.' The overall name assigned to this category was "Running towards chaos." When viewing these themes, the words that were mentioned most often were the words that reflect the greatest concerns. There was continual data analysis and comparison between data collected in the first time period, data collected in the second time period, and data collected in the third time period of this study. This maximizes the internal validity of the findings.

For coding purposes, Narrative research was utilized to enhance the validity of the categories. Narrative research has become an accepted methodological tool used by social science disciplines in the U.S. Narrative research is utilized by history (White, 1987), anthropology (Mattingly and Garro, 2000), psychology, (Polkinghorne, 1988), sociolinguistics (Capps and Ochs, 1995), and sociology (Bell, 2000). Professions like law (Legal Storytelling, 1989), occupational therapy (Mattingly, 1998), and social work (Dean, 1995) have also embraced narrative research.

Narrative research investigates the story itself. This research focuses on disruptive life events. Specifically this research looks at accounts of experiences that have fundamentally altered the lives of those who survived the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah building on April 19, 1995. Because storytelling "promotes empathy across social and physical localities, storytelling fosters the development of unique communities. Plummer (1995) states it brilliantly: "stories gather people around them"; stories dialectically connect people and social movements. "For narratives to flourish there must be a community to hear; …for communities to hear, there must be stories which weave together their history, their identity, their politics" (Plummer, 1995, p 87).

Storytelling is an activity that assembles a community to listen and find commonality. It is a mutual practice, and assumes tellers and listeners will interact. Narrative research opens up forms of talking about the experience and asks why the story is told in a certain way? (Riessman,1993). The difficulty that a participant experiences in expression of a particular story is evident in the mere presentation of that story or narrative. These difficulties in expression are located in particular times and places and capture a moment in time. Analysis of personal narratives show how the "individual and collective action and meanings, as well as the social processes by which social life and human relationships are made and changed" (Laslett, 1999, p. 392).

A story's existence is characterized by the sequential arrangement of the facts. One action is crucial for the next one to happen. Narrators create scenarios from an imperfectly remembered past. This gives reality "a unity that neither nature nor the

past possesses so clearly" (Cronon, 1992, p. 1349). Narrators compose their tales using time and space; "they look back on and recount lives that are located in particular times and places" (Laslett, 1999, p. 392). "With narrative, people strive to configure space and time, deploy cohesive devices, reveal identity of actors and relatedness of actions across scenes. They create themes, plots, and drama. In so doing, narrators make sense of themselves, social situations, and history" (Bamberg and McCabe, 1998, p iii).

The discrete story as the unit of analysis enabled this researcher to make many connections in this large collection of original stories. Stories were analyzed using the following features: Presentation of and reliance on detailed transcripts of interview transcripts and a comparative approach to interpreting the similarities and differences among the participant's stories. My methodology includes verbatim transcripts of speech so that readers can see stories as actually told by those in the study.

CHAPTER 5

AN ANALYSIS OF THE AFTERMATH OF THE OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING USING DELL HYMES' SPEAKING MODEL

Hymes' SPEAKING model will be used to analyze data including survivor accounts, volunteer accounts, and rescuer accounts of the Oklahoma City bombing. Consideration will be given to the messages obtained through field notes, archival documents, and qualitative interviews with members of the Oklahoma City bombing disaster. Consideration will be given to these messages to determine how members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community talk about the culture. Collecting this rich description of ethnographic material provided an in-depth picture of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community.

The SPEAKING model provides analysis of the aftermath of the bombing up to the point in which the last body was recovered from the Murrah building, just seventeen days after the explosion. Analysis in this context generates meaning of the Oklahoma City bombing community giving the reader a conceptual idea of the culture that emerged while FEMA rescue workers stayed in Oklahoma City. Thus, the situation of this culture is presented:

Situation

The scene or setting is the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community that was created just moments after the Murrah building was bombed on April 19th, 1995 in downtown Oklahoma City. The scene focuses on communication events and communication behaviors illustrated by the people of Oklahoma. The co-culture that emerged displayed Oklahomans taking care of Oklahomans. The setting of the Oklahoma

City bombing survivor community focuses on seventeen days after the bombing up until the last FEMA rescuer left Oklahoma City. The setting lies within the survivor community of the OKC bombing with the Oklahoma Restaurant Association at its center.

On April 19th, 1995, the Oklahoma Restaurant Association was holding its annual convention at the Myriad convention center in downtown Oklahoma City. The Mid southwest Foodservice Convention and Exhibition, sponsored in conjunction with the state hotel association and the Oklahoma dieticians had planned to draw 15,000 attendees to the show's 430 booths. Exhibitors at the tradeshow displayed food at its finest including prime rib, steak, shrimp, and duck. Right after the bomb went off, exhibitors were polled by the ORA and they chose to close down the show and see how they could help in the disaster. I mention this decision particularly, because it exemplifies the ORA as truly a volunteer, member driven organization. The ORA spent all year planning for this show and it was the highlight event of its calendar. The restauranteurs of OKC made a unanimous decision to turn their convention into a relief center for rescue workers. This was not an easy determination for officers seeing that these restauranteurs are usually neck to neck competing against each other in business all year long. The ORA represents a group of competitive businesses that do not ordinarily work together but who pulled together, dedicated to one thing: feeding the rescuers, volunteers, and survivors of the blast. These restauranteurs did it alongside lifelong competitors without worry of how they were going to get paid. The fact that the ORA turned the Myriad Convention Center into a relief center just moments after the bombing, is atypical. The American Red Cross claimed they had never seen such a large food operation such as Oklahoma City in other disasters. The Red Cross usually takes over disasters just as soon as they arrive; however,

the ORA would not allow the Red Cross to take over the relief effort. The ORA handled food for ten days before turning the operation over to Red Cross. At the point that the ORA turned the operation over to Red Cross, the ORA left all equipment in place for use by Red Cross, and arranged with Oklahoma City Public Schools to provide trained personnel for food preparation. Even the Red Cross said they couldn't have provided as much food as the ORA. The support was continuous not only during the ten days that the ORA managed the foodservice relief program but in the following week as the Red Cross continued the program until the rescue teams departed Oklahoma City.

ORA food

FEMA rescue workers claimed that restauranteurs had rushed to the scene in other disasters too, but they were selling food, not giving it away. Rescue workers were taken aback at the treatment they received in Oklahoma City. Not only were rescuers shocked that food was given to them, they were amazed at how well they were fed during their stay in Oklahoma. Both Red Lobster and Outback Steakhouse donated between $15,000 and $20,000 in food. Red Lobster workers prepared items such as lemon-pepper mahi mahi, salmon with dill sauce, stuffed green peppers, lo mein noodles, egg rolls and fried calamari rings as well as garlic biscuits and fried shrimp for the rescue workers. Outback Steakhouse cooked New York strip steaks for the workers one day. Little Caesar's Pizza established a twenty four hour pizzeria and fed rescuers free for two weeks. Burger King donated 5,000 double meat cheeseburgers one day. McDonald's cooked breakfast daily for rescuers and volunteers.

Immediately after the bombing, all restauranteurs from local nearby downtown restaurants and restaurants in the local surrounding OKC area donated food to the

operation. Many restaurants were set up to be in the Myriad tradeshow and had food prepared to be served already. Bricktown Brewery, Varsity Sports Club and other nearby restaurants sent food and employees to help in the disaster. Rescue workers and volunteers had virtually every type of food on hand.

One rescuer recalls:

> You had to be careful about what you said. I remember a guy one night saying the only thing they didn't have, I think; at the Myriad were chili dogs. And uh, this guy wanted chili dogs and this lady drove a hundred miles to someplace, I forget where it is, that has the best chili dogs in Oklahoma. And she came back with those chili dogs.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

If a specific food item was wished for and was not in sight, it was certainly made available immediately to rescuers. While ORA handled food, approximately twenty five professionals supervised 250 volunteers per day. There were three to four professionals that did nothing but schedule. There were three to four professionals who oversaw cleaning. Jim Gann, owner of Red Lobster and Ned Shadid, President of Oklahoma Restaurant Association oversaw most of the food preparation and in general organized the entire operation. Even though this was considered "battle field conditions", every effort was made to meet health department codes. The cooks worked twelve hour rotations. Volunteers were scheduled in three eight hour shifts with about eighty individuals per shift. During an eight-hour shift, foodservice volunteers served from 3,200 to 4,000 meals. The ORA had full kitchens set up at the Myriad center and at eighth and Harvey downtown in the parking garage where the command post was

located. Also, there were mini kitchens at fourth and Harvey and sixth and Harvey downtown Oklahoma City. Food was provided and delivered to eight other locations, including the morgue, FBI (two locations) and the Family Center at First Christian Church. Food was also provided when donors, such as blood donors, had to stand in long lines.

Many average citizens of OKC volunteered to help in the only way that they could; they filled lower skilled positions but just as important positions to assist with the rescue mission. Their work made the jobs of the rescuers and others less stressful because they could then concentrate on the pile of rubble. All ORA participants in the relief effort agreed that though a tragedy brought them together, they treasure the moments of sharing and caring between rescuers and volunteers.

Pampering Services

While in Oklahoma, the rescuers had a hard time buying anything. The community felt an overwhelming need to help in their own capacity. Items such as sandwiches, snacks, cookies, and water were made available and delivered to rescue workers at all hours of the day. Oklahoma's volunteers were quick to assure rescuers that their generous efforts were not driven by anticipated results only by their love for Oklahoma and their appreciation for the rescuers' hard work. Both sides believed the others labor exceeded expectations.

The Disaster Hospitality Care Team was a group of people who administered the pampering of rescue workers while in OKC. For example, they made sure that each rescue worker had a cot, a pillow, a blanket, a towel, and a washcloth. Most of which was donated by the people of Oklahoma. This was an effort that started very small and

as soon as requests, “we need”, were made to the Oklahoma people, items came in droves. FEMA brought in eleven rescue teams and over the course of seventeen days, nine of the eleven rescue teams were housed in the Myriad Convention Center. The other two rescue teams were housed in the Southwestern Bell building in Oklahoma City. Rescuers were mostly from large urban areas including Pheonix, Arizona, Los Angeles, Menlo Park, and Sacramento, California, Dade County, Florida, Montgomery County, Maryland, New York City, New York, Fairfax County, Virginia Beach, Virginia and Peirce-King counties, Washington.

If someone came into the Myriad offering a service, Oklahomans would say, “Find a corner and set up your table and as long as you’re not charging anything and you want to do this out of the kindness of your hearts, you’re welcome in this area.” If rescue workers broke their glasses or lost their contacts, Lens Crafters eye people were there to offer services. Rescue workers were assisted with other needs, like arranging for their laundry to be picked up and for barbers to come in and give them haircuts. The ORA set up a makeshift pharmacy, stocked with personal items like contact lens solution and soap, arranged for massages, and had a whirlpool set up. Massage therapists made themselves available. Southwestern Bell came in and set up telephones all over the Myriad for rescue workers to make as many long distance phone calls back and forth home as needed. The Myriad Wal-Mart emerged as a result of items needed and requested of the Oklahoma people. There were about forty tables stocked with everything one could imagine from socks and underwear, sweatshirts, pillows, blankets, masks, helmets, gloves, booties for dogs, dog food, dog biscuits, and all the pharmaceutical things that workers needed from eye drops to Blistex. It was immediately requested by Oklahoma City officials that there

be no media inside the Myriad convention center. Not many people know what happened inside the Myriad because that was the rescuers bedroom, living space, and private area for rescuers to be able to come in and eat and sleep and debrief and talk without having cameras in their face.

The Myriad became a home away from home for rescuers. Each night, as rescuers returned physically and emotionally exhausted from digging through the rubble and removing victims, they would find a warm welcome from the people of Oklahoma. One rescuer commented:

> It was when we first entered the sleeping area in the convention center that we shed the first of many tears that we were to cry that week. Our cots were the old folding military type, but on each was a fresh flower, a bag of snacks, blankets and pillows, endless stream of cards, personal letters, poems, and encouraging words from the children and caring adults of Oklahoma.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Oklahomans extended their hospitality and provided a comfortable environment for rescue workers. During their stay, rescuers were pampered in every way possible. Even mints were placed on rescuers pillows at night. Oklahomans not only offered words of encouragement but would not allow rescuers to spend any money during their stay in Oklahoma City. The pampering nature of the Oklahoma City community is illustrated in what came to be known as the ‘Oklahoma Dollar’.

One rescuer commented:

> They called it, I believe it was the Oklahoma dollar, you know. The dollar that was in your pocket when you came to Oklahoma is the same dollar you had when

> you left. You couldn't buy a coke. You couldn't buy something to eat. It was all provided for you. Everything was there.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The illustration of the Oklahoma dollar is unique to the Oklahoma City community. Oklahomans provided everything for rescuers. The pampering nature of Oklahomans was something that rescuers were not accustomed to and was certainly not expected. An agent of one of the federal agencies came up to the governor with a dollar bill in his hand and claimed:

> Do you know what this is? This is an Oklahoma Dollar; you can't spend it here! I was given money for my expenses while I was working in Oklahoma City and none will let me spend it. I have been given all the supplies I have needed.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The governor then signed the dollar bill "This as an official Oklahoma Dollar. You can't spend it!" At times, rescuers became adamant and insisted that Oklahomans take their money but rescuers were still unsuccessful only to find Oklahomans refusing payment. One of the rescue workers had shredded his boots on the debris while searching and decided to go to a local shoe store to buy a new pair. The owner of the store wanted to donate the boots to him.

The rescue worker replied:

> I have been given everything I have needed. I want to buy something while I am here. I am going to buy these boots.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Although adamant when insisting on buying the boots, the rescuer was unsuccessful and the store owner refused payment. The pampering services provided by Oklahoma City are atypical among disaster research. Rescuers literally felt catered to during their stay in Oklahoma City. There was one incident where an ATF agent, investigating the Murrah bombing, decided that he needed to go to Dillard's department store because he didn't bring enough underwear. The agent was wearing his ATF shirt that he had worn to work, and he was approached by an Oklahoman as he walked up to the counter at Dillard's. The ATF agent reported:

> The lady said, "I want to buy those for you". She just wanted to help. That was the whole attitude—the people wanted to do something for somebody involved in the rescue effort. It was pretty amazing.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Oklahomans not only provided everything for rescuers but provided everything for fellow Oklahomans. All individuals who helped in the rescue effort were taken care of by Oklahomans. Many donations provided came from local Oklahoma businesses. A rescuer claimed:

> I remember one of the department stores in Oklahoma City brought shoes and boots and gloves all those things for people walking around. I remember the boots that I had, they were ruined after I got out of there because of the, you know, tearing them up on the rocks and stuff like that. So, the outpouring of love that these people showed was just unbelievable. And it was really touching to know the unity, that how we came together on—from the aftermath of the bombing.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

In the above excerpt, notice that Oklahoma not only helped rescuers but helped their own by helping the people who were walking around during the relief effort. A rescuer, who worked the 1993 World Trade Center bombing in New York City, claimed he would walk six or eight blocks to buy water and by the time he would get there to buy a jug of water, New Yorkers would double the price on it. The rescuer claimed that when he got through with his first day inside the Murrah building and went back to the Myriad convention center, there was a foot massage person there offering services. The rescuer further claimed that when he took his boots off to give his feet some rest, Oklahomans took bottled water and washed and massaged his feet.

The rescuer commented:

> That's the difference between New York City and Oklahoma City is that here in Oklahoma City I got water to wash my feet and there I had to buy water to drink.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Certainly, Oklahomans exceeded rescuer expectations. Rescuers had never before experienced such treatment in any disaster. According to FEMA rescuers, Oklahoma City set a standard for how rescuers should be treated and cared for in future disasters.

Supplies

FEMA rescue workers are accustomed to handling major disasters without exhausting local resources during their stay. Rescuers are designed to be self-sufficient for seventy-two hours once they arrive at a disaster sight and then are able to supply themselves for eight to ten days. The outpouring of support for the rescue workers is something that rescuers were not accustomed to and certainly was not expected.

One rescuer commented:

> [SK] The thing that impressed me most was the amount of supplies that were there in such a short amount of time. I'm talking from food to clothes to hygiene items. If you needed it, it was there. There were more items at the first aid command post than you see at Wal-Mart.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Certainly one of the most surprising things was the amount of support that the community provided. Donations of supplies came in droves. All types of protective equipment (i.e., work gloves, hard hats, eye wear, knee and elbow pads), medical supplies, and food type supplies were donated. Incoming supplies such as bandages, gloves, batteries, and ropes just kept pouring in. Sometimes, these items would arrive in mom and pop sacks with 'God Bless You' or 'Thank You' notes inside, giving all courage and strength to keep going.

One rescuer commented:

> [RM] Before it was over, we had shelves, we had organized supplies. We could go pick anything we wanted. We had just about anything that we wanted in our life at our disposal.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Oklahomans went to extensive measures to provide for the needs of rescuers. It was important that the rescue workers be taken care of in every way.

One rescuer recalls:

> I remember someone from a charitable organization telling me. "If there is anything that your unit needs, you call me." And he wrote down his number and gave it to me.

Excerpt from an interview

Volunteers would ask rescuers if there was something that they needed or if there was something that they were looking for? If an item could not be found, rescuers were asked exactly what it was they wanted and the item would arrive no later than the next day. The following story from a rescuer entails this experience:

> I went down to the little drug store counter or table, looking for some saline nasal spray just to moisten my nasal passages. And I didn't see any of it. They had some of the decongestant spray but none of the saline spray. And they asked me what I was looking for and I told them. And they said, we can see if we can get it, and I said, it is not that big of a deal, don't worry about it. The next day, the person that I had talked to, found me and gave me some. They had found it, went to the store and got it. Whether the store donated it, I have no idea, but they had it there for us.

Excerpt from an interview

Some rescuers were not prepared for the respiratory, nose, and eye problems that they ran into while in OKC. Rescuers had their own small goodie bags packed full of basic health care items; however, they lacked items needed due to concrete dust. Due to the blast, there was a lot of dust generated from the pulverized concrete. As a result, many of the smaller healthcare items were needed and of great help to rescuers. At some point, an optometrist was walking around to rescuers with glasses and asking them if they had prescription safety glasses?

One rescuer claimed:

> When he found out that we didn't, he set us all up. Bringing us all in and making prescription glasses. Because, one of the problems is, working with two pairs of glasses, they steam up. One gets dusty and it is real hard to see. So, he just sat down and started making these prescription safety glasses for guys. And I did use that.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

If the workers needed something, the news media requested it and the citizens brought it to the workers. If a rescuer needed a tool, it was provided. Tools used by rescuers included fourteen inch power saws, concrete saws, and jackhammers. People would just bring down whatever they had. One rescuer spoke of Jaws of Life tools that are hard to come by:

> Jaws of Life tools are very expensive. We just don't go out and buy those. Those are allocated. I noticed that there were six new ones that I was tripping over. I don't know where they came from; don't know how they got there. Very expensive pieces of equipment just at our disposal. That is the results of all the incoming help. All the aid that we were getting. We didn't lack any.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Supplies such as institutional equipment that the ORA set up ready to go for the start of the convention played a major role or pivotal point in the success of this entire food operation. Bill Tackett of Fadler Corporation and Curtis Restaurant Supply in Tulsa, Oklahoma provided about $15,000 worth of new equipment such as warming ovens, thermal containers, and refrigeration units to help in the food effort.

Local restaurants and businesses donated unlimited supplies to the Salvation Army. There were hot meals (i.e., tacos, hamburgers, and pizza), hot drinks (i.e., coffee, tea, and hot chocolate), cold drinks (i.e., soft drinks, juice, and bottled water), blankets, gloves, and batteries.

The Salvation Army reported:

> The Salvation Army canteen located on the NE corner of fifth and Robinson, in downtown Oklahoma City was stocked better than any canteen in other disasters.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

One of the most surprising things were the donations of supplies that the community provided. Even the Salvation Army compared Oklahoma City to other disasters claiming the donations of supplies in Oklahoma City were remarkable and did not compare to other disasters.

Efficiency

Immediately following the blast, civilians streamed downtown to pull the injured out of the smoking building. Soon, there was one nurse for every injured person downtown. Rescue teams immediately began arriving from around the country and hospitals were jammed with people lined up to donate blood. Tinker Air Force Base employees conducted a blood drive with more than 500 people in attendance that first day. Other people raised money for the relief effort. For example, a jet-engine shop raised more than $5,000 through ribbon sales in two afternoons. Many people donated all their spare money to the disaster. One volunteer discovered that there was a need for

doughnuts at the church for the families so she started calling bakeries to donate their day old items.

The volunteer claimed:

> On Saturday morning we made the rounds to those bakeries and filled our van with cakes, cookies, bagels, and doughnuts! They would say, “We can give you something.” Then they would roll out a shopping cart full, or give boxes of fresh baked items when we got there.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

People would bring items such as clothing, gloves, and all kinds of equipment and just drop them off downtown. Ozarka water trucks would pull up to intersections in close proximity to the bombing and would unload cases and cases of bottled water. Within two hours of the explosion, the Salvation Army had canteens on site serving the workers and aiding in the rescue and relief in any possible way. Convention exhibitors, along with scores of suppliers and other restaurant owners who immediately sent supplies downtown, served 20,000 meals that first day.

An ORA member claimed:

> Even the Red Cross said they couldn’t have provided as much food as quickly as we did. After all, that’s our business.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Within the first couple of hours after the explosion, some volunteers went to deliver food to rescue workers and anyone who needed it near the blast site.

A volunteer explains:

> We couldn't drive up there, so we just walked and when we got there, one already exhausted worker told us, 'only in Oklahoma could you expect people to bring you food in the middle of a calamity.'
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The number of meals prepared by ORA members leveled off after the first couple of days. The ORA and suppliers operated a 24 hour a day food service, which served an average of 10,000 meals a day. The ORA estimated that they provided somewhere between 90,000 and 100,000 meals in nine days before turning the operation over to Red Cross on the tenth day. Most meals were cooked on site, with hundreds of volunteers supervised by professionals. On arriving at the building, even within this short space of time, there was an assembly line formed with volunteers preparing lunches to be transported downtown. A stream of donated food and packaging products continued to appear. For two days there were four assembly lines busy boxing meals for personnel at the scene. At one point, there was so much bread delivered, it was stacked outdoors because momentarily there was no space inside.

It became immediately apparent that there was no real order to receiving and sorting the piles of materials that were already arriving just two hours after the disaster. Many supplies of all kinds were being left in no particular order. People did not know what items they had, when requested, because they could not be sorted fast enough.

It was absolutely essential to create a materials handling system to bring order from what was soon becoming a chaotic collection of donated items. Certain individuals had the chore of cataloging, warehousing, and finding out where and who needed them. Supplies came in so fast at times that they had to be organized so that they could be redistributed to those who really needed them.

When the call went out that certain items were needed for the rescuers and support personnel to do their jobs, the people of OKC and around the country pitched in and delivered. People wanted to help and for many, this was the only way. The following stories explain this in more detail.

A Salvation Army worker claimed:

> We needed people to answer the phones so I put out a voice mail at work, and Cindy at our church called people, before we knew it we had more volunteers than phones.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

A volunteer claimed:

> It was being announced that blood donors were needed; I headed to the Red Cross office but could see literally hundreds of people waiting in an orderly, single file line to donate blood. I sighed a breath of relief that the need for blood donors was answered immediately.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

It was absolutely amazing to see the efficiency of the response from citizens in Oklahoma. The Salvation Army would issue an advisory for certain specific items, and the items immediately arrived. People wanted to help in any way they could.

Media

Many beautiful things came out of the Myriad; again it was not expressed to the media. If the media did know, it was kept quiet and not presented to the community. Communication played a vital role in the success of this community. The news media teamed with all the different emergency response agencies allowing the mayor and city manager to talk with the Oklahoma City community to let the community know that it was making progress and, in turn, to ask the community for support. Rescuers had a lot to say about the Oklahoma City community.

One rescuer claimed:

> The people of Oklahoma City, disaster photographers and local reporters were the nicest, most compassionate, respectable people I have ever experienced in a disaster.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The Oklahoma City media set the tone right after the bombing. This is part of the Oklahoma Standard. The media wasn't just on the outside looking in trying to get a story. They were there trying to help. The father of two children who survived the bombing recalls the time of about 9:40am – 9:50am directly after the bombing. He recalls asking [T] (a reporter) if she knew where they would take the children of the daycare. [T] got on her cell phone immediately to try to find out the location of the children brought out of the Murrah building.

Parachute reporters, or those that go from one huge story to the next (i.e., O.J. Simpson trial to the Oklahoma City bombing to the death of Princess Diana) were overwhelmed with the kindness of Oklahoma City. In fact, a New York newspaper

reporter who had covered disasters including the 1993 World Trade Center bombing and Hurricane Andrew said she was amazed at the compassion of Oklahomans. The reporter said when Governor Frank Keating asked for a 'moment of silence' on April 20, 1995, she was skeptical that people would do it. She got into her car and drove along Interstate 40 to see if cars would pull over along the busy highway. At 9:02 a.m. her radio went silent and all the cars, including hers, came to a stop.

This reporter claimed:

> I doubted that people would do it. It was weird. I'll never forget it. This would never happen in New York City.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The compassion displayed by Oklahomans moved people in society to see a new level of caring. This compassionate love for one another had gone unnoticed previously in other disasters, such as 1993 New York City.

Participants

Participants include the Oklahoma Restaurant Association, surrounding restaurants in nearby Bricktown and in the surrounding Oklahoma City area, Feed the Children, American Red Cross, the media, Cingular, AT&T, Ozarka water, and ordinary citizens.

Magnum Foods, Oklahoma franchisee for Little Caeser's Pizza, established a 24 hour pizzeria just outside the west gate near the pit and fed workers free for two weeks.

Burger King donated 5,000 double meat cheeseburgers.

Fadler Company and Curtis Restaurant Supply of Tulsa provided about $15,000 worth of new equipment – warming ovens and thermal containers and refrigeration units – to help in the food effort.

The Oklahoma Cattlemen's Association, Oklahoma City, obtained beef supplies to help restaurants in nearby Bricktown feed up to 1,000 workers and victims per day.

The Oklahoma Veterinary Medical Association, Oklahoma City, OVMA boarded animals that belonged to residents evacuated from a nearby apartment building.

Oklahoma Propane Gas Association, Oklahoma City, members donated propane and kerosene to the American Red Cross for its disaster recovery operations.
Tons of food was donated by every type of restaurant – from fast food to the top rated – in town.

Red Lobster provided managers, cooks and workers, and donated $15,000 to $20,000 in food. Joe Gann, general manager of the south Oklahoma City Red Lobster restaurant was released by his company for 10 days so he could oversee kitchen operations at the Myriad. Gann's workers prepared items such lemon-pepper mahi mahi, salmon with dill sauce, stuffed green peppers, lo mein noodles, egg rolls and fried calamari rings as well as garlic biscuits and fried shrimp for the rescue workers.

Outback Steakhouse cooked New York strip steaks for the workers one day.

Oswalt Restaurant Supply joined the effort by supplying food products and cooking equipment, with no thought of how it would be paid for or who would pay for it.

Continental Silite International, Wm. E. Davis, and Oklahoma Gas & Electric provided thousands of dollars worth of catering equipment necessary to transport hot food.

Rainbow Bakery donated rolls, buns and sliced bread, and the Schwab Meat Company wheeled its provisions to busy cooks.

Cain's Coffee Company in Oklahoma City, and other coffee vendors at the Myriad show stayed at the convention center for 24 hours to provide hot drinks to the rescue workers, who had to battle cold, rainy, blustery weather through the first night.

The County Health Department was available to oversee the food operations.

The Oklahoma City Fire Department took hundreds of calls from people with offers of help immediately after the explosion.

Bob Rogers meat processing donated 400 pounds of brisket, Bubba's Barbecue donated a smoker and manpower to cook it, Juniors Restaurant OKC and Miss Clara's Tea Room in Sand Springs, OK both provided one evening's meals. Local Hardees and McDonalds provided breakfast almost daily.

The folks at United Parcel Service (UPS) helped in the food effort, using their trucks and volunteer drivers to haul hot and cold foods into the bombsite to feed workers.

Pete's Place, Cattlemen's Steak House, Junior's, Varsity Sports Grill, Bricktown Brewery, Spaghetti Warehouse and many other restaurants lent their efforts relief effort.

Wal-Mart had been a booth holder in the trade show and established a mini Wal-Mart in the Myriad.

Veterinarian, chiropractor, telephone, shipping and mailing, physical therapy, counseling, optical and massage services were set up at the Myriad. All of the items and services donated to rescuers were by individuals and businesses around Oklahoma.

Nuway Laundry, an ORA allied member, provided free laundry service to several of the FEMA teams.

Media channels four, five, nine, twenty five, and thirty four broadcasted the needs of rescue workers.

The participants and their specific acts help us to better understand the speech community that emerged in the aftermath of the bombing. The participants in the community talk about their participation in the event. The SPEAKING mnemonic device helps us to understand the role of the participants through analysis of their talk.

SPEAKING, as a tool, helps us to understand the nature of this community in that we can look at the specific actions of participants.

This community performed the heroic act of the Oklahoma Standard in response to the bombing. The Oklahoma Standard is a speech act that occurred during the Oklahoma City bombing event. The Oklahoma Standard is a narrative told about the people in the community and a story told about a community of people. The Oklahoma Standard developed as a narrative told within the community and among the participants themselves. The story about the participants and how they responded marks the story of the Oklahoma Standard. Analysis of their talk (i.e., participants) defines and gives us an understanding of the Oklahoma Standard. The Oklahoma Standard represents the development of a community with two views: an initial community that emerged just moments after the bombing and an ongoing community, now, today that strives to achieve its mission of the Oklahoma Standard. Initially, the Oklahoma Standard was a term, defined by FEMA rescuers as the goodness displayed by Oklahoma City citizens, as they pulled together in a time of crisis. The Oklahoma Standard, as a metaphor, served as the orienting construct in this community. The stories told among the participants themselves makeup the narrative of the Oklahoma Standard. The Oklahoma City bombing community is a community of people sharing what they know to be true, (based on their schemata), which is an explanation of the community's response to the disaster.

What does it mean that Oklahoma City was told they had set a new standard – the Oklahoma Standard – in dealing with the horrors of the attack? The Oklahoma Standard is a story of a community that developed in response to a crisis. It is through the acts of the participants that a community was born. The term, Oklahoma Standard, evolved and

developed today into a story of an empowered community of participants with an ongoing mission (i.e., the Oklahoma Standard). Thus, it is the purpose of this dissertation to explicate the narrative of the Oklahoma Standard as a model for responding to disaster. The Oklahoma City bombing survivor community serves as a "resource" strategy for disaster response.

Ends

Ends are communicative behaviors which illustrate the purposes and goals of members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. The purpose of 'caring' and the simple goal of 'wanting to help' are communicative behaviors displayed by participants during the aftermath of the bombing. The outcome was the behavior exhibited by Oklahomans knowing in their heart they did all they could do and did their best by taking care of their own and taking care of rescuers.

Immediately following the bombing, the Oklahoma City Fire and Police departments were joined by more than 300 citizens who converged on the bombing site from miles around to help.

One rescuer claimed:

> People just streamed in, wanting to help, wanting to do something, wanting to donate blood, you know, wanting to do CPR. Everyone wanted to be involved and to make things better, you know.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The overriding intention and purpose of the participants was to just help. Many people rushed into the Murrah building trying to help, not even thinking of their own safety. People started digging through the debris right alongside firefighters and police officers.

One rescuer commented:

> Those people didn't sign up to do this but still towed the mark right with you, you think, wow, he could have left. He could have run outside and got in his pickup, got in his truck and left. But, he came back inside knowing what was waiting for him when he came back. That always struck me as remarkable to those people.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

It was the victims who were the real heroes, the people who don't see trauma daily and who get sick at the sight of blood, were ignoring their own injuries while carrying more seriously injured to safety. These people were civilians, who probably knew they shouldn't be in that building, who probably had no idea of any training, but who knew it was just something they had to do. Individuals just could not bear the magnitude of the rubble pile, the remainder of the building, and the sounds and voices coming out of the building.

One rescuer claimed:

> There is not anyway you could've been out in front of that building and not be motivated to run up in there and just do whatever you could do.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

One volunteer, a young nurse, died in the effort after trying to help survivors just right after the event. Unfortunately, a piece of concrete fell and hit her on the head while she was attempting to help the wounded trapped in the building. Doctors actually ran into the building, putting their own safety at risk in order to save the lives of others. People loaned their vehicles to total strangers who were injured. Others put people in their

vehicles and took them to the hospital. Medical professionals were jumping out of their cars and running to the hospital rushing to the aid of hurt people. One incident reported a live victim coming out of the Murrah building.

A rescuer claimed:

> To give you an idea of the response, we ended up with five ambulances responding down to the location of where the victim was coming out. That's how much the paramedics wanted to help.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

One thing that can happen in a disaster is that there can be a run on the money, but this didn't happen in Oklahoma. A vault had been blown open at the Federal Employee's Credit Union and there was money laying everywhere. A firefighter claimed they needed to probably get somebody up there to guard the money. Of course, that was the smallest concern of anybody's mind at the time. People were wading through the money, going all around it looking for survivors. Not one dollar came up missing out of the credit union. The people of Oklahoma were only concerned with getting people out of the building and doing what they could do to help. People found ways, by very individualized and idiosyncratic means, to tangibly, symbolically, and psychologically participate in the relief effort. Special efforts by individuals, ranged from personally expressing appreciation to refusing payment for goods and services. The community did everything possible to keep rescuers comfortable so they could go back to the pile day after day and do their best job.

One rescuer claimed:

> In an overall perspective, the thing I try to take with me is what happened after the bombing. We never paid for a meal. We couldn't pay for a meal. They were offering anything to help us feel more comfortable. And the people who came and gave us flowers, cards just as we were standing at our post to help us get through the day. That is what really made the difference, knowing that everybody was hurting. And driving home from work during the daytime hours and seeing headlights on. It was nice. There was a lot of support.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Another rescuer commented:

> They would give you anything. They would give you the shirt off their back if they thought it would help you. These people that were volunteering to help us and feed us, they would go to their jobs and work eight hours a day at their job, go home, grab a bite to eat, change clothes, and then come in and work for eight hours or ten hours volunteering their time to help us. I mean, these people did amazing things. They just did so much and gave so much.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Rescuers were amazed and overwhelmed at the many people who came out and donated their time and money to the relief effort. For example, one lady made personalized night-lights and lamps for the surviving children. Another lady wrote letters to grieving parents because she had also lost a child year's ago. An elderly couple, who had just celebrated their fiftieth anniversary, donated money they received at their party. A ninety five year old woman sent the balance of a church fund that had been given to her after the church closed. One Sunday, a church took an offering for the Salvation Army and raised five

thousand. Several groups of young children made cash contributions. One nine year old girl sent the Salvation Army a poem asking the question “Why did the children die?” Along with that poem she sent seven dollars that she had been saving for a toy. A truck driver called saying there was a convoy of two other trucks with him and they were bringing loads of supplies to donate. A lady, who lost her husband in the bombing, wanted to donate his clothes to survivors who had lost their homes. A man, who had just found out that his two grandsons died in the bombing, offered to jumpstart a woman’s car. The woman was thinking, “You want to help me?” A lady, who lost a very good friend in the bombing, claimed:

> Since I couldn’t actually be there helping to dig or anything like that, the way I could help was to help by volunteering my time.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Rescuers were really impressed by the whole attitude of the Oklahoma people wanting to do something for somebody involved in the rescue effort. An outcome of this story is that hope was something Oklahomans never lost. The true character of any person or group, in case of the people of Oklahoma, is really in this event. Rescuers were inspired by the way Oklahomans handled the event. The way the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community came together, helping each other, gives a person hope in his or her community.

One rescuer claimed:

> Without Oklahoma City and the example that they set, uh, I don’t think that America would have a clear indication of response to tragedy.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Another rescuer commented:

> The honest appreciation for our work exhibited by the people of Oklahoma's words and actions made our job worthwhile. Truly the citizens of Oklahoma City are a model of how a community can face a terrible tragedy and pull together.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Rescuers claimed the hardest part of the disaster was responding to the special treatment they received from Oklahomans. A professional interviewer asked a number of individuals who had been connected with the OKC bombing rescue effort to talk about the community's help. They were asked if they thought hope was possible when looking at Oklahoma City's response to disaster. The following are the rescuer's responses.

> [RA] This story is about hope. It is about facing something ugly and awful and people coming together, pulling what resources they have, whether they are meager or vast or expansive or diminutive.
>
> Excerpt from an interview
>
> [MR] During the whole event people came from everywhere to help, a lot of them being injured themselves that continued to help other injured people. I look back at that, and it makes me feel great to live here, to be surrounded by people who care about others like that. It gives me a new feeling of hope for this world of ours.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Rescuers found hope when looking at Oklahoma City's response to the bombing. The event taught society that people are our greatest resource and that Oklahoma is fortunate to have such giving people who have proven that they are caregivers.

The Oklahoma Standard, as an 'Ends', is a communicative behavior which illustrates the purposes and goals of members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. During the aftermath of the bombing, participants displayed communicative behaviors, such as the purpose of 'caring' and the simple goal of 'wanting to help' in the disaster. The behavioral outcome exhibited by the speech community displayed Oklahomans taking care of rescuers and other fellow Oklahomans.

Act

Acts are descriptions of experiences by members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor culture. A message of 'caring' is the essence of experiences of members in the community. Many survivors performed heroic acts at the risk of their own lives. They turned from hurt victims to that of empowered rescuers. People came out of that building hurt and still tried to go back inside to save others. There was a man who had been blind since childhood, who managed the Murrah building's fourth floor snack bar. He and his employee survived the bombing and were led out of the building by a customer. The blind man, however, knew the stairwells very well on each side of the building so he went back inside the building and saved many other survivors. Such a remarkable story gives credit to a true hero. Survivors, who were helped out of the building by other survivors, share the following stories:

> [S] When I stood up is when I realized that part of the building was gone. Just four feet to the north and two feet to the east was open, no building, and I was caught on a ledge. There was NO building left in front of me and all I could see was black smoke, dust and the parking lot across the street where the vehicles were on fire and exploding. I turned around and the only person I could see was

one of my co-workers, [L]. Even though [L] worked in a different branch, I could see him because all the dividing walls were gone. I yelled at [L] and told him I was on the edge of the building. [L] climbed over the debris to where I was and grabbed my arm and helped me over the debris away from the edge.

Excerpt from an interview

[R] I was on the floor and I could not see for all the glass and blood in my face. I yelled for someone to help me but I couldn't hear anything except the cars across the street exploding. I stood up and [P], another co-worker said "[R] don't move, don't move at all the building is gone in front of you." For once in my life I listened and did what I was told. I could then open my right eye enough to see that if I had taken two steps I would have walked off the edge of the building. [S] helped me down the stairs. I could not and was feeling faint, so [S] had to halfway carry me down the stairs.

Excerpt from an interview

A survivor who works for the Social Security Administration claimed:

It got so dark, quiet and hard to breathe. We yelled for help and our assistant manager came to get us out. He kept yelling, "I'm coming! I'm coming!" By this time we felt water rising on our ankles. He said, "Don't step on anything electrical! Just stay where you are and I'll come to get you!" He helped us get out from the corner.

Excerpt from an interview

A survivor, who helped others out of the building, claimed:

> When I finally extended my hand to hold open the door leading to the first floor lobby, another hand reached out behind me. I glanced over my right shoulder and for the first time became aware of a man behind me. I don't know what he looked like, but he was bare-chested. I stepped out onto a floor littered with small fragments of broken glass. I know only God could have made me focus on the man's feet at a time like that because I saw that he was barefoot. I saw him step onto a fallen ceiling tile, then stop. I felt like I could hear him thinking, "What do I do now?" I said, "Wait; Wait!" I quickly found another fallen ceiling tile, knocked the glass off of it, and placed it in front of the man. With each step, I picked up the tile behind him and moved it in front of him until we neared the front door. Then he said he could do it.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Professional men and women also risked their lives to help rescue any survivors left in the explosion. This was their job but none the less heroic. A sergeant came out of the Murrah building and addressed two rescuers claiming fire had found a woman who was trapped and needed oxygen and that someone needed to go inside. The two rescuers looked at each other and asked:

> [R] What do you want to do?
>
> [S] Well do you want to go in or do you want me to?
>
> [R] Why don't I go, you have kids…I don't have any children.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The rescuer not only risked his own life, but potentially saved a fellow rescuers life for the sake of his children.

Another rescuer claimed:

> You go in there because it's the right thing to do, and you don't worry about the rest of it.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Many acts of kindness and benevolence were witnessed by rescuers all over the city. Rescuers were not used to such behaviors, especially in a city that was under attack. Oklahomans were honored by the fact that rescuers came to help Oklahoma City in a time of need. On the flip side, rescuers praised Oklahomans for their generosity. They reveled at Oklahoman's honesty and pride. Rescuers flattered Oklahomans with compliments and spoke of moving to Oklahoma to raise families or retire. As a result, the rescuers taught Oklahomans something about themselves, a valuable lesson to feel welcomed and to feel proud of Oklahoma.

A rescuer claimed:

> It was different in Oklahoma than on some of the other missions that we have been on. To be able to have a place to sleep that is out of the weather that is warm. Also, hot meals and showers certainly enhanced our ability to do our work, and the other side of that is that we became very acquainted with the citizens of Oklahoma City. This made this rescue effort a little bit more personal. There is a lot of emotion I guess tied to the people of Oklahoma City.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Another rescuer claimed:

> Just the fact that the men got hot food, and were able to take showers. Showers become very important when you are doing these things.

Excerpt from an interview

Rescuers had more contact with the people of Oklahoma than people of other disasters. Rescuers just saw those couple of hundred people that they dealt with everyday. They didn't really see the depth of people that it took to support the few hundred. However, rescuers became very close to the few hundred people that they did see. This disaster became very personal to rescuers. The following comments demonstrate this point of interest.

One rescuer commented:

> The fact that the Oklahoma City citizens and the people of Oklahoma were so open, and so right there with us, made it probably more personal to a lot of team members than any other operation.

Excerpt from an interview

Another rescuer claimed:

> That whole taking care of each other that you saw. Because they were doing just great things for their citizens in helping each other. That was something that this country, and probably all those who were involved in Oklahoma City were surprised by. It was a great surprise. That rescue became very personal to a lot of people.

Excerpt from an interview

The community was right there along side of rescuers day in and day out. Rescuers became very acquainted with the citizens of Oklahoma City.

A rescuer commented:

> At night when we came back from a day on the pile, the volunteers became our extended family. They became friends, my support, my hope and my strength. They instilled honor and pride to not just me, but to the hundreds of rescue workers that risked their lives during this entire incident.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Variables such as hot meals, long showers, a warm place to sleep, and moral support entail the experience of individual rescuer's. All of which, enhanced the rescuer's ability to do their work.

One rescuer claimed:

> Things like their local phone company set up phone banks. So, you could call home, literally, anytime you wanted, day or night.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

These described situations give detail to the uniqueness of rescuer's experiences and the Oklahoma City bombing survivor culture.

Key

Key is the tone, manner and overall disposition of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor culture. The tone is the collective feeling of everyone pulling together. More so, key is the communicative behaviors that reflect the spirit and expectations of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. Communicative behaviors such as less criminal behavior, outpouring support, cooperative effort, selfless acts, appreciation, recognition and community support are prevalent among the members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor culture.

Less Criminal Behavior

During weeks following the bombing, the amount of crime in the Oklahoma City area was significantly reduced by 30 percent. Many individuals were helping and volunteering in the recovery effort. During the whole emergency, there was no looting, fighting, power struggles, or any other criminal behavior, such as burglaries, domestics, and larcenies. The fact that the crime rate actually reduced was a miracle in itself because the Oklahoma City Police Department did have some resources tied up downtown. The number of 'mundane, routine calls,' such as barking dogs and loud music, were drastically reduced during the time of rescue and recovery. Locally, there was a lot of television coverage of the Murrah building that broadcasted twenty-four hours a day. While watching all of the media coverage, many sat at home and wondered what they could do to help.

Outpouring Support

It wasn't possible to have every single person that wanted to do something in the Myriad. However, individuals helped by listening to media broadcast the needs of rescuers. The individual who went to her cupboard and got a pillow and sent it to the Myriad for a rescue worker to have a soft place to lay his head that night helped in the relief effort. This operation's success was dependent on all the efforts of all the people. In the aftermath of the bombing, no one cared what race, gender, or religion of individuals. No one asked political affiliations or educational background. The bombing was indiscriminate. When asked about the outpouring support in Oklahoma, one rescuer commented:

> MG: Obviously in Oklahoma there's no question that the overall support from the community was unbelievable And I will tell you even coming from a place that

> has a lot of disasters, the long term support from the community was unique here. The fact that you couldn't pay for anything. The fact that people just came out of the woodwork, I mean just this tremendous outpouring of love and support.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Rescuers, who have been to several states in the country managing disasters, reported that there is an outpouring of support in most disasters but not to the extent and nowhere by the scale seen in Oklahoma.

Cooperative Effort

The agencies, organizations, and governmental institutions that became part of the rescue operations each had its bureaucratic levels of leadership. When they came to help, the leadership hierarchy had to be reshuffled in order to develop a chain of command that utilized all the manpower with discrete units of authority for all the entities involved. A new kind of cooperation resulted in a more efficient way of getting the job accomplished. The following stories are indicative of how this was completed.

A rescuer claimed:

> I was really shocked at how well all the law enforcement agencies pulled together as one. There were so many different agencies involved from the local, state, and federal level that you could expect egos to come into play but that was the furthest from truth. It was like everyone worked for the same department. Throughout the entire time I was there, if you were to stop and talk or even just say hi to a fellow officer from another department they would stop to talk, say hello, or ask how you are doing.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Another rescuer commented:

> It was a fire service helping a fire service. And there was police officers helping police officers. There was, uh, construction workers helping construction workers. It, the, the full Myriad of, of the type of people that came here was unbelievable.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Many people have described the response as the best coordinated they had ever seen. The cooperation of agencies that coexisted in the rescue effort was key to the success of the response. The Federal Employee's Credit Union, located in the Murrah building, lost eighteen employees out of thirty three (seven of which were top management) in the bombing. Other credit unions questioned FECU as to how much cash was needed to operate? FECU figured it needed $200,000 to get back up and operate. On April 20th, 1995, the morning after the bombing, four branches brought FECU $50,000 each. Grieving over the loss of co workers, federal employees hearts ached but were held together by their motto, 'Not for profit, not for charity, but for service' as a way of life. FECU opened Friday, April 21st, 1995, with all volunteers and remarkably, all cash balanced at the end of the each day.

Selfless Acts

Many acts of caring by individuals came with no expectation of anything in return. In many cases, the bestower wanted to remain nameless and the act was known only to those who were affected. In some cases, the act was remembered by those who were so profoundly moved by it. The following stories are record of some of those acts.

A Clergyman claimed:

> [RB]: As I mingled among the persons in that area-search and rescue teams, emergency personnel, supervisors and coordinators, and others- I asked them, "How are you doing? Are you okay? Can I do anything for you?" What impressed me was the fact that as they all said, "Yes we're Okay," their answers were often accompanied by a question they asked of me: "How about you Chaplain? Are you okay; are you doing all right?"
>
> Excerpt from an interview

This sense of caring for one another, a caring that flowed in both directions, was very moving to rescuers, and said volumes about the true community that formed among those involved in the response to the Oklahoma City bombing.

A Rescuer claimed:

> [JW]: I can't remember what it was, it was one of the hardware stores, I, I sent a volunteer to go and pick something up. You know "What do you need it for?" "Well the f-, the fire department needs these." "Oh no charge." I mean and this is time, after time, after time, no charge. Um, people just, so many people, uh, it, it was just unbelievable. Free-, freely, willingly giving, not, no complaints, no questions. Um, the generosity was just phenomenal. I've never seen anything like it in my life. And I've never seen anything since. Of course it was an extraordinary situation, but um, just an awesome response.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Rescuers were awed at the selfless act of a person showing true concern for another individual without thinking of oneself in such a tragedy. Oklahomans put concern for the

rescuers before themselves. The true selfless act of giving without regard to questions, complaints, or concern of how one will get paid was striking to rescuers.

Appreciation, Recognition & Community Support

Just as soon as rescue workers arrived into OKC, they were taken aback by the appreciation and recognition that they received by the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. The community was very thankful and appreciative for the efforts of rescuers. Rescuers commented on the overwhelming amount of support they received from the community.

A rescuer commented:

> RM: You know, the people of Oklahoma City, they are so kind. They cooked dinner for us, and they would, even when we were on duty, and weren't at the bombing that day, would have us at church. And make recognition. And they would bring lunch to us. It was really quite a deal.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Rescuers really appreciated the hot meals but even more so, appreciated people passing by to give thanks, prayer, and simple words of encouragement.

A rescuer claimed:

> I was amazed at all the people that came down to see the building. People passing by would stop just to say thanks or what we were doing. Some people would send their children to us to shake our hand and say thanks. On the SW corner of sixth and Hudson there were flowers, teddy bears, letters, and cards. People would come by and read the letters and cards and take pictures.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Another rescuer commented:

> In my many years of disaster work, and in my 25 years as a federal employee, I have never witnessed, or personally enjoyed the outpouring of appreciation and recognition that permeated my experience, and the experience of others in Oklahoma City. Even the most experienced and sometimes jaded FEMA disaster workers were moved to the point of disbelief by this phenomenon.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Many rescue workers told me of people who insisted on paying for their meals in restaurants. One evening while waiting to be seated at a restaurant for dinner, a young man approached a group of FEMA rescue workers and asked if they were "in town to work on the bombing." When one of the rescuers answered 'yes', the young man replied:

> I just want you to know how much what you are doing means to us.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The young man proceeded to shake each rescuer's hand and thanked each of them individually. Another rescuer stopped at a convenience store for a snack and soda one Sunday. When the rescuer stood at the counter to pay, the woman cashier asked if he was "working downtown" (a phrase that had come to mean being part of the bombing response effort).

The rescuer responded:

> When I said yes, she told me that she would not accept any of my purchases. I thanked her and told her how much the outpouring of appreciation meant to all of us. She told me that, "Oklahomans' are independent people but when something bad happens to us we pull together and support each other. You all have become part of us and we all do what we can to help. All of you are away from your

> homes and families to help us. All of us can't be downtown working at the building so we do what we can. At that point, an older woman who had been stocking shelves approached me. She hugged me and proclaimed, "Besides that, God's gonna bless the pants off all you people!" While that is a rather disturbing visual image, I was moved by the intent and had difficulty holding back the tears.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Rescue workers were taken aback by the overwhelming amount of support and appreciation that they received from the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community.

Instrumentality

Instrumentality is the channel (i.e., physical, verbal and nonverbal) of communication that formed the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. When viewing people as instruments, what were the communication channels used those days to form this community? What did rescuers experience to make them have such strong feelings of warmth and emotional ties towards Oklahomans?

Schutz's (1962) theory of interpersonal behavior suggests that humans have three basic needs: inclusion, affection, and control that are crucial to developing ones' sense of community. The term inclusion suggests that individuals want to be recognized and feel included. In return, individuals have the need to share and include others. This is evident in the behavior of the citizens of OKC. Helping people became a primary source of connection to the survivors and the greater community. Just as a cyclical phase, the more individuals viewed others becoming involved and receiving recognition, the more they, themselves, became involved to satisfy the need for inclusion. People claiming to have never volunteered a day in their life reached out to others. If indeed technology and

modernity is separating us from our "sense of place" as Meyrowitz (1985) suggests, then the "new-style communities" based on common concerns and issues that Adelman and Frey (1997) detected could emerge through perpetuated images of humanity and face-to-face interaction in the media. By observing media archives, this ethnographer discovered that the media frequently portrayed OKC as a neighboring place, the "village," where people have a sense of pride, connection, and standard for their community. Electronic media allowed the world to connect to the OKC community as they could witness the survivors up close, showing real emotions (i.e., despair, tears, agony, anger anticipation, hope, and love). The ideology of inclusion extends to citizens outside the Oklahoma area. One family member reminisces about a woman who contacted him and his wife shortly after the tragedy:

> I got a card two weeks after the bombing from a lady in Massachusetts that told me, 'I hadn't seen [his injured child] on the news for a week and a half and I have not moved out of my chair, other than to the bathroom and eat. And I got to know if he is going to be okay.'
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

The need for inclusion or connection to community is evident in individuals, even if only experienced through electronic channels.

The term affection suggests that individuals satisfy their needs through giving and receiving support. The dialogue of the survivor community and the images in the media reveal affection through verbal and nonverbal communication: support and giving. Dialogue exchanged, between rescuers and the community, such as "How are you doing?

Are you okay?" certainly made an impression on one another. People would reach out to shake hands with rescuers to say thanks. Rescuers prayed with the people of Oklahoma. The sense of caring for one another formed this community. Both, rescuers and the community, exceeded each other's expectations when demonstrating affection.

The term control suggests that individuals have varying needs to control or to be controlled. The motive behind terrorism is to make people feel as if they have no control over their environment. As individuals stood together and supported one another, they regained a sense of control over their situation. By (re) figuring the tragedy, citizens found a new "sense of identity and control over their lives" (Adelman & Frey, 1997, p.24).

What did a person experience to have such feelings of warmth toward Oklahomans? Examples of channels include volunteers conversing with rescuer's, Oklahomans doing the rescuer's laundry, Oklahoman's placing mints on rescuer's pillows, the manager at the restaurant that insisted on paying for rescue worker's dinners, and the two little girls standing at a gate passing out tiny golden angels. Volunteers commented that even children did everything they could to show they cared:

A volunteer claimed:

> A little girl offered a handful of Band-Aids through the car window to Cindy Wall-Morrison at KOCO-TV because Band-Aids fix everything.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

A Red Cross worker noted:

> We had children during the OKC bombing that would come as close as they could to that fence and they would just sing. And so, it makes me tear up. But, it makes a huge difference.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Other examples of channels include an elderly lady who shook rescuer's hands and told them how grateful she was that they were in Oklahoma City. A lady driving a golf cart for the Salvation Army delivered drinks and snacks for the police, firefighters, rescue people and anyone else in the area. A ten year old Cherokee Indian boy gave his spirit bag to a Sacramento firefighter. Channels such as the Salvation Army, American Red Cross, Feed the Children, Brick town Association, and all the churches in the area participated and formed this community. Volunteers, as instruments, were giving away pizza as fast as they could cook it. One of the rescue workers got a couple of slices and sat down to eat. A volunteer came up to him and asked what he would like to drink. The rescuer didn't want to be difficult so he said anything would be fine. The volunteer replied:

> No sir, I am here to take care of you guys, so tell me what you want and I'll get it for you.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The rescue worker was extremely touched by the comment. He later found out that all Oklahomans were very caring people. It was nothing at the fire station to have some lady locally come by and bring a cake or pie for no reason at all. It was normal to have somebody bring something by and drop it off and leave a note saying, "thanks!" Everyday, Nuway laundry rushed to turn the laundry around so rescue workers would

have their clean clothing when needed. When sorting through laundry, a Nuway laundry employee found several hundred dollars in cash in a rescue worker's pocket. Knowing who it belonged to was impossible as the laundry was grouped by city in which rescuers resided. The amount of cash represented almost two weeks wages to the Nuway employee. Knowing how she would feel to lose that much money, the Nuway employee returned the money. Rescue workers were shocked when they heard this guy got his money back.

Norms of Interaction and Interpretation

Norms of interaction and interpretation entail standards attached to speaking and interpretation of norms within the cultural belief system of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. These include moral boost, mere conversation, prayer, and applause.

Moral Boost

A goal of this community was to keep up the morale of the rescuers. When the morale of the rescue workers would start to diminish, rescuers would turn to the OKC community, the men and women who kept them going. Rescuers and members of the community battled with one other as to 'who was the hero?' (i.e.) 'You're the hero. No, you're the hero. No, you're the hero'. Again, the media did not see the interaction that went on behind closed doors in the Myriad. The rescue members had a really hard time, especially the ones from New York Task Force 1, who had responded to the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. New York rescuers came to Oklahoma and they just kept saying,

> [N] We don't understand. You are the ones that are suffering. Your city is the one that's in grief. Yet you seem to just be giving to us overwhelmingly. You just ---

you can't do---you know, you're just treating us like kings and queens, and we're not sure we deserve this.

Oklahomans said,

> [O] It's all we have to offer. You know, you are our guests in our state and this is what we have to offer you.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The idea of 'help' or 'this is all I have to offer you' was prevalent in the Oklahoma City community. Families of members of the OKC survivor community deserve credit for keeping the morale up of men and women who moved the rocks and bricks of the Murrah building. Seventeen days, twenty-four hours a day, of being in a real negative environment can certainly wear on a person. During one specific instance, Chief Mars was explaining in detail tactics to what rescuers were doing to those who were waiting on news of loved ones. Knowing that the very worst was probably going to be the outcome, an Oklahoman stood up and claimed:

> Chief, please don't allow any of our rescuers to injured no matter what you do, no matter what tactics you take to recover our loved ones, please don't allow one of your rescuers to be injured.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

After Chief Mars was finished talking to the people, the people of Oklahoma stood up and clapped. When rescuers went back and conveyed the messages of the people to the other rescue workers, it was an incredible moral boost.

Mere Conversation

Many individuals tried to make conversation with rescuers to brighten their day. Rescuers couldn't go anywhere that people didn't try to hand them coffee or pat them on the back, or say a kind word. Rescuers would stop working momentarily to eat and rest and Oklahomans would come up and start talking to them.

One rescuer commented:

> Oklahomans would start talking to you and before long you know you were smiling and laughing and they kind of had you pumped up and ready to go back into that building. It was a neat experience. It really was.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

By engaging in small talk or mere chit chat with Oklahomans, rescuers were able to, just for a brief moment, take their minds away from the visual horrific images of the Murrah building. Rescuers were able to sort out their thoughts and manage themselves from being so consumed by the disaster. Oklahomans continued to motivate rescuers during their stay in Oklahoma City.

Prayer

Often, volunteers made rescuer's day by letting them know they were in their prayers. Rescuers couldn't go anywhere around the Murrah building without someone stopping them to let them know they were praying for them.

One rescuer commented:

> When I finally got to the point I could break away to go to dinner or go home, or go to the store. Oklahomans would stop you and let you know that you were in their prayers.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The power of prayer played a significant role in the rescuer's psyche. It was through prayer that rescuers were able to not get discouraged and maintain a healthy mindset. Knowing they had a strong support structure behind them enabled them to get through the mental agony of searching for bodies.

Applause

Rescuers were shocked at the rounds of applause they received while in Oklahoma City. No matter the situation, formal or informal, the citizens applauded and thanked rescue workers for their efforts time and time again. Applause is a standard norm of interaction in this community. It is important to the community to recognize rescuers for their efforts. Here are rescuer's stories:

A rescuer commented:

> As we entered the arena the people in the stands and on the floor saw us walk in and they immediately started applauding and cheering as we walked across the arena. They gave us a standing ovation that continued well after we were behind the stage where we would brief the presidential party. It sent chills up my spine to realize how important we were to these thousands of people. Again, the crowd erupted when we appeared. It was wonderful, uplifting moment for all of us. People reached out to touch us and shake our hands as we walked through, and one uniformed marine cried as he shook each of our hands.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The first FBI agent at the scene of the Oklahoma City Bombing reported.

> As I was walking up to that podium to receive my award, folks stood up and applauded. And I looked and said, "What are you applauding for? I didn't do

> anything different, I didn't do anything special. I just did what I had to do but they stood up, standing room only and they stood up and gave me a round of applause. I could not believe it.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Rescuers were applauded by so many citizens in the Oklahoma City community. Oklahomans had been devastated as much as rescuers, but here they were applauding rescuers for the job they had done.

Genres

Genres are textual categories such as printed literature representative of the culture. Genres that entail this story include letters written to rescue workers from children all over the world. These children were mostly from Oklahoma. The Myriad center and Southwestern Bell buildings were flooded with letters from children from elementary schools all over Oklahoma. Rescue workers were constantly reading messages of encouragement and support each and everyday. Children sent boxes and boxes of cards they made. Some were funny trying to cheer rescue workers; others were caring and serious. Cards and messages were delivered to the rescuers and volunteers every day to show support and appreciation by those who were too small to help but whose prayers helped in ways untold. Especially touching to all volunteers and rescuers were the scores of sympathetic and encouraging banners, signs, letters, cards, poems, and notes that accompanied the cartons of material received. Also, banners were hanging around the garage with messages of love and gratitude from churches, schools, and civic organizations. Banners lined the security fences saying 'Thank you' and 'God bless you'

and floral sprays and wreaths lined the route back to the blast scene. The following stories demonstrate some of these words of encouragement.

One rescuer commented:

> I looked down at the table and see a folded paper covered with a child's scrawling picture in a rainbow of Crayola colors. I open it and read the simple message inside. "Thank you rescue workers for helping the hurt people. God loves you. I love you very much. Justin. Assembly of God."
>
> Excerpt from an interview

A Salvation Army worker claimed:

> It really brought the disaster home to us all. An eighth grader did a pencil sketch of the fireman carrying the baby Bailey. One single tear was running down his face. In big, bold letters he wrote, YOU DID YOUR BEST.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

One day a volunteer asked a rescue worker if they would be interested in speaking at one of the elementary schools. The rescue worker thought it could be arranged that some of his team members go and talk to the kids at school one day. After a debriefing meeting, it was brought up that rescuers were looking for a couple of people that wanted to go to the school and talk to children. The entire team volunteered to go and all rescuers got on a bus and left to go to the school. Each FEMA rescue team made time to visit several elementary schools so they could meet with some of the kids who had written them. Rescue workers would divide up into groups of five or six and go and talk to different classrooms. The kids asked rescuers all kinds of questions. Anything from, "Do you have any children at home?" to "What do you think should happen to the people who did

this?" At the close of one of the programs, rescuers went up and mixed with the kids in the bleachers. One of the rescuers sat down next to a fifth grader who looked up at him and casually asked:

(P) So, did you get my card?

The boy began to describe the card. As tears filled the rescuer's eyes, the rescuer commented:

(G) Yes, in fact, it was the very last card I read before we left this morning.

Excerpt from an interview

Out of thousands of letters read, it was an extraordinary coincidence that the rescuer received the boy's letter. The rescue worker was in disbelief that such an unbelievable moment came to pass.

Conclusion

Hymes SPEAKING model was used to analyze data including survivor accounts, volunteer accounts, and rescuer accounts of the Oklahoma City bombing. Messages obtained through field notes, archival documents, and qualitative interviews with members of the Oklahoma City bombing were considered. Consideration was given to these messages to determine how members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community talked about the culture. Collection of this rich description of ethnographic material provided a close-up picture of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. This view presented is one that the public eye had not seen.

The SPEAKING model provided analysis of the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing. Analysis in this context generated meaning of the Oklahoma City bombing community giving the reader a conceptual idea of the culture that emerged while FEMA

rescue workers stayed in Oklahoma City. The unique (S)ituation of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community presents itself with Oklahomans taking care of Oklahomans. The setting of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community focuses on seventeen days after the bombing up until the last FEMA rescuer left Oklahoma City.

Immediately after the bombing, all restauranteurs from nearby downtown restaurants and restaurants in the local surrounding Oklahoma City area donated food to the disaster. The ORA handled food for ten days before turning the operation over to Red Cross. The response of the ORA was claimed by the Red Cross to be the largest food operation in history. While in Oklahoma, rescuers had a hard time buying anything. The community had felt an overwhelming need to help in their own capacity. Items such as sandwiches, snacks, cookies, and water were made available and delivered to rescue workers at all hours of the day. Behind closed doors, in the Myriad, Oklahomans assisted with rescuer needs, such as laundry to be picked up and for barbers to come in and give them haircuts. Massage therapists, eye doctors, and many others also made themselves available.

Certainly one of the most surprising things was the amount of support that the community provided. Many people donated all their spare money to the disaster. Donations came in droves. The outpouring of support for the rescue workers is something that rescuers were not accustomed to and certainly was not expected.

(P)articipants included the Oklahoma Restaurant Association, ordinary citizens, Feed the children, American Red Cross, AT&T, Cingular, Burger King, Red Lobster, Outback steakhouse, Varsity sports club, Bricktown Brewery, Mangum Foods, the Oklahoma Cattlemen's Association, the Oklahoma Veterinary Medical Association,

Oklahoma Propane Gas Association, Nuway Laundry, Wal-Mart, Oswalt Restaurant Supply and many more. Other participants include Burger King who donated 5,000 double meat cheeseburgers one day, Outback steakhouse who cooked New York strip steaks for the workers one day, Little Caesar's Pizza who established a 24 hour pizzeria that fed rescue workers free for two weeks, and Red Lobster who donated between $15,000 and $20,000 in food to the disaster.

(E)nds were communicative behaviors which illustrated the purposes and goals of members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. The simple goal of 'wanting to help' and purpose of 'caring' were communicative behaviors displayed by participants during the aftermath of the bombing. The outcome of this event was the behavior exhibited by Oklahomans knowing in their heart that they did all they could do and did their best by taking care of their own and taking care of rescuers.

(A)cts were descriptions of experiences by members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor culture. A message of 'caring' entails one's experience in the community. Many individuals performed heroic acts at the risk of their own lives. The common layman off the street ran into the Murrah building to pull the injured out. Survivors, who came out of the building hurt, still tried to go back inside and save others.

(K)ey was the tone, manner and overall disposition of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor culture. Key was the communicative behaviors that reflect the spirit and expectations of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. Communicative behaviors such as less criminal behavior, outpouring support, cooperative effort, selfless acts, appreciation, recognition and community support were prevalent among members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor culture.

(I)nstrumentality was the channel (i.e., physical, verbal and nonverbal) of communication that formed the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. The experiences of rescue workers left them with strong feelings of warmth and emotional ties towards Oklahomans.

(N)orms of Interaction and Interpretation entail standards attached to speaking and interpretation of norms within the cultural belief system of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. These included moral boost, mere conversation, prayer, and applause.

(G)enres were textual categories such as printed literature representative of the culture. Genres that entailed this story included letters written to rescue workers from children all over the world. These children were mostly from Oklahoma. Rescue workers were constantly reading messages of encouragement and support each and everyday. Especially touching to all volunteers and rescuers were the scores of sympathetic and encouraging banners, signs, letters, cards, poems, and notes that accompanied cartons of materiel received.

Hymes SPEAKING model is significant for individuals who find themselves interacting with people from other cultures because of the way it helps people understand the ways that communication differs in different cultural situations. These differences help one to recognize that there are certain expectations for how to communicate in a certain way and not everyone share that knowledge or that way. Oklahomans were told they had set a new standard, the Oklahoma Standard, in dealing with the horrors of the attack. Oklahoma City is different from other disasters in that a speech community,

known as the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community, developed in response to the disaster.

This chapter demonstrated that Oklahomans had certain expectations for how to communicate and perform the Oklahoma Standard. The Oklahoma Standard is a story that is told within the community. A story about the goodness displayed by OKC citizens as they pulled together in a time of crisis. Today, this story has evolved into a community of participants with an ongoing mission (i.e., the Oklahoma Standard). Essentially, the story of the Oklahoma Standard has evolved as a model for responding to disasters. Hymes SPEAKING model, as a tool, helps us to understand the Oklahoma Standard and the nature of Oklahoma City community as a platform that other disasters can follow.

CHAPTER 6

LAWRENCE WIEDER'S CONCEPTUAL NET: A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING SPEECH COMMUNITY

Speech is a social phenomenon that varies among communities, individuals, and cultures (Hymes, 1974). A community creates a patterned, functioning language system defined by rules and expressed through specific acts (Hymes, 1974). Taking note of the scheme is useful in developing a conceptual net and in pursuing what McCall and Simmons (1978) call analytic description. Analytic description uses concepts, propositions, and empirical generalizations of a body of scientific theory as guidelines in analysis and reporting (McCall & Simmons, 1978). Basic concepts for analytic description and anyone's ethnography include the idea of culture, standardized patterns of behavior, and social maps (Wieder, 2002). Of these constituents, the conception of culture is most fundamental to ethnography. Spradley (1979) provides a good sketch. Culture, as used in [Spradley's] book, refers to the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behavior. This concept of culture (as a system of meaningful symbols) has much in common with symbolic interactionism [Spradley refers to Cooley, Mead, Thomas, and Blumer. His conception is also related to the non-symbolic interactionists of Weber, Dilthey, and Schutz]. Emerson (1962), Goffman (1963), Schutz (1962), and Wax (1967), delineate the ethnographic task of uncovering culture in terms of examining ongoing worlds over their actual course, first hand, with the aim of uncovering the meaning of the activities (which make up that world) to those who do them.

Distinctive patterns of occurrence and frequency are found in community behavior. Language patterns reveal how, where, and when expressive behavior comes into play. An example of this is how many times and in what context the survivors use the term 'survivor.' Speech economies is the term that Hymes (1974) uses when referring to speech components of the language system. A descriptive analysis of a community speech economy is necessary for understanding cognitive behavior (Hymes, 1974).

The speech economy consists of various functions, speech events, and constitutive factors. Speech functions reveal the ways in which constitutive factors of the speech event constitutes a system. Speech events are named activities such as anniversaries, colloquial expressions, survivor meetings, and ceremonies. Constitutive factors of the speech event include the receiver, channel, topic, sender, message form, code, and setting (Hymes, 1974). Hymes (1974) does not treat speech as an exclusive property of a universal act, a single culture, a language, or a single dialect. The ethnography of speaking "fills the gaps between what is usually described in grammars, and what is usually described in ethnographies" (Hymes, 1974, p. 250). Hymes (1974) raises a very important question about how a community uses speech in order to create meaning or expressive behavior. One must recognize a culture's speech activities in order to understand the language of the survivor community. In this chapter, the speech activity of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community is the primary object of attention. Accordingly, the speech rights (i.e., survivors have the right to tell their story at anytime) and rules (i.e., it is a rule of the community that survivors stories are presented first in the museum) of the survivor community serve as constitutive functions for the speech event.

Many survivors and family members are highly sensitive to issues concerning the memorial.

The communicative practices of the survivor community are evident in their routinized use of the word 'survivor.' A definition of the word 'survivor' was the first step towards building a community and creating a collective identity, which sets this survivor community's norms for individuals to follow. Consequently, community behavior is mediated and defined through speech (Hymes, 1974). Many individuals claimed to be a 'survivor' because the bombing occurred on a public street affecting many people who worked downtown in such places as restaurants and surrounding businesses. The term 'survivor' was a very attractive label for many reasons including media attention. Parameters had to be set in order to conceptually define the term 'survivorship.' Therefore, it is necessary to utilize Lawrence Wieder's conceptual net to identify the various ways in which language contributes to the maintenance of the survivor community through survivor's speech rights, rules, values, norms, and beliefs, and language and memory.

Lawrence Wieder's Conceptual Net

What is a survivor community?

I chose to join together the terms 'survivor' and 'community' to form a single phenomenon (i.e., survivor community) which is atypical to communication research. Adelman and Frey (1997) suggest that a community is characterized by social interactions always expressed within the political structure of a group. This ethnographer discovered a need for power and control among group members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. The quest to conceptually define the term 'survivorship'

was an emotional eight-month process. The first step towards control was to define the word ‘survivor.’

What is a survivor?

The Oklahoma National Memorial Foundation decided to have two clear, precise definitions for the term ‘survivor.’ Group members in the community have definitions for which they refer to one another. A survivor is referenced as either an actual survivor or a family survivor. The first definition of a survivor is *a person who survived the bombing.* The people who survived wanted to rebuild the building and the families of victims wanted to remember and create a sacred ground. At that point, the family members felt that they had ownership or claim over the survivorship title.

Although the above conceptual definition of the word ‘survivor’ is the denotative definition of the term, members of the survivor community use the term ‘survivor’ in many different contexts; for example, the ‘survivor tree’, a tree that survived the bombing. Survivors in the building felt as if they were just as important and came forward developing a definition of a survivor with rights and rules. The second definition of a survivor is *a family member of one who lost his or her life in the bombing*. For people in the greater community who are not actual survivors, but were indirectly affected by the bomb, they are considered *those changed forever,* and have no claim on survivorship.

Through observation, this researcher found that individuals in the survivor community use the terms ‘survivor’ and ‘family member’ a lot in their everyday discourse. All ‘folks’ needed to agree on clear definitions in order to make democratic

decisions. ‘Survivors’ and ‘family members’ are symbols of endurance, hopefulness, and credence.

Some people’s ‘claim to fame’ came to be a big problem and parameters had to be set in order to control survivorship. Only those who could speak of ‘survivorship’ were those who claimed to experience the tragedy from a certain spatial location. The survivor radius was from 6th street to 4th street between Harvey and Robinson in downtown Oklahoma City. Individual’s claim on survivorship is still an inherent problem today. At the fourth anniversary of the Oklahoma City bombing, we, (myself and another researcher) as *interns*, had the responsibility of verifying peoples’ *survivor identity* before letting them into the gates of the ceremony.

Each person’s identity was validated according to a master list of all *survivors* and *family members*. The Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation achieved control and order in the community by presenting a clear conceptual definition of *survivor*. The second step toward control and order among the community is practiced through survivorship, involving sets of rules, rights, values, norms and beliefs, language and memory.

What are their rules?

“Rules both impede and foster community; as in all organizations, rules reveal the delicate balance between creativity and constraint” (Adelman & Frey, 1997, p.64). It is the rule of the survivor community that no member be excluded from any meeting or decision-making process. Hymes (1974) claims that the rules involved with ‘talk’ establish a sense of community. It is the rule of the survivor community to include the opinion of all members. The primary purpose of the memorial meetings was to acquire a

consensus on pertinent issues. On several accounts, participants referenced an informal parliamentary setting as a means of voting (i.e., a show of hands). Communicative practices of decision-making and negotiation are indicated in statements and remarks made by members of the survivor community. The following transcript displays how the survivor community viewed the importance and constant awareness of the need for inclusion of all members in attendance at meetings.

> [S]Rick will it be helpful to *you for us* to kinda have a show of hands to show how many generally think what *you* have here is okay?
>
> C]That'd be fine
>
> [S]*How many of you we've all seen* it I guess. *How many of you* are comfortable with that in terms of basic [inaudible] how many? [Emphasis added]
>
> Excerpt from an OKC National Memorial meeting

Following explanation of the memorial's design, [S] suggests a show of hands from survivors at the meeting. Like many survivors in this community, [S] is trying to sustain community rules and achieve group goals, without appearing individualistic. [S] utilizes third person pronouns such as "you and us." During the meetings, the collective voice of the group was evident in survivors' discourse. I observed that individual identities evolved from the 'I' to the 'we'. For example, during a highly emotionally charged meeting with the memorial designer, Peter Gallagher, survivors displayed acts of grief, such as crying and hugging. Apologetically, the architect of the Oklahoma City bombing memorial told the survivors:

> [D] I did not mean to upset you.

A survivor sitting in the back of the room responded:

[P] You did not upset *us*.

Excerpt from taped meeting

There is hierarchy in the Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation. This ethnographer attended meetings that were held during the time in which the Oklahoma City National Memorial was being built. At memorial meetings, family members sit on one side of room and memorial foundation members sit on the other side of room. There are rules regarding which stories come first in the layout of the memorial museum. Actual stories of victims or the 168 killed in the Oklahoma City bombing are presented first. Stories of survivor's experiences and grief stories of those who lost loved ones are presented second. Stories of rescue workers are presented third. These stages of process are the rules of this community. Everyone is very aware that they do not stand independently from the group. The survivors cohesively discuss the construction of the memorial and display group identity.

What are their <u>rights</u>?

The entrance to ceremonies and other such gatherings is an inherent right of all survivors. However, findings indicate that the primary right of survivorship is the "right to speak". A survivor's voice holds the utmost credibility and authority on the subject of the bombing. When a survivor decides that they want to speak up and disclose information, it is their right; everyone else stands back and gives them the right to take the floor. This researcher has many documented specific instances in which the voice of survivors take precedence over members outside their community. For instance, this ethnographer observed a survivor take over a tour of the Murrah garage, which at the time was being conducted by a memorial foundation employee. The memorial foundation

employee granted the survivor the right to lead the tour. I asked this employee how she felt about someone taking over her job and she replied:

> Whenever survivors want to do the talking, I let them.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

During any meeting held by the memorial foundation, it has been noted that if a survivor wishes to change the agenda, it is his or her right to take the floor. During an update on the construction of the memorial, a survivor interjects his feelings about the fence:

> The fence really needs some refreshing from time to time. Let's encourage all family members and survivors to keep placing things on the fence.
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

The discussion was then switched to the fence, a behavior that is atypical for most formal meetings. Although the people conducting the meeting were not anticipating discussing this topic, they did not interrupt the conversation or redirect the speech topic. The right to speak is not exclusive only to the spoken word, but also to written text. For example, a family member expresses in a letter her anger over the use of chairs to represent babies:

> Chairs are not a proper way to remember babies. The majority of them could not sit in chairs.
>
> Excerpt from survivor letter

Not all members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community agree with the Oklahoma City National Memorial. It is their right to lash out at the memorial foundation. Many found that writing was a better way to communicate various points of conflicting interests with the memorial foundation. Family members could best express

themselves by laying out their argument and questioning issues, such as when the family member in the excerpt noted above, questions the symbolism behind the use of chairs to represent babies. Not only does the memorial foundation pay very close attention to letters written by family members, but they also are very careful of the survivor's rights during meetings. If they disagree on any event, it is discontinued and reconsidered until unanimously agreed upon. As one memorial foundation employee explains to the survivors:

> The theme of the fourth anniversary is on terrorism. I want to be very respectful to you all. If even one person objects, then we will not do it.
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

Survivors have the right to go to the Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation at any given time and tell their stories. However, survivors had to relinquish their rights to any unclaimed personal or family items before the museum was built. Now that the museum is completed, all unclaimed artifacts belong to the archives (i.e., eyeglasses, shoes, purses and wallets, and jewelry). Accordingly, the speech rights and rules of the survivor community serve as constitutive functions for the speech event. Now that a discussion of speech rights and rules of this community have been addressed, the values, norms, and beliefs of this community will be presented.

What are their <u>values, norms, and beliefs?</u>

The main criterion for a successful organization is a cardinal document that gives power to implement regulation and shared social practices that guide behavior. This ethnographer has come to understand the value of silence and the mission statement within this community.

A moment to remember the individuals who lost their lives in the bombing became known as ‘a moment of silence’. A moment of silence serves two purposes: a sign of respect and a time to remember the lives of those lost in the bombing. Often, this moment is remembered at 9:02 am, the time in which the bombing occurred. The Oklahoma City community took a moment of silence everyday during the days following the bombing, when bodies were still being pulled from the building. For example, asking everyone to take a ‘moment of silence’ would be announced on the radio and cars on the street and interstate would pull over and remember those who were killed in the bombing. Later, individuals took a moment of silence during the Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation meetings, anniversaries, and memorial events. The significance of silence was so profound within this community that during the fourth anniversary, the moment was lengthened to 168 seconds (representing one second for each deceased individual).

The mission statement, which is interchangeably used as a prayer and as a logo, is the cardinal document that empowers the community. The value of each one of these is displayed through patterns of behaviors: norms. These norms have been observed to be practiced at all meetings, ceremonies, and survivor gatherings. Before each occurrence, there is a moment of silence followed by the mission statement. The mission statement, as follows, represents the values and beliefs of the collective voice of members in the community.

We come here to remember those who were killed,

Those who survived and those changed forever.

May all who leave here know the impact of violence.

May this memorial offer comfort, strength, peace, hope and serenity.

(Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation, 1998).

The survivor community has many unique values and beliefs about education, restoration, and appreciation of life.

Education

The survivor community places an emphasis on the value of education. The survivors talk about how their stories will teach people around the world that violence is senseless. Awareness is a common word used among survivors and the memorial foundation. Awareness has been identified as a means of 'not forgetting' or 'preserving memory'. During a meeting, one survivor made the following comment:

> We have to keep the awareness up. This year has no 1st year anniversary or ceremony. The memorial is the first opportunity we have had. I can't wait until the ribbon cutting.

Excerpt from taped meeting

Relying on the memorial to keep the awareness up is problematic in that not all survivors feel the unity with the memorial and the memorial foundation. Occasionally, their individual differences of experience keep them from participating. The survivors display a flux of emotions over the memorial. For instance, one day the survivor community will praise the new memorial, another day they will disparage it. This ethnographer learned that the monetary aspect of the memorial was affecting the values and beliefs of many survivors. The monetary aspect was a moral issue for many survivors. Many survivors welcomed the generous donations for the construction of the memorial; however, they disliked the idea of charging an admission fee to enter the museum. The idea of charging

an admission fee implored the rhetorical question, “How do you put a price on someone’s loss?” Members argued that they should be able to attend the memorial museum, remember their loved one, and shouldn’t have to pay a fee to do so. Unfortunately, the long-term cost of utilities and maintenance require additional resources. As a result, there were several debates between the survivors over the entrance fee of the memorial museum. Due to dialectical tensions felt by members of the survivor community over the entrance fee of the memorial museum, the mission statement was frequently called into question. Survivors can draw upon the sacred words of the mission statement as a means of negotiating conflict and meaning. Dialectical tensions were witnessed and felt by survivors over the admission fee as they discussed other means to work out pertinent monetary issues of their community; for example, the survivor license plate fee. The license plate was designed for victims and survivors. It had a bear design with a V on the right and an S on the left side of the bear. The V stood for victim and the S stood for survivor. During days following the bombing, individuals placed lots of bears on the fence. When thinking back to days following the bombing, many individuals remembered the bears. Members decided that the bear would, symbolically, best represent the survivor community. On the license plate, the date of April 19, 1995 is centered below the bear. The survivor license plate fee as a means to work monetary issues is discussed on several occasions. Note the dialectical tensions felt by survivors in the following discussion.

[D] Where’s the money go?

[R]It goes to the production cost of the

[D]Of the plate?

[R]Of the plate

[D]So there will be a profit somewhere. So this is

[R]State I guess I

[D]No I mean how I mean why couldn't why couldn't you make a plate except for the survivors and victims family members

[R]Victims and survivors?

[P]We're required uh some additional record keeping by the state to identify those plates as uh something different than the regular plate so the state is going to be out some additional expense just having those plates on the road.

[D]So

[P]So there's different ways of look, I know, but there different ways of looking at it and for those people who worked on the display I think it's a beautiful job.

[D]I was just saying that if there's any money left over [P] and I talked about this before about I don't want to get into a different subject but *charging admissions into the into the memorial museum part. Maybe we're trying to figure out other ways to get around that.*

[R]*I came here to address the state*

[D]Oh I understand that that's just an idea you know because *I don't think that the park should stay open 24 hours* I don't think [inaudible] maybe we could just find out about it.

[P] *Ron is that a done deal*?

[R]It is not a done deal. I mean if the *if the objection is strong enough obviously we'll go back to the voting board.* But uh the reaction has been basically what we've seen here. Everybody basically *It all began with the mission statement, and*

no one has lost site of their goals. This issue is no different from the mission statement. The park is operating under a handicap of 8 million dollars. Folks, no one likes the idea of charging people to enter the memorial center. *We have no choice*.

[D]*This is a way for the city to make money on the people who lost their lives' in the bombing.* [Emphasis added]

Excerpt from a taped meeting

In this dialogue, [D] is disturbed by the fact that the museum and the license plate will have a fee. He suggests other ways to get around it, such as using the excess money from the survivor license plate. Monetary issues in this community are antagonistic for several reasons. First, [D's] claim "This is a way for the city to make money on the people who lost their lives' in the bombing" is a commonly held view in this community. Second, many survivors feel that the relief funds were not distributed evenly amongst survivors and victims family members. Thus, [P] tries to change the subject by saying "I think it's a beautiful job." While [R] reiterates his intentions, "I came here to address the state [license plate]," and eventually says, "We have no choice." Regardless of how they feel about these issues, the survivor meetings offer survivors a way to negotiate their differences.

Restoration

The survivor community has many unique values concerning the restoration of all things salvageable from the bombing**.** It was of utmost importance to save everything original that could be salvaged because each was said to have survived the OKC bombing. This notion of survival, in itself, symbolized the idea that the OKC survivor community would

prevail. Great evil may have occurred in Oklahoma City, but it did not triumph. Anything that survives is precious to this community.

Recreating their environment exactly how it once existed is imperative for those who survived because they serve "as visible markers for reaffirming community purpose" (Adelman & Frey, 1997, p.96). Survivor's directive 'talk' refers to recreating their surroundings and affirming community purpose. Including things salvageable from the bombing reaffirmed and recreated the space of the memorial. Restorations included the playground, flagpole, survivor wall, plaza, gates of time, and the survivor tree. Discussions of each of these follow:

Playground

A children's daycare center and playground inside the Murrah building were destroyed during the bombing. However, pieces of the playground survived the explosion. Out of 168 lives lost in the bombing, 19 were children. Today, a grass lawn lies just outside of the memorial in downtown Oklahoma City with a sign standing in the area known as 'the playground'. The sign reads,

> This grass lawn was the playground for the children's daycare center. Many children were killed or injured in the building. .
>
> Oklahoma City National Memorial

It was important to survivors to restore the playground as it is a reminder of the many children who were killed in the bombing.

A survivor stated:

> [A] The playground will be restored (it will be used only for display). Signs will mark everything original. It will be the same fence that was there, same posts,

> everything that came down will go right back up and it will simply have a sign on it that identifies it as the playground. Our intent is to restore it as close as possible. Also, a sign will script the effort that began April 19, 1995.
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

Including things salvageable from the bombing reaffirmed and recreated the space of the memorial. The above excerpt states that 'a sign will script the effort that began April, 1995'. That effort helps us to understand that a community developed in response to the disaster. The unity of survivors as a shared voice is very noticeable in the community. One survivor commented:

> [R]The playground area, um, what we've done with that *our intent* was to restore *that as close as possible with what we had left from the playground*. It will be filled back in with dirt. It will be laid with sod. It will be knolled like it was before. *Those of us* who helped to make that playground, remember it used to be a knoll all the way across the street. So we cut that down and made this little knoll right here. I think we have about half of the wood needed to refurbish the playground, excuse me, the swing set, and some of *that shaded area that overlooks, and the little house, we had that*. [Emphasis added]
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

In the above excerpt, the survivor speaks as one with the community with phrases such as "our intent", "we had left from the playground", "those of us", and "we had that". Survivor's direct 'talk' refers to recreating their surroundings and affirming community purpose.

<u>Flagpole</u>

As part of the memorial, survivors wanted to include the original flagpole that stood outside the Murrah building. The flagpole was refurbished and designated with an interpretive sign that identifies it as the Murrah flagpole.

A survivor claimed:

> There are several unique parts to what we are doing. One is the flag; one of the things decided is that we wanted to keep the original flagpole. We call it the Murrah flagpole. That is very important to us.
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

It was of utmost importance to save everything original that could be salvaged because each was said to have survived the OKC bombing. This notion of survival, in itself, symbolized the idea that the OKC survivor community would prevail.

Survivor Wall

On the east side of the memorial stand the only remaining walls from the Murrah building. These walls are symbolic of those who survived the terrorist attack. More than 600 names of survivors are inscribed on salvaged pieces of granite. Since the walls withstood the explosion, survivors felt that it was necessary to include them as part of the memorial. The following excerpts demonstrate this point of interest.

A survivor stated:

> [R]*We saved those broken walls that were parts of the building*. And we've *attached those to that new wall*, so if you look from the north to the south, *you'll see those jagged walls that were left there post bombing*. Those are some of the last walls from the building, *those are very important*. [Emphasis added]
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

A foundation employee from the OKC National Memorial stated:

> The jagged walls of the Murrah building that were left standing will be attached to the new wall. Also, the taupe warm wall color will match. The foundation and construction workers are very meticulous about perfecting everything.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

As seen in the discussion of the playground, the flagpole, and the survivor wall, [R] and [A] continuously use phrases such as, “that we decided,” “that is very important to us,” “that is our intent,” “that was as close as possible,” “that identifies,” “we had that,” “those jagged walls that were left there post bombing,” and many more detailed references to rebuild the bomb site as close as possible to what once existed in the physical space and in the collective memory of the survivors.

The survivors are informed by their experience in a socially comprised world of objects and events. Consequently, these objects and events are indispensable for constructing talk. Memorial meetings were held regularly and updates were given regarding the progress of building the memorial. Typically, survivor meetings were held during the evenings, after a long days work. Survivors wanted all explicit details involved with the construction of the memorial shared with them throughout the process. Although the message form was very descriptive and technical, the shared features of the topics are a building block to closure.

Plaza

Located just south of the Field of Empty Chairs, above the underground parking garage, is the raised Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building Plaza. The plaza was an original

part of the federal building, and contained garden and seating areas, as well as the second floor daycare's playground. Visitors to the memorial may still access the plaza today. A discussion of the memorial plaza is demonstrated in the following taped excerpt. A survivor states:

> [R]The plaza will receive all new pavers, all new brick pavers for those of you who remember it as these huge five by five pieces of stone and wobbled and wrinkled and everything else. See the difference here is we are going back with a smaller panel and a different size leveling device with the understanding that we will probably see as many people on this plaza overlooking that site as may visit the site. So it's very important that we did it and did it well and did it right the very first time. These are some examples of what the construction workers have done or are doing. They are laying the decking as we speak. They're sealing the decking so we don't have leaks on part of the garage like we did before and they're actually starting to lay some of the grand pavers, with the idea that they'll work from the north wall and work their way back towards the fountain. That's very important at this time of the year.
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

Again, notice in the above excerpt the unity of survivors as a shared voice as the survivor speaks with terms such as, "those of you who remember", "we are going", "we will", "that we did it", and "as we speak". They speak collectively during meetings as to include the voice of all survivors.

Gates of Time

The bomb not only disrupted the physical space in which the Murrah building once stood, it also punctuated peoples' lives', which is revealed in their talk. Linenthal (2001) states that the way people remember catastrophic events makes significant statements about memory mechanisms, and the ability to emotionally survive devastation. The primary feature of the memorial is the metaphorical gates of time. On the west side of the sacred ground stands gate 9:01 am, which signifies life as it once was. On the east side stands gate 9:03, which signifies those who were killed, those survived, and those changed forever. In between these situating markers is a reflecting pool 9:02 that symbolize peace and tranquility after destruction. During meetings, members of the community discussed meticulous details involved with the construction of the gates of time.

A survivor states:

> [C] The gates of time, the 9:01am wall will be 56 feet in width, 31½ feet to the top from Robinson Avenue street level and 42 feet from the reflecting pool. That's just over four stories tall.
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

The temporally and spatially anchored "gates of time" is not only a symbolic theme for the physical layout of the memorial, but also a powerful expression that goes beyond verifiable evidence and enables people to interpret experience (Lipsitz, 1990). Accordingly, if you ask any survivor where they were and what they where doing on April 19 at 9:01 am, they will give you explicit details leading up to the moment in *time*, in which their lives were forever changed. For example, one woman told me she was

punching a “time clock” in a building across the street from the Murrah building. The magnitude of the explosion blew her teeth out of her mouth. In another example, a family member recalls the specific time and place that events unfolded:

> [D]When Cathy and I were downtown shortly after the bombing, [T][Media] was doing a segment on the bombing and I’ll never forget, I *believe it was right next to the command center* and I walked up to her *with the building in the background* and I think it was about *9:45 or 9:50am*, I asked her if she knew, I told her who I was, and if she knew *where they would take the children from the daycare* and I must tell you that she dropped everything that she was doing and got on her cell phone and called the studio and really did a lot of searching for me. [Emphasis added]
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

The account of [D] reveals both temporal markers “9: 45 or 9:50” and geographical markers “right next to the command center.” As the world turned upside down, situating devices allows survivors to recall the disordered and fluxing events of that day that left many of them walking around in disbelief. The media have also played a role in how people perceive time. For example, there was an audio taped Water Resource meeting being held across the street from Murrah in the Journal Record building, at the time of the bombing. The audio tape of the meeting was salvageable. In listening to the tape, one can tell that the meeting had just started at 9:00 am and then at 9:02 am, one hears the explosion and sounds of the bombing. Another example includes the disfigured wall clock, found at the bombing site, that stopped at exactly 9:02 am. Both the taped meeting and the wall clock have been sensationalized through mediated channels. These images

serve as evidence that both life and time stopped on April 19th, 1995.

Meticulous detail is used to describe the plaza and the gates of time in the above discussion. The shared information, with all its explicit details, keeps the community talking. Therefore, the various speech functions of the event serve as a tool for motivation and morale, a vital element needed when dealing with such an intrusive experience.

Survivor Tree

An example of how much the community appreciates life is indicated in their value of a badly charred tree that endured the explosion, now known as the survivor tree. The community went to great lengths to save the tree by having 100 piers placed under it (by hand) to safeguard the roots. One survivor explains,

> Everything that survived "that day" is said to bring hope for future generations.
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

Along with the sacred survivor tree, some other trees survived the horrific explosion as well. The trees are considered 'survivors,' in and of themselves, by the survivor community. The following excerpt regarding the survivor tree serves as evidence in the community's appreciation of life.

> [R]There is a lot of concern about the trees. We didn't have water up there, we couldn't take care of them for all those years. We knew they were going to have to come out, we could not save them, we could not replant them, so the idea was to just take them out and we're replanting the new ones. Those are survivor trees too, by the way.
>
> [Q] They're from the survivor tree?

[R] No, we just kinda think of them as survivor trees because they survived also

[Q] Oh, they survived the bombing?

[R] That is correct (smiling)

Excerpt from taped meeting

The natural use of the term ‘survivor’ is illustrated in the above discussion between [Q], a survivor, and [R], a foundation employee. In discussing the memorial landscape, [R] frames the importance of various trees in referring to them as ‘survivor trees.’ Since the memorial places such emphasis on one official survivor tree, one sees that [Q] questions whether these trees are from the ‘survivor tree.’ [R] responds using the term ‘survivor’.

[R] “No, we just kinda think of them as ‘survivor trees’ because they survived also.

Excerpt from taped meeting

Individual’s speech activities in the OKC survivor community differentiate them from the larger Oklahoma City community while providing them with a sense of inclusion into a specific co-culture. Even though survivors have unique experiences, injuries, pains, and losses that occurred as a result of the explosion, they are careful to not be individualistic when discussing the memorial. Survivor’s language and talk during meetings, ceremonies, and social gatherings defines a collective voice in that the word ‘I’ is seldom used.

What is the individual’s <u>language and memory</u> in this community?

Individuals frequently refer to themselves as ‘we’ or ‘us.’ Also, many survivors function in a mythic manner because they are very insightful about ‘what is said’ and ‘what is meant’. Consequently, before a memorial can be physically constructed in time

and space, it must be mythically constructed through shared meaning, memory, and storytelling. Acting individualistic would prevent the survivors from creating a symbolic memorial. Therefore, meaning and memory must be unified for the memorial. It is through the survivors' speech activities that they sustain collectivism or a collective voice. In the following excerpt, one survivor, who oversees the construction of the memorial, discusses the progress of the memorial and recalls collectively the looks of the original building.

> [J]Those are some of the last walls from the building, those are very important. Uh, the other main wall being the east chapel wall, which is where the names of the *survivors* will be listed. That was very important to *us*. *Those of us* who remember the building remember that if you look at the concrete versus the new that's a unique pour a unique concrete. The other thing *we're* doing up on the plaza is regenerating that color for the first time since about 1977; it's called a warm tone color.
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

During the survivor meeting, [J] unified audience members through collective memory such as, when stating, "Those of us who remember." Also, the shared memorial construction experience of survivors is evident in the statement, "The other thing we're doing up on the plaza." Communicative practices of decision-making and negotiation are survivor's rights. [J] tries to sustain community rules and achieve group goals by using language that projects constant awareness of all individuals. [J's] collectivistic language projects the need for inclusion by all members in attendance at meetings.

The detailed points of references used in the survivor community have several other important constitutive functions. First, people in this community frequently identify themselves by their survivor status as either a 'survivor' or a 'family member.' Individuals are willing to disclose their own identity or *that* of another survivor or family member. For example, someone of this community might say, "There's Sally, she lost her sister in the Murrah building." As well, the word "bombing" is seldom used in survivor discourse. It is more common to hear euphemistic phrases such as "April 19" or "that day."

A descriptive analysis of a community speech economy is necessary for understanding the cognitive behavior of members in the community. Survivorship is displayed in various ways in which language contributes to the maintenance of the survivor community through survivor's speech rights, rules, values, norms, and beliefs, and language and memory. The speech components of the language system provide a view of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor culture as created through discussions concerning the memorial.

CHAPTER 7

THE STORYLINE OF THE OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING UTILIZING SYMBOLIC CONVERGENCE THEORY

The culture of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community began with the tragedy itself. Individuals in the OKC Bombing survivor community built a sense of community through symbolic convergence. Individuals in the survivor community shared fantasies when they listened to each others stories. When a collection of individuals share a set of common fantasies or stories, that group of individuals find commonality, or symbolic convergence (Bormann, 1980). Stories also help group members achieve symbolic convergence and coordinate the activities of the members toward common goals (Adelman & Frey, 1997). The idea of human beings as storytellers indicates a theory of symbolic actions; it holds that symbols are created and communicated as stories meant to give order and meaning to human experience, persuading others to establish common ways of living, in communities in which there is a sanction for the story that constitutes one's life (Fisher, 1987). These stories not only create identity for the individual, but also for the community at large. Halbwachs explains “what makes recent memories hang together is not that they are contiguous in time: it is rather that they are part of a totality of thoughts common to a group, the group of people who have a relationship” (Halbwachs as cited in Coser, 1992, p. 52). “Similarity of memories is a sign of a community of interests and thought” (Halbwachs as cited in Coser, 1992, p.52). As members in the community converged together, the storyline of the Oklahoma City bombing emerged. This study utilizes Symbolic Convergence theory and its constructs to

understand how members in the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community converged together as a result of sharing stories. More specifically, this study seeks to discover fantasies shared between survivors and to discover the meaning stories have for the community. Thus, research question 1 is posed:

RQ1: What fantasies are shared among members of the survivor culture of the Oklahoma City bombing?

A conglomeration of stories of victims, individual survivors, family members, rescue workers, and media is the framework for the overall collective memory that dominates the history of the Oklahoma City bombing. As part of the second component of the new memorial, survivors share the common goal of telling their story. The memorial needed one collective voice, a story line, to represent the overall experience of the tragedy. The story line of the museum has two voices. The primary voice of the museum is the voice of survivors, family members, and rescue workers. The secondary voice of the museum is the community, including 'those changed forever' or those not directly affected by the bombing. The actual story line of the museum, itself, focuses on remembrance, the senseless act of terrorism, and awareness. The memorial museum takes visitors on a chronological tour of the story of April 19, 1995, and the days, weeks and years that followed the Oklahoma City bombing. The story is told in chapters beginning early the morning of April 19, 1995, and ending with a message of hope for today.

People needed to make sense of the past in order to recreate meaning out of the present, and to connect their personal histories to a larger collective story. The people of Oklahoma City took their stories and materialized them into the museum. "The story of the transformed life, then, becomes a part of the cultural heritage affecting future stories

and future lives" (Richardson, 1990, p. 129). This research discovered three types of personal fantasies (stories) communicated by survivors: 1) third person stories; 2) fragmented first hand stories; 3) fully self-disclosed stories.

Third person stories. Lipsitz (1990) explains that stories enable people to live with their pain by naturalizing it. Storytelling, as a powerful expression, goes beyond verifiable evidence and enables people to interpret experience (Lipsitz, 1990). The way people remember catastrophic events makes significant statements about memory mechanisms, and the ability to emotionally survive devastation (Linenthal, 1998). During conversations with survivors, it was common to hear bits and pieces of someone's story or perhaps bits and pieces of someone else's story. While most survivors do not disclose too much information about themselves in casual conversation, they do, in fact, reveal information about other survivors. These are stories told in the third person. I have categorized them as heroic stories or tragic stories. For example, a survivor told me during a meeting that the man across the room [pointing towards him] was a survivor of the bombing. He heroically helped many people out of the building.

While being shown the famous photograph that shocked the world on *Time* Magazine cover of little Baylee Almon's limp body in the arms of the fire rescuer, a survivor revealed that the child was still alive after being rescued from the building. It was in that moment of being placed into his arms that she drew *two* little breaths and died. I did not include this story as a means to sensationalize this research, but as an insight to some of the repercussions of ethnographic methodology. This story left me disturbed and feeling the loss of a child I never knew.

During a foundation meeting, a woman, pointing to a survivor in the room, commented that the survivor had helped many others out of the building. There were electrical cords everywhere and conditions were extremely dangerous. This woman placed tile down in front of the other survivor's feet so that they could walk forward out of the building.

During a survivor meeting, a survivor pointed to another survivor, claiming the survivor had lost a limb in the bombing. Although his condition worsened, the man still tried to help others before going to the hospital.

An injured nurse, who survived the bombing, stayed all day at the bombing site and helped others out of the building. She did not go to the hospital until the end of the day. During a memorial foundation meeting, a woman revealed that the nurse had glass in her eyes and could not see at all out of one eye.

Fragmented first hand stories. These are accounts that ascribe to certain segments from one's memory that expose the listener to various insights of their experience without having to fully disclose or "relive that day." These fragmented stories are most commonly used and powerful enough to evoke emotion. Such examples follow:

A media reporter who arrived on the scene moments after the blast claimed:

> There is no way ever again can I hear breaking or crunching glass [five seconds of silence] I parked my car, I was at eleventh and Hudson and ran into downtown, made it all the way to the building trying to find my equipment and back to where [J] was, and I'm on glass. Everyone remember the glass? That's what I remember, there was glass everywhere.
>
> Excerpt from taped interview

A young woman, who was sent by one of the local downtown restaurants to aid with the relief effort commented:

> I was stuck in traffic. I will never forget people jumping over the car to get to the building. The looks on those peoples faces stays with me. People ran as fast as they could towards that building.

Excerpt from taped interview

A Salvation Army worker claimed:

> One night while on sight of the explosion a lady came up to the Salvation Army van I was driving and offered rent free, no lease apartments for the displaced occupants of the Regency Towers.

Excerpt from an interview

A volunteer claimed:

> An elderly couple brought by an old duffle bag with blankets for anyone needing them. When they left we got the blankets out of the bag and at the bottom found an old hand made quilt that had obviously been in the family for years. They gave a priceless treasure to those that had lost priceless treasures.

Excerpt from an interview

A member of the Oklahoma Restaurant Association claimed:

> There was a lady that worked at least 12 hours a day in our kitchen as a volunteer. After she left she could not sleep so she made hand made wood painted heart pins. These pins showed a heart that had been broke stitched back together. She gave this with a note to everyone saying that time and love would heal our city.

Excerpt from an interview

Fully self-disclosed stories. These stories are told only as relationships escalate within the survivor community. These stories are usually longer and the survivor displays more emotion and recalls vivid detail as he or she "relives" the experience. After seeing and talking with a specific survivor regularly over a four-month period, he disclosed the following information during an interview:

> I remember three sounds: First, was the dynamite, the boom. Second, was this like an electrical short, like a buzzing, sizzling sound, I don't know if you've ever heard what a bomb sounds like, but you know, like a high pitch grinding, winding noise. Third, I heard the building coming apart and I looked to my right, and the floor a few feet away began to collapse and material was flying over my head…It took fourteen seconds to hear all three sounds.

He later said:

> My first thought was that I was dead. Everything was black with smoke…this was like for five to six seconds. I remember thinking "God, I don't want to die in this building, I don't want to die like this, if its alright with you, God, I'll die later" I looked out over the edge and down into the bomb pit. I remember thinking it was an earthquake, then I thought it was an airplane that had hit the building. Then, I thought I saw a meteor burning in what later was called the bomb pit…this is where the fuel was burning at the site where the truck was parked. "God help me keep my head and get out of this alive."
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The above story was referred to as a reoccurring nightmare in the survivor's mind. Another story that constantly reoccurred in this survivor's mind is when he came into contact with Timothy McVeigh, the person responsible for bombing the Alfred P. Murrah building. This survivor actually came into contact with McVeigh in the Murrah building on the Thursday before the bombing.

This survivor revealed:

> I actually talked to McVeigh for about thirteen minutes. He said he was looking for work. I asked him if he was related to the McVeigh's in Cushing. He said, "How do they spell their name?" I said, "I believe its spelled *McVay*" And Tim pointed his long finger in my face and replied, "[Dr. X], *remember, my name is McVeigh*, but you don't spell it M.C.V.A.Y."
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The above story is so personal to the survivor's experience in that he actually refers to Timothy McVeigh by his first name, 'Tim', when disclosing the story. Now that an explanation of fantasies has been presented, it is important to find out what fantasy themes are found in stories. Thus, research question 2 is posed:

RQ2: What common fantasy themes exist in stories (fantasies) shared by members within the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community?

Fantasy themes are story lines that contain possibly different characters, but the plot or the moral of the story is the same. A meeting of the minds occurred when people in the OKC bombing survivor community united their private symbolic worlds. Fantasy themes and even the larger rhetorical vision's, consist of dramatis personae (characters), a

plot line, a scene, and sanctioning agents (i.e., the survivors). The characters include the survivors, rescuers, and heroes. The plot line is brotherhood, kinship, and the Oklahoma Standard. The scene is the Oklahoma City bombing. The sanctioning agents are the credible sources such as the survivors, volunteers, rescue workers, and the media.

As these individual private worlds came together, people shared symbol systems in the community. People in the OKC bombing survivor community converged as they shared their fantasy themes. Fantasy themes shared in stories told in the community include 'death of a loved one,' 'rescuers didn't want for anything,' and 'memorializing the event.' For example, as people began to share their personal stories, the fantasy theme, "death of a loved one" emerged. The following stories support this example:

<u>Death of a loved one</u>

A family member claimed:

> After my cousin died, I ran across a letter that she had written to me not too long before she died. I keep the letter in my bible. Every now and then, I get it out and read it.

A woman, who lost her daughter in the bombing stated:

> My pregnant daughter died and her place of employment made an award named after her.

A couple who lost their daughter in the bombing:

> We started a scholarship for students at our daughter's high school.

Excerpts from an OKC memorial meeting

The common theme in the above excerpts are individual's actions to remember the death of a loved one. As rescuer's talked about the response, the theme "never had to want for anything" emerged. The following stories support this example.

Never had to want for anything

One rescuer claimed:

> There was more food than we could eat; more water and juice than we could drink. There were flash lights, hard hats, parkas, face masks, all the coffee you wanted.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Another rescuer commented:

> When the sun went down and it started to get cold there was someone there to hand me a jacket so I wouldn't have to go back to my truck.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Another rescuer claimed:

> During the course of the night you know you're standing there waiting and you start to get cold and your feet are cold and your socks are wet and here comes somebody saying here does anybody need fresh socks or gloves?
>
> Excerpt from an interview

How individuals remember the event is demonstrated through the process of memorializing. Such as, the fantasy theme, "Memorializing the event" emerged.

Memorializing the Event

The memorial, located on the footprint of the Murrah building, has 168 chairs that stand as a poignant reminder of each life lost, symbolizing the absence felt by family

members and friends. The chairs are placed according to the floor on which those killed worked or were visiting. During an interview, an informant shared the symbolic meaning of the chairs:

> It had a lot to do with one of the people who sat on the design committee. Apparently, this man used to go to some park with his grandfather as a child. His grandfather would sit on a bench and watch him play. After his grandfather died, he would return to that special place and find it painful to look at the empty bench where his grandfather used to sit.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

There is a plate next to each chair that scripts the name of the person who lost his or her life in the bombing. Often, individuals visit the chairs of their loved one. Other ways to memorialize the death of a loved one is demonstrated in the following excerpt.

A family member stated:

> A classmate died on the eighth floor of the HUD office. A large granite was engraved with her name and placed at the high school we went to. The plaque hangs in front of the school between two state trees. A bench was made by hand by another classmate. All the bricks were laid by people who knew her. I drive by there everyday to and from work.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

It was very important to the community to recognize those who were killed in the bombing. This is noted in the following statement:

> Our primary goal is to preserve the memory of those who were lost in this horrific tragedy.

Excerpt from taped meeting

During memorial meetings, it was very important to not lose sight of the primary goal, to memorialize the event. There were many discussions about the design and symbols that would best represent the survivor community. One such discussion engaged the following statement:

> The fence is important because it bordered the Alfred P. Murrah building. Individuals remembered their loved ones by placing items on the fence. The fence is symbolic of hope. We need to still allow people to grieve by putting things on the fence.

Excerpt from taped meeting

The fence stood as a boundary line to keep individuals from getting any closer to the bombing site. The fence was a sacred place where individuals awaited the news of their loved ones. The fence denoted hope as it displayed tokens of grief in process. Individuals shared their own private memorials by placing items, such as teddy bears, pictures, flowers, flags on the fence. Items are still placed on the fence today as people remember their loved ones. The employees of the Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation “refresh” the symbolic fence by removing the hundreds of articles placed on it each month and then numerically organize the articles in the archive warehouse.

Bormann uses fantasy theme analysis as the method to discover the meaning stories have for a group. Stock situations told over and over again within a group are known as fantasy types. Stories which groups create about themselves and outsiders enable members to share a group identity while teaching and reinforcing behavioral

norms. Group members come to share a rhetorical vision by sharing fantasies (stories) and fantasy types. Thus, research question 3 is posed:

RQ3: What fantasy types make up the shared rhetorical vision of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community?

The OKC National Memorial Foundation employees collect and house the biographies of survivors who wish to tell their story. Storytellers are the most important agent in the memorial museum. The museum embodies the stories told by members of the community. Each individual has a different voice and each story is different. The memorial museum's storyline is the collective voice of the survivors. Hundreds of biographies will eventually be rotated through the memorial museum. A survivor can submit his or her story at anytime. The gathering of stories and items will go on forever. Grandchildren will eventually tell their stories someday.

Bormann believes group members come to share a rhetorical vision by sharing fantasies (stories) and fantasy types. Rhetorical visions give us an image of things in the past, in the present, and in the future. Rhetorical visions structure a person's sense of reality in areas that he or she cannot experience directly but can only know by symbolic reproduction. These visions form the assumptions on which a group's knowledge is based. A group identity was created as individuals in the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community shared fantasies and fantasy types. These shared fantasy types became a rhetorical vision of the community. This ethnographer discovered two rhetorical visions shared by group members in the survivor community. First, the storyline of the museum became a rhetorical vision. Fantasy types that make up the storyline of the museum include senselessness of violence, awareness, and remembrance.

The museum is the setting which includes a view of the physical setting and culture in which the act was carried out. As group members shared fantasy types, the storyline of the museum became a rhetorical vision for the community. Second, the museum storyline teaches the response of the Oklahoma City bombing, telling the story of the Oklahoma Standard. The Oklahoma Standard, as a recurring script, also became a fantasy type. The Oklahoma Standard, as the plot of shared stories, metaphorically also became a rhetorical vision and national fantasy. Out of the two rhetorical visions, the museum storyline is the dominant rhetorical vision and in its dramatis personae – the Oklahoma Standard is the plot line.

The evidence that convergence has taken place between members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community lies in the shared rhetorical vision of both the museum's storyline and the Oklahoma Standard. This research found four fantasy types that make up the shared rhetorical visions of members in the Oklahoma City bombing survivor culture. Fantasy types including senselessness of violence, awareness, remembrance, and the Oklahoma Standard are as follows:

Senselessness of violence

The Memorial Institute is an educational component aimed at teaching the senselessness of violence and promoting programs for the prevention of terrorism (Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation, 1998).

A survivor commented:

> The Memorial Institute is a place committed each day to helping people understand the tremendous value in work of every individual and the senselessness of violence. It is our mission.

Excerpt from an interview

Research, education, and training are the three functions of the Memorial Institution. The memorial is a place where people can visit and learn about the terror that occurred the morning of April 19, 1995. The memorial is a place where visitors can understand that while an act of terrorism took the lives of so many, it did not triumph. Educating visitors to the senselessness of violence is a rhetorical vision shared by members in the community. The senselessness of violence, as a rhetorical vision, is demonstrated in the following assertions:

> The Memorial Institute is a place where people learn about the terrorist attack on Oklahoma City. It disperses information and promotes programs that discuss issues regarding the prevention of terrorism.
>
> Excerpt from an interview
>
> The theme of the fourth anniversary is on terrorism. New programs on the prevention of terrorism will be addressed.
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting
>
> We can spread our mission not only here in Oklahoma City but by going to other places and promoting programs on the senselessness of violence.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Now that the educational component of teaching the prevention of terrorism has been addressed, the process of keeping the awareness up will be defined.

Awareness

The process of remembrance is conceptualized as 'never forgetting' the tragedy. Operationalization of the process of remembrance is by keeping the awareness up. The survivor community and the architects who designed the Oklahoma City National Memorial focused on 'not forgetting' and keeping up the awareness. The architect's main focus was to 'Never forget people it affected or touched,' an excerpt from the survivor mission statement. The survivors wanted their stories to teach people that violence is senseless. Consequently, awareness was a common word used among survivors and the OKC National Memorial Foundation. I have identified this awareness as a means of 'not forgetting' or 'preserving memory.'

A survivor stated:

> This year has no First year anniversary or ceremony to keep the awareness up. The memorial is the first opportunity we have had. I can't wait until the ribbon cutting.
>
> Excerpt from a taped meeting

The OKC National Memorial Foundation does everything they can to maintain the public's awareness (i.e., yearly anniversary ceremonies, the Ground-Breaking Ceremony to begin building the memorial, and symposiums). The survivors expect awareness. Many survivors stated:

> We have to keep the awareness up.
>
> Excerpt from OKC National Memorial meeting

It is very important to the community that the public know what happened on April 19, 1995 and to not forget that day. The memorial's gates of time stand where the Alfred P.

Murrah building once stood making the public aware of 9:02 am, the time of the explosion. These monumental twin gates frame the moment of destruction, 9:02 am. One gate represents 9:01 am and marks the innocence of the city before the attack. The other gate represents 9:03 am, the moment Oklahoma City was changed forever, and the hope that came from the horror in the moments and days following the bombing. The architect, who designed the memorial, made the following statement:

> People will know where the Alfred P. Murrah once stood. They will know that at 9:01 am on April 19th was a day like any other day. However, at 9:02 am, the bomb goes off, the world has now changed forever, there is chaos in Oklahoma City.
>
> Excerpt from an OKC memorial meeting

Upon seeing the memorial, the public is aware that life changed forever at 9:02 am on April 19, 1995. Individuals ran towards chaos. The memorial tells the story of the unbelievable response. The response by the people of Oklahoma is demonstrated in the following excerpt:

> There will be signs throughout the museum that illustrate the effort that is took by people who responded to the bombing. The Oklahoma Standard will be of main focus when telling the story of the Oklahoma City bombing.
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

Upon visiting the museum, visitors become aware of Oklahoma City's reaction to the bombing. Now that awareness has been defined, the process of remembrance will be discussed.

Remembrance

During memorial meetings, it was very important to not lose sight of the primary goal, the process of remembrance. This is noted in the following statement:

> Our primary goal is to preserve the memory of those who were lost in this horrific tragedy.
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

A primary means of remembering a deceased loved one is through memorializing. The following stories are personal stories of remembering through personal or private memorials.

A woman who lost her son explained:

> My son died and his place of employment made an award named in honor of him.
>
> Excerpt from an OKC National Memorial Foundation meeting

A woman who lost her daughter in the bombing reported:

> I visit our daughters chair at the memorial every Sunday.
>
> Excerpt from an OKC National Memorial Foundation meeting

Parents who lost their son in the bombing claimed:

> My son and his best friend played football together for years. [S] wanted to honor my son by wearing his jersey number so to remember my son, [S] wears my son's jersey number now.
>
> Excerpts from a taped meeting

A young lady who lost a high school friend claimed:

> A classmate of mine died on the 8th floor of the HUD office. A large granite was engraved with her name and placed at the high school we attended. The plaque

> hangs in front of the school between two state trees. A bench was made by hand by another classmate. All the bricks were laid by people who knew her. I drive by there everyday to and from work.
>
> Excerpts from taped meeting

A woman who lost her cousin in the bombing reported:

> I save cards that people send me. Well after my cousin died, I ran across a card that she had sent me and my husband. The outside of the card read "the tree of life". Each year we put out the card. I still carry her business card in my wallet.
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

One survivor began to tell me how he went to Disney World and learned about a memorial that the employees made for the 168 lives lost on April 19, 1995. The memorial was private. The public did not know it exists. I asked the man how it made him feel to see the private memorial. He said it made him feel good to know that people cared and remembered the Oklahoma City bombing. Now that the process of remembrance has been presented, the Oklahoma Standard, as a rhetorical vision, will be discussed.

The Oklahoma Standard

The memorial center is one way in which the OKC survivor community dealt with the horrors of the attack. Survivors wanted the museum to teach the manner of conduct displayed by the citizens of OKC at the time of the bombing. Survivors wanted the memorial to represent the way in which Oklahoma City dealt with the attack, telling the story of the Oklahoma Standard. As such, the survivor community worked carefully with the architect of the memorial to ensure its design. The following excerpts are from a meeting in which Douglas-Gallagher, the architects who designed the Oklahoma City

National Memorial, presented the design of the memorial to the survivor community for the first time:

> We want people to experience the story first-hand. How to tell the story of the Oklahoma Standard was a huge challenge. The audience will have to deal with the story line for a long time. The picture changed when we were actually here. This is an emotional story. What is the content of the story? What is so different about OKC? The human context of the story is exceptional. The artifacts of the story are walking around among us. The memorial is a way to tell the story.

Mr. Gallagher referred to the survivors as 'the storytellers':

> This is an emotional journey. The museum contains chapters of the story, a sequential outline. The museum will create different systematic levels of emotion. The rooms are designed so that one can walk through like chapters outlined in the story. The museum gives a voice to the story and defines the Oklahoma Standard. Define a moment that changed the world forever? What is the meaning of loss and innocence? Define the Oklahoma Standard? The Oklahoma Standard is a sense of mind about the people of Oklahoma, a feeling about the Oklahoma community. Why OKC? The world said, why OKC? The relevance is that it could happen to me. The museum creates a sense of engagement. These people look like me.
>
> Excerpts from a taped meeting

The architect went on to illustrate how one can walk through the museum like chapters outlined in a story:

> Chapters one and two, 'A day like any other day.' There will be audio and sound effects in the museum to tell the story of that day was like any other day as well as

> today is like that day. Why were some lost? Others weren't? The museum is real-life, it takes you back to momentary specifics. Immediately, the whole world has changed, 'chaos.' Co-workers become rescuers. One will see how some made it out of the bombed building.

Before transitioning and discussing the Oklahoma Standard, the architect used a signpost and asked the audience a question. He asked, what is a survivor's relationship to the memorial? He proceeded to present his answer:

> There will be a mourning and funeral room in the museum. One can see how the community came together. How things did change? The standard has now changed. How the community has to deal with the future? The memorial, it is the survivors story. This is why it is so important. There will be a glimpse of the building destruction in the museum. The museum is a constant attempt to define. The artifacts of the museum include: Storytelling, the media, the fence, and the first year anniversary. There is love in Oklahoma City. The way the city came together is unforgettable. The story has not stopped.
>
> Excerpts from OKC National Memorial meeting

The Oklahoma Standard is the plot of stories shared. Through stories, one can ease his or her pain by naturalizing it. Each shared detail is a building block to closure. Each and every person's grief is in process. The museum is a culmination of the past, the present, and the future. The Oklahoma Standard is the plot of the museum storyline. The museum teaches the Oklahoma Standard as a model for survival. It is a standard of what happened and what to do. Survivors have incorporated what they've experienced and what they've learned into their daily lives and now are looking to the future. The Oklahoma Standard is

in process. The Oklahoma Standard went from lending a helping hand to a healing and a moving on. One survivor is quoted as saying:

> The memorial may not tell you about the bombing, but the memorial tells you a lot about the people of Oklahoma City.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The memorial museum's storyline summarizes the Oklahoma Standard, telling the story of Oklahoma's response to the bombing. The museum, as a channel of communication, is the vehicle in carrying out the act of the Oklahoma Standard. The Oklahoma Standard is a recurring script in the Oklahoma City survivor culture. The Oklahoma Standard started as a fantasy theme, grew into a fantasy type, and essentially became a rhetorical vision among members in the community. Since the Oklahoma Standard is a fantasy theme, a fantasy type, and a rhetorical vision, it is imperative to learn what the Oklahoma Standard is conceptually. Thus, research question 4 is posed:

RQ 4: What is the Oklahoma Standard?

The term is in process and seems to have been defined and redefined by this community, in and of itself. The parameters of the Oklahoma Standard lie only within the lexica of the survivor community and how they articulate the concept. From the collected data, this researcher was able to differentiate four applications of the metaphor: running towards chaos, unconditional support, community expectancy, and lifelong healing.

<u>Running towards chaos.</u>

Just moments after the bombing, people ran towards the building to help. A moment's decision of running to the bombing site symbolizes brotherhood, pride, and responsibility to one's clan or tribe. The Oklahoma Standard was created from the first

moment. Almost every informant could recall remarkable acts of courage and strength displayed by people who put their own safety at risk in order to save another life. A volunteer recalled:

> I remember people stopping their cars right there in the middle of the street and getting out of their cars and running into that building. Just leaving their cars there running.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The immediate response of Oklahomans is relevant and unique to the situation because there was a high level of uncertainty due to the explosion. During the first few hours, no one knew what had happened, who did it, or if it could happen again. The following examples reveal some of the numerous accounts in which people displayed kinship. One survivor, who endured a heart attack a month prior to the bombing, chose to risk his life in order to assist others instead of seeking much needed medical attention:

> I was so scared that I would have another heart attack but after I made it out of the building, I saw [T] and asked him what he was going to do with that stretcher. I told him that I needed him to go back into the building with me to get others out.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

A volunteer rescue worker who was in the post office across the street explained:

> I had glass all in my face, but when I realized that people needed help, and since I am a registered nurse, I ran out there. I was there all day.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Due to the high level of uncertainty after the explosion, such a response displayed by Oklahomans recalled remarkable acts of courage as people put their own safety at risk to care for the injured.

A rescuer claimed:

> I remember the people coming from Saint Anthony's Hospital just running down the street with stretchers to help people. To bring them in and then bring in wheel chairs and things, and there were too many people for ambulances. And, they came with gurneys and wheel chairs and equipment from the hospital. It seemed like everybody was wanting to give something.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

A firefighter made the following statement:

> The most lasting impression I think I shall harbor in my heart is the incredible response everyone showed. The walking wounded cared for the critically injured, ambulance personnel were everywhere transporting and caring for the injured. Medical personnel came from every corner of the community to assist. Law enforcement personnel compelled by conscience and circumstance placed themselves in the role of the rescuer, medic, counselor, and minister. A hero to me is someone who acts in a capacity for which they are not trained, equipped, or prepared; they simply are compelled by the spirit within to act. On April 19th, 1995 at 9:02 am, the downtown area was full of heroes.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

A moment's decision of running to the bombing site symbolizes the Oklahoma Standard. In a larger picture, one could view the ORA's immediate decision to turn the Myriad into

a relief effort as running towards chaos. The heroism of the Oklahoma Standard made a lasting impression on many individuals. Within about a week after the bombing, the Oklahoma Department of Tourism began receiving phone calls from people all over the nation, wanting to move to Oklahoma. In fact, one month after the bombing, the Oklahoma Department of Tourism received a phone call from a family trying to decide where they wanted to relocate. The family decided to relocate to Oklahoma after the bombing. The fact that people ran into the Murrah building made such a lasting impression on this family that they wanted to move to a state where individuals support one another.

The wife claimed:

> People just ran into that building and risked their lives. I was amazed at the support that Oklahomans gave during the crisis. I decided it would be a good place to raise my kids.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

She was amazed at the community spirit. She couldn't believe that everybody just took his or her own life at hand and ran in to help the minute the bombing happened. The caring to help one another attitude and to make sure your neighbor is well and safe is atypical to many across the nation. The Oklahoma Standard, symbolized as running towards chaos, was the standard in which Oklahoma was judged or the mark by which others are measured.

An employee at the Department of Tourism claimed:

> People who would just call us. Not even at that time wanting to come to Oklahoma, but just calling us and telling us how amazed they were about how so

> many communities rushed together and how the people of Oklahoma started trying to help its own, you know giving, and everybody is going out of their way to get batteries and calling up and all the donations and money and everything. They were just so amazed at the community spirit that took place.

The Oklahoma Department of Tourism noted:

> They were so impressed by the Oklahoma people and the coverage that the Oklahoma people were getting with all of this that they wanted to help and be a part of it. Even before deciding to move here, you know, mainly people would call just thanking us and appreciating us.

Excerpts from an interview

Unconditional support.

When asked about the Oklahoma Standard, many people recalled the unconditional ways in which people supported the members of their community. Acts of profound decency and generosity characterize Oklahoma's response following the bombing. People waited in long lines to donate blood and drop off their truckloads of needed supplies. Rescuers, who came from around the country to assist with or report about the tragedy, began referring to this outpouring as the "Oklahoma Standard." They use the term to refer to a community that shows a new level of caring – of neighbor helping neighbor.

One family member who had small children in the Murrah building reported:

> When [C] and I were downtown shortly after the bombing, Terry [Media] was doing a segment on the bombing and I'll never forget, I believe it was right next to the command center and I walked up to her with the building in the background

> and I think it was about 9:45 or 9:50am, I asked her if she knew, I told her who I was, and if she knew where they would take the children from the daycare and I must tell you that she dropped everything that she was doing and got on her cell phone and called the studio and really did a lot of searching for me. See she, she wasn't just on the outside looking in trying to get a story. She was trying to help and Penny [Media] was the same way.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

A volunteer worker recalled:

> Chisholm Elementary School, in Edmond, OK, quickly responded to the bombing. The school's crisis management team immediately checked school records to identify children with parents working in the building and sought to determine whether any of those parents had been injured. Fifth grade students collected food and supplies for victims and rescuers.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

A particular focus for Oklahoma's generosity is the hospitality center established for rescue teams at the Myriad convention center. Food service provided by the ORA astounded rescue workers. Area residents, who volunteered at the hospitality center, went to extraordinary lengths to express appreciation.

A California firefighter made the following statement about the people of Oklahoma:

> The people of Oklahoma showed so much love and compassion to us that it will never be forgotten. You – the people of Oklahoma – were the fuel that kept us going. We were sent to assist and help you and instead you helped us. For this you will always be in our hearts.

Excerpt from an interview

An American Red Cross worker claimed:

> I will never forget the support that we received from the people of Oklahoma during the time of their need. I have never in my life met people as kind as the people that I worked with for the five days that I visited this beautiful state.

Excerpt from an interview

A Sergeant stationed at Tinker Air Force Base made the following statement:

> I especially remember the concern and caring on the faces of all those people who brought us food and drinks throughout the week. The healing started for me when I took that first cold soda from a Red Cross volunteer. I don't know her name, or the names of the others after her, but I cannot express what their caring meant to my co-workers and me. I'm not a native Oklahoman, but I am proud of the way Oklahomans responded in this tragic time.

Excerpt from an interview

The unconditional support and response from Oklahomans displays the Oklahoma Standard. People from around the nation refer to the Oklahoma Standard and recall the unconditional acts characterizing Oklahoma's response following the bombing.

Community expectancy.

What began as a response to the overwhelming support and random acts of kindness, continued and developed into a social expectation of the Oklahoma City community. Due to the social and communal need of people to cooperate in their actions, language shapes behavior. Burke (1968) claims that language is always emotionally loaded. No word can be neutral. The terms that humans employ in thought, and thus in

perception, function as filters of their experience. Language not only reflects reality, it selects reality. Language directs humans toward some aspects of experience and away from other aspects. Strategic use of language is the essence of human personal and social existence, as seen by Burke (1968). Just in stating the words, Oklahoma Standard, it became a template that all others are judged by. The standard was established as a rule for measuring or as a model or example. In order to understand the act of the Oklahoma Standard, one must understand the motives of the people of Oklahoma City. FEMA rescuers called it a standard because that was their perception of reality. It is a standard of what happened and what to do (vs. what not to do) when responding to a disaster.

A California rescue worker made the following comment:

> I talked to a couple of firemen from California who are part of a national disaster response team. They told me everything was so well coordinated here that from this point forward, whenever they were called and asked to report to a disaster, the first thing they would ask is if their city is up to the Oklahoma Standard.
>
> California rescue worker
>
> (Oklahoma City Public Information Office, 1995)

Expectations ranged from images of a neighboring community, humanity, and pride for ones' city. The term, Oklahoma Standard, resurfaced after the May 3, 1999 tornado devastation in Oklahoma as both the media and the citizens of OKC used the term to describe the incredible amount of compassion displayed for the tornado victims. The standard is now part of a "common body of symbols" system that characterizes a community, a vernacular state of living (Adelman & Frey, 1997, p. 16). This researcher observed the metaphor as a means of gathering people together during a crisis.

The Oklahoma Standard represents a sense of pride about the citizens in the community. During a survivor meeting, two highly recognized members of the media and a survivor described their feelings about the pride of Oklahoma City in the following words:

Reporter 1:

> If we were to write this whole story up for another community…Don't do it differently…Don't change anything…the spontaneity was incredible. OKC is demanding first class treatment. Something so bad made us remember what we had lost. We will not be beaten, and we'll show you…that defines pride. There's something going on here and it's not going away.

Reporter 2:

> There was just this tremendous amount of compassion here in the city, and I think the city was so…should be so proud of itself and is, at the reaction. And I think that we in many ways did get that out there for people.

A survivor responds:

> I think, I just think that's part of that Oklahoma Standard.
>
> Excerpts from taped meeting

As demonstrated in the above excerpt, the presence of the 'Oklahoma Standard' is apparent in the local everyday discourse of the survivor community. The Oklahoma Standard began as a response characterized by overwhelming support and random acts of kindness and continued into a verbalized social expectation of the OKC community.

Lifelong healing.

Lifelong healing is apart of the Oklahoma Standard that has been set by the OKC survivor community. A goal of the OKC National Memorial Foundation is to help its

own survivors heal. The foundation recognizes that grief is in process and that each and every individual is grieving in his or her own way and at his or her own rate. During a memorial meeting, a foundation employee made the following comment about a survivor:

> It is their right to do whatever they want; they are grieving in a different way. If she wants to take things out of the museum she can and that is okay.
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

The OKC National Memorial Foundation recognizes that the tragedy is never over. It recognizes the life-long impact on survivors, families, and rescue workers. The media and OKC National Memorial Foundation plan to conduct longitudinal studies on the survivors. During a memorial meeting, a reporter from an Oklahoma City news station made the following comment about a little girl who survived the bombing:

> We don't normally cover things like this. It was even harder after the first year because we got to know the survivors after the first year. This is a story that really stuck with us, and still will. We'll be writing about when [T] (a little girl who survived the bombing) gets married someday. I mean this is a story that's going to last a life time.
>
> Excerpt from taped meeting

Another goal of the OKC National Memorial Foundation is to help other communities in the future. After the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in New York City, Oklahomans went to New York to aid in a time of crisis. Many Oklahomans worked with the Red Cross and served as grief counselors. Currently, New Yorkers are looking to Oklahoma for guidance in coping with loss and plans to build a memorial. New York has a lot to learn from Oklahoma City and is looking to Oklahomans for guidance. Oklahoma is now

guiding and sharing its experience with New York. Oklahoma recognizes that the two tragedies are different, but is looking at the commonalties between the two and sharing the lessons learned.

Several teams of New Yorkers have traveled to OKC to learn of Oklahoma's experience. Private meetings between New Yorkers and OKC survivors have been held at the OKC National Memorial Foundation. New Yorkers are asking Oklahomans questions about their experience. The head of the archives at the OKC National Memorial Foundation reported that questions include the following:

> How did you finally develop a common track? What is the first year like? What problems did you run into the first year? How do family members cope with not finding the body of their loved one? How do you even begin to get closure?
>
> Excerpt from an interview

On April 19, 2002, many New Yorkers attended the ceremony held for the seventh anniversary of the OKC bombing. Excerpts of the speech presented at the seventh anniversary ceremony follow:

> We offer our hearts and we share our experience. We hope that you will join us as we continue to move forward now in hope. A hope born in knowing that we will probably never get over the tragedies, we do get through them.
>
> Excerpt from seventh anniversary speech
>
> We withstood the storm. The families who lost loved ones comforted one another in their grief; the families who weren't harmed volunteered, even in the face of other bomb threats. Yes, the heart of the Heartland is bruised, but it is still beating.

Excerpt from an interview

As illustrated in the above excerpts, lifelong healing is apart of the Oklahoma Standard that has been set by the OKC survivor community. The OKC National Memorial Foundation recognizes that grief is in process and continues to help its own survivors heal and hope for a better tomorrow. The Oklahoma Standard is not limited only to the four applications of the metaphor, as previously discussed in research question four. Research question five takes a closer look at the Oklahoma Standard and not only answers what the Oklahoma Standard is in its origination, but what it means conceptually in conversation between members of the OKC Bombing survivor community. The following excerpts are rescuer, volunteer, and survivor accounts taken from archival documents, everyday conversation, and interviews where mention of the Oklahoma Standard is stated. Thus, Research question 5 is posed:

RQ 5: How did Oklahoma set the standard for surviving a disaster?

Since FEMA rescue workers coined the term 'Oklahoma Standard,' it is important to gather excerpts where the Oklahoma Standard is specifically mentioned by rescue workers. Because the media was kept out of the Myriad convention center, it is important to understand how members of the community talk about the Oklahoma Standard. More specifically, it is important to get an understanding of the various contexts in which volunteers, survivors, and rescue workers discuss the Oklahoma Standard. Oklahoma's performance set a standard in which all other states are judged by in the midst of a disaster. The following excerpts are from participants in 'their own words' in discussing the Oklahoma Standard in various contexts of the response.

A member of the Oklahoma Air National Guard claimed:

> One night at Bricktown, I had dinner with a bunch of FEMA people. They told me this response to a disaster has set a standard. Never before had they seen people like Oklahoman's.

A rescuer claimed:

> The emergency services in the field in the United States actually coined a term to it, and I know it's buzzed around here, the Oklahoma Standard. Um, so…it, it actually coined a term to it, the Oklahoma Standard and, and it almost set a stage for, um, the rest of the incidents in the United States of can, can people live up to the way we were treated here. Um, it was actually overwhelming I think to, to some degree for a lot of us.

A rescuer claimed:

> The Phoenix Urban Disaster Rescue Team was so impressed with the response of this community, that they began referring to it as the "Oklahoma Standard".

Excerpts from an interview

The different law enforcement, fire and medical agencies worked together so well it was as though they trained and worked together every day. The scene may have looked like chaos but organization prevailed. This experience changed everyone. Life has changed forever. It gives one a new perspective on life. Oklahoma City and Oklahoma, the state of Oklahoma, and the Oklahoma Standard that was set can be an example to the rest of the United States and the rest of the world on how big bureaucratic agencies are not needed for the people to take care of each other, that the people themselves can come together through the churches, through the schools, and with some organization from the bureaucratic agencies people can care for each other. It's easy for a big agency to come in

and put a big band-aid on it. However, if you don't let the people help, then the people are still in pain. The fact that people were allowed to help in so many ways following the Oklahoma City incident sets the disaster apart from other disasters.

Through language, individuals in OKC could imagine a state of perfection (i.e., the term, Oklahoma Standard). Today, individuals spend their lives striving for whatever degree of this perfection they have set for themselves. As a result, the discrepancy between the real and the ideal arises. What began as a response to the overwhelming support and random acts of kindness, continued and developed into a social expectation of the OKC community. The Oklahoma Standard began with the people of Oklahoma City pulling together in a time of crisis. The Oklahoma Standard did not stop at goodness displayed by the people of Oklahoma City in a time of crisis but instead spiraled into an ongoing mission. Not only did Oklahomans run towards chaos immediately after the bombing, they later ran towards chaos as they ran to the immediate need of New Yorkers after the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001. A great number of Oklahomans served as grief counselors in New York and it was an Oklahoman who set up New York's main hospitality group immediately after the 2001 attacks.

An Oklahoman, who served as a grief counselor in New York City in 2001 claimed:

> When I walked into NY to the rescue worker's kind of rest area there where they got fed and things in NY, it was a big bubble, you know they had blown up. When you walked in, you walked into Oklahoma City. It just blew my mind when I walked in and did I tell you that the day I walked in, the people behind the counter serving were the Salvation Army from Midwest City (a suburb of OKC). I couldn't believe it but it was, you know, it was OKC all over again, the cards on

> the table, the tables, everything it was, well see I had worked with it so much, I was just amazed when I looked in.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

A grief counselor claimed:

> I do think in conjunction with rescue workers, the standard is now set, it's now the baseline at least where it pertains to rescue workers. I don't think you can go back on it at all now, I think you're rescue workers will say, what's going on here and they didn't say it in NY in '93 because they had never had anything different…..but you know the rescue workers in NY in 2001 said that they got the treatment that they got in Oklahoma, so now that you've had it twice, I don't think there is any going back on that.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

The Oklahoma Standard is a continual response that evolved more after the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001. Victoria Cummock, who lost her husband in Pan Am flight 103 and later lost her home in Hurricane Andrew, had a remarkable influence on the continual response of the Oklahoma Standard. Cummock, not only had an influence on family members during her two week stay in Oklahoma following the bombing, but influenced family members to go to New York City after the 9/11 attacks. When asked if Victoria Cummock's immediate and continual response influenced the Oklahoma Standard today, family members claimed:

> It all began with Victoria Cummock
>
> Excerpt from an interview

> There is no question because when they started talking about going to New York, one of the first things they mentioned was that Vicki (Cummock) had come to OKLAHOMA CITY.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Victoria Cummock is commonly known as 'Vicki' in the shared discourse amongst Oklahoma family members. Family members of disasters can talk to other family members. It's a common bond and that's what Cummock brought to Oklahoma City. Oklahoma family members claimed:

> I think her coming here and planting that seed is what took ours to NY
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Another family member claimed:

> I think it certainly influenced the perpetuation of it, the going to NY, they knew how important that was, when Vicki came here and the other thing is the continual interaction, the fact that family members from here continued to interact with NY and that family members continued to interact with rescuer's, the interaction.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Family members and survivors will tell you they're kind of a family all of their own, they have a common bond. Oklahomans, as they reach out to New Yorkers, continue to stay in touch through email. One family member claimed:

> I have people in New York that I email back and forth now all the time. The bond that we have, it's like it's a big family and we talk about different things than you talk about from others, it's kind of a special kind of family, there's a lot of

> concern about loss of life in Iraq and what's happening anywhere where there's political trauma suicide bombers and things like that.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Another family member claimed:

> We're prone to go back and forth at anniversary time there are a lot of a couple of people in the police department they emailed us at our anniversary time we emailed them at their anniversary time. I stay in touch with several families. Some of them have become more personal and some of them it's just trauma oriented.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Today, the Oklahoma Standard, conceptually represents the mission of teaching education, remembrance, and the senselessness of terrorism along with the mission of helping other communities in crisis. The Oklahoma Standard has stood as a motivational factor behind this community to get through such a difficult time. Many members of the Oklahoma City bombing community feel that the Oklahoma Standard is a mission that is being perpetuated. Members want to spread their mission (i.e., the Oklahoma Standard) across the nation. Since 1995, Oklahomans have run to the aid of many communities who have experienced a crisis, whether natural or unnatural.

A member of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community stated:

> At this point, we certainly feel an obligation to see that the Oklahoma Standard is perpetuated, so it is a mission with us, I think it's a mission with Oklahoma City
>
> Excerpt from an interview

Another member claimed:

> Part of our mission is that we are supposed to continue to perpetuate and spread it to others. It is our mission to help others who experience trauma.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

A grief counselor reported:

> I think it's an effort, of caring, as it evolves, I think it is an effort to try to mitigate, not add, any more trauma to the trauma that already is there as a result of the incident.
>
> Excerpt from an interview

When referring to the 'I am Hope' and 'A flag from the fence' projects, the archivist of the Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation claimed

> We are trying to teach the Oklahoma Standard
>
> Excerpt from an interview

This study utilized Symbolic Convergence theory and its constructs to understand how members in the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community converged together as a result of sharing stories. Individuals in the OKC Bombing survivor community built a sense of community through symbolic convergence. More specifically, this study discovered fantasies shared between survivors and defined the meaning stories have for the community. As individual private worlds came together, people shared symbol systems in the community. This research discovered three types of personal fantasies (stories) communicated by survivors: 1) third person stories; 2) fragmented first hand stories; 3) fully self-disclosed stories.

Stories told over and over again and again within the community became fantasy themes. People in the OKC bombing survivor community converged as they shared their

fantasy themes. Fantasy themes shared in stories told in the community include ‘death of a loved one,’ ‘rescuers didn’t want for anything,’ and ‘memorializing the event.’

Recurring scripts in the Oklahoma City survivor culture began as fantasy themes, grew into fantasy types, and essentially became rhetorical visions among members in the community. This research found four fantasy types that make up the shared rhetorical visions of members in the Oklahoma City bombing survivor culture. Fantasy types included senselessness of violence, awareness, remembrance, and the Oklahoma Standard.

As members in the community converged together, the storyline of the Oklahoma City bombing emerged. Fantasy types that make up the storyline of the museum include senselessness of violence, awareness, and remembrance. As group members shared these fantasy types, the storyline of the museum became a rhetorical vision for the community. The museum storyline teaches the response of the Oklahoma City bombing, telling the story of the Oklahoma Standard.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to examine and identify the socially constructed survivor community of the Oklahoma City bombing. This research focused on individuals who found a sense of community through shared first hand experiences of a tragic event. This study identified the interactions between communication and community among the survivors of the Oklahoma City bombing. Specifically, this study considered the cultural context of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community and explored the ways in which members of the survivor culture talk about themselves, their participation with the Oklahoma City National Memorial, and their folk ways of knowing (Hymes, 1974). This ethnographic research examined how the Oklahoma City bombing community responded to the disaster and came together and evolved as an empowered community. The examination of the local Oklahoma City community's immediate empowered response to the crisis (i.e., Oklahoma Standard) along with the examination of the response in its entirety was important to determine what the Oklahoma Standard construct represents today. This discussion explored how the participants of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community talk about the Oklahoma Standard and explored the Oklahoma City National Memorial foundation's mission.

Through the use of qualitative methods, this study focused on the messages of survivors and how they reflect the message of the memorial. The data was analyzed against the theoretical framework of the existing literature on Dell Hyme's SPEAKING model, Lawrence Wieder's conceptual network of ideas, and Ernest Bormann's Symbolic Convergence theory. The combination of these factors revealed a theoretical framework

through which to better understand the shared phenomenal world of the members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. The various concepts provided in Dell Hymes' SPEAKING acronym acted as a guideline for analysis of this study. The dimensions of Lawrence Wieder's conceptual net was a network of ideas or questions pertaining to the social world of the survivors. The discussion of Ernest Bormann's Symbolic Convergence theory explored various types of rhetorical narratives in the creation of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community.

Dell Hyme's SPEAKING Acronym

Hymes' (1974) SPEAKING grid was used as a framework upon which to analyze the accounts of survivors, rescuers, and volunteers. The various concepts provided in the SPEAKING acronym acted as a guideline for analysis of data for the current study and provided a detailed description of the survivors' use of language within the Oklahoma City bombing survivor culture. This tool provided explication of the components of the Oklahoma City survivor community as well as provided a guide for analyzing the statements of survivors, rescuers, and volunteers. By viewing language as a "device for categorizing experience" and as "an instrument of communication" (Hymes, 1974, p.19), the model highlights the role of language in performing communicative social functions. By exploring "the meaning of language in human life" (Hymes, 1972. p. 41), the model affords a means to view the interaction of language with social life as a matter of human action (Hymes, 1972, p. 53). Moreover, by focusing on the socially situated use of language, the model emphasized the importance of context, or as Hymes words it, "the emergent properties of language whereby form and meaning emerge in contexts" (Hymes, 1972. p. 63). According to Hymes (1974) a speech community is defined "as a

community sharing knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech" (p. 51). The specific speech community considered in this project is the community of the Oklahoma City bombing survivors.

The SPEAKING acronym provided a list of global components of the speech community to be analyzed: Situation, Participants, Ends, Acts, Key, Instrumentality, Norms of interaction and interpretation, and Genre. Those components of the grid which were discussed in this project included the following:

Situation	The Oklahoma City bombing survivor community; The setting and scene immediately after the bombing.
Participants	Members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community – the rescue workers, the volunteers, the survivors and families of victims, and the local Oklahoma City community.
Ends	Purposes, goals and outcomes – communicative behaviors which illustrate the purposes and goals of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community.
Acts	Message form and content – topics appropriate for discussion; descriptions of experiences as a member of the culture, including one's view of the Oklahoma Standard.
Key	Tone, manner – communicative behaviors that reflect the spirit and expectations of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community.
Instrumentality	Channel (physical memorial, verbal and nonverbal communication), Community repertoire: use of formal vs. informal language.

Norms of interaction and interpretation	Standards attached to speaking; Interpretations of norms within the cultural belief system.
Genre	Textual categories – printed literature representative of the culture such as letters from children written to rescuers.

Each of the components of the SPEAKING acronym provide a different area for analysis within the cultural setting. These components were discussed throughout this project as they exist within the framework of Lawrence Wieder's Conceptual Net and Ernest Bormann's Symbolic Convergence theory. Hymes SPEAKING model was used to analyze data including survivor accounts, volunteer accounts, and rescuer accounts obtained through field notes, archival documents, and qualitative interviews with members of the Oklahoma City bombing disaster.

In response to the bombing, this survivor community performed the heroic act of the Oklahoma Standard. The Oklahoma Standard, as a speech act, occurred during the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing event. The Oklahoma Standard is a narrative told about the people in the community and a story told about a community of people. The Oklahoma Standard developed as a narrative told within the community and among the participants themselves. The story about the participants and how they responded marks the story of the Oklahoma Standard. Analysis of their talk (i.e., participants) defines and gives us a deeper understanding of the Oklahoma Standard. The Oklahoma Standard represents the development of a community with two views: an initial community that emerged just moments after the bombing and an ongoing community, now, today that strives to achieve its mission of the Oklahoma Standard. Initially, the Oklahoma Standard was a term, defined by FEMA rescuers as the goodness displayed by

Oklahoma City citizens, as they pulled together in a time of crisis. The Oklahoma Standard, as a metaphor, served as the orienting construct in this community. The stories told among the participants themselves makeup the narrative of the Oklahoma Standard. The Oklahoma City bombing community is a community of people sharing what they know to be true which is their explanation of the community's response to the disaster.

What does it mean that Oklahoma City was told they had set a new standard – the Oklahoma Standard – in dealing with the horrors of the attack? The Oklahoma Standard is a story of a community that developed in response to a crisis. It is through the acts of the participants that this community was born. The community's response to the bombing, an outpouring of generosity and civic behavior displayed by tens of thousands of people, is characterized as the Oklahoma Standard. Evil does not produce good but sometimes evil circumstances can reveal a deep reservoir of goodness that was just waiting to be expressed. The disaster of the Oklahoma City bombing brought about an explosion of goodness and revealed the character of the people of Oklahoma. The bombing is an event that will most likely be remembered as a terrorist act of mass murder, but the response will be recalled as a heroic saga, a moral lesson told and sung and celebrated for generations to come. Many people saw in the Oklahoma Standard civic ideals that needed to be practiced in everyday life, particularly color-blindness. As was said so often after April 19, 1995, all blood ran one color that day, or "there is only one color in Oklahoma City these days – the color of love." It was as if Martin Luther King's "beloved community" could arise from the response to mass murder.

The term, Oklahoma Standard, has evolved and developed today into a story of an empowered community of participants with an ongoing mission (i.e., the Oklahoma

Standard). The Oklahoma Standard is a model for responding to disaster. The Oklahoma City bombing survivor community serves as a "resource" strategy for disaster response. Analysis in this context provided an in-depth picture of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community giving the reader a conceptual idea of the culture that emerged while FEMA rescue workers were in Oklahoma City. More specifically, the SPEAKING tool provided analysis of messages considered to determine how members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community talk about the culture.

Lawrence Wieder's Conceptual Net

The second component of the theoretical framework upon which the data was examined was Lawrence Wieder's conceptual network of ideas. This conceptual network of ideas acted as a frame upon which the data was analyzed. Named after the fisherman's net, the conceptual net consisted of an ensemble of research questions at different levels pertaining to the study underway. These questions were directly linked to subtopics of the study. More questions were included in the net than were actually answered in the research. These questions in the conceptual net are questions this researcher asked herself. The questions asked helped this ethnographer to conceptualize this project in its entirety. The lens of the conceptual net allowed this researcher to consider the cultural context of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community and to explore the ways in which members of the survivor culture talk about themselves, their participation with the Oklahoma City National Memorial, and their folk ways of knowing (Hymes, 1974). Discussion regarding the nature of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community explored how the participants of the community talk about the Oklahoma Standard and explored the mission of the Oklahoma City National Memorial.

Ernest Bormann's Symbolic Convergence theory

The third component of the theoretical framework upon which the data was examined was Symbolic Convergence theory. Bormann (1980) argued that symbolic convergence theory represented a general theory of communication. Bormann (1983) proposes that communication is culture. For Bormann, a fantasy is little more than a story. Bormann believed that group members share a fantasy when they listen to a story. When a collection of individuals share a set of common fantasies, that collection of individuals are transformed into a cohesive group. This process of finding commonality is known as symbolic convergence. Symbolic convergence explicates how individuals build a sense of community. Convergence happens when people unite their private symbolic worlds. People began to share symbol systems as these individual private worlds come together. In order to discover the meaning stories have for a group, Bormann used fantasy theme analysis. Stock situations told over and over again and again within a group are known as fantasy types. Bormann (1980) compared a fantasy-type to a recurring script in a group's culture. By sharing fantasies and fantasy types, group members come to share a rhetorical vision. The rhetorical vision pulls individuals together and gives them a sense of identification. People converge together as they share their fantasy themes in this process. Storylines that contain possibly different characters, but the plot or moral of the story will be the same are known as fantasy themes. Such fantasy themes can become part of a society's story about itself. Member's sense of community is sustained through this process. Shared rhetorical visions and fantasy types are taken as evidence that convergence has taken place. By (re) figuring the reality of the tragedy into their everyday lives, the Oklahoma City survivors converged together and

found a new identity in a new co-culture of social interactions. The theoretical constructs of symbolic convergence theory provided a theoretical framework for the analysis of the shared phenomenal world of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. This study identified the interaction between survivors of the Oklahoma City bombing and discovered the meaning stories have for the community.

In chapter six, Hymes (1974) raises a very important question about how a community uses speech in order to create meaning or expressive behavior. One must recognize a culture's speech activities in order to understand the language of the survivor community. In this chapter, the speech activity of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community is the primary object of attention. Accordingly, the speech rights (i.e., survivors have the right to tell their story at anytime) and rules (i.e., it is the rule of the community that survivors stories are presented first in the museum) of the survivor community serve as constitutive functions for the speech event. The communicative practices of the survivor community are evident in their routinized use of the word 'survivor.' A definition of the word 'survivor' was the first step towards building a community and creating a collective identity, which sets this survivor community's norms for individuals to follow. Consequently, community behavior is mediated and defined through speech (Hymes, 1974). Many individuals claimed to be a 'survivor' because the bombing occurred on a public street affecting many people who worked downtown in such places as restaurants and surrounding businesses. Parameters had to be set in order to conceptually define the term 'survivorship.' Therefore, it was necessary to utilize Lawrence Wieder's conceptual net to identify the various ways in which language

contributes to the maintenance of the survivor community through survivor's speech rights, rules, values, norms, and beliefs, and language and memory.

Chapter seven utilized Symbolic Convergence theory and its constructs to understand how members in the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community converged together as a result of sharing stories. More specifically, this study sought to discover fantasies shared between survivors and to discover the meaning stories have for the community. RQ1: What fantasies are shared among members of the survivor culture of the Oklahoma City bombing? This research discovered three types of personal fantasies (stories) communicated by survivors: 1) third person stories; 2) fragmented first hand stories; 3) fully self-disclosed stories. RQ2: What common fantasy themes exist in stories (fantasies) shared by members within the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community? Fantasy themes shared in stories told in the community include 'death of a loved one,' 'rescuers didn't want for anything,' and 'memorializing the event.' A group identity was created as individuals in the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community shared fantasies and fantasy types. These shared fantasy types became a rhetorical vision of the community. RQ3: What fantasy types make up the shared rhetorical vision of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community? This research discovered two rhetorical visions shared by group members in the survivor community. First, the storyline of the museum became a rhetorical vision.

Fantasy types that make up the storyline of the museum included senselessness of violence, awareness, and remembrance. The museum is the setting which includes a view of the physical setting and culture in which the act was carried out. As group members shared fantasy types, the storyline of the museum became a rhetorical vision for the

community. Second, the museum storyline teaches the response of the Oklahoma City bombing, telling the story of the Oklahoma Standard. The Oklahoma Standard, as a recurring script, also became a fantasy type. The Oklahoma Standard, as the plot of stories shared, metaphorically also became a rhetorical vision. The evidence that convergence has taken place between members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community lies in the shared rhetorical vision of both the museum's storyline and the Oklahoma Standard. This research found four fantasy types that make up the shared rhetorical visions of members in the Oklahoma City bombing survivor culture. Fantasy types included senselessness of violence, awareness, remembrance, and the Oklahoma Standard.

The museum, as a channel of communication, is the vehicle in carrying out the act of the Oklahoma Standard. Since the Oklahoma Standard is a fantasy theme, a fantasy type, and a rhetorical vision, it was imperative to learn what the Oklahoma Standard meant conceptually? RQ4: What is the Oklahoma Standard? The parameters of the Oklahoma Standard lie only within the lexica of the survivor community and how they articulate the concept. From the collected data, this researcher was able to differentiate four applications of the metaphor: running toward chaos, unconditional support, community expectancy, and lifelong healing. The Oklahoma Standard is not limited only to the four applications of the metaphor. The last research question in this chapter took a closer look at the Oklahoma Standard and not only answered what the Oklahoma Standard is in its origination, but what it meant conceptually in conversation between members of the Oklahoma City bombing survivor community. RQ5: How did Oklahoma set the standard for surviving a disaster? Since FEMA rescue workers coined

the term ’Oklahoma Standard,’ it was important to gather excerpts where the Oklahoma Standard is specifically mentioned by rescue workers. Because the media was kept out of the Myriad convention center, it was important to understand how members of the community talk about the Oklahoma Standard. More specifically, it was important to get an understanding of the various contexts in which volunteers, survivors, and rescue workers discuss the Oklahoma Standard. Oklahoma’s performance set a standard in which all other states are judged by in the midst of a disaster.

The data included excerpts from rescuer, volunteer, and survivor accounts taken from archival documents, everyday conversation, and interviews where mention of the Oklahoma Standard is stated. The data included excerpts from participants in ‘’their own words’ in discussing the Oklahoma Standard in various contexts of the response. The fact that people were allowed to help in so many ways following the Oklahoma City incident sets the disaster apart from other disasters. Through language, individuals in Oklahoma City could imagine a state of perfection (i.e., the term, Oklahoma Standard). Today, individuals spend their lives striving for whatever degree of this perfection they have set for themselves. As a result, the discrepancy between the real and ideal arose. What began as a response to the overwhelming support and random acts of kindness, continued and developed into a social expectation of the Oklahoma City community. The Oklahoma Standard began with the people of Oklahoma City pulling together in a time of crisis. The Oklahoma Standard did not stop at the goodness displayed by the people of Oklahoma City during the time of the crisis but instead spiraled into an ongoing mission. Not only did Oklahomans run towards chaos immediately after the bombing, they later ran towards chaos as they ran to the

immediate need of New Yorkers after the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001. The Oklahoma Standard is a continual response that evolved more after the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001. A great number of Oklahomans served as grief counselors in New York and it was an Oklahoman who set up New York's main hospitality group immediately after the 2001 attacks. Victoria Cummock, who lost her husband in Pan Am flight 103 and later lost her home in Hurricane Andrew, had a remarkable influence on the continual response of the Oklahoma Standard. Cummock, not only had an influence on family members during her two week stay in Oklahoma City following the bombing, but influenced Oklahoma family members to go to New York City after the 9/11 attacks. Today, the Oklahoma Standard, conceptually represents the mission of teaching education, remembrance, and the senselessness of terrorism along with the mission of helping other communities in crisis. The Oklahoma Standard has stood as a motivational factor behind this community to get through such a difficult time. Many members of the Oklahoma City bombing community feel that the Oklahoma Standard is a mission that is being perpetuated. Members want to spread their mission (i.e., the Oklahoma Standard) across the nation. Since 1995, Oklahomans have run to the aid of many communities who have experienced a crisis, whether natural or unnatural.

Currently, the story of the Oklahoma Standard has broadened in its narrative analysis. By expanding the narration of the story, it is evident that communication and community have forever changed. Stories of despair and terror from survivors past, stories of community and shared experience from survivors present, and stories of hope and senseless violence for the future are now part of the history or greater story of Oklahoma

City. This paper identified a socially constructed survivor sub community, which is unclear to both the common lay citizens of the greater Oklahoma City community and to the survivors themselves. More specifically, the focus of this paper was to identify the interaction between communication and community among the survivors of the Oklahoma City bombing. This researcher discovered that the struggle for a collective voice resulted in the everyday communication practices that served as a framework for building this community. This researcher also discovered how symbolic meaning and a collective memory developed as a result of everyday communication practices, hence, constructing the framework for building a community. Ultimately (re) figuring the reality of the tragedy into the everyday lives of the survivors. As conversations escalated within the community, members of the community symbolically converged together. Moreover, thanks to the strong sense of community that OKC families were able to construct (through communication) they were able to even lobby and pass anti-terrorism legislation in Washington, D.C. The Oklahoma Standard, as a collective metaphor in this community, allowed the people of Oklahoma City to withstand a tragic experience and to make sense of it in their daily lives. Therefore, (re) figuring the reality of the tragedy into the everyday lives of the survivors is a communication phenomenon that is in need of future exploration.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine how the Oklahoma City bombing community responded to the disaster and came together and evolved (as an empowered community) into the OKC National Memorial Foundation.

Very little is written on victims taking charge of their future nor has much been written on the empowered response of a community following a disaster. Most of the literature presents victims as powerless, passive, and unable to take care of themselves instead of being empowered individuals. In most cases, a great deal of the information will describe the event, the cause agent, and the helplessness that the event caused. There is a considerable amount of existing research on communities that have experienced disaster, but little of that research has focused on communities that are characterized by individuals who work together in pursuit of collective goals. The study of a community that has an empowered response to a disaster is key to current literature. Therefore, it was important to examine not just the local Oklahoma City community's immediate empowered response to the crisis but to examine the entire response. This response included the process of building the Oklahoma City National Memorial, the memorial as a finished product and what the OKC National Memorial Foundation is doing today to support its original mission. It was important to study the Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation's mission (empowering response) as it is carried out through the memorial because individuals in the survivor community wanted the memorial built in such a way that it, as a tool, would be empowering in itself.

The Oklahoma Standard continues to live on today. It is not just a story about terrorism but a mission to remember the brave and amazing way that Oklahomans responded and the hope the transcended out of the attack. Oklahomans are concentrating on what they want to perpetuate and that is the mission of the Oklahoma Standard.

The Oklahoma Standard not only involves a survivor community's empowered response but has entered into our political discourse today. On Sept. 4, 2008, the final night of the Republican National Convention in St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S. Rep Mary Fallin of Oklahoma used her prime time slot to tell the national television audience about the "Oklahoma standard" and that John McCain embodies the American standard. Here is what U.S. Rep Mary Fallin said to the nation:

> Good evening
>
> Thirteen years ago, on a bright April morning in 1995, Oklahoma City was attacked by domestic terrorists. We lost 168 of our friends and neighbors.
>
> But we also witnessed the greatness of the American community
>
> I was at ground zero that day as Oklahoma's lieutenant governor. As our beautiful memorial reads, I came away "changed forever"
>
> We coined a name for a lesson that grew out of Oklahoma City. We called it the "Oklahoma Standard," but it is really the American standard. It's the extraordinary ability of the American people to unite in the face of overwhelming adversity and be stronger for it.
>
> Moments after the bomb, people rushed to help. Help came from up the street, across the city, and from every state in our union. Many came from New York – some of those same first responders gave their lives years later at the World Trade Center.
>
> They gave their sweat and time, and some gave their blood. Most of all they gave their love.

As the smoke and rubble cleared, I saw the volunteers who stood in the rain to help feed a hungry rescuer… the teddy bears tied to the fence in memory of a lost child… the barbers who set up shop to give free haircuts to weary firefighters and police officers… the man who donated a pair of work boots one night…and drove away barefoot.

We saw the same sacrifice and selflessness years later when an entire nation rallied behind the families that lost loved ones in the tragedy of 09/11.

Our American standard embodies the spirit of free people who will not be cowed by terror, and who stand together with courage and resolve. It embodies the spirit of John McCain.

The American people have in John McCain a leader who doesn't just understand that spirit. He has lived it.

The events of 1995 are passing into history, but we Oklahomans remember. We remember the lost, and we remember the greatness of this country, even in the face of the most heartbreaking tragedies.

Excerpt from a taped speech

Acknowledging the Oklahoma Standard is of critical importance if one is to understand the survivor community of Oklahoma City because when people refer to the tragic events that took place on April 19, 1995, they find comfort in discussing the goodness that emerged out of an evil act. The dynamics of communication within the larger community forever changed. New patterns of interaction emerged among the citizens of Oklahoma City due to the exceptionally large number of people affected by the actual event or involved in damage control. Consequentially, through all the

suffering and chaos emerged an extraordinary survivor culture. This culture or community, which was subsequently created by the survivors themselves, functions both separate from and as part of the larger community of Oklahoma City. This study identified and focused on the socially constructed survivor community of the Oklahoma City bombing. The survivors of the Oklahoma City bombing began constructing a community out of social interactions: Ultimately (re) figuring the reality of the tragedy into their everyday lives.

It is possible that through language (i.e., the term, Oklahoma Standard, as a principle of perfection), individuals in Oklahoma City could imagine a state of perfection. Today, individuals spend their lives striving for whatever degree of this perfection they have set for themselves. As a result of the discrepancy between the real and the ideal, guilt arises. The Oklahoma Standard began with the people of Oklahoma City pulling together in a time of crisis. As a result of guilt, possibly, the Oklahoma Standard did not stop at the goodness displayed by people of Oklahoma City during the time of the crisis but instead spiraled into an ongoing mission. The Oklahoma Standard went from lending a helping hand to a healing and a moving on. Today, the Oklahoma Standard, conceptually represents education, teaching the senselessness of terrorism, remembrance, and helping other communities in crisis (i.e., such as Oklahoma City survivors going to New York City after 9/11).

Burke (1968) claims that people communicate to purge their guilt. Many individuals who really supported the museum were, in fact, survivors (i.e., the majority of individuals who voted on the museum's design were survivors). Guilt serves two purposes here: (1) survivors have guilt that they survived the bombing and (2) through

language (i.e., the term, Oklahoma Standard), individuals could imagine a state of perfection. Today, many individuals feel they haven't done enough and spend their lives striving for whatever degree of this perfection they have set for themselves. Many survivors want to see that the Oklahoma Standard, as a model for responding to disaster, is taught across the nation. Idealistic identification (i.e., shared ideas, attitudes, feelings, and values) is the source of identification that existed among the Oklahoma City survivor community. The opposite of identification is division, or separateness. This might explain the division in the survivor community – those who supported the museum vs. those who didn't. The process of building the memorial was the source of identification that existed among the individuals in the survivor community. The reality of the survivor community manifests itself through the collective voice of the people. The struggle for the collective voice is the social interaction that defined this community.

The Oklahoma Standard (or action) is a performance. The museum, as a set of symbols, is a channel of communication to present a story or script to interpreters. The Oklahoma Standard is a performance, (action), and is still acting and "doing" today. The Oklahoma Standard is the plot of the museum storyline. Motives are often viewed as completed actions. The Oklahoma Standard is a motive. It is interesting how it was called a "standard." Individuals called it a standard (motive) because that was their perception of reality. If one can understand the Oklahoma Standard, as it is in process, we can understand the Oklahoma City people's perceptions of reality. Nature selective is focusing attention on particular aspects of reality at the expense of other aspects. Review the notion of calling it the Oklahoma Standard. The museum is a standard of what happened and what to do (vs. what not to do). The terms we employ in thought, and thus

in perception, function as filters of our experience. Language does not just reflect reality; it selects reality. Language points us toward some aspects of experience (selection) and away from other aspects (deflection). The standard was established as a rule for measuring or as a model or as an example. Just in stating the words, 'Oklahoma Standard,' it became a template that all others are judged by. The Oklahoma Standard continues today to be the benchmark against which all efforts are measured.

The responses of the Oklahoma Restaurant Association and private citizens remain as a testament to the sense of unity, compassion, even heroism, that characterized the Oklahoma Standard. Members of the ORA decided to forego their annual tradition of the trade show and turned it into a relief effort. The role of restauranteurs was to facilitate the rescue mission by orchestrating and organizing food preparation areas. Product provisions were taken care of by the institutions. Labor provisions were taken care of by individuals or common laymen who then decided to participate by either volunteering their time or donating all of their spare money to the disaster. Necessary scheduling and management of volunteers was necessary throughout the process. Many restaurant managers called for their employees to participate and work the disaster allowing paid compensation. In some cases, restaurants only allowed employees paid compensation for up to 8 hours a day. Since volunteers worked 12 hour shifts, many workers volunteered the extra time with unpaid compensation. Many individuals refused payment all together. It was reported by the media that no more volunteers were necessary to help in the relief effort. Too many people had already volunteered their efforts. The courage it took by people to volunteer in an unsure atmosphere was unbelievable. In many cases, individuals could only donate money as a means of helping in the disaster. People wanted to give in

some way. Due to individuals desire to donate their spare money, institutions set up fundraisers to collect money from the community. Institutions become the medium for creating community. Within a couple of hours following the bombing, Tinker Air Force Base had raised $5000 donated by individuals in the Oklahoma community. The fundraiser continued as donations kept pouring in during the days following the bombing. Bricktown Brewery, Varsity Sports club, and other institutions set up similar fundraisers to aid with the disaster. People in the community went to the institutions and donated their spare money. The institutions then proceeded to disperse the donated funds to aid victims and facilitate the recovery process. The institutions kept in close touch with the Salvation Army and American Red Cross to facilitate donations.

The Oklahoma Standard represents the pride, courage, and goodness displayed by Oklahomans. The Oklahoma Standard represents not only what individuals gave but how they gave to the disaster. People gave immediately and freely. Gate Keeping was different in the Oklahoma City bombing disaster as opposed to other disasters. The gatekeepers included the state employees, police, paramedics, firefighters, morticians, FEMA rescue workers, and institutions such as restaurants. One of the lessons learned from this tragedy involved the professional's assessment of the situation and how they worked with the Oklahoma City scene instead of just stepping in and taking over. FEMA, who usually comes in and takes over a disaster, came to Oklahoma and worked with local police officers and firefighters. The coordination of the event, between gatekeepers, was remarkable, as evidenced by FEMA's coining the term "Oklahoma Standard."

Volunteers could not help in the disaster without permission. Therefore, institutions became the medium for creating a community. Institutions, such as

restaurants, became gatekeepers as laymen made donations to the institutions and, in turn, the institutions turned over the donations to the American Red Cross and Salvation Army. A point of interest that can be learned from this study is how ad hoc groups, such as restaurateurs, were very effective in facilitating and getting things going smoothly after the attack. The American Red Cross, instead of stepping in and taking over, saw that the ORA's food operation was working and allowed it to go on. The American Red Cross professionals assessed the situation and saw that parts were working and decided to work along with the ORA in the aftermath of the attack. Consequentially, through all the chaos emerged an extraordinary survivor culture. This culture or community, which was subsequently created not only by the on-site volunteers, but also the local Oklahoma volunteers who worked well together and were motivated to fit in and create a community. This study identified and focused on the socially constructed survivor community created after the Oklahoma City bombing. Essentially, FEMA came to Oklahoma and assessed the community in its entirety, giving it a name, the Oklahoma Standard.

LIMITATIONS & FUTURE DIRECTION

The story of the Oklahoma City bombing does not stop with the attack itself or with the many losses it caused. The responses of Oklahoma's public servants and private citizens, and those from throughout the nation remain as a testament to the sense of unity, compassion, even heroism, that characterized the rescue and recovery following the Oklahoma City bombing.

The Oklahoma Standard continues to be the benchmark against which all efforts are measured. It is a high standard we expect to meet in society. The Memorial museum

is an interactive learning museum that tells the story of April 19, 1995, and how the chaos turned to hope in the days following the terrorist attack. The outdoor symbolic memorial, spanning the downtown block where the April 19, 1995, terror bombing occurred, has been widely recognized as perhaps the most hopeful and unique memorial site in the United States. From a peaceful field of lighted chairs, across a shallow reflecting pool to the sturdy survivor tree, the memorial's outdoor sections create a sense of calm assurance. The same theme carries through the memorial museum. For every exhibit tallying the terrible human toll of the bombing, there is a balancing message of optimism and hope. Even the artifacts and displays related to the trials of the bombers are tucked partially out of sight, as if this memorial, inspired by a terrible mass murder, was still determined to focus on the best side of humanity. This incredible display of humanity marked the first hours after the bombing, and it is a feeling that the survivor community wanted the memorial to include.

The Oklahoma City National Memorial Institute for the prevention of terrorism, is a think tank working closely with federal, state, and local agencies nationwide to improve responses to terrorism. If the outdoor symbolic memorial is a place for reflection and thought, the memorial museum carries the full impact of the bombing, and the strong message of hope the memorial mission wanted to convey. This is not just a museum about a crime but a place to remember those who were lost. It is a place to remember the brave and noble way the world responded and the hope that transcended out of the horror. The mission statement was the cornerstone document in shaping the meaning and guiding the design and development of the memorial. It represents a remarkable community consensus document which evolved under the most difficult circumstances.

Few events in the past quarter-century have rocked Americans' perception of themselves and their institutions and brought together the people of our nation with greater intensity than April 19, 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah federal building in downtown Oklahoma City.

Studies in disaster research discuss the event itself but do not focus on the aftermath of the disaster. This study is unique in that an extraordinary community emerged as a result of the Oklahoma City bombing disaster. Studies conducted indicate that victims are passive and unable to take care of themselves following a disaster. However, this certainly was not the case in Oklahoma. Following the attack, Oklahomans stepped up to the plate displaying an empowering response. New dynamics and patterns of communication emerged as Oklahomans interacted amongst one another. The empowered response of the Oklahoma City community is one in pursuit of a collective goal, that being the mission of the Oklahoma Standard. Furthermore, research analyzing disasters is short term focusing on the event, itself, and not the response. This study not only reviewed the immediate aftermath of the bombing but looked at the Oklahoma City community longitudinally. This is a striking study in disaster research as there have been few studies on communities that have an empowered response. Few researchers have studied survivor communities as comprehensively as the current study at hand. This study is key to current literature in that it helps other communities who have experienced a disaster to know they can circum the aftermath of an attack. Through education and special training, they too, can meet the expectation that Oklahoma City has set for responding to disaster. Oklahoma City serves as a model in which all other communities can look to view and mirror such noble behavior.

This research lends itself to the Federal Emergency Management Association as a guideline or model for training first responders all over the country. The researcher of this ethnographic study serves to educate society by going to other places and teaching disaster response, more specifically teaching the senselessness of violence and terrorism.

This researcher not only studied the Oklahoma City bombing community but also studied the Oklahoma Standard as a model for responding to disaster. After 9/11, we see the Oklahoma Standard as the idea of communities that have experienced a crisis going and helping other communities in crisis. That, as a social phenomenon really took off at that time. However, a limitation to the study at hand points to communities that have experienced a crisis going and helping other communities in crisis, as a social phenomenon.. This researcher collected the interviews from Oklahomans who went to New York to serve as grief counselors; however, for purposes of this dissertation, the research was left out to make for a more pointed study. Certainly, Victoria Cummock had an influence on Oklahomans deciding to go to New York following the 2001 Trade Center attacks. Cummock launched the idea of going and helping other communities in crisis. For example, the 1999 Texas A & M University bon fire tragedy and the 1996 DC 9 jet that went down in the Everglades killing 109 people. Diane Leonard and Victoria Cummock were the first to be called to both of these tragedies. Most do not know that it was an Oklahoman who set up New York's hospitality 'bubble,' a symbolic reprint of the Myriad convention center displayed in Oklahoma City after the bombing.

For years, it seemed like the center focus of this study was that the Oklahoma Standard had grown into the idea of communities that have experienced a crisis going and helping other communities in crisis. Indeed, it is one of the themes of the Oklahoma

Standard; however, it does not represent the core of this study. It has taken time and years of studying and seeing to get a deeper understanding of really what is going on here and successfully complete an overall comprehensive ethnographic study. That, simply, is that an extraordinary empowered community emerged during the aftermath of the bombing. This community of participants performed the heroic act of the Oklahoma standard in response to the bombing. The mission of the Oklahoma standard is still being acted out and sought after by the community today. In fact, this research could have focused more on the empowered response of the museum, as a tool, in which the act of the Oklahoma Standard is being carried out. What is the interactive learning museum doing today to support its mission of the Oklahoma Standard? Many extensions of the Oklahoma Standard are being carried out through the Memorial museum today.

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APPENDIX A

Participants

Survivors

S1	Murrah Building Survivor
S2	Murrah Building Survivor
S3	Murrah Building Survivor
S4	Murrah Building Survivor
S5	Murrah Building Survivor
S6	Murrah Building Survivor
S7	YMCA Building Survivor
S8	Journal Record Building Survivor
S9	Family Member
S10	Family Member
S11	Family Member
S12	Family Member
S13	Family Member
S14	Family Member
S15	Family Member
S16	Family Member
S17	Family Member

Volunteers

	Institution	*State*	*Area of Responsibility*
V1	Burger King	Oklahoma	Food

V2	Burger King	Oklahoma	Food
V3	Bricktown Restaurant	Oklahoma	Delivering Food
V4	Bricktown Restaurant	Oklahoma	Food
V5	Bricktown Restaurant	Oklahoma	Food
V6	Bricktown Restaurant	Oklahoma	Delivering Food
V7	Red Lobster	Oklahoma	Food
V8	Red Lobster	Oklahoma	Food
V9	Red Lobster	Oklahoma	Food
V10	Outback	Oklahoma	Food
V11	Outback	Oklahoma	Food
V12	McDonalds	Oklahoma	Food
V13	OKC Restaurant	Oklahoma	Food
V14	OKC Restaurant	Oklahoma	Provided Food
V15	OKC Restaurant	Oklahoma	Food
V16	Varsity Sports Grill	Oklahoma	Food
V17	Varsity Sports Grill	Oklahoma	Food
V18	Sonic	Oklahoma	Shuttled Food/Drinks
V19	Little Caesars Pizza	Oklahoma	Food
V20	Mazzios	Oklahoma	Food
V21	Taco Bell	Oklahoma	Food
V22	Coffee Company	Oklahoma	Provided Hot Drinks
V23	Doughnut Shop	Oklahoma	Food
V24	Feed the Children	Oklahoma	Contributions

V25	Feed the Children	Oklahoma	Contributions
V26	Feed the Children	Oklahoma	Contributions
V27	American Red Cross	Oklahoma	Therapist
V28	American Red Cross	Oklahoma	Therapist
V29	American Red Cross	Oklahoma	Delivered Meals
V30	American Red Cross	Oklahoma	Delivered Meals
V31	American Red Cross	Oklahoma	Delivered Meals
V32	American Red Cross	Oklahoma	Delivered Meals
V33	American Red Cross	California	Delivered Food
V34	Salvation Army	Arkansas	Donations
V35	Salvation Army	Arkansas	Donations/Supplies
V36	Salvation Army	California	Donations/Supplies
V37	Salvation Army	Illinois	Donations/Supplies
V38	Salvation Army	Oklahoma	Supplies
V39	Salvation Army	Oklahoma	Supplies
V40	Salvation Army	Oklahoma	Supplies
V41	Salvation Army	Oklahoma	Supplies
V42	Salvation Army	Oklahoma	Donations/Supplies
V43	Salvation Army	Oklahoma	Donations/Supplies
V44	Presbyterian Hospital	Oklahoma	Nurse
V45	Norman Reg Hospital	Oklahoma	Triage
V46	Baptist Hospital	Oklahoma	Counselor
V47	St. Anthony’s Hosp	Oklahoma	Nurse

V48	Deaconess Hospital	Oklahoma	Triage
V49	Deaconess Hospital	Oklahoma	Nurse
V50	Deaconess Hospital	Oklahoma	Nurse
V51	Church-Baptist	Oklahoma	Prayer Support
V52	Church-Christian	Oklahoma	Prayer Support
V53	Church-Presbyterian	Oklahoma	Prayer Support
V54	Church-Methodist	Oklahoma	Prayer Support
V55	Tinker Air Force Base	Oklahoma	Fundraising
V56	Wal-Mart	Oklahoma	Make Shift Pharmacy
V57	Wal-Mart	Oklahoma	Make Shift Pharmacy
V58	Ozarka	Oklahoma	Provided Water
V59	Common Layman	Oklahoma	Blood Donation
V60	Common Layman	Oklahoma	Blood/Food Donation
V61	Common Layman	Oklahoma	Customer Service
V62	Common Layman	Oklahoma	Donated Supplies
V63	Common Layman	Oklahoma	Delivered Food
V64	Common Layman	Oklahoma	Delivered Food
V65	Common Layman	Oklahoma	Delivered Food
V66	Common Layman	Oklahoma	Blood Donation
V67	Common Layman	Oklahoma	Food Donation
V68	Common Layman	Oklahoma	Shuttled Food/Drinks
V69	Common Layman	Oklahoma	Blood Donation
V70	Amer Lung Assoc	Oklahoma	Respiratory Therapist

V71	Ok Funeral Dir Assoc	Oklahoma	Mortician
V72	Okla Hospital Assoc	Oklahoma	Nurse
V73	Ok Restaurant Assoc	Oklahoma	Staffing
V74	Ok Restaurant Assoc	Oklahoma	Food Donations
V75	Ok Restaurant Assoc	Oklahoma	Food Donations
V76	Bank	Oklahoma	Facilitation of Funds
V77	Tinker Credit Union	Oklahoma	Banking
V78	Health Department	Oklahoma	Chiropractic Services
V79	DHS	Oklahoma	Chaplain
V80	Okla State University	Oklahoma	Hospitality
V81	Local Business	Oklahoma	Fundraising
V82	Local Business	Oklahoma	Donated Clothing
V83	Local Country Club	Oklahoma	Golf Cart Trans
V84	Nuway Laundry	Oklahoma	Free Laundry Service
V85	Musco Lighting	Iowa	Installed Lighting
V86	Local Company	Oklahoma	Donations
V87	Supply Company	Oklahoma	Supplies
V88	Supply Company	Oklahoma	Supplies
V89	Equipment Company	Oklahoma	Supplied Equipment
V90	Local Utility Co	Oklahoma	Provided Equipment
V91	Whirlpool Company	Oklahoma	Provided Whirlpools
V92	Oscar J. Boldt Const	Oklahoma	Coordinator
V93	Okla Gas & Elec Co.	Oklahoma	Supplies

Rescue Workers

	Institution	*State*
RW1	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW2	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW3	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW4	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW5	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW6	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW7	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW8	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW9	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW10	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW11	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW12	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW13	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW14	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW15	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW16	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW17	Firefighter	Oklahoma
RW18	Firefighter	New York
RW19	Firefighter	New York
RW20	Firefighter	New York
RW21	Firefighter	New York

RW22	Firefighter	New York
RW23	Firefighter	New York
RW24	Firefighter	New York
RW25	Firefighter	California
RW26	Firefighter	California
RW27	Firefighter	California
RW28	Firefighter	Texas
RW29	FEMA	California
RW30	FEMA	California
RW31	FEMA	California
RW32	FEMA	California
RW33	FEMA	California
RW34	FEMA	California
RW35	FEMA	California
RW36	FEMA	California
RW37	FEMA	California
RW38	FEMA	California
RW39	FEMA	California
RW40	FEMA	California
RW41	FEMA	California
RW42	FEMA	Virginia
RW43	FEMA	Virginia
RW44	FEMA	Virginia

RW45	FEMA	Virginia
RW46	FEMA	Virginia
RW47	FEMA	Virginia
RW48	FEMA	Virginia
RW49	FEMA	Virginia
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RW51	FEMA	Virginia
RW52	FEMA	Virginia
RW53	FEMA	Virginia
RW54	FEMA	Virginia
RW55	FEMA	Virginia
RW56	FEMA	Virginia
RW57	FEMA	Virginia
RW58	FEMA	Virginia
RW59	FEMA	Virginia
RW60	FEMA	Virginia
RW61	FEMA	Washington
RW62	FEMA	Washington
RW63	FEMA	Washington
RW64	FEMA	New York
RW65	FEMA	New York
RW66	FEMA	New York
RW67	FEMA	New York

RW68	FEMA	New York
RW69	FEMA	New York
RW70	FEMA	New York
RW71	FEMA	New York
RW72	FEMA	New York
RW73	FEMA	Arizona
RW74	FEMA	Arizona
RW75	FEMA	Arizona
RW76	FEMA	Arizona
RW77	FEMA	Arizona
RW78	Police Officer	Oklahoma
RW79	Police Officer	Oklahoma
RW80	Police Officer	Oklahoma
RW81	Police Officer	Oklahoma
RW82	Police Officer	Oklahoma
RW83	Police Officer	Oklahoma
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RW90	Police Officer	Oklahoma

RW91	Police Officer	Oklahoma
RW92	Police Officer	Oklahoma
RW93	Police Officer	Oklahoma
RW94	Police Officer	Oklahoma
RW95	Police Officer	Oklahoma
RW96	Police Officer	Oklahoma
RW97	Police Officer	Oklahoma
RW98	Police Officer	Oklahoma
RW99	SARDOK	Oklahoma
RW100	SARDOK	Oklahoma

APPENDIX B

Lecture Notes on the Concept of Culture and Anyone's Ethnography
D.L. Wieder © 2003

There are a set of standard conceptions and standard sensitivities that come into play whenever an experienced ethnographer goes to work. Only some of the yield that is reaped though the use of these concepts and sensitivities is likely to be reported in any particular article or book. Nonetheless, whenever ethnographers gather to discuss their ongoing studies, they expect each other to be able to speak to the phenomena yielded through the standard schemes or to say why nothing of the standardized sort has been observed. The focus of a particular ethnography may be guided by only one part of the standardized scheme, or it may be guided by concepts outside the scheme while still being informed by it. Taking note of the scheme is useful in developing a conceptual net and in pursuing what McCall and Simmons (1969) call analytic description.[1]

An Outline of Basic Concepts for Analytic Description and Anyone's Ethnography

I. THE IDEA OF CULTURE

II. STANDARDIZED PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR

III. SOCIAL MAPS

A. ORGANIZATIONAL CHARTS, FORMAL PATTERNS OF AUTHORITY

B. SOCIAL NETWORKS, INFORMAL ROLE SETS, CLIQUE STRUCTURES: Who talks to whom, where, when, and about what.

C. SOCIAL GEOGRAPHIC MAPS: PLACES, THEIR OBJECTS, THEIR USES, AND INTERACTIONS AND INTERACTIONAL DENSITY AT SPECIFIC PLACES.

IV. ROUTINES, SCHEDULES, AND THEIR RULES

[1] They put it this way:
An analytic description (1) employs the concepts, propositions, and empirical generalizations of a body of scientific theory as the basic guides in analysis and reporting, (2) employs thorough and systematic collection, classification, and reporting of facts, and (3) generates new empirical generalizations (and perhaps concepts and propositions as well) based on these data.

Thus, an analytic description is primarily an empirical application and modification of a scientific theory rather than an efficient and powerful test of such a theory, since only one case—however complex—is involved in the study. [They go on to insist that collections of ethnographies can be used to test theories]….These tests cannot be made by comparing casual or journalistic accounts…but only by comparing careful analytic descriptions of the type described above. (1969, p. 3)

Of these constituents, the conception of culture is most fundamental. Ethnography cannot be done without the idea of culture, although it may be a tacit and operative concept in some specific studies. Spradley (1979) provides a good basic sketch. The following sketch of major propositions should be understood with the examples that Spradley provides. Here, they are only reminders of main lines of his conception of culture. Spradley begins by noting that actions and events mean something to the people who produce and witness them:[2]

> Some of these meanings are…expressed in language [while others are tacit,] taken for granted, and communicated only indirectly.…These complex meaning systems [play a part in organizing the participants' behavior and in making it and their surrounding world intelligible]….These systems of meaning constitute their culture…. Culture, as used in [Spradley's]…book, refers to the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behavior…
>
> This concept of culture (as a system of meaningful symbols) has much in common with symbolic interactionism [Spradley refers to Cooley, Mead, Thomas, and Blumer. His conception is also related to the non-symbolic interactionists of Weber, Dilthey, and Schutz]….Blumer has identified three premises on which this theory rests (1969)….[1] "Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that these things have for them" (1969, 2) People…[act not toward] things, but toward their meanings…[2] The "meanings of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows" (1969, 2). Culture, as a shared system of meanings, is learned, revised, maintained, and defined in the context of people interacting…[3]"Meanings are handled in, and modified through an interpretive process used by the person dealing with the things he encounters" (1969, 2)….We may see this interpretive aspect more clearly if we think of culture as a cognitive map. In the recurrent activities that make up everyday life, we refer to this map. It serves as a guide for acting and for interpreting our experience; it does not compel us to follow a particular course. (pp. 5-7)

In *Asylums*, Goffman, takes note of the local and improvisational origins of cultures and subcultures in saying that "any group of persons--prisoners, primitives, pilots, or patients--develop a life of their own that becomes meaningful, reasonable, and normal once you get close to it, and that a good way to learn about any of these worlds is to submit oneself in the company of their members to the daily round of petty contingencies to which they are subject" (1961, ix-x).

---

[2] The idea that actions and events mean something to the people who produce and witness them can be found in the earlier work of Dilthey and Weber.

Emerson (1983) draws on Goffman (1961), Schutz (1962), and Wax (1967), to delineate the ethnographic task of uncovering culture in terms of examining ongoing worlds over their actual course, first hand, with the aim of uncovering the meaning of the activities (which make up that world) to those who do them. Our interest in culture directs our attention to the organization of the social-communicative world in terms of the socially recognized categories (and the distinctions between them) that participants employ in making everyday recognitions and responses. The participants or members also recognize and respond to these categories and employ them in describing their world, in laying out plans, in justifying what they had just done, in making assertions about the current state of their affairs. We must come to terms with a pre-conceptualized, pre-interpreted, pre-selected, pre-ordered world. A world of objects that is interlaced with what Schutz (1962) calls common sense constructs. One of our aims is to get access to these common sense constructs and to analyze their part in ordering a natural social-communicative world.

The major categories of cultural things are sometimes called cultural components or parts. *Each of these is culturally defined and recognized by members.* As cultural objects, they are shared, experienced as shared, and transmittable between generations. They also have some degree of institutionalization and internalization.

TYPES OF PERSONS (SOCIAL TYPES AND SOCIAL ROLES)

OBJECTS

SPATIAL AREAS (PLACES AND BOUNDARIES)

ACTIONS AND ACTIVITIES (INCLUDING SPEECH ACTS, SPEECH ACTIVITIES, SPEECH EVENTS, AND SPEECH SITUATIONS)

ROLES

NORMS

VALUES

STANDARDIZED PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR, as recognized and understood by members, may also be placed on this list. They can alternatively be treated as a consequence of culture.

And there are other items, including LANGUAGE ITSELF, IDEOLOGY, AND RELATIONSHIPS, all as culturally defined and recognized by members

Anyone's Ethnography also includes items that are not in themselves components of culture, although they may have cultural objects as their constituents or be otherwise permeated by culture.

II. STANDARDIZED PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR described for their own sake

A. SIMPLE BEHAVIORIZED PATTERNS consisting of ecological arrangements, movement patterns, behaviorized-objectivized versions of tasks, rituals, and practices.

B. SEQUENCES OF ACTION including task sequences.

C. ACTIVITIES in terms of compounds of simple etic patterns of behavior and/or sequences

D. ENCOUNTERS, THEIR SEQUENCES & STRUCTURES

III. SOCIAL MAPS

A. ORGANIZATIONAL CHARTS, FORMAL PATTERNS OF AUTHORITY

B. SOCIAL NETWORKS, INFORMAL ROLE SETS, CLIQUE STRUCTURES: Who talks to whom, where, when, and about what.

C. SOCIAL GEOGRAPHIC MAPS: PLACES, THEIR OBJECTS, THEIR USES, AND INTERACTIONS AND INTERACTIONAL DENSITY AT SPECIFIC PLACES.

IV. ROUTINES, SCHEDULES, AND THEIR RULES (usually these are part sense [culture] and part objective behavior). They are patterns of first this and then that. Routines for the day, routines for admitting a patient or for lubricating a car. Role based routines.

THE SOCIAL REALITY-SOCIAL STRUCTURE SCHEME: CULTURE AS CAUSE OF PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR

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APPENDIX C

The Ethnographic Proposal D. L. Wieder © 2003

The terms "ethnographic proposal" seem to be an oxymoron because ethnographies are designed over the course of doing them. On this point and so many others, Lofland and Lofland state the conventional ethnographic view of the enterprise:

> The researcher performs the tasks of selecting topics, decides what questions to ask, and forges interest in the course of the research itself. This is in sharp contrast to many "theory-driven" and "hypothesis-testing" methods of research in which the topics of observation and analysis, the questions about them, and the possible kinds of interests the findings might have are all carefully and clearly specified before one begins to gather data.
> [In ethnographic research]…focusing decisions are postponed…to allow the investigator more latitude…to attend to the setting under study in its own terms [emphasis added]… [Ethnographic studies] are inherently and by design open-ended….Intellectually and operationally, analysis emerges from the interaction of gathered data…and focusing decisions. (1995, p. 5)

Despite the fact that ethnographic research is substantially designed over the course of doing it, the ethnographer is often faced with the request or demand that some sort of proposal be constructed very early in the conduct of a study. Only in the case of proposals for funding or proposals for a Ph.D. dissertation are these proposals lengthy documents. The guide that follows is for that sort of proposal that is exchanged between colleagues and given by students to their instructors. Proposals for funding are stated more definitely. The easiest way to make a proposal more definite and elaborate is to actually conduct a fair amount of the research before the final draft of the proposal is written. Dissertation proposals may employ the components indicated below, but are considerably longer, especially in parts 1 and 4.

Guide for a Brief Ethnographic Proposal

The ethnographer recognizes that early commitment to a limited set of questions or hypothesis is likely to push observation and interpretation of it into the categories of the questions or hypotheses. Furthermore, the ethnographer with experience knows that research driven by smart questions fashioned without adequate reconnoitering of the setting is likely to be unfruitful. As protection against both of these forms of trouble, the ethnographer avoids firm commitment to a single question or small set of questions. He or she develops multiple questions that provide tentative guidance at early stages of the research. The ethnographer knows that many of these questions will be abandoned and is prepared to abandon all of them. Even if they are all abandoned (and this is rare), they still give initial direction that results in the posing of well-founded questions after the research is well under way.

The heart of the brief proposal is a conceptual net. It should be prepared first, although it does not come first in the proposal. The conceptual net (named after the fisherman's net) consists of an ensemble of research questions at different levels. These questions are directly linked to the study's topics. Some of the net's questions are logical alternatives to other questions on the list—it would be nonsense to ask both alternatives. Other alternatives are simple practical alternatives--if some questions turn out to be unanswerable, in some other way unresearchable, or their answers are uninteresting, then other questions on the list can be pursued. More questions are included in the net than will actually be answered in the research. The questions in the conceptual net are questions the researcher asks himself or herself. Only in rare cases are versions of these questions asked of the participants.

A conceptual net is developed through a kind of brainstorming. The suggestions for developing a conceptual net that follows are based on the elaborated lecture notes of a student (J. L. Head) in an earlier version of the course, Qualitative Methods.

1. First ask yourself what about or in this setting interests you as a scholar. State these interests in as many questions as you can.
2. Reflect on each question, revise them if useful, and extend the list based on your reflections.
3. Underline the concepts. Ask yourself if taking note of these concepts suggests further questions. If further questions are suggested, add these to the list.
4. Attempt to put the questions in logical order. Some questions may be aspects of higher order questions. If you see that, then rearrange the list and use what you see to develop further questions. If questions appear to be missing at this point, then write them now.

After you have completed the conceptual net, you are in a position to construct a brief proposal. The parts of the brief ethnographic proposal are as follows:

1. Basic theoretical question. Drawing on the direction developed in your conceptual net, state your major topic in theoretical-conceptual terms. Elaborate it in such a way that it is very clear just why your major topic/question is, or least should be, a theoretically interesting question in **communication** (i.e., in your discipline be it communication, sociology, political science, or something else). You may have to achieve the location of your work within the discipline by arguing why it is important and showing where your concerns are located within the discipline. You may be able to display your topic/question's importance and location by pointing to the work of others that serves are a precedent for your concerns, or that leave your concerns relevant but unresearched--in either case you should cite that work in the introduction, using it as a point of departure if you can. In any case, somehow you must show the location, importance, and relevance of your proposed study, if it is to be taken seriously by those who review proposals and who review the products of research.

2. The conceptual net itself.

3. A brief account of your setting and the activities that go on within it, including an enumeration of the participants and their roles in the setting.

4. A brief description or list of your methods. The description should include an explanation of how you have or will secure access to the setting. If the connection between your methods and intended phenomena is not transparent, explain how your methods will make your phenomena observable.

5. Prepare an IRB application. Pay special attention to IRB policies with respect to the rights of human subjects including obtaining the permission of the supervisor or owner of a setting, obtaining the informed consent of the participants, and respecting the participants' rights to confidentiality and anonymity. See link for IRB web site for the policies, instructions, and application form. http://www.ouhsc.edu/irb-norman//default.asp

APPENDIX D

AN OUTLINE AND SOME PROCEDURES FOR WRITING THE STANDARD ETHNOGRAPHIC PAPER

COMMUNICATION 5313 D.L. Wieder Rev. 8.14.00/ 4.14.02

5. Introduction and Topic or Problem Statement. No matter what else this section includes, it does provide a formulation of the question that your research answers. The question is posed in such a way that the conclusion of your paper is an answer to it. This section is also the place where most of your references to the literature appear. It should be clear just what sort of problem in communication, or political science, or sociology, etc-, you are engaged with and how your paper is a contribution in your field of study.

6. Methods Section. Methods sections in the ethnographic paper look very different from their counterparts in experimental and survey research. You need to notice how the description of methods is dealt with in several ethnographic papers. Philipsen 's "Speaking Like a Man in Teamsterville" (1975), for example, has an untitled methodological section of three long paragraphs which follows two introductory (and theoretical) paragraphs and he has two long footnotes on methodology as well. In his next article on Teamsterville (1976), however, there is no separate section on methods. Instead, methodological description and commentary is embedded in remarks about the primary concepts he employs and also in his descriptions. There are many options for the placement of methodological information. Sometimes methods are treated in an extended footnote that is tied to a sentence or phrase in the topic or problem statement.

A methods section which is more than several long sentences should appear as a separate section with its own heading. However, you should take the option of a separate methods section within the text, only if your methods are distinctive, unique, or are part of the point of your argument. It was just such a situation that Philipsen found himself in 1975 when he published "Speaking Like a Man.." in *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*. His methods, focus, and theoretical interests were very distinctive for the readership of that journal and an unstated, but nonetheless major, part of his point was to introduce his readers to the Hymesian ethnography of communication and to show its relevance the interests of Speech Communication.

Textual Coherence: Even when you need a. separate methods section, you might well make a brief reference to your methods in the text and provide a separate methodological appendix. Why avoid a lengthy methods section in the standard place that it has in articles based on experimental or survey research? Because it disrupts the organization and coherence of the argument. Ethnographic arguments are usually continuous and it takes smoothly and unobtrusively drawing many links between the elements of such an argument to keep it flowing, toward its conclusion. Keeping up a smooth continuous flow to the conclusion requires using every organizing device you can

find and avoiding sidetracks and other disruptions whenever possible. Ethnographic writing typically requires management of a number of theoretical-conceptual ideas along with two types of substantive-factual matters. One type of substantive-factual matter pertains to the substantive focus of the writing that is under formulation and the other type (background) concerns those elements of the surrounding situation, history, or other context that the reader must know, or know about, to understand the description, which is the substantive focus of the piece.

Showing the reader just how one thing connects to the next, just how elements in the description are tied to the theoretical concerns, and so forth is done not only by explicitly pointing out the connections, it is also very importantly done through the organization of the text. Sequence is crucial here (as is disrupting it), but headings, and sub-headings are also major devices in achieving textual coherence. A lengthy methods section appearing at a standard point in the text might well disrupt the flow of the argument which is already under way.

What content do you need to provide in your methodological remarks? Enough about your methods needs to be said so that your conclusions are justifiable. If you have some sort of generalization as part of your argument or conclusion, the empirical grounds of the generalization should be clear on the basis of your methodological remarks.

3. Background Section. This section is optional in the sense that not all papers require it. Such a section tells the reader about matters the reader need s to know in order to make proper sense of your writing in the sections that follow. "Background" is substantive empirical description concerning matters that are not developed as topics in their own right. For example, if, your main topic or theme concerns pupil-teacher interaction in the Sunday School class, it is likely that you may need to treat the formal organization of the church, of the Sunday School Class, and/or the history of the particular church as the background for your main topic. You would need to do this if not knowing about one of these matters prevented the reader from seeing what was being talked about, as they would if your evidence included transcripts in which Church history or Church routine was implicated or alluded to in some important way. Background description is concrete. You cannot know exactly what needs to go into until you write the major thematic sections of your paper. You can, however, sketch it out with the understanding that it may need to be substantially cut back or expanded. In writing a background section, you need to be concerned with what it does to the flow of your argument and what it does to the coherence of your text

4. Thematic Sections: Topic Development and Description. You can have more than one topic, but if you do, the topics should have some definite relationship to each other. Most often the development of a topic is done by describing the form of the phenomena arranged in such a way that it permits conclusions to be drawn that the description justifies. If the phenomena have variants, the description is broken down into those variants (e.g. Type A, Type B, and Type C, or Phase A, Phase B, etc.).

5. Conclusion.
The claims of a paper should be justified in terms relevant to a disciplinary problem. Description in, of, and for itself does not work if ones aim is to write for publication.

APPENDIX E

Notes on What is Ethnography and Why Should We Do It? 8.01.00 D. L. Wieder©

Ethnography,[3] as a family of methods, has its heritage in anthropology and sociology. These methods of data collection and methods of analysis have since been taken up vigorously by clusters of scholars in communication, education, political science, and other social sciences. In ethnographic research, the investigator goes to the people whose activity he or she wants to investigate, spends time with them in their natural habitat, forms relationships with them, watches and listens to them, talks to them, questions them, and gets them to teach him or her their ways, their perspective, their point of view. On the basis of these ways of observing and learning, the ethnographer describes, analyzes, and formulates what they do, what they think, what they feel, and what they perceive. The section that follows presents some features of ethnographic methods that markedly contrast with standard quantitative methods in the social sciences.

I. Some fundamental aspects of ethnography/participant observation

1. One of the most difficult features of ethnographic methods to grasp[4] is the fact that the individual person is characteristically not the unit of analysis in ethnographic studies. Socio-cultural objects or simply cultural objects--things recognized and usually talked about by the participants (e.g. a chalice, a ritual, a ritual within a church ceremony, a church service, a choir, a hymn, the standardized relationship between and priest and his parishioners)--are the basic units of analysis in ethnographic studies, and they may be the only sort of phenomena studied. Ethnography would have a problem with generalizing

[3] The term participant observation is a near synonym of ethnography. There are important ways in which ethnography is the fundamental or the basic qualitative method--ways that include the following: An understanding of the logic and rationale of ethnography serves as a well developed pre-understanding of the other qualitative-empirical methods such as conversation analysis, grounded theory interviewing studies, focus group studies, and qualitative content analysis. Such an understanding facilitates seeing how these others are relatives that differ from ethnography in some specific way. Except for histories reconstructed through documents, ethnography is the oldest of the qualitative-empirical methods. It has a literature that has reflected upon, systematized, and formalized the method as a set of procedures and in terms of epistemological and ontological issues. That literature includes discussions of explanation, reliability, validity, and generalizability.

[4] The more steeped one is in quantitative method, and especially quantitative experimental social psychology, the more difficult it is to grasp this feature.

from partial samples and incomplete data for each individual if it chose the individual as the unit of analysis.[5]

2. The primary aims of ethnography are description and understanding--the description of cultural things, oriented to things. The description of cultural things already entails understanding the world or situation of the participant, understanding actions taken toward that world, and understanding the objects or things included in it.[6] Understanding is a primary aim of ethnographic study, whereas causal explanation, prediction,[7] and control are secondary aims if they are aims at all.

3. Nearly by definition, ethnographies do not employ variable-analytic strategies. As a consequence, except in rare cases, the investigator does not attempt to make causal connections or provide causal explanations and, usually, the investigator is not in a position to provide strong support for causal explanations. Why? Causal explanations are most straightforwardly uncovered and supported through the logic of controlled experiments. The logic of social surveys is also adaptable to providing support for claims concerning <u>possible</u> causes or specifications of <u>possible</u> necessary and sufficient conditions.[8] The logical apparatus of controlled experiments and social surveys that support causal explanations is undermined by a set of related features of ethnography, features that flow from the deliberate choices that are made in doing ethnography.

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[5] Some other qualitative work does focus on the individual as the unit of analysis. Standard work in grounded theory takes the individual person as the unit of analysis as does the analysis of materials from focus groups, though differently so. Grounded theory is specifically designed to treat the problem of generalizing with partial samples and incomplete data.

[6] Most (perhaps all) forms of qualitative work take up the aim of understanding although the explicitness and self-awareness of the aim of understanding varies. It is explicit in Dilthey and Weber and in an only slightly different way in Mead, the other American pragmatists, and Mead's immediate successor, Blumer.

[7] Except for obvious and limited rules-style predictions.

[8] Possible rather than actual because the time order of variables in social surveys cannot be firmly established and the researcher cannot manipulate the variables.

a. Ethnographies lack a sample of individual persons in the sense that that is understood in experiments and surveys.

b. The same information is not gathered from or through all participants.

c. The naturalistic attitude of ethnographic studies entails a stress on studying the naturally occurring, on what actually happens without the investigator's guidance or intervention. The actual manipulation of what would be variables in experiments or surveys is disavowed, and much of the information that is gathered is dependent on (because it substantially consists of) the actual flow of events that the ethnographer witnesses.[9]

These three features (a, b, and c above) are intertwining and combine in such a way as to undermine the effort to give a well grounded causal explanation, an explanation which provides the necessary and sufficient conditions for an event's occurrence.[10]

4. Instead of assembling that which varies into causal explanations or into specifications of necessary and sufficient conditions, ethnographic research employs a different logic. It searches for the invariant--it is through the invariant that ethnographic research formulates its generalizations.[11] Variable analytic studies need that which varies to make generalizable causal explanations while ethnographic studies typically need the invariant to make

[9] Considering the range of empirical-qualitative methods, there usually is some intervention (except for content analysis and document analysis) but there is also an attempt to minimize it. Conversation analysis is on the low end of intervention and focus group studies are on the high end. Practitioners of all these qualitative methods, however, regard their efforts as uncovering that which is already there, substantially in the form that it is displayed in their studies. These qualitative efforts contrast with the administration of standardized forced choice scales.

[10] The grounded theory of Glaser and Strauss and the procedures of analytic induction that preceded it include strategies that permit the formulation of causal explanations despite the fact that the method is applied to a pool of cases that do not really make up a sample. Although the same observations are not made of all participants, the researcher takes steps to answer a limited set of investigator-initiated questions for each participant, e.g., in Cressey's (1953) study of embezzler's, Cressey determined that each embezzler in his pool of participants did or did not have a non-sharable problem.

[11] Although achieved through a different set of assumptions and procedures, both grounded theory and analytic induction are also searches for a set of invariant patterns. This search for the invariant is clear enough in ethnographies (including those employing analytic induction) and in grounded theory studies. It is less clear and often less explicit in other forms of qualitative analysis. In these other forms, the aims and procedures do contrast, however, with the variable analytic researcher's quest for the variable.

generalizations concerning structure. If quantitative researchers cannot find that which varies, they are left with little to say. If ethnographic researchers cannot find that which does not vary, they have no grounds for making claims about a general (generalizable) phenomenon.[12]

5. Ethnographic research tends to be associated with particular philosophies of science that prize the directness of observation. In this regard, it has more affinity with Husserlian phenomenology than logical positivism. Validity in ethnographic work is obtained through directly examining and displaying that which exists. Conversation analysis treats this feature as among its highest priorities. The directness of observation is particularly prominent in the typical ethnographic or participant observation study and tends to be less characteristic of interviewing studies, focus group studies, or qualitative content analysis.[13]

6. Humility, not omnipotence, is the attitude of the investigator. The ethnographic attitude requires humility because the ethnographer depends on the good will of the participants in permitting him or her to be in their presence, and the ethnographer depends on their willingness to teach him or her. The participants, after all, know their own ways and lives and the investigator seeks permission to watch, listen, and to be taught and shown what their ways and lives consist of. The ethnographer encourages the participants to show and teach him or her their ways in terms of the participants' own distinctions, categories, relevancies, and language. The ethnographer tries to avoid imposing his or her own theoretical and

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[12] Instead of finding a pattern in which the profile of each individual functions as a point on a dimensionalized surface (as in a scattergram) and each individual is a partial instance of the pattern, the invariant pattern sought by ethnographic research encompasses either all observations of this particular instance of the phenomena as a single phenomenon (e.g. this traffic jam, this traveling wave, this church service) or it encompasses all observations of a general class of some phenomena as a single type (e.g. any traffic jam, traveling wave, church service). In both cases we have a single structure--one pattern.

[13] However, although it is unusual to do so, interviewing studies, focus group studies, and qualitative content analysis can be focused on the directly observed things that are observably said and observably done (by disattending, or bracketing, or discounting the truth value or referential value of the participants remarks and actions) and still have something potentially interesting to say. Attempts to treat questionnaires and highly structured interviews in this way have little that is potentially interesting to say about the subjects or participants. They may have something to say about the views of the investigator.

personal views, categories, and language on the thought and talk of the participants in marked contrast to impositions of questionnaires, structured survey interviews, and experiments.[14]

7. The investigator depends on close personal involvement developing between the investigator and the participants in contrast to the subjects of experiments and surveys. The ethnographic study, including the ethnographer's relationships to participants, becomes an explicit, reflectively available part of the investigator's personal life. This feature is less relevant to some other qualitative methods and is hidden in questionnaire studies where it is uninteresting, tacit, and submerged.

8. Rapport and personal trust, not the respectability and authority of science, is relied upon to gain the cooperation of the participants. In part, the participants cooperate with the ethnographer because of their relationship to him or her, because they "like" or "respect" the ethnographer. Although this feature of ethnography is less pronounced in other qualitative methods, it is not a particularly notable point of contrast between it and the other qualitative methods.

II. Reasons for doing ethnography: A brief sketch

While all of the following apply to ethnography, they also apply in varying degrees to the other qualitative methods:

1. The state of your knowledge does not permit you to construct a questionnaire or devise a firm hypothesis.

[14] The ethnographer's respect for the participant's categories, views, and language does not include the belief that "because they say it, it must be true." Ethnographers tend to be quite sensitive to the potential difference between what the participants say and what they think, believe, perceive, or witness. The distinction between what they say and some version of the truth leaves intact the truth of what they say as what-they-say, e.g., it is true that the described view is the official view or it is the party line. Interesting issues for any particular study dwell here.

2. You want to focus on cultural or language units of analysis, e.g. practices, norms, rules, or values.

3. You have commitments to a philosophy of science that emphasizes the directness of observation, or that emphasizes understanding. Or, you subscribe to an ethics that says that you should relate to participants or subjects as persons, not mere objects (see Bochner, Rorty, Shotter, and Harre).

4. You want to have an adventure and seek the intimacies, thrills, risks, and experiences that doing ethnography provides

III. Kinds of ethnographic method in outline sketch

Major types

1. Straight participant observation is consists of hanging out, listening, watching, and questioning within the context of an ongoing naturally occurring conversation.

A. It varies in terms of overt and covert forms.

B. It varies in terms of extent and type of the observer's participation.

2. Tracking is a form of participant observation focusing on one person at a time. The observer shadows one participant, attempting to experience all that he or she sees and hears and elicits ongoing explanations of "what's happening now" from him or her.

3. Informant interrogating is a loosely structured form of interviewing in which questions are put in the participant's language and categories. Usually very few questions are asked. The questions are discovered over the course of the interview with the participant's assistance and these interviews are usually tape-recorded.

Less common types

4. Ethnographic informant seminars and focus groups

5. Diaries and the diary-diary interview method

6. The analysis of naturally occurring documents such as plans, proposals, manuals, and records. Such analyses are common as a supplementary form of data in any ethnography.