

Fragility and Permanence:
Civic 9/11 Memorials and the
Creation of American Historical Narrative

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FRAGILITY AND PERMANENCE:
THE USE AND SYMBOLISM OF
WORLDTRADE CENTER
ARTIFACTS IN CIVIC
9/11 MEMORIALS

A Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

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The events of September 11, 2001 caused emotional trauma across the United States and elicited myriad reactions within the Nation that effected the lives of every American to some degree. In the months and years following the attacks, there was an enthusiastic drive to memorialize the lives that were lost on that day, as well as to acknowledge the actions of the first responders who died in the line of duty. Many small, civic memorials now dot the Country and educate the public about the events and significance of 9/11. This thesis considers civic 9/11 memorials from a museological perspective and aims to determine what initiated the civic memorialization process, how World Trade Center artifacts are used in the memorials, and what the installations contribute to the collective understanding of the attacks. Informant interviews

and site surveys were used to gather data on the design and construction process of the memorials, as well as the various objects and words featured at each location. The influence of object curation and organization on the creation of collective historical memory is explored, as well as the significance of social and material capital in facilitating access to public expression. Additionally, this study looks at what is missing from the memorial sites; what parts of the 9/11 story are left out and how these omissions contribute to the particular historical message that memorial visitors encounter. This study observes that some civic 9/11 memorials, through the careful curation of objects and ideas, as well as the application of social and material capital, offer a framing of 9/11 which encourages a historically disconnected understanding of the event and glosses over some of the more unflattering aspects of the Nation's response to the tragedy.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

At just 5:14am on the morning of September 11, 2001, I was awoken by my mother and told that I needed to come see what was on the television. I remember she knocked half-heartedly at my door and her voice sounded as if she were running past my room. I dozed for a few minutes before registering the urgency in her voice and sleepily stumbling into the living room. There, in my pajamas, I squatted in front of the television and watched smoke billow out of a tall building. I knew of the World Trade Center (WTC), but I did not recognize it on sight, and only knew where this event was unfolding because the news told me. My mother had retreated to her bathroom to shower, and this left me alone watching and gradually waking up to realize what was going on. I saw the second plane hit the South Tower and watched as the explosion ripped through the seemingly solid edifice. I could hear genuine fear, panic, and confusion in the voices of the news anchors.

The events that unfolded on September 11, 2001, and the national response that succeeded them have become a time-marker for many people, including me. I was old enough in 2001 to recognize the blossoming of nationalistic sentiment and the turn towards traditional values, narratives, symbols, and institutions that constituted, in part, the American reaction to 9/11. At the same time, I was curious about the discussions and language that I heard in the months and years following the terrorist attacks. At the time, I did not have the education or vocabulary to effectively explore or make sense of what I was seeing, but I knew that it was significant. Only years later did my interest in memorialization come full circle and connect with my experience of September 11th and the response of my nation.

Of the myriad ways that American communities reacted to the horror of 9/11, this thesis explores one: the production and display of memorials dedicated to those who lost their lives when the planes crashed and buildings fell in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. My research explores the creation of civic 9/11 memorials, and also their potential significance to the grand narrative of American history and identity. To this end, I present case studies of a handful of civic 9/11 memorials across California which include in their design artifacts from the WTC. The ultimate message of the memorials is both a product and a facilitator of a situated and contextual political and social perspective that is simultaneously consistent and shifting; it is fodder and foundation for an American narrative of suffering and resilience.

The key questions motivating my research are:

1. What initiated the civic 9/11 memorialization process?
2. How are WTC artifacts used in civic memorials?
3. How and what do the memorials contribute to the collective memory of 9/11?

Interviews were conducted with individuals who were instrumental to the creation of civic 9/11 memorials. Fieldwork also involved visiting memorial sites in order to observe and record design elements. My hope is that this research contributes in a modest way to the ongoing discussion of memorialization, trauma, and the construction of national history and identity. I would also like to think that my inquiries bring greater clarity and self-awareness to both myself as an American and an anthropologist, and also to the nation as a conglomerate of individuals with some shared identity and common worldview.

CHAPTER II: THEORY and LITERATURE

The corpus of literature relating to memory, memorialization, and historical narrative has been enriched with contributions from some of the most influential social theorists of the Twenty-first Century. It is upon the backbones of Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, and Michel-Rolph Trouillot, that my work is based. These theorists, though they did not begin the conversation on memory and history, brought the discussion into the modern era with a politically-minded approach which took into consideration power and differentials thereof. Particularly well-explored in this dialogue has been the manner in which memory and history are created, as well as how the two phenomena work to influence or shape a population of people, be it a nation, a generation, or a particular class. Such “action” on the part of memory and history may be manifest physically through public memorialization. Civic 9/11 memorials, for their part, act (intentionally or not) to influence and shape understanding of the events of September 11, 2001, for that section of the population which views them.

French philosopher Michel Foucault, in *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* ([1970] 1994) and *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* ([1979] 1995), addressed the educational and inculcating aspect of a variety of institutions, including prisons, schools, and museums. His work in these areas can be easily translated to memorialization. Just like a museum, a memorial is an expression of a certain worldview, emerges out of a specific power structure, and is intended for public viewing.

Foucault’s work influences my research in that memorials can be considered a mechanism of power or control. Similar to prisons and museums, memorials are a way to influence the citizenry in thought and behavior. The French philosopher suggests that there is a

direct relationship between power and knowledge, and that this interaction is an inherent part of the production of truth (Foucault [1979]1995:27). Memorials can be understood as products of power which work to educate the public regarding historical Truth from a particular and situated political perspective. When a memorial is dedicated to death, the effect of this application of power may promote a version of the historic event which avoids certain topics or elements in an attempt to respect the deceased.

The association of events, feelings, or ideas within a memorial is part of the inculcating aspect of memorials, and the ordering can influence a person's understanding of reality, particularly when strong emotions (a reaction to massive loss of life, for example) or perceived authority is involved. Such a phenomenon is also discussed by Foucault. Simply by ordering certain objects, words, and symbols in a specific manner, memorials present a perspective on relationships within the world (Foucault [1970] 1994).

The power of ordering and association can be observed in many 9/11 Memorials. A sentiment that many Americans would take for granted, the valorization of firefighters and the ostensibly related high value placed on self-sacrifice (signified by the language used on the memorial), is not a natural association. However, the relationship is presented as obvious and unquestionable through 9/11 memorials, and many visitors come to take that message to heart.

Capital, as discussed by Pierre Bourdieu in *The Logic of Practice* (1990), plays an important role in power structures and power exertion. For memorials, capital plays a role in the creation process in that individuals with more capital appear to have control over the perspective and scope exhibited by the memorials. Bourdieu posited that individuals and groups can have symbolic capital in the form of social networks and influence (social capital), in addition to the

better-known material economic capital (Bourdieu 1990). The creation of civic memorials seemingly relates to both of these types of capital: social capital allows individuals or entities to make use of their network and influence others, while large amounts of material economic capital are essential to the construction of civic memorials (and it also influences others).

I posit that the mark of power in the form of social and material capital is present in the very existence of the memorials. Membership in, or access to, influential social networks appears to be required to gain funding, gather materials, and secure a location. An individual alone cannot make a civic memorial; community support is required by definition to build a community memorial. Many memorials are built with the direct help of individuals or organizations who are highly respected or hold positions of power in the local community. Findings from this study show that the Napa 9/11 Memorial, in Napa, California, was made with the help of the local fire chief. Similarly, construction of the Cal Expo 9/11 Memorial, in Sacramento, California, was started by a Cal Expo board member and well-regarded local figure.

Individuals and entities with more capital have greater means of projecting their voice and worldview onto the landscape. This does not mean, of course, that the point of view represented by the majority of 9/11 memorials is the most correct, whole, or truthful. It only means that the people who prescribe to the narrative presented had the power to materially manifest it. Other perspectives on the significance of 9/11 likely exist, however they may be harbored by people with less social capital and, therefore, a much quieter and less influential voice.

Anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot, in *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (1995), suggests that much can be learned by paying attention to the missing voice or

perspective in historical narrative. It is in the spaces between the narratives - in the silences - that the work of power can be identified (Trouillot 1995). As an institution that is inherently involved in cultural production and memory work, the memorial aims to create a single cultural knowledge and collective memory for dissemination. Because of this potential for a singular memory, it is just as important to pay attention to the perspectives or experiences that are not represented in the historical rendering, as it is to observe the blatant elements. The silences are valuable because they are the places where power shows its hand; selection can be one of the many privileges of power, and when it comes to “permanent” historical representations, selection is a monumentally influential phenomenon. What is offered at a memorial has the potential to become an accepted representation of the world – especially when the same general perspective is echoed in a multitude of memorials to the same event

For the memorials explored in this study, alternative perspectives were not included. They do not reflect the multitude of worldviews and experiences that exist in American society. Rather, they represent manifestations of a dominant narrative. Here is where the work of Foucault, Bourdieu, and Trouillot converge: because the ordering of things (objects, ideas, and emotions) requires choice within a particular power structure (which represents varying access to capital), memorial narratives often come from privileged positions, based on individual choice, and inherently incomplete.

Due to this selection process, a multitude of information is excluded; effectively silencing alternative understandings and excluding certain historical associations. For example, narratives focusing on those populations in the USA impacted by reactions to 9/11, such as the terrifying experience of Muslim Americans, and alternative views on the role of the United States in

international unrest, are not noted by the majority of community-built memorials surveyed. Any sentiment that might help to explain (not excuse) the motivation of the attackers is absent. What will be detailed in this study is a memorial narrative solely of innocent American victimhood and subsequent righteous military reaction.

The ideas of Foucault, Bourdieu, and Trouillot show that memorialization of historic events is a political act which can work to duplicate (or potentially refute) dominant narratives regarding the flow of history, the meaning of events, and the identity of the Nation. Such a message is transmitted through physical organization, as suggested by Foucault, and also language (or lack thereof), as discussed by Trouillot. Power comes into play when one considers the capital (social and economic) that is necessary to complete these memorial projects, many of which can run up into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. Further, civic memorials are often at least partially funded by state or local governmental organizations and as such, could be considered statements endorsed by the ruling class. It would not be unreasonable to assume that whatever narrative contained in a state-sponsored memorial is likely in line with what the State wants people to think about themselves and their Country; such an assumption should lead one to question said memorials and perhaps look deeper than their granite surfaces to see what is actually being promoted.

Memory, History, and Heritage

Memorialization is a process that incorporates the construction and manifestation of collective memory. Many disciplines have explored memory and memory-work. For the social sciences, memory studies began in earnest with the work of French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs 1925 publication, *On Collective Memory*. As a student of Emile Durkheim,

Halbwachs outlined a theory of memory wherein social structures and relations are of primary importance, working to form social solidarity and collective consciousness through a shared worldview or history. Within Halbwachs' framework, collective memory is a "set" of understandings of the past that is shared by a group (Halbwachs 1992:22-23, 38-40). Halbwachs established that individual memory provides raw material which is recollected within a grand social framework (which permeates everyday life) and fit into an understanding of the past which is a product of present ideas and experiences (Halbwachs 1992:38-42).

For Halbwachs, collective memory requires the support of said group in order to exist; it is through repetition in ritual and ceremony, as well as the recognition of agreed upon material signifiers that collective memory is made salient (Halbwachs 1992:24, 38). In regards to physical memorialization, Halbwachs' theory suggests that memorials are cradled within a complex of socially understood and transmitted narratives and symbols. A memorial can only be effective if those viewing it can easily translate the words and forms into feelings and understandings, and the ability to do this is dependent on a shared knowledge of the signifiers used.

Halbwachs' observations are significant to the memory of 9/11 and its use in that memorial sites are locations of annual commemoration. Although the details of each commemorative event vary, reliably included are speeches wherein people express what 9/11 means to them and how the attacks changed their lives. Commemorations also may include military gun salutes and the singing or playing of patriotic songs. Police and firefighters are commonly involved, as are local public figures. Although commemoration rituals continue over 15 years since 9/11, my interviewees indicated that visitation at these annual gatherings has dropped off gradually. Halbwachs' seemingly rudimentary and obvious observations were

elaborated and specified six decades later by another Frenchman: the historian Pierre Nora. Nora, in *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire* (1989), offers a more nuanced take that divides the phenomenon Halbwachs calls “memory” into two distinct parts. Halbwachs’ memory was archival and also dependent on social ritual for maintenance. Nora breaks up these characteristics and assigns the former to “history” and the latter to “memory.”

Nora describes memory as an absolute, embodied, sacralized social phenomenon that actualizes an unbroken, smooth connection between the past and the present (Nora 1989:8). In contrast, history - called “modern memory” - is a relational, secular, materialistic reconstruction of the discontinuous past that occurs in modern societies marked by change. Nora claims that societies are reliant on reminders of specific snapshots of the past because there is no memory connecting “now” to “then” continuously (Nora 1989:8). History, in Nora’s conceptualization, relies heavily on the archive; it requires tangible, physical evidence as a foundation upon which to build “factual” representations of the past (Nora 1989:13).

Memorials, for Nora, represent “sites of memory.” As concrete, physical reminders of a particular temporally situated occurrence, memorials are manifestations of the disconnected, reconstructive nature of history, as posited by Nora. Memorials are depersonalized; they do not require transmission through intimate social mechanisms, and they do not readily allow for individual alteration or improvisation. In this way, they function as a counter to memory; an unmovable, unalterable, non-negotiable marker of a specific and contextual political perspective on a past event that not only inhabits the present, but also is poised to extend into the future unchanged.

Memorials are both a product of, and an influence on, history. 9/11 memorials represent the corporeal element of history, as outlined by Pierre Nora. The incorporation of WTC artifacts into public memorials ensures that there is a tangible symbol of the past for people to reference and encounter. Visibility here is for maintaining the continuity of remembrance. The artifacts from Ground Zero are literally a piece of the “past” that the memorial enshrines. If one agrees with Nora, then the presence of physical evidence indicating a particular version of the past has the potential to supersede or render null memory of that past.

Brian Graham, Gregory Ashworth, and John Tunbridge offer a discussion of heritage that can further illuminate the function of public memory. The authors posit that heritage is a means of relating to the past according to the present; in essence a way that the present is projected into the past (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2004:2). Heritage is our “view” from the present, our understanding and valuation of the past, and our hopes for the future; it is defined by the current needs of the people, as it is a useful thing, a tool, a “political resource” (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge (2004:2, 5, 18). Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge demonstrate that while memorials represent the past, the representation is steeped in the politics of the present, making it a present-centered device.

Further, Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge relate heritage, in the form of “official” memory, to nationalism (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2004:39). The authors note that a national heritage is very specific; that it represents a particular voice and perspective, and also promotes particular interests (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2004:18). Such an evaluation is consistent with the observations of Michel Foucault and Michel-Rolph Trouillot which suggest

that memorials are part of an educational system which presents a selective picture of the past, particularly when concerning political or national issues.

The politicization of heritage is consistent with the function of memorialization, when considered in light of Pierre Nora's concept of modern memory. Memorials are concrete, physical things that are generally permanent and which are necessarily a snapshot of an event taken from a temporally and politically specific perspective. In this way, situated in a particular structure of power, the past is recruited to serve some present need.

The Role of Memorialization in the Creation of National Narrative and Identity

Rather than simply defining a memorial as a particular physical conglomerate of objects and messages, I want to concentrate on how memorialization functions, what memorials do. To this end, I consider memorials in concert with memorial museum exhibitions, as they share the same purpose and methods.

Museum and memorial treatment of past traumas is not an obvious or determined process. Rather, it is a historically and politically situated declaration of a particular perspective. As device in the construction of history and, more often than not, an expression of a dominant ideology and agenda, memorials and museums are social products. They are created for different reasons, often both conscious and unconscious. Even the simple desire to "tell the story" or "never forget" is a statement with an agenda. At the most fundamental level, it is a statement that there is something important to talk about or remember linked to a significance. Not all events are memorialized, and of those that are, certainly not every understanding of a said event is included. On a grand level, the decision of what to remember or take note of is related to some national narrative, be it a story about who we are as Americans, or citizens of the world.

Gregory Mason and Paul Joseph, in “Moving Beyond Accusation and Self Pity” (2002), offer an exploration of the museum exhibition of traumatic history embroiled in politics. Through the observation and analysis of Japanese and American peace museums (institutions that are dedicated to the commemoration of wartime devastation and the prevention of such in the future), Mason and Joseph illustrate how political concerns and issues of national identity influence remembrance. The authors found that there is particular complication in the commemoration of WWII for American museums. It is a conflict that simultaneously represented arguably the nadir of American military engagement in the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and also a great accomplishment in the defeat of the Axis powers (Mason and Joseph 2002).

This form of contestation is not equally distributed geographically, however. Mason and Joseph observe that as one moves further away from the capital of Washington D.C., museum exhibits reflect more of the true complexity of American involvement in WWII (Mason and Joseph 2002:477). In regards to Japanese museums, the authors note that treatment of Japanese atrocities during WWII has not been consistent through time (Mason and Joseph 2002:480). Earlier exhibitions were more likely to deny or ignore the guilt of the Japanese military, while more recent exhibitions have offered a much more realistic depiction, acknowledging Japanese aggression and atrocities during the course of the war (Mason and Joseph 2002:469-475).

Mason and Joseph’s work indicates that the narrative presented in museums (and memorials) is inconsistent and partially dependent on, at least, distance from the political center of the nation as well as time passed after the event. What is most important to take away from Mason and Joseph’s research is that there is no predetermined, agreed-upon, primary perspective

or narrative of any event; every time that an exhibit or memorial is created, decisions must be made regarding which story will be told and how. The relevance of this insight into my research is that 9/11 memorialization occurs within a specific place and time. Pushing this theoretical premise, the imprint of that spatial and temporal (and therefore political and historical) context needs to be acknowledged in the design of the memorials and the historically situated message of national identity that they project.

9/11 as a Historically and Socially Significant Event

The events that transpired on September 11, 2001 were monumentally horrifying to the nation as they were happening and for some time after. The pain and confusion of that day lessened as time passed, but there were significant social and national responses initiated by 9/11 that influenced subsequent memorialization. These reactions generally involved a renewed interest in traditional values and the intense heroization of first responders, while simultaneously promoting a simplified narrative that did not fully embrace the complexities of the event, its potential motivations, or its aftermath.

It is important to note that the American response to 9/11 was internally generated. No entity caused the Nation to move in a particular direction after the attacks; our own social characteristics and history encouraged the specific reaction. Mary Dudziak, in “How 9/11 Made ‘History’” (2011), and Susan Faludi, in *The Terror Dream* (2007), both note that the most significant alterations in American society following 9/11 were a product of our own actions (Dudziak 2001:6). This does not in any way lessen the consequence of these changes, it only highlights the “homegrown” character of what emerged from within American society following the tragedy.

Dudziak's discussion contributed to my own research in that it stimulated an interest in the language used on 9/11 memorials and how they present the changes that occurred following 9/11. If they even discuss changes within American identity or historical situatedness, do the memorials suggest that the event or the perpetrators were the cause? Or do they present National shifts as self-generated reactions. I have observed that some memorials express the following: "This event changed the world forever" or "America will never be the same," suggesting a passive nation. Alternatively, if the changes are acknowledged as an internal creation, then I should see language such as, "The American people changed" or "Society changed." The outcome of such an analysis will offer insight into the attitude of the memorial's creators and the national narrative they promote. In addition, it is also significant in that the messages they transmit are quite long-lived; although in time they will be less powerful, for some time people will continue to look at the memorials as a more or less truthful source of information.

Within the United States, an immediate reaction to the events of 9/11 was the valorization of first responders (particularly firefighters). This sentiment is reflected in the location, imagery, and language used on community-built 9/11 memorials. Quite a few memorials are built on the grounds of fire stations or department headquarters, and station seals or other department insignia are commonly incorporated into the memorial designs. In addition, every memorial I have encountered to date has included substantial reference to the fallen first responders. Instinctively, and according to the national narrative of the day, this makes sense. Everyone saw on television the firefighters and police swarming Ground Zero within minutes after the reality of the situation was known.

However, the actuality of the first responder involvement is somewhat different than what popular depictions would have Americans believe. Susan Faludi, in *The Terror Dream: Myth and Misogyny in an Insecure America* (2007), observes that there is some misunderstanding surrounding the impact of first responders at Ground Zero. While the prevailing idea is that the actions of firefighters and police officers greatly lessened the death toll of 9/11, reality is that most of the survivors below the area of impact rescued themselves (Faludi 2007:66). The firefighters, who were hampered by late arrival and insufficient radio contact, in fact made up the majority of casualties on the lower floors when the towers collapsed (Faludi 2007:67, 291).

Despite this reality, I have not seen a single 9/11 memorial that did not include a reference to the sacrifice of firefighters as well as NYPD. Were one to base their opinion on the memorials only, it would appear as if the work of the FDNY and NYPD significantly decreased the death toll of the day. This is not what happened. It is obvious that the firefighters and police who died in the collapse of the towers did sacrifice their lives in an attempt to save others, but their efforts were tragically hampered by infrastructural shortcomings, and the first responders became victims themselves.

Faludi relates the emphasis on semi-fictional heroes to the American mythology of the strong, brave, frontier male who gives his blood to ensure the safety of the weak and fearful (Faludi 2007:145). It is of interest that the mythology surrounding FDNY and NYPD has been extended into memorials created many years after the events and after the social, political, and cultural climate of the time.

Anthropologist Geoffrey White offers support for Faludi's observation of the heroic emphasis of memorials to trauma. In “National Subjects: September 11 and Pearl Harbor” (2004), White discusses the emotional aspects of Pearl Harbor and 9/11 memorialization. The author notes that “traumatic circumstances” are often remembered through narratives of heroic action (White 2004:298). White offers an explanation for this commonality: stories of trauma are redeemed (or made instructive) through narratives which emphasize the emergence of valued personal characteristics such as self-sacrifice and bravery (White 2004:298-299). There are myriad stories to memorialize in the aftermath of a tragedy, and the repetition of a particular storyline or archetypal character illustrates the social origin of memorialization, and highlights the potential for, if not arbitrariness, then at least constructedness.

Much of the change that occurred following 9/11, on a national social level, was internally generated and determined; this is significant for a multitude of reasons, but in particular because of the nature of the event. 9/11 is nearly universally defined (in the U.S.) as an unprovoked act of terrorism against innocent people. The memorials reflect this perspective. What happened on September 11, 2001 is presented as an unexpected and unwarranted event. The memorials, by promoting a narrative that excludes American culpability while highlighting conservative values and characters, contribute to the ongoing narrative of American goodness (in this case innocence and righteousness).

Community-Built 9/11 Memorials in the United States

Hundreds of community-built 9/11 memorials dot the American landscape from coast to coast, varying in size from a simple plaque to large parks. Memorials featuring WTC artifacts reflect a similar variety, from single pieces with an interpretive label such as that seen at the

Carmel, California 9/11 memorial, shown in Figure 1, to grand-scale landscaped parks like the 9/11 Memorial Park in Austinstown, Ohio, shown in Figure 2 (the memorial park trails can be seen on the left hand side of the image).



Figure 1. The Davendorf Park 9/11 Memorial in Carmel, California. Image by the author, 2016.

It is impossible to determine accurately when the very first permanent community-built 9/11 memorial were erected, however, improvised memorials were created very shortly after the crashes in New York and Pennsylvania. The 7th Avenue Tile Memorial, shown in Figure 3, began to form the day after the attacks; a local ceramic studio provided clay tiles which visitors could decorate and mount on a chain-link fence located in Greenwich Village (Guido 2013).

Another improvised memorial in New York was made up of hand-written messages on a section of plywood which had been erected as a visual barrier around Ground Zero, shown in Figure 4. In Shanksville, a makeshift memorial sprung up within a year of the crash of Flight 93; a 40-foot chain link fence onto which visitors were encouraged to attach messages and objects (Washington Times 2002).



Figure 2. The 9/11 Memorial Park in Austintown, Ohio. Image by Austintown Township, 2014.



Figure 3. 7th Avenue Tile Memorial. Image courtesy of Jennifer Bodrow, 2001.

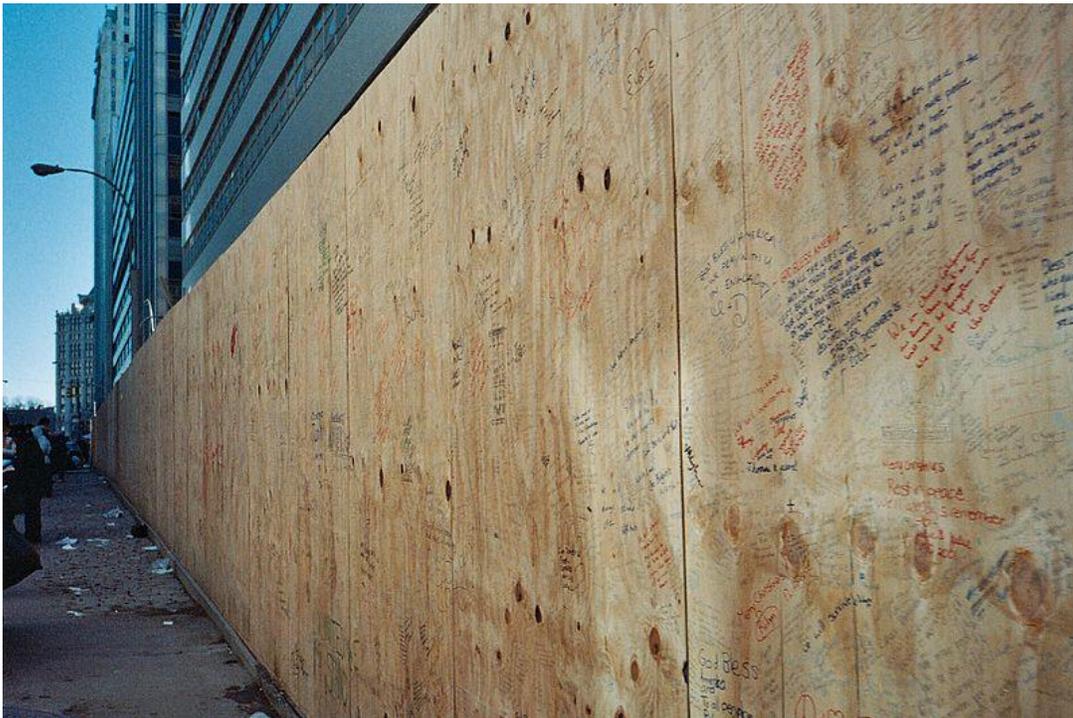


Figure 4. Improvised Plywood 9/11 Memorial. Image courtesy of V.N. Roeder, 2001.

In contrast to these personal, makeshift, community memorials, the National 9/11 Memorial, built where the World Trade Center once stood, is a monumental and awe-inspiring tribute to the victims of the attacks. Construction began in 2006, and the memorial was finally dedicated in May of 2014 (Friedman 2014; Walsh 2010). The central feature of the \$700 million memorial are the deep twin reflecting pools, shown in Figure 5, nearly filling the tower footprints (Dunlap 2005; Caruso and Porter 2012). Each pool is ringed by bronze panels engraved with the names of each individual who died in the attacks (9/11 Memorial and Museum).

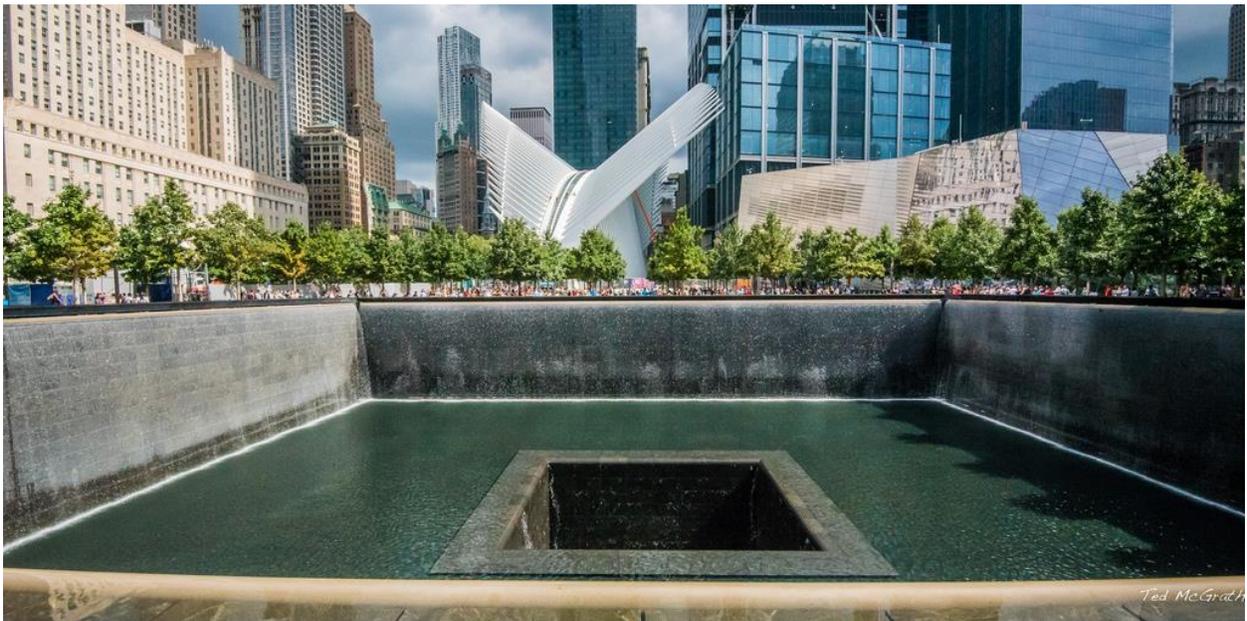


Figure 5. The North Reflecting Pool. Image courtesy of Ted McGrath, 2015.

The transitory nature of pop-up, community-based 9/11 memorials contrasts sharply with the permanence of the state-sponsored National Memorial and the civic memorials I surveyed. Those memorials that were largely community-driven and more intimately personal have generally now been taken down, but the memorials which represent a centralized official perspective remain. Nora's work can offer commentary on this phenomenon. While memory may be characterized by improvisation and individuality (as exemplified in the pop-up memorials), history typically features more of a focus on permanent, tangible representations (such as concrete and stone public memorials). The primacy of history over memory is then illustrated by the continued existence of the civic memorials and the end of the community-based memorials.

For those sites engaged in the curation process of the twin towers remains, PANYNJ keeps records of the receiving entities. The first locale to accept "artifacts" from the PANYNJ were St Peter's Church (NY), the purpose-created Richard M. Keane Foundation (CT), the city of Brewer along with construction firm Nickerson and O'Day (ME), and the US Navy at Virginia Beach (VA), all in June of 2008 (Passiak 2016). The last receiving entity (as of June 2016) was the International Union of Operating Engineers, Local 15 (NY), on June 10, 2016 (Passiak 2016). There was a proliferation of memorial dedications on the tenth anniversary of the events, and this is when the majority of memorials were completed.

Unsurprisingly, community sentiment regarding civic 9/11 memorials has been reported by interviewees and local media as overwhelmingly positive. There are a variety of reasons for this. First, the individuals who I interviewed had a vested interest in the success of the memorial and they may, intentionally or not, fail to report negative community feedback to a researcher.

Second, assuming that sentiment was reported to me accurately, it could be that most individuals within the study communities genuinely supported the creation of such memorials. Third, again assuming accurate reporting, it is possible that community members who opposed the building of a 9/11 memorial may have preferred to keep their opinions to themselves.

Without extensive community surveying, I cannot know what is behind the reports of massive support for the memorials. Perhaps future research will allow insight into this area, but for now, it is important to acknowledge the seeming strong support because it reflects a particular attitude among memorial creators. Many of those involved in making the memorials claim they are representing the people and that the narrative contained in the memorial - and the very existence of the memorial - is accepted and wanted by the public.

Funding for civic 9/11 memorials often comes from the city or town within which the memorial is built, but private and corporate donations are also common, as well as contributions from various charitable organizations such as the Odd Fellows or Rotary (Drake 2016; Liongson 2016; Peteris 2016). Donors are commonly recognized with plaques that clearly list all who contributed, with larger contributions often noted by larger characters, as illustrated by the Beverly Hills 9/11 Memorial Garden donor wall, shown in Figure 6. However, hierarchical recognition is not universal, and some memorials choose a more egalitarian route of equal treatment regardless of amount given, as displayed at the Rosemead 9/11 Memorial, shown in Figure 7.



Figure 6. Donor recognition wall at the Beverly Hills 9/11 Memorial Garden. Image by the author, 2016.

News coverage of memorial dedications and annual ceremonies point to the same general sentiment. Overwhelmingly, local media present the sites as good, meaningful, positive, and desirable within the community; the only critical coverage I found was in response to a fund-raising event flier. News reports generally include a comment from a community leader in attendance and a local citizen, as well as a description of the memorial and the ceremony, if applicable. A brief explanation of the events of September 11, 2001 is also a common element.

Many memorials have become sites for yearly remembrance services on September 11th. Services often include a read statement from a community leader, the singing of the National Anthem or other patriotic song, a moment of silence to recognize those lost, and occasionally a

rifle salute by an honor guard. Various other speakers may take the podium, particularly if there is someone in the community who lost a loved one. There is very often also a spiritual and/or religious overtone or presence at these services; a pastor may speak, or there may be some reference to God, the afterlife, or “meaning” in a speech, as was exemplified at the Napa 9/11 Memorial Garden dedication ceremony (Partners 2 Media).



Figure 7. Donor bricks at the Rosemead 9/11 Memorial. Image by the author, 2016.

Although it appears that visitorship to civic 9/11 memorials has waned (Drake 2016; Liongson 2016), day-to-day and year-to-year numbers are difficult to accurately determine. As will be discussed below in individual memorial case studies, reports of lessening visitation come

from individuals who work in the vicinity of the memorial and can visually note the amount of people who stop and experience the site. It is important to understand that visitorship will vary from memorial to memorial and there may well be sites that have seen an increase in visitor numbers. However, of the memorials I analyzed, visitation was reported to have decreased with time (Drake 2016; Liongson 2016).

CHAPTER III: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Before 9/11

The events that took place on September 11, 2001, as dramatic and devastating as they were to Americans, were but a moment on a continuum of interactions between the United States and the Muslim Middle East. Many of these interactions have been aggressive and violent operations, and among such, the overwhelming majority have taken place within countries of the Arabian Peninsula and Persian Gulf. Because of the long history of American interference in the region, it is difficult to point out any one event or time when the lead-up to 9/11 began.

The 9/11 Commission Report begins with the 1998 *fatwa* produced by, among others, Usama bin Laden (9/11 Commission 2003:47). This particular interpretation of Islamic law stated that the United States of America was at war with “God, his Messenger, and the Muslims,” and that it was the duty of all Muslims to kill Americans and their allies so that the “territory of Islam” could be free from idolaters (bin Laden 2005:60). Such a statement is a useful place to start when focusing on the victimization of the U.S. However, to get a more comprehensive picture, it is best to look a little further back. I begin with the Cold War.

American interest in the Middle East increased monumentally following World War II and the signing of the Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement. Effective on August 8th, 1944, the Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement divided up Middle Eastern oil reserves between the United States and Great Britain. Although the agreement was later abandoned, it existed long enough to provide incentive for a strong American military presence in the middle East, and for the first time, a large contingency of American soldiers tasked with securing the oil interests of the United States.

This new American presence in the Middle East was, perhaps, a foreshadowing of the continuous interference that was to come. In the seven decades that have passed since the signing of the Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement, the United States has engaged in a number of operations that caused detrimental effects to the people of the region. The list of engagements is too long to recite here, but it is important to provide at least a short history of some of the most significant encounters that occurred during the last seven decades.

Beginning with Iran, the American government first installed troops to protect oil interests in 1945. Over a period of twenty some-odd years, the United States attempted to establish an American-friendly government by overthrowing the democratically-elected Iranian leader and installing the puppet Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi in his place (who was then provided with conventional weapons and nuclear reactors) (Churchill 2003:66, 68, 73). The Americans finally lost control of Iran when the U.S-friendly regime was destroyed in 1978 and the Shah allowed to flee to the U.S. to avoid persecution for atrocities against his citizens (Churchill 2003:74).

In neighboring Afghanistan, the American presence became significant in the 1980s, when Special Forces were sent in to assist Mujahadeen fighters in their efforts to push back advancing Soviet troops (Churchill 2003:74; News Desk 2011). Following this cooperation, in 1998, the Taliban came into power supported by the majority of Afghans; in blatant disregard for the will of the people, the United States refused to recognize the Islamic organization as the leaders of the country (News Desk 2011).

Iraq was also subject to the agenda of the U.S. During the 1970s, the American government chose to interfere in regional conflicts by providing arms to Kurdish forces battling

against the Soviet-backed Ba'athist regime. The stated goal of this assistance was to destabilize Iraq in order to avoid a Communist takeover (United States Department of State). Despite these efforts, the Ba'athists eventually took power and Saddam Hussein became president in 1979. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the American focus was turned to restricting the Iraqi push for control of Kuwait and its rich oil fields, and the Gulf War began.

Officially an assistance mission to push back Hussein's invasion of Kuwait and protect Saudi oil fields, the Gulf War military presence morphed into a long-term settlement within Saudi Arabia, then a tentative friend of the U.S. (Jewish Virtual Library, Otterman 2005). After Saddam's forces were driven from the oilfields, American troops maintained their bases and staging areas within the country to continue persecution of Hussein following the attacks of 9/11 (Otterman 2005). The American military was assisted in this new focus by the Saudi government; over-flight permission was granted for both American aircraft and missiles, and land was provided for the Americans to establish "staging areas" near the border to support forays into Iraq (Otterman 2005). This assistance, vaunted by the American media as great progress and friendship, was a humiliation to some Saudis who saw the presence of American infidels as desecrating to the sacred Islamic sites within Saudi Arabia (Otterman 2005; bin Laden 2005:37).

The Gulf War was a turning point for one former Saudi national, Osama bin Muhammad bin Laden, a man who was to become the main actor behind the attacks of 9/11. Born in 1957 to a wealthy Yemeni father and Syrian mother, bin Laden gained entry into military action through his work with the CIA-backed *mujahidin* in their fight against Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (Lawrence 2005:xii). When bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia in 1990, he attempted to put his

organizational skills to use forming a resistance to the offensive of Saddam Hussein, who was threatening to overtake Kuwait (Lawrence 2005:xiii). These efforts were not appreciated by the Saudi royal family, however, and bin Laden was stripped of his citizenship and forced from the country in favor of a strong American military presence (Lawrence 2005:xiii). Bin Laden was again forced to relocate (this time back to Afghanistan) when his associates were accused of an attempted assassination of Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak in 1994 (Lawrence 2005:xiv). It was from his outpost in the mountains of Afghanistan that bin Laden orchestrated the 1998 bombings of the Kenyan and Tanzanian embassies, as well as 9/11 (Lawrence 2005:xiv).

Bin Laden took great offense at the presence of American troops in his birth nation of Saudi Arabia, and approximately five years after the end of the war he released his first declaration of *jihad* against the Americans and their ongoing activities (bin Laden 2005:30). Bin Laden's attempts to protect his birth nation and the larger Muslim world from foreign invasion were accompanied by broadly-publicized statements of resistance beginning in 1994 (Lawrence 2005:3). However, it was not until 1996 that bin Laden pointedly indicated his wish to fight against Americans with the intent to drive them from Muslim lands (bin Laden 2005:23, 30).

Bin Laden was particularly offended by the American presence in Saudi Arabia due to the region's importance to the Muslim faith, and also because of the perceived effects the occupation had on the populace. Because bin Laden considered Christians to be infidels (and assumed that the American military represented a Christian country), he saw their proximity to Mecca and Medina, the two holiest Islamic sites, as polluting and disrespectful (bin Laden 2005:16). Additionally, bin Laden expressed outrage regarding what he felt was the takeover of the

Arabian Peninsula by “Crusaders” who subsequently degraded the wealth of the people and turned their lands into “the biggest air, land, and sea base in the region” (bin Laden 2005:16).

Bin Laden’s concerns were not without merit. It is true that the American military was largely a heavy-handed and abusive force within the region, and President Bush himself described the campaign as a “crusade” (Bush 2001; Bush 2002). Although bin Laden’s actions against the United States and American citizens were strongly motivated by American activities in the Middle East, this relationship is not reflected in any of the civic 9/11 memorials I surveyed; it is not part of the narrative of 9/11 that is presented to the public in memorial form. In choosing to begin the story of 9/11 on September 11, 2001, many memorials contribute to the maintenance and strengthening of a national narrative of innocent victimhood and righteous revenge.

September 11, 2001

The events that occurred on September 11, 2001, are known to most, if not all, Americans. For this study, I present a timeline of the 9/11 events based on information published in the *9/11 Commission Report* as well as on my own experience of the event.

Early in the morning, 19 hijackers boarded their respective planes, having successfully passed through all security screenings, despite being selected for special attention from airport security screeners (9/11 Commission 2004:1-3). Most of these men were Saudi (15), with the remainder coming from Egypt (1), Lebanon (1), and the United Arab Emirates (2), (9/11 Commission 2004:160, 162, 225, 231). Five men each boarded American Airlines Flight 77, United Airlines Flight 175, and American Airlines Flight 11, while four boarded United Airlines Flight 93 (9/11 Commission 2004:11). Between the hours of 8:14am and 9:28am, the four planes

were taken over; the long delay (over an hour) between the hijacking of the first plane (Flight 11 at 8:14) and the last (Flight 93 at 9:28) may have contributed to the failure of the latter flight (9/11 Commission 2004:11).

During the interim, Flights 11 and 175 were flown into the two WTC towers (8:46 and 9:03am, respectively) and passengers on Flight 93 heard news of what was happening; they took action in an attempt to wrest control from the hijackers (9/11 Commission 2004: 12-14, 20, 22). Almost ten minutes after the hijacking of Flight 93, Flight 77 crashed into the Pentagon (9:37am) (9/11 Commission 2004:314). The hijackers of Flight 93 intentionally crashed the plane into an open field at 10:02am as the passengers were trying to gain entry into the cockpit (9/11 Commission 2004:14).

Flight 11 was flown into the North Tower of the WTC between floors 93 and 99, causing structural damage which effectively trapped all individuals above the impact zone in the 110-story building (9/11 Commission 2004:20, 285). Approximately 15 minutes later, Flight 175 flew into the South Tower between floors 77 and 85, causing extensive damage, but leaving only one stairwell intact (9/11 Commission 2004:293). The two impacts created large explosions and subsequent fires that were seen live across the Nation and world; the image of the Towers burning was repeated in all forms of internet, print, and television media for days or weeks to come, and became one of the most iconic images of the event.

Uncoordinated evacuations had been taking place in both buildings ever since the first plane hit the North Tower, and first responders were on the scene attempting to help less than fifteen minutes after the first impact (9/11 Commission 2004:289). Rescue operations were inefficient, however, due to many factors, including inconsistent communication on

uncoordinated radios as well as widespread lack of awareness regarding the layout and functioning of the buildings.

At 9:58am, the South Tower collapsed (9/11 Commission 2004:305). There were still people in the building when it fell and all died, rescue personnel and civilians alike (9/11 Commission 2004:305). A half-hour later the North Tower collapsed, again killing everyone who was inside (9/11 Commission 2004:311).

For those who did not witness this drama live on television, it might be difficult to grasp the genuine horror of what was happening. We were witnesses to the last and most terrifying moments of many people's lives. The nation at large had never been privy to such a close look at suffering on such a grand scale. It may seem hypocritical to speak of the tragedy of this event when our country has perpetrated similar terrorism and violence on other peoples. However, the actions of the government/military and any sense of retribution that may be attached to 9/11 does not negate the fact that almost innocent 3,000 souls lost their lives that day. For loved ones of the dead, this was a life-altering day, and when looked at on a human scale, it was the violent end of the world multiplied thousands of times. The events of 9/11 left an imprint in the minds of many Americans, one that is deeply connected to emotions of mortality, vulnerability, security, aside from any political association.

The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey and the World Trade Center Artifact Disbursement Program

Almost immediately after the events of September 11, 2001, objects from the wreckage of Ground Zero were selected with the express purpose of preservation, display, and memorialization (Port Authority of New York and New Jersey October 24, 2002:435). This

process (began the last week of September) was initiated by Robert Davidson, then Chief Architect for the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey (PANYNJ), who created a committee to oversee selection, removal, and care of the pieces (Passiak 2016). Artifacts (chosen from Ground Zero, various area landfills, and a Staten Island debris sorting site) were identified for preservation and tagged where they sat, and eventually held at JFK International Airport in an 80,000 square foot section of Hangar 17 (PANYNJ October 24, 2002:435; PANYNJ May 30, 2002:192; Adler 2011:15). The Hangar was initially unfit to house the surprisingly delicate collection of steel and crushed vehicles, and extensive renovations and retrofitting had to be completed before the objects were safe within the space (PANYNJ May 30, 2005:192). Following the initial preparation, funds were allotted in order to maintain the building in proper condition; altogether, the cost of preparing and maintaining the Hangar totaled in excess of \$10 million dollars (PANYNJ May 30, 2005:192).

Pieces were chosen for both their emotional impact and also their ability to provide information on the technical aspects of the attack (Passiak 2016). The vast majority of what survived was structural steel; 1,890 beams and columns in total (this figure represents only one half of one percent of the original amount of debris produced when the buildings collapsed) (The Tribeca Trib 2016). The remainder of the collected objects were made up of: aluminum, vehicles, stone, signage, antenna, elements of the 1993 WTC Bombing Memorial, parking structure elements, plaza elements, subway rails, elevator parts, stairs, window glass, and a river valve, as well as miscellaneous building materials and office elements (Passiak 2016).

The National September 11 Memorial and Museum in New York received first choice of the objects (Ramirez 2016). However, the rest of the artifacts were made available for

incorporation into 9/11 memorials, museum exhibits, and other commemorative uses. The artifact disbursement program began in earnest in 2010, although some entities received artifacts earlier (Passiak 2016). The delay between collection of the artifacts and the beginning of disbursement was due to the necessity for investigation and cleaning of the artifacts. The entirety of the World Trade Center site was, for a time, considered a crime scene and the material was initially classified as evidence which needed to be analyzed (Ramirez 2016). In addition, the artifacts had potentially been exposed to dangerous substances (including unhealthy levels of radiation) and so had to be de-contaminated prior to disbursement (Ramirez 2016). The artifacts were also sorted and cataloged during their stay at JFK, adding to their idle time.

During the collection, cataloging, and cleaning process, and prior to artifact disbursement, the WTC material underwent a significant transformation. The work of Igor Kopytoff in *The Social Life of Things* (1986), offers a perspective on how this change occurs. Kopytoff approaches objects from a life history perspective; he asks how an object was made, what it is intended to do, and what it's normal life course would be (Kopytoff 1986:66-68). Applying Kopytoff work on the processual life of an object, we can see how the standard life of World Trade Center artifacts (mostly steel I-beams) installed in small 9/11 memorials across the United States has been diverted. Rather than standing strong for the life of the building and then being melted down and recycled into another project, these pieces were violently deconstructed, cleaned, often cut, sent around the world, and re-purposed into objects intended for viewing, touching, and remembering. In effect, these I-beams have been transformed from purely useful architectural supports, unseen and taken for granted, into exposed sacred and symbolic objects intended for intimate emotional interaction.

The means through which this transition takes place is can be explained by Kopytoff's idea of "singularization." This concept relates to the rarification or differentiation of a particular object or set of objects that accords them special status or treatment (Kopytoff 1986:73-77). Singularization can be accomplished and enforced by society at large, but it can also be assigned by those in power (linking the artifacts again to the working of social capital as explored by Pierre Bourdieu) (Kopytoff 1986:73). The singularization of WTC artifacts involves both societal and political influence. The material is transformed through the public celebration of objects entering the locale from NYC and subsequently recontextualized as a memorial objects through the memorialization process. The agency that originally controlled distribution of the artifacts, the PANYNJ, is a governing body with considerable political power, especially in the years after 9/11. By the PANYNJ explicitly stating acceptable use of the WTC artifacts, such objects received special status immediately after 9/11.

Further insight into the role of objects is offered by the work of museologist Tony Bennett. In "Civic Laboratories: Museums, Cultural Objecthood, and the Governance of the Social" (2005), Bennett discusses the way in which objects are employed within cultural institutions to promote certain forms of civic and social governance. Particularly relevant is Bennett's brief discussion of the conservation of an object's "operative logic" as it is moved from one network to another (Bennett 2005:537). Bennett articulates that there is an aspect (or quality) of any object that is maintained through transitions an object may encounter, and which contributes to the object's meaning or role in the present (Bennett 2005:537). In the context of small 9/11 memorials found nation-wide, if the object did not retain a part of its previous character or meaning-as a supportive element of a building that was destroyed in a disaster

resulting in massive loss of life-it would be useless in the context of remembrance and representation of that event.

Civic 9/11 memorials which incorporate WTC artifacts are relying on the preservation of certain aspects of these objects to enrich the impact of the memorials and provide physical links to Ground Zero. It is because of the previous “careers” of these I-beams that they are effective in eliciting an emotional response from visitors. While the artifacts are, at the most fundamental level, pieces of steel, they have become far more than that due to their past experience.

Receiving entities were informed of the disbursement program, in part, by the publication of announcements in firefighter and museum journals; word-of-mouth also appears to have been instrumental in making people aware (Drake 2016; Passiak 2016). Artifacts were not handed out to anyone who asked. Only entities with 501(c)3 tax status were eligible; they had to promise that the pieces would be on public display, that the entity would not make any profit from display of the artifacts, and that the following acknowledgement would be included in the memorial:

“Artifacts recovered from the World Trade Center after September 11, 2001 courtesy of The Port Authority of NY & NJ and displayed in memory of the 2,752 victims, including:

343 NYC Firefighters

37 Port Authority Police Officers

23 New York City Police Officers”(Passiak 2016).

Initially, requests did not require an explanation of how the artifact was to be displayed, however as the number of available pieces began to decrease, the PA then asked for concrete plans from potential receivers in order to limit requests (Passiak 2016). Transportation of the artifacts from New York to their memorial site was entirely the responsibility of the receiving entity (Drake 2016; Liongson 2016) For some pieces, including those I was able to visit in California, that meant a 3,000-mile road trip. The expense associated with such a venture is not

insignificant, particularly when it involves very large artifacts such as that displayed in Beverly Hills (weighing 1,900 lbs. and stretching 18 feet in length). However, it was not uncommon for transportation agencies to offer their services at-cost or even pro bono, as a donation-in-kind (Liongson 2016)

In all, over 2,600 artifacts were distributed to over 1,500 entities (Passiak 2016; Port Authority of New York and New Jersey 2016). Cities and museums, as well as fire and police departments across the country received artifacts, and a small number went overseas (Passiak 2016). Foreign museums, fire and police departments, and American entities (US Embassy in Berlin; Bagram Airfield) in the following countries were granted artifacts: Canada (9), Italy (3), England (3), Germany (3), China (2), South Korea, Ireland, Brazil, and Afghanistan (Passiak 2016). As of early August, 2016, all available artifacts had been disbursed, and the program had dissolved (Haller 2016; Glassman 2016).

CHAPTER IV: METHODS

To address questions on the process of community memorialization, the use of WTC artifacts for memorials, and the composition and application of narratives of American history and identity through 9/11 memorials, I engaged in multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork across different locations in California. Methods for this project included interviews with memorial creators, memorial site surveys, and the comparative analysis of memorial characteristics in light of literature on memorialization and historical construction.

Question #1, “What initiated the community memorialization process of 9/11?” is addressed through interviews with individuals involved in the artifact conservation and disbursement program at JFK International Airport as well as those responsible for memorial building, and also by through archival investigation of PANYNJ documents . Question #2, “How are WTC artifacts used in community-built memorials?,” will be explored through site survey. Finally, site characteristics and interview data will be considered in light of relevant literature in order to address Question #3, “How and what do the memorials contribute to the collective memory of 9/11?”

Methods

Sites were chosen based on location and variety. I chose to limit my sites to California in light of their distance from Ground Zero. Geographic distance from a disaster is not an inconsequential concern, as demonstrated by the work of Paul Mason and Gregory Joseph (as discussed previously), which suggests that there is a relationship between distance from the political center of the nation and the message of the memorial, wherein more realistic and complex perspectives are promoted with greater distance (Mason and Joseph 2002:477). I

wished to consider Californian memorials because they are as far from New York as one can get within the continental United States. If Mason and Joseph's observations can be broadly applied, then I would expect to see a well-balanced approach to the events of 9/11 (as well as the lead up and aftermath) in the memorial designs. As my goal was to discuss the contribution of civic 9/11 memorials to American collective memory and concepts of National identity, the relative patriotism/nationalism of each site is of central significance.

Interviews were semi-formal and based on an interview protocol. Questions were intended to encourage reflection on the interviewee's feelings regarding both the memorial and their role in creating it. In addition, I wished to discuss community response to the memorials, technical aspects of design, artifact transportation, construction, as well as maintenance and visitorship. Questions for memorial creators included (but were not limited to): "How did the use of certain objects influence the construction of the project?" and "How did your personal feelings regarding 9/11 contribute to your involvement in the project?"

My goal with interviews was to probe the reasons (emotional, political, and otherwise) why people wanted to create memorials or why they chose to involve themselves in an existing project, as well as to gain some insight into how people understand the artifacts. Answers to the question of how artifacts influenced design explored interviewee understanding of artifact value and meaning. Responses to the second question, of how one's own emotions influenced their role in the memorial process, provided insight into the perspective and historical understanding from which interviewees were approaching memorial creation. For individuals who were involved in the WTC artifact giveaway program, questions included: "How were artifacts chosen for preservation?" and "What was the process for requesting an artifact?," among others.

Interviewees were chosen based on their direct involvement in the creation of a memorial or, alternatively, involvement in the artifact giveaway program; people who were most centrally involved were more valuable to me than those with a more peripheral role, and I sought individuals as close to the action as possible in each case. I began my search by conducting online research for news articles or websites detailing the building process and those involved. In some cases, I then called or emailed the relevant City Planning Office and asking them who I should speak to. In other cases, I was led to local fire department representatives. With the help of intermediary secretaries, assistants, and other gatekeepers, to gain access to individuals who were instrumental to making the memorials.

For those interviewees who came from the artifact giveaway program, I first determined who had been involved (through review of literature discussing the program) and what their role had been. After I had ascertained names and roles, I employed Google and LinkedIn searches to find contact information.

Interviews

Interviews focused on two key areas of the research project. One set of interviews concentrated on the creators of regional memorials in California. The second set of interviews provided insight into the distribution of artifact from the WTC. The former set of interviews were conducted in-person, while the latter was conducted via phone and email.

Interviewees involved in the creation of memorials were all middle-aged men and all lived within the communities where the memorials were located (at the time of design and installation). Interviews were conducted one-on-one, with the exception of the Beverly Hills interview. Interviewees included: Steve Launey, the Cal Expo Assistant General Manager;

Darren Drake, the Napa Fire Marshall; Michael Liongson, the Beverly Hills Senior Management Analyst; Gidas Peteris, Beverly Hills 9/11 Memorial architect; and David Montgomery-Scott, former Parks and Recreation Director for the City of Rosemead.

My interview with Launey was conducted at the Cal Expo Fairgrounds in Sacramento (the same location as the memorial). At the time of the memorial construction, Launey was serving as the Assistant General Manager; the same position he currently holds. Launey was kind enough to provide me with a personal tour of the memorial in addition to the interview.

I spoke with Fire Marshall Drake at the Napa Memorial. Aside from the valuable information Drake provided me with, the two of us were privy to a touching scene during the course of the interview; at one point, a young man arrived and walked around the memorial. After a few minutes, he stopped near to one of the artifacts and laid his hand on it as he craned his neck to look up along the length of the beam (my interviewees reported that visitors often touched the pieces). Before he left the site, this man approached Drake and shook his hand, thanking him for the memorial and for the Fire Marshall's service to the community. This experience supported the continued significance of the memorials to Americans, and also the association of first responders and 9/11 in the American narrative.

Michael Liongson and Gidas Peteris were interviewed together at the Beverly Hills Fire Department Headquarters. I feel that discussing the memorial with the two men was extremely productive; they consistently bounced ideas or memories off of one another and the conversation was particularly rich as a result. Following the interview, I was treated to a guided tour of the memorial, which proved illuminating and quite emotional.

My interview with David Montgomery-Scott was conducted over lunch. This encouraged a casual and candid conversation, although it led to a decrease in the quality of my interview audio. Montgomery-Scott also provided me with helpful photocopies of Rosemead City Council Reports which detailed the creation of the memorial.

Early on in my research, I conducted interviews (through email and phone) with three women who were directly involved in the World Trade Center artifact disbursement program. Accessing these individuals required some effort; in order to speak with individuals involved in the National September 11 Museum in New York, I had to submit an application. In addition, my requests for information regarding the artifact disbursement program were initially met with somewhat suspicious inquiries into my intentions. Despite the protectiveness displayed by the people close to the museum and the disbursement program, the required steps did not hamper me in the least, and I was ultimately offered friendly and helpful interviews.

Initial interviews were conducted with Jan Ramirez, the current Chief Curator of the National September 11 Museum; Nancy Johnson, former Director of the WTC Artifact Disbursement Program; and Amy Passiak, former Project Coordinator and Collections Manager of the WTC Artifact Disbursement Program.

I spoke to Jan Ramirez on the phone after contacting the Museum and submitting an official Research Request Form. I contacted Johnson by way of LinkedIn, where I was able to find her current employment, look on that corporation's website, and find her current work email. I then emailed her, explained who I was and what I was doing and invited her to assist me. Johnson granted me a phone interview, and then put me in touch with Passiak through email.

My conversation with Ramirez centered on how artifact collection was decided and conducted. Ramirez provided detailed information regarding the treatment of the artifacts prior to their storage at Hangar 17. Johnson provided a background for the 9/11 World Trade Center artifact giveaway program and offered observations on the motivation behind memorial creation. Communicating through email, Passiak answered my questions regarding the process of artifact disbursement and also provided me with lists of receiving entities and artifact types.

CHAPTER V: SITE SURVEYS

Five memorials were surveyed for this project, all of which are located in California. Surveyed memorials include: Rosemead, Beverly Hills, Napa, Sacramento, and Chico. Interviews were conducted at four locations: Rosemead, Beverly Hills, Napa, and Sacramento. The locations of all memorials considered are shown in Figure 3.

I chose to consider only memorials within the state of California partly because of the influence of Mason and Joseph's work into museum exhibits and geographic distance from the epicenter of trauma. I wanted to determine if distance from Ground Zero coincided with a particularly honest or broad presentation of the historical event. As discussed previously, Mason and Joseph noted a trend in how Japanese activities during World War II were depicted in peace museums throughout the nation. The authors found that the more time that passed between the events of concern and the creation of the exhibit, and also the farther the museum was from the political center of the country, the less patriotic hyperbole regarding the goodness of the nation was present (Mason and Joseph 2002:477). Given the distance from California to Washington D.C. (and Ground Zero), I was hoping to see an even-handed, honest portrayal of 9/11 and the events surrounding it in these memorials, many of which were built approximately ten years after 9/11. What I actually found in the surveyed memorials will be discussed presently.

Perhaps of greater concern to me, however, was simply recording what the memorials communicated regarding the tragedy, and how this was accomplished. I was particularly interested in the story that was told about American victimhood and righteousness. Were the events of September 11, 2001 treated as unjustified surprise attacks, or would the memorials situate them within many decades of American involvement in the Middle East and the vast

litany of potentially damning activities we have perpetrated on the peoples of the region?

Ultimately, I intended to explore how the memorials contribute to a collective understanding of 9/11 as a historically and socially significant event.

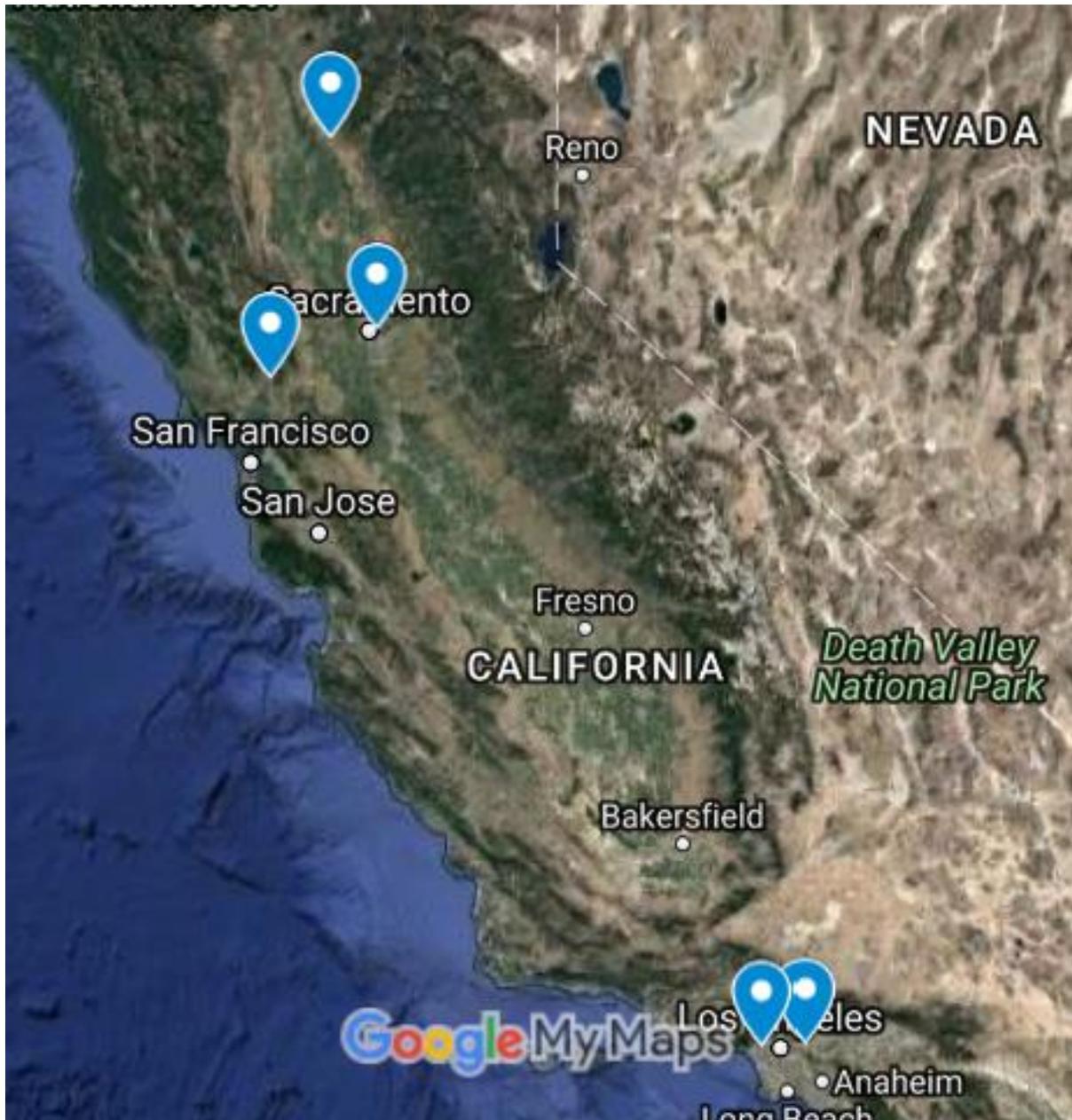


Figure 8. Google map showing locations of surveyed memorials. Image by Google. 2018.

Chico 9/11 Memorial, Chico, California

I begin my surveys at Chico, California. Chico is a university town of approximately 90,000 people located within Butte County in the northern part of the state (city-data.com). The population is generally highly educated but not particularly wealthy (32% of residents hold a BA or higher, and the average household income is approximately \$39,488 as of 2016 census) (city-data.com). Politically, Butte County is classified by the Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC) as a “moderately liberal” outpost surrounded on all sides by conservative counties (McGhee and Krimm 2012).

The civic Chico 9/11 Memorial (dedicated in 2014) is located far on the north side of the town, on the grounds of Fire Station No. 5, which stands on the corner of Manzanita and East Ave. The choice of location is considered appropriate as it is in front of a fire station. However, its location also limits the number of viewers because of the memorial’s great distance from the center of town. Many Chicoans I have spoken to were not even aware that this memorial existed.

This memorial (dedicated in 2014) consists of two concrete models of the Twin Towers, along with a kiosk containing posters and memorabilia. The material elements of the memorial include cement, brick, steel, sand, and landscaped flora; this mix results in a color palette of grey, yellow, brown, green, and red. Large trees are absent from the area and so the memorial is quite open.

Each of the towers, shown in Figure 9, is approximately 7 feet tall, and between them a small WTC I-beam section rests at an angle (replica Towers are a common component for 9/11 memorials). The towers are located on a pentagon-shaped cement platform in the center of a sandy circular plaza ringed by landscaped shrubbery and trees; south of the towers is a flagpole

with a bench at the base, shown in Figure 10. In addition to various posters, the small kiosk north of the memorial houses an interactive element, shown in Figure 11, consisting of note paper and pens which are available for visitors to leave messages.



Figure 9. World Trade Center artifact suspended between concrete towers at the Chico 9/11 Memorial. Image by the author, 2016.



Figure 10. Flagpole and bench base at the Chico 9/11 Memorial. Image by the author, 2016.

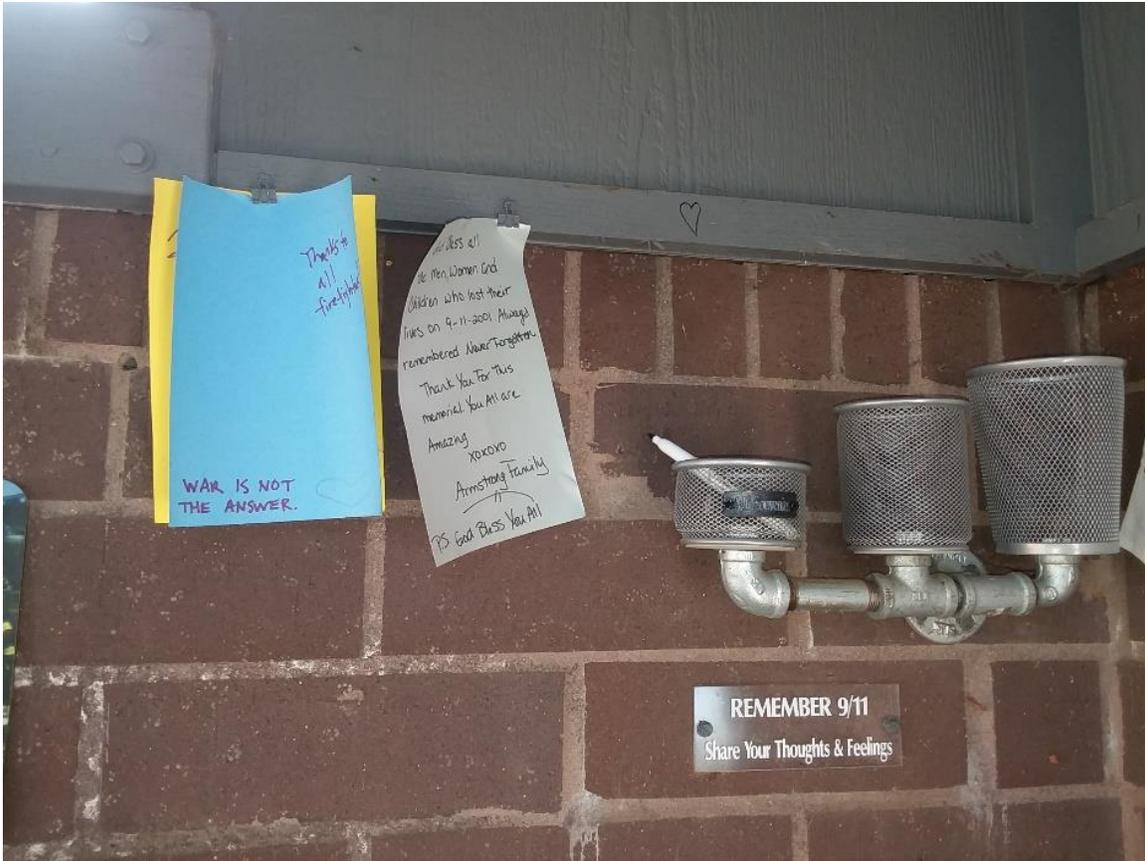


Figure 11. Paper and pens for visitors to leave their thoughts. Image by the author, 2016.

The scale towers are each inscribed with “FDNY” and “343,” on opposite sides, linking the memorial with the firefighters who died on 9/11 (343 in all). The pentagonal base is also inscribed; “NEVER FORGET,” “FLIGHT 11,” “FLIGHT 175,” “FLIGHT 77,” and “FLIGHT 93” on each edge as shown in Figure 12. The flagpole bench features two attached plaques with language honoring military and police personnel who died during September 11, 2001, shown in Figures 13 and 14. The police plaque thanks officers for their service on September 11, 2001, but also for their work prior to the attacks. The military plaque recognizes those who perished in the attacks (also mentioning civilian heroes) while labeling their deaths as a sacrifice for the Nation.



Figure 12. The central feature of the Chico 9/11 Memorial. Image by the author, 2016.

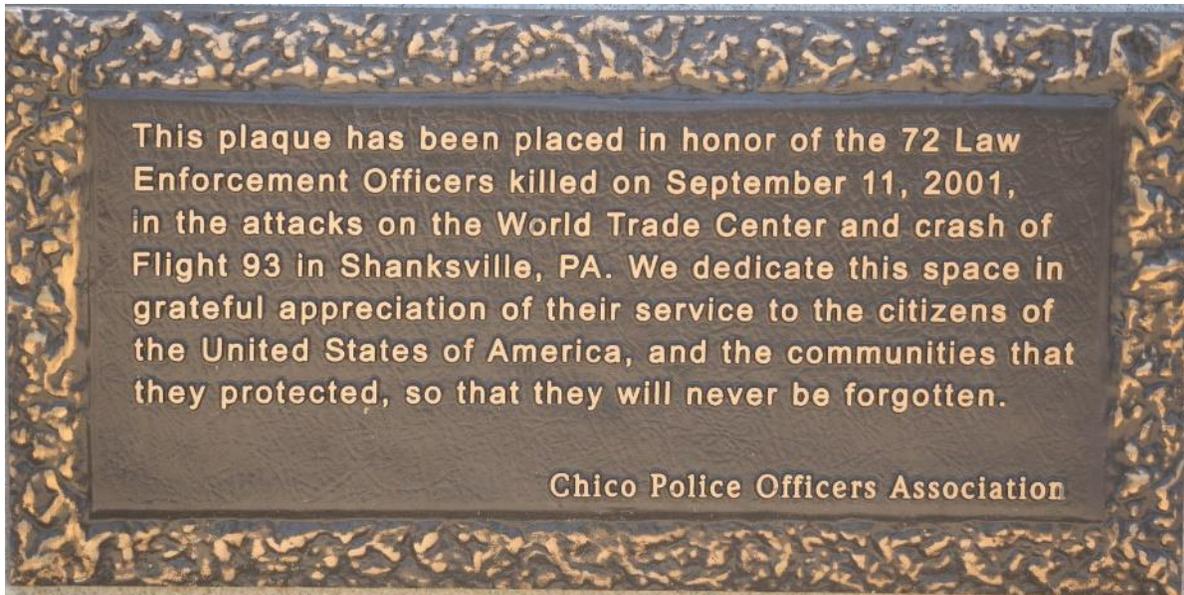


Figure 13. Chico 9/11 Memorial plaque honoring police officers who died in the attacks. Image by Bill Husa, 2018.



Figure 14. Chico 9/11 Memorial plaque honoring those who died at the Pentagon. Image by Bill Husa, 2018.

On the inside of the kiosk, there is a chronological narrative of September 11, 2001, shown in Figure 15. The timeline begins at 8:42am when American Airlines Flight 11 slammed into the North Tower of the WTC and ends with Mayor Guiliani closing NY schools for September 12th. This timeline is a fascinating artifact, and one that illustrates a common perspective seen in the memorials. Here we have an example of the isolation of 9/11, and a rather extreme one at that. According to this timeline, events worthy of note only begin when one of the planes strikes the tower, not when the hijackers took control of the plane, not when Osama bin Laden directed the “planes operation” to begin, and certainly not during any one of the many American bombing campaigns occurring in Iraq or Afghanistan in the years leading up to 9/11. The timeline also ends on September 11 at 9:57 in the evening, to be exact. However, significant events relating to 9/11 certainly did not stop that night. Such monumental actions as the new invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as the persecution of American Muslims are completely absent.

The kiosk also includes a poster featuring a poem, shown in Figure 16, written by Chicoan Karin Main, which appears to detail the feelings of loss, fear, and pride that a small child experiences because their father (a firefighter) was killed on 9/11. Next to this poem are two posters, shown in Figure 17, which feature images from Ground Zero and surrounding areas; there is no interpretation explaining the images. Across the kiosk from these two posters, on the western wall, there is a mounted case which contains a number of objects related to 9/11, shown in Figure 18. Included within the case are commemorative medals, fire department patches, and photographs of the destroyed towers. Printed along the upper part of the case frame are the now

well-known words of Todd Beamer (who perished on Flight 93): “Are you ready? Okay, let’s roll.”

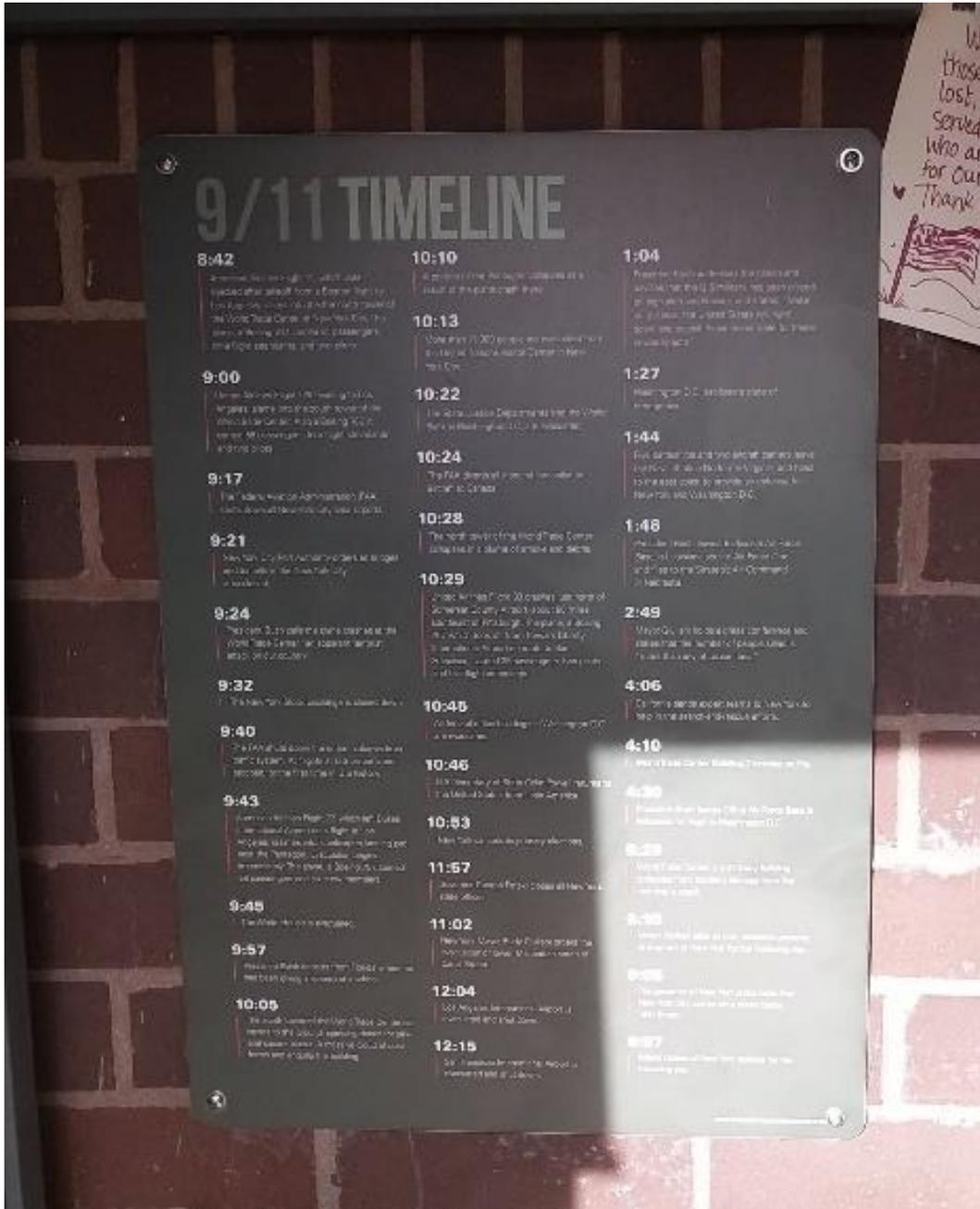


Figure 15. A timeline of September 11, 2001. Image by the author, 2016.



THE CHILDREN OF 9/11 VICTIMS

The hat too big
On a head too small
To bear the burden.

Eyes well up with tears
Chin trembles
Tries to be so brave
Just like dad.

Pain and uncertainty
Etched forever on
A child's face.

Ears echo with the
Sound of bagpipes.
Hand clutches a flag.

Heart aches...
For Dad.

Poem by:
Karen Main
Chico, CA

We Will Never Forget

Figure 16. Poster with poem. Image by the author, 2016.



Figure 17. Posters with images of 9/11 and the aftermath. Image by the author, 2016.



Figure 18. Case with 9/11 memorabilia. Image by the author. 2016.

Sacramento, California

Moving south within California, the next memorial is that residing at Cal Expo, the Sacramento Fairgrounds. Sacramento County is also considered “moderately liberal” by the PPIC, with a population of approximately 500,000 as of the 2016 census (City-data.com; McGhee and Krimm 2012). Median income level in 2016 was \$55, 187, and 31% of the population held a BA or higher degree (city-data.com).

The Cal Expo 9/11 Memorial Plaza (dedicated in 2002) is far larger and more complicated than the Chico memorial. The memorial is located a significant distance inside the fairgrounds; it is not visible from outside the campus and it requires a substantial walk from the entrance. The memorial is the most multifaceted in this study, as it is made up of many separate elements. This memorial is largely lacking in stylistic unity, so it is difficult to observe an intentional color palette or material theme.

The centerpiece is a large WTC artifact from Ground Zero; a 125,000 lb. piece of structural steel, shown in Figure 19 (<http://calexpo.com/september-11-memorial-plaza/>). Attached to this imposing piece are two smaller sections of I-beam.



Figure 19. World Trade Center artifacts at Cal Expo. Image by the author, 2016.

In addition, there is a large granite ball, shown in Figure 20, etched with the name of each victim, that sits atop a fountain in such a manner that it can be easily rotated by hand. Visitors can move the ball on a small membrane of water and so view the entire surface.



Figure 20. Granite ball inscribed with victim's names. Image by the Author, 2016.

There is also a sculpture, shown in Figure 21, reminiscent of a flame, that represents Flight 93, which crashed into a field in Shanksville, PA. A carillon bell tower, shown in Figure 22, is located in the middle of the plaza; it is rung on the anniversary of 9/11 and also at certain times during the Fair. The Pentagon is recognized with a pentagonal flagpole base, shown in Figure 23, engraved with the name and rank (if applicable) of the individuals who died at that location.

Interpretive labels, shown in Figures 24, 25, and 26, featuring both a chronological narrative of the events of the day, and also some patriotic and nationalistic language are located at the southern end of the plaza; the text was certainly the most dramatic of the visited memorials. Beginning dramatically with the “hellacious ball of fire” resulting from the crash of Flight 175, the story-like narrative then explains how the entire world “held its breath and watched in horror” at the events unfolding. Finally, the labels determine that the famous words of Todd Beamer (“let’s roll”) would be part of the “story of America,” just like Martin Luther King’s “I Have a Dream” speech and the lyrics to “God Bless America.”



Figure 21. Flame sculpture representing Flight 93.
Image by the author, 2016.



Figure 22. Carillon bell tower. Image by the author, 2016.



Figure 23. The pentagonal flagpole. Image by the author, 2016.



Figure 24. Label #1. Image by the author, 2016.

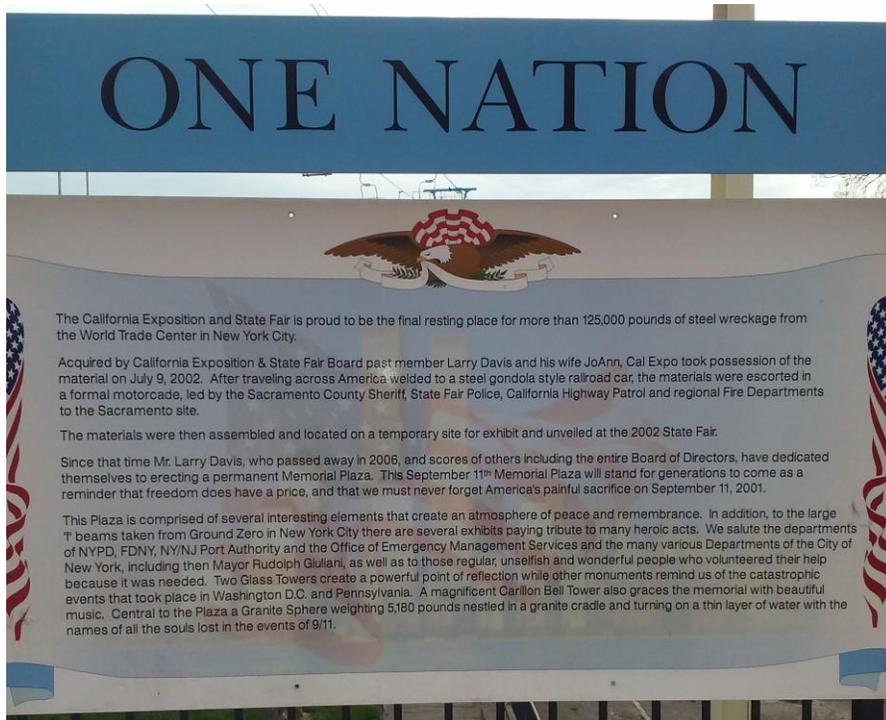


Figure 25. Label #2. Image by author, 2016.

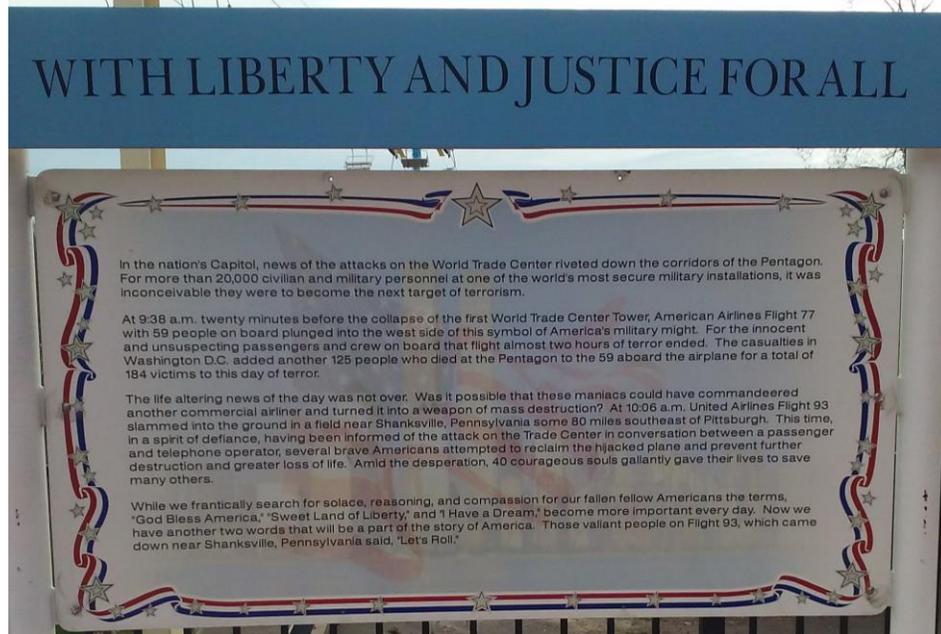


Figure 26. Label #3. Image by the author, 2016.

As with the Chico memorial, the CalExpo 9/11 Memorial begins the story on the morning of September 11, 2001 at 8:46 am. The narrative ends on the same day, with the crash of Flight 93 into the Pennsylvania field. There is no mention of the activities of the United States that may have stimulated the attacks, nor is there any discussion of the resulting wars.

I visited the memorial on a quiet, overcast day when the fairgrounds were closed. Only me and my guide, Steve Launey, the Assistant General Manager of CalExpo, were at the memorial that day. Overall, the tone was unceremonious and routine, with a number of the features inoperable due to it being the off-season. When I first arrived, my eye was immediately drawn to the huge piece of rusted steel mounted along one side of

the memorial plaza. It is grandiose and unimaginably solid, yet also seemingly fragile as it sits in a state of arrested decay.

Aside from the steel, the bell tower was the most noticeable aspect of the memorial, reaching high into the sky and taking up a significant amount of ground space in the memorial plaza. According to Steve Launey, the tower is not intended to represent any particular aspect of 9/11. Rather, it supplies somber and hopeful music to honor those who died. The tower did not ring on the day I visited, however, so I was not privy to its undoubtedly moving performance. The rotating granite ball was also not in action while I was there. It was housed for the off-season in a plywood structure, although one side of it was open (I assume for my benefit). The water feature was not operating, so I was unable to experience the easy turning of the ball. The lights and associated fountains were not on either, so the emotional effect was assuredly diminished from what a fair-time visitor would experience.

Rosemead 9/11 Memorial, Rosemead, California

Moving further southward in California, the Rosemead 9/11 Memorial (dedicated in 2011) is located approximately 430 miles away from Sacramento (<http://articles.latimes.com/2011/sep/05/local/la-me-911-sculpture-20110906>). Rosemead is located within politically-diverse Los Angeles County, in a generally liberal region (McGhee and Krimm 2014). Median income in 2014 was \$54, 947, and 16.3% of the population holds a BA or higher degree (city-data.com).

This memorial (dedicated in 2011) sits between the Rosemead Public Library and the Rosemead Council Chambers. It is quite close to the street, set in from the busy thoroughfare by

only the width of a sidewalk. Next to the 9/11 memorial is a Vietnam Veterans memorial (a single plaque); the two are no more than twenty feet apart.

Titled, “Reflect,” the memorial, shown in Figures 27 and 28, consists of two human hands rising from the earth to clutch a rusted steel I-beam, palms upward (<http://www.publicsculpture.com/911memorial.html>). The hands are constructed from nearly three-thousand polished steel birds wrapped around each other in such a fashion as to create a web-like hollow structure of the hands. David Montgomery-Scott, the Parks and Recreation Director for the City of Rosemead at the time of the memorial’s construction, stated that the species of bird was left intentionally ambiguous so that viewers could imagine them as either doves or eagles (Montgomery-Scott 2016). At the time of the memorial's construction, the number of birds reflected the death count, although that count has since increased.



Figure 27. The Rosemead 9/11 Memorial. Image by the author, 2016.



Figure 28. The Rosemead 9/11 Memorial. Image by the author, 2016.

The hands rise out of bed of tanbark with small succulent plants planted throughout, and the space in front of this is covered in donor bricks. The memorial is rather unassuming compared to the others I have visited, with its general lack of pomp and quiet presence. There is a interpretive panel in the ground before the memorial:

“Of what remains, one dove rises heavenward for each of the fallen. Two hands rise in hope, with strength to bear our great sorrow.

‘Reflect’

Dedicated September 11, 2011.

In honor and memory of the nearly 3000 victims

And heroic first responders who died on September 11, 2001.

We, in Rosemead and all across America,

Do not forget them or the tragedy that befell them.”

There is no other interpretation. Nor is there a narrative of the events of the day, which is somewhat unusual in my experience. The overall impression of this site is largely mediated by the location on a very busy street, as well as the small size of the memorial. It is not immediately clear what is being memorialized, and the street sights and sounds create a feeling of normalcy at the site. Where other civic 9/11 memorials are located in seemingly special spaces set aside only for the purpose of memorialization, the Rosemead site is incorporated into the street scene.

Beverly Hills 9/11 Memorial Garden, Beverly Hills, California

Also in southern California, the Beverly Hills 9/11 Memorial Garden is a short 30-minute drive from Rosemead. Beverly Hills is, as expected, far wealthier in general than the other communities I have visited: median income was approximately \$106,000 in 2014 (city-data.com). The “moderately liberal” population was 34,871 in 2014, and a whopping 61.3% of the population holds a BA or higher degree (city-data.com; McGhee and Krimm 2012).

The Beverly Hills 9/11 Memorial Garden, shown in Figure 29, was dedicated in 2011 and is the most elaborate and expensive installation of the study. Located at the busy intersection of

North Rexford Dr. and South Santa Monica Boulevard between the Beverly Hills Fire Department Headquarters and City Hall, this memorial features a dramatic, bent I-beam. Folded almost in half, the beam is still 18 feet tall, and it stands in the center of the memorial, supported by a pentagon-shaped planter filled with bushes.



Figure 29. The Beverly Hills 9/11 Memorial Garden. Image by the author, 2016.

The upper surface of the base, shown in Figures 30 and 31, is covered in the names of individuals who were killed in the attacks, and the sides of the base are engraved with patriotic quotes. There is a walkway around the base of the beam, and on the outside of this, there are granite benches and landscaped shrubbery. Standing between the beam and the Fire Department building are basalt scale replicas of the Twin Towers, shown in Figure 32. A field of tall, gently waving grass sits next to the towers. This is meant to represent the place in Shanksville, Pennsylvania where Flight 93 crashed (Liongson 2016). Small, pentagonal stone fountains, shown in Figure 33, dot the memorial. A donor recognition plaque sits at the entrance facing the fire station. The color palette of the memorial is limited to muted tones of grey and black, with various shades of green provided by the landscaping. The main building materials are concrete, basalt, granite, and steel.

In its entirety, the memorial is difficult to take in at once. The steel I-beam is so tall, and the memorial footprint so narrow, that it is impossible to view all the elements from any one vantage point. Overall, the general impression is of larger-than-human scale and imposing strength, the power of which is partially tempered by the chaotic location.



Figure 30. A portion of the Declaration of Independence engraved on the base of the memorial. Image by the author, 2016.

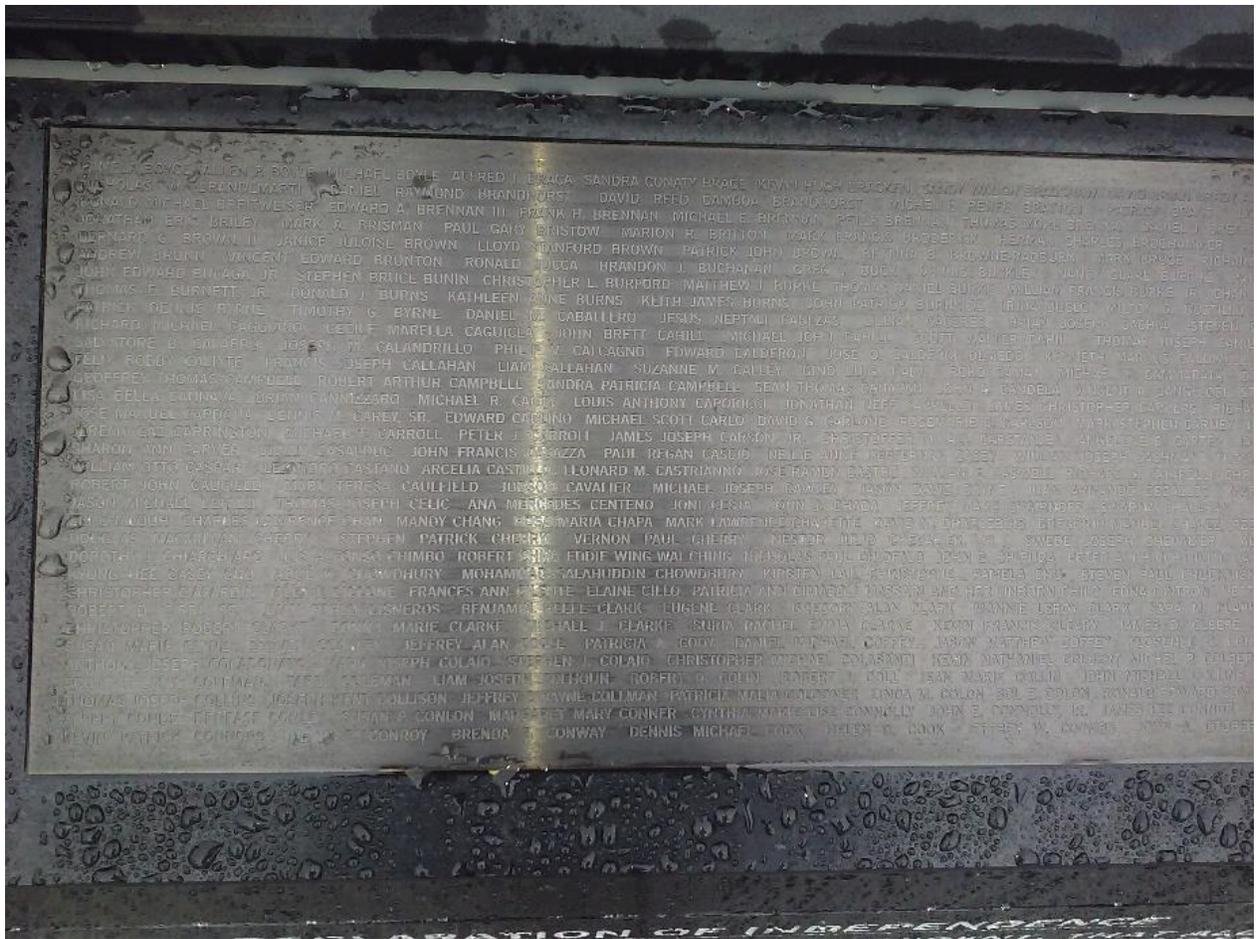


Figure 31. Names of individuals who were killed in the attacks. Image by the author, 2016.



Figure 32. Basalt replica towers. Image by the author, 2016.



Figure 33. One of the many small fountains that dot the memorial. Image by the author, 2016.

Napa 9/11 Memorial Garden, Napa, California

Heading back up the state, the Napa 9/11 Memorial Garden (dedicated in 2013) is located on Main Street, in a small, wooded public area. The Napa community is largely liberal, with a population of 80,412, median incomes around \$68,198 and a relatively high percentage of educated people (34.7% hold a BA or higher) city-data.com; McGhee and Krimm 2012).

The focal point of the memorial is a circular sandy area within which recovered steel I-beams are erected, shown in Figure 34. Following the eastern path out toward the street, there are two more I-beams marking the entrance, shown in Figure 35. In addition, there is a flagpole, shown in Figure 36, at the western entrance of the memorial that incorporates pieces of the WTC artifacts in its base. The inclusion of this elements was a product of the PANYNJ requirement that all pieces received be used; discarding any part was expressly prohibited.

The four I-beam sections in the center of the memorial have glass sails attached to them. These sails, shown in Figure 37, are made of two glass panels with printed vinyl sandwiched between; names of victims are printed on the vinyl sheets. Civilian casualties are grouped according to the location where they lost their lives, while first responders are grouped together regardless of where they died.

The narrative panel features a short chronological account of the events of September 11, 2001. The attackers are identified as al-Qaeda operatives, the death toll is given per location, and the acquisition of the WTC artifacts is explained.

The flagpole at the western entrance is planted in a circular concrete base. Incorporated into the concrete base are small pieces of steel cut from the WTC artifacts, as well as the chunks of concrete that were removed from the I-beams. Part of the agreement between the PANYNJ

and artifact-receiving entities was that every bit of the given piece(s) be used; nothing could be thrown away or given to another entity and the flagpole base was a concession to that requirement (Drake 2016).



Figure 34. The Napa 9/11 Memorial Garden. Image by the author, 2016.

The memorials I visited all illustrated the story of 9/11 in a different style, using a WTC artifact alongside accompanying elements including text. However, great similarity was exhibited in how the memorials presented the story of 9/11 chronologically. The significance of my

observations will be discussed in the following chapter, in dialogue with major theories and thinkers as introduced in Chapter II.



Figure 35. The memorial entrance. Image by the author, 2016.



Figure 36. Flagpole base showing pieces of steel removed from the artifacts. Image by the author, 2016.

Before diving into the analysis and discussion, however, I would like to emphasize one point: during the course of my research, I came to understand that the WTC artifacts, while a point of pride and an opportunity for physical interaction, were generally not the singular elements I had expected them to be. Rather, the artifacts were part of the total memorial, interacting with the other aspects, but not necessarily more important than any other element. The real impact of the memorials is in the message they express, not the material they use.

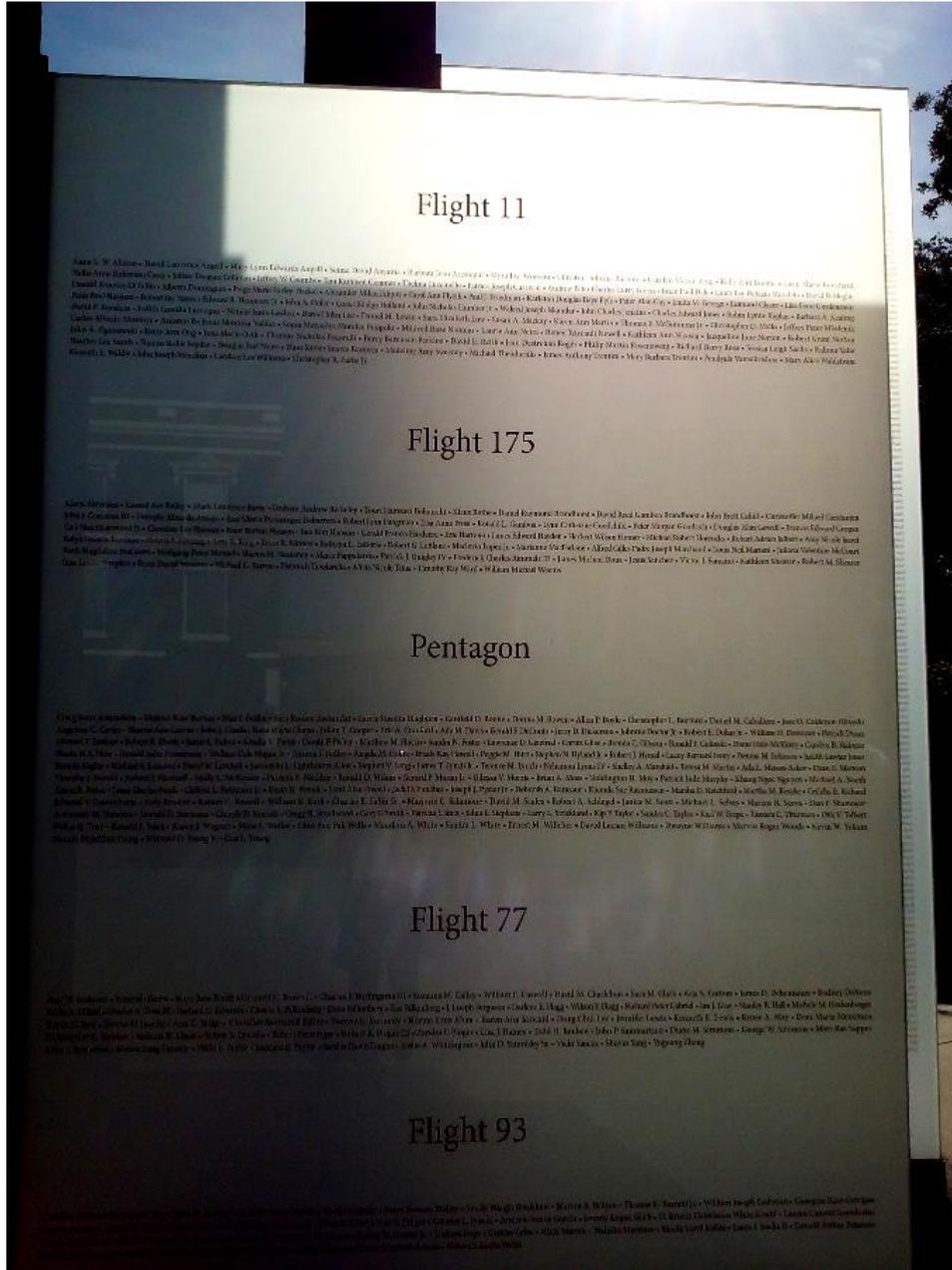


Figure 32. Napa memorial sail with victim's names. Image by the author, 2016.

CHAPTER VI: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This research project aims to answer three overarching questions pertaining to 9/11 memorials in the United States. First, “What initiated the civic 9/11 memorialization process?” Second, “How are WTC artifacts used in civic memorials?” Finally, “How and what do the memorials contribute to the narrative of American history and identity?” In an attempt to address these research questions, I wish to illuminate the substance and effect of a handful of civic 9/11 memorials, and comment on their contribution to the collective understanding of the event.

What initiated the civic 9/11 memorialization process?

The civic memorialization process emerged from two spheres: an intimate and personal sentiment of empathy with a National population (a bottom-up type of movement), and also a state-sponsored attempt at narrative construction (a top-down movement). Nancy Johnson (former Director of the WTC Artifact Disbursement Program) offered an observation that represents the personal, empathetic response to 9/11 characteristic of many of my interviewees. Johnson informed me (unprompted) that interest in creating civic 9/11 memorials was based on a “shared pain” that transcended city, state, or even national boundaries (Johnson 2016). David Montgomery-Scott, former Parks and Recreation Director for the city of Rosemead, shared a similar insight to explain the proliferation of civic memorials: “...no community had remained unaffected” (Montgomery-Scott 2016).

This concept of shared pain indicates that some Americans (at least those who felt compelled to build 9/11 memorials in their communities) viewed the attacks as an assault on them and their kin, regardless of their proximity to the crash locations. This idea did not necessarily spring up spontaneously; the news media and political rhetoric at the time were rife

with allusions to an attack on American values (a very diffused set of qualities) which encouraged citizens to view themselves as targets regardless of their actual vulnerability. These suggestions fostered the idea that all Americans were equally at risk due simply to their identity as Americans; we were supposedly targeted because of our values and our way of life. The specificity of bin Laden's target sites – the military and financial centers of the Nation – was neglected to the benefit of a narrative of freedom-hating Muslims and American innocence. In light of this perspective, it is no surprise that many individuals cited a feeling of collective trauma as a motivation for creating memorials.

Additionally, one State-sponsored organization (the PANYNJ) led the charge on preserving artifacts and ensuring that they would be used to remember a particular perspective on the events of 9/11. Before any entity expressed interest in building a civic memorial, the PANYNJ began collecting material for curation with the express intent of distributing it for incorporation into memorials and museums. However, the state guidance did not end when the materials were handed off. Rather, as mentioned above, the PANYNJ ensured that its own view of the events would be at least partially represented in the memorials by the required inscription:

*Artifacts recovered from the World Trade Center after September 11, 2001 courtesy of The Port Authority of NY & NJ and displayed in memory of the 2,752 victims, including:
343 NYC Firefighters
37 Port Authority Police Officers
23 New York City Police Officers (Passiak 2016).*

From the very beginning of the 9/11 memorial movement, the message of memorials was defined by a State body: the PANYNJ. What this message does is steer the language and narrative of 9/11 in a specific direction, in particular, towards highlighting the victimhood of civilians and the unique heroism of first responders. Again we see the association of 9/11 with

concepts of traditionally masculine heroism, and away from culpability or (perhaps more perplexingly) away from the unity that would result from acknowledgement that every person who perished was equally brave in death, regardless of their occupation.

Such an approach would be more in keeping with the community trauma perspective espoused by many of my interviewees as motivation for their memorial involvement; this disconnect illustrates a difference in how individual Americans may feel about 9/11, and how the State wants the event to be remembered. Ultimately, every person who perished in the attacks was a victim, regardless of their reason for being there; both investment bankers and fire fighters died when the buildings collapsed.

I would like to note, however, that the exact PANYNJ message was not visible (to me, at least) at any of the memorials I visited. That does not mean that it was not included, only that it was either not readily visible or, more likely, that the necessary recognition was there, but in a modified form. Why the note would be altered, I do not know, but I could speculate that the memorial designers had their own particular message in mind and may have attempted to minimize intrusion by the State organization. Each memorial with a narrative portion did include a section that, in essence, replicated the message espoused by the PANYNJ; highlighting the special toll taken on first responders who risked their lives to save others.

How are WTC artifacts used in civic memorials?

There are two aspects to answering the question of how the artifacts are used in the memorial. First, there is the physical arrangement of the WTC artifact at each memorial. This treatment can tell us about the way that people feel emotionally about the piece, as well as offer a glimpse into how people understand the object as a symbol. The second part of the question relates to the utility of the artifact and could be re-worded to “what *work* do the artifacts do within the memorial?” In other words, how do they “act”? The answer to this question relates to the role of objects in the generation of history and memory and will be discussed presently with support from Nora, Halbwachs, Foucault, and other influential scholars.

The physical arrangements of WTC artifacts at civic 9/11 memorials show some trends. In every memorial that I encountered during the course of this research, the artifact was the centerpiece of the design. All other elements appear to be secondary or complimentary to the artifact. Often, the piece is in the exact center of the memorial (as in the Beverly Hills 9/11 Memorial Garden); if there are multiple artifacts, they are typically grouped together as the focal point (as in the Napa 9/11 Memorial). The only exception to this central focus was the Sacramento Cal Expo memorial; the WTC artifact was at the front of the memorial in this case, still in the most visible position (and the largest elements), but not technically in the center. WTC artifacts are commonly elevated from the ground in some way, be it a large planter box as built at the Beverly Hills 9/11 Memorial Garden, or a simple platform like the Chico 9/11 Memorial; the octagon has proven a popular shape for such a base. Every piece I viewed was presented with an unaltered surface: red with rust and rough to the touch. I understand that some artifacts have

been sealed in such a way as to retard further decay (Beverly Hills is an example), but this was a surprisingly uncommon treatment and most were simply placed out in the elements unprotected.

The location and arrangement of WTC artifacts is significant to the message the memorials promote. Clearly the artifacts are given a privileged place within each installation, either central to the design, or in a place of particular visual impact. This communicates to visitors that the WTC artifact is the most important part of the memorial and that it deserves the lion's share of the attention. It is the representation of the WTC. The artifact connotes destruction, death and loss.

The WTC artifacts often work to set an emotional tone for the memorials. As remnants of an awesomely destructive event which culminated in the loss of billions of dollars of infrastructure as well as thousands of lives, the I-beams represent continuation and strength. The pieces still exist, and their very presence is a reminder that it is possible to survive devastating violence (albeit not without injury or transformation); this contributes a sense of hope and resilience to the memorials; the idea that we (Americans) are strong enough to withstand the worst that could be thrown our way and still come out of it standing. In this way, the WTC artifacts serve to reinforce extant themes and narratives of American identity and history which they share: strength, resilience, toughness, and optimism.

Ultimately, the WTC artifacts focus attention on Ground Zero in New York while promoting particularly complimentary aspects of American self-identification. The artifacts in no way explain the full story of the attacks; they do not address the long history of American military and political intervention that may have contributed to malicious sentiment towards the U.S. which encouraged extremist activities. A holistic approach that considers all aspects of the

event is undesirable when trying to tell a story which begins with an unprovoked assault and ends with honorable vengeance abroad coupled with sympathetic unity at home.

Thematically, there are other common elements that I observed at most of the memorials, aside from the inclusion of an artifact. These elements are no less important to the message and tone of the memorial. Perhaps the most likely inclusion, aside from the artifacts themselves, is a pentagon. This shape (meant to represent the Pentagon, where Flight 77 crashed) is often present; perhaps as a base for the WTC artifact, or, as in the case of Cal Expo, a stand-alone feature. The Rosemead and Napa memorials do not include a pentagonal element. Instead, the Napa memorial represents the Pentagon by listing the names of each individual who died within the building and also on Flight 77. The Rosemead memorial, however, does not make a unique distinction for the Pentagon crash, but rather memorializes 9/11 as a singular event.

There is a reason why the pentagon (when present) is often represented by a solid stone base. The imposing edifice of the Pentagon houses the military heart of the United States: the building is literally the base from which the American military draws its strength. Employing a pentagonal base to hold up a WTC artifact makes sense. At the Chico and Beverly Hills memorials, the WTC artifact (an example of resilience and continuation, but also capitalism) is supported by a pentagon; our ability as Americans to forge ahead in our consumer way of life is built upon a strong defensive and offensive force. The symbolism could not be clearer in these two cases. At the Sacramento Cal Expo memorial it is the American flag that rises out of the pentagon; again, the meaning is clear. As a Nation and a people, we are supported by our military and the strength of our fighting force is what hold us up.

The crash of Flight 93 in Shanksville, PA shows less consistency in memorialization than the other attack locations. In Beverly Hills, Flight 93 is represented by a lawn of tall, waving grass; in Chico it receives a plaque just like the WTC and Pentagon, and at Cal Expo, recognition comes in the form of a flame-like sculpture (I was informed by Steve Launey that the flame is meant to represent the burning field following the crash). The Napa memorial includes a list of victims' names from the site, but no dedicated element aside from that. Similarly to the Pentagon, Flight 93 is not distinguished in any specific manner at the Rosemead memorial. This variability may be due to the lack of a recognizable location to associate with the crash. Steel seems a convenient and obvious material to associate with the WTC and it easily conjures themes of resilience and strength, but a field of grass does not offer the same metaphorical depth. Because of this ambiguity, memorial designers were free to interpret and assign symbols on an individual basis and thus greater variation is observed.

Shanksville has been more difficult to memorialize than the Pentagon and WTC. As noted previously, the Pentagon is a symbol of American military might; the WTC artifacts have become a symbol of strength and resilience. There is no existing mythos or characteristic to attach a burning field to, and, therefore, Shanksville does not easily align with the American narrative associated with 9/11. Interestingly, for memorialization, the loss of life of those onboard the plane is overshadowed by spatial significance of the crash. This lack of association may also explain the lack of agreement in memorialization and its alterative design.

How and what do the memorials contribute to the collective memory of 9/11?

By returning to Pierre Nora and Maurice Halbwachs, as well as the work of Mason and Joseph, we can now discuss the manner in which memorials “act,” or how they contribute to the

articulation of collective memory. Nora, in his discussion of memory and history, posits that history is partly reliant on physical manifestations (such as archives and monuments) to remind people of the ostensibly significant aspects of their shared past (Nora 1989:13-14). This need for a physical component is due to the fractured nature of modern history, as compared to the smooth and unbroken (though inconsistently recalled) character of memory (Nora 1989:8).

For Americans, the memorials play a pivotal role in both maintaining the collective memory of 9/11 and promoting flattering concepts of the United States, its people, and its place in the world. They not only offer undeniable proof of the awesome destruction endured that day (by the presence of twisted steel), but they also (and perhaps more importantly) fit 9/11 into the disjointed, important-people-and-events-style narrative that is characteristic of American popular history. In the absence of a strong nationally-shared memory tradition, the memorials function to supersede or supplement individual memories of the events, or to supply impressions where no personal memory exists.

Each of the memorials I visited avoided the inclusion of an individual narrative in the form of a singular person's story or experience. All of the narrative discussed the victims as a general whole; at most, they may have been divided by the location of their death (as in the Napa memorial which grouped victims by which Tower or plane they were in). lists of victim's names may offer the closest approximation we have to an individual acknowledgement. However, this is a far cry from detailing the story of a person's life and final moments.

Halbwachs' exploration of ritual and collectivity provides insight into another aspect of the memorials which helps to cement their role in the maintenance of a national collective memory. This aspect is the recurring ritual that is typically held at the memorials on the yearly

anniversary of 9/11. At these events, individuals gather together to think and talk about 9/11 and the impact it had on them, their communities, the Nation, and the world. These rituals, often complete with speeches from local political leaders, serve to reinforce the message of the memorial with a show of community solidarity and agreement regarding the import and significance of 9/11.

The repetition of ritual mourning that occurs at the site is an example of the recall of individual memory into a grander existing framework of collective consciousness. By gathering together and recounting the events of September 11, 2001, people are melding their memory with each other and the dominant narrative of the event. Visitors hear the story over and over again, from myriad sources (individuals, memorial text, guest speakers, etc.), fitting their own memories into that existing narrative and thereby contributing to a collective understanding of 9/11. As discussed by Maurice Halbwachs, it is exactly this additive and homogenizing process of compiling raw individual memories into a socially-shared grand narrative (which reflects present ideas and valuations of the experiences) that produces history (Halbwachs 1992:38-42).

The memorials themselves, beyond acting as a meeting place, also serve as a locus wherein recognizable symbols (replica towers, twisted steel, patriotic texts, etc.) are arranged in such a way as to associate disparate concepts and feelings into a cohesive set of ideas. Michel Foucault in *The Order of Things* ([1970] 1994), discussed exactly this when he suggested that the manner in which objects and concepts are associated can influence one's understanding of oneself and also the world around them. Similarly to how Halbwachs' work shows that the compilation of myriad personal memories can distill and homogenize to become a nationally-shared history, the physical association of disparate objects and words can work to form a whole

feeling or concept. Applying Foucault's ideas to civic 9/11 memorials can help to illuminate the work they do. For example, the Beverly Hills 9/11 Memorial Garden features a number of elements that do not necessarily go together, but which have been placed in very close proximity spatially so as to suggest relatedness. Two such elements are the Declaration of Independence and the Navy Hymn. These two patriotic works, though disparate in tone and content, are engraved together on the octagonal base, immediately below the WTC artifact. Although it may seem obvious to some that these things are related, the connection is not inherent. Rather, it is a created intimacy that associates freedom (the Declaration of Independence), traumatic loss (the WTC artifact), and military force (the Navy Hymn). When remembrance events are held in this location annually, the association is reinforced over and over again perhaps until it feels natural (assuming that it did not from the very beginning).

Another example comes from the Chico 9/11 Memorial. In this case, there is another association of freedom, the military, and the events of 9/11. The Chico memorial features a flagpole upon which, at the base, is inscribed "De Oppresso Liber," Latin for "To free the oppressed." This is the motto of the United States Army Special Forces. Again, just like the Beverly Hills memorial, this one also puts disparate elements together in such a way that military violence is vaunted as a righteous and deserved response to an attack on the very core of American identity and values.

The Cal Expo memorial also combines themes and ideas that do not necessarily relate to each other. For example, Cal Expo label text states that the "terms" "I Have a Dream," and "Sweet Land of Liberty" (not in fact terms, but the title of a speech and the lyrics to a song, respectively) will forever now be accompanied by the well-published words of Todd Beamer,

who famously cried “let’s roll” before he and his fellow passengers attempted to retake Flight 93 from hijackers. Beamer’s rallying cry, while ostensibly inspiring, had nothing at all to do with Martin Luther King Jr.’s address or the patriotic tune, *My Country, ‘Tis of Thee* (in either subject or context). However, by associating these disparate expressions, the memorial links Beamer’s words to concepts which are central to American national identity – namely equality and freedom.

The Rosemead and Napa memorials do not seemingly attempt to link discordant elements; in the case of the Rosemead memorial, this is likely due to the simplicity of the design, which does not include extensive interpretation. However, the Napa 9/11 Memorial text avoids patriotic or nationalistic sentiment altogether in favor of reminding visitors of the “courage, caring and compassion our world experienced that day.” These two memorials, although they do not actively encourage patriotic or nationalistic ideas, still promote an incomplete understanding of September 11, 2001 due to their partial and isolated treatment of the complex political and historical context within which the attacks occurred.

Despite what these memorials espouse, there is little reason to believe that there was a direct relationship between American freedom (whatever that may be) and the attacks of 9/11. Contrary to what many seem to believe, those responsible for the hijackings have never claimed that our freedom was a motivation for the attacks. It seems likely that instead, the rhetoric of freedom-hating Muslim terrorists was internally generated and as it became dominant, this narrative allowed the Nation and its citizens to continue ignoring any modicum of responsibility (due to American interference in the Middle East) for the desperation and anger that partly fueled the destruction.

Memorials communicate more than the story they tell through physical symbolism and messages. Equally important is what is not publicly visible through the memorialization process. Drawing on the work of Michel-Rolph Trouillot, the things that are not talked about or made visible at 9/11 memorials, i.e. the silences, are important to highlight.

The Chico 9/11 memorial provides a good example with which to explore Trouillot's notion of silence. This memorial features a timeline which illustrates the bounded nature of the 9/11 story at many memorials. Beginning with the morning of September 11, 2001, the timeline follows seemingly important events of the day. It terminates that same night with former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani closing schools for September 12. Missing is any reference to events which may have led up to 9/11 (such as the long history of murder perpetrated on the people of the Middle East by American forces), and equally overlooked are the deadly military actions (hinted at with the incorporation of the Special Forces motto) which President Bush approved following the attacks. Any mention of American induced violence is left out.

Such a limited narrative is presented at every memorial surveyed which includes a chronological recounting of 9/11. Cal Expo, for example, tells visitors that the horrors began the morning of 9/11 and that the only significant aspects of the event to linger beyond that night were continued feelings of fear and hope (for all people around the world, not just Americans). The Napa memorial echoes this short-sighted perspective in that it begins the story on the morning of September 11 and wraps it up the same day.

Although some of the memorials present a connection between 9/11 and military strength, none of them talk directly about the application of martial power. This effectively disassociates the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq from the devastation of 9/11. Like many

memorials, civic 9/11 memorials only focus on deaths that occurred on the day or period of utmost destruction. This is exactly the point of memorialization; it appears natural and unquestionable that the thousands who died at the hands of our military are left out of the death tally (as are the deaths of the perpetrators). That which falls outside the nationalist narrative is simply not considered relevant. Even the Napa memorial, which exhibited a worldlier view of the loss in its acknowledgement that victims represented 93 nations, stops short of including the innocent victims of the United States military in the final count.

Returning to Trouillot can help to situate what is lacking in these memorials. By not acknowledging the larger historical framework within which 9/11 occurred, or the actual number of deaths (worldwide) that should be considered part of the story (as was understood by the attackers), the memorials tell visitors that there is no connection between previous events in the attackers' home region and the attacks of September 11, 2001. They also state that the only deaths that matter are those which occurred on American soil.

Nationalistic Message as a Product of Geographic and Temporal Distance

The California memorials generally show a strong patriotic single-mindedness and lack of concern with holistic history. This characteristic is inconsistent with the findings of Mason and Joseph in their exploration of museum exhibits and proximity to political centers. The researchers found that Japanese peace museums showed a lessening of nationalistic sentiment as their proximity from national political centers increased. Such findings suggest that treatment of traumatic events in public history forums (such as museums and memorials) may be more realistic (in terms of national wrong doing or culpability) the farther they are located from capitols and other politically powerful areas. However, this effect was not observed in the

memorials examined for this study. Rather, the California 9/11 memorials are replete with patriotic emphases and a nationalistic focus on victimhood and innocence. What Mason and Joseph found in museums far from epicenter of the atomic bombings was a greater acknowledgement of Japanese complicity in atrocities associated with World War II. The civic 9/11 memorials in California, on the other hand, acknowledge no responsibility at all for the deaths associated with American interference in the Middle East or for Bush's wars. Nowhere do these memorials take note of the complex web of activities and events which led to and followed the attacks of 9/11. My thesis calls into question Mason and Joseph's theoretical claim.

The difference between my observations and those of Mason and Joseph may be due to the temporal variance in the two events indicated -- WWII (in the case of Mason and Joseph) and 9/11 (in this study). This temporal sensitivity is consistent with the second aspect of Mason and Joseph's work; that greater times elapsed between the occurrence of an event and its representation in a museum exhibit leads to a more realistic approach. In Mason and Joseph's study the time elapsed from the bombing was in the span of decades. My observation of 9/11 memorials occurred less than two decades after the event. Thus, this time gap I clearly could not replicate. As more time passes, it will become more apparent if this relationship applies, too, to 9/11 memorialization.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

9/11 memorialization within the United States is a multifarious and complex phenomenon which contributes to the popular understanding of American history and self-identification in specific ways. Through a combination of intentional associations as well as informational voids, the memorials paint a picture of 9/11 which encourages visitors to view the event in unique

ways. The attacks are presented as simultaneously isolated from world history and yet connected to certain flattering American themes including military actions; the message of the memorials promotes a perspective that is temporally specific to the period of their creation and politically useful in that context.

Drawing from revolutionary theorists Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, and Michel-Rolph Trouillot, I considered the work of memorialization as it represented a Nationally traumatic event. The role of such a fundamental and seemingly simplistic concept as physical proximity and arrangement was shown to be highly significant and responsible for great meaning-making. This avenue of inquiry informed me as to how the location of a WTC artifact can, in a manner, contribute to the sacralization of other objects and spaces around it; this relates directly to Question #3 - How and what do the memorials contribute to the collective memory of 9/11?- in that the positioning of the artifact (and the very fact it is located where it is) is highly significant to creating the message of the memorial. My observations in this regard are consistent with object relationships as proposed by Michel Foucault. Foucault theorized that the ordering of objects – the physical relations between them -- can influence a person's perspective on related relationships, such as historical or emotional themes (Foucault [1970] 1994). The simple arrangement of things (objects, words, ideas, places) near each other suggests a relationship and in doing so, can encourage associations where none inherently exist. For example, the Declaration of Independence and the crash of United 93 are ostensibly unrelated things, yet at the Beverly Hills memorial a portion of the Declaration is positioned near the swaying-grass representation of Flight 93 in such a manner as to suggest a connection. These things would not be present together if they were not believed to relate in some way.

Additionally, the civic memorials, contrary to their ostensible community-centeredness, were shown to be products of a process which was greatly influenced by power differentials and unequal access to capital. Theorist Pierre Bourdieu observed the working of capital in the exertion of power and posited that one type of capital can beget more, and potentially different kinds of capital (Bourdieu 1990). My own observations of the memorial-creation process supported this idea and helped to answer Question #1- What initiated the civic 9/11 memorialization process? In the case of the civic memorials I surveyed, it was individuals or organizations holding great social (and often monetary) capital who initiated the process and were able to gain social capital in the form of expression.

This phenomenon is significant in that entities with greater social and monetary capital may be promoting a perspective on the United States and 9/11 that supports their endeavors and vision for the Country. This is not an inherently negative result, but it does indicate that expression may be easier for those in power; unequal participation in the production of history creates a narrative which reflects a uniquely privileged viewpoint. The point is not that message may vary depending on access to capital. Rather, what I am emphasizing is that the simple ability to express a message at all, in a public place and endorsed by the governing body, is perhaps partially dependent on access to and extant capital, leading to the potential silencing of less privileged voices.

Finally, memorial narratives indicated glaring gaps in information that may potentially encourage misunderstanding of American history and people. The work of Michelle-Rolph Trouillot highlights the significance of what is not present in historical narratives, and offers insight into Question #3; ultimately, what the memorials contribute is a partial and perhaps

inaccurate story about Americans, the United States, and the historical positioning of 9/11.

Trouillot noted that it is in the silences that the work of power can be seen in the production of historical narratives (Trouillot 1995). The group endorsing the narrative may, intentionally or not, neglect to include information which may be contrary to their position or which may suggest alternative understandings of important events. A memorial's presentation is likely heavily influenced by the perspective and potential agenda of the memorial creators; the memorials are permanent physical manifestations of one understanding of 9/11, they do not represent the actual complexity of the event; this is evidenced by the timelines beginning and ending on September 11, 2001, as well as in the lack of acknowledgement of the aftermath in the United States which saw aggression and violence towards American Muslims (Fruman and Sakuma 2016).

The shapes, materials, and language within the memorials were not randomly assigned. Rather, they were chosen by individuals whose approach to 9/11 was approved of by their respective civic governmental bodies. This official support indicates an explicit agreement with the message promoted by the governing body of the region and the PANYNJ. The represents a transfer and exertion of social capital held by the expressive group. The produced memorials are material manifestations of the "correct" perspective on 9/11. Pierre Bourdieu conceived of capital as a force which could be traded, grown, and lost, and which held the potential to benefit individuals and groups who have it. The reverse of this phenomenon is that those with less capital are at a disadvantage. The civic 9/11 memorials give power to those who agree with the official message. Yet, they just as effectively disempower those individuals and groups who experienced 9/11 differently. In a memorial context, this power imbalance and biased expression means that the more-or-less permanent physical record of the event – the record that will endure

after all personal memories of the event have passed along with the people who held them – is promoting a narrative that flatters and empowers the group which built them, the group that already benefitted from greater capital.

The physical reality of these memorials is highly significant to the disempowering of alternative narratives. As noted previously, improvised, community-organized memorials popped up immediately after the attacks, but they did not last. What survived in the steel and stone civic sites was the official statement on the events of the day. This differential fate represents what Pierre Nora theorized to be the break between memory and history. Memory is improvised, fluid, and social; history is non-negotiable, concrete, and archival. Memorialization (as an expression of history) is remarkably resistant to change, as evidenced by the recent controversies regarding Confederate memorials in the Southern States (BBC 2017, NY Times 2017, Suerth 2017, Morris 2015). Because of this trend of permanence, it is likely that the civic 9/11 memorials will survive for a very long time, continuing to promote their particular message to future generations while memory of the event continues to fade. The privileging of a particular perspective on 9/11, and the selective preservation of that perspective in the form of permanent memorial, helps to not only keep social capital in the hands of those who already hold it, but also allows it to grow. Both improvised and permanent memorials are products of the individuals who worked to form them. However, only permanent civic memorials have been vetted and approved by a governmental entity.

The lasting message that the memorials espouse is one of isolated tragedy, singular heroism, and righteous vengeance. At the very least, each of the memorials promotes a view of 9/11 which suggests the event was alone in its significance and entirely unjustified. Neither of

these assumptions are the case. The attacks of September 11, 2001 were the product of a long history of American intrusion and bullying in the Middle East. Americans have been directly responsible for great loss of life in the Middle East, as well as monumental infrastructural damage that has continued to depress the area for decades. At the time of the attacks, the American government had already been interfering in the Gulf region for over 50 years.

Tension had been building between the United States and various areas of the Middle East since immediately after World War II. Persistent interference in the region, beginning with the installation of a puppet-shah in Iran during the 1940s, and continuing through the Cold War with violent involvement in proxy conflicts and into the 1980s and 1990s with the Gulf War. Such activities may have encouraged resentment and frustration towards the United States among local inhabitants and, in part, stimulated the actions of former Saudi national and 9/11 mastermind Osama bin Laden.

In no way were the attacks isolated incidents; they were embedded within the tumultuous historical relationship between the United States and myriad Middle Eastern countries. The connection is not only in the lead-up of the event; 9/11 triggered further violence in the form of US-led military interventions which only continued further destruction.

The memorials I surveyed presented the 9/11 attacks as a totally unjustified surprise, which stood outside of the flow of history. This framing is evidenced by the language presented at the memorials. The timeline featured at the Chico 9/11 Memorial is a good example; it begins and ends on September 11, 2001 with no mention of any previous or succeeding related events. The chronological narrative included at the Sacramento Cal Expo Memorial is similarly narrow; it begins when the first plane crashed into the WTC and ends with the crash of Flight 93 in

Shanksville. The memorial narrative of 9/11, therefore, is an event without a history. It is as if it *just happened*. Without any grounding in past events, 9/11 is more easily seen as unjustified aggression that came out of the blue. Thus, at the same time as presenting an ahistorical narrative and a sudden act of human injustice, this framing allows for a complete disregard of any connection to American historical violence and also affirms the necessity for retaliation.

The limited scope of the narrative on the historical event of 9/11 is complicated by associations that some memorials make between the attacks and other, seemingly unrelated, aspects of American history or military themes. The narrative panels at the Sacramento 9/11 memorial draw a direct association between the last words of Flight 93 passenger Todd Beamer and the foundational “I Have a Dream” speech of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Similarly, the Navy Hymn is included at the Beverly Hills memorial. The effect of such association is the elicitation of an emotional response. The words of a beloved civil rights leader speaking about freedom - a value most Americans hold in high regard (in whatever form they envision it) - are placed in close proximity to the Navy Hymn, a referent to potential brute force (also a concept many Americans support). Alongside these messages is one expressed by Todd Beamer – “Okay, let’s roll,” words spoken prior to Beamer’s rush on the hijacked cockpit of Flight 93. These three concepts or expressions have nothing to do with each other in either content, time, space, or tone. However, their association in the memorial creates an emotional concept of bravely-righteous (Beamer) power (The Navy Hymn) in defense of freedom (MLK), the American dream worth fighting for. Proximity can be employed over and over to create a sort of hybrid emotional prompt that intentionally elicits disparate feelings in unison for the purpose of encouraging a patriotic framing of 9/11. This association may be intentional or not, the effect occurs regardless;

the combination of themes and ideas at any memorial reflects the understanding of the event held by the memorial designers specifically.

In addition to the isolation of the event as ahistorical and thematic associations aligned in the memorials, there is also a strong emphasis on first responders. It is clear that fire fighters and police officers did exhibit remarkable bravery in the face of great danger and uncertainty when they ran into the burning buildings to save those in need. However, the emphasis on their sacrifice ignores other acts of heroism - non-professional rescuers risking their life for others. Every memorial surveyed during the course of this research made special reference to first responders. This is understood in my study as not an original thought on the part of the memorial creators, but in line with a PANYNJ request that the memorials stress the first responder role.

The reasoning behind the PANYNJ request for this heroic message is not officially stated. However, the social tone of the Nation following 9/11 took an intensely traditional turn, including the valorization of a masculine gender role in keeping with the American focus on frontier bravery. Museologist Geoffrey White observed a similar phenomenon present at Pearl Harbor memorials, and noted that, in the case of traumatic events, meaning can be made through the identification and accentuation of the hero: an individual who represents the highest ideals of the group in question (White 2004:298). 9/11 memorials emphasize first responders as examples of selflessness and bravery in the face of incomprehensible horror; two qualities which are greatly valued by Americans as traditionally masculine characteristics (Faludi 2007:145).

Noting the present-centeredness of heritage, Ashworth, Graham, and Tunbridge posit that memorials are physical manifestations of national heritage, and often serve the interest of the political climate at the time they are created. In support of this claim, a motivating factor in the

development and ultimate character of the 9/11 memorials I surveyed is the political climate at the time of their design. The majority of the memorials surveyed were dedicated between 2011 and 2014. The exception is the Cal Expo Memorial in Sacramento which, complete with WTC artifact, was dedicated in 2002 (This is an interesting situation considering that the WTC artifact disbursement program did not begin until 2010. My questions about the provenience of the artifact in Sacramento have not been answered to this date). During the time when the memorials (all except the Sacramento Cal Expo memorial) were being designed, the United States was engaging in aggressive military actions in the Middle East. Troop numbers in Afghanistan reached their highest levels around 2011; this coincides with the ten-year anniversary of the attacks and an intense proliferation of memorial dedications in the U.S. (Kurtzleben 2016). Further, the period from 2009 to 2014 represented a significant increase in the American military presence in Afghanistan; 2009 to 2011 was also the period when the 2011 memorials were being designed and installed (Kurtzleben 2016). When considered through the lens of Ashworth, Graham, and Tunbridge, it is not surprising that the memorials reflect a narrow focus on the attacks (which isolates them from broader history), martial associations, and a preoccupation with uniformed heroes. These memorial messages support a perspective on 9/11 which, in turn, may encourage a more positive outlook on vengeance and military action.

Further Research

There is great opportunity for further research into American 9/11 memorialization. One avenue of inquiry could address the question of why do we not see a similar decline in patriotic historic gloss due to geographic proximity as that witnessed by Mason and Joseph in their study of Japanese peace museums? As suggested by Mason and Joseph, temporal distance plays a

considerable role in the emphasis of a patriotic narrative. However, in the case of 9/11 memorials, one does not seemingly observe this. I posit that an inadequate amount of time has passed for an increase in historical clarity to manifest. This may indicate that while there is a relationship between historical accuracy and time elapsed since the event, there may also be a temporal boundary which must be crossed in order for the relationship to initiate. 9/11 memorials built after the early 2000s and into the future will provide fodder for such inquiry.

The myriad international 9/11 memorials are also worthy of further study. There are many over-seas memorials dedicated to the lives lost on September 11, 2001, and a handful also feature WTC artifacts. The motivations behind the creation of these memorials and their political character could offer insight into international relations and networks of memorialization. Of particular interest may be memorials created by countries which have not historically been friendly to the United States; Russia, for example, gifted the United States with a 9/11 memorial which was rejected by its intended recipient (Jersey City, New Jersey) and eventually settled in a municipality just 6 miles away (Miller 2005).

Memorialization of the attacks of September 11, 2001 will continue to occur as new memorials are installed and dedicated (one of the most recent memorials to feature a WTC artifact was dedicated in Medina, Ohio in 2018) (Sandrick 2018). The message and tone will likely evolve as time passes; the longevity of the memorials is still to be determined and largely dependent on how future generations will come to view the event. Each memorial is a product of its time and will continue to work to keep and perpetuate its message. The civic 9/11 memorials illustrate a moment in time which represents strong patriotism, intense military action, and a (albeit, seemingly brief) return to traditional patriarchal values. As artifacts, 9/11 memorials are

invaluable to understanding and representing the American collective response to trauma and threat.

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APPENDIX A

Sacramento Cal Expo 9/11 Memorial Label Content

Label 1: “NEVER FORGET SEPTEMBER 11, 2001”

“On September 11th, 2001 America’s history was permanently altered at 8:46 a.m. when American Airlines Flight 11 slammed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center in New York City. Seventeen minutes later at 9:03 a.m. United Airlines Flight 175 slammed into the tower’s twin and blew up in another hellacious ball of fire.

Americans were quick to realize that this was no accident but instead a heinous act of terrorism. The unthinkable had happened. America had been attacked on her own soil. For the next 85 minutes, the world held its breath and watched in horror and disbelief. At 9:59 am the mighty South Tower surrendered to the ground followed at 10:28 a.m. by a sympathetic, weeping partner. When it was over, the world wretched at the devastation, the loss of so many innocent souls and the pain and suffering of loved ones. The only comfort to be found amid the ash and rubble were stories of unselfish acts of bravery and courage from those who rushed to help.

According to the New York Times, as of April 22, 2002, 2,825 people, from more than 115 countries were listed as having died in the attacks on the World Trade Center.

Among the dead were:

343-Firefighters and Paramedics

23-New York Police Department Officers

37-New York/New Jersey-Port Authority Police Officers

38-New York/New Jersey-Port Authority non-uniformed employees

157-Died on the two hijacked airplanes”

Label 2: “ONE NATION”

“The California Exposition and State Fair is proud to be the final resting place for more than 125,000 pounds of steel wreckage from the World Trade Center in New York City.

Acquired by California Exposition and State Fair Board past member Larry Davis and his wife JoAnn, Cal Expo took possession of the material on July 9, 2002. After traveling across America welded to a steel gondola style railroad car, the materials were escorted in a formal motorcade, led by the Sacramento County Sheriff, State Fair Police, California Highway Patrol, and regional [*sic*] Fire Departments to the Sacramento site.

The materials were then assembled and located on a temporary site for exhibit and unveiled at the 2002 State Fair.

Since that time, Mr. Larry Davis, who passed away in 2006, and scores of others including the entire Board of Directors, have dedicated themselves to erecting a permanent Memorial Plaza. This September 11th Memorial Plaza will stand for generations to come as a reminder that freedom does have a price, and that we must never forget America’s painful sacrifice on September 11, 2001.

This Plaza is comprised of several interesting elements that create an atmosphere of peace and remembrance. In addition, to the large 'I' beams taken from Ground Zero in New York City there are several exhibits paying tribute to many heroic acts. We salute the departments of NYPD, FDNY, NY/NJ Port Authority and the Office of Emergency Management Services and the many various Departments of the City of New York, including then Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, as well as those regular, unselfish and wonderful people who volunteered their help because it was needed. Two Glass Towers create a powerful point of reflection while other monuments remind us of the catastrophic events that took place in Washington D.C. and Pennsylvania. A magnificent Carillon Bell Tower also graces the memorial with beautiful music. Central to the Plaza a Granite Sphere weighing 5,180 pounds nestled in a granite cradle and turning on a thin layer of water with the names of all the souls lost in the events of 9/11.”

Label 3: “WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL”

“In the nation’s Capitol [*sic*], news of the attacks on the World Trade Center riveted down the corridors of the Pentagon. For more than 20,000 civilian and military personnel at one of the world’s most secure military installations, it was inconceivable they were to become the next target of terrorism.

At 9:38 a.m. twenty minutes before the collapse of the first World Trade Center Tower, American Airlines Flight 77 with 59 people on board plunged into the west side of this symbol of America's military might. For the innocent and unsuspecting passengers and crew on board that flight almost two hours of terror ended. The casualties in Washington D.C. added another 125 people who died at the Pentagon to the 59 aboard the airplane for a total of 184 victims to this day of terror.

The life altering news of the day was not over. Was it possible that these maniacs could have commandeered another commercial airliner and turned it into a weapon of mass destruction? At 10:06 a.m. United Airlines Flight 93 slammed into the ground in a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania some 80 miles southeast of Pittsburgh. This time, in a spirit of defiance, having been informed of the attack on the Trade Center in conversation between a passenger and telephone operator, several brave Americans attempted to reclaim the hijacked plane and prevent further destruction and greater loss of life. Amid the desperation, 40 courageous souls gallantly gave their lives to save many others.

While we frantically search for solace, reasoning, and compassion for our fallen fellow Americans the terms, 'God Bless America,' 'Sweet Land of Liberty,' and 'I Have a Dream,' become more important every day. Now we have another two words that will be a part of the story of America.

Those valiant people on Flight 93, which came down near Shanksville,
Pennsylvania said, 'Let's Roll.'”

APPENDIX B

Chico 9/11 Memorial Label and Note Content

Label 1: The Children of 9/11 Victims (inside building)

“The hat too big
On a head too small
To bear the burden.

Eyes well up with tears
Chin trembles
Tries to be so brave
Just like dad.

Pain and uncertainty
Etched forever on
A child’s face.

Ears echo with the
Sound of bagpipes.
Hand clutches a flag.

Heart aches...
For Dad.

Poem by:
Karen Main
Chico, CA.”

Label 2: 9/11 Timeline (inside building)

“8:42. American Airlines Flight 11, which was hijacked after takeoff from a Boston flight to Los Angeles, slams into the north tower of the World Trade Center in New York City. the plane, a Boeing 767, carried 81 passengers, nine flight attendants, and two pilots.

9:00. United Airlines Flight 175 heading to Los Angeles, slams into the south tower of the World Trade Center. Also a Boeing 767, it carried 58 passengers, four flight attendants, and two pilots.

9:17. The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) shuts down all New York City area airports.

9:21. New York City Port Authority orders all bridges and tunnels in the New York City area closed.

9:24. President Bush calls the plane crashes at the World Trade Center ‘an apparent terrorist attack on our country.’”

9:32. The New York Stock Exchange is closed down.

9:40. The FAA shuts down the entire nationwide air traffic system. All flights at U.S. airports are stopped for the first time in U.S. history.

9:43. American airlines Flight 77, which left Dulles International Airport on a flight to Los Angeles, crashes into a helicopter landing pad near the Pentagon. Evacuation begins immediately. The plane, a Boeing 757, carried 58 passengers, and six crew members.

9:45. The White House is evacuated.

9:57. President Bush departs from Florida where he had been giving a speech at a school.

10:05. The south tower of the World Trade Center collapses to the ground, spewing debris for several square blocks. A massive cloud of dust forms and engulfs the building.

10:10. A portion of the Pentagon collapses as a result of the plane crash there.

10:13. More than 11,000 people are evacuated from the United Nations Visitor Center in New York City.

10:22. The State Justice Departments and the World Bank in Washington D.C. are evacuated.

10:24. The FAA diverts all inbound transatlantic aircraft to Canada.

10:28. The north tower of the World Trade Center collapses in a plume of smoke and debris.

10:29. United Airlines Flight 93 crashes just north of Somerset County Airport, about 80 miles southeast of Pittsburgh. The plane, a Boeing 757, which took off from Newark Liberty International Airport en route to San Francisco, carried 38 passengers, two pilots and five flight attendants.

10:45. All federal office buildings in Washington D.C. are evacuated.

10:46. U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell returns to the United States from Latin America.

10:53. New York cancels its primary elections.

11:57. Governor George Pataki closes all New York state offices.

11:02. New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani orders the evacuation of Lower Manhattan south of Canal Street.

12:04. Los Angeles International Airport is evacuated and shut down.

12:15. San Francisco International Airport is evacuated and shut down.

1:04. President Bush addresses the nation and advises that the U.S. military has been placed on high alert world-wide, and states ‘Make no mistake, the United States will hunt down and punish those responsible for these cowardly acts.’

1:27. Washington D.C. declares a state of emergency.

1:44. Five battleships and two aircraft carriers leave the Naval Station Norfolk in Virginia, and head to the east coast to provide air defense for New York and Washington D.C.

1:48. President Bush leaves Barksdale Air Force Base in Louisiana aboard Air Force One and flies to the Strategic Air Command in Nebraska.

2:49. Mayor Giuliani holds a press conference and states that the number of people killed is ‘more than any of us can bear.’

4:06. California sends expert teams to New York to help in the search-and-rescue efforts.

4:10. World Trade Center Building 7 catches on fire.

4:30. President Bush leaves Offut Air Force Base in Nebraska for flight to Washington D.C.

5:25. World Trade Center 7, a 47 story building collapses from ancillary damage from the morning’s attack.

6:10. Mayor Giuliani asks all non-essential persons to stay out of New York for the following day.

9:08. The governor of New York announces that New York City will be shut down below 14th Street.

9:57. Mayor closes all New York schools for the following day.”

Engraving at the base of the flagpole

“DE OPPRESSO LIBER” [The motto of the United States Army Special Forces. Latin. Translation: “To free the oppressed.”]

Plaques at the base of the flagpole

“This plaque has been placed in honor of the 72 Law Enforcement Officers killed on September 11, 2001. In the attacks on the World Trade Center and crash of Flight 93 in Shanksville, PA. We dedicate this space in grateful appreciation of their service to the citizens of the United States of America, and the communities that they protected, so that they will never be forgotten.

Chico Police Officers Association”

“This plaque has been placed in honor of the 125 military personnel and civilian employees who were killed during the attack on the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. Their sacrifices while in service to their country will never be forgotten. We dedicate this space to their memory, and the

memory of the soldiers, sailors, airmen, civilian workers and their families, who continue to make sacrifices on behalf of our great nation.

Chico Police Officers Association”

Crash site plaques on the outside of the building

· “THE PENTAGON

9:37- AMERICAN AIRLINE FLIGHT 77

187 Casualties

[outline image of the state of Virginia with a white star shape approximating the location of the crash]

WE WILL NEVER FORGET”

· “WORLD TRADE CENTER

8:45- AMERICAN AIRLINE FLIGHT 11

9:03- UNITED AIRLINE FLIGHT 175

2753 Casualties

[outline image of the state of New York with a white star shape approximating the location of the crashes]

WE WILL NEVER FORGET

September 11, 2001”

· “SHANKSVILLE, SUMMERSET COUNTY

10:03-UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT 93

40 Casualties

[outline of the state of Pennsylvania with a white star shape approximating
the location of the crash]

WE WILL NEVER FORGET

September 11, 2001”

Handwritten notes hung inside the building (incomplete)

- “We won’t forget those who were lost, those who served, and those who are fighting for our country. Thank you. - Jay” (with American flag drawing)
- “We will never forget [th]at you guys help ... go through this I hope everyone will never forget and always cherish what you have - Destiny”
- “Thank you for your sacrifice, and to those still serving, we can’t wait to serve alongside you. 66th Butte Fire Academy”
- Charles ‘Chic’ Burlingame - Pilot on Flt. 77 crashed into the Pentagon. My high school classmate - RIP ‘Chic’ [drawn heart] Arlyss”
- “We will never forget you. Rest in peace all you brave people Gayle”
- “Thanks to all firefighters! WAR IS NOT THE ANSWER [heart drawing]”
- “I will never forget about the twin towers and everyone that died. N[.....] age 5”
- “Love togetherness we will never forget [heart drawing]”
- “LOVE Thank You”
- “Uncle J.J. Griffyth misses you [Twin Towers drawing with red roses]”
- “[W]e miss you! [B]lessings to all [famil]y members left [.....] by 911 victims [y]ou
Joao Alberto Aguilar for [...i]sm. [heart and butterfly drawings]

APPENDIX C

Beverly Hills 9/11 Memorial Garden Engraving Content

Engraving #1: THE NAVY HYMN

“OUR BRETHREN SHIELD IN DANGER’S HOUR
FROM ROCK AND TEMPEST, FIRE AND FOE.
PROTECT THEM WHERESOEVER THEY GO.

PILOT FLT. 77 CHARLES BURLINGAME CMDR. USN”

Engraving #2: DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

“WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN
ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR
CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG
THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.”

Engraving #3: MY COUNTRY, ‘TIS OF THEE

“MY COUNTRY, ‘TIS OF THEE, SWEET LAND OF
LIBERTY OF THEE I SING; LAND WHERE MY
FATHERS DIED, LAND OF THE PILGRIMS’ PRIDE,
FROM EVERY MOUNTAIN SIDE LET FREEDOM RING.”

Engraving #4: AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL

“O BEAUTIFUL FOR PATRIOT DREAM THAT SEES BEYOND THE
YEARS.
THINE ALABASTER CITIES GLEAM UNDIMMED BY HUMAN
TEARS!
AMERICA! AMERICA! GOD SHED HIS GRACE ON THEE. AND
CROWN
THY GOOD WITH BROTHERHOOD FROM SEA TO SHINING
SEA!”

Engraving #5: THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

“AND THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER IN
TRIUMPH SHALL WAVE, O’ER THE LAND OF
THE FREE, AND THE HOME OF THE BRAVE.”

Engraving #6

“AT 8:45 A.M. ON SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, TERRORISTS HIJACKED
AND CRASHED A PASSENGER JET, AMERICAN AIRLINES,
FLIGHT 11, INTO THE NORTH TOWER OF NEW YORK CITY’S
WORLD TRADE CENTER. AS LIVE TELEVISION COVERAGE
BEGAN, AMERICANS WATCHED IN HORROR AS A SECOND
PLANE, UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT 175, SLAMMED INTO THE
SOUTH TOWER AT 9:03 A.M. At 9:38 A.M., AMERICAN
AIRLINES FLIGHT 77 SMASHED INTO THE PENTAGON
OUTSIDE OF THE NATION’S CAPITOL. A FOURTH JET, UNITED
AIRLINES FLIGHT 93 BOUND FOR WASHINGTON, D.C.,

CRASHED OUTSIDE OF SHANKSVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA AT
10:03 A.M.

POSITIONED ABOVE YOU IS A HISTORIC STEEL ARTIFACT
THAT ONCE SERVED AS A STRUCTURAL MEMBER AT THE
WORLD TRADE CENTER SITE. IT IS SUPPORTED BY A
PENTAGON SHAPED BASE AND PROMINENTLY LOOKS OUT,
EVER VIGILANT, TOWARDS THE SYMBOLIC TWIN TOWERS
AND THE FIELD OF GREENERY REPRESENTING SHANKSVILLE.
ENCASED IN THE FOUNDATION OF THIS MEMORIAL ARE
COPIES OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, UNITED
STATES CONSTITUTION, GETTYSBURG ADDRESS, AND A
PIECE OF THE AIRCRAFT FROM FLIGHT 77 ALONG WITH THE
CAPTAIN'S INSIGNIA WINGS.

THE BEVERLY HILLS 9/11 MEMORIAL GARDEN SERVES TO
FOREVER HONOR, RESPECT, AND REMEMBER THE VICTIMS,
RESCUERS, AND HEROES WHO LOST THEIR LIVES ON
SEPTEMBER 11, 2001.”

APPENDIX D

Napa 9/11 Memorial Garden Engraving Content

Engraving #1:

“9/11 is synonymous with four coordinated attacks carried out by al-Qaeda, and Islamist extremist group, on the morning of September 11, 2001. The attacks killed 2,977 people.

On the morning of September 11, 2001, 19 terrorists from al-Qaeda, hijacked four commercial airplanes, deliberately crashing two of the planes into the upper floors of the North and South towers of the World Trade Center complex and a third plane into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia.

The Twin Towers at the World Trade Center ultimately collapsed because of the damage sustained from the impacts and the resulting fires.

After learning about the other attacks, passengers on the fourth hijacked plane, Flight 93, fought back, and the plane was crashed into an empty field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania about 20 minutes by air from Washington, D.C.

The attacks killed people from 93 nations. 2,753 people were killed in New York, 184 people were killed at the Pentagon and 40 people were killed on Flight 93.

The community of Napa acquired 30 tons of steel - pieces of the Twin Towers at the World Trade Center - from Port Authority of New York and New Jersey after the Port announced it would offer steel sections for September 11 memorials.

Constructed from the recovered remnants of the World Trade Center, the Napa 9/11 Memorial honors victims of terrorism and all who risk their lives to save others.

This place of reflection is meant to inspire us to continue to express the courage, caring and compassion our world experienced that day.”

APPENDIX E

Rosemead 9/11 Memorial Label Text

Engraving #1:

“Of what remains, a single dove rises heavenward for each of the fallen.
Two hands rise in hope, with strength to bear our great sorrow.
‘Reflect’

Dedicated September 11, 2001

In honor and memory of the nearly 3,000 innocent victims
and heroic first responders who died on September 11, 2001.

We, in Rosemead, and all across America,
Do not forget them or the tragedy that befell them.”

APPENDIX F

Sample Interview Instrument

Questions for memorial creators and other involved parties:

- a. When did you first hear about the memorial project you worked on?
- b. What was your involvement with the memorial project? What role did you take?
- c. Explain how you were approached for this project...Who? When? Where?
- d. When did your involvement begin?
- e. Who else was involved in the project? What were their roles?
- f. How many hours per week, on average, did you devote to the memorial project?
- g. Did you limit or reduce any other activities in your life so that you could devote more time to the memorial project?
- h. How were decisions made on the construction of the project?
- i. Did the use of certain objects influence the construction of the project? How?
- j. Did your feelings about the 9/11 disaster impact your involvement in this project?
- k. How did 9/11 make you feel emotionally, physically, and spiritually?
- l. When did your involvement end?
- m. What do you think of the memorial when you look back on it today?