

**Arlington's Cairn:
Constructing the Commemorative Foundation
for United States' Terrorist Victims**

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ABSTRACT

National sites of commemoration provide visual representations of a nation's metanarrative; official memorials and monuments engrave important people and events in the nation's memorial landscape. Although memorials and monuments purport to depict community consensus regarding an event or person, in actuality these public representations reflect the perspective of those who gain control of the commemorative process. In order to fully understand the value and intent of any memorial, it is essential to examine those who produce and receive the memorial as well as the social context of both the commemorated event and the production of that memorial.

The significance of the social context of commemoration is especially evident in the commemoration of American victims of terrorism. Until the September 11, 2001 attacks, the majority of Americans did not incorporate vulnerability to terrorism in their personal narratives. The September 11th attacks were not the first time that United States civilians were targets of terrorism; they were preceded by the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center and the 1988 bombing of Pan American Airways Flight 103. This paper creates an analytic framework, ("Memorial Worlds") that describes the conflicting intentions of various groups involved in commemorative activity. This framework is then utilized to examine the construction of the Memorial Cairn in Arlington National Cemetery, the first national memorial to American victims of terrorism.

Nation-states define their spirit and essence in public commemorative space, and Washington D.C. is the epitome of the American national memorial landscape. The

National Mall, officially established in 1965 and administered by the National Park Service, is dedicated to “commemorate presidential legacies, honor the courage and sacrifice of war veterans, (and) celebrate the United States’ commitment to freedom and equality” [National Park Service 2001]. The Mall is home to iconic American memorials and monuments including the Washington Monument, Lincoln Memorial, Thomas Jefferson memorial, FDR memorial, WWII memorial, Vietnam Veterans’ Memorial and the Korean War Memorial. Hundreds of acres of stone, marble, and granite have been constructed to ensure that those leaders and specifically identified events will be forever embedded in the American metanarrative. The military commemoration crosses the Potomac River to Arlington National Cemetery. The graves of individuals who served the military are marked by acres of white headstones. In addition to those directly serving in the military, two United States presidents and twelve justices of the United States Supreme Court are buried in Arlington. Memorials and monuments to individual military units and specific military actions abound. These military commemorations surround a unique memorial; in a distant corner of the cemetery, a Scottish Memorial Cairn commemorates those lost in America’s first experience with international terrorism. This paper creates an analytical framework (“Memorial Worlds”) and then utilizes that framework to explore the construction of the first memorial to victims of terrorism in the United States.

On December 21, 1988, Pan American Airways Flight 103 (PA103) left Frankfurt on its regularly scheduled trip to New York’s JFK airport, via London’s Heathrow airport. The plane left London at approximately 6:30 p.m., carrying 259 people and a suitcase containing a radio cassette player filled with Semtex explosives. At 7:03, the

plane exploded as it approached its cruising altitude of 32,000 feet. The cockpit and front sections of the passenger cabin broke away from the rest of the plane and plummeted to the ground. The rest of the plane continued its forward trajectory for another eight miles, raining passengers and debris. The fuselage and wings of the plane landed on Lockerbie, a small, market village in southern Scotland. Eleven of Lockerbie's residents were killed as the flaming debris incinerated their homes. Although Pan American Airlines was a private company, it was globally perceived to be the flagship of the United States. On this dark December evening, the United States experienced its first mass attack on civilians by foreign nationalists and/or ideologues.

Public memorials are visual representations of narratives that are important to a society; their construction and utilization provide important indicators of the social discourse at specific times and the social groups who attain the power to control that discourse. Public monuments and memorials are works of art that are similar in some ways to the production and consumption of all forms of artwork. Howard Becker states that art is publicly produced and consumed as a result of "art worlds" that serve "complex cooperative networks" [Becker 1982; 1]. Artwork exists because different groups of people assume specific bundles of tasks and either accept or negotiate conventions that dictate the form, materials and abstractions that create those works. The conventions also "regulate the relations between artists and audiences, specifying the rights and obligations of both" [Becker 1982; 29]. In some ways, commemorative conventions also regulate the relations of memorial producers and receivers. Public memorials purport to represent a community's interpretation of a significant event or person. Yet, differing experiences and perspectives of social ruptures create heterogeneous, conflicting commemorative

communities. It is virtually impossible for a public memorial to represent a community consensus; these markers represent the interpretation of the group that gains control of the memorial process. Unlike Becker's cooperative 'art worlds', the competing perspectives and conflicting intentions are reflected in groups that form "memorial worlds": the Lost, the Invisibles, the Bereaved, the Survivors, the Creators, the Interpreters, the Agents, the Perpetrators, and the Gatekeepers [Britton 2006]. Not every memorial will include all of these groups, and some individuals may be defined as members of multiple categories (e.g. Bereaved and Creator). The existence of a memorial, as well as its form and location, reflect the perspectives of those who gain power in the commemorative process.

THE LOST AND THE INVISIBLE

The Lost are those who died and are publicly recognized as victims of an event that ruptures social structure and community narrative. Invisibles are those who die in a traumatic event and yet are not publicly recognized as victims. The Lost and Invisibles are obviously unable to represent themselves--other categories of people claim to speak for them. The Lost of PA103, although silenced as individuals, provided disturbing messages that carried important social implications. Postmodern Western culture denies death; its medicalized occurrence and corresponding rituals have been moved from the public to the private sphere [Moller 1996:15; Littlewood 1993]. Typically society provides "social shock absorbers" of death by removing the dying from society, marginalizing their social influence prior to their death, and therefore minimizing death's social disruption. [Kearl 1989: 93]. Due to the violent and traumatic nature of their deaths, the PA 103 Lost created significant social disturbance. The majority of those killed as a result of the bombing of Pan Am 103 were active, vibrant members of society

when their flight left Heathrow airport or when they began their evening activities in Lockerbie. In addition, the PA 103 Lost were exceptionally visible to society because of the youth of a majority of the deceased. The deaths of children and youth are viewed as “more tragic” than those of the elderly [Hayslip and Peveto 2005; Owen, Fulton, and Markusen 1982; Kalish and Reynolds 1976]. Although the 270 Lost ranged in age from two months to 82 years of age, 41% of those Lost were 25 years or younger.¹ Finally, the Lost of PA 103 were especially visible because the disaster became the focus of a global media event. Due to the advent of cellular phones, satellite feeds, and other technological innovation, Joan Deppa claims that the bombing “mark[ed] the first time that advances in technology and transportation permitted ‘live’ coverage of an event of this magnitude” [Deppa 1994: 3]. Media images brought a smoking Lockerbie into living rooms throughout the world. The Bereaved were not only observed by those in the JFK concourse, their images were immediately transmitted to papers and televisions across the globe. The Pan Am 103 Lost temporarily shattered the denial of death in American culture. Their public, violent death insured that the Lost did not become the Invisible at the time of the disaster.

THE BEREAVED AND THE SURVIVORS

The Bereaved, (families and friends of the Lost), and the Survivors (those who were present at the event and survived) are frequently grouped together after disasters. Initially, both groups have very similar perspectives. Each category must face issues of death, dying and mortality. Both groups may have frequent, intense interactions with members of the other group. Family members of the Lost want connections with those who were present at the time and/or location of their loved one’s death. Both groups also share similar initial tasks after disaster such as recovery of property and place as well as

the psychological reactions to trauma. Lockerbie residents (the Survivors) immediately banded together to provide assistance and comfort to the family members (the Bereaved) of Pan Am 103. Women of Lockerbie washed and ironed the belongings of the Lost so that the Bereaved did not receive clothing items that were filthy and reeking of jet fuel. Many people bonded very closely and continue their friendships eighteen years after the disaster. Both groups also share a deep, personal understanding of the disintegration of social structure. A primary function of society is to maintain a semblance of order, structure and meaning in daily life. Although death denial is typical throughout modern Western culture, there is a paradoxical human awareness of death. When airplane passengers buckle their seatbelts, most have an awareness of the potentiality of death. Although that awareness may not be as pervasive when one is standing at a kitchen sink washing dinner dishes, there remains a subconscious realization of death. The paradox between denial and realization of death is managed by an individual's belief that social structures create meaning, safety, and predictability in life.ⁱⁱ Survivors and Bereaved of traumatic events share an essential experience: the collapse of the social systems that protect them from an "untimely" death experience. Passengers and crew aboard Pan Am 103 followed the social norms of a trans-Atlantic flight. Families in Lockerbie participated in the events of a mundane Wednesday evening. The disintegration of social structures that night shattered the world understanding of both groups.

THE BEREAVED

Although American popular culture provides simulated death experience through television shows featuring law, police and forensic activity as well as numerous "action" films, actual personal exposures to death are decreasing due to increasing life expectancy.

In 2000, only 9.1% of surveyed 20-39 year olds had personally known someone who died in the previous two years, a decrease from 15% of the same cohort in 1976 [Hayslip and Peveto 2005: 86]. Most difficult of all is for modern Western society to accept the death of children and youth. During periods of high infant mortality in Western Europe, “children were essentially non-persons before the age of five. Their deaths received the funerary attention that would today be given to dead pets” [Kearl 1989: 93]. Today’s cultural narratives do not include the deaths of the young.

A death denying culture is confronted with those who irrefutably demonstrate the universality of death-- those left behind to grieve and mourn the Lost. Social norms dictate that mourning and grief are private actions, inappropriate for social interaction. Van Gennep claimed that death rituals in traditional Western culture physically and symbolically exclude the Bereaved from the community during the mourning period. [Van Gennep 1960: 147]. In modern and postmodern society, the Bereaved are expected to quickly conclude their mourning and immediately reintegrate into society. Mourners frequently discuss the “shame” or “embarrassment” of death [Gilbert 2006; Moller 1996; Aries 1981]. Many of the Bereaved of Pan Am 103 spoke of the isolation that resulted from their grief and mourning. In 1988, it was unimaginable to most of the members of American society that individuals of developed, modern societies died as a result of terrorism and the collapse of social order.

.....we are truly in a denial. No one wants to lose children...nobody wants to go there in thought. I remember soon after it first happened that I would run into people in the supermarket and they would turn on their heel just so that they didn't have to deal with me....and I remember being furious and angry at the time. Not only was I stuck with this horrible, horrible loss... but I also had to deal with all these people who couldn't deal with me and that was more than I could bear. I needed friends...and to see them turn around and shy away.....and now

after some time has passed, I view it ... as that they don't know any better. They don't know how to deal with it because our entire society doesn't know how to deal with it. Death is something that you get over: 'are you over it yet?; 'is it better yet?; 'time heals all wounds'. It doesn't happen like that.

Mother, PA 103 victim

Although separation from society is invariably an element of the bereavement ritual, Jane Littlewood notes that bereavement rituals that are shared by a large number of people may provide a sense of community that is atypical of most bereavement rites [Littlewood 1993: 75]. Kai Erikson also claims that shared trauma may provide a sense of identity and an essential sense of community [Erikson 1995: 186]. The PA 103 Bereaved forged an unusually strong coalition, the *Victims of Pan Am 103*. Although the Bereaved organized informally in the days after the disaster in order to share information about the disaster, many family members first personally met in January 1989. Syracuse University (SU) became a prominent focus of the disaster: thirty-four students on board Pan Am 103 were returning from a semester's study at the university's center in Londonⁱⁱⁱ; a thirty-fifth Syracuse student was returning from graduate study at the university's Florence center. Due to the number of casualties and resulting social devastation, the university organized a memorial service in January and subsequently became extensively involved in memorial and commemoration activities. It is unusual for diverse family members of mass tragedies to meet on a continuing basis. Due to Syracuse University's ongoing support and activity, students' families maintained connections with each other and some of the Bereaved who did not hold a university affiliation also joined this core group. Syracuse University continues to provide an important connection to the *Victims of Pan Am 103* through its annual remembrance scholarship, Remembrance Week, and the Pan Am 103 archive at the university's Bird

Library. Although *Victims of Pan Am Flight 103* has experienced periods of divisiveness over the years, it has carried immense power in the commemorative process and has established significant global legislative, judicial and policy changes.

THE SURVIVORS

Survivors of mass trauma experience numerous psychological challenges that alter their worldview and result in estrangement from the community and encourage them to band together with others that hold that altered world view [Erikson 1995: 194]. Initially, this shattering of social organization results in psychic numbing and loss of basic trust. Those who confront this altered view must integrate this intimate knowledge of death that frequently creates a “second self” [Caruth 1995: 137]. Although no one on board PA103 survived, the residents of Lockerbie continue to confront the realities of their experience after the air disaster. Seventeen years after the disaster, many Survivors of Lockerbie initially report that currently they do not think of the disaster very often; however, conversation invariably returns to the impact that the disaster continues to have on their lives. For example, a Lockerbie woman stated:

I really don't think about it (the disaster) very much... The plane went right over our house. Of course we heard it. The man in the inn across the street watched it go over us. We were very lucky, but it really doesn't have much impact on my life any more...

After a few moments of discussing her family's current daily life, she commented:

You know, I really don't care for airplanes flying over. Yesterday, there was this plane that kept going 'round and 'round overhead. I really didn't like it there at all. You know, they aren't supposed to be there. I called the police and told them that they needed to get it out of there. They just don't belong there.^{iv}

A primary function of society is to provide its members with a perception of control and ontological safety. When that control and safety is shattered, many survivors

become extraordinarily aware of risks facing society. Those Survivors who integrate eschatological experiences into their personal narrative hold an essential wisdom that could inform community remembrance activity; yet, that very knowledge also isolates them from rest of society. In most commemorative projects, Survivors are markedly silent either due to isolation, survivor guilt or the need to negotiate continued daily existence in a transformed environment.

THE CREATORS AND THE INTERPRETERS

Creators determine meaning for their cultural artifacts and encode that meaning using the form, representation and location of their work. In addition to the individual artists, artisans and designers, the creation of public art memorials frequently includes fundraisers and the establishment of not-for-profit groups that provide funding mechanisms including tax-deductible donations from individuals as well as private and public grants.

The Interpreters, those who do not have a direct personal connection to an event that may be considered an “historical rupture”, must then decode meaning from the memorial. Primary Interpreters have an autographical experience of a social rupture. Although Primary Interpreters have no direct connection to a specific event, they are able to locate themselves in the social and temporal context of the event. Primary Interpreters’ decoding of historical ruptures is generational; events that occur during adolescence and young adulthood are more deeply imprinted than those experienced later in life. [Olick and Robbins 1998; Schuman and Scott 1989]. Consequently, the interpretation of commemorative artifacts depend upon the age cohorts of the group and

suggest differing interpretations of current events depending upon strongly imprinted early memories.

Maurice Halbwachs stated that autobiographical memory transfers to historical memory when a group loses direct personal connection to an event [Halbwachs 1992]. Secondary Interpreters then decode historical memories through written documents, commemorations, festivals, photographs and memorial activities. Historical memory items are selected, stored and interpreted by a variety of social groups; their specific interpretations and historical myths are based upon these representations. The sanctification of a specific memory suggests it has been selected by a group that has obtained the power to represent and interpret these memories. This power is represented by the difference between potential and actual cultural memories. Jan Assman identifies potential cultural memories as those representations of the past that are stored in libraries, archives and museums. Actual cultural memories are those potential memories that have been “adopted and given meaning in a particular social and historical context” [as quoted in Kansteiner 2002: 182]. Secondary interpretation then is dependent upon the agents who hold the power to define the historical or cultural memory and other groups who have the knowledge and power to contest those perspectives.

THE AGENTS AND THE PERPETRATORS

At this point, this framework has been presented as three sets of categories that have parallels in perspectives: the Lost and Invisible; the Bereaved and Survivors; the Creators and Interpreters. Agents and Perpetrators represent oppositional forces: the Agents (those supporting status quo) and the Perpetrators (those challenging status quo).

THE AGENTS

Agents of memorial projects include those people and groups who represent institutional interests in the historical rupture and may represent public or private organizational interests. Private Agency reflects a private organization's mission, operations and sustainability. Public Agents, government officials at all levels of government, have vested interests in establishing and maintaining a collective memory for its people. Public Agents maintain an essential power in national memorial projects. Nationalism is frequently used as a 'surrogate religion' to provide memories and identities that link individuals to communities [Smith 1983]. Whether nationalist identity is understood as imagined communities [Anderson 2006] or invented traditions [Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983], public agents use collective memory "as tactical power that controls social settings" [Shackel 2003: 13]. Official collective memory is fluid and depends upon the changing needs of Agents.^v Times of trauma challenge the status quo and require that Public Agents defend and reclaim their sovereignty. Agents must take individual experiences of trauma and place them in a cultural context that recreates social unity and reinforces social solidarity.

Acts of terrorism particularly challenge commemorative activity because most victims of this type of mass trauma share only a temporal and spatial identity. Traumatic violence occurs at a time and location that is symbolic and/or instrumental to the Perpetrators. The victims of terrorist activity share two common characteristics: the temporal and spatial placement at the traumatic event, and a randomness that removes their human identity. Giorgio Agamben [Agamben 1995] identifies the dichotomy of "bare life" and "politically qualified life". Historically, sovereign political bodies have defended the protection of the political body (itself) by the sacrifice of the masses (the

bare-life). The individuals become invisible as they join a group whose sacrifice of “bare life” serves “the public good”, ultimately supporting the status quo. War memorials invariably invoke the sacrifice of “bare-life” in their declarations of public sacrifice.

Terrorism usurps sovereign consumption of “bare-life”. Public Agents have two choices in response to a terrorist act: ignore the attack in public discourse or immediately act to reclaim their sovereignty after events of mass violence in order to regain power and re-establish the status quo. If Public Agents choose to ignore the event, as was initially the case in the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, the Bereaved must either accept that their Lost become Invisible or they must actively struggle to transform their “bare-life” death into the commemoration of a beloved individual. It is not surprising that family members demand individualization in terrorist memorials; it is in fact a demand to transform their loved one’s anonymity of terrorist victim into a memory of a person who lived a fully qualified life.

THE PERPETRATORS

Mark Juergensmeyer suggests that perpetrators of actions defined by Western culture as terrorist attacks are members of “disenfranchised groups desperately attempting to gain a shred of power or influence” [Juergensmeyer 2003: 5]. In many ways, perpetrators can be viewed in an Agambenian context as a mirror image of those killed by the attacks. The victims, who had lived a politically qualified life, died as a result of their temporal and spatial proximity to the attack. Their individual death did not matter to those who arranged the events of their death; all deaths were essentially equivalent and therefore interchangeable, and were thus a “bare-life” claim to the Perpetrators’ cause. Many Perpetrators live a bare-life existence and, in perpetrating acts

of violence that are normally reserved for sovereign nations, they claim political and symbolic power. Perpetrators invariably become invisible in American memorial projects. Although the Invisibles are also removed from the commemorative process, the American exclusion of the Perpetrators is a deliberate act that strips the Perpetrators from the power that they claimed when they caused mass violence. Their absence is markedly different than the absence of the Invisibles, who typically never held power that needed to be expunged to maintain the status quo.

THE GATEKEEPERS

Gatekeepers are those designated by Public Agents to control the production and reception of public memorials and monuments. The Federal Government of the United States has developed an extensive system regulating the design, construction and maintenance of public memorials. As the Bereaved of Pan Am 103 attempted to construct a Pan Am 103 memorial, they needed to negotiate regulatory policies of the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, the National Capital Park Commission and the Commemorative Works Act of 1986. The U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, established in 1910, is charged with advising the government on matters pertaining to the arts and to regulate the architectural development of Washington D.C. The commission is composed of seven members who are presidential appointees. Historically, its members are art historians, landscape and urban designers, architects and artists. Their work is supplemented by the National Capital Park Commission. The Commission was established in 1924 to acquire lands for the district capital; in 1952 Congress designated the Commission as the primary central planning agency for the Federal and District of Columbia governments. The Commission was charged with overseeing the 1986

Commemorative Works Act. This Act further ensured the Federal government's imprint on the Washington D.C. memorial landscape. Richard G. Ring, Associate Director of Park Operations of the National Park Service stated the 1986 act was enacted after the "monumental chaos" over the design and construction of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.^{vi} Ring asserted that "Congress was frustrated by the lack of guidelines for the subject matter, siting, and design of memorials...." and that the Act "ensures memorials in the Capital are erected on the most appropriate sites...and are of a caliber in design that is worthy of their historically significant subjects" [National Park Service 2001].

The act includes the following provisions:

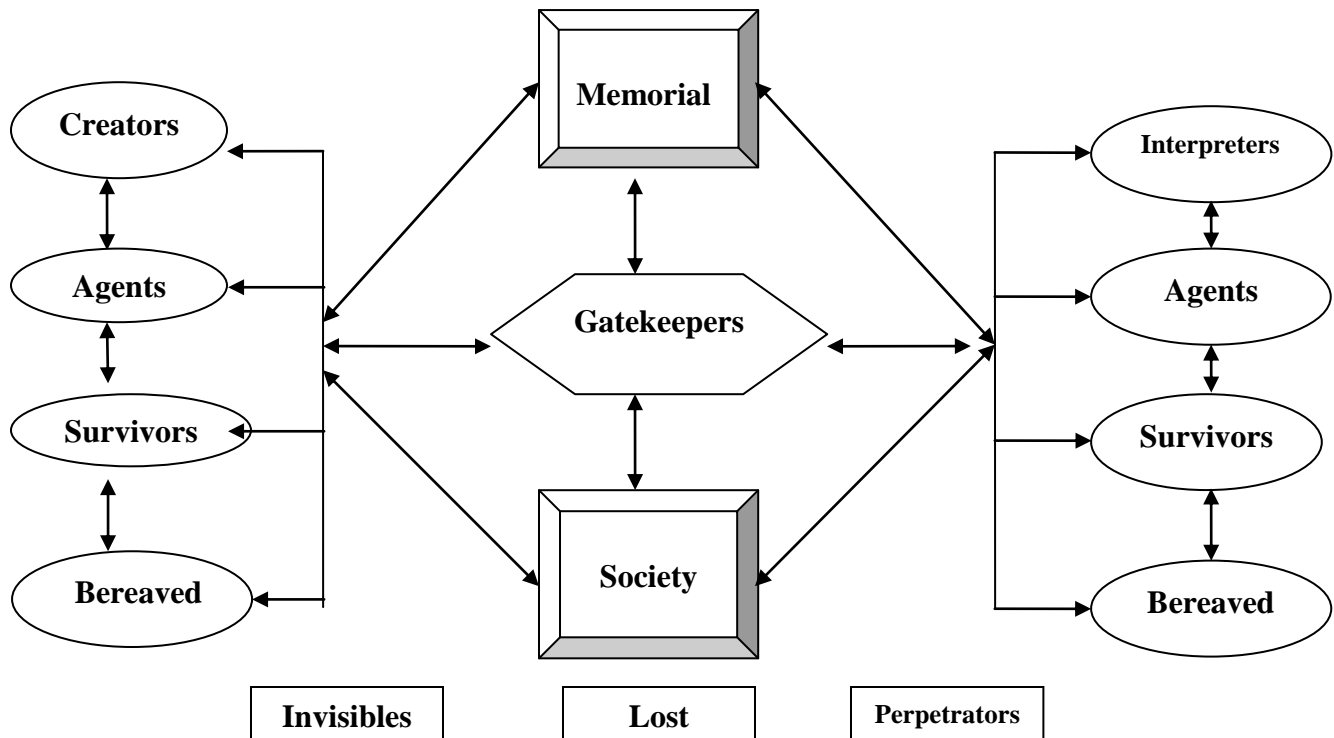
- All memorials in areas administered by the National Park Service and the General Services Administration must be authorized by Congress. In actuality, this requirement covers all public land in the District of Columbia with the exception of property held by the United States Military.
- Memorial sites and design must be approved by the National Capital Park Commission, the Commission of Fine Arts, and either the Secretary of the Interior (for National Park Service property) or the Administrator of General Services (for property under the General Service Administration property).
- An event or individual cannot be memorialized prior to the twenty-fifth anniversary of the event or the death of the individual
- Military monuments and memorials may only commemorate a war or similar major military conflict or a branch of the Armed Forces. Monuments and memorials commemorating lesser conflicts are not permitted.

MEMORIAL WORLDS

Memorial Worlds identify various groups that are involved in both the production and utilization of memorials and monuments. To truly understand the meaning of memorials, Wendy Griswold states that it is essential to examine the cultural object, those who create and receive that object, the social world that provides context to the object as well as the linkages between those four elements [Griswold 2004]. Griswold's Cultural Diamond may be modified to reflect the Memorial World's relationships

between the heterogeneous producers and consumers of memorials, the memorial and the social context that is represented by the memorial:

FIGURE 1: MEMORIAL WORLDS



Those involved in the creation of the model are located on the left side of the model; those who use the memorials are designated on the right side of the model. It is again important to note that the Lost, the Invisibles and the Perpetrators are neither a producer nor receiver of commemorative activity in American culture. This framework represents patterns of social discourse that occur in the commemorative process. The existence, form, location, and utilization of a memorial or monument may be traced to the interactions of the groups who gain control of commemorative activity. This memorial worlds' framework will now be used to examine how the bombing of Pan Am 103

became engraved in the national memorial landscape by the construction of a memorial cairn in the Arlington National Cemetery.

Historically, national memorials in the United States tend to commemorate events or individuals that are essential components in the American metanarrative. Kenneth Foote posits that an event's typology determines the demarcation of the physical landscape. Sites of events that cause community shame are frequently either rectified or obliterated; the absence of a marker demonstrates society's attempt to eliminate the event from social discourse. Other types of events, those essential to the community narrative, require markers of remembrance that commemorate the site as either sacred or designated [Foote 2003: 8-26]. Gatekeepers, appointed by Public Agents, are given primary authority in public commemorative projects and challenges to Gatekeepers require extensive social and economic capital. Therefore, it is not surprising that Foote's analyses suggest that events of shame are typically excluded from the memorial landscape.

Initially, it appeared that the bombing of Pan Am 103 would be invisible in the American national memorial landscape. Four memorials had been constructed in Lockerbie, Scotland in recognition of the air disaster. Initially, family members also requested the construction of a memorial cairn, a traditional Scottish memorial of piled stones, to mark the location where Pan Am 103's cockpit and a number of its victims crashed to the earth. Scottish officials, concerned about the loss of a farmer's valuable field, recommended that the memorial cairn be constructed in the United States. The government of Lockerbie offered 270 blocks of pink sandstone from the Corsehill Quarry in Annan, Scotland. The Bereaved accepted the stone, even as the United States

government initially refused to allow construction of a cairn on federal land. The stone was delivered to the United States and was stored in a warehouse.

The government's initial refusal of a memorial is not surprising. The United States' government was remarkably silent during the months after the bombing. Ronald Reagan, outgoing president of the United States, did not comment upon the bombing for almost a week. As he was flying to Palm Springs for a New Year's holiday, Reagan promised "to make every effort we can to find out who was guilty of this savage and tragic thing" (Gerson and Adler 2001:24]. President-elect George H.W. Bush, beginning a fishing expedition in Alabama, promised to "punish (the bombers) firmly, decisively....if you could ever find them" [Gerson and Adler 2001:25]. Their lack of response was in marked contrast to vigorous American presidential denouncements after the bombing of embassies earlier in the decade and the demolition of Korean Air Lines flight 007 in 1983. The government silence was also remarkably in contrast to the continued media coverage of the disaster.

The bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 was America's first direct experience of international terrorism in modern history. Although there were numerous attacks on American interests in the years prior to the air disaster,^{vii} this was the first known attack directed specifically toward American civilians. There were no precedents in commemorating this type of an event in the American memorial landscape. There were also other reasons that explained the federal government's reluctance to embed the bombing in the official American memorial landscape. On December 5, 1988, the American embassy in Helsinki, Finland received a telephoned bomb threat from a man who stated that a bomb would be placed aboard an American airline in Frankfurt,

Germany sometime within the next two weeks (Pan Am Flight 103 originated in Frankfurt and exploded 16 days after the bomb threat). After the United States investigated the threat, the government determined that the warning was a hoax. Although the threat was not publicly reported, the State Department did report the warning in an administrative notice to its European and Russian embassies. This notice stated that “the reliability of the information cannot be assessed at this point....In view of the lack of confirmation of this information, post leaves to the discretion of individual travelers any decisions on altering personal travel plans” [Gerson and Adler 2001: 25]. Many of the Bereaved believed that the American government chose to avoid public disclosure of the bomb threat in order to avoid disrupting air travel during a holiday “rush” and its subsequent economic ramifications.

Although Scottish officials quickly determined that Pan Am 103 was downed by a bomb, no group directly claimed responsibility for the attack. Three countries were considered to be the prime sponsors of the attack: Iran, Syria, and Libya^{viii}. Initially, many assumed that the bombing was in retaliation for the downing of Iranian Air Flight 655 by the *USS Vincennes*, which resulted in the death of 290 Iranians, including many women and children on religious holiday. Although the United States’ government stated that it regretted the loss of life, it refused to apologize for the act. Indeed, its crew received combat awards and the commander of the *USS Vincennes* later received the Legion of Merit award. Lockerbie innkeepers reported that news personnel stated that their news division had prepared to cover a retaliatory terrorist attack on a U.S. airline during the Christmas holiday. The Public Agents, remaining silent in the initial social

discourse about the bombing, continued their refusal to embed the event in the national memorial landscape.

As a group of the Bereaved began to look for a site for the memorial cairn, it faced continued opposition from the Gatekeepers. According to the Commemorative Works Act, a memorial could not be constructed on Federal land until 2013 without an act of Congress. After the Bereaved and volunteers scoured Washington D.C. for a site for the memorial, they requested a place in the most sacred of all national memorial space: Arlington National Cemetery. Although the cemetery was not under jurisdiction of the Commemorative Works Act, burial and commemoration in Arlington required military veterans' status. Family members were adamant; their Lost deserved recognition in Arlington. Richard Mack, brother of a man on board Pan Am 103 stated: "It is absolutely correct that it is in Arlington. Clearly these people were killed in an act of war" [Lindsay 1995: n/a]. The Bereaved identified a small vacant spot of land in Arlington that was unsuitable for burial sites, as water and utility lines ran underneath the plot. In August, 1992, Jane Schultz, mother of a university student killed on Pan Am 103, wrote a letter to Michael Stone, Secretary of the Army, to request the construction of the cairn in Arlington:

The cairn has been presented to the people of the United States from the people of Scotland, a gift with so much love, respect and historical significance. The destruction of Pan Am 103 represents the largest terrorist attack ever committed against American citizens and hopefully history will record this as the high-water mark of terrorism. It is most appropriate that Arlington Cemetery be chosen as a place of reverence and remembrance. [Gerson and Adler 2001: 203]

The letter was forwarded to Arlington's superintendent, John C. Metzler Jr. Upon Metzler's recommendation, Stone responded September 10, 1992:

The Cemetery was established as a permanent national shrine to the honored dead of the Armed Forces of the United States... While I have deep appreciation and compassion for your endeavor, I cannot in good conscience support your request for a cairn within the Cemetery itself.

[Gerson and Adler 2001: 204]

Schultz sent an appeal directly to President George H.W. Bush to ask for his assistance and intervention. At the conclusion of his administration in 1992, Bush turned down the appeal. The sandstone blocks remained in a warehouse in Pennsylvania.

Griswold's Cultural Diamond states that producers and receivers of cultural objects are anchored in a social context, "the economic, political, social, and cultural patterns and exigencies that occur at any particular point in time" [Griswold 2004: 16]. The sandstone blocks might still remain in the warehouse without a change of administration in Washington. In the spring of 1993, the *Victims of Pan Am 103* met with high level administrators of the Clinton administration with a significant list of requests, including the seizure of Libyan assets, a Libyan oil embargo, reparations from Libya, and distributions to the families [Gerson and Adler 2001: 204]. The cairn was not on their agenda. Members of the Bereaved were later told that Clinton would not oppose locating a cairn in Arlington, but that they would have to secure a joint resolution from Congress. In November 1993, a joint resolution sponsored by Senator Ted Kennedy and his nephew Representative Joseph P. Kennedy II, was unanimously passed:

“ ... Whereas a memorial cairn honoring the victims of the bombing of Flight 103 has been donated to the people of the United States by the people of Scotland; Whereas a small, vacant plot of land, unsuitable for gravesites, has been located in Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Virginia; and Whereas Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Virginia, is a fitting and appropriate place for a memorial in honor of those who perished in the Flight 103 bombing... Resolved by the Senate and House of Representative of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That the President is authorized and requested to place in Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Virginia, a memorial cairn, donated by the people of Scotland, honoring the 270 victims of the terrorist bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 who died on December 21, 1988, over Lockerbie, Scotland.” [U.S. Congress, Joint Resolution 129].

Although the bombing of Pan Am 103 was now authorized in the American memorial landscape, the work of the Bereaved was not completed. The Gatekeepers required that the Bereaved raise funds for both the construction and maintenance of the cairn; ultimately, they raised over US \$300,000. The Gatekeepers also demanded changes in the design of the cairn. The initial design, by a Lockerbie resident, included the name of the Lost on each stone. As the cairn’s design was over ten feet high, he noted that an alternative needed to be found for the ‘role call’ of the Bereaved. A second design included a small wall, similar to the Vietnam Veteran’s Wall, to be sited adjacent to the cairn. Initially the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts refused individualization of the cairn, and then agreed to list only American victims. After extensive negotiations, a compromise was reached and a granite base was engraved with the role call of every PA103 Lost, regardless of country of origin. The Commission also initially refused to allow any reference to terrorism on the memorial. Some of the Bereaved had previously demanded a wording change in a memorial at Syracuse University to include the phrase “caused by a terrorist bomb”. It was essential to the Bereaved that those words be engraved on the cairn. Ultimately, the Bereaved prevailed and the Cairn states that it is “In Remembrance of the 270 people killed in the terrorist bombing of the Pan American Airways Flight 103 over Lockerbie Scotland 21 December 1988, Presented by the Lockerbie Air Disaster Trust to the People of the United States.” On December 21, 1993, President Bill Clinton attended the cairn’s groundbreaking ceremony and returned for its

dedication on November 3, 1995, accompanied by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Attorney General Janet Reno, and a number of senior ranking members of Congress.

What changes occurred in the memorial world that allowed the construction of the cairn in official public space? Certainly, the social context had change. The Public Agents had changed and many of the Bereaved believe that Bill Clinton was more empathetic to family members than either Ronald Reagan or George H.W. Bush. The social context had also changed. During the five years since the bombing of Pan Am 103, the United States experienced the 1993 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center. Terrorism had occurred on U.S. soil and served as a reminder to the Lockerbie disaster. Clinton's comments during the groundbreaking support this: "...As we break this ground, let us vow that we will protect our people...For the attack on Pan Am 103 was...at root, an attack on America...We have seen the result not only on Pan Am 103 but at the World Trade Center" [Victims of Pan Am 103: 1]. Other Bereaved believe that Clinton chose to construct the memorial to distract the Bereaved from continued pursuit of the trial of the two Libyan suspects, a Libyan oil embargo, and other economic and political acts of retribution. A mother of a victim stated that "In my mind, it has become a substitute for justice. The memorial is a politically smart thing to do, but it has nothing to do with justice...It has been masterfully directed by the Clinton administration" [Gavin 1995:1]. Another member of the Bereaved stated that "The (Clinton) Administration has not put the same effort into getting them (the two indicted Libyans) out of Libya as they have in putting this memorial together. I respect the memorial being put in place, but at what price?" [Gavin 1995: 1].

The Memorial Cairn is a unique representation in Arlington. It was constructed by a group of private individuals, built with stones contributed from a foreign government, and commemorates a group of international civilians lost in America's first terrorist attack. Since its dedication, official maps of the cemetery have omitted marking the location of the cairn, but an illustrated map available for sale in the bookstore did include the Cairn. Its presence is occasionally noted by bus tour operators when the bus makes its scheduled stop at the Arlington house; other times the cairn is met with the same silence as the event it commemorates. The Memorial Cairn is frequently a very private 'public' memorial. Yet, the cemetery's bells toll at 2:03 p.m. every December 21st. Military bands play for many of the Bereaved who gather to remember the Lost. Arlington's Superintendent, once strongly opposed to the cairn's placement in Arlington, now supports the annual commemoration ritual. This simple, moss covered cairn embedded terrorism into the American memorial landscape. Since its dedication, memorials to terrorist victims continue to engrave the American landscape. The memorial to the Lost of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing was destroyed by the collapse of the towers in 2001. The United States is currently constructing memorials to those Lost from the 2001 terrorist attacks: the World Trade Center (after projected costs escalated to almost US \$1 billion, the project has been reduced to approximately \$500,000 million), the Pentagon (current estimated cost: \$22 million), and Shanksville, Pennsylvania (current estimated cost: \$57 million). Each of those memorials includes an individual roll call of the Lost and clearly identifies terrorism in the commemoration narrative. These memorials are located in extraordinarily diverse space. The World Trade Center memorial site is actually an extraordinary combination of private, government, and public

use space. The Pentagon memorial is located on space owned and controlled by the United States military. The site of the downing of United Flight 93 was originally farmland that has been purchased by the government and is currently under the control of the National Park Service. The sanctification of these diverse sites demonstrates how the remembrance of terrorist victims reflects an American narrative that has defined terrorism as the primary public focus in the early 21st century. It is certainly in contrast to the silence of the Public Agents' response to the bombing of Pan Am 103.

The memorial cairn is no longer the only memorial to terrorist victims in Arlington; a memorial to the 184 military Lost of the September 11th attack on the Pentagon marks a group burial site of body parts of military and civilian Lost at the Pentagon. Although the PA103 memorial cairn does not mark the burial of any victim of Pan Am 103, this simple, moss covered cairn is the foundation of America's current commemoration activity. Its existence is due to the unrelenting work of the Bereaved of Pan Am 103. Its presence reflects words written by a Bereaved in a memorial book located in Tundergarth, Scotland: "21st December 1988 changed the world for us. 11th September 2001 changed the world for everyone else."

ⁱ Mean age of victims, 31.16 years; Median age, 29.0 years; Mode age 20 years

ⁱⁱ Social structures in this context are the recurring patterns of social behavior, norms, mores, and values that are organized by the familial, political, religious, educational and economic institutions of a society.

ⁱⁱⁱ The thirty-four students killed on Pan Am 103 comprised 13% of the students studying at the Syracuse University's London center during the Fall 1988 semester.

^{iv} Since the disaster, Lockerbie is an official "no fly zone". Prior to the disaster, RAF pilots would train in the skies over southern Scotland and Cumbria and many Lockerbie residents initially assumed that two RAF planes crashed. Training flights continue to be prohibited over Lockerbie. I discovered in a subsequent conversation with a retired town official that a private company was flying over Lockerbie that week to photograph "bird's eye views" of homes that would then be marketed to Lockerbie residents.

^v For example, African Americans were virtually excluded from American Civil War commemorations during the latter half of the 1800s and through most of the 20th century as well. After the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s and continued pressure for the government to address racial inequality in American society, African Americans became more visible in the American memorial landscape. The African American Civil War Memorial was dedicated in 1998, 133 years after the Civil War's conclusion. The

United States National Slavery Museum is currently raising funds to construct a facility in Fredericksburg, Virginia. In 2006, the Smithsonian Institute selected one of the few remaining vacant sites on the National Mall for a future National Museum of African-American History and Culture. For further information about the impact of race on the American national landscape, see Shackel.

^{vi} The Vietnam Veterans' Memorial, dedicated in 1982, created controversy that reflected the political, racial, and gender divisions in the United States in the late 1970s and early 1980s. A group of Vietnam Veterans founded a not-for-profit organization to raise funds and construct a memorial that would "be reflective and contemplative in character, harmonious with its site", and that is honor the service and memory of the war's dead, its missing, and its veterans. The memorial should be conciliatory, transcending the political issues of the war. [*The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund Design Competition: Design Program, 1980*]. Maya Lin, a senior architecture student at Yale, won the open design competition with a design that ignited controversy due to its use of abstract form in black granite and the individual listing of veterans killed or missing in action. Secretary of the Interior James Watt refused to allow construction of the memorial on the National Mall until a political compromise resulted in the addition of an American flag and representational statute, *Three Fightingmen* to the site. In 1993, an additional representational statue, the *Vietnam Women's Memorial* was added. For further information about the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial, see Sturken [1997; 44-84].

^{vii} 1979: hostages taken from U.S. embassy in Tehran; 1983: bombing of U.S. embassy in Beirut, bombing of U.S. marine barracks in Beirut, bombing of U.S. embassy in Kuwait; 1984: abductions of CIA chief and 3 other Americans in Beirut, bombing of U.S. embassy annex in Beirut; 1986: hijacking of Achille Lauro cruise ship, bombings in Rome and Vienna airports, bombing of La Belle discotheque in West Berlin.

^{viii} Although many suspect that Iran and Syria were involved in the bombing of Pan Am 103, neither the American nor the British government could prove a connection. On November 14, 1991 the American and British governments indicted two Libyans for the bombing. In February 2001, Abdelbaset Ali Mohmed al-Megrahi was convicted and given a life sentence; Al Amin Khalifa Fhimah was acquitted and set free

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