Distribution Agreement

In presenting this thesis as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for a degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known, including display on the world wide web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis.

Signature:

_____   _____
William Wyatt Wilson   April 14, 2010

Public and Proud: Civil Religion in America and 911

by

W. Wyatt Wilson

Adviser

Dr. Barbara Patterson

Department of
Religion

Dr. Barbara Patterson
Adviser

Dr. Gary Laderman
Committee Member

Dr. Kathy Kinlaw
Committee Member

April 14, 2010

Public and Proud: Civil Religion in America and 911

By

W. Wyatt Wilson

Adviser
Dr. Barbara Patterson

An abstract of
A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
Of Emory University in partial fulfillment
Of the requirements of the degree of
Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Department of
Religion

2010

Abstract

Public and Proud: Civil Religion in America and 911
By W. Wyatt Wilson

Civil religion is a social phenomenon most widely understood as a Judeo-Christian tradition interfaced with social and political conditions within the American landscape. The civil religion product is made observable through postmodern theory and a thorough understanding of how social factors condition religion. With these suppositions, particularly postmodern framework, ethnography offers a prime avenue to document civil religion. In this study, 12 participants were interviewed in an effort to compile 12 detailed and revelatory narratives concerning the events that happened on September 11th, 2001. Each oral history was transcribed in full with the guidance of an Introspective Journal. After interviews were completed, conceptual categories were generated by grouping consistent and recurring phrases in a framework built by Grounded Theory. Conclusively, 8 categories were generated, each demonstrating a different aspect of the American civil religion experience. These categories demonstrated modes of American epistemologies and identity that related to the normative American vision endowed during the nation's emergence in the 18th century. The categories also demonstrate an valuable process that uncovers lived religion in the United States.

Furthermore, since these values were not strict reiterations of colonial American beliefs, they represent a negotiation between present, past and future values. This aspect illuminates the socially malleable nature surrounding the civil religious paradigm. Additionally, while the interviews mainly concerned 911 and terror, they demonstrate how antagonistic situations at large provide a fertile arena in which civil religion can thrive.

Public and Proud: Civil Religion in America Since 911

By

W. Wyatt Wilson

Adviser
Dr. Barbara Patterson

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
Of Emory University in partial fulfillment
Of the requirements of the degree of
Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Department of
Religion

2010

Contents

Public and Proud: Civil Religion in the United States and 911

"Traditions, on the one hand, are not quite as arbitrary as constellations, which are patterns in the sky invented by human observers. But neither are they, on the other hand, as solidly given as a planet, which is undeniably there whatever else might be debated about it. Viewed from a distance, religious traditions seem to possess rough identities, but the closer we move in on them the more obvious their swirling internal diversity and, equally important, the raggedness of their edges."
<div align="right">-Delwin Brown, "Refashioning Self and Other"</div>

"But territorial boundaries were only one kind of border with which people dealt. There were also limits of their own bodies, the boundaries of skin and tissue which separated each person in a group from every other person."
<div align="right">-Catherine L. Albanese, *America: Religion and Religions*</div>

"A house divided cannot stand."
<div align="right">-Abraham Lincoln, U.S. Senate 1858</div>

Introduction

Oh, how the features of a room, the dimensions and material make-up, have a tendency to affect its capacity for warmth. This statement invites clarification; the word warmth, after all, can be ambiguous. When I say a warmth, I could very well mean the level of humidity one experiences upon entering our said room; on the other hand, warmth could signify a degree of hospitality one feels when walking into the room, like the difference between carpet and wood flooring. Is this a place to take off my shoes or keep them on?

Or perhaps I mean both.

Meeting rooms, those large spaces designated for conferences and program discussions, pose a noteworthy example. Long metal tables and drab curtains absorb every square inch of sound that hits them, leaving the acoustics silent and practically non-existent. If I were to sit in this conference room, I would quickly find my senses useless. My nose would only pick up the faintest scent of sterile cleaning. I can almost notice a tinge of aroma, but every time I concentrate hard enough to materialize some essence of the smell, the sensation disappears. In fact, the office actually smells cold, if

that can be a smell. It's a still kind of cold – not a frozen one, but one completely placid like the façade of a clear lake just at sunrise. My eyes offer no entertainment either: the fluorescent lighting bleaches my color scheme into a white wash panorama filled with desk chairs and gray walls.

Yet, when Dr. Religion[1] and I walked into the conference room on the fifth floor of the 1599 Clifton Road Building, we brought with us a kinetic energy that was absent before we arrived. We altered the physics of the room; air molecules vibrated around us clearing a path for our bodies. As we began interacting with the objects around us, experiencing the mundanity of swiveling chairs and ballpoint pens, he and I changed that space. Our bodies established an energy in the room that created two centers: one geographic and the other experiential, where we began the interview.

We shook hands and introduced ourselves. Dr. Religion has a sincere and approachable demeanor despite having a rather weathered countenance. His hair is in the middle of a transition from black to gray, creating a subtle color that matches his pin stripped suit. He tells me about his position on campus, which Emory had just recently established at the beginning of the decade. He works for CEPAR, Emory's Center of Emergency for Preparedness And Response, which is a division that directs emergency procedures and policies for the University. It functions as a "continually evolving crisis management structure [that] contains the heads of Emory [University] used to make good decisions and inform the Emory community" in times of crisis.[2] While we talk, he pours me a cup of coffee, which immediately conducts heat to the rest of the table. Air condensation on top of the glass makes the effects of the heat convection visible to the naked eye. A moist, warm fog radiates uniformly away from where I set down the cup. I drink and allow the caffeine to invigorate my tired state.

---

[1] The names of the participants have been changed to conceal their true identity.
[2] See Appendix II: Ethnographies

After the short introductory banter, I start recording the actual interview that I came to complete. I pick up my pen, review my notes, and then begin.

Question #1: Explain 911 to me.[3]

The more we commit ourselves to the experience within the room, to the conversation, to the coffee, to the meaning of my questions, the more we establish a traceable mood within the conference center. The phrases, euphemisms and vernacularisms build on one another. As each minute passes, we dig deeper into the oral history of Dr. Religion's personal experience from 911. The focus becomes him entirely; when he speaks, it is as if the room listens. Apart from the conversation, our generic interaction, even at its most basic level, births new meaning in the room. Our bodies produce a "here" making everything else a "there" by default. In a word, the metaphysics of the room become important, for "[i]t is by [a] body – [a] lived body – that [one] is here. [A] lived body is the vehicle of here....[One's] own body (my Eigenleib) is at once the necessary and the sufficient condition of being here."[4] We must place specific attention on the use of "lived." A lived body brings meaning into a space; it brings significance. Dr. Religion and I, as a result of blood pumping through our organs and the sweat collecting on our palms, upset the sterility of the room's dead air. We deliver conservation, emotion, and interaction into the place; we bring a history, purpose, and belief into a barren landscape waiting to grow and accumulate meaning.

We people have the capability, even the inevitability, of affecting the space we occupy as well as the other people with which it is associated. We determine what means what and why. In other words, as the surrounding space provides Dr. Religion and me with a structured setting, we fill it with a lived energy. Moreover, it is from

---

[3] For this paper, 911 refers to the events surrounding the attacks on September 11, 2001. Likewise, 9/11 is an abbreviated reference to the date, September 11, 2001.

[4] Edward S. Casey, *Getting Back Into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 51.

observing these interactions as well as the content and course of our discussion that one can catalogue the expression of a lived experience.

<div align="center">***</div>

Even though the story above began with two people interacting on a superficial level, by the end of the meeting, the conversation and exchange of histories produced a level of intimacy on a much more substantial level. Looked at in a different way, one can see how the conversation generates a "snow-ball effect." Interactions begin to build on one another. The longer we stayed in that room, the more we were able to understand the other person. Even more, discussing terms and events with someone else had a self-reflective affect on me: I learned more about myself and my own perspective after talking to Dr. Religion.

This particular idea illuminates the method used for my thesis. It is a grounded, inductive approach to religious attitudes that begins with the fundamental interaction between human beings based on proximity and sameness. From there, terms of meaning, orientation and how we generally come to accept the world build upon the foundation of human interaction, be it with other humans or with surrounding experiences in general. In a sense then, the inductive method works best for religious behavior, which has fallen under critical review during the modernist era. After theology's expulsion from the University as well as the separation of church and state, religion has been diminished to the point of indeterminability. My study, however, seeks an alternative method, which analyzes religious behavior from the postmodern turn that currently underscores various academic disciplines. Approaching civil religion through Grounded Theory in a postmodern framework, I will diagnose the lived aspect in which civil religion exists as a result of 911.

<div align="center">***</div>

The above quotation by Edward Casey, professor of philosophy at SUNY Stony Brook, does well to clarify certain aspects of metaphysics, one of the more ambiguous mystical terms in religious and philosophical studies. At a general level, metaphysics refers to the energy a body produces through its activity and positioning that which cannot be quantified through the traditional, Newtonian sciences: chemistry, biology, and physics. Although this field escapes modes of scientific progress, metaphysics nevertheless holds significant importance for human understanding. In a phrase, bodies have the potential to generate categories of meaning, reasoning and polemics, at least for human beings.

An appropriate example demonstrating metaphysical analysis would involve cities, which are venues for large masses of human bodies moving and doing. These are places, built landscapes, that we find intelligible and relevant; crowds express a sense of "sameness" with other neighboring humans. We assimilate near one another because we perceive a sense of similarity, a confirmation and contestation of our own identity as well as a shared beingness. This framework of moving from one city to another, by use of a highway, would be then a "no-place." Highways are in *space*, but framed by *place*. Rarely does one ever go to a highway to meet, and highways are scarcely an end point of a journey. While "highway memorials," those venues off the interstate that memorialize traditions or lost loved ones, witness a significant gathering from time to time, the reasons for visitation are less substantial than they are for real, lived places. Any businessman will tell you that highways afford the largest rate of first time advertisement viewers. Of course, then, if one markets their product effectively, he or she should expect a reasonable degree of roadies who, pained from the monotony of highway driving, pull over to investigate an interesting phenomenon. Off of Interstate 69, for instance, the James Dean memorial speaks more to the lonely quality of the Indiana countryside than it does to actor's actual celebrity. In reality, the place is merely a more famous rest stop.

Rather, highways mark themselves as paths for the in-transit, for those traveling from one place to another – a temporary phenomenon. Sometimes these places are cities, where other humans reside, and sometimes these places are wildernesses, where humans go to seek isolation and individual revelation. Whatever the motivation, highways lack the value of place because they are never a destination; they are simply a *means* of arriving at a location where humans can more acutely gauge their own perspective against the whole of humankind. It is location that provides a certain situatedness, one that has the power to help us identify what is self and what is other as well as the milieu in which they exist and act.

On a metaphysical level then, humans nevertheless need highways just as much as they need cities. While highways are a "no-place," they provide a connective medium relating alternative destinations. Humans then have the ability to establish a "here" or a "there." Distance, it seems, provides a sense of orientation that has the power to further solidify human identity. Furthermore, experiencing how the body experiences the "here" and subsequently recalls and identifies place is supremely significant. Casey remarks again that "[l]ong before astronomy or geography (much less modern physics), we already have reliable orientational knowledge of these places; thanks to our "knowing body," we know how to find them and live in them, how to be here in their presence."[5] At their most basic state, our bodies have the power to manufacture terms of orientation and, furthermore, methods with which we can agreeably or disagreeably adapt to these situations.

What is most important here is how human interaction, even at its most superficial expression, generates such an immense and unparalleled effect on existential outlooks. After all, the products of industrialized society (law, politics, psychology, etc.), those that foster the upmost gravitas amongst socialized individuals, are only evolved

---

[5] *Getting Back Into Place*, 52.

forms of an innate human ethos. Among these social formulations, religion exists as the direct connection formulating our perceptions of orientation which are fundamental to human mindset. While religion is by no means impenetrable to cultural forces, as we will discuss, it nonetheless maintains a lineage of thought that dates back before modern society emerged. In other words, religion still hosts an empirical nature, that of a discourse, which manages personal identity and understanding; conveniently, this idea becomes so basic as to escape any type of rational theory, which is why religion holds a critically acclaimed "ineffable" aspect. No other social disciplines better complements humankind's grapple with purpose, existence, and ethics than religion.

Religion's empiricism coupled with a tendency to be retooled, revamped and re-evaluated by relentless social and cultural forces inspired me to declare an honors thesis. Precisely then, I looked deeply at social events which could attest to religion's two-pronged capability, it's inherent structure coupled with its susceptibility for change. With that capacity in mind, this paper analyzes a largely experiential event within the twenty-first century, the plane attacks on September 11, 2001 and the subsequent destruction of the World Trade Centers.

My hypothesis suggests that the events on 9/11 and their aftermath were the catalytic conditions for the observable effect of civil religion within the United States. My hypothesis also hinges on the results of my ethnographic study. The experience here, 911, was a public one marked not only by the initial impact of rogue planes crashing into sacred American buildings, but also by the political, economic and cultural ramifications afterward. Citizens within American society felt these ramifications, and underwent emotional and physical changes to adapt. I am claiming that 911 was a public experience, that 911 catalyzed an expression of civil religion documented through the personal narratives of individual experience *with respect* to the nation. Human "ultimate concern" with the stasis of political, social and cultural paradigms, while

perhaps an innate, ontological quality of cerebral consciousness, is nonetheless

manifested through public behavior. My hypothesis, then, states that personal

narratives, when made conversational through ethnography, correlate to an increased

observance of civil religious activity after 911.

Chapter I
Investigating the Sacred: Documenting Civil Religion in America

"The academic study of religion in the West, along with the other social sciences, is a child of the Enlightenment."
                                        -Winnifred Sullivan, *Paying the Words Extra*

"We hear, too, that the drumbeat of the American Revolution which joined the old Puritan notion of the New Israel to the God of the Declaration of Independence, ruling by natural law and granting natural rights to all [that] [w]e follow the drumbeat down through the years of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries into our own era, listening to presidential speeches that confirmed the religion nationalism."
                                        -Catherine L. Albanese, *America: Religion and Religions*

"[Religious views] are complicated largely because of the renewed role that religions plays in various parts of the world as an ideology of public order – especially in movements of religious nationalism – in which religious and political ideologies are intertwined."
                                        -Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God*

Part I – The Problem with Western "Religion"

There are certain words in Western language that escape definition. Like trying to capture a butterfly with a poorly thatched net, one feels the constant slippage of what we deem "religious" and what we call "religion."   The Oxford-English dictionary classifies religion as either a "state of life bound by religious vows; the condition of belonging to a religious order" or an "action or conduct indicating belief in, obedience to, and reverence for a god, gods, or similar superhuman power; the performance of religious rites or observances."[6] Even after reading standardized definitions, one recognizes how defining the religion term can quickly become tautological: defining a term *by that term* does nothing to enhance its description. Granted, one can point to scholarly definitions from Clifford Geertz or Katherine Albanese, but each of these definitions stresses the importance of one variable while leaving out another. And yet, despite each definition's endeavor to encapsulate the entirety of religion and what religion truly means, one must take a step back, and acknowledge that each hermeneutic

---

[6] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "religion."

stresses something that another overlooks. Almost like a moment of déjà vu, creating a seemingly adequate definition of religion is most usually followed by the realization that some characteristic was forgotten.

Even definitions that consider the purest and most essential form of human understanding miss the mark as to what "religion" signifies. Paul Tillich posits that religion lies in "the dynamics of man's ultimate concern. Man, like every other being, is concerned…about those [things] which condition his very existence."[7] Yet, Tillich was a theologian and thus part of an enterprise that finds difficulty entertaining an academic approach to religion. What his statement more likely demonstrates is the continental divide splitting theology and religion. While religious scholars make sense of religion with analytical, comparative and critical tools, the theological study of religion dissects though biblical exegesis and divine inquiry. In a word, theology and religion are different by virtue of the "doer." Theologians see themselves part of the religion, enacting and living the religious experience first hand. Religious scholars see themselves as more removed, studying the effects that theologians manufacture across history.

This position for the religious scholar has a tendency to afford a heavier responsibility, at least in the eyes of some scholars. Russell T. McCutcheon finds the twice-removed positioning of religious scholarship equivalent to a process of supersession. What he means is that "for scholars of religion, the behaviors we name "religion" ought to be the subject of theorizing not appreciation or translation. Our involvement in the public debate is, then, on a higher level of critical, comparative, redescriptive analysis and critique."[8] For McCutcheon, religious scholars should not only find their task different than the theologian but also find it more substantial.

---

[7] Paul Tillich, *Dynamics of Faith*, (New York: Harper Books, 1957), 1.
[8] Russell T. McCutcheon, *Critics Not Caretakers: Redescribing the Public Study of Religion,* (Albany: State University of New York, 2001), 134.

In light of the juxtaposing developments between theology and religious studies, one must take a step back and investigate its polemical origins. During the 18th century, the birth of the Enlightenment placed an ultimate value on rationalism and reasoning, which contrasted from those modes of epistemology that were historically acceptable, namely positions of authority maintained through apprenticeship, divine covenant and hegemony. Before this era, theology, religion and the whole *religio* paradigm were one in the same. It was only with the

> ...rise of the modern secular university, with its roots in the Enlightenment model of an autonomous, universal reason, [that] fundamental questions [were raised] about the intellectual legitimacy of theology. The latter's identification with a particular tradition and its apparent capitulation to ecclesiastical or scriptural authority precluded its status as a field of academic inquiry with the Enlightenment.[9]

As Cady puts it, rationalism in this enlightenment form had no place for theology. Secular inquiry exiled theology and, upon theology's violent and immediate removal, witnessed the resurrection of its entrails, what we casually call today "religion." This process separating the study of religion from the study of theology limited and sequestered both intellectual fields. In effect, a policy of containment came with the separation: for many scholars, there was to be no intermingling between the two camps. Such a condition has hindered religion's relevancy to state practice and has stunted its significance for humankind. Additionally, this cornering effect has generated the limited and incomplete definitions of religion with which we are too familiar presently.

The basis for a continued acceptance of this separation finds merit in the rationale of Kant, Hume, and other thinkers founding the Enlightenment philosophy. Nearly 300 years after the schism, contemporary thought respects this divide as a tradition, one that has established the cornerstones of modernized society. This methodology, or theoretical assumption, is called modernism, literally a modern

---

[9] Linell E. Cady, "Loosening the Category That Binds: Modern "Religion" and the Promise of Cultural Studies" in *Theoretical Reflections on Culture and Theology*, ed. Delwin Brown, Sheila Greeve Davaney, and Kathryn Tanner, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 33.

advancement from tradition. It seeks to build on the formative events founding that

particular society, which is, for us, the industrialized West. In a way, modernist theory

behaves identically to the human understanding of time. As the human individual ages

and accumulates time, he or she recognizes his or her self as an embodied advancement

from the person they were years earlier.   In a way, society helps to condone modernist

thinking: wisdom is gained through experience and age; human perspicacity progresses

as a person moves forward in time. Modernism, then, conforms to this philosophy: the

decisions and policies today are seen as more modern from those before because we have

gained perspective. By knowing what has already been accomplished, we have taken

strides to improve by building upon that which already stands.

  Yet, there is a movement against this mode of reason that seeks a near reversal of

modernist philosophy. Termed the postmodern turn, it is an intellectual critiquing of

modernist ideologies. By suspiciously examining the tenets that have formed the basis of

industrialized society, postmodernism suggests that the ultimate truisms formed 300

years prior fail to mirror the paradigms and values of contemporary society. Jonathan Z.

Smith underscores the reaction against modernism by using the case of religion and

theology, and specifically castigating the accepted distinction between them:

> [n]ot only is the putative distinction naïve and political, it is also anachronistic.
> It speaks out of a period when the norms of theological inquiry (as experienced in
> the West) were largely governed by an intact canon, when the ideology of the
> human sciences was chiefly governed by the goal of achieving "objectivity" or
> "value-free" knowledge.[10]

Essentially, modernists are at fault for forcing the values of yesteryear into the contextual

scenarios of today, a type of synchronic colonization. The framework limits theoretical

construction and assumes a stagnant and strictly linear view of society.

  In order to proceed, we must uncover new intellectual territory and avoid

defining postmodernism by negation, that it is *not modernism*. For the purposes of my

---

[10] Jonathan Z. Smith, "'Religion' and 'Religious Studies': No Difference at All," *Soundings* 71 (1988): 231.

study, I am approaching religion and theological values from a postmodern perspective.

This methodology questions the split between theology and religion as well as the extent

to which the separation of church and state is actually functioning. My framework then

> ...is a move toward an epistemological relativism, which carries with it
> heightened self-reflexivity as the scholar attends not just to the objects of the
> study but to the discourses by which and through which objects are approached.
> In other words, rather presume the possibility of a largely ahistorical, objective
> knowledge of what is, the one attention is directed to the highly particular and
> ever changing factors, material and ideational, that constrain and enable
> reflection.[11]

Linell Cady's eloquent description illuminates postmodernism's two-fold nature: not

only does it reconsider the subject being studied at the present but, in order to do that, it

must also analyze the veracity of the formulations founding that subject. This makes

postmodern critique reflexive. As religious scholars now find themselves standing on

shifting sands, one would be astute to notice that it becomes an infrequent luxury to find

consistency in the postmodern landscape. Yet,

> ...[t]o be post-modern does not mean "anything goes"; rather, it entails being
> critically aware of the inevitably social and political nature of the exclusions and
> rules that are the necessary conditions for any and all claims to knowledge.[12]

As a clarification then, postmodernism does not imply that nothing can be accurately

defined or that perspective determines all. Rather, one needs to be critically aware to the

point of even reconsidering one's personal perspective as biased and accountable. In an

analogy, modernism is the monkey perceiving other monkeys in a natural habitat;

postmodernism, on the other hand, is the monkey who, for the first time, recognizes her

own image in the mirror. Here and now, the subject is surprised at her own features,

their similarity to the other monkeys she has been observing, and her ability to change

the image in the mirror. Precisely then, the theory emphasizes a greater sense self-

awareness when considering relationality.

---

[11] "Loosening," 20.
[12] *Critics Not Caretakers*, 110.

While reflexivity demonstrates how this method is more multi-layered than modernist thought, it also brings with it an embodied effort to expand the role of scholarship within academia. As scholars analyze given epistemologies, they reconsider the marginalized position religion and theology has within the intellectual landscape. In other words, there exists the possibility that theology and religion may and *should* re-merge. For many, this revelation comes shockingly: post-Enlightenment tenets saw the religion and theology evolution as exclusively divergent. Here and now, however, postmodernism investigates this logic and brings with it a heap of new characteristics for religious studies.

Just as theology prepares to re-enter the academy, postmodern scholarship also considers the reunion of religious endeavors *in general* and their relation to issues of the state. At a superficial level, the two schisms (theology and academic religious studies; religion and state) are relatively similar in nature if not the same. The separation of church and state grew out of the religiously fecund Medieval Ages. Monarchs who were vying for regional power had consistent and unproductive conflict with the papacy and their subsequent claim to territory. Wrecked by ineffective dialogue, the powers that were decided to separate church and state, mainly for the reasons that religion needed the freedom to exercise divine authority and that state was the sole power for rational propositions. This first schism then generated the subsequent split between theology and religion or, to be put more accurately, the exile of theology and the emergence of religious studies. Yet, postmodernism's push for ecumenism seeks the coexistence of these previously sequestered practices.

This turn emphasizes the subjective nature of scholarship and has strict implications for modes of understanding religion in general. Mainly, religion has moved back into the public sphere. It is real, observable and intelligible to others. Religion should now be understood as containing socially-malleable qualities that are changed by

outside forces; in other words, religion has escaped its ineffable nature where, before, it had resided deeply embedded within the personal faiths of each and every individual. Do not be mistaken: this claim does not discredit the faith aspect of religion. In fact, it is here that one comes to reconsider the notion of personal belief at all. Jonathan Z. Smith conveys the standard method for constructing an essentially unique entity well:

> The absolutely unique is, by definition, indescribable….In a shrewd passage, which I recall each time I hear the historian of religions insist on the *sui generis* character of religions, William James put the matter with precision: 'The first thing intellect does with an object is to class it along with something else. But any object that is indefinitely important to us and awakens our devotion feels to us also as if it must be *sui generis* and unique. Probably a crab would be filled with a sense of personal outrage if it could us class it without ado or apology as a crustacean, and thus dispose of it. 'I am no such thing,' it would say: 'I am *myself, myself* alone.[13]

Smith's revelatory prose says more about the absolutely unique than being just "beyond description;" Smith actually critiques the idealist construction of uniqueness in his essay. Despite our best intentions to single out that which is inherently special, human thought cannot avoid an immediate tendency to group and compare. For "[w]hether revealed in the logical grouping of classes, in poetic similes, in mimesis, or other activities – comparison is the omnipresent substructure of human thought."[14] Besides, any effort to emphasize the transcendent or the ineffable or pure faith has more to do with notions of God than it has to do with religion, which I discuss soon. While the separation between religion and theology is far less distinct than modernist principle would like to allow, there does exist a notable clarification which will help illuminate the futile exercise for defining God. In its better days,

> [a] lively faith involve[d] a limpid sincerity of relationship to one's fellow men, and to oneself, and to the Creator or ground or totality of the universe. [Yet], God does not reveal a religion, He reveals himself; what the observer calls a religion is man's continuing response. To be a participant in a religious movement is to recognize that that movement points to something or Someone beyond itself.[15]

---

[13] Jonathan Z. Smith, "Chapter Eleven: Adde Parvum Parvo Magnus Acerus Erit," in *Map is Not Territory: Studies in the Histories of Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 244.
[14] "Map is Not Territory," 240.
[15] William Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 129.

God lies beyond religion. A familiar logic game that attempts to sum up this argument would go: God is a part of religion but religion is not a part of God. Precisely then, one's inability to proper define the God-term does not diagnose religion with the same predicament. Notions of God are individualistic and, for that reason, only truly concern the subjectivity of the believer.

Cantwell Smith's suggestion here, that God-like essences differ from religion, echoes tones from other religious scholars. Specifically, Russell McCutcheon's discussion about the religious scholar's duty resonates well with distinction between the God-term and religion:

> [t]hat the religious study of religion should be the datum for academic scholars working in publicly funded universities is slowly dawning on more members of the field who are no longer content to study mysteries, essences, and private experiences...the former turns out to be but one piece of data to be studied by means of the methods and theories of the latter.[16]

While both McCutcheon and Cantwell Smith do well to underscore the binary module that distinguishes religion from theology, we must resist the urge to exercise the same degree of commitment – that theologian is *only* data for the religious scholar. After all, postmodern theory suggests that there is a *spectrum of negotiation* between the theological pole and the religious studies pole. Now, and because we must establish terminologies in order to proceed, the term *religion* is the scrambled product from the shaken and stirred mixture of theology and religious academia.

Likewise, the same postmodern principles refashion epistemologies for the engagement religion has with secular society. Far from its historically confined position away from secular activities, religion is now understood to be intermingling within civil space. Religion then moves from strictly privatized spheres of human activity, as religious scholars maintain, to occupy spaces of public experience. Such a repositioning

---

[16] *Critics Not Caretakers*, 16.

exposes religion to the elements. Out in the public sectors of society, religion interacts, affects and even *gets affected by* social forces, be them political policies, economic trends and cultural taboos. With this understanding, religion becomes less of a cause and more of a result. Linell Cady agrees by stating that:

> …cultural studies proclaims a concern to understand life as it is lived. This propels cultural studies into an examination of social, cultural and historical forces that are brought to bear on the real complexities of lived experience in particular social formation.[17]

If the study of culture (anthropology, sociology, etc.) is to make any serious endeavor, then it must consider how secondary forces shape the object being studied at hand. Moreover, acknowledging religion's newfound partnership with the lived sphere of human existence, cultural studies must consider religion or, as we will see, types of religion as a social product.

Since we witness religion's evolution as also a product of social factors, we must also take any universal definition of religion as erroneous and reductionist. Talal Asad, who is a firm advocate for avoiding definitive stances on religion, states that "[t]here cannot be a universal definition of religion not only because its constituent elements and relationships are historically specific, but because that definition is itself the historical product of discursive processes."[18] In other words, Asad claims that moments in history condition the present form of religion; the crux of religion's definition then does not depend on an innate and static essence but one that varies depending on the characteristics within a *society*, both past and present. Again, Cantell Smith bolsters Asad's claim further by considering the concept of essence in conversation with history processes: "[t]his may sound tautological but actually is crucial. Many religious people have realized it, if at all, only peripherally. For essences do not have a history. Essences

---

[17] "Loosening," 21.
[18] Bruce Lincoln, "The Study of Religion in the Current Political Movement," in *Holy Terrors: Thinking about Religion after September 11* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 2.

do not change."[19] Histories are nonnegotiable changing aspects of religious traditions, and for that matter, the term religion escapes a definitive essence.

Considering now religion as a retooled synthesis from various social movements, one can begin to understand what postmodern theory holds for religion's interstitial placement amongst secular, state enterprises. We witness a form of religion that is embedded within worldly activities and policies of nation-states. This placement coupled with the specific case of the American nation precipitates a phenomenon that is largely important for my study: civil religion.

Part II – The Religious Civilian in America

After exploring the evolution of religious scholarship and the placement of religion today, we now turn to the particular case of religion in America. To reiterate, religion's continued involvement within American policies and practices contradicts most secular theory. The nation, after all, was founded on the principle of the separation of church and state. The United States, birthed out of a religiously oppressive British regime, made certain to establish a nation tolerant of all religions. For this land, there would be the right to exercise any religion. Yet, for this to be an inalienable right, the Founders needed to distance religion from rational, debatable forums, namely the democratic state.

From this decision, religious pluralism boomed in the United States. The combined effect of inhabiting an entirely new environment, the large rise in immigration and the escapist attitude surrounding the formative moments during nation's emergence all catalyzed the explosion of American religions. This blending established an eclectic array of social and ethnic groups, which "indicate the presence of many religions, the expressions of the various peoples who live within the United States."[20] Furthermore,

---

[19] *The Meaning and End*, 143.
[20] Catherine L. Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion, (*Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1981), 15.

the myriad of religious presences all the more demonstrates how Americans as a people value religious expression and acceptance. Yet, there is a fine print attached to religious freedom and multiplicity we see in America: while the intention for separating religion from civil practice was to increase a condition of "religious freedom," the jettison actually hampered and constrained religious activity. No longer was religion to interact with the state. An inherent staple requisite within the notion of freedom is the ability to roam wherever; excluding something *in order to* be free is paradoxical. As Cady suggests, the real motivations for sequestering religious activity were contradictory in that they solidified a space for religion to freely roam, but where that space was limited to non-secular arenas of human experience.

So instead, while Americans advertise the distinct separation of denominational church and state, it is a nation that, at its core, engenders a civil religion. American history demonstrates this interaction of church and state. Stated simply, religion finds a way to interact within secular spaces. The separation of church state combined with the religious fervent inclinations surrounding Puritan ideals cleared a landscape for civil religion:

> ...the separation of church and state has not denied the political realm a "religious dimension" in America. Although matters of personal religious belief, worship and association are considered to be strictly private affairs, there are, at the same time, certain common elements of religious orientation that the great majority of Americans share. These have played a crucial role in the development of American institutions and still provide a religious dimension for the whole fabric of American life, including the political sphere.[21]
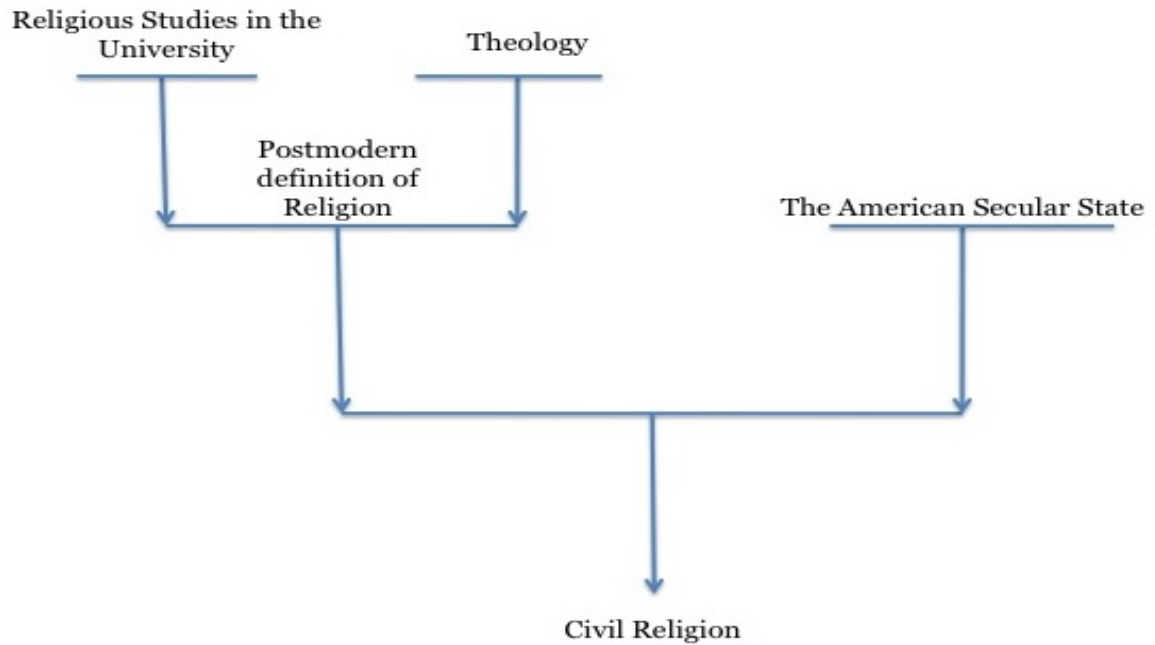
In effect then, civil religion exists in the behaviors of American citizens who dutifully desire to uphold the values of the American nation-state and rests alongside the denominational churches. The civil religion "church," then, does not supersede nor

---

[21] Robert Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," in *Daedalus (2005)*, 3.

replace biblical faiths; rather it represents the continual intermingling that state

enterprises have with religion.[22]

Diagram 1: Civil Religion

Religious Studies in the University

Theology

Postmodern definition of Religion

The American Secular State

Civil Religion

Furthermore, this important emphasis on "continual" indicates how civil religion

has a history from the beginning of the American regime. As with any religion, civil

religion is not just a contemporary phenomenon but one that has been present

throughout American cosmology since its emergence in the 18th century. Even more, the

foundations for civil religion lie within the ancient histories of people. Civil religion

"consists of Judeo-Christian symbols and values that relate the nation to a divine order

of things, thus giving it a sense or origin and direction. [Yet, it] continues to serve as an

extremely visible dimension of American culture."[23] As Wurthnow suggests, civil

religion is made from an amalgamation of Hebrew faiths and social values. Here

specifically, it is important to remember here that these Hebrew beliefs denoted no

---

[22] See Diagram 1

[23] Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War II,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 244.

separation of state and church. What was the divine covenant given by God was also the political covenant separating nations by territories. Kings, rulers, and magistrates saw themselves as secondary controllers, enacting covenants not just from the state but also from God. Thus, when "ancient Israel understood its government as a theocracy, literally a government by God, [his] covenant was a political agreement."[24] Establishing a nation's territory, for example, became a matter dealing with religion and state than one which only concerned the government. It is understandable then that myths about and histories of state-faith interaction, if not unity, have been largely important for the generation of civil religion in America.

One event, the first settlement on American soil, does well to illustrate the emergence of civil religion for the American nation. In the 18th century, Puritan rebels fled the intolerant British nation in an effort to build their own country. Their establishment in a new land became a symbolic covenant proclaiming a "New Israel. They had linked their millennial yearnings to an older religious model, and so the experience of the ancient Hebrews had parallels in their own mythology."[25] As Albanese suggests, the American regime sought a method for maintaining a nation, grounded in Hebrew standards and held to a single vision uniting a group of people. This vision depended on religious freedom.

While scholarship and tradition help to confirm the divinely ordained quest for American soil, we must not confuse the biblical religious cause with the civil religious effect. As a clarification, Judeo-Christian principles are certainly intertwined within civil religion. The lure of a New Israel where religious freedom could grow was entirely motivating for Puritans to leave Europe. Yet, what we witness as civil religion is a combination of these Hebrew faiths along with specific social, political and economic factors in the American nation. In other words, political structures and cultural

---

[24] *America*, 284.
[25] *America, 287.*

standards catalyzed the Puritan exodus. Precisely then, the years of constraint and

conflict between the Puritans and the British produced the civil religious effect we still

see now. Vexed citizens turned their religious views into action and, through that action,

established a democratic state founded not only by rational government but also by

religious freedom.

This point is important because it demonstrates how social and political forces

enable civil religious activity. Furthermore, the realization that civil religion carries with

it an *activity* reconstitutes religious life from the historically private space that it has

once been believed to occupy. Civil religion, at its core then, appears within public,

observable space. This postmodern rethinking illuminates how current civil religious

activity is a result of citizens who wish to reinstate normative values mythilized by

America's origin story. We must

> ...judge and justify [our specific institutions as well as the social forces they
> generate] through the interplay of public theology and civil religion in America.
> Public theology, civil religion, and political ideology interact in American political
> culture through shifting social arrangement of American public institutions.[26]

Civil religion is the effect observable through the critical and analytical documentation of

past and present policy enactment. American democracy, by bequeathing power and

choice to the American citizen, has generated a civil religious conviction embedded

within the nation body. We are to maintain the codes and creeds established at our

country's emergence by adapting them to the conditions of the present. This religio-

political combination reifies American eschatology: civil religion impresses a joint

trajectory that attempts to induce a divine civil paradise for politics and faith. It is a

nation idolized as an impenetrable fortress that can withstand physical attacks or threats

concerning the American beliefs. This vision founding the American nation determines

---

[26] Steven M. Tipton, "Globalizing Civil Religion and Public Theology," in *Religion in Global Civil Society,* ed.
Mark Juergensmeyer, (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2005), 49.

the norms that we institutionalize today, namely religious freedom, political action and American betterment.

My project will uncover those specific points in American history where civil religion manifests itself to a heightened degree. As follows, the moments that threatened American standards are particularly revealing of civil religion and how it works. In other words, civil religion remains dormant until a foreign invader threatens the general stasis of American policies and structures. While American voices are multifaceted and many, moments of conflict provide a culminating platform that unites Americans in a common ethos.

The Declaration of Independence exemplifies this. As one of the first documents to proclaim the American mission, the Declaration of Independence served as *the* monumental guideline for the socio-political creed. Within the Declaration, the words "God", "Creator" and "Divine Providence" all appear, at least once; likewise notions of divine covenant emerge almost immediately in the text: "[w]e hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights."[27] Such a negotiation between religion and government marks the emergence of civil religion. So while the civil religious effect is palpably recognizable through discourse that strongly attempts to maintain the American cosmology, the landscape for cultivating this effect is conflict.

Even though the Declaration of Independence was the country's first attempt at codified law, it was also the country's response to winning the Revolutionary War. The Declaration *declared* the American regime independent and, moreover, superseded from the oppressive British nation-state. In turn, it created a lived effect for all citizens: people abided by these principles throughout daily life and, as a result of their advocacy, made a distinct reference in support of those truths proclaimed during America's initial

---

[27] Declaration of Independence, http://www.ushistory.org/Declaration/document/

moments. The civil religious effect then is an adaptation of Robert Orsi's world-makers: "It is action on the world, made necessary and possible by particular *circumstances* in the world,... making us feel sometimes that we are world-makers."(emphasis added)[28] In other words, Orsian action upon the world was and remains the ultimate expression of civil religion in America. Civil religion is capitulated by modes of conflict associated with religious myths of battle and triumph. Its lingering presence after such an initial catalysis is marked by the active citizen effort to reinforce American practices and policies. Together, both positions of power and moments of conflict stimulate the traceable synthesis and enactment of civil religion in American history. My contention, then, sees conflict, and the reactions to such conflict, to be the prime indication of civil religious presence within a setting.

For America's youngest generation, September 11, 2001 represents one of the most catastrophic events in lived history. While the event remains important for a number of details, 911 marked a period which ruptured civil religion's dormant disposition. Under the umbrella of the "Orsian" circumstance, September 11, 2001 enhanced civil religious attitudes to their most palpable degree. Orsi mentions that:

> [l]ived [and civil] religion appears as the space of resistance par excellence in the United States since the colonial period, and so the approach to lived religion in the American experience opens a fundamental rethinking of the place of religion in American experience, one that emphasizes dissent, subversion and resistance.[29]

An emphasis on two parties, each holding differing interests, sets the framework for the generation of civil religious attitudes. Conflict here contains but is not limited to multiple faces: dissent, disagreement, subversion and totalitarianism. Furthermore, there is the consideration of purposeful conflict, accidental and inexorable. This suggests specific attention given to balances of hegemonic power, their particular vested

---

[28] Robert Orsi, "Everyday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion," in *Lived Religion in America: Toward A History of Practice*, ed. David D. Hall (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), #.
[29] "Everyday Miracles," 15.

interests as well as those who oppose them. American society, diverse and multicultural, provides a fertile landscape for conflict to thrive, especially when considering the antagonism generated after fall of the World Trade Centers.

Part III – 9/11/2001

For many, September 11, 2001 has left a permanent scare on the American psyche. In a span of nearly 20 minutes, two American airplanes were crashed into the World Trade Centers eventually causing those structures to collapse. A third plane then later crashed into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. and a forth was downed in a rural field outside of Somerset Country, Pennsylvania.   The destruction left the United States billions of dollars in debt and tolled countless lives.

While the attacks precipitated all of the deleterious effects akin to other historic invasions to the United States, namely Pearl Harbor, 911 was unique for its collateral impact. For one, New York City represents the epicenter of the United States. It became a focal point for immigration "beginning with the Jews who took ship with Christopher Columbus [and] the Roman Catholics who maintained an early presence in the land"[30] that marketed America as a nation for the diverse. The city also erected one of the largest edifices that eventually advertised America's global economic prowess. Additionally, New York City was built on the waterfront of the Atlantic, the threshold where American territory met wilderness. In effect then, New York City and Washington D.C. as well as the "the Pentagon and World Trade Centers [were] central emblems of American military and economic might."[31] Considering its various characteristics, New York City represented the American *polis.* As it brought together the majority of the nation's cultures, age groups, and political ideologies, it also placed the World Trade Centers as its centerpiece. Visually and spatially, the World Trade Centers represented the ceiling value of American achievement and power.

---

[30] *America*, 13.
[31] *Holy Terrors*, 16.

It should be no disbelief, then, that the destruction of the World Trade Centers wrecked American morale. After the events transpired, assumptions regarding the unwavering safety and security of the nation were called into question. While certainly unique in its own right, the collapse of the Towers mirrored the effects that the destruction of King Solomon's temple produced when it was destroyed by Babylonian invaders in 586 BCE. Immediately, the people of United States were terrified. Like the fall of the First Temple, a foreign force had destroyed a sacred hallmark. Furthermore, the foreign force *was allowed* to destroy. The righteous hand of God, which had guided Puritan vessels across the Atlantic Ocean, was nowhere present to safe guard America's divine covenant. Its absence permitted a foreign invasion as well as an invocation from terror beset by alien intruders. Although this scenario clearly mimics Hebrew productions of Temple destruction, faith, fear, and divided allegiances, it also invites reflexive critique on the American condition specifically. In other words, during the recovery process citizens began to reconsider their own identity and what it meant to be *an American*. The nation was taken by a surprise attack that not only destroyed politically sacred objects but also ruptured an existential surety that opened a cavernous bewilderment and fear.

Just like the people of Israel, American citizens were forced to compare their American identity to the values of those who established their nation. In essence, a balancing act arose: citizens negotiated the values within contemporary contexts against an extreme return-to-grace movement. Yet, through the dissonance of chaos, terror and questions evoked by 911, citizens enacted and lived practices and policies that were designed to resonate firmly with their nation's timeless creed. In that respect, citizens negotiated between defining themselves by classical principles from America's "Golden Age" and those which would ground citizens firmly in the globalized 21st century.

For those reasons, civil religion is a public pronouncement that was observed through action and behavior, a "'revival'..that can work at both a personal and collective level."[32] While these reinforced values root historically in the nation's formative experiences, they also adapt to the country's present conflict. Accordingly, what we witness is a lived reaction, resulting from a postmodern, self-reflexive critique that stresses resonance with both original and teleological values, which can often be the same given their status as ultimate. In effect, there is an compromise: by arranging end-stage values within present contexts, American civil religion engenders a postmodern mediation. This compromise invites description. As we stated earlier, modernism suggests that society advances linearly from history by building upon the foundations of the past. For this trajectory, there are two variables: the past and future. Both are ideationally related to one another by an idea of advancement: the past is an antiquated and a less developed rendition of the future. There is no compromise negotiated within the present for it is only seen as a means to gain further advancement to a more modernized future.

The postmodern approach to culture, however, suggests a more multi-layered analysis. While the binarism still exists of origin and future, society reflexively critiques present situations against the values residing at both poles; a greater emphasis is placed on present contextualization and how that relates to the end-stage values. Postmodernism, then, recognizes the present as a forum for mediating both past and future values. In other words, three variables now arise. Where in modernism, society only balanced a relationship between past and future, postmodernism dictates we must consider a third condition: the notion of present.

The natural sciences, interestingly enough, offer a valuable representation of the postmodern perspective. Physical Chemistry illustrates this tertiary relationship

---

[32] *Holy Terrors*, 41.

spatially and pictorially, labeling it an orthogonal relationship. When two variables interact directly, they establish an axis. Commonly, mathematics refers to this as the x-axis. The orthogonal variable, on the other hand, is a variable that approaches the linear relationship at a right angle, thereby establishing a second dimension (the y-axis). Leaving the world of chemistry to re-enter cultural studies, we can now recognize modernist framework as only adhering to the x-axis, primarily concerned with past and future end-points. Postmodernism, however, introduces (or, more likely, strongly emphasizes) the third variable, present, which subsequently establishes the orthogonal relationship.   Where these three variables interact becomes the juncture requisite for postmodern theory or, as Cady puts it, our realization of epistemic relativism. The *orthogonal compromise*, then, represents postmodernism's negotiation of contemporary values amidst those placed at the origin and those at the end of time.[33]

Diagram 2: The Orthogonal Compromise

Orthogonal Compromise

Present Values

Origin Values   Teleological Values
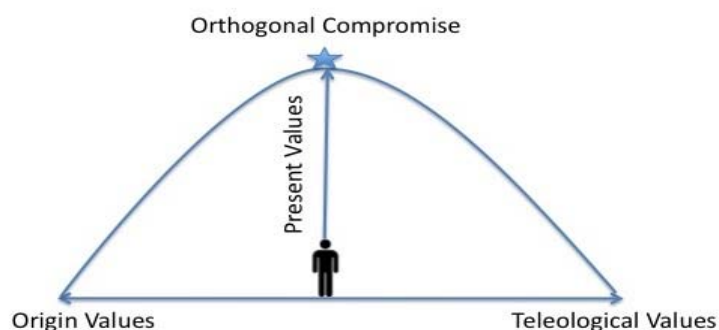
As this concept serves as one of the primary frameworks making an analysis of civil religion possible, it helps to underscore the primary theory in my thesis: the destruction of the World Trade Center Towers on September 11, 2001 marked the transitional friction between two states - homeland complacency and revamped American patriotism. The lived religious effect propagated through the tensile force of

---

[33] See Diagram 2.

911 caused the heightened degree of American civil religion. The effect is postmodern insofar as it attempts to negotiate staples of American cosmology interfaced with modernized conditions in globalized society. Most importantly, since the experience is lived, ethnographic fieldwork markets itself as the primary medium with which to research my thesis. Thus, lived religion sets the approach for my research findings and works to illuminate the religious reactions within my ethnographic fieldwork.

Chapter II
More Than a Black Swan: Social Science Research and Grounded Theory

"If religion or a religion is anything at all, it is not only in fact but in theory something in which actual living, historical persons are involved."
-W. C. Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion*

"It is important to note that such a position [uses human data to help organize theories of how our minds work] is not antirealist or reductionist. Instead, it argues that the meaning of the world and the emplotment of just this or that chronologically past event as worthy of attention and memory are the products of contestable human choices and interests."
-Russell T. McCutcheon, *Critics Not Caretakers*

"The scholar of religion must adopt two voices, those of sympathetic insider and critical outsider, and make him – or herself the site of their dialogue, mutual critique and, when circumstances allow, corroboration...And yet this constitutes only half of our responsibilities, for religious studies is about far more than religious appreciation."
-Christopher Chesnik, *Our Subject "Over There"?*

Introduction

This chapter explains the theoretical frameworks informing my research as well as my methods. More importantly, this chapter qualifies an epistemic logic underlying the generation of theory presented in Chapter III. In other words, these methods here illustrate *how we know* civil religion exists, amplifies, and fluctuates in relation to the events on 9/11. My main method becomes an exercise in an ethnographic discursive process emergent only in the past 40 years, Grounded Theory. The technique specifically markets itself to scholars in social research where variable accountability becomes a sparse luxury. Grounded Theory warrants a thorough description given its only recent emergence in academia.

Part I: Grounded Theory

Like creationism pitted against evolutionism, social science seems inevitably contrasted from the natural sciences. To the average onlooker, the differences between the two fields are distinct and oppositional. Social science data rests on cultural trends, social moods, and participant analysis; the natural sciences theorize based on data from

physical properties. While both yield attention to seemingly different phenomena, we must insist on not deliberately distinguishing the two sciences as exclusive. This mistake forces scholars to focus on differences when, in reality, important similarities exist. Besides the fact that the natural sciences have different methods than the social sciences, at least at the qualitative level,

> [t]here is no fundamental clash between the purposes and capacities of qualitative and quantitative methods or data. What clash there is concerns the primacy of emphasis on verification or generation of theory – to which heated discussions on qualitative versus quantitative have been linked historically.[34]

While the emphasis on detail varies, both sciences share the same agenda: to pursue answers which help develop models of the world, both physical and conceptual.   From this foundation, it is important to realize the capabilities that one science has to supplement the other, and that a harmony exists despite critical scrutiny, whether hailing from outsider perspectives, insider or lay readers.

Truly, small differences exist between the two sciences. The argument for replication establishes the main point of contention, being one of the hallmarks of oustanding research, but being more favored by the natural sciences. The essence of a laboratory is to mimic real world conditions but with the ability to manipulate variables again and again. Natural sciences prepares for this. Scientists define reoccurring variables, isolate them, and conduct a study that witnesses their controlled fluctuation. The procedure works in theory but human error frequently accounts for datum inconsistencies in practice. Yet, the dilemma of misunderstanding is only a one-way street: the scientists are always misunderstanding their subjects and never their subjects misunderstanding them. Hard science variables do not have the awareness to understand that they are in fact being studied; they behave accordingly without fail, rarely succumbing to personal emotion or capricious tendencies.

---

[34] Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), 17.

This liability is precisely the difficulty with reproducibility within the social sciences: both the researchers and the study subjects understand themselves in relation to the larger work being done. Human subjects, even animal subjects, typically recognize the presence of a field ethnographer within their traditional habitat. Thus, it is not at all inconceivable that changes in behavior are more frequent in the social sciences. Imagine a room which holds two mirrors positioned across from one another. An object, referring to the topic being studied, is equidistant from both mirrors and has its image reflected in the mirrors. The image reflected in the first mirror becomes reflected in the second mirror only to get further reflected by the first again, and back and forth. The endless series presented here mimics that of the subject-object paradigm. Just as with the variant reflections in the mirrors, the true essence of a study subject becomes manipulated in the presence of another human subject; additional agency has the tendency to distort original behavior.

Grounded Theory, a technique devised by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss at UCSF, represents a modern endeavor to address this dilemma. In *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (1967), Glaser and Anselm suggest that one must begin with a data set and, from there, extrapolate a theory. Distinctly, Grounded Theory inductively approaches the generation of sociological theory but only by looking at the data; it "is derived from data and then illustrated by characteristic examples of data."[35] Furthermore, since the data remains the sole decider of theory, Grounded Theory casts aside *a priori* standards about culture and science; assumptions, no matter how normative, are held suspicious. This differs primarily from natural science research where one begins with a hypothesis, conducts an experiment and then determines if the data verifies or discredits his or her prediction – all where clear norms guide the empirical approach. For grounded theorists, the hypothesis is

---

[35] *Discovery*, 5.

overlooked, but knowingly so; the fact that hypotheses are often incorrect combined with the additional rate that this would occur in social science warrants the omission for the hypothesis in general. After all, the word hypothesis literally denotes *hypo*-thesis or an "underdeveloped thesis." Thus, the grounded theorists wait to build off of the data and the data alone. In fact,

> [g]enerating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research. *Generating a theory involves a process of research.*[36]

The theory then undergoes a continual process of evolution; if compounding data changes the theory, so be it. Researchers must be open to allow the emergent to develop.

Part II: Theory Versus Replication

Precisely then, Grounded Theory emphasizes theory over verification. The once true and tested theories of Durkheim and Weber do not account for generational trends in culture and society today. Certainly, they provide insight for conventional approaches to social phenomenon, but these theories were not based on the necessary quantities of data permissible by research guidelines today.[37] In his book, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Clifford Geertz chastises myopic anthropologists for qualifying their research only through a reaffirmation of an existing theory.

> If the anthropological study of religion is in fact in a state of general stagnation, I doubt that it will be set going again by producing more minor variations on classical theoretical themes...In art, this solemn reduplication of the achievements of accepted masters is called academicism; and I think this is the proper name for our malady also. Only if we abandon that sweet sense of accomplishment which comes from parading habitual skills and address ourselves to problems sufficiently unclarified as to make discovery possible, can we hope to achieve work which will not just reincarnate that of the great men of the first quarter of this century, but match it.[38]

---

[36] *Discovery,* 6.
[37] *Discovery*, 11.
[38] Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1873), 88.

For Geertz, accepted "academism" breeds tautological discourse. True discovery hinges on the researcher's ability to abstain from reaffirming theories forged from yesterday's data. As data sets multiply and trends develop, insightful researchers must reexamine preexisting theories. So, to coldly verify theory is to apply an anachronistic analysis of variables, one particular to those conditions only. Grounded theorists suggest this impedes theory maturation and hampers its relevance. This makes sense: a theory's essence is based on an epistemic approach, not an ontological one. In other words, to credit a theory as legitimate is not to say that it claims and relates data as existent but that it examines a phenomenon as factual *given* a datum. The theory becomes an active theory, one that exudes social relevance. Contemporary theory arrests standardized frameworks of past knowledge of accounts of suspicion, pushing Grounded Theorists to theorize off the data they collected only. Data from the present is used to categorize the present – the epitome of time-honored relevance. Thus, research must compound data to explain a theory's evolution as well as to generate contemporary social relevance.

Stark emphasis on establishing a theory subordinates a focus on data verification. This compromise between generation and verification is not as much a matter of conflict as it is a matter of primacy. What matters more to the researcher: verification of data results or a theory that provides insight? Depending on the field, I argue that research goals differ, thereby creating various degrees of inequality between the two terms – theory or verification. Glaser et al. introduces the argument well:

> While verifying is the researcher's principal and vital task for existing theories, we suggest that his main goal in developing new theories is their purposeful systematic generation from the data of social research. Of course, verifying as much as possible with as accurate evidence as possible is requisite while one discovers and generates his theory – but *not* to the point where verification becomes so paramount as to curb generation.[39]

---

[39] *Discovery*, 28.

This exert explains why the compromise exists in the first place. Glaser suggests that both techniques can coexist, but through indirect relation. If theory is emphasized by an intelligible amount, then verification must be dismissed by that same degree. Verification sets theory to a confined state and limits relevancy, an idea stated earlier. For social research, strict verification hampers theory maturation. In fact, "[h]istorical reasons, then, account for the paradox that more sociologists do not try their hand at generating theory and publishing it…"[40] Stated differently, moments occurring within a set time frame standardize a theory for relevance only on that time frame. A theory based on a particular data set, however, cannot be refuted by additional data, by definition. Additional findings simply negate that particular theory all together. A theory is either changed or contradicted given the same data field, but never demolished; "[a] theory's only replacement is a better theory."[41] In other words, the theorization or the study being theorized will never evaporate out of thin air. Depending on the level of discredit brought on by contemporary studies, older theories evolve and change – sometimes so much to appear as an entirely new theory. So instead, there emerges a space for an *evolved* theory given new data.

Even more, advocates of grounded theory point to the fact that generation *simultaneously* verifies data results anyway. Convenient as it may be, the very process for developing theory involves an incidental technique of relative verification; generating a theory, an evolved theory, requires researchers to juxtapose theories, and either credit or discredit them – have them supplicate or complicate.

An instance from my research demonstrates how the theories evolve as data accumulates, thereby catalyzing a self-reflexive verification technique. As I generated questions for my participants, I made sure to ask the same set of questions to each participant. This detail would maintain that I controlled as many variables as possible

---

[40] *Discovery*, 12.
[41] *Discovery*, 28.

within my ability. Yet, I found that as I gained more experience with the interviews, I realized that my questions were not getting to the core of what could be insightful histories. I wanted our conversation to move to a place where the respondent relived 911. I began my research thinking that my first questionnaire sheet would do just that[42] – catalyze a revelatory narrative between me and the individual. As my interviews accumulated, I realized that my premonitions were inaccurate. My theory originally suggested that baseline questions would precipitate the social and lived aspect of civil religion; rather, my first question sheet generated nothing of the sort. At no time had I any useful narration that explained conflicts of power, struggles to maintain identity, or social approaches to realigning American ideals. Instead, I was given a motley heap of private religious practice that was sparsely coupled with loosely patriotic and more Universalist reactions to a global phenomenon, leaving nothing specific for the American citizen.

I was then forced to modify my theory, which previously hinged on the responses to six poorly constructed questions. After revising these questions in a rhetoric that would result in a more dynamic and participatory engagement with the social factors surrounding 911, I discovered complexities in my research. Furthermore, I realized that my initial theory needed to change from an assumption of superficial religiosity to a more complex web of multifaceted cultural forces that required larger and more polemical questions.

One of the most important advantages to my theory's evolution was the process of self-reflexive comparison. While I compared theories together, I ended up replacing the old theory with the new theory. I built upon it, which simultaneously verified more thoroughly its newly evolved form: the present theory was that stronger because I knew

---

[42] See Appendix I: Question Sheet 1

where it had come from and how it had gotten to this stage. Learned researchers see

building theory as efficient, like killing two birds with one stone. The task of

> [g]enerating theory carries the same benefit as testing theory, plus an additional one...A grounded theory can be used as a fuller test of a logico-deductive theory pertaining to the same area by comparison of both theories than an accurate description used to verify a few propositions would provide.[43]

In this case, logico-deductive refers to the verification process, which Glaser claims to be

excessively repetitive. If a scientist inputs foreign data into a theory and fits it, then it is

confirmed; the logico-deductive process analyzes set portions of data within set

instances, which are clearly redundant anyway given the conditions set forth in the

original study. Yet, generating Grounded Theory establishes a conversation between

older themes, thereby indirectly verifying them. Recognizing where it has come from

and, Grounded Theory sheds light on the veracity of those previous theories. Jonathan

Z. Smith sees this approach as Left Wing: comprising an evolutionary, analytical,

functional, diachronic, and historical method to research.[44] It encompasses the entire

development of processes, wrong turns, and judgments founding the most current form

of that theory.

The process to form theory, engendering the ambitious protocol discussed above,

requires qualities which are more or less inherent in young researchers. Carol Roderick,

a once inexperienced PhD. candidate, surmised her experience using grounded theory,

claiming that "[a]ll that is needed to do classic grounded theory [is] an awareness of how

you see the world and the willingness to challenge it as you compare your beliefs with

incoming data."[45] Practicing Grounded Theory is an exercise in active vigilance,

preparing for the twists and turns research can yield. It is an effort to withhold as many

assumptions as possible.   Not only is the approach active in terms of recognizing things

---

[43] *Discovery*, 29.
[44] *Map is Not Territory*, 254.
[45] Carol Roderick, "Learning Classic Grounded Theory: An Account of the Journey and Advice for New Researchers," *The Grounded Theory Review* 8 (2009), 57.

apart from "the studier" (in most cases, yourself), but also in seeing yourself in relation to the larger whole. Grounded Theory is only lost when ethnographers "commit exclusively to one specific preconceived theory."[46] An important feature here, that Glaser and Strauss purport, is that openness is a feature requisite for social science research. This simple characteristic permits the generation of a fluid and malleable theory. The best qualitative studies must live with the fact that theories will take an evolutionary bend, for data samples themselves continue to evolve and change.

Of course, veteran researchers are capable of discovering accurate grounded theories, but the qualities for that process are also consummated in the characteristics of fledgling research: ambition, openness, and newness to the field. These qualities do not, most certainly, demonstrate those of an uneducated class reveal unavoidable characteristics that new researchers experience via new exposures. In fact most "[n]ovices, because of openness, see patterns quicker and of better fit than the experienced do because of their normal forcing of previous categories and models."[47] The ideal researcher, then, is data *sensitive* and open to the emergent.

With the qualities comprising a diligent researcher firmly set, one embarks on the research itself. Grounded Theory by definition is built from the ground up using compounding sets of data, accumulated from various study trials. From the beginning, data can cause problems, at least at an epistemic level. How do we what counts as a fact, especially for qualitative data? At this critical juncture, a researcher must make an effort to triangulate his or her data. Like any court of law, third party evidence bolsters substantially an original claim. My own research ethnography raises issues of epistemic privilege—who has access to what data. While this type of relationship usually involves one party gaining privilege over another (an example being rule by force), my research involves multiple perspectives. American citizens all experienced 911, but had different

---

[46] *Discovery*, 47.

[47] Barney G. Glaser, "The Novice GT Researcher," *The Grounded Theory Review* 8 (2009), 16.

understandings up the event with respect to their particular situation. In other words,

tensions in my research predominately reflect contextual, experiential and situational

properties, not just hegemonic structures of authority. Lila Abu-Lughod in her essay

"Why Can't There Be a Feminist Ethnography" explains epistemic privilege clearly:

> Under the rubric of reflexive anthropology are those works concerned with the way the so-called "facts" we get in the field are constructed through our personal interactions with particular individuals in specific social and cultural contexts.[48]

Abu-Lughod discusses epistemic constructions largely in light of objectivity. She claims

that the feminist endeavor becomes jeopardized when feminism itself becomes a

necessary qualification for feminist research. This dynamic would cloud the goal of

feminist scholarship, which was "...to complete the record and to make the theories more

objective, more complete, and more universal through the inclusion of women's lives."[49]

Objectivity, then, faces significant problems when researchers attest to one particular

mode of methodology as Abu-Lughod warns. This is a point of contention: Abu-Lughod

wants to include marginalized groups of society for her ethnography yet, at the same

time, wants to keep her study from falsely falling into an entirely feminist ethnography.

Ostensibly, her social endeavor is a dialectic analysis that is located on the boundaries of

typically limited categories. Her attempt at real-feminist critique (and, for that matter,

my study on civil religion) must acknowledge its locality to avoid not being entirely

misleading.

Considering the problem of relative objectivity, the question concerning the

actual existence of any absolute objective analysis emerges. Built off of Western

dualisms, the objectivity-subjectivity staple is both "part of a dualism that is gendered

and [a] mode of power."[50] Abu Lughod's mentioning of genderized roles will be left

---

[48] Lila Abu-Lughod, "Can There Be a Feminist Ethnography?" *Women and Performance* 5 (1990), 10.
[49] "Can There Be," 12.
[50] "Can There Be," 13.

alone here, but her suggestive remark of modes of power resonates with firmly with the idea of epistemic privilege. Linell Cady also agrees:

> [t]he purported neutrality of knowledge as representation gives way to the conviction that knowledge is thoroughly informed by particular interests, that elite interests contribute to the configuration of hegemonic discourses and social practices, and that hermeneutics of suspicion is an essential component in their interpretation and assessment.[51]

The traditional hallmark that relates object to subject is a hegemonic inconvenience, one that invites serious reform. Absolute positions of reference only entrench and confer positions of power and, by no means, elucidate an authentic epistemology of the topic under study. My research, however, hosts hegemony of a different breed. In my ethnographies, under the premise that there was no wrong way to experience 911, positions are relative, making epistemologies polarizable.

In order to obfuscate these boundaries that developed inaccessible positions of power and knowledge (the "gatekeepers" in society), ethnographic researchers implement modes of comparative analysis to legitimate perspective. As a result of this postmodern dynamic, ethnography and ethnographic fieldwork has witnessed a foundational change. Where the modernist paradigm situated the ethnographer as a professional and objective onlooker, postmodernism holds the ethnographer to an equally critical level. If modern cultures are the products of negotiated and shared experiences within over-lapping layers of history, then epistemologies deserve a thorough re-description.

With that supposition, the ethnographer is entirely as subjective as those being studied. No longer is there the archetypal image of an astute expert traveling into a foreign, remote environment to document the workings of a barbaric alien. Rather, the ethnographer has motivations produced from social and cultural forces not all that dissimilar from other communities. Likewise, the ethnography becomes an interaction

---

[51] "Loosening," 20.

demonstrating how both subject and objective consider and interpret the world around them. In effect, then, "the study of cultures mirrors the nature of cultures."[52] The intents and purposes for studying a culture can perhaps say more about the studier rather than those being studied. Certainly then, my ethnography reflects the perspective I, too, hold in addition to illuminating the participant's views.

The appreciated emphasis on relativism with ethnography does not disqualify its purpose in scholarship; the revamping simply shifts academic emphasis away from the ethnographer and, instead, places it onto the dialectic between ethnographer and ethnography. A noteworthy ethnography wrestles the meanings between studied cultures and, moreover, analyzes the effect to which both subject and object condition terminologies. Delwin Brown analyzes the refashioned values for the ethnographer and what they imply for the process of ethnography in general. Briefly, his four adjectives conditioning professional ethnography are experiential, interpretative, dialogical and polyphonic.[53] First, the ethnographer must experience the data and the ethnography for what it represents at an innate level. The researcher must be open and receptive to experience the data as it arrives. Second, the interpretative aspect subsequently follows the experiential: the ethnographer interprets the experience. This detail explores the ideas of subject bias, the willingness to acknowledge personal subjectivity, and how that ultimately relates to the interpretation. Ideally, the interpretative quality to new ethnography underscores self-reflexivity through critique and awareness.

The next two adjectives, dialogical and polyphonic, relate more poignantly to the object of study. A dialogical approach bestows a degree of equality between subject and object; it considers the subject's perspective as important during the interview process, which ultimately places a larger emphasis on the *interaction and dialectic* during the

---

[52] Delwin Brown, "Refashioning Self and Other," in *Theoretical Reflections on Culture and Theology*, ed. Delwin Brown, Sheila Greeve Davaney, and Kathryn Tanner, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 46.
[53] "Refashioning," 47.

ethnography rather considering one perspective singularly. Lastly, the polyphonic quality works to establish a seeming ecumenical aspect to ethnography; it strives to give both participant and ethnographer an equal voice during the interview. Ideally, there would be variant overlap of meaning and understanding between subject and object. For example, perhaps both could be considered insiders when considering one perspective. Certainly, this works well for my intentions as I, an American, will be interviewing other American citizens about 911. Holistically, however, these adjectives attempt to consider postmodern theory – that meaning is shared and negotiated.

The new ethnographic process generates what Grounded Theorists call theoretical sampling: "data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges."[54] This method avoids *a priori* reductionism but nevertheless manages to choose an epistemic qualifier to develop data; evidence is based off of observations, comparisons, and conversations with other theories, not just standardized assumptions. In fact,

> [t]he distinctive empirical elements distinguishing the units of comparison are kept on the level of data, to insure clear understanding of differential definitions. As a consequence, the units' general properties in common, which might occur to the analyst as he compares, are carefully unattended.[55]

These comparative analyses then yield conceptual categories, which relate relative definitions of data. The data abstracted through ethnographic observation precipitates a collection of theoretical epistemes, which not only work to evaluate pre-existing data but secondly serve to facilitate the maturation of theory thereby "pushing" conceptual constructs into new directions.

Accumulated epistemes fill conceptual categories, like water filling a balloon, ultimately yielding the meaning and significance Grounded Theorists hold to be true. This

---

[54] *Discovery*, 45.
[55] *Discovery*, 26.

collection of data breathes a particular morphology into tested theories that brews an inductive evolution that is contemporarily accurate while also self-reflexively verifying. The inevitable process where data builds upon older data, as newer data accumulates, produces the verification mechanism which is so reliant on comparative techniques.

The anthropologic methods discussed above hold true in the area of religious studies. As we discussed in Chapter I, Jonathan Z. Smith recognizes that modes of comparison are unavoidable characteristics of human nature. For, "[w]ithout it we could not speak, perceive, learn or reason….[And] [t]hat comparison has, at times, led us astray there can be no doubt; that comparison remains *the* method of scholarship is likewise beyond question."[56] Smith builds on this thesis by discussing four categories of fundamental comparative modules within human thought, ironically enough. Each of the four attest to different aspects of ethnographic research, and all eventually set the foundations for research in the humanities. His argument for the self-verifying nature of comparative analysis aligns firmly with Grounded Theory's core approaches used in with the qualitative research my ethnographic fieldwork.

Part III: Methodology

The approach to this study is biased. There are particular features within the context of this research landscape, which determine unavoidable opinions. Accepting this handicap, as does any other researcher endeavoring to conduct a study, a descriptive analysis of these predetermined features follows.

Before, we saw that Grounded Theory works when researchers become receptive to the emergent. In order to do this, one has to let the data guide the researcher, and furthermore, proceed without any seeming expectations for results. This is an idealism that can only be honored in theory, for every researcher who does research does so with motivation and purpose. No investigation can exist without, at least, a slightly

---

[56] *Map is Not Territory*, 241.

imaginable means to an end. Abu-Lughod's endeavor to correct patriarchal perspectives within social ethnographies embodies this dilemma exactly. Her motivation is defined from the onset and, while perhaps limiting her study's applicability, she evokes a position that she must confess – for her study is motivated by the concept that all women deserve study and analysis. This concession should be honored while noting research begins with a motivation – inquiring minds *search* for answers. I, too, must identify my inclinations in research as the cultural baggage I carry as I conduct it.

As a student at Emory University, I am a scholar of religious studies and, knowing this, I am asking questions involving religious perspectives. The term religious, which was discussed in the previous chapter, calls for a specific type of analysis: a focus on moments in cultural, social and political life which provide existential meaning within the collision and slippage of both sacred and profane spheres. Religious perspectives here are not isolated to established denominations.   These perspectives also seek *dimensions*, those comprising the evocative power to propel a community on a direct course within a particular situation. Considering the events of 911 as greatly affecting personal and communal well-being, international relations, and ahistorical American political, cultural and social cosmologies, I decided to investigate its religious ramifications as well. In other words, I felt that the events of 911 left an indelible mark on American society. Such a scar was demonstrated by a heightened degree of American civil religion, which exists most noticeably and publicly during moments of conflict. Amid such an event, civil religious behavior increases in the form of an actively lived realignment to political, cultural and social values and ideals which resonate largely with traditional American tenets. This reflexive critique has the potential to generate changes in value and meaning for the American citizen. In due course then, civil religion embodies a change from one epistemological paradigm to another. The religious phenomenon exists most noticeably in these transitions, those interstitial moments

fusing historical shifts. This form of reconstituted civil religion melds one epoch to another and is conceptualized by the deliberate retooling of values and meaning in each era.   Each event responsible for these lucid moments and their effects is worthy of scholarly documentation.

Parts of me are viewing these experiences as an insider. By that, I mean that I am a Christian-raised, white American who was considerably affected by the events of 9/11. Not only was I affected by the 911 plane attacks but my country was also. I claim an *emic* relation to my study population in an Abu-Lughodian sense (that my denominational assumptions about religion in America changed after my study with 911). Another part of my identity as a researcher hails from an outsider perspective. I am analyzing the specific frictions created for the subjects in my study by 911. I am also assuming that subjects have entirely original and new experiences stemming from the 9/11 attacks. These admittances, at the same time, qualify me as an *etic* researcher, one claiming to be culturally neutral.

These admittances, while compromising, help explain a greater phenomenon: the emerging aspects of American religious cultures today. A more adaptive methodology is needed that considers such intra-cultural periods. It is no longer possible to have cultural phenomenon today bend toward the mold of a theory from yesteryear or, mainly, modernist frameworks. If anything, culture requires researchers to engage in more adaptive methods to formally understand contemporary paradigms by analyzing the foundations on which they stand. In order to test civil religion's existence, I am conducting ethnographies examining word and phrase usage as correlation to changed civil religious attitudes. Robert Bellah's *Daedalus* resonates firmly with this exact discursive approach. In fact, his entire basis for the continued presence of civil religion lies within the speeches of presidential figures themselves. For,

> [w]hat people say on solemn occasions need not be taken at face value, but it is often indicative of deep-seated values and commitments that are not made explicit in the course of everyday life.[57]

Thus, the spoken history accounts for contemporary resurgences of civil religious activity and furthermore provides motivation for my own fieldwork. It establishes a mode of civil religious presentism. A citizen recognizes that action must be taken now and that actions becomes a retooling of lived religion as civil religion and rites in America. My ethnographic approach allows participants to exercise a reflective process for articulating their moods and motivations as well as considering their own retooling. This reflective work expands our scholarly understanding of this shifting process in civil religion beyond solely observing actions that symbolize feelings and responses.

This chapter forms the landscape in which I conducted my research. It elucidates my motivation, my intentions and my methods; hopefully, I have identified the necessary pertinent information that I will carry as my baggage during my research. In the next chapter, I will begin to deconstruct my data by explaining my comparative categories. I will also examine these categories analytically in order to generate my theory – to witness how it has evolved and grown over time. Furthermore, I will explain, using theory, why this study matters. In other words, my research elucidates how moments of conflict precipitate a civil religious retooling of American lifestyle practices.

---

[57] Robert Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," *Daedalus*. 134 (2005), 2.

Chapter III
A Tour of Ethnography: Research Findings and Discussion

"With immersion, the field researcher sees from the inside how people lead their lives, how they carry out their daily rounds of activities, what they find meaningful, and how they do so. In this way immersion gives the fieldworker access to the fluidity of others' lives and enhances his sensitivity to interaction and process."
                    -Robert M. Emerson, *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*

"A radio is a voice but not a living voice, a living presence. What you are demanding, I think, Emmanuel, is not just a voice but a performance: a living actor performing a text for you."
                    -J. M. Coetzee, *Elizabeth Costello*

"The many religions, each of them distinct, want to draw clear boundaries between themselves and others. Indeed, the clearer the boundaries, the tighter and more cohesive the religious group becomes..."
                    -Catherine Albanese, *America: Religion and Religions*

Introduction

This chapter documents my results and, furthermore, explains their relevancy for civil religious attitudes as a result of 911. To reiterate, my approach is postmodern insofar as it questions the traditionally held notion that religion is contained within the private sphere of American society, a condition set forth in the generations following the Enlightenment and the birth of modernism. With this advent of postmodernism,

> ...there has been a change from interpreting cultures as bounded wholes, with a large measure of integration and coherence, toward interpreting them as far more fragmented and contested, with meanings negotiated rather than shared.[58]

Postmodernism has the capability to mix together arenas of cultural phenomena that were sequestered by modernist theory. There is now a new epistemological relativism marked by self-reflexivity, acknowledging social factors conditioned by power discourses and subjectivity. Where the Great Schism generated the seemingly irreversible separation of church and state, civil religion suggests a re-integration for the practices of religion and state, as discussed in Chapter I. For the intents and purposes of my research, the post-Enlightenment distinction was never complete: religious sentiments

---

[58] "Loosening," 21.

continue to weave their presence throughout socio-political contexts and are observable in the public domain through moods, actions, and words. This investigation exposes religion as a publicly lived phenomenon and within that vein of lived religion, civil religion thrives as a commitment to the ideals of the American nation-state.

As part of my theory, I have embarked on an agenda to explicitly document the observable tensions so characteristic in civil religious attitudes. At its peak, civil religious behavior intensifies during moments where American values are jeopardized. 911, as we have theorized, provides an exemplary catalyst by which to experience civil religion. As with any publicly lived phenomenon, the central focus becomes the people: how they decide, act, enact and behave. The people foster a deliberate resolve to keep alive the American ideals of betterment, free economies, and multilayered political parties.

Precisely then, ethnographies have the power to circumscribe the civil religious movement. The interviews are foci of my study and breathe air into a once-considered privatized, unattainable medium of American culture. They are engaging, revelatory and intimate narratives that demonstrate citizen entrenchment in America prosperity. They concern who is making the right choice. They consider justice. Moreover, these interviews underscore a contemplative process undergone by the participant. Their words and phrases convey an internal dialogue resident within their own ideational makeup, which, for brief time, is made public through way of the interview process. Being reflexive, analytical and comparative, this tool provides a new method to unpack the civil religious phenomenon.

Part I: Procedure

For my study, I interviewed 12 willing participants in an effort to compile 12 detailed and comparative oral histories. After obtaining approval from the Emory Institutional Review Board (IRB) and course completion of the Collaborative Institution

for Training Initiative (CITI)[59], I made contact with my participants through email. Emory's technology services provide a student-specific communication program for all students: LearnLink®. Through this medium, I sent out an initial "Interview Invitation" directed to a few specific demographics.[60] The first group was composed of students I knew and knew *of*: friends, classmates, and friends of friends. All emails were sent in bulk. In other words, I maintained a formality, which excluded a degree of intimacy that would have otherwise been another variable in my correspondences. The second group was organized under the oversight and guidance of my Principal Investigator, Dr. Barbara Patterson. These emails were sent to Emory administrative officials. The third group was composed of general Emory students – students I did not know, but who were enrolled at the University. Emails were sent to class conferences on Learnlink.

These three groups were intended to demonstrate two large perspectives within the Emory community. The first perspective was purely student based and represent the citizens of the United States. The University confers a similar systemization of authority, promotion and power structures equivalent to that instilled by the American nation-state. It honors a system of checks and balances, maintains a lineage of presidencies, and impresses upon its students the value of achievement, morality and community involvement. These qualities resonate firmly with those bestowed by the American government, whether by speech, example or action. Additionally, Emory values its formative origins, or those moments that constructed the foundational structure for the University. Every new decision the University makes thereon after must been seen as an evolved rendition related back to the underpinnings which solidified the first years of Emory *as* a University. These convictions also explicitly parallel The United States' policies, which seek to embody the ethos in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the Constitution.

---

[59] See Appendix I: Certification
[60] See Appendix I: Interview Invitation

The second group, Emory administrators, comprises a cohort of officials who abide by the same systemization to which the American government adheres. Again, there is a procedure for checks and balances, a protocol for emergency situations within the campus, and several branches of governing bodies, all of which oversee one another. The administration even regulates a process that preconditions the entering class based on demographics. The goal is to assimilate the matriculating class in the most diverse way possible. As one Emory administrator puts it,

> demographics come in a lot of different shapes and sizes: geography, race, religion, socioeconomic background. So we [Emory University] look at a lot of these factors because we want to maintain a consistent student body…[a] diverse student body that covers all the variables.[61]

The Emory administration executes a procedure that ultimately has its student body resemble that of the American nation. Moreover, these two groups do well to represent the United States as a nation of people in various social positions, which confer greater or lesser accessibility to power.

After students and administrators considered my invitation, they would respond by either declining the interview opportunity or by taking the next step to set up a time and venue. Willing participants usually preferred the time while I usually chose the venue, which was always on campus. Venue selection was based on a combination of weather, noise and availability. Ideally, I would spend time before the interview searching for empty rooms in the four central buildings on Emory's quadrangle: Bowden Hall, Callaway Center, Pitts Theology Library, and Carlos Hall. These rooms usually had a quiet and warm atmosphere for the interview.

 Once situated, I would give the students two documents before beginning the interview. The first document was the Lay Summary,[62] which outlined the project objective, the right to confidential treatment of data and the theory behind civil religion.

---

[61] Appendix II: Transcripts Dictation – Administrator 1
[62] See Appendix I: Lay Summary

The second document was an Informed Consent clause.[63] This document outlines,

explicitly and thoroughly, the inherent rights that each participant possesses before,

during and after the study. As a result, the names and identifications of the participants

were changed to conceal their true identity.

 After agreeing to the Informed Consent, participants were asked a series of

questions and were given time to answer into a recording device, depending on their

consent to be recorded. Again, all participants at minimum were asked one set of

questions which explored personal reactions to 911.[64] Emory officials were asked

additional questions at the beginning of the interview that specifically pertained to their

job. All questions were asked in an effort to cultivate a reflective conversation between

ethnographer and participant. Winnifred Sullivan, a religious lawyer who has dedicated

her profession to clarifying the nature of law with respect to religion, suggests that

> [r]eligion cannot be reduced to faith or conscience. The word "religion" for
> history of religions, in this mode, insists on acknowledging the embodiedness of
> the human spirit, its materiality. History of religions has an inclusive impulse,
> both toward the physical expression of religion and toward the material changing
> circumstances of people's lives.[65]

In effect then, my ethnographies exposed the religious lives of the United States people.

By getting deep into the oral histories of each participant, I navigated the intricate web

which connected participant to nation. In addition to formal questions, which

underwent a series of modifications that I will address in the discussion with the case of

Respondent Six, I took note of my own experiences in an Introspective Journal.

 This specific tool was largely important for my ethnographic developments. Not

only did the journal track the immediately noticeable elements in each interview, body

placement, inflexion, tone, etc., but it also documented *my* reaction to the interviewee's

responses. In other words, my journal charted my own dispositions during the

---

[63] See Appendix I: Informed Consent
[64] See Appendix I: Interview Questions
[65] Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, *Paying the Words Extra: Religious Discourse in the Supreme Court of the United States,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 31.

interviews, acknowledging the fact that I too was part of the interview process. Although the questions attempted to examine the relationship my interviewee had with the events of 911, they also precipitated a second-degree effect – that of me reacting to the participant's response. This binary experience, inevitable for any ethnographer, can be qualified as a conflict of interest. Robert Emerson illuminates the situation, saying that

> ...the ethnographer must make her way into new worlds and new relationships. On the other hand, she must learn how to represent in written form what she has come to see and understand as the result of these experiences....It is thus critical for the ethnographer to document her own activities, circumstances, and emotional responses as these factors shape the process of observing and recording others' lives.[66]

Ostensibly, Emerson locates the positions of insider and outsider, that of the ethnographer experiencing the participant (and reacting to him or her) and that of experiencing the ethnography (the original endeavor). This caveat explores the assumed rigid gridlock between what one considers to be objective or subjective. Previously considered loci of objectivity (the ethnographer) must be acknowledged as somewhat subjective and, while this these loci are firmly situated, a spectrum of subject-object intermingling arises. In other words, there is a ratio of degree to which the ethnographer interacts with his or her participants; rarely is the subject fully detached from his or her own notion of self while, at the same, there is rarely a study subject completely alienated from his or her own context during an ethnography. In a phrase, true ethnography lies within the mixture between the two poles.

For this reason, I have to concede my frame of reference as slightly biased in order to have my methods be sincere and professional. The Introspective Journal dutifully reminds of my own position and prevents me from purporting inaccurate truisms. With the help of the Introspective Journal, I interviewed each participant and recorded the interview using a handheld tape recorder. The interviews usually lasted 30

---

[66] Robert M. Emerson et al., *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 11-15.

minutes, but ultimately varied depending on the length of each participant's responses. After each interview, I dictated each narrative in Microsoft Word®. While typing the dictations, I would also use my Introspective Journal to articulate my experiences during the interview. These details were bracketed in the transcript in order to distinguish them from the participant's narrative.

After transcribing my transcripts, I would reread them to form conceptual categories.[67] This was the second of three documents in my data depository. It served as the connective medium relating the primary interview transcript to the quantified excel spreadsheet. For the purposes of my study, it was the most important aspect of my research. I have qualitatively placed participant's responses into bounded categories based on sentence phrasing, word usage, and inflexion during their personal interview. Each of the 8 categories helped organize and systematize the multitude of words, experiences and responses I encountered during my interview. Not only did organizing responses help simplify participant's statements, but it also facilitated configurations of meaning in a scientific manner. These conceptual frameworks assisted the inductive process that thereby generated my Grounded Theory.

The Conceptual Categories were only formed as participant responses accrued. At the beginning of my research, there were no categories; only when recognizable patterns emerged from the data could I then begin formulating my frameworks. The data built my categories beginning "from the ground up." With that understanding, I ended my research with 8 conceptual categories, all of which helped to illuminate civil religious attitudes in the United States since 911.

After highlighting each participant's phrases that correlated to their respective category, I tallied the number of instances within each category. This was the only

---

[67] See Appendix III: Conceptual Categories

quantitative aspect of the project. It merely serves as a marker for the *frequency* of types of phrases used by participants.

Part II: Results

In total, I interviewed 12 American citizens in my study. Of the 12 interviews, 4 were officers holding professional jobs within Emory University. The other 11 participants were students attending Emory University. Interviews were collected over a nine-month period, from June 2009 to March 2010. Each of the 12 interviews was transcribed in full. Eight interviews were chosen at random to provide a baseline framework for the following interviews. The transcripts from these eight interviews molded the conceptual categories, which I then used to map patterns of meaning and phrasing for the subsequent interviews. In effect then, strict and detailed attention was only given to these eight transcripts, and those interviews that were transcribed afterward were used as a means of reflexive comparison on the original framework grounding my theory.

The method by which we will evaluate the data begins with the questions. Responses to questions were analyzed and, afterward, helped generate the conceptual categories of meaning that I hold to be true by way of Grounded Theory. This method is preferable insofar as it explains the data inductively, the same method by which it was collected. After categorically analyzing the first eight interviews, the subsequent participants at large answered questions thematically similar to previous participants. From there, it became clear that the categories constructed from the first eight interviews held definitive meaning and structure; each category eventually mapped subsequent participant's responses to the questions, almost predictably. The patterns generated by these first eight interviews came to represent a menu of civil religious terms for the remaining participants. Again, the notion of spectrum arises here: this result demonstrated how my questions did not directly control for specific responses but still

managed to keep participants thinking and responding on themes deeply involved in civil religion.

Since the question sets evolved, however slightly, we will address the questions as they were asked in the most current question set. This set has undergone the most rigorous process of analytical re-description and thus represents a question set that is highly specialized and content-based.

Question One: Explain 911 to me. Looking at the highlighting on the original transcript dictations from the first eight interviews, nearly each respondent espoused phrasing belonging to the Disorientation Category and the Deeply Affecting Category. Participants 2, 3, 5, and 6 spoke phrases demonstrating loss of orientation, shock, awe, and inexplicability. Participants 5, 6, and 7 all spoke phrases that evoked sentiments of ineffability and deep senses of belonging or entrenchment in the values and symbols purported by the World Trade Centers and 911.

Question Two: Do you remember the events? Describe where you were, what you felt and what other people said. Participants 1, 5, and 6 spoke phrases that correlated directly to ideas of insider and outsider categories. These answers ultimately led to the generation of the fourth category: Insider and Outsider. Participants 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 and 8 all spoke on the topic of fear, shock and disorganization when responding to this question. Again, the generation of the Disorientation Category was reinforced by significant evidence during the initial questioning.

Question Three: What did you notice about the people's reactions to 9/11? Immediately. Long afterward. Participants 1, 3, 5, 7 spoke phrases that conjured sentiments of insider and outsider categories. Additionally, Participants 3, 5, 6, and 7 also commented with phrasing that inspired community building and unity, leading to the generation of the Community Category.

Questions Four: What about actions? In many instances, particularly with participants 5, 6, 7, and 8, Question Three and Question Four were answered simultaneously. This in all instances was done at the will of the participant, usually because the participants discussed both reactions *and actions* within the same response. When the participant responses were not as combinative and Question Four was asked, there were phrases which correlated to the Disorientation Category (Participants 8), Deeply Affecting Category (Participant 2), Conflict Category (Participant 5) and the Community Category (Participant 3). Overall, results were inconsistent.

Question Five: Do you agree with the president's reaction to 911? With this question, participants 2, 3, 5, 7 and 8 responded with phrasing demonstrative of "war-mongering," conflict and confrontation, ultimately generating the Conflict Category. The Insider Outsider Category was further bolstered with responses from respondent 1, 2, 7 and 8. Other responses were given, but were nominal given lack of similar responses from other participants.

Question Six: How do the events of 911 affect George Bush's re-election? Participants 3, 5, 7, 8 all touched on the topic of being deeply affected by the policies George Bush's first term produced. Inarticulate as they were, they ultimately added to the Deeply Affected Category. Additionally, Participants 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 talked about conflict as a major motivating factor for Bush's re-election, bolstering support for the Conflict Category. Other comments were nominal.

Question Seven: How would President Obama have handled the situation? Participants 1, 2, 7, and 8 demonstrated sentiments that evoked insider and outsider boundaries. As a result of this question, the Insider and Outsider Category witnessed a more permanent placement among other categories in the conceptual framework.

Question Eight: What is the main difference between 911 and Hurricane Katrina? Participants 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8 discussed blame, positions of meaning and power –

all which relate to Insider and Outsider Categories. There were also comparable

amounts of Community (Participants 3 and 7) and Conflict (Participants 2, 3 and 7)

phrasing sporadically laden throughout individual responses.

Question Nine: In one word, describe the people's reaction to 911 and the

nation's reaction. Participants 2, 3, and 8 all commented on the disorganization and

chaotic behavior the *people's* reaction was during 911. The second aspect of the question,

"the nation's response," witnessed phrasing connoting community building, all taken

from Participants 2, 3, and 8 respectively.

Question Ten: How much was religion involved in 911? All participants (who

were asked this specific question) discussed the topic of religion, deliberately and with

concentration. Ultimately, the testimonials given to this question controlled for the

generation of the Deliberate Religion Category.

Question Eleven: What is the difference between patriotism and nationalism?

Participants 3, 5, 7, and 8 all discussed paradigms of "Us vs. Them," or of how patriotism

unites a group by singling out features in another group. This led to further bolstering of

the Insider and Outsider Category.

Part III – Discussion

After presenting the interviewee's responses, I constructed Conceptual Categories

based on significant phrases. In this discussion, there are two areas which warrant

explanation: the questions and the categories. First, we will discuss the questions and

how they embodied an effort to evoke significant social and religious issues. Second, we

discuss the categories of meaning that were constructed from the responses *to* the

questions, and how they relate to civil religion.

i) Questions

Question One charged participants with an onerous task: explain 911 in its

entirety. Not only did the question pertain to topics larger than the participant

individually, but the topic is also often confined to scholars well-versed in facts, numbers and policies pertaining to 911. In short, the question immediately evoked a tone and body language that suggested interviewee's feelings of inadequacy and ineptitude. Regardless, participants were responsible for describing the events of 911. The fact that this question, as large as it is, was prompted at the beginning of the interview provoked participants to answer, at least typically, in a cursory and generalizing rhetoric.

Question Two evoked ideas of boundaries, as the data shows. The participant typically spoke on situations that were peculiar to their own situation. People discussed where they were, how they felt, what they remembered about *themselves*. This tendency inevitably created boundaries usually by placing the participant in a corner surrounded by those policies and reactions he or she deemed acceptable. When discussing reactions not advocated by the participant, there was typically a spectrum of disapproval, ranging from those who understood but frowned on other citizen's reactions to those who were entirely unsatisfied.

Question Three asked participants to analyze *other* people's reactions to 911; typically then, this prompt forced participants to juxtapose their own conventions against outsider ideas. The responses established a firm boundary, separating those actions or behaviors that were clearly outside and apart from the respondent's own comments. The latter aspect of the question ("Now and Long Afterward") prompted participants to analyze the evolution of behaviors across a timeline.

Questions Two, Three and Four have obvious similarities: both ask participants to analyze situations outside of their own behavior. The difference, however, emerges as questions two and three asked participants to analyze events, words and emotions where question four focused specifically on actions, sequestering a core component of lived religion. Actions and behaviors demonstrate the American proclivity to realign American values after 911. This phenomenon, the ability to gauge civil religion through action, is a

product of the casual space that civil religion occupies. In order to understand how

action precipitates such introspective analysis, it is perhaps necessary to consider how its

absence *restricts* insight. Sam Gill, who researched how body language illuminated

aboriginal commitment to the land in Central Australia, analytically explores how

bounded structures of thinking (the University or the Church) restrict movement and

moreover the deemphasize gross body:

> ...[B]oth church and secular academy effectively show how theology is embodied.
> In the high mass of the Christian church, we see bodies covered with liturgical
> vestments to such an extent as to render the body inarticulate. These processions
> of floating heads demonstrate the devaluation and suspicion of the gross body,
> the body from the mouth down, with the focus directed toward the head, the face.
> The high ritual occasion of the secular academy is the graduation exercise, [which
> has the similar bodily comportment].[68]

Gill's perspicacity not only underscores how professional environments undervalue body

movement, but he also makes noticeable how actions in the casual American landscape,

those without academic restrictions, can create meaning. Particular to American civil

religion then, this observation holds pertinent significance. For unfettered actions, those

apart from the publicly and privately funded institutions, "must be understood as

theologically based, a reflection of who we are, rather than consciously and reasonably

chosen as part of the intellectual process."[69] In other words, actions provide the truest

medium through which one can make sense of individual motivations and intentions.

911 opened a public space for citizens to express sentiments without constraint from any

institution. Even after the day of the event, 911 created an atmosphere where Americans

from any class and social position freely interacted and behaved. With this

understanding, American citizens witnessed a purity of attitude and thought

demonstrated by the actions and public choices people made.

---

[68] Sam Gill, "Embodied Theology" in *Religious Studies, Theology and The University: Conflicting Maps and Changing Terrain*, ed. Linell E. Cady and Delwin Brown (New York: State University of New York Press, 2002), 81.
[69] "Embodied," 82.

Yet, responses to Question Four showed that there was still no obvious trend in the data. For one, participants generally did not understand the question's focus and continued discussing other people *at large*: behaviors, reactions, events, etc. In other words, the participants did not discuss specific actions, but only continued to discuss the heightened degree of uncertainty confounding the general population. Two, at no time was there a majority of phrasing indicative of one category or another even when participants discussed actions; the results were various and scattered, demonstrating the inefficacy of the question.

Question Five focused on structures of power, decision-making, and publicity of the government. George Bush held incumbency when the World Trade Centers fell. He was also the point man for publicly addressing the nation's concerns about well-being, security and procedure for retaliation. Understanding the president's reaction then, it is reasonable that participants spoke about fear, conflict and resolution. Yet, because the question was "Do *you* agree..." and not "what were the...," participants maintained the responsibility of judging the president's decision making. This confrontation (also a conflict within itself) generated spheres of understanding - of J. Z. Smith's "Us versus Them." In all interviews, there was either agreement, disagreement, or an effort to abstain comments entirely; regardless, a polemic arose: how does one interpret the appropriate response after the attacks? Precisely then, personal identities, party affiliations and cultural ethics – all which culminate toward civil religion – dictate the nature of interviewee responses.

Question Six was meant to underscore the American tradition of conflict further, which has become a staple to the American agenda in large times of crisis. Re-election based on conflict demonstrates the people's positive reaction to war-mongering - that sincere and legitimate value exists in the pursuit of war, conflict and oppression for the

American citizen. This question seeks to find an effort to revive those formative ideals founding the American establishment during the 18th century.

Question Seven, again, pushes the war-mongering theme further. This question asked participants to consider the duty of the president as a matter of state practice or as a matter of personal ethics and morality. Was Bush's decision a matter of his personal conviction or was he obliged by his vocation to engage in conflict (and therefore, Obama would be also)? Regardless, there was a large movement to underscore an innate difference between the two presidencies as individuals despite both being products of Congress and the people. The question not only marked a broad effort to distinguish the policies of Bush and Obama, but it also established a moral gradient of Us vs. Them. There was now a right way (Us) and a wrong way (Them) to handle the events of 911, and Bush's way was fraught with error, as given by participants.

Question Eight asked participants to consider the motivation behind the attacks. It took emphasis away from the devastating results by focusing on the motivation behind the attacks. By comparatively considering the reason behind the attacks, participants were forced to understand *why* they were upset and not just *how*. Since Hurricane Katrina was a natural disaster, the majority of participants suggested that man-motivated attacks were the difference. The concept of blame then was a large topic of discussion: with 911, it was easy for the affected population to assign blame to a group of people. Whether this was a method to further orient oneself in a heaping mess of chaos or simply a historical tendency, blame appeared to be the largely distinguishing factor. Participant 6 did not comment on this question because it was not prompted to him.

Question Nine specifically targeted aspects about community. It provided an interesting prompt: interviewee's are asked to respond, using one word only, what the individual's reaction to 911 was and what the nation's reaction was. The question, like the subsequent answers, was succinct and direct, but the process participants took to

capture the individual's and the nation's mood was complex. Never before did

participants have to concentrate so closely on explaining the mood of 911 through such a

limited resource, namely *one* word. Additionally, the point behind juxtaposing the

individual's reaction to the nation's reaction was to hopefully capture a transformative

adjective. In other words, I was looking to see if individuals, alone and single, were that

much more insecure or anxious than their community-based counterparts. All in all,

question nine exemplified the transition from disorder to order, most of the time. The

question was also left out of a few interviews in order to conserve time.

Question Ten deliberately and directly confronted the topic of religion. The

open-ended prompt allowed participants to expand upon the relationship religion had

with 911. It also worked well to diagnose the taboo nature that the topic of religion has

with secular activities; many participants felt uneasy answering the question directly and

definitively. The question also tracked the idea of blame, that religion could provide a

reasonable scapegoat for an inexplicable cause driving the terrorists. With that respect,

participants (Respondent 1) who claimed that religion was in fact the source of that

unexplainable rationale typically took religion as an ineffable phenomenon. So while

attempting to comment on the topic of religion, Respondent 1 actually discussed that

which lies beyond religion: God or faith. Wilfred Cantwell Smith's book *The Meaning

and End of Religion* discusses this causal misunderstanding among Westerners today.

Through analytically exploring specific case studies (Islam and Eastern religions),

Cantwell Smith claims that modern society has framed faith and religion as synonymous

when, in fact, they are not. For, "God does not reveal a religion, He reveals Himself;

what the observer calls a religion is man's continuing response. The response is

interesting, but to the man of faith only at a subordinate level."[70] The respondent's

---

[70] *The Meaning and End,* 129.

answers to this question then do well to represent this two-tiered landscape and how skewed it appears for Westerners today.

Question Eleven was invented for analytical and comparative purposes. At its core, the question was difficult semantically: it asked participants to consider the difference behind two similar words. While both words cultivate the idea of citizenship and engender a protocol for that cultivation: action, behavior, and group participation, there is a difference. The Oxford English Dictionary says that Nationalism is "[a]dvocacy of or support for the interests of one's own nation, esp. to the exclusion or detriment of the interests of other nations. Also: advocacy of or support for national independence or self-determination."[71] On the other hand, Patriotism is "[t]he quality of being patriotic; love of or devotion to one's country."[72] For our purposes then, Nationalism is a social and political movement that behaves as a fervent devotion to the ideals of a united nation state. Patriotism connotes a similar devotion to American values but resists the augmentation which would thereby make it a social movement. Ostensibly, nationalism is to patriotism as religion is to faith. The purpose then of the prompt, at an indirect and secondary level, was to have participants largely consider largely complex notions of religion or religious behavior and how they relate to state enterprises.

It was after this question and moreover after the questions were completed that I debriefed the study subject entirely. If anything was unclear, particularly the concept of civil religion, I took the time to explain it in depth.

Trends in participant responses led to the general construction of conceptual categories. As patterns in the data emerged, it became clear that questions provoked a range of related responses from the participants. The continuance of patterns created bounded categories where I could place individual responses. Yet, "[t]he proper way to understand a religious statement is to endeavor to not see what its words and clauses

---

[71] *Oxford English Dictionary,* s.v. "nationalism."
[72] *Oxford English Dictionary,* s.v. "patriotism."

mean (which may too easily become, what they mean to me), but to see what they meant to the man who first uttered them."[73] The categories, then, are a multilayered phenomenon: they must not only construct meaning for the ethnographer, but they must also accurately represent similar meaning to the participants who gave the testimonials. While Cantwell Smith suggests a valid consideration, these interviews do not singularly channel internal thoughts that are unaffected by social forces. Perhaps here we are reminded of Delwin Brown's "polyphonics," – that both the speaker and the listener have an investment they wish to seek, and that the interview provides a place where two can interact.

Mainly though, Smith's statement does well to prevent scholars from *only* seeing responses for what they mean to the listener. As religious scholars, our own interpretations and extrapolations of generic data mean nothing to social significance if they do not hold weight outside of academia. We are only one perspective and, furthermore, a perspective that must be held at a standard that all social arenas can find useful. Again, Dr. Cady underscores the theory by stating that

> there is a clear movement toward historic interpretations of "meaning" and "knowledge." Rather than construe the meaning of words or propositions in terms of discrete representations of external reality, meaning has increasingly come to be seen following Wittgenstein, as a function of its use. Further, the meaning of a word or practice has come to be understood as embedded within a wide web of significations, neither stable nor identifiable in abstraction or isolation.[74]

In order to gain a more global currency, conceptual categories must underscore configurations of discursive logic and relationships. They should illuminate processes and mechanisms - not beginnings and ends. Instead of having deduced and stagnant meaning that is only intelligible to either the speaker or to the listener, my categories represent dialectical approaches to subject matter. They demonstrate modes of hermeneutics and reasoning that are around and about a particular topic.

---

[73] *The Meaning and End*, 183.
[74] "Loosening," 19.

ii) Categories

The first category was called Most Frequent Phrase. This qualitative category represented the most consistent line of thinking during the entire interview. It stands as an indicator that perhaps suggests the primary motif throughout the whole of the participant's transcript. The importance of this category, however, proved to be minimal: while each participant had a most frequent phrase, they were never reminiscent of any phrasing from other participants. Rather than creating any pattern within the data, the inconsistency ultimately obfuscated any clear development for my theory.

The second category was called Disorientation and was marked with the Yellow highlighting tool in the transcript. This category denoted phrases that convey initial reactions, discomforts and realizations during the events of 911. Specifically, the phrases resembled those, which promoted feelings of fear, shock, ambiguity, confusion or hopelessness. They marked the initial moments when citizens bore witness to the serious threat foreign forces had on American cosmology. In this instance though, the threat was a large-scale destruction of what Americans held to be sacred, namely the World Trade Centers.

The third category was called Deeply Affecting and was marked with the Green highlighting tool in the transcript. The moniker for this category is particularly ambiguous only because it comprised the participant's most inarticulate phrases that were, at the same time, also the most emotive. In other words, the participants did their best to explain a pseudo-ineffable sentiment about the events on 9/11, but had trouble elucidating their feelings. With the help of the Introspective Journal, I marked participant responses that expressed serious effort, contemplation and consternation during their elaboration.

The fourth category was called Insider and Outsider and was marked with the Turquoise highlighting tool in the transcript. This category documented the community's manufacturing of specific cultural, political, and regional boundaries as a result of 911. As discussed in Chapter I, boundaries serve as a primary means for the generation of paradigms, identity and authority – all of which are requisite for civil religion. Boundaries create positions of epistemic privilege: opinions held by those outside ourselves are incorrect, for we have the true knowledge based on our own authentic experiences and interaction. As we have discussed**,** this theme appears vividly throughout religious studies scholarship - in W. C. Smith's notion of "Cumulative Tradition" as well as in J. Z. Smith's paradigmatic dualism of Us versus Them. Boundaries then have the ability to confine a group, leaving no room for outsider influence or, a *desire* for it; boundaries for certain groups delineate what matters most and how outsiders should be let into their group after admitting to a set of different truisms. Furthermore, boundaries are directly related to religion by way of distinguishing the sacred from the profane:

> [r]eligion concerns the way we locate ourselves in space through the arrangement of sacred rites and holy places as boundary markers. In concerns, too, the way we locate ourselves in time through origin stories or theological traditions that also express boundaries.[75]

Catherine Albanese's second statement particularly exemplifies the American motivation for manufacturing boundaries: maintaining an American sense of *self*. While topics ranging from Aristotelian modes of persuasion to modern political theory now arise from overlying boundary development, the diligent student must notice the holistic picture: the relationship between and across boundaries produces an amalgamation which fuels religious activism.

---

[75] *America, 5.*

The fifth category was called Response and was marked with the Pink highlighting tool in the transcript. These phrases or words inspired any type of response after the 911 attacks. The responses instigated war-mongering terminologies as the data shows. This category harnesses the one of the formative cornerstones in American history: that conflict birthed the successful and independent regime to which we as Americans pledge ourselves today.

The sixth category was Community and was marked by the Gray 25% highlighting tool in the transcript. This category demonstrates American resolve to reaffirm community after the ensuing disarray caused by 911. Community building details the American universal effort for a people to work toward a goal that relates concepts of personal, national and global identity. This category represents the atmosphere during the aftermath of the attacks on 9/11. As given from the data, this period was marked by recovery, unity and patriotism.

The seventh category was called Deliberate Religion and was marked by the Red highlighting tool in the transcript. This category captured the participant's understandings of traditional religious presence and involvement in 911. The purpose of this category was tied directly to Question 11, "How much was religion involved in 911?" This query asked participants to directly and publicly confront the concept of religious involvement, which has been typically isolated to privatized spheres in the American landscapes. My Introspective Journal charted the tension evoked when participants answered the question as well as the level of concentration needed for a socially acceptable response.

The eighth category was called Transition and it was not highlighted because it was either a Yes or No. If there was a noticeable evolution from social disharmony, inaction and chaos to a more normative realignment with American values in the interview transcript, then I marked as "yes" in the category.

iii) Quantitative Spreadsheet

The frequency of each participant's phrasings that fall into these specific categories was tabulated in Microsoft Excel®. While the merits behind this scientific effort are laudable, this final tabulation demonstrated little for the purposes of my study. While the frequency of my data provides an interesting variable to my study, the Excel Sheet ultimately provides a perspective that resides outside the purposes and intents of my study. Our concern is not the frequency or the "manyness" of these phrases, but *why* they were uttered. After a certain number of reiterated phrasing, numbers become irrelevant.

iv) Trends and Anomalies

The trends in the data are demonstrated in the continual generation of the comparative categories. As each question was asked, participant after participant all answered with similar narratives. This is not to universally claim that all answers were identical or that the questions forced participants to react in a preconditioned and mechanistic way. Rather, the open-ended nature of the questions gave the participants a license to explore their own histories; the questions gave participants the power to choose which topics to discuss and in what detail to discuss them. Yet, the vulnerability resulting from each question does not discredit the accountability of my data. In other words, just because the questions engaged participants in an probing conversation does not cloud or obscure my data. If another religious academic wanted to test my theory again, but use a more quantitative method, my results would still stand.

Let us take a hypothetical example: a researcher, fed up with the interpretative quality funding religious research, decides to systematize and code my data in an effort to "analyze these data in a fashion that will constitute proof for a given proposition."[76] As a reaction to my study, his system embodies quantitative tenets: numbers, single

---

[76] *Discovery,* 101.

variables, and explicit coding. He decides to give participants questions, using my data, but makes his subjects respond yes or no. In other words, a question seeking to verify my data quantitatively would be "Did you experience feelings of shock, awe and confusion during 911?" While these questions establish a more singular and linear data field, they ultimately do nothing to generate a more concise or scientific theory; the data is still the same in both cases – only the approach to the data is different.

Again, we see here that verification techniques for Grounded Theory become unnecessary. Such exploitation even goes so far as to hamper theory maturation, as we discussed in Chapter II. This is why the comparative method is ideal. It is

> ...designed to aid the analyst who possesses these abilities in generating a theory that is integrated, consistent, plausible, close to the data – and at the same time is in a form clear enough to be readily operationalized for testing in quantitative research.[77]

Conclusively then, comparison is the perfect method for generating theory. It permits a continuous function of development thereby embodying the properties of openness and malleability; additionally, comparison also builds a consistency, authenticity and accountability in the data as theory generates. Comparative categories keep the data true while also allowing for a certain flexible characteristic necessary for theory.

There are a few case studies from my own data that need analysis in order to explicitly clarify the action-reaction pair embedded within Grounded Theory. The first case study deals with Participant 6 and illuminates how the comparative method was utilized as well as how my civil religious theory evolved. Participant 6 was interviewed on June 12, 2009, during the few weeks after the Emory IRB approved this study. Being one of the first interviews, the questions were purely theoretical: there was no data from previous studies off which to gauge how the interview may develop. With this understanding, Participant 6 was the unacknowledged guinea pig in the first step of my

---

[77] *Discovery,* 103.

Question Sheet evolution. After this interview and after analyzing responses to the questions, I changed questions that were perfunctory, like question #2 in Question Sheet 1: In what ways did you demonstrate your patriotism after 911? (See Appendix I). After analyzing responses from this specific question prompt, I realized that the question largely orchestrated the participant's response. From the prompt, the participant understands that patriotism is the medium of action I consider important; yet, emergent patriotic actions, those that are a product of some bigger colossal event (911), are the particular type of behavior for which I was hoping. It would therefore be unscientific for me to purposely pose a specific style of response that I was looking for and, at the same time, consider participant responses which discuss patriotism to be a choice without any duress.

Scenarios that contained these situations were my study's "toggle points," the transitional moments where my study evolved in order to be more receptive to the breadth of participants' responses. This process avoided participant systemization that would have otherwise conditioned subjects to be unknowing disciples to a preconceived theory.

The second example that dutifully humbles the interview process concerns technology malfunctions and is most distinct in the case of Participant 4. During the dictation process, I found the interview tape reel to be completely unclear and spastic. There were little if any instances when I could actually hear a complete sentence without the tape skipping or cutting out completely. Although I was forced to abstain complete dictation of the interview, I was able to comparatively fit his responses within the conceptual frameworks of other responses based off of my Introspective Journal. This ethnographic tool proved to be so useful to the interview process that it became a necessity, as this case shows. Using the journal, I was able to track the key words and phrases that I had a) understood as indicative of civil religion and b) recognized as

similar phrasing from previous interviews. Furthermore, by comparing my notes from the Introspective Journal to other fully dictated responses, I was given a more holistic perspective by which to gauge the aim of my questions. If participants were clearly articulating phrasing that I could quickly recall (and then write down), then my questions were that much more direct and thorough in completing their objective: evoking civil religious characteristics.

Despite the progress made by the questions and comparative categories, my project had a few study limitations. Although my results established a meaningful trend, my data set needs to encompass more ethnographies to gain credibility in the scientific arena. Two, human error is always an obstacle and becomes most noticeable in the interpretation of phrases and dictations during the interview. Ideally, one would avoid impressionistic pitfalls of interviewee-interviewer dynamic, but it is inevitable for scholars to avoid all degrees of subjectivity during the ethnography.

While the results of my study are faulted for its sample size and subjectivity, one cannot ignore the strict implications civil religion holds for human understanding. Referring back to the Orthogonal Compromise, the ethnographies in this study demonstrate how American citizens continue to negotiate American values and practices in relation to that-which-was and that-which-will-be. It speaks largely to the contemplative power moments of conflict evoke for the American nation-state. Furthermore, the *process* by which my data was collected brings hope and scholarship to the field of religious academia – that religious scholars may again "play ball" with those issues that Americans find to be culturally relevant.

Conclusion

My research does more to only exemplify civil religious attitudes. The theory behind civil religion coupled with my Grounded research reveals a process of retooling and change, thereby reminding us of a centrally non-denominational form of religion

deeply embedded throughout American history. Additionally, my study provides a preliminary model for how we can better track this religion and especially its generative power to retool rational values and identity, even in diversity. Particularly when moments of conflict rupture American national complacency, the religious scholar is able to acutely document civil religion. During these times, civil religion becomes exposed, leaving it vulnerable for documenting its contemporary subtleties blended by traditional American themes. What one must take away here is that civil religion, a type of religion, can be documented through ethnography. My results demonstrate the revalued approach ethnography offers for religious scholarship. The qualities embedded within civil religion- patriotism, boundary manufacturing, high and lows of fear and hope - are elucidated during the 12 ethnographies in my study. While the source of civil religion does not lie entirely in the dark catacombs deep within the mind's labyrinth, its ability to be comprehended and furthermore *studied* rests with human interaction.

In a way, the study came full circle: it began with the metaphysical and the phenomenological by recognizing an eerie significance between body placement, behavior and relationality. Then by way of ethnography, self-reflexivity and analysis, the study thoroughly investigated the framing behind such interactions, whether conditioned by social forces, internal dispositions or a spectrum mixing the two. Finally, at the study's conclusion, the application of my results related back to the existential and teleological by creating modes of meaning and understanding as to why citizens are inclined to react certain ways.

And while my study hosts the relatively recent Grounded Theory, its exemplified circularity does well to mimic the framework of Aristotelian reasoning on first principles. In an excerpt: "[t]he things which are immediately obvious and clear to us are usually mixed together; their elements and principles only become intelligible later. That is why

we have to progress from the general to the particular."[78] This principle is the particular, representing a succinct description of those underpinnings relating the elements and qualities together. By analyzing various elements and qualities, I have discovered my first principle: that American history combined with embodied action created distinct and deliberation fusing of religion and state, namely civil religion. Within civil religion, there is a practice, an array of sacred texts and general trajectory that generates an American *telos*.

From Aristotle's first principle, the scholar then develops a thesis, and embarks on the second portion of the Aristotelian procedure: application. In this process, one applies their hypothesized principle to a case study, to a specific context, or to a particular condition. In any event, the application of theory (first principle) generates another set of beliefs (element and qualities) that further confirms the first principle. For my study and through Grounded Theory, the results relate back to the tenets hypothesized in the first principle. This is significant insofar as the *method of application becomes verified*. The application process, Grounded Theory, not only bolsters the initial discovery leading to the first principle, but becomes a discovery within itself. Scholars can now point to a specific method that works; in an inductive, scientific framework, we have developed a process that allows religious scholars to gain perspective on how religion affects models of the world.

By grounding my assumptions through numerous ethnographic interviews, and then applying the categories of meaning to American response and action, it becomes clear that certain experiences manufacture specific responses. In other words, religion does not evade description; my study demonstrated how one can understand and makes intelligible those actions, words and dispositions during events that jeopardize the American nation. My comparative categories, which were generated from the interviews,

---

[78] Aristotle, *Physics*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 9.

develop modes of meaning that were frequently and consistently related back to the events of 911. These modes of meaning parallel issues of identity, power, and purpose, which are requisite for civil religion's existence within the American nation-state. Furthermore, the success of the conceptual categories also attests to how conflict provokes civil religion; not only did my study undercover variables for civil religion, but it also elucidated its catalyst. With these important results, religious scholars now also have the ability to add another tool to their toolkit: ethnographic research.

Proud and Public: Civil Religion in America and 911

Master Bibliography

1. Abu-Lughod, Lila. "Can There Be a Feminist Ethnography?" *Women and Performance* 5 (1990): 7-27.

2. Albanese, Catherine L. *America: Religions and Religion.* Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1981.

3. Aristotle. *Physics*, translated by Robin Waterfield. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

4. Bellah, Robert. "Civil Religion in America." *Daedalus* 134 (2005): 40-55.

5. Brown, Delwin. "Refashioning Self and Other." In *Theoretical Reflections on Culture and Theology*, edited by Delwin Brown, Sheila Greeve Davaney, and Kathryn Tanner, 41-55. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

6. Cady, Linell E. "Loosening the Category That Binds: Modern "Religion" and the Promise of Cultural Studies." In *Theoretical Reflections on Culture and Theology*, edited by Delwin Brown, Sheila Greeve Davaney, and Kathryn Tanner, 17-40. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

7. Casey, Edward S. *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.

8. Emerson, Robert M. et al. *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995.

9. Geertz, Clifford. "Chapter 4: Religion as a Cultural System." In *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 87- 125. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

10. Gill, Sam. "Embodied Theology" in *Religious Studies, Theology and The University: Conflicting Maps and Changing Terrain*, edited by Linell E. Cady and Delwin Brown, 81 – 92. New York: State University of New York Press, 2002.

11. Glaser, Barney. "The Novice GT Researcher." *The Grounded Theory Review* 8 (2009): 1-21.

12. Glaser, Barney G. and Anselm L. Strauss. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967.

13. Independence Hall Association in Philadelphia. "The Declaration of Independence." http://www.ushistory.org/Declaration/document/

14. Johnstone, Barbara. *Qualitative Methods in Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

15. Lincoln, Bruce. "The Study of Religion in the Current Political Movement." In *Holy Terrors: Thinking about Religion after September 11*, 1-18. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

16. McCutcheon, Russell T. *Critics Not Caretakers: Redescribing the Public Study of Religion.* Albany: State University of New York, 2001.

17. Orsi, Robert. "Everyday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion." In *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*, edited by David D. Hall, 3-21. Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1997.

18. Roderick , Carol. "Learning Classic Grounded Theory: An Account of the Journey and Advice for New Researchers." *The Grounded Theory Review* 8 (2009): 49-63.

19. Smith, Jonathan Z. "Chapter Eleven: Adde Parvum Parvo Magnus Acerus Erit." In *Map is Not Territory: Studies in the Histories of Religions*, 240-264. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1993.

20. Smith, Jonathan Z. "'Religion' and 'Religious Studies': No Difference at All." *Soundings* 71 (1988): 231.

21. Smith, Wilfred Cantwell. *The Meaning and End of Religion*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991.

22. Sullivan, Winnifred Fallers. *Paying the Words Extra: Religious Discourse in the Supreme Court of the United States.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.

23. Tillich, Paul. *Dynamics of Faith.* New York: Harper Books, 1957.

24. Tipton, Steven M. "Globalizing Civil Religion and Public Theology." In *Religion in Global Civil Society*, edited by Mark Juergensmeyer, 49-67. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2005.

25. Wuthnow, Robert. *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War II.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Public and Proud: Civil Religion in America and 911
Appendix I: IRB Documentation

I) Certification

FROM: Tzu-Chin (Claire) Wu, MPH, CIP
             Senior Research Protocol Analyst

TO: Barbara Patterson, PhD
             Principal Investigator

CC: Wilson   William   Emory College

DATE: June 17, 2009

RE: **Notification of Exempt Determination**

             IRB00021590

             Civil Religion in America after 9/11

Thank you for submitting an application in eIRB. We reviewed the application and determined on **6/17/2009** that it meets the criteria for exemption under 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2) and thus is exempt from further IRB review.

This determination is good indefinitely unless something changes substantively in the project that affects our analysis. The PI is responsible for contacting the IRB for clarification about any substantive changes in the project. Therefore, please do notify us if you plan to:

• Add a cohort of children to a survey or interview project, or to a study involving the observation of public behavior in which the investigators are participating.
• Change the study design so that the project no longer meets the exempt categories (e.g., adding a medical intervention or accessing identifiable and potentially damaging data)
• Make any other kind of change that does not appear in the list below.

Please do not notify us of the following kinds of changes:
• Change in personnel, except for the PI
• Change in location
• Changes in wording or formatting of data collection instruments that have substantive impact

on the study design

For more information about the exemption categories, please see our Policies & Procedures at www.irb.emory.edu. In future correspondence about this study, please refer to the IRB file number, the name of the Principal Investigator, and the study title. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Tzu-Chin (Claire) Wu, MPH, CIP
Senior Research Protocol Analyst

II) Lay Summary

Title: Civil Religion in America After 9/11
Principal Investigator: Dr. Barbara Patterson, PhD
Co-Investigator: William Wyatt Wilson

Objective

The objective of this study is to gather information from interviews and historical analysis' regarding the civil reactions, behaviors and activities taken by citizens following the events of September 9/11. The responses generated with be qualified as religious or non-religious based on fundamental tenets of religion

Study Population

The age range for our population will be varied extensively. Our research will not include participants under the age of 18. All study subjects will have had to have been alive and cognizant of the events of 9/11. My study population will be from primarily the Southeastern region of the United States since I am conducting my research in Atlanta. There are no foreseeable vulnerable groups.

Recruitment and informed consent

After reading the Interview Invitation, the possible subjects can contact the researchers via email or phone. It should be noted here that no researchers will contact the possible study subjects about potential interviews without the study subjects first contacting the researchers. Acquiring potential subjects will be mediated through the Religion Department at Emory University. Dr. Patterson along with her affiliates will be able to gather the subjects based on previous associations or relationships with the parties. For example, the Interview Invitation will be sent to a group of students enrolled in a Religion class this summer at Emory. This is necessary so that the student subjects know that they have the right to refuse responding to such a request.

The informed consent will be written and will be obtained on the site of the interview. There will be additional no-contact study: historical analysis of periodicals, newspapers, and news items.

Data Collection

In this research study, the data collected will be publicly available. The data, however, will only be identifiable by the virtue of how each subject responds to the interview questions. Dr. Patterson (PI) and I (Co-I) will have the codes that trace the identifiers (voice, phrases) back to the subjects. The nature of researcher-participant interaction will be a one-on-one interview, requiring both the researcher and the study subject to be present. The location of data collection will vary accordingly to the study subject; the researcher will travel to the study subjects' work location/residence in order to maintain the highest level of comfort for the subject. The scope of topic areas will include manifested behaviors after 9/11, emergence of new activities/emotions/behaviors after 9/11, comparing and contrasting activities before and after 9/11. The total respondent burden will be one hour in length. Data confidentiality will be maintained by removing all identifiable components of each study subject for the final paper. This includes removing names, locations, and voice patterns.

III) Protocol

Civil Religion in America After 9/11
Principal Investigator: Dr. Barbara Patterson, PhD
Co-Investigator: William Wyatt Wilson
Emory University

Background
In this prospective study, we will be analyzing responses to the events of 9/11 and qualifying them as religious in nature. Responses will include those of individuals as well as those of the public as a whole. My hypothesis is that the events of 9/11 heightened a preexisting set of responses which increased American civil religious behavior. Through sociocultural and historical analysis and ethnographic fieldwork, we will determine how and why this response is an expression of American civil religion.

American society fosters civil religious behavior. War is a prime example. During a time of extreme stress, sacrificing one's life for one's country is a burden that easily becomes blurred with the surreal/unnatural/supernatural. The war zone

> which the nation is presenting, the unflagging zeal with which it is waging the war, and the high *morale* of our fighting forces, are due to the fact that down deep in the heart of the people there is absolute conviction that we are contending for those supreme principles which are the attributes of the Divine. (MacMillan 15)

In the aforementioned scenario, the principles of the Divine are interwoven with the values of American culture. Inevitably, the purpose of fighting becomes the same; soldiers are risking their lives for a higher power. In particular, my project will investigate religious patriotism before the events of 9/11 compared to those post-9/11. The destruction of the twin towers evoked an intense disturbance in American cosmology. Students, teachers, and citizens suddenly had to reaffirm their patriotism in the face of terrorism. It is important here to also realize that this study will not be limited to analyzing only foreign influences on American civil attitudes. The event of 9/11 only *catalyzed* the religious response already inherent in American culture. My project will thus be able to comment on the evolution of civic religion as it responds to changes in American moral and community. Analyzing how the reactions heighten civil religion will be the crux of my project and will document its revival among the American people.

The background and main motivation for my project derives from Colleen McDannell's *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in the America.* Here, McDannell, a devout Protestant, elaborates on material culture in America and how its presence evokes religious attitudes. Furthermore, she suggests that popular American culture has created an amalgamation of sacred symbols, some of which are purely traditional while others are emerging unorthodox objects, activities and behaviors. For it is when we realize that it is "what Christians *do* rather than what they *think*, we cannot help but notice the continual scrambling of the sacred and the

profane"(McDannell 4). Thus, the rituals which praise an inanimate object, the American flag for instance, "must be learned through doing, seeing and touching. Christian material culture does not simply reflect an existing reality. Experiencing the physical dimension of religion helps *bring about* religious attitudes"(McDannell 2). It is this emphasis on *doing* which interests me as an undergraduate researcher. An individual's actions can yield multiple repercussions – some even religious. The emphasis on Christianity was a mere detail of McDannell's study; my research involves a general civil religious reaction. As my research progresses, I will be able to document the effect of civil activity and the manipulation of material objects has on the emergence of a new religious atmosphere.

  The ultimate justification behind this study can be identified by looking at the principles of the Belmont Study. The three principles Justice, Beneficence, Respect for Persons are all being maximized to their greatest extent. Respect for Persons will be dutifully monitored since each participant can volunteer and has a certain mental capacity. In terms of Beneficence, the risks are at a complete minimum due to the nature of an interview process and the benefits of the subjects are maximized, for they will better understand their contribution of their civil actions to American civil religion. Justice will be served by treating each subject equally.

Design

  The study sample will mainly consist of citizens in the Atlanta area or, moreover, in the Southeastern region. The age range for the subjects will consist of adults (18+) for the interview process. The only prerequisite for the interview subjects will be that the participants will have had to have been alive and cognizant of the events during 9/11.

Setting

  The location of the subjects' interview will vary depending on the subjects' location. The researcher will drive to the subjects' residence or place of work in order to make the procedure convenient and affordable for the participant at the request of the participant.

Recruitment

  After reading the Interview Invitation, the possible subjects can contact the researchers via email or phone. It should be noted here that no researchers will contact the possible study subjects about potential interviews without the study subjects first contacting the researchers. Acquiring potential subjects will be mediated through the Religion Department at Emory University. Dr. Patterson along with her affiliates will be able to gather the subjects based on previous associations or relationships with the parties. For example, the Interview Invitation will be sent to a group of students enrolled in a Religion class this summer at Emory. This is necessary so that the student subjects know that they have the right to refuse responding to such a request.

Documentation of the interview will happen in the form of a written or typed document or in the form of an audio recorder. The Principal Investigator/Co-Investigator will protect identifiable information by sealing the details of what interview matches which audio recording. These details will be stored in the Religion Department. At the end of the study, after proper analysis has been completed, identifiable information will be destroyed by erasing the names of each interviewee that are visible on the audio tapes.

  For the non-contact aspect of the study, the historical analysis, the data will be gathered from publicly available news periodicals and magazines. The data will be identifiable only with respect to the title of the publication. The entire public will have access to the titles of publications we choose to use for evidence of our historical analysis.

Procedures

  The study design is an interview. The respondent will respond to a series of questions allowing the subject to explain and expound upon the events of 9/11. The interview, at maximum, should take one hour.

Measures

The response will be the most immediate indication of civil religious behavior. Thus, the question prompts must allow for a range of responses. My questions will be open-ended, allowing the

participants to respond at length about their behaviors before, during and after the events of 9/11. The interview process will take place near the end of my research, or at least after my historical analysis. The first reason for this is that I will need to get a large foundation for the general sentiments through a historical analysis. The second reason will be logistical; Dr. Patterson and I will need to accrue a method of contacting willing participants in a timely and efficient manner. I will call their office to explain the purpose and intentions of my project and set up an hour interview with the participant. .

Potential Risk
Though there are no known negative experiences following the administration of any of the included survey instruments there is always a possibility that one or more questions from the survey could provoke sadness, anxiety, anger, etc. in a study participant. Participants will be told – both in the consent form and verbally – that they may discontinue the survey at any time and with no penalty.

Benefits
Subjects will be more aware of the repercussions of their individual actions during the time after 9/11, assuming my hypothesis is correct. In other words, participating subjects will be able to recognize the cohesive forces that stimulate American culture.

Data analysis
The number of subjects will vary depending on availability: the more subjects available, the better the data for the study. There will be no formal calculations. The subjects will receive a numeric code and only this code will appear on the actual survey. The excel spreadsheet linking the student names to the corresponding codes will be password protected, stored on the Emory University secure server and accessible only to the study staff.

Training
SIRE will train the personnel on proper interview techniques.

Plans for data management and monitoring
All data will be viewed only by the Principal Investigator and the Co-Investigator. Data will not be disclosed to the public until all identifiable characteristics are removed.

Confidentiality
The only identifiable aspect of the interview will be the subjects' voice, which will not be in the final version of the paper. Linkage of subjects' voice to the words spoken will be protected by the Co-Investigator and the Principal Investigator. The voice of the respondent is not important to the data analysis so it will not be necessary for the final, if any, drafts.

Informed Consent
Written Consent will be provided for the subjects to sign before the interview. The subjects' will sign the consent on the site of the interview.

IV) Interview Invitation

Interview Invitation
Civil Religion in America After 9/11
Dr. Barbara Patterson
W. Wyatt Wilson

Purpose: The Religion Department is looking for possible participants in a SIRE study this summer which looks to document the effects of 9/11 and relate them to a newly emerging field of study: Civil Religion.

Parameters: Study participation will include a one (1) hour interview addressing the reactions and behaviors felt by the participant after 9/11. Informed consent will be issued as well as a lay summary of the project in general. The risks, benefits and reason for the study will be outlined in the Informed Consent.

Qualifications: The only qualification is that study participants must have been alive during and cognizant of the events that occurred on September 11th, 2001. Your participation is completely voluntary and you have the right to refuse to be in this study. You can stop at any time after giving your consent.

Contact: If interested, please contact Barbara Patterson at 404-727-0029 or W. Wyatt Wilson at 260-413-4769. If email is preferable, send a message to wwwilso@emory.edu

V) Informed Consent

Informed Consent to Be a Research Subject
Emory University
Department of Religion

Title: American Civil Religion after the Events of 9/11
Principal Investigator: Dr. Barbara Patterson, PhD
Co-Investigator: William Wyatt Wilson
Funding Source(s): Emory University

Introduction

You are being asked to be in a research study. This form is designed to tell you everything you need to think about before you decide to consent (agree) to be in the study or not to be in the study. It is entirely your choice.

You are being chosen for this study because you are an American who was living during the events that occurred on September 11, 2001. You will need to be <u>18 years of age or older</u> to participate in this study. You will be asked to answer a series of questions surrounding those events. The approximate number of participants is expected to reach 30 subjects. You are being asked to participate in an interview lasting approximately one hour long.

Purpose

The scientific purpose of this study is to look at a new approach to American civil behavior. The reaction to the events of 9/11 altered and reemphasized certain civil attitudes and behavior consistent with religious values.

Procedures

We are conducting a 60 minute interview with the participant. The researcher will prompt the subject with a series of questions to which the subject is expected respond. The questions are written as "open-ended" to allow the participants to elaborate in their responses. To help the data collection process, the researcher will suggest audio recording of your interview. You have the right to refuse audio recording of the interview and still participate in the study, as indicated below.

Risks and Discomforts

There may be risks, discomfort or side effects from the study activities that are not known at this time. Though there are no known negative experiences following the administration of any of the included survey instrument, there is always a possibility that one or more questions from the survey could provoke sadness, anxiety, anger, etc. You can decide to discontinue the study at any time.

Benefits

This study is not designed to benefit you directly. This study is designed to for researchers learn more about civil religion in America. Indirectly, however, it is possible for you to recognize the meaning of your actions in the larger paradigm of American culture.

Confidentiality

Your individual answers will not be shared with anyone or stored in a manner so your answers can be attributed back to you. Your responses may be included as part of the research report but your name and any other information that could give away who you are will not be used.

People other than those doing the study may look at study records. Agencies that make rules and policy about how research is done have the right to review these records. So do agencies that pay for the study. Those with the right to look at your study records include the study investigators, the Office of Human Research Protections and the Emory University Institutional Review Board. Records can also be opened by court order. We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. We will do this even if outside review occurs. We will use a study number rather than your name on study records where we can. Your name and other facts that might point to you will not appear when we present this study or publish its results.

Compensation
There are no anticipated costs to you from being in this study, other than any applicable costs such as transportation when applicable.

Withdrawal from the Study
Your participation is completely voluntary and you have the right to refuse to be in this study. You can choose to discontinue participation in the study at any time. This decision will not affect in any way your current or future standing as a student at Emory University or any other benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Questions
If you have any questions about this study or if you have been harmed from being in this study please contact Dr. Barbara Patterson at 404-727-0029 or William Wilson at 260-413-4769. If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or if you have questions, concerns or complaints about the research, you may contact the Emory Institutional Review Board via irb@emory.edu or at 404-712-0720 or 877-503-9797.

Consent
We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep. Do not sign this consent form unless you have had a chance to ask questions and get answers that make sense to you.

Nothing in this form can make you give up any legal rights. By signing this form you will not give up any legal rights. You are free to take home an unsigned copy of this form and talk it over with family or friends.

If you agree to participate in this study, please sign below.

_____   _____

Signature of Subject   Date

If you agree to be audio recorded, please sign below

_____   _____

_____
Signature of Subject permitting audio recording of interview   Date

_____   _____
Signature of Person Conducting Informed Consent Discussion   Date

VI) Question Sheet

Question Sheet 1 (6/09-11/09)

1) What do you remember most about the events of September 11th?
2) In what ways did you demonstrate your patriotism after 9/11?
3) Describe situations in which you felt most connected to the American response to 9/11?
4) In what ways did you notice a cultural change in American priorities?
    a. How was this demonstrated to you?
5) Did you practice your religion, if you have one, more frequently after 9/11?
6) What types of ideals became more important for you as an American citizen?

Question (6/12/09) for Participant 9

1) What were the major sectors that reacted most noticeably to the events of 911 at Emory? Any new positions?
2) Where there any events that started on campus after 911? For students? Memorials? Rituals?
3) Emory has a religious upbringing. How does this if at all, affect it's polices before and after 9/11?
4) What were some specific protocol changes in the Emory Agenda?

Questions (7/1/2009) for Participant 10 and 14
    1) How has Emory changed its Emergency Response System since 911?
Questions (2/18/2009) for Participant 7
    1) Explain your job to me.
    2) What is the procedure for incoming student in terms of demographics?
    3) Is there a particular spread for the matriculating class that you need to meet?
    4) Who decides that?

Question Sheet 2 (1/27/10)

1) Explain 9/11 to me.
2) What do you remember about the events? Describe where you were, what you felt, what people said.
3) What did you notice about the people's reactions to 9/11? Immediately. Long afterward.
4) What about actions?
5) Do agree with the president's reaction to 9/11?
6) How did the events of 9/11 affect George Bush's re-election?
7) How do you think President Obama would have handled the situation?
8) What is the difference between Hurricane Katrina and the attacks on 9/11 if they both affected a large community?
9) In one word, describe the people's reaction to 9/11. The nation's.
10) How much was religion involved in 9/11?
11) What is the difference between patriotism and nationalism?

Public and Proud: Civil Religion in America and 911
Appendix II: Transcript Dictations

Transcripts in brackets [ ] were taken from the Introspective Journal.

Question Sheet 1
Participant (6), 6/22/09

Q: So where were you?
Ali Annaim: I was in middle school. Actually, I remember I was in English class. And then, I went to my Georgia history class and we actually sat down and watched CNN over and over again. And for the rest of the day, it was the topic at school

Q: In your words, describe 9/11 to me and what you remember most about the event?
AA: I think the most vivid was the shock in the area ; it was everywhere around me (and Green). In terms of this is actually happening, the images just kept being played over and over again.

Q: What about immediate interaction with your peers?
AA: We sort of talked about in class since CNN was all over, like "oh, my god what is happening? What is going on? In retrospect, it was very limited because I was maybe 13/14 years old – not that mature"

Q: So, you pointed out that your age was a factor. I guess, at the age, you're less than able to appreciate the complexities of situations. BUT, given that, what can you say you recognize as how Americans, maybe a month or two afterward, coped with it?
AA: Definitely, there was sense of solidarity. That was important for everyone, especially for those families that were lost in the towers. So there was definitely a sense of support there, and community as well.

Q: And where are you from?
AA: Originally, I am from Sudan.

Q: And you went to middle school in the US?
AA: Yes, here in Georgia. Here in Atlanta.

Q: Looking at how the government reacted in terms of its diplomacy, how can you say that it has affected your view of our government?
AA: There were some actions that were harsh and excessive and not well thought out in my opinion, but also it seems like the culture, popular culture, was pushing for any response whatsoever, [insofar] as they were aggressive in terms of appeasing the public.

Q: Were you in support of what happened?
AA: I was not really, I would prefer a more diplomatic activity joint effort 'cus it was when President Bush declared a war of terror he sort of limited himself because he didn't

reach out in what else in terms of large governments in Europe in terms of supports in western Africa and Australia. It was a limited and focused effort but the effort itself led to some important issues.

Q: What is your religious background?
       AA: Islam.
Q: Islam. Okay. So how did these events affect your view of the terrorists to 9/11?
AA: I viewed them as sort of in the same light as religious fanatics in such those who read religious texts in a certain way in an aggressive manner and I seemed annoying to me that they allowed themselves to take the egocentric ideals egocentric principles and establish them and say they represent my religion and I will act as such.

Q: How did these events affect your manifestation of religion publicly afterward?
AA: I would say that beforehand there was more curiosity with the public in terms of religions but afterwards it was hush hush and concealed more. 'Cus there was more secretive you weren't sure who was more overly aggressive with regards to religion and who was willing to allow themselves to fall into traps legitimatizing certain persons in relations with other people in that religion.

Q: What were your emotions, were you ever worried?
AA: I wasn't worried so much, the discussion never came up so
Q: Did you have to change your lifestyle?
AA: No.

Q: How do you think growing up, nearly ten years have passed, can you analyze changes in American culture as it relates to political identity and religious identity as a result of 9/11?
AA: Yeah, like the years following it there was sort of a conservative approach to diplomacy pushing toward justice in a sense but more retribution, but you can gives us laws in a way.....but yeah after a while there was conservative and Christian approach to it, but as the years followed and more of society has decided to look back at the time before and how the government responded and look with more of conscientious tone in government society. Basically there was conservatism then, but now it has become okay we need to look at the cause of problems....and try to fix those as well as...so it doesn't happen again. I would say it was a progressive emergence like even while the suppressive push for information was going, there were even people asking for more information and such...and now this movement has picked up steam over the years and started to pick up some serious momentum.

Q: And why do you think it has become so much more prevalent now?
AA: I would say the shift in presidency and the overlying tone of the office of the president of the government has shifted over the years yeah so to allow this investigation and search for information and hopefully prevention.

Q: What about president bush allows for less of an intelligent, unbiased approach to external affairs such as 9/11 than Obama?

AA: I would say just how Bush presented himself while he was campaigned and how he acted as president was more targeting a specific audience in terms of conservative and very strict and seeking the moral high ground. With Obama it was more intelligence and actually searching for answers and with Bush there was this basic approach to the problem as they are the enemy, okay, this issue and our actions leads people to feeling this way and then because of this it was more of they are the enemy they are the evil doers. For that reason, we have to attack them.

Q: What about Obama's reaction to Iranian election?

AA: I think he's taking a very careful stance right now because it is a very delicate situation in terms of willing to support them but not taking military action right away because it's a very delicate issue and also because the whole middle east right now is a very powder cake in a way and this sort of issue …and so you have to be careful…think it out carefully.

Q: Do you remember the 2004 election? What policies gave him the win?

AA: The war, and the whole idea of us wanting to maintain a leader who we thought was taking us in the right direction…that was one issue. And then also the absence of transparency of what the government was actually doing…put blinders on the public. Our approach to the problem was the actual incident. How can we rectify the problem?

Question Sheet 2
Participant (1). 1/27/10

1) Explain 9/11 to me.

Jana Drachman: The world trade center is basically the center of the world. And, the center of capitalism, and life in New York. The financial. Two planes crashed into the world trade centers somewhere under an hour apart. And one was possibly aiming for the either the world trade center or DC.
[Center of the world, center of capitalism]

2) What do you remember about that day?

JD: My dad started a new job across the street. Started working after college everyday. My teacher got a phone call that day, I mean I only live 20 minutes outside of the city, and she had this weird look on her face, and she hung up. People kept knocking on the door, leaving, going out. We were all like "what's going on?" and she was like "Nothing. Don't worry about it. Don't worry. Don't worry." We weren't allowed outside for lunch that day. We were told there was pollution coming from an oil thing in city. And school ended at three. At 2.30 they sat us down, and gave us a form, then said "give this to you parents." And like, it was a form about if you have any reasons for…

"How many of your parents work in the city? Raise one hand for one parent, and both hands for two parents." I mean, in a class of thirteen, probably 30 hands went up. Literally, everybody. And they said, "we need you to go outside at the bell, if nobody

comes to pick you up, do not walk home. Nobody leaves until you have a parent sign you out with a teacher. So my mom was there, hysterical, crying. I had no idea what happened. My neighbor said "the world trade centers fell down today" And I remember there was a discussion about the bombings in 93, so I really had no idea what happened. So I said, "well, didn't that happen already?" Like, I didn't even know what the world trade centers were, I just knew them as the twin towers. I didn't know they were the same. And my dad's car was in the driveway. And I said that's really weird, and I get inside and he's in pajamas. And this is weird. My dad never came home before dinner time. What happened? He said he was across the street, he saw the towers get hit, and he walked outside and he couldn't see an inch in front of him. Everything around him was black, black soot. You couldn't see anything around you. Glass all over the place. He walked across the Brooklyn bridge, but went back to work the next day. And I said "are you kidding me, like why are you going back?" We're new Yorkers, we have to go back. We (and Grey)have to show that it's not going to change the way you think. That's not going to change the way you feel. [Note: third category. A lot of the phrasing evoked sentiments of disbelief. She was documentative]

3) What about other people's reactions to 911?
JD: I remember being scared. Because, I remember not being able to grasp something so catastrophic happening from the American standpoint. Like all I thought about was my dad, I wasn't concerned about the war in Iraq, I think that's great, I wasn't concerned about the effect it had on the whole country. I just said Mom, I don't want daddy going back to work because I don't want him to get hurt. I know a lot of people who lost relatives, and at that point it was such shock. Everybody's parents were gone, everyone's parents were freaking out. I think it's really geographical. I think that people from NY, it was something that affected them very deeply, affected their pride and their city and their country and honestly I can say that I appreciate my family more after 9/11. I was talking to a girl from California and she said "well what did you do. You were there" I think that people weren't there, not having seen the world trade center. I was at ground zero. I think that people who didn't see it, or didn't feel it, didn't feel it that much. I think for other people, nationally, it was about the war, George Bush, and for us, it was about our city.
[The idea of place seems to be very important for her.]

4) People's actions
JD: Outspokenness against the Muslim religion. There were a lot of conspiracy theories. A lot of paranoia.

5) Bush's decision
JD: Not a fan. 9/11 just let him have leeway to let him go into Iraq without even knowing if Iraq was directly involved and some of the bombers were from Saudi Arabia . A lot of it had to do with bush's control of oil because of his father's failed reputation and 9.11 was the perfect excuse for retaliating.

6) How did it affect his re-election?

JD: 9/11 for a lot of people in the country haven't really examined not to say the facts, because there really are no facts. I think that George bush sent troops in and we said oh well he started this, let him finish it. And I think a lot of America was really scared to elect somebody knew and to test out new waters. Had people not just been scared, they would have taken time to say, well what is George bush really doing?
[It was the easy way, in the vernacular]

7): Would Obama have behaved differently?
JD: I am a liberal so I'm looking at it from a liberal perspective. I don't think he would have been so apt to send troops in, which I think is a good.

8) Hurricane Katrina versus 911
JD: Katrina was a natural disaster, you can't prevent a hurricane. The fact that 9/11 was planned was something so much more. I think that hurricane Katrina was a death in the family where as 9/11 was a murder. (Turquoise, Green and Pink) You know? Katrina got together and bush did nothing, but the fact that 9/11 was a plan by someone else, by a third party...shows that something else had to be done about it instead of fixing it.

9) One word for people and nation
[Transcript interrupted]

10) How much was religion involved?
JD: Religion has the ability to carry out irrational acts that they wouldn't normally do. Had their god not told them to be suicide bombers (and pink), I don't think the same exact events would play out the way they did (red also).

11) Difference between patriotism and nationalism
[Transcript interrupted]

Participant (2), 1/27/10

1) Explain 9/11 to me.
Tatiana Han: I'm not really sure what else to say about it. [There was a terrorist attack on the country involving a difference in politics]

2) What do you remember about the events from that day?
TH: I was in fifth grade and I was in Virginia at the time. Our school got out right after lunch...we got out early around lunch time and when I got home my mother had the news on and my mom was actually scared is a navy reserve physician and once a month he is called to go to the navy hospital and out of all the days my dad was at the navy hospital that day so the other problem was that my mom had no way of contacting my dad especially during this time.
Q: what about how you felt, your reactions personally?
TH: Seeing it visually was what got me because when I heard, the only I knew was going home early, then I came home and I saw the plane crashes and of course I saw my mom

that day and she was ==worried==. So, I think because I was young==, I didn't think of it as such serious until I saw the news==. I was in Yorktown Virginia, took the bus home, and I remember my teacher coming in, she had to go outside for a second and said you guys are leaving home, but she didn't say why, but I heard her talking to some of the other six grade teachers saying "==can you believe this is happening==?" but I remember hearing the words terrorism for the first time and thinking that's kind of how I learned the word, course there wasn't any talk about going what was going on, and my mom was talking about my family, all from new york and new jersey. They're powers were out for a couple of hours and it was until around dinner time that my mom could reach them, and then she started, my brother whose five years old, and I remember her talking to him on the phone, are you okay are you okay

[she has nonlinear remembrance of the events. Nothing in PARTICULAR stands out. Use in holistic analysis; she is contemplative and sincere]

3) Other people's reaction's to 9/11.
TH: ==since I was young, I guess I was ignorant, well just naïve==. It wasn't anything serious to me. Actually, until the following year, my father was activated and their was a call from the us government, and they wanted to talk to commander Han, and my mom picked up the mom and said that he's not available and I remember telling my brother that my dad had to close his practice in 48 hours and report to the naval hospital because there was a general surgeon was stationed in Afghanistan and was about to go to Iraq and if something happened to him my dad would have to go, so at that time, my dad would have to be stationed at fort smith. So, ==that's when I started getting serious about it.== So busy, he was never home, in fact he actually had to stay away sometimes. When I grew older, everyday, actually every year we would ==actually take the pledge seriously==, and ==everyday I would take the pledge and it wouldn't mean anything to me, but then of course, as the year goes by, you don't think about and actually now, the first five years were really big on 9/11 just like the visuals and people== talking about it and remembering but today, we saw wow, that's kinda weird how fast time has gone, but we don't even thing about it especially since a lot of people ==disagree with the war==.

4) Actions, what did you notice?
TH: a lot of people in my neighborhood, their families lived in ny and nj, and there was one family that was Muslim, and I noticed some separation, ==not much of discrimination, but just isolating them==, they usually wave on any days but they wouldn't now, and of course they ==withdrew from the neighborhood==, but I did feel the people who were affected by it==, there was more interaction,== and I didn't really notice that people didn't really talk about it. But then again, I kept moving, I moved to Arkansas.

5) President's reaction
TH: personally, I do. Because when I think about it, any other president, people in America, ==we have that feeling of loyalty to the country==, and if someone is trying to attack it, our first reaction is to find these people, maybe not declare war immediately, but ==some sort of aggressive action==.

6) Helped his re-election?

TH: I know they played a key part in it, and I was surprised that he won, I think it was the main factor, the war in Iraq.

7) Obama

TH: I'm actually conservative, I do understand , I feel like that if Obama was incumbent, I mean it is his responsibility, he would have had pressure from congress to declare war. He would have declared war.

8) Katrina vs. 9/11

TH: the differences? Q: How do you consider them separate? TH: Well, HK was a natural disaster of course, and 9/11 was a terrorist attack, 911 was planned and hurricane Katrina wasn't...we weren't ready for both of them, HK, we took too long to bring resources and just rebuilding the dam. Same with 911, when I went to Washington D.C. the WTCs weren't rebuilt, the varied security at the airports, it just shows every airport is different, so I feel that no matter what we'll always be unprepared.

9) One Word

TH: people's reaction: astonishment. Nation's response: compassion, which I have mixed feelings about 'cus when it happens to our own country we are willing to help but with outside the country we might feel to help our own country first. Also, especially, if you weren't affected by it but you saw the devastation, you still wanted to help out.

10) How much was religion involved?

TH: A humongous impact, but when that happens, people have to run somewhere, not just running somewhere but the assinasnation part of anyone who was middle eastern and of course all the people that were affected or died. [Ideas of a scapegoat]

11) What is the difference between patriotism and nationalism?

TH: nationalism is a word of a definition where as patriotism is more emotion. Anyone can have nationalism, and patriotism is more loyalty, (Gray and Green) some people just follow orders, I can see how people wouldn't see any difference but patriotism is much stronger.

Participant (3), 2/1/2010

1) Explain 9/11 to me.

Anna Cate: On 9/11, four planes were hijacked and two were flown into the WTC in ny, one into the pentagon in DC, and one into a field somewhere. Inspired by a culmination of us policies toward people in the world that we didn't see as important or players in our political sphere and that's one of the reasons that it took everyone by surprise. I guess it was a wake up call for our country that sort of ended a period of economic success and dominance over general hegemony in the world...burst our bubbled perception of how we appeared to everyone else.

2) Remember...
AC: I was in my eighth grade algebra class, and the principal came in and whispered something to my teacher and we kept going with the class and after that period ended they gathered everybody and we watched the events on tv. And everybody called their parents and went home. I had some peers whose parents work in the pentagon so that was um I guess pretty nerve racking and scary. I also remembering on the ride home from school, all of the radio stations had switched to the same broadcast, so you could change the channel but they would all be saying the same thing. And it was so weird, because the day itself was this gorgeous summer day in September with a perfectly blue sky that you could hardly believe that all of this terrible stuff was happening. And then you know, I got home they just kept replaying the images over and over. I thought it was really surreal, and it felt like a movie. Especially the radio stations; that really freaked me out. It really felt like something that wasn't really happening because you see it all on tv and its hard to conceptualize that it is the reality, but then I don't know, it was scary. Afterward was also weird.
[Concentration, Introspective qualities manifested in A.C.'s response]

3) People's reactions
AC: I remember some of my friends wanted to go see a movie that weekend, and I just thought it was really inappropriate because our country was in such a mess and I think I wasn't ready to resume normal life I guess. I think in the more long term, people reacted with a huge sense of patriotism, lots of American flags, people saying we should go to war and kill these people who did this thing. Yeah, renewed national pride and a sense of unity among people against the unknown thing that sort of burst our perceptions of ourselves. And there was a lot of finger pointing at different ethnic groups or religious groups. There was a kid in my high school who was Sikh and wore a turban and I mean he got beat up but he came to school with a black eye and was a mess. So yeah there was a pushing away at whatever that other thing is while at the same time internally pointing fingers[Green and Turquoise]. I don't know.

4) Actions
AC: Umm, I remember like I think my county or whatever sent a fire truck or two up to New York. There was the reconstruction of the pentagon was a big deal. Airport security obviously got really intense after that.

5) President's reactions
AC: No, I don't agree with it. I begin to understand it though, because I think when you're charged with such a huge responsibility of being the president, after something as big as that, you can't just sit by and tell your population that we have to wait and sort out some information before we can act. I think we can empathize but I don't agree with what he did. It wasn't well founded, he didn't use the right tool or path to take.

6) His re-election
AC: Yeah, because I think he based a lot his next campaign on terrorism or terrorists and creating this atmosphere of fear or this other entity coming to attack us and our way

of life and our values and he just really created this fear and I mean that's why I was so happy when he was finally out of office because he wasn't able to do that anymore to instill people with that sense that someone was trying to get us that we had to be at war with a terrorist all the time. And I think a lot people that resonated with them, you do have to protect these values and way of life that are coming under attack. But for me, it made me not want to vote for him, but not for other people.

7) What about Obama?
AC: Hard to say because I also I remember before 9/11 Bush had an ambitious policy of diplomacy and trying to a lot things differently than the way his presidency ended up. But I think 9/11 really turned everything upside down for Bush therefore I don't know if I can say what Obama would have done. But, I mean, just as bush created this rhetoric of fear, Obama created this rhetoric of hope, I think he would have done something other than fear but I definitely think he would have tried to instill people with something to get them through whatever.
[very concentrative. Thinking hard now]

8) HK vs. 911
AC: Most basically, HK was a natural event where as the other was people flying planes into stuff. However, they both killed massive amounts of people. I think one of them exemplifies the ability of the nation to come together in support of a great tragedy and Katrina exemplifies the disability or the failure of our country to come together and help people in the wake of enormous disaster and I think it reflects who these people were and how much they actually care and have an egalitarian and is everyone really equal and does our country care for them and value them. And certainly, there was an outpouring for Katrina, but they did so much wrong with that. The superdome and not evacuating people early enough especially since they saw people coming where as 911 was a surprise. Unexpected.

9) One word
AC: Shock, Unity

10) Religion's involvement
AC: I see it more as a inequality and that can apply to an inequality of religion (red also) and I can say that in our country we definitely, its founding, there is a protestant-Christian thing in everything that our country does, the declaration of independence, the over value of the individual. We place that so much higher than other religions and I think, I guess the people that flew the planes were Muslim, and they were extremists and they are also extremists Christians that are offensive to any moderate population [red again].

11) Difference between patriotism and nationalism
AC: Hard. Nationalism reminds me of enlightenment when they started recognizing the state as tied to language culture and geography and patriotism like that makes me think of the fraternity part of France's motto and in that it kind of implies something of

discrimination of people not of that nation or people that don't fall under that category of what it means to be American [transcript interrupted].

Participant (5), 2/3/10 [Question 3 and 4 were answered simultaneously in question 3. Therefore, question 4 was skipped.]

1) Explain 911 to me.
MP: Catastrophic [and yellow] to so many people and our identity as a nation. I perceived it as terrorists, umm, flying planes, like commandeering planes into the WTC, one into the pentagon, one into a field somewhere. Kinda of attacking for religious purposes, and it kinda of caught everyone off guard.

2) What do you remember?
MP: I was at school and was the orthodontist, so I like knew about it before everyone else did. Before they told us as a group. So I came back to school and I was guys you're not going to believe this. These planes just crashed and there's going to be this war...And like, no one really believed me. We were confused and sad, and the teachers took us into the church, sat us down, then told us what happened. (and Turquoise) Yeah, well I went to a catholic school, so there was a church on the grounds. They tried to explain what happened. (And Turquoise) Just bizarre, jaw dropping.
[Really, really opens up here. Becomes more comfortable, etc]

3) People's actions
MP: Flabbergasted. My mom was really emotional because she had friends from New York, a lot of people were brought together by the American spirit (and Gray) going, and umm wanting to retaliate, try and figure out who did it and why. Lots of American paraphernalia . Watching the news, trying to figure out what organization did it. (and green)

4) President's reaction
MP: I mean, diplomacy could have worked so something along those lines. He didn't really use the diplomacy

5) Did his policies help his re-election?
MP: I think it helped, uh, the problem like taking care of them and going to war helped. I think people felt that he wasn't scared of war, and that he was there to protect people, he was an American through and through

6) What about President Obama? Would he have acted differently?
MP: [Political party differences inherent to both candidates. I can't say].

7) What is the difference between Hurricane Katrina and the events on 9/11?
MP: The motive behind it was different. Clearly, the 911 attacks were people attacking people and then for Katrina it was a natural disaster, you could see it coming, and there

was no like blame. Its hard to put blame on a natural disaster than like people. [MP: Empathy depends on proximity]

8) How much was religion involved?
MP: It was highly involved given the motive of the terrorists.

9) What is the difference between patriotism and nationalism?
MP: right, patriotism is more of a emotional type of thing, whereas nationalism is more national with a structure. Patriotism is among something people to people. I'm more negative toward patriotism. For nationalism, it is more about the actual borders and infrastructure, politics.

Participant (4), 2/5/10

1) Explain 911 to me.
Frank Lemmon: Ummm, since it had such serious political reactions afterwards, I think it will be remembered more for what our responses have been to it, than for the actual events. Terrorists from al-Qaeda I suppose hijacked multiple planes in attempt to crash them into various locations, the most successful being the twin towers in new York. Also, the pentagon and the plan in Pennsylvania.

2) What do you remember about the events?
FL: I was in high school. And I was in English class, we found really immediately but we didn't find out that it was a terrorist attack until multiple planes hit the WTC. They actually thought Russia was attacking. When it happened everyone sort of compared it to pearl harbor...I didn't have a really strong reaction to it; when it had happened I was really politically involved and I didn't feel personally threatened.

[Transcript interrupted indefinitely] - Will you use introspective journal only.

Participant (7), 2/18/10 [Separate set of questions and present in final draft]

1) Please explain you job to me
Nicolai Lundy: Okay, I work at the Emory Office. My title is Admission Counselor so I work with high school students who want to apply and attend Emory. The job varies depending on the time of year. In September and October, I travel to different states, mainly Western states and I talked to high school students, talk to counselors. Then starting in November going through mid to late march, I primarily read college application while still working with students and when visitors come to campus I give information sessions. April comes and I give a lot of programming around admitted students so we have a lot of events designed around that program. The summer has a lot of data collection from the previous year
[IR: Epistemic privilege]

2) What is the procedure for selecting the incoming student body in terms of demographics?

NL: Okay, the uh demographics are one part of the process and it's not a strict criteria or rubric. Now, um, demographics come in a lot of different shapes and sizes: geography, race, religion, socioeconomic background. So we look at a lot of these factors because we want to maintain a consistent student body. A diverse study body, which covers all of the variables. So we look at hints and clues of data that would get that diversity. We look at if that person is a first generation college student, or if what state that student is applying from, if it's Georgia or Florida or New York that's a state where we get a lot of applications, but if we get one from Hawaii, Alaska or Idaho. That information would just factor that student's portrait into a greater context. We look at if they had a lot privilege as a student then we expect them to have more extracurricular. So the demographics are taken into consideration for each individual file, but at the end, we kind of look over the entire student body as a whole and make sure we don't have too much of something or too little of something. It must mirror Emory today as a whole

3) Is there a particular spread for the matriculating class that you need to meet?

Nah, there isn't some sort of quota. Any significant drop would cause concern and um it is likely that we would try and reassess as many as the applicants as possible before making the final decisions. We compare them to previous freshmen classes .

4) Who decides that?

The Dean makes the final call. We have 3 first readers who read the applications first. We comb through it to get all the information out there for subsequent readers to take note of. So the second reader is someone who is more experienced who has looked over what we've kind of taken note of but has taken out there own things that they think are important. And that again, is passed on to the third tier, who is the Dean who makes the final decisions based on the recommendations from the previous two tiers along with school data, history with high school. And then, it comes time to change demographics, then the dean and the second readers go through and check waitlisted people. Then we have legacy students

Personal Questions (Question Sheet 2):

1) Explain 911 to me.

NL: I associate with September 11, 2001 when four planes were hijacked. Two were crashed into the WTC, one into each building, which both eventually collapsed. The 3rd plane crashed into the pentagon and took out part of that building , and the fourth plane was grounded and crashed in Pennsylvania because some of the passengers on board organized a partially successful re-kidnapping of the plane and prevented it from running into another government building. 911 is also an umbrella term for a shift in US policy and US attitudes toward the rest of the world, toward the importance and relevance of security. As far as I'm aware it was the only attack that was inflicted by a non resident since pearl harbor that suddenly created an attitude within American leaders and americna populace that homeland security was something that needed to be dealt with, I mean a new department was created in the executive structure of the federal

government [evidence for comparative category eight] and I subsequently set off the war in Afghanistan directly because of 911.

2) What do you remember?
NL: Yeah, I remember driving, I was in Colorado, and I was driving to high school and my dad, brother and I were in the car but suddenly they came on and said a plane had crashed into the WTC that they weren't sure what was going on and there were rumors that it was terrorists attacks. I remember thinking that was just crazy, that it was an accident, that we didn't know where this idea came from. When I got to school, my first class, our teacher turned on the radio for the entire class and that 's when I found about the second building. For the rest of the day, I don't think the rest of my classes did anything. We had four more classes and we just watched tv. My second class teacher kept talking about how the buildings were going to collapse before the news had even said it. And sure enough she was right. I remember most that everyone was uncertain. My school at least was characterized by this complete lack of understanding and confusion and uncertainty about what to think. And I don't think anybody my age had any concept of how this would affect the united states and our livelihood and just general world attitudes for decades to come..not in such a long term way. I remember everybody just didn't know what to say and if I look back I think a lot of people just didn't know how to process it....no one was saying a lot of what wasn't on the news...um, I remember the students wondering what's going to happen, that our school was going to be cancelled for a memorial.

3) People's reactions now...and then afterward.
NL: The whole rest of the week, school was cancelled for a day, there were memorials, when stories began to emerge about people's families in New York...I think that a lot of us just tried to get on with everything in our lives...ourselves initially I never really felt personally affected by it in an intimate way and I tried to slowly figure out what happened. I don't think I spent a lot of time preoccupied with it those first days, but of course when they started talking about the war, well I started thinking about it more just because the idea of going to war was something I never really heard of before. It was the first time where the united states was going to war. [Question Four skipped]

5) Do you agree with George Bush's reaction?
Yeah, I was never really one who was involved in politics but I remember a lot people saying that they really liked his reaction, and he was really keeping the country in check during a time of confusion. I never really took office, but I mentally agreed. I think later on when the idea of the Iraq war came up which was tangentially related to 911, I didn't agree with that decision for a variety of reasons. I was actually out of the country, the Iraq war started and so we were all nervous about anti-American sentiments...didn't seem necessary, while it was a couple years later, I didn't agree with subsequent decisions, the patriot act, and other reactions.

6) How did it affect his re-election?

NL: I think it helped a lot. I think his reaction to 911 and public feelings of the need for patriotism and pride in your country, I think that uh I don't really remember a lot of his re election but I have a sense of the topic of 911 came up but I have a sense that was a serious part of this campaign. I that helped the steadiness of his leadership. I think it also helped because John Kerry was not viewed as a strong willed person...you know, I think that it contrasted him as a significant meager archetype against the home grown ranch owning cowboy who is willing to lead in a way that he would never be bullied. That came about subsequent 911.

7) Would Obama do differently?

NL: As president during 911, yeah, a little differently. Everyone would have handled it differently, I think that president Obama strikes me as a very rational and calm person that I would think would perhaps not jump to conclusions about who was involved, but that was one of bush's strengths was that he was able to make a decision and act quickly, um, perhaps irregardless of the long term consequences. Obama may have not responded as quickly as bush did, but I don't think he maybe would....maybe he would have used dialogue as a healing process more

8) What is the difference between Hurricane Katrina and 911?

NL: Nobody ever feels that natural causes or natural disasters are ever within anyone's control. And knowing that, it is a lot easier to not be angry toward any one thing. You can be frustrated or distressed, but I don't think you can feel anger toward one but with 911 there is something or a group of people to be faulted because in a perfect world there would have been the appropriate procedures that would have presented the hijack....so I think that there are human agents involved both in the process of prevention and destruction, I think that creates more anger towards people. The aftermath are two different things: HK united the country in a positive way, toward rehabilitation, toward extending open arms and providing education to those in school, making sure that people had homes or temporary shelter, that funding would be directed toward that, it was positive where as the aftermath of 911 was one of retaliation of observing us supremacy perhaps in an isolationist way.

10) How much was religion involved?

NL: In the cause, used at least in part of a justification. An extremist form of Islam used to justify attacking a country, the culture that united states represents but it probably wasn't the only justification but probably one just as religion has views to justify the crusades. It helps people deal with questions that arise whenever it comes to people killing a large number of people you have to have some rash amount of justification but I think after that I think religion was involved as a coping mechanism as a way to handle their thoughts helping the people in new York and dc who need help and comfort and used as a way to try to make sense of what happened.

11) Patriotism and Nationalism

NL: P has a little bit more of a negative connotation. I think that patriotism implies ideas of sacrifice on behalf of your country, the strength of your country and that I think

that also carries that people who do not significantly praise what we praise are unpatriotic. Nationalism is a little milder, i think that it implies pride in a way that does not prevent alternative views about your country, illuminates fault and ways your can improve, also you don't inherently put your own nation above others, at the expense of other countries.

 [Question 9 skipped – respondent already touched on the topic]
[Transcript interrupted]

Participant (8), 2/19/2010

1) Please explain 911
Michal Flombaum: [hesitation, contemplation] on September 11th of 2001, there was a terrorist attack on the United States. It is believed that the Taliban led by Bin Laden, a name I hadn't heard before that day actually, but he and his cohorts organized that two planes fly into the WTC and another into the pentagon, and a forth fly elsewhere but landed in Pennsylvania. And, those were the events.

2) What do you remember?
MF: I was at school about 80 blocks away, sort of, and I remember, we were in eighth grade, and the sort of put us up in assembly hall and put on the news for us because they thought it would be too hard to explain what was actually happening without showing us …the images were really terrible. School was cancelled and since everyone's parents were trying to pick them up, I remember the first point of concerned was that people's parents who worked at the WTC, I remember a frenzy of trying to organize rides…[grey too] anyone who lived in Brooklyn stayed above 42nd street…just because that was the area of the city was safe. I went to my friends house and we just watched dvds we couldn't watch the news and that was all you could see when you turned on the tv like pretty much on any channel, and my favorite radio station wasn't on the air all of the sudden, cell phones were down and other things like that and people in my grade were already making jokes, I remember one kid in my grade was pointing to Afghanistan on the map, and he said this is going to be off the map in a few days, we're just going to bomb the shit out of them, they're just not going to exist.

3) What about people's actions?
MF: I mean, it was just this kind of anxious thing you couldn't really talk about but everyone knew what was going on, again it was mostly just people watching tv, but there was nothing to remark on like on how terrible it was or how awful it was but there was nothing to say after that. The images of the towers falling weren't even that bad because you couldn't see people in them, but the images of people running down the street with like smoke chasing them was really apocylatic but no one was really talking about it at all. About a week afterward, people all over new York starting putting up American flags, like insanely, like everywhere, like my family, I did
nt even know we had one. A lot of people were talking about how the event made the city a friendlier place, brought the city together. A lot of like different, discussion of heros

was brought up a lot, the fireman or the NYPD, two weeks to the next year all of the trucks going back and forth to the cite. That went on for the next three to four months every morning on the highway...basically the clean up effort.

4) What about reactions after the events?
MF: A lot more hesitant, a lot of times when there was a problem people thought it was a terrorist attack. In fact, exactly a year after the attacks when the times warner center was going up and something flew off the top and killed two people but the immediate assumption was that something flew off the top because of a terrorist attack, because it was orchestrated or a planned attack on the structure. Lots of searching , I remember being searched on the subway, more immediately afterward anyone who lived in Brooklyn or went to high school there couldn't be there because the pollution was so bad for a few weeks and that was something more tangible to talk about.

5) Do you agree with President Bush's reactions?
MF: too young, but my first reaction was to take of it, just go full throttle into it, but even judging from my first response, I feel like it was even hard to recall what happened, or who was responsible, I think the scariest part was that we could have known before it happened, that there was intelligence about the event before it happened, and that no one did anything which sort of makes me think okay well then all that post 911 stuff with the stupid orange and red scale like terrorist threats and searches is worth it because maybe we're encountering more intelligence especially new York city with the effect of the subway system but especially with the war it never really made sense to me at that age I guess now that im older it makes sense but okay so we had these terrorists attacks probably from someone in Afghanistan and were going to go to war with Iraq. It's a simplification

6) How did it affect his re-election?
Mf: people were concerned and wanted to stay safe. It's the same reason that after 911 people suddenly loved Guilani were totally able to forgive anything he's every done, because anyones in charge at that kind of time we're like oh well they're going to be the person to help us they're going to be the one's to save us.

7) Would Obama have acted differently?
MF: what else do you do? You need to do something strong to send a message. I don't know if gone on as long, or if there was a better strategy, in terms of intelligence before I don't think he would have acted any differently because I don't think anyone believed that there would be a terrorist attack in America, especially to that scale.

8) What is the difference between Hurricane Katrina and 911?
MF: There is someone to blame for 911. I think that is why a lot of the rhetoric for 911 was a lot of what went wrong, who could have, who should have stopped, why wasn't there an evacuation, or the social inequality, but the hurricane in Haiti, everyone just accepts that as a natural disaster but Katrina could have been avoided because we are so used to blaming someone, or being dependent on the government. I mean I do think

hurricane Katrina could have been dealt with better ==preparation== but again usually something like that happens the episode is always on the aftermath and how it can be helped after wards

9) How much was religion involved?

MF: ==I wnet to a jewish school at the time, and there was a lot of comparison to Israel, to arab muslim terrorism in general which was a little unfair but it was always placed in a religious context, now that this has gone bglobal we cant just keep thinking about it far away in Israel, the fight was bigger than just the Israeli conflict.==

10) One word

MF: ==Surreal==. Anxious.

11) What is the difference between patriotism and nationalism?

MF: Patriotism is about ==support== where nationalism is about ==identification== but there is not that much of a difference between the two, I think that in order to support you need to identify, in order to identify you need to support, even then, nationalism is sort of used twisted into a very ==fervent== type of patriotism.

--End first 8 transcripts---

Participant (9), 6/12/09, 2:00 pm

1) What is your job?

GH: I'm the vice president and deputy to the President and have been since January 2005. Working closely with the president on a variety of issues, particularly though as the work on cultivating and nurturing the work of the board.

2) What were the major sections of Emory that reacted most noticeably ?

GH: The immediate response was that we have to gather as a community and have a vigil, and offer a prayer in whatever form that would take and the community together showing the concern for those left behind our solidarity for those who have perished. Our hope for peace and uh our resolution to this horror,...perpetrated....the dean of the chapel began to work right away with student leaders in the interreligious council with a number of administrators including myself and within campus life as I recall. And her fellow campus administrators to put together an event gathering on the quadrangle up in front of Candler library...and it may have been the day of, or the day after.Ther was a strong sense that emory needed to demonstrate some response to the event.

3) So maybe talking about a year or two afterward, were there any new policies created?

GH: I mentioned in my emails to you that we actually had begun in the president's cabinet to look how we should prepare for potential catastrophe on campus. This was precipitated by a man who was that time vice president of communications but he had

come back from a conference in which for reasons unknown one of the biggest items was emergency preparedness. That conversation happened late spring, maybe early summer. And a s a result of that, I suggested to the cabinet that it would be useful to do a table – top exercise. I would take it on my self to graph half a dozen scenarios that the people around the table would be responsible to make decisions about. And the people around the table are the president, the chief finical officer, the chief academic, campus life, health affairs, communications, secretary, deputy to the president.. Ath that point there were nine of us. It's just not an implausible event, we get tornados regularly. One scenario was a train wreck at the Clifton bridge in which chlorine gas spilled. This was to get the CDC connection involved. So we started to deal with these, started to talk about them and it became clear that we didn't have a lot things in place. We didn't have a secure facility to use as a command center, a place where the president's cabinet. It was also clear from what happened in 911 that we needed some kind of secure communications that didn't rely on cell phones. Whether these were land lines or satellite phones, at least with the president and then the third thing we didn't have was a secure backup system for our information technology. We worked with the Emory Police Department in that succeeding year, we probably had this in place by September 2002, the secure command post over the N. Decatur Building. I don't know what the stasis is now. We did acquire 3 or 4 satellite phones. We recently have decided that we need to keep only two of those because they are expensive. We got them in 2003 or 2004. We now have a director of cyber security named Brad Sandberg.

4) Memorials, rituals, on a permanent basis?
GH: They continued for the next three or four years annually on 911, so that chain was probably broken when that anniversary fell on a weekend, instead of a weekday. It just occurred to me that one of the things we looked at in the immediate aftermath of 911 was whether any our alumni were affected in the attacks. And it turned out that at least a number of them did, and maybe half a dozen alumni who did in WTC or the planes. We created a scholarship fund that would make it possible for any of the children of those people attend Emory. Um, 20 years down the road some of the alumns had children. So that's in place. It depends on interest and ability to go to Emory.

5) What about the students whose parents were affected?
GH: Ugh, I think there may have only been one student affected in his or her senior year. I think what we ended up doing was either increasing financial aid or writing off the tuition in general.

6) Do we have anything in place now….to, as preparation, or to anticipate if students are affected by a situation like that? For students whose parents based on.
GH: Well, I really don't think we've given any thought to the possibility of recapitulation. Um, all of these disasters have a certain uniqueness about them. You may remember about 2 years ago, the shooting at Virginia tech had a similar kind of aftermath. We had an immediate response to have a vigil right here on the quadrangle. There were a number of speakers here. 911 was really a silent ritual. There was a very somber atmosphere. Two minutes or something like that. There were a number of speakers at

the VA shooting vigils. What we have in place, not necessarily with the intention of calling these people, but what we would in a sense would be to mobilize these people to immediately offer counseling relief support.

6) Did Emory's religious policies bring up any instances in protocol changes after 911?
GH: I don't know if there was a religious response but there was a response that probably had a fairly traceable link to Emory's religious upbringing. That one of the direct ways the university as a university sought to address the catastrophe was to create forums for where people could understand either the religious motivation of the attackers or the religion out of which they came. There was a real conversation about the religious motivation of the attack. And I think those conversations have been part of Emory's history for a while. But after 911, it began to more intensely focus on Islam.

7) Have these discussions stopped?
GH: No, I don't think they have stopped. One of the ways we laid the ground work for the process and one of the key elements in the strategic plan was the recognition is in religious studies and religious practice. We have a strong programming run around religious practice as well as strong academic programs. So the key element is the way religion and the human spirit work together. And within framework, is a sub initiative called religion conflict and peace building. The Dalai Lama participated in a forum with the intents to create resources for building peace, so it's very much a topic alive today.

8) Now, what about the visual aspects about the campus? Structures, etc.
GH: The only thing that I can think of is that we have loudspeakers around the campus. But those are not visible, not obtrusive. [Transcript interrupted]

Participant (10), 7/1/2009

Administrator Questions:
1) How has Emory changed its Emergency Response System since 911?
I: Actually, what I'm aware of is Emory reaction after the emergence of our office in 2007, CEPAR. Actually, that's probably where my corporate knowledge starts I mean I'd been at Emory since 2000 and there may have been some initial reactions in response to terrorist attacks like 911, some anticipation in the city of Atlanta would mean for emergency response. So at a department level, ti was to review the department disaster plan. And I happen to learn later that because Emory is contiguous with the federal installation, specially the CDC, that they also suffered some consequences of the CDC basically releasing their employee's at the same time that the Emory healthcare individuals were coming in for their shift. Various elements of Emory had plans that needed to be put in place, or what an Emory department would have to do. But I don't have a corporate understanding at that time. But uh not so much in consequence of 911, but about a certain pandemic about, among other things, enterprise wide preparedness. And uh one of those was a development of an office that had an enterprise wide perspective on preparedness. As of 2007, as a consequence of pandemic flu planning, we have the CEPAR office. At the same day the office was announced, there was shooting at

the Virginia tech campus. So the office quickly turned its attention to that kind of threat. So the good news is that there are a lot of elements that are really applicable to any type of threat, whether it is a single gunman, a pandemic, a train derailment, or a fire with mass causalities. You pick the scenario. Tornado. A lot of those responses are common so that's where there is logic in having an office. Of course, every instance has its own development….It sort of goes in these steps: one there is a crisis management structures, and the people who participate in that know who they are. They represent the different operational elements of the Emory community. Everything from campus life, to emory health, to emory transportation, etc. So when you have a particular crisis, you have a capacity to recall a particular group. An important element is communication. We need to acquire as much information as possible about the unfolding event to be most update to date. We also need to inform the Emory community as much as we can as the event is unfolding. The emergency loud speaker system does this, the ability to register your cell phone and get a text message. Working toward some type of radio frequency for the Emory community. And another element for that piece of communication , is preparation. So what do I do if I hear a tornado warning? So we developed "Just in Time" communication cards. Basically, they give guidance for any type of major scale problem on campus. So from this kind of broader approach we're hoping that we can prevent a disaster. Now, those general elements are good, but specific elements are good too. Last fall, we did a drill which simulated a building on fire. The benefit to a planned drill exercise is that the unit can look at the response they desired to have. Of course, there is the interaction with EPD and public safety programs. The development of a perimeter, etc. So that was an example of a specific exercise. We had a different exercise this fall, H1N1. We are turning our attention now to elements that are necessary to keep that outbreak at bay. The whole issue of prepardedness has the interest of the entire university cabinent with the president himself. You could have this buried somewhere in the organization's hierarchy, but I can tell you that the University's leadership is interested in this subject and has made an investment. They have been regularly and routinely involved in this endeavor, which is somewhat reassuring and encouraging.

Question Sheet 2

1) Explain 911 to me.
I: Explain 911 to you? What happened was that someone elected to attack the United States and uh struck the World Trade Center and the Pentagon and a flight over pennsyvlannia that probably did not reach its target.

2) What do you remember about the events?
I: Sure. Actually at the time I was in the Navy Reserve on my two weeks of my active duty. I was on the West Coast near Camp Pendelton, San Diego area. My wife was aware of it before I was, because of three hour time difference. So I basically got a phone call from why wife saying the world was in trouble. So I turned on the CNN and that's basically what I saw was one of the towers coming down. I'd say that had significant impact, for two reasons. One was a sense of loss for um the people that were injured and

killed in the collapse of the towers. Two, uh, as somebody who wasn't even physically in uniform at the time, but was in the navy, it was uh a disappointment as a nation that we were caught off guard and hit that hard. And third, I had this sense I often do when it comes to issues like this when civilians are targets that so senseless violence was going to follow, at whosoever hand whether it was at the united states that was responding or attempts to attack us targets around the world by you know when in the end it was a terrorist organization was just overall a tragic time consuming wasteful thing. And of course, the security of my family was always a concern.

3) What were other people saying?
I: [IMMEDIATE RESPONSE] That's a provocative question actually; it's interesting, no one has really asked me before. I remember where I was but no one has even asked. I was alone in a hotel room so shortly after I got that phone call, it was roughly time for me to get up anyway, so I just put my uniform on and went to the base where I was sitting in a long cue trying to get into the base. When I got on base and got to where I was supposed to be there was a lot of activity, but because I was a really you know a visiting officer at that particular command unlike here in Atlanta where I would have been more in the know so they were probably also looking at me. I distinctly recall was one of the commanding officer going through the list and saying "no, he's okay." That's probably not the response you're looking for.

4) Um, so what did you notice about people in general during 911?
I: Well, my interpretation people felt depressed or down because of the gravity of the tragedy. And they had some sense of anger in combination with a sense of shock. I don't know that there was a sense of surprise that this couldn't happen, but that's probably because of the environment I was in. I remember early in my career in the navy I uh you know as a kid you grow the US has been a great part of peace so you don't really think of going to war. When you go to the military, a mindset that is different from civilian life is that you're just preparing for the next conflict. So you can see how this was a disappointment for those around me in uniform. Certainly devastating for those who had relationships for those in the towers.

5) Actions? What were they doing
I: The next ten days I remained in uniform, so I think there was a lot of discussion about the events. Certainly a high level of security. Maybe some sense that it was somewhat unbelievable that the New York sky line no longer had the twin towers, but of course, people continued to do what they do, which is the basically the jobs whatever they were doing.

6) Do you agree with the President's reaction to 911?
I: Well, it depends on how you characterize that, but if you mean the immediate reaction of President Bush, probably what may be one of his finest moments was standing shoulder to shoulder on top of the New York rubble heap speaking about American unity and that American will respond, American response. Second, which followed shortly was the joint session of congress, which was somewhat restrained initially, which was also

laudable and then when they identified al-Qaeda as the perpetrator, then the invasion of Afghanistan was very much warranted. Then when we get into heavy debate about Iraq being a consequence of 911. Debatable merit.

7) How do you think they affected George Bush's re-election, if at all?
I: I think it became a center piece for the Bush administration's action and policy probably for the duration of the administration. In great part, maybe a premise of the re-election campaign was built on security of the United States and the US response to terrorists internationally. So no doubt it had influence in the reelection campaign.

8) How would Obama handle it?
I: Again, it's how the question is phrased, because we really haven't characterized the entire scope of what handling the situation means so I really don't have any conjecture on that. I have confidence in Obama's ability to evaluate a situation and uh including all the elements of the event to have a measured response. So I don't think it would characterize Bush's reaction as good or bad, but with equal confidence to manage the challenge.

9) How much was religion involved?
I: I think as much as religion is rooted in Al-Qeada's motivation to attack the United States. Although it is multifactorial, religion surely played a part in that. But so did economics and politics. I think that uh a lot of terrorist organizations, well Islamic terrorists, take the opportunity to use religion as a motivating fact to recruit young individuals so in that respect it is motivated by religion, but I wouldn't cast it as simple as Muslim group head out for Christians.

10) What is the difference between patriotism and nationalism?
I: I'm sure there is a difference but his hasn't been posed to me before. I'd probably quickly research it on the web. Q: But what does it mean to you? I: Again, I can't give the dictionary definition, but my understanding of nationalism is when you have a group of people or citizens of country that identify themselves as of a single nation and that is there sense of identity. Not always necessarily aligned with the government but typically so. But governments frequently align themselves to those values. So what is the difference between that and patriotism? I mean, I think patriotism is rooted often in the ideals of a particular nation, or again people who feel drawn together by a common sense of purpose with our founding fathers or the American revolutionaries. They didn't have a nation but they had a common ideal. Self-determination. Maybe patriotism in that case deals with a certain semblance of ideals and not defined by a countries borders, be them territorial.

Participant (11), 6/25/2009

1) Explain 911 to me.
Jennifer Clegg: What happened? So what happened was that there were hijacking, there were several planes on the list, 4 total were actually hijacked, the last one went down in

pennsylvannia, the first tower was his eight nine am, second tower was ten am and then the pentagon was hit shortly after. We didn't find out about it at school because we were so close to what was happening, we didn't find out til noon.

2) Where are you from?

JC: ummm, all over because I'm a military rat, but at the current time I was living in southern Maryland which is about 45 min outside DC, no more than 20 miles.

3) What do you remember about the events?

JC: All I remember sitting in the cafeteria and my mom walked in and she had this awful look on her face and it just hit me that someone had died. I don't know how I got that impression, but the fact that she was there, but she was not allowed to say anything in the school building. And of course, I had barely an idea of what the world trade centers were but I knew the pentagon. So she told me that this morning she had gotten on the phone with dad and after the plane had hit the first tower, just because he was working with intelligence. And she said, please be careful I just don't have a good feeling about all this. They hung up and a few seconds later the plane hit the pentagon. My dad was on call but was one of the last persons to get out, he called her and said it's okay. Go get the kids from school and I'll meet you at home. My dad was a section away from where it was hit [the pentagon]. They originally thought it was construction, because there is always construction going on in the pentagon. And we also had one of our really good friends involved in the crash. We had a lot of people die, and one of our good friends was actually supposed to be there. We had no idea where he was, but by the end of ... when my dad called, right after the phone lines were down for two days...it was mainly the telephone lines. LAN lines were working but not cell phones. My mom got me and we went to go pick up my other four siblings. I just remember my brother saying Dad's dead. So we finally got home, and he [dad] tried to explain what happened but we had still had no idea. I remember watching the news and they talked about al-qaeda and Afghanistan. Another thing, we were right next to Andrew's Air Force Base, and my dad said that there were supposed to be no planes overhead. But every time a plane few overhead it was the scariest thing in the world. I remember ducking every time we saw a plane. Everyone else got out of school except for my county.

3) What did you feel?

JC: Scared and confused and I just really felt more numb. I didn't really know what to think. When my mom first walked in the cafeteria it was just dread. I don't even know I could feel that again. She told me something was wrong, and my heart just sank lower than it's ever gone.

4) Dad still work at the pentagon?

JC: No

5) Have you ever heard of civil religion?

[Transcript interrupted]

6) What did you notice most about other people's reactions?

JC: People became a lot more friendly. So I remember we just got call after call from people making sure we were okay, people we haven't talked to in years even though we didn't really get along with them. Of course, patriotism was at an all time high. A lot of people become more introverted. In D.C., it's kinda neat to see the juxtaposition of the north and the south, and in DC you didn't talk about religion, you didn't talk about

politics, or kind of controversial events, and even up in through my sophomore year in high school, we talked about these things and people's reactions when normally that was something you didn't do. You also had people opening up to each other so it was more of...I remember my dad and mr. firefighter used to sit and talk and share their experiences. And then after that with the war starting and everything, the pentagon went into 24 hour mode. Now, everyone wears active combat uniforms, but they would go in for 24 hour shifts and that was an example of people mobilizing around that. We also had a mother die who worked in the pentagon. There was also anger at the rest of the nation, because a lot of people did concentrate on the world trade centers but the pentagon was ignored. You also saw a lot of people who lost their husbands who were in the army, but as an army wife you're not allowed to get emotional about it.

5) What sort of rituals did you see?

JC: A lot of flags, especially at a lot of games. Prayers and moments of silence. Every 911 there is a moment of silence. In the south, I was interested to see at every football game they have a prayer and of course the national athem was played at everything

6) Bush's re-election

JC: I think people were scared to see what would happen without him. He did emerge out of that with a lot of backing and he responded in a way that got a lot of people behind him first. I think it's funny to look at the response of the war inside and outside of the military. A lot of people didn't want to rush into war and it's has always turned out negatively. Desert Storm didn't work. But that being said, at first I think everyone was generally behind it. They wanted retribution and people wanted retribution, and he promised safety by attacking others. When it came to reelection time, people once you've gone through a experience like that, I think people were distrustful and they didn't want to see Bush go. Without 911, I highly doubt he would have been re-elected.

7) Why was it that he got reelected?

JC: The battered girl syndrome. In really traumatic events, you turn to the person who is the power figure in your life. And also I don't think people truly realize all the negativity of his actions; I think that people were still a little vindictive. People didn't want to leave the power figure. Just look at Pat Tillman's death.

8) Do you agree with the President's reaction?

JC: Umm, do I think he needed to rally the country around him? Yes. However, when you have men telling you to go into war, and you choose to do so anyway, and you're putting men and women and their families, then that's a danger. I do agree with going into Afghanistan but I do think it could have been orchestrated better.

9) Are you suggesting that Bush's emotion got in the way of his policies?

JC: I think everyone's emotions get in the way. Look at the patriot act. It's just a situation of people not thinking, just because people are emotionally attached.

10) Difference between HK and 911?

JC: 911 there was an enemy we could actually fight. You could find someone and blame them. The response had to with class and class politics. A lot of the people affected in HK were not in the upper echelon of society where as in 911 you had upper class people. The president's response was totally different. I think what was interesting was that I was close to both of them. A lot my friend's had family in new Orleans or close to that area, we were watching the news to see what was happening. Concentration on the crime

that was happening after Katrina. You would never see anyone dressed up as a 911 victim.

11) In one word?

JC: I would say, fear and anger, which fuel each other, an action reaction pair.

Participant (12), 6/29/09, 10:00 a.m.

Question Sheet 1

1) Explain 911 to me.

GF: Terrorists took control (no religion); Thousands of people killed in twin towers; country was gripped by tear of terrorism on a wide scale; first time that much attention was given to foreign terrorism

2) Initial feelings

GF: Confusion, wonderment, soon afterward, fear; were we next?

5) Brings about a cohesion of people not normally considering themselves as American citizens; (perturbed by the fact that) these are non-Americans. We are being attacked for being Americans. I'm an American too – it could happen to me.

6) I, George Bush, can protect this country more than anyone else. And, voters believed that.

7) Would president obama different?

GF: Yes and No. It needs to be defended, needs to be strong and leadership like and he needs to be reassuring. No in the reasons that what he did shaped a lot of explanations for his foreign policy.

8) Hurricane Katrina and 911

GF: Main difference was that Hurricane Katrina was an act of nature; no a planned attack by human beings. Other difference - > the effects of Hurricane Katrina impacted low-income African American people more than 911. 911 had much more of a diverse group of people involved. The third difference was a response of a nation rectifying the situation. 911 was much greater, much more concentrated effort to restore what was there before.

9) In words: the individual response and the nation's response?

GF: Shock. Terror.

10) What were the policy changes?

GF: Well, first, they were NOT called policy changes. They were more practices and understandings for procedures. We had more meetings and discussions, for procedures and preventions. Some of it, actually, was concerned with the bird flu pandemic. That was where it started but 911 sped it up. As far as student terror threats, the University has taken steps to manage threats by students; threat assessment was not just related to 911; columbine and Va teach is not terrorism but provides similar procedures, reacts in similar ways. Two ways → large scale organization level: emergency and preparedness. Then, threat assessment on an individual level. At any rate, a large emphasis has been put on communication, like text messaging and Learnlink. Ethics: how do you still

protect individual rights during a time of a threat? For Campus Life, my field, we collaborated with student leaders throughout the 911 crisis. Students had access to other students faster than the administration. Parents began to inquire and so campus life set up communication to respond to parent's concerns. We also paid special attention to loved ones lost. There was also a lot of discussion about not changing or disrupting the normal routine.

Public and Proud: Civil Religion in America and 911
Appendix III: Comparative Categories

There are eight (8) categories into which I grouped specific words and phrases all of which are inductively representative of civil religion

Categories:
1) Most Frequent Phrases:
- Non-numerical
- Representative of the most consistent line of thinking during the interview process. Perhaps to suggest the primary motif the interviewee is describing

2) Shock/Awe/Being scared/Disorder: (Yellow)
- Connotes initial reactions, discomfort and realization of the severity of events
- I'll do "counts" of the number of times the word(s) is used. Anything which conveys the idea of hopelessness and disorientation

3) Deeply Affected Words/Phrases (Green):
- This category demonstrates the nearly spiritual cut that the 9.11 events generated for American citizens
- This also is demonstrative of values (that words describe) which become formative and normative for American ideals during times of conflict.
- Expressions of human entrenchment in the storm of political, cultural and economic forces

4) Insider/Outsider Words/Phrases (Turquoise):
- This category recognizes boundaries that were established as a part of 9/11. Boundaries are intrinsic within the idea of religion (elaborate much more in chapter one)
- Also, conveys the idea of epistemic privilege

5) Words/Phrases which inspired conflict/war for response or action(Pink):
- This is central to civil religion. The idea of a nation-state, particularly America the nation, was forged from the embers of conflict. Elaborated on in Chapter One.

6) Words/Phrases which inspire community building(Gray 25%):
- Phrases which build community relations, inspiring religious obligation
- Terms which express community building are one group attempting to explain a concept to another as a mode of relatability or to gain a mutual understanding of a single event.
- Narratives
- Do insider/outsider categories also build community? A community has boundaries and therefore precludes some other people

7) Words/Phrases which deliberately involve religion (red)
- Demonstrates a particular palpability given the circumstances of 911
- Question 10 deliberately confronts the question of religion so their actively bringing up religion is a moot point here. HOWEVER, respondents are forced to deal with the idea of religion

8) Transition from Confusion to Order through action:

- This category demonstrates the interviewee's feeling of lostness/confusion during the attacks, and then, a resurgence of order through action, albeit physical, political, etc
- This question harnesses the political, social, and cultural conditioning of religious feeling inherent in civil religion
- Answers are either yes or no. No "count" here.