YOU ARE HERE: NARRATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY RESILIENCE IN NEWFOUNDLAND DURING AND AFTER 9/11

by

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the College of Communication
Texas Christian University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science in Communication Studies

May 2021

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my endless gratitude for all the support and help received from my advisor, Dr. Amorette Hinderaker. It was her witty remarks and colorfully worded edits that got me through this. I would also like to thank Drs. Paul Schrodt and Amiso George for putting their confidence in my research idea and reading this behemoth.

This research would not be possible without the generosity of my participants. Thank you to my extended Newfoundland family and passengers the world over. Thank you also to the kindness of the producers and creatives of Come From Away who allowed me into their world.

Most importantly, thank you to my dog, Zelda. Without your cuddles and forcing me to take walks every now and again, I would not have made it.

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ABSTRACT

YOU ARE HERE: NARRATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY
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DURING AND AFTER 9/11

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This study focuses on the events during and after 9/11 in Newfoundland, Canada and the Broadway show, *Come From Away*. Generally, the purpose is to examine the long-term narrative construction of resilience after a defining event in a community's history and explores the idea that communication and construction of a resilience narrative can function as a larger community identity. It also seeks to further the use of Boje's (2012) theory of quantum narrative storytelling in qualitative research. This method was used to analyze interviews with 32 individuals connected with the events of 9/11 in Newfoundland in three groups. Overall, this study found that these participants not only use these narratives to shape their current lives, but to narrate themselves and the community as resilient and generous. There were two theoretical implications that suggest we can broaden the definitions of both community and resilience and that these two are narratively constructed.

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

"They say no man's an island, but an island makes a man.

Especially when one comes from one like Newfoundland."

– Come From Away

These words mark the character of the community that can be found in Newfoundland, character that would be put to the test on one fateful morning. On September 11th, 2001, as the first terrorist attacks in New York, Washington D.C., and Pennsylvania were being carried out, the United States airspace was closed. As planes were ordered to land, many were caught halfway across the Atlantic Ocean, headed toward North America. In the morning and afternoon hours of 9/11, 38 planes were diverted to Gander International Airport (YQX) in Gander, Newfoundland, Canada. No citizen, passenger, nor crew member was prepared for what was to follow nor the experience they would have. Citizens from Gander and surrounding towns in Newfoundland – from Gambo to Glenwood and Lewisporte to Norris Arms – cared for the plane passengers for five days, from 9/11 to 9/15. In 2001, Gander had a population of 9,651 (*The Arrivals Guide*, 2016). YQX saw 34 passenger planes as well as four military flights carrying passengers from 95 countries (*Respect and Remembrance*, 2016). The passengers on the 38 diverted planes added approximately 6,600 people to that number (as well as 17 animals), increasing the population of Gander by 70% in just a few hours (*The Arrivals Guide*, 2016).

Citizens and plane passengers alike tell the story of their experiences of those five days and continue to do so nearly two decades since the incident. Gander's story – and by extension Newfoundland's story – has become synonymous with resilience and generosity through these shared narratives as well as to the world through the popular musical, *Come From Away*. The larger story of the province's resilience has become larger than the event itself and has

characterized its current citizens. Whereas current literature in community resilience has focused on the crisis experience itself and the immediate aftermath, this study examines the long-term narrative construction of resilience long after a defining event in a community's history and explores the idea that the communication and construction of a resilience narrative can function as a larger mythology and identity of the community.

To understand the impact these 'plane people' had, it is important to understand the community upon which they landed. The province of Newfoundland and Labrador lies on the north Atlantic on the easternmost side of Canada. Separated from mainland Canada, living on the island of Newfoundland has forced its citizens into a small community of tight-knit people that rely on one another. Many communities are old fishing towns with generations of immigrants who originally came from Ireland and the United Kingdom. Gander, where the planes landed, is an aviation town. Their airport, YQX, originally built and used as a refueling station for transatlantic flights, used to be the largest airport in the world where planes would refuel before flying across the Atlantic or on to the rest of North America. Many citizens recount stories of celebrities – The Beatles, Fidel Castro, The Queen of England – landing in their town as their first stop in North America. Since the advent of modern jet engines with greater fuel capacities, YQX receives scant air traffic. However, the community still remains proud of their aviation history. This is the community upon which 38 planes descended on September 11th, 2001.

Gander, and the greater Newfoundland community, has become synonymous with resilience in wider parlance. This is the narrative construction of resilience – or storied resilience. It is a 'city of resilience.' This narrative of resilience is passed from resident to resident through the myriad stories of 9/11. As the stories of resilience in the face of crisis are passed down, they become an immovable facet of the town and province's character. For a while, these stories

passed between those who had experienced them – the citizens and the plane passengers – and to their close friends and relatives. However, in recent years, this story has been taken to the world through two intrepid writers and a successful piece of art.

In 2013, the Broadway musical, *Come From Away*, premiered, chronicling the events of those five days. Canadian writers and composers Irene Sankoff and David Hein traveled to Newfoundland for the 10th anniversary of the 9/11 attacks to interview and listen to stories of those who were present. In the nearly 20 years that have passed since 9/11, more community members and plane passengers have come forward to tell their stories. Whereas *Come From Away* was nominated for seven Tony Awards (as well as numerous other awards) and has enjoyed over two years of shows on the Great White Way and across the globe, its success is attributed to something much smaller – a story of the resilience of a small Canadian town. Together with the 38 planes, Gander and the wider Newfoundland area became a disaster community – a group of people and organizations affected by a disaster (Wright et al., 1990). Newfoundland's resilience was a defining feature in their ability to handle the crisis that had descended upon them. Community resilience is a manifestation of the strengths of a community that lead to agency and self-organization (Berkes & Ross, 2013). According to Norris et al. (2008), "resilience emerges from a set of adaptive capacities – resilience rests on both the resources themselves and the dynamic attributes of those resources" (p. 135). Thus, the community and its social ties can make or break its success in the face of a crisis. Where literature has explored resilience in crisis, it has focused on the ways and means by which communities cope and recover from said crisis (Aldrich, 2012; Aldrich & Meyer, 2015; Bowen & Heath 2007; Chamlee-Wright & Storr, 2011; Ganor & Ben-Lavy , 2003; Zobel, 2014). However, the process of building resilience as a characteristic and tool as well as integrating the

crisis into the way a community narrates itself is understudied. In the case of Gander, however, resilience is more than a tool the community used to manage a five-day crisis; in the nearly two decades that have passed since 9/11, this crisis has become ingrained in the very way the community characterizes itself. Unlike the bulk of crisis literature that assumes resilience is a tool a community employs to move past crisis, this study explores how a crisis-inspired narrative of resilience can construct the very ways a community defines itself in the long term.

The resilience narratives individual citizens tell, deconstruct, and retell function to construct the living narrative of a community – the identity-formational mythos by which it defines itself. This study explores the living narrative construction of an ongoing character of community resilience rooted in crisis. In the case of Gander, the narrative of resilience is multi-faceted. Bonded by the experience, citizen and passenger narratives similarly coalesced as the years passed. As the story of resilience is told, retold, and reshaped, it becomes both past logic on which the community draws to form its current identity and operational story used to manage daily affairs. This co-construction of a community identity may be viewed as a narrative process. These narratives serve as a way to make sense of the past while also looking toward the future. Consequently, the primary focus of this paper is the community resilience, narrative creation, and identity in Newfoundland that resulted from of the shared experiences during 9/11. Boje (2012) views storytelling as "a dynamic holographic intra-play of narratives, living story webs and various antenarratives" (p. 256). This dynamic, ongoing narrative process of living resilience, emplotted narrative justifications for these attitudinal community features, and future visions of the community as resilient actor necessitate inquiry into the process of the narrative's becoming. Whereas past resilience research has treated resilience as a terminable end, this study examines resilience as an ongoing narrative process. It is through these many lenses – a terrorist

attack, a small town, a narrative structure – that this study views the experiences of those who found themselves in an unlikely place on one of history's most infamous days.

CHAPTER TWO: Review of Literature

"Welcome to the land where the winters try to kill us and we say, 'we will not be killed.'

Welcome to the land where the waters try to drown us and we said, 'we will not be drowned.'

Welcome to the land where we lost our loved ones and we said, 'we will still go on.'"

– Come From Away

Crisis and Communities

Crisis

Crisis communication refers to an organization's (e.g. the Newfoundland community's) action during and after a crisis, their control of factors involved, and issue resolution (Marsen, 2020). With that, citizens should be viewed as crisis communicators and linchpins to the success of the community (Tampere et al., 2016). Therefore, the value of citizen communicators and their bonds cannot be understated as they have deep and intimate knowledge of the community and its needs. Kumar (2017) takes this idea and notes that successful recovery and resilience must be customized to the specific conditions of each community derived from the broad, intimate cultural knowledge of the community members. Combining official response with local knowledge, effective community disaster relief should incorporate state and local governments as well as community stakeholders (e.g. NGOs, individuals, families, and faith-based groups) during both the planning and execution stages (Federal Emergency Management Agency [FEMA], 2011; Kapuci & Sadiq, 2016). LaLone (2012) recommends adopting community-based crisis planning approaches that focus on collaboration between key community groups and individuals. Moreover, it needs to take a more bottom-up approach in which community stakeholders set the tone and provide input to form a disaster support network for efficient movement of supplies and assistance through network linkages (LaLone, 2012).

That being said, enhancing community resilience appears to be a key not only for responding to and recovering, but for preparing in advance of crises (Tierney 2008; Castleden et al. 2011; Thornley et al., 2015). Rahman and colleagues (2016) lay out a clear directive for creating a community-centered crisis plan. First, communities must create an enabling environment by instituting decentralized and participatory decision-making, strengthening links between local, district, and national levels. Furthermore, the overarching plan should emphasize diversity and security, strengthening community organization and voice, supporting access to sustainable management of assets, promoting access to technologies, improving access to markets and employment, and ensuring secure living conditions. Overall, these community resilience directives emphasize the need for community unity as well as the construction and exchange of social capital.

Social Capital

Sherrieb et al. (2010) define *social capital* as "a set of adaptive capacities that can support the process of community resilience to maintain and sustain community health" (p. 233). Social capital functions much like currency – the more you invest and circulate in the community, the stronger a community is against crisis. For community resilience, social capital encompasses three elements: social support, social participation, and community bonds (Norris et al. 2008; Sherrieb, Norris, & Galea, 2010). This can be divided into structural and cognitive social capital. Whereas structural social capital represents the established patterns of behavior that facilitate current and future mutually beneficial cooperation. Cognitive social capital has to do with the mental processes and perceptions resulting from norms, values, attitudes, and beliefs that foster mutually cooperative behaviors (Sherrieb et al., 2010). Both are integral to building and utilizing community resilience. As such, to build community resilience, communities must build social capital. In Newfoundland, social capital is often built through church or legion

membership with organizations like The Salvation Army, the Elks Lodge, and the Knights of Columbus. Moreover, because of the smaller population, social networks are much more tightly knit with fewer places to 'earn' and 'spend' this social capital. Aldrich and Meyer (2015) note the difference between bonding and bridging social capital. Whereas, *bonding* describes the connections among those who are emotionally close, resulting in tight bonds, *bridging* social capital describes those who are loosely connected that span social groups. These strong and loose connections provide both social support and societal advancement, respectively. Both of these look like citizen participation in events, meetings, campaigns, local activism, and other forms of social activity (Houston et al., 2015). For the purposes of community resilience, more social capital translates into greater levels of trust – which in turn allows communities to receive warnings, undertake disaster preparation, locate shelter and supplies, and obtain immediate aid and initial recovery assistance" (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015).

It is important to note that social capital is tied to the location and communities in which it circulates. The social aspects of place attachment can directly impact community resilience and is a key ingredient in building the social capital needed for community resilience (Zwiers et al., 2016). Additionally, the more rural the community, the stronger the internal community ties and social capital connections, making them ideal for community-based crisis responses (Altman & Low, 1992; Hay, 1998; Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Zwiers et al., 2016). This is an important concept in a more isolated place like Gander and the Newfoundland province. Much like crisis plans, social capital is mobilized through bottom-up channels, therefore, it stands to reason that these networks are a vital part of the community resilience and crisis response and recovery. However, putting the structures in place is only one step, as citizens must also engage with one another and community organizations. Madsen and O'Mullan (2014) lay out three sub-themes of

social capital: knowing others, being with the group, and impact on community. Each emphasizes a need to interact and engage within the community to continually build and reinforce community bonds. Most notably, engagement leads to the capacity to collaborate effectively, agree regarding goals, priorities, and strategies, engage in collective action, and is the most likely path to fostering community resilience (Cottrell, 1976; Gil-Rivas & Kilmer, 2016; Houston et al., 2015; Pfefferbaum & Klomp, 2013; Zautra et al., 2008). Overall, evidence shows the continuous building of social capital and community resilience leads to high levels of trust and the ability to respond to adversity and recover quicker (Aldrich, 2012).

Community Resilience and Capacity

The concept of community capacity overlaps in the research with that of community resilience. As Beckley and colleagues (2001) define it, *community capacity* is the collective ability of a group to combine various forms of capital within institutional and relational contexts to produce desired results or outcomes, community well-being, or the economic, social, cultural and political assets a community has to meet its needs (Beckley et al., 2001; Kusel & Fortmann, 1991; Varghese et al., 2006). Moreover, a community can be seen as the collection of assets and strengths that community members bring together (Easterling, 1998; Fischer & McKee, 2017). The idea here is that the sum is greater than the value of the disparate parts. Branching off of both concepts is that of *community disaster resilience*. It refers to a community's collaborative governance – the interaction of the community characteristics mentioned above (Comfort et al., 2010; Kapucu et al., 2013). This concept also emphasizes the need for collaboration and adaptation to the needs of the community stakeholders and local organization capacity (Kapucu, 2006; Kapucu & Sadiq, 2016). All of these scholarly concepts are useful for understanding how communities *might* work together or collaborate to adapt and respond to crises, but the true test comes when a crisis arises.

First, there needs to be some presence of crisis to test and build the resiliency. Crises, at their most basic, occur when an individual – or group of individuals – cannot respond to a problem with already established routines and processes (Taylor rt al., 2007) Theorists posit that communities have specific attributes that facilitate effective response and recovery, such as availability of resources, their robustness, and their level of training and preparedness (Bruneau et al., 2003; Seeger & Sellnow, 2011). Scholars have explored the particular attributes that contribute to a community's quality of resilience in the face of crisis. Longstaff (2005), for example, points to robustness, or the ability of a strategy to counteract the negative effects of a crisis – to withstand stress and maintain a level of functionality without suffering degradation. *Redundancy* refers to the extent to which elements of a system can be substituted for one another in the event of disruption (Longstaff, 2005). Communities can build redundancy by having larger social networks or setting multiple plans into place, such as Gander's myriad volunteer organizations and small groups doing similar activities. Most salient is the resourceful ability to mobilize human and financial resources, which suggest the ingenuity of the community members to create something new to fit their specific situation. These facets give us a framework from which to gauge the Newfoundland community qualities that could contribute to their resiliency and mythologized identity.

Rural Communities

As previously mentioned, there is also something specifically unique about rural communities and the bonds formed there within. The province of Newfoundland – and by extension Gander – is isolated and small, which sets it apart from the acute crises in New York, Washington DC, and Pennsylvania. Moreover, their generation and use of social capital functions differently within the rural community. This can be seen through the existence of three fundamental categories of capital – economic capital (material property), social capital (networks

of social connections) and cultural capital (prestige) (Bourdieu, 1984). Abiding by this concept, capital can be viewed as a metaphor for actual actions – buying from local businesses, carrying on traditions, or making dinner for a family in need (Wilson, 2010). Thus, resilient rural communities exist at the intersection and balance of strong economic, social, and cultural capital.

How rural community members earn, spend, and convert their various types of capital is dependent on the power dynamics within the community (Allen 1997; Wilson, 2010). For example, those who hold the narrative history of Newfoundland and have lived there for years control a large portion of the cultural capital in the area, but can spread it by sharing these stories and traditions with their community. Such instances may look like participating in Mummering or drinking on Tibb's Eve. These practices and exchanges of capitals build up the resilience of a community. This resilience can also be viewed at the family or individual level, aggregating the capital of all members of a household and using it together within the rural community (Wilson, 2010). According to Chaskin (2008), rural communities are becoming a focal point of change. Rural communities, because they represent a microcosm of social networks, can be seen as an affective unit of belonging and identity and a network of relations (Cutter et al., 2008; Wilson, 2010). In these rural microcosms, economic, social, and cultural capital moves fast and remains within the community, imbuing it with inherent resilience and strength.

Citizen Participation

Because community resilience is not concrete, it relies on the flexibility of members of said community and their pre-established lines of communication or groups of people. Communities have a valid stake in and abilities to contribute to crisis management, an untapped resource in governments' pockets (George & Stark, 2016). As such, citizen participation in the implementation of crisis management policy is vital. Some argue that community decentralization can strike the balance between government authority and community

participation (Stark & Taylor, 2014). The framework, then, for community resilience should connect at individual, community, and societal levels, with effective crisis management strengthening and utilizing all levels. Individuals should be able to modify their own behavior to meet the demands of a crisis situation, stemming from traits like flexibility, community connections, societal stability, and internal characteristics like optimism (Dückers, 2017). Communities act as the key mediators in the crisis' impact on the population with characteristics like leadership and social cohesion, adapting to provide appropriate care. However, without local leadership, community resilience cannot flourish (Cohen et al., 2017).

Resilience

Individual resilience has been defined as the individual's ability to maintain a stable level of functioning following traumatic events (Bonanno, 2005; Kimhi, 2016). Moreover, resilience includes the interaction of key attributes like social capital, solidarity, altruism, and collective behavior (Lucini, 2014; Pomeroy & Tapuke, 2016). The bulk of existing research has treated resilience as an individual phenomenon rather than one enacted and constructed by a group – or a community (e.g. Bonanno, 2005; Duckers, 2017; Kimhi, 2016; LaLone, 2012; Magis, 2010). Paton (2007) has also outlined eight generic resilience domains: (a) critical awareness of hazards, vulnerabilities and risks; (b) self-efficacy and confidence in knowing how to cope with hazards; (c) outcome expectations that the actions taken will reduce risks and enable faster and more effective recovery; (d) articulating problems; (e) participating in community affairs; (f) taking action and collective efficacy; (g) trust; and (h) empowerment (Pomeroy & Tapuke, 2016). These characteristics form the basis for both individual and community resilience.

Each can be enacted by the individual, but crisis scholars have taken the concepts and applied it to entire communities (Ganor & Ben-Lavy, 2003; Houston et al., 2015; Steiner & Markantoni, 2013; Thornley et al., 2015). For example, Pomeroy and Tapuke (2016) explore the

relationship between cultural heritage and the building of enduring community resilience in Murupara, New Zealand. This can be connected to the community experiences of Newfoundland citizens and their use of cultural traditions and social capital as building blocks of their community resilience. Moreover, according to Kapucu and Sadiq (2016) resilience is something that can be created by the individual, but also by communities, institutions, and organization through deliberate choice and action. These definitions and characteristics paint resilience to be a flexible tool and multifaceted idea in the realm of crisis management.

Many researchers have tried to define what it means for a community to have resilience. They have treated community resilience more like a process of adaptive capacities, as something that can be switched on like a light when needed to deal with an acute crisis or cope with the long-term stress (Ganor & Ben-Lavy, 2003; Norris et al., 2008). Whereas this definition illustrates the positive benefits of a resilience community, it does not showcase the ability of a community to be inherently flexible nor to construct itself as characteristically resilient. Acquiescing to this view of community resilience, other scholars offer the idea as the capacity, development, and engagement of community to thrive in an environment characterized by change, uncertainty, and unpredictability (Berkes & Ross, 2013; Masten et al., 1990). These scholars give credence to a more stable idea of community resilience as a trait that is permanently inscribed on the community's character. What each of these definitions have in common is the exploration of how a group of people bonds and engages with one another and how it impacts their ability to transform and adapt in times of need. As a fundamental principle of systems theory, the whole is more than the sum of its parts, meaning a collection of resilient individuals does not guarantee a resilient community (Norris et al., 2008). Individuals may exhibit resilience in the face of adverse life events – which fits in with this study's previous

definition of crisis – but entire communities must show resilience following a crisis that threatens the status quo of said community if it is to survive. This begs the question – What *does* make a resilient community?

On a macro level, Thorney and colleagues (2015), argue that communities need well-being, survival skills, connectedness, infrastructure, community participation in disaster response and recovery, community engagement in official decision-making, external support from societal agencies, and exacerbation of existing hardship in order to be resilient. However, as Houston and colleagues (2015) note, it is less about possessing these characteristics and more about how they interact and are put into use. Community resilience is much more than a group of resilient individuals, but rather it emerges from individuals' collective action and activity in joint effort – interdependency – that fosters the response and recovering for the whole (Houston et al., 2015; Pfefferbaum & Klomp, 2013). In this sense, community resilience is more than quantifiable attributes – it is a system of shared meaning and values that members of a community enact through action, values, and narrative. This action implies that the community itself is resilient as they withstand, adapt, and cope with stressors and intentionally develop their personal and collective capacities (Magis, 2010; Pomeroy & Tapuke, 2016; Steiner & Markantoni, 2013). However, despite scholarly agreement on the need to build community resilience and how one might build it, there is a lack of research into what community resilience looks like in the long-term.

Narrative

This study proposes that one way to create long-lasting community resilience is to co-construct a community narrative. A town without a narrative is just land. It transforms itself into a community through co-construction and identification with its narrative. In the case of Newfoundland, it is the story of who they are as a province – history, heroes, character,

attributes. The present study advances the idea that community resilience is a narrative construction. As Perrault and Paul (2018) note, narratives "order the flow of experience to make sense out of actions and events" (pg. 85; Foss 1996). Thus, citizens make sense of their living group as a community through story and the co-construction of narrative and in a very real way, are narrative constructions themselves (Berdayes & Berdayes, 1998; Fisher 1984; Foss, 1996; Herman & Vervaeck, 2005). Boje's (2001; 2012) narrative theory assumes that people use narrative as an instrument by which to constitute and make sense of their experiences. Essentially, narratives define and specify personality, roles, locations, morals, and relationships – which makes it the perfect theory to explore the complex narrative construction that is the community (Bowen & Heath, 2007). Narrative theorists also laud what is most distinct about narratives and their power to help people make sense of the world and create their own identity.

A community's image of itself is narrative. Communities narrate themselves as tough, as caring, as hospitable, as all kinds of things. They build the narrative in the image that they see and one to which they aspire. A community is resilient not only because its citizens work together during a crisis, but because it tells the story for generations to come (Douglas, 1982). It is this storying of resilience that creates the character of the community and, in a very real way, maintains that version of future community resilience explained above. In a larger sense, narratives give order to society – forming definitions, expressing values and expectations, and normatively guiding individual and collective choices (Bowen & Heath, 2007). Some narratives are powerful enough to grow out of and resolve crises. Narrative often bifurcates into two levels – the story and the discourse. The *story* recounts the chronological events as well as the interrelationships of the participants (Marsen, 2006; 2020). In the context of narrative construction of community resilience, stories and narratives prove to be significant in framing

crises because they focus on webs of relationships such as in-groups, out-groups, victims and villains, and provide a launching point for identity and social action (Wolfe, 2016). This process of placing emphasis on certain narratives is an important tool in storytelling and prioritizing voices.

Narrative is the emplotted telling of past events organized by the teller into a BME structure. Living story is the ongoing experiences of individuals, still developing and not yet emplotted into narrative. Antenarrative exists between the two, occurring before the narrative emplotment as the individual – or group – makes bets on future events while looking toward their past. In other words, as people antenarrate, they envision multiple futures – but the decisions they make in their living story eventually eliminates most of these futures as their decisions narrow their potential actions. However, in this process of constructing the lived story, people retrospectively select past experiences and values to inform their projections about futures they desire or do not desire. In this way, they are constantly using past logics and empirics to inform present choices about these potential futures.

Based on much of the work of Erving Goffman (1959), structuration theory ruminates on the social construction of life – more specifically its organizations. Structuration theory holds that human action and interactions generate social reality (Poole & McPhee, 2005). As these social realities are formed, they impact how we further create and reify social structures and institutions (Poole & McPhee, 2005). As humans, we value pattern and routine so it logically follows that we might draw upon our past structures, rules, and systems that we have previously socially constructed in order to act toward our futures. Marrying this concept with that of narratives, it stands to reason that communities with deep roots in their past narratives and

traditions will continue to utilize these narratives and traditions to act in the present and emplot their living stories.

Narratives and narrative theory help us identify the ways in which media takes control of the narratives and shapes our understanding, meaning, and concept of the world around us (Perreault & Paul, 2018). Narrative theory, more importantly, draws attention to the way in which humans are storytelling creatures – framing their own worlds in terms of heroes, villains, and vast plots. However, humans tend to tell and retell the same stories as they narrate their own lives into existence in new ways and new mediums (Bascom, 1965; Perreault & Paul, 2018; Raglan, 1934). In the case of Newfoundland, stories of their history, shared experiences, and ethos have been passed down through generations to become an immovable facet of the province's character. Boje and Rosile (2003) extend this idea as they propose a more productive narrative approach in which the story is constructed and framed as an epic (Marsen, 2020). This would increase the number of voices involved in narration and would shift the focus from the individual to the environment and underlying systems – such as the community.

A story functions much like the famous Indian story of the six blind men encountering an elephant for the first time (Marsen, 2020). Each man touched a different part of the elephant's body, each coming up with different conclusions of the elephant's appearance. The trunk made the elephant seem like a snake, the tail made it seem like a rope, the side made it seem like a wall, the tusk made it seem like a spear, the leg made it seem like a tree, and the ear made it seem like a fan. The narrative is what occurs when people unite to tell the whole story, inserting and meshing their experiences together. This is a particularly pertinent concept for communities as citizens use these meshed and united stories to narrate themselves into existence. The community, therefore, is the elephant and the six blind men, the community members each

bringing their singular perception to the table. Moreover, one can view crises in a similar manner – as complex, multifaceted phenomena that rely on communication (Marsen, 2020). Seeger and Sellnow (2016) note that crises are not merely sensemaking tools, but are also spaces in which they themselves can be developed and resolved. In the aftermath of crises disruption, community members – or those affected by the crisis – engage in important meaning making about their environment and experiences (Meisner & Hinderaker, 2020; Seeger & Sellnow, 2016). It is through this process that they can interpret events as well as create and participate in competing narratives about the crisis itself. Crises require the management of the narrative and trauma so as to aid effective recovery. Players within the narrative are not free to do as they wish, but are precisely positioned and constrained, as narrative endings are fixed before their telling (Charland, 1987; Wolfe, 2016).

In fact, according to Denham (2008), "a person's ability to manage a traumatic experience is related to her ability to place the experience into narrative form" (p. 408). Essentially, research has shown that storying their stressor in a narrative construction helped people develop control over the situation (Denham, 2008; Horstman et al., 2016). Individuals and communities strive for narrative coherence in order to place their experiences in the larger narrative. Narrative coherence refers to "the extent to which a story 'hangs together' and connects its events, characters, and plotlines" (Horstman et al., 2016, p. 328). To focus on the creation and maintenance of the narrative in order to resolve and integrate it into past experiences helps individuals and communities negotiate the meanings behind the narrative (Denham, 2008, p. 409). In a sense, to create the narrative is "to make events storyable, more willful control of the memory of events, shaped into the wisdom of experience" (Taylor, Durant, & Boje, 2007).

However, a more pertinent power that a community holds is its ability to turn crisis into resiliency through narrative – which in turn allows them to handle crises more efficiently in the future. Boje poses a unique method of storytelling, emphasizing the quantum narrative. In his eyes, storytelling is the "intra-weaving of living story with two narrative types…and varieties of antenarrative" (Boje, 2014, p. 46). Whereas storytelling used to be about re-presenting narratives of the past in a linear plot, now "storytelling theory is looking as ways that a narrative of the past is different from a living story emerging in the present where there is no set beginning and no end in sight" (Boje, 2014, p. 54). It is not just recounting history, it is solidifying the past and forecasting the future. Essentially, storytelling should include a lived story, a narrative, and an antenarrative. The lived story is the now – what Boje appropriately calls the eventness of being. A narrative must have structure or a beginning, middle, and end (BME). As a counterpart, the antenarrative is defined as "'before-narrative', such as little wow moments and living stories often left-out or emptied out to leave a narrative-structure or form, and as a 'bet', a prediction of bare-bones narrative arc of key events and characters" (Boje, 2012, p. 256). These things happen unconsciously. When an organization – in this case a community – utilizes storytelling, an identity, a set narrative past, and a path for the future begin to emerge. This study aimed to explore the process of narrative resilience and the subsequent construction of community identity. As such, the research questions are as follows:

RQ1: How did Gander and the wider Newfoundland community narratively construct itself as resilient following the 9/11 crisis?

RQ2: How has Newfoundland's narrative of crisis resilience constructed its current community identity?

CHAPTER THREE: Methods

Welcome to the fog, welcome to the trees,

to the ocean and the sky, and whatever's in between.

To the ones who left, you're never truly gone.

A candle's in the window and the kettle's always on.

– Come From Away

This study examined the actions of Newfoundland, Canada citizens and plane passengers (colloquially called 'come from aways' in local vernacular) grounded during Operation Yellow Ribbon during 9/11 and the days that followed. Specifically, this study focused on the narratives of Newfoundland citizens, the plane passengers, and the cast and creatives of the Broadway musical, *Come From Away* and how they influenced community identity and, subsequently, the community's ability to be resilient. This study explored the polyphonic construction of the narrative of community resilience that has come to define Newfoundland after 9/11. The province's "becoming," the process of narrating, identifying with, enacting, and living a narrative of resilience involves the voices of Newfoundland citizens, passengers of the planes that landed there, and, more recently, the cast and creatives of *Come From Away* that have taken the narrative to the world. The analysis made use of personal interviews with people involved in the events of those five days and who fit the above criteria. As this study focused on the constructs mentioned above, personal interviews allow a closer look inside the real-time decisions of community members who lived through the events of 9/11 in Newfoundland, as well as the experiences of those 'come from aways' who found themselves diverted to Newfoundland as a result of the closed airspace. Finally, with the inclusion of the testimonies of *Come From Away* cast and creatives, the analysis allowed for a continued telling of the narrative.

Each of these participant populations fulfilled a specific role and possesses a unique narrative from their experiences.

Study Design

This study, in particular, detailed the narrative construction of resilience in Newfoundland in three groups: community members, plane passengers, and cast and creatives. Each of these groups might have been seen as narrative actors, whose constant enactment, re-enactment, and re-telling of events narratively construct both the past of Newfoundland, its living present, and hedge bets on the future. The community members knew their town and province best and could therefore speak to the history and character of the community. Plane passengers, though not Newfoundland residents, became an important part of the community narrative both through their continued contact with their hosts and through their legacy placement in the ongoing narrative. The cast and creatives were most distant from the immediate events in Newfoundland. They functioned more as intermediaries or liaisons of the narrative to the wider world, channeling the most important characteristics and messages in their art. Understanding the interplay of these narrative actors in the construction of community resilience necessitated a method that allows examination of resilience not as a noun, but as a living verb, something that is constructed in intertextual webs. The present study maintained Boje's (2001, 2008, 2014) distinctions of narrative, living story, and antenarrative.

This study also viewed resilience as a narrative process – one in which a community's characterization of itself was constantly constructed, deconstructed, and reconstituted in an active process of lived story, constructed narrative, antenarrative, and consideration of potential community futures. To best trace the interplay of both these three narrative elements and the polyphonic and intertextual construction of Gander's resilience narrative, this study employed Boje's (2014) quantum method of storytelling. In Boje's view, the relationship between

narrative, living story, and antenarrative functions like quantum physics. Each exists in a non-linear space and time where narrative actors constantly construct their present story from past narrative, use lived story to reflect on, reconstruct past narrative, and hedge bets on potential futures though antenarrative. In this view, antenarratives function rather like bifurcation points – the event-driven points in time that physicists hypothesize may be the origin points of parallel universes. In living the outcomes of these decisions, past narrative is inevitably changed to suit the teller's outcomes. Narrative, then, is constantly changing and transforming itself in light of the present. Thus, it is not the *events* that change, but the telling, as it is constantly informed by present outcomes and future desires. This is particularly acute in complex intertextual systems with multiple actors communally constructing shared narrative – as in the case of Gander's construction of its narrative of resilience.

Quantum storytelling is the interplay of quantum understandings with storytelling processes while revising the future and reconstructing past events relevant to the present living story (Boje, 2014). It also includes aspects of the storyteller's life, folding them in to their living story and their performance of agency (Boje, 2014). Quantum storytelling might be imagined as porous spheres constantly drifting, merging, overlapping, and being drawn into one another. These four quantum spheres can be envisioned as being bound together by elastic antenarratives (linear, cyclical, spiral, and rhizomatic) that stretch and contract, rooting themselves into current story by reaching back into past narratives, creating a fragile bond (Hinderaker, 2020). Each sphere represents a storytelling pragmatic: epistemic, empirical, critical, and ontological. This study focuses on three of these – ontology, epistemology, and empiricism.

Ontologic narratives are BME narratives that reify the living stories that are constantly unfolding in the moment of being (Boje, 2014). In this case, ontology means "being-in-the-

world, in space, in time, in materiality in authentic, even quantum, ways" (Boje, 2014, p. 155). These narratives are currently unfinished and are informed by past already-narrated experiences. Here, tellers use old events to influence their yet unemplotted experiences. Epistemic narratives are storytelling that is logically shaped to reify the intellectual schemas and knowledge of the individual or community. These are used to retrospectively emplot the individual's experiences (Hinderaker, 2020). Finally, empirical narratives are used to retrospectively emplot past events through their learned knowledge (Hinderaker, 2020).

Lived story is what is happening now and is informed not only by what is happening now but what has happened in the past. (Boje, 2012; Heidegger, 1992). What we get when we form the lived story into an antenarrative is a narrative, a story with a BME. However, living stories are not whole. Ergo, storytelling, and the creation of antenarratives and narratives are incredibly important to the creation of a collective identity for a community. Accordingly, as Boje would hold, this collective identity at the community level allows for communities to intentionally build a narrative that looks toward the future.

Antenarratives are both a bet on the future and a simultaneous harkening to the past, the 'before.' They are storytelling bets on the future, before the narrative solidifies, living in the in-between as they connect and transform living stories and narratives at the same time (Boje, 2014). Antenarrative remains important to this study as community resilience is narrated into being, every lived story hedges a bet on a community future. As a theory of narrative, antenarratives assume that we make bets on the future based on our past events, which in turn affect the course of future events "implying competing futures with alternative readings of the past, depending on which paths are taken" (Boje, 2014, p. 21). Boje also identifies four types of antenarrative tie: linear (direct cause–effect), cyclic (expected repetitive outcome in a cycle),

spiral (like a downward spiral in economics, future predictions are seen as bleak and inevitable), or rhizomatic (expected futures are deeply rooted in past events or ideas). Living stories are those that are just unfolding. They are not whole and often without beginning or end. As Boje (2012, 2014) states, living stories represent ontological thereness and now-ness. "our living stories are already saturated with the categories, classifications, and interpretations of past generations yet…calls the immediate experience of the relations, qualities, and modes of the present" (Boje, 2014, p. 21-22). These three concepts – narrative, antenarrative, and living story – make up the idea of quantum storytelling.

Boje (2014) also notes that storytelling utilizes both retrospective and prospective sensemaking. In this way, storytelling becomes a community's primary and most potent way of communication, sensemaking, and identity creation. Perhaps the most important lesson that can be gleaned from this theory is that this created identity and future path affect community members' performance in everyday life as well as their past, present, and future sensemaking – thereby perpetuating the cycle. In terms of community resilience, communal narratives give the community shared meaning and purpose – a shared brand, if you will. Sonn and Fisher (1998), note that "narratives can give insight into how communities see themselves and others [and] shared understandings of reality contribute to a sense of place and connectedness" all of which affect resilience (p. 461; Mankowski & Rappaport, 1995).

Boje likens the process discussed above – the process of selecting a past to make sense of a potential future that inherently alters past narrative and the ontological understanding of past events – to Heisenberg's Observer Effect. Heisenberg holds that the very act of measurement – in his case a particle, in ours a narrative – changes the nature of the thing being measured. This theory, though in quantum physics, has much to tell us about how narratives echo back and forth

like waves (Heisenberg, 1958). Much like wave particles, "antenarratives are the interplay of two kinds of waveforms: the echo wave arriving from the future and the future-shaping wave we are sending forth from the present" (Boje, 2014, p. 14). These waves coalesce into a bifurcation point – an instance of decision-making.

Boje extends his theory of quantum storytelling to the concept of storytelling branding. This acts as a means to brand one's organization – its products, mission, and values – with a certain storytelling" (Boje, 2014). Many organization uses this in crises to 'restory' or reformulate their current story into a new one with personal narratives and living stories to displace the dominant narrative. Each person is reconstituted, recharacterized, and normalized as part of this branding narrative, put in their place within the storytelling organization (Boje, 2014). However, much of the Newfoundland experiences have unwittingly used storytelling branding to create the mythology of their culture. At its very core, a tight-knit community such as Gander (or one of the many towns that dot Newfoundland and Labrador) is a storytelling organization. These narratives, as they are told and retold, become the "elevator pitch" for the towns' storytelling branding, almost as a marketing practice (Boje, 2014).

Boje (2001, 2012, 2014) advances a methodological view of narrative that moves beyond thematic consideration and envisions narrative as living, non-linear, and as constantly transforming and transformative. Where textual or discourse methods tend to privilege either official organizational narratives or bottom-up member stories, Boje's (2014) pragmatic quantum view of narrative traces the interplay amongst narrative, living story, and antenarrative. The present study requires such a method in order to see the greater picture from the myriad narratives of community members, plane passengers, and cast and creatives. Boje (2014) uses a physics metaphor to propose a quantum relationship among narrative, living story, and

antenarrative, placing each in non-linear space and time where an antenarrative hedges bets on multiple possible futures, rather like the bifurcation points physicists posit may spawn parallel universes. Like chaotic quantum particle waves collapsing into one ordered action, lived story narrows focus to one or a few future possibilities.

As narrative actors make antes on different futures, they retrospectively select alternate past experiences to inform their projections about the future and to coalesce lived story into emplotted narrative. According to Aristotle, in *Poetics*, narrative "requires a story to be a proper 'imitation of an action that is complete in itself, as a whole of some magnitude'" (Boje, 2014, p. 3). A narrative has been emplotted – events, retrospectively arranged into a beginning-middle-end format for the telling of a lived experience – and created into a being in and of itself, apart from the living story from whence it came. Boje (2001) positions plots as "not just a chronology of events; it is what links events together into a narrative structure," (p. 108). However, for a plot to reach narrative form, it must be emplotted. It is essentially, as Boje (2001) puts it, "the grasping together of selected events, characters and action into a plot line" (p. 112). In literature, the term mimesis, from which Ricoeur derives his theory, refers to the process by which works reinterpret the world around them – a mimicry of sorts. The process from plot to narrative, then, is said to unfold in three mimeses. The first focuses on plot, the "pre-understanding of networks of action, symbolism, and narrative time…a stage of pre-narration" (Boje, 2001, p. 112). The second mimesis is emplotment, and the third works to reconnect the disparate parts into to the whole of what Ricoeur calls the hermeneutic circle. In this way, emplotment can be seen as the bridge between the pre-narrated and the narrative, which storytellers use to make sense of the world around them and their experiences.

It is this hermeneutic circle that moves beyond time, emplotment, and narrative configuration that allows us to theorize antenarrative – the process itself (Boje, 2001). In Ricoeur's research, plots are constructed from networks of action, symbolic mediations, and temporal narration (Boje, 2001; Ricoeur, 1984). Moreover, Ricoeur poses three mediations to accomplish emplotment: between individual events and the story as a whole, between heterogeneous factors, and toward a synthesis of the heterogenous (Boje, 2001). Putting it all together, the process from plot to narrative leads to a narrative with full meaning restored to the time of action and into a meaningful whole. All of this lends itself to a plot analysis of the Newfoundland citizens and plane passengers retelling of their 9/11 experiences, taking them from crisis chaos to emplotted narrative. This process of selecting a past to make sense of a potential future inherently alters past (and often organizational) narrative, and, more importantly, alters the ontological understanding of past events that informs epistemic living story. It is through this interplay of narratives, lived story, and antenarrative that the present study explores the long-term narrative construction of resilience of both Newfoundland citizens and plane passengers after 9/11.

Data Collection

This narrative study required a data collection that allowed participants to tell their stories in their own words. In order to privilege participant voice, and to understand the narrative constructions of resilience, this study employed participant interviews. The polyphonic nature of the co-construction of Newfoundland's narrative of resilience requires a sample that is inclusive of the multiple voices that have a role in the narrative. This study, thus, included interviews with Newfoundland residents, plane passengers/crew, and cast and creative of *Come From Away*.

Participant Recruitment

This study involved interviews with 32 participants including 12 community members, 12 passengers, and eight cast and creative. All participants were over 18 and consented to recorded interviews about their experiences. Interviews were performed with 14 men and 17 women. The Institutional Review Board granted permission to use participants' real names in the results with participant consent. I initially connected with seven community members and three plane passengers after receiving their phone numbers from the local government administration and having prior connections. I emailed or Facebook messaged them each directly. Through the interviews, each person would often recommend others with which I could speak, fulfilling a snowball sampling method of recruitment. After many participants asked for something to share with others, I created a graphic with the recruitment information. I also shared it on my social media a handful of times and garnered many more participants through shares and recommendations by those connected with the events. I personally conducted all interviews via Zoom, Facebook video, Facetime, email, or phone. The questions asked of the Newfoundlander community members, the plane people, and *Come From Away* cast and creatives are attached in Appendices A, B, and C, respectively.

Interviews

The data for this study were comprised of personal interviews, a choice that privileged participant voice, allowing participants to tell their own stories in their own words (Tracy, 2013). In-depth interviews were driven by an interview protocol (see Appendices A, B, and C), and ranged from 30 to 90 minutes. The interviewer also asked follow-up questions as they seemed pertinent. All interviews were performed over Zoom, Facebook video, Facetime, email, or phone in order to comply with COVID-19 policies and social distancing. Interviews were recorded with the researcher's personal voice recorder and a secure online software to ensure a safety net in

case of technological difficulties. Interview recordings were transcribed verbatim using an online AI transcription service then reviewed by the researcher for errors when compared to the recordings.

Data Analysis

Interviews conducted with these individuals represent emplotted narratives, weaving smaller stories into a much bigger web. By following the creation of a community's experience from lived story to antenarrative to narrative paradigm, we could uncover what becomes their collective identity. Consistent with Boje's (2014) method of quantum narrative storytelling, data analysis focused on the narratives told by Newfoundland citizens, plane passengers, and *Come From Away* cast and creatives about their experiences during 9/11 while reflecting back on said experiences. Data analysis was completed in a binary fashion.

For the first level of coding, the researcher coded the data as epistemic (experiences in Newfoundland during 9/11 or ongoing experiences with the community), empirical (Newfoundland or personal values, religious beliefs, other logics), or ontological (use of one's current worldview to interpret past, and explanations of past effects on current worldview) and critical (feelings of power/powerlessness) narratives, or antenarrative (will be denoted as linear, cyclic, spiral, or rhizomatic). The researcher developed a thematic coding schema within the first-level structure. Individual lines of interview data were coded into this thematic schema. Results was reported using this dual-level schematic structure.

CHAPTER FOUR: Results

September 11th, 2001.

Any available community buildings will be converted into shelters.

With thousands of passengers arriving at any minute,

The town is asking for help with...well anything you can do!

- Come From Away

Results of this study are based on 32 interviews with three populations – community members, plane passengers, and *Come From Away* cast and creatives. These interviews asked individuals to recall their experiences and how it has impacted their present as well as the influence of *Come From Away* on their own reflection. The results below are reported within the dual-structure analysis schema created through Boje's quantum narrative storytelling method. Consistent with Boje's quantum storytelling, thematic results are reported with thematic categories embedded within Boje's suggested quantum structure of narrative and story: Epistemic Narrative, Empirical Narrative, Ontological Story, and Antenarrative.

Epistemic Narrative

Epistemic narratives are the experiences that have been emplotted into a BME Narrative. They involve retrospective narration where the interviewee retells their experiences in the past tense. They are simply recalling something that they have already experienced. Epistemic narratives in this study included experiences of the day of 9/11, experiences of the week following 9/11, secondary narratives, and the experience of being a Newfoundlander.

9/11 Narratives

9/11 Narratives are strictly restricted to those events that occurred on the day of September 11th, 2001 and retold by participants in emplotted narrative format. These narratives differed amongst the participant groups as their experiences individually shape their narratives

and identities. Narratives in this section included both the emplotment and sequencing of events as well as their retrospective emotional and mental processing. Each group interviewed had unique experiences, saw the crisis from different perspectives, and thus, two decades later, has made sense of the experience differently. In order to parse the flowing and overlapping nature of these narratives and stories, the participant groups have been divided in the reporting of results.

Community Members

Participants who lived in Gander during 9/11 described their experiences in terms of disbelief and pivoting quickly to action. Eight participants described, first, their memories of learning that something was wrong, and that Gander and the surrounding towns would be involved in the crisis. In the moment, participants also described their difficulty processing what was happening amid the sense of disbelief and confusion. Citizens described an initial sense of confusion or unreality when learning about the attacks, followed by the realization that Gander would be impacted. The Mayor of Gander at the time, Claude Elliot, recalled his experience learning about the crisis when someone entered his office to tell him first about one plane hitting the US WTC, then, 20 minutes later, the second plane.

> When you saw it, it's hard to believe that it was real and that it was live. It was about 11:30 in the morning, and I got a call from the town manager saying, you better come into the office because it looks like there's been a terrorist attack on the United States and they're going to be shutting down their airspace, and planes have been told to land at the nearest airport. Canada has agreed to take all the planes. We knew with our location and leaving Europe in the morning, once you get halfway across or over, the closet airport is Gander.

The news began to spread through the town and wider area as Claude declared a state of emergency. Margaret Morris, an officer on the HMS Cabot, started preparations immediately,

"before being officially tasked, we knew right away that we're going to be involved in this because our building is just so well suited." All participants went through this same process of sequencing the events then retrospectively sensemaking their emotions about the now emplotted narratives. Oz Fudge, a Gander RCMP officer, recollected the moment the news reached him.

> I heard someone calling my name. When I looked to my right, there was Bonnie Harris. She was saying 'Oz! Oz! Turn on your radio!' I'm looking at her and I'm thinking, 'now why is she telling me to turn on my radio?' And she pulled in alongside of me and she said, 'Turn. On. Your. Radio.' I'm looking down at my police radio and she said, 'No, you fool, turn on your radio.' I go to CBC, our national radio station, and that's when I heard about the planes going into the tower. I'm thinking, 'Nah. Nah, this can't be happening. This is a joke.' I was thinking it was Orson Wells' [sic] War of the Worlds.

While the world was watching the horror unfold in the United States and planes began to land at YQX, Ganderites expressed denial, sure that this diversion would be temporary. As Brian Mosher, CBC reporter, said all these planes will "be gone tomorrow morning because that was fully expected." However, as the hours wore on and the American airspace closed, participants described becoming aware that these plane passengers would be staying much longer. Pat Woodford, an air traffic controller at YQX, remembers managing the logistics at the airport, that they "didn't know how long this event was going to take before the airspace opened and everybody wanted to leave and we certainly didn't know what the world would be like when they wanted to leave." After their initial sense of disbelief and denial, community members described taking action to prepare the town for the coming crisis. With the state of emergency in place, Gander and the surrounding towns began to coordinate efforts to prepare their homes and spaces for an unknown number of people. Claude designated the hockey rink as, what came to be

affectionately known as, “The World’s Largest Walk in Freezer.” Following that sense of disbelief and denial, participants highlighted their swift pivot into action. As individuals jumped into action, they described calling on community organizations, like the Salvation Army and Red Cross. These were quickly overwhelmed and participants realized they needed to involved public organizations, like the school. Oz Fudge made the circuit around town in his patrol car.

> Then they had to set up the mats and get everything ready for people. And that was all done in three to four hours. That was going on a Gander Collegiate. That was going on at St. Paul’s College of the North Atlantic. At the churches, at the legion, the Lion’s Club, the Elks Club – all these places needed volunteers just like Gander Academy, and it got to the point where they were turning people away.

Diane Davis called six people to volunteer and showed up to the school to find 20 people because everyone's phone someone and said they’ve got a job. Other participants also described calling on all these different kinds of community organizations – private companies, service clubs, non-profits, as well as governmental and public organizations. Without much official direction, Newfoundlanders rushed to do what they thought Newfoundlanders should– welcome strangers. Karen Mills, the manager at the Comfort Inn, noted that some of the passengers were on the planes for up to 30 hours. As passengers deplaned, community members described working to assuage passenger anxiety, confusion, and needs for information. Whereas prior, community members narrated their own disbelief and emotions, once the passengers deplaned, they described a shift in focus from their own emotions and coping to the passengers’, who were also experiencing disbelief, and confusion after being kept on planes without information. Community participants then described tasking themselves with explaining what they themselves had just processed to plane passengers. At least five mentioned taking on this role in addition to

providing for immediate needs and preparing Gander. Pat Woodford was working double duty that day; he "went [to work] and when I take a break, I'd go down and help out there." Brian Mosher remembered the disbelief of the passengers as they disembarked the planes.

> A guy came up to me in a really expensive suit and said, what's happened? I said, what do you know? He said, barely anything, [that the world trade center was hit]. That's true. He said, North or South tower? I said a plane hit the North and South towers, Pentagon, and Pennsylvania…He said, was there much damage? I remember his name. I said, Jim, come over by the wall and [hear] what I'm going to say. I don't know how to say it – the towers are gone.

In narrating their experiences of the day, community members said they see this moment as a turning point in how they defined their community. It was not just a place and a community in which they loved to live, but a beacon of hope and resilience. Participants, notably, described passengers not as strangers our outsiders, but as members of the town in their recollections of the events. Four Newfoundlanders used an expression that has become an oft-repeated phrase in Gander: "We ate lunch 9,300 people. We ate supper in a town with 16,000 people."

Plane Passengers

The plane passengers described feeling left in the dark on a plane for the whole of September 11th, first, in flight, and later while being forced to stay in planes on the runway in Gander. Much like the community members, all 12 passengers described becoming aware of events and then, in narrating them, they applied their later knowledge to sequence events. Elias Kanaris, a passenger on UA929, remembered the shift in energy on the aircraft mid-flight; "a look amongst the crew, a worried look as they scampered past me. At the same time, I heard a noise, which later I found out was the noise of dumping fuel." Jodi Taub, a passenger on a flight to Chicago, recalled the moment she knew something was wrong.

> As our plane was approaching the East Coast, instead of going left for North America, it took a right. At that point, we had seen on the screen that our flight was going back out to the ocean, which was disconcerting to everybody. More so than anything else, I knew something was wrong.

While the passengers expressed feelings of uncertainty, the crews were grappling with how to handle the news while processing it themselves. One of the first people to hear that communication – and with it the word terrorism – was Wanda Kromer, the head flight attendant on Bass' flight. Upon opening the cockpit door to check in, Beverley Bass and the copilot held their hands up for her to wait for them to listen to the incoming radio information from other pilots. As they all listened, Kromer described hearing that an airplane had hit a tower in New York and thinking it was a small aircraft.

> Then they said it was a 737. They identified it as American Airlines. So, we're just thinking, Oh, goodness what is this? Then somebody mentioned the word terrorist. When they did that, Beverley reached right behind and grabbed my knee.

Those same feelings of uncertainty and disbelief was echoed by other passengers. Kerry Derringer-Cashin was on the very first aircraft that touched down and watched the spectacle – 38 planes in total. It was then that the crew told them what had happened and they listened to President Bush's address over the cockpit radio.

> They finally told us and everybody just kind of went quiet. This is an act of war. But we still kind of didn't quite grasp what was going on because we were just sitting among ourselves on the airplane. We had no radio, no video, even the flight attendants in the crew didn't know what was going on. It wasn't just that they weren't telling us, they didn't know either…I felt like I was in a World War II movie because it was like this staticky

connection, it's dark, we're all standing around listening to it.

Derringer-Cashin went on to recall trying to contact her sister who lived right outside of NYC in New Jersey and relaying the information to her fellow passengers, in their attempts to ease their uncertainty. Meanwhile, the passengers were unaware of what was happening in the town just outside their plane windows. Diane Marson remembered trying to piece together the timeline and her disbelief as she learned more information.

> They served us what was going to be our next meal that afternoon because that was dinner and then we were out of food. So, the people from the town organized and sent out sandwich boxes the next morning and water and if babies needed diapers or formula. Somehow all that stuff just magically appeared from this town, from out of their pantries in their homes because it was too early for the Red Cross or Salvation Army or anybody else to have brought food in.

Cast and Creative

While the cast and creative were not in Newfoundland during 9/11, many still have narratives from 9/11. Four of them specifically recounted theirs. This participant group, like most people who were of age to remember that day, have a narrative of 9/11 that they retrospectively connect to Gander now that they are part of this community's narrative. Most notably, Christine Toy-Johnson compared and contrasted her own experience traveling back from Las Vegas with that of Newfoundlanders and plane passengers. While her feelings of uncertainty were similar to those of the community members and plane passengers, Toy-Johnson wanted to make it clear that her experience was much different than that of the people she now portrays.

> I never have seen any of those people again…We just have this experience and I think it's okay to push it away. We'll move on, not in any right conscious way, it just happened. They were there together longer, but also they had a whole community of people who

were already safe…We're just trying to get home to our families…We didn't get to land somewhere where there were people looking after us.

Though she had a different experience from the plane passengers, Toy-Johnson used this narrative to make sense of the Gander experience of this event as well as the Gander definition of community.

Week of 9/11 Narrative

Week of 9/11 Narratives include those events that occurred in the week that followed 9/11 that are retold by participants in emplotted narrative format. These narratives emplot events in Gander during the five days and follow the same retrospective processing of emotions and sensemaking done on 9/11.

Community Members

As passengers began disembarking the planes, community members started putting their plan into action, but they still expressed uncertainty as to what to expect off the planes. Once all of the planes had been cleared, airport security began deplaning passengers and shuttling them to their shelters. Despite the uncertainty and tense circumstances, nine Newfoundlanders described reverting to kindness and generosity, as they described trying to resolve the passengers' fear and uncertainty. As the passengers reached their destinations, Diane Vey-Morawski recalled her first impressions of them – the shock, disbelief, and fear on their faces. Once the passengers were settled in, all they wanted to do was call home. Diane Davis outlined how they helped them armed with atlases, a globe, and a book of flags. If they did not speak the language they would use the different mediums to determine where they were calling so that they could help the operator. This is just one example of the creative efforts community members engaged in to accommodate their guests and unforeseen barriers when structures in place would not suffice.

The phone calls only underscored the emotion of the day, as Vey-Morawski remembers witnessing a girl having an emotional conversation with a loved one.

> She was supposed to have been there on the day before and she had worked at the Twin Towers. She would have been at work that next day. Just, I think, talking to her mom or dad and getting off the phone made her just [cry].

Newfoundlanders spoke of their early interactions with the plane passengers as emotion-laden. Their crisis was shared, as was there crisis community as their two disparate communities intertwined. In that shared experience, community members described it being more than kindness, but rather a need to put hospitality over all else. Jerry Goudie, a general-duty constable in Gander, was part of the increased security put in place as he went through the carry-ons passengers brought off the plane.

> I remember, at one point, someone gave me a bottle of water from their bag because I was thirsty, someone gave me chocolate from either France or Russia. You weren't supposed to be doing anything like this, at all. At the same time, even though we're trained police officers with the federal force, you can't turn off being an Easterner.

For example, in the course of her interviews, local reporter Janice Goudie was able to listen to a passenger's recording of their pilot breaking the news to them while they were still in the air and "hearing the actual words from the pilot, and you could hear all the gasps from the people around him. It was pretty powerful." She, like many community members, had trouble separating their fear and emotion from her own.

> I met a woman from Queens who was missing a family member and she cried and cried talking to me. As a reporter, I'm trying not to show [a lot of emotion] in an interview but I went out to my car and I started to cry. It had gotten to a point where it was too much.

Newfoundlanders told stories of the shift throughout the week as tensions began to ease and walls came down between citizens and passengers. Diane Vey-Morawski tells the story of handing out underwear and coming to the realization that it did not matter what color, religion, or where you came from; we all have this in common – we need clean underwear after two days. Jerry Goudie described going out after his shifts and would be bought drinks by passengers as soon as he walked into the bar. Brian Mosher, working with Janice, were fielding requests from locations and organizing special events – from Screech Ins to Barbecues to trying moose – over the local CBC channel. A few community members spoke fondly and meaningfully about a 3-minute moment of silence, where everyone stopped in their tracks, like Cindy May.

> We stood for a moment of silence. The single tears streaming down so many faces was overwhelming. We were all equal in many ways. I hugged my daughters. I knew we were helping. I could not send them home. This was a life lesson for them that would helped shape them into beautiful caring adults.

Eight citizens echoed this feeling of warmth and of looking toward the future. Levity was obvious in their narration of the latter days. There are a wealth of examples in every interview with community members where they narrated their own experience through the experiences of the passengers, indicating a merging of communities. Margaret Morris shared one story of one couple who was determined to take a young officer home as they thought he would make a great son-in-law. The joy mixed constantly with the sorrow, as Oz Fudge illustrated in meeting a group of Make a Wish kids that had been diverted.

> This big fella came over and he was standing in the doorway. He looked at me and he kinda motioned me to come over. He said, 'I have a message that I wanted you to give everybody. It's from my daughter.' And I'm looking at him. He says, 'She's one of the

> ones whose terminal and we've just been told that we're not going on to Disneyworld, that we have to go back to London. We had a little family meeting about it and we asked her what she thought of it.' And he said her comment on it was: 'It's okay.'

As the week drew to a close, the narratives began reflecting on what they had accomplished. Over the course of those days, Claude Elliott estimated that the city coordinated 285,000 meals between passengers and volunteers. Karen Mills filled so many beds in the Comfort Inn and fielded countless loads of laundry for the whole city in the hotel's industrial laundry. But rarely was it about the numbers for the Newfoundlanders, as many iterated.

I believe Claude has said it a hundred times: When they stepped off the plane they were strangers. By mid-week they were friends. By then end of the week, they were family.

Plane Passengers

All but one passenger described having no idea where in the world they were, much less what to expect from the little town upon which they had landed. When they entered the dated terminal at YQX, passengers only narrated memories of being greeted by smiling volunteers and tables of donated food. Diane Marson was amazed at the triage organization that was they were taking down passport numbers, names, home addresses, next of kin, and emergency contacts. Kevin Jung clearly remembered his moment of realization.

> I took a bite of the KFC and it was ice cold. That doesn't bother me; I love cold chicken, but that's the first time that it hit me that, oh my god, they've been working on this all day. I thought we just couldn't get off because they were waiting for clearance or something. But, they had been working all day to prepare for us. We didn't know, at that point, to what extent, but that cold chicken was what snapped me into reality.

As the passengers were shuttled to their shelters for the week, they were still uncertain as to the next step, as Elias Kanaris recalled:

> I was convinced in a couple of hours we'll be turning around and going back home. It was about four or five hours into the time at the Salvation Army and I was sitting there and I thought you know what maybe I should take my tie off.

However, the real horror was yet to come. Every single plane passenger had a clear narrative and visceral emotion of how saw the attack footage for the first time. The passengers and crew had been kept on the planes for over 24 hours in many cases and had survived on the scraps of information they could piece together. Nicole Young, a passenger from Houston, recalled seeing the first news images she saw were of the second tower falling, but, "we didn't know the first one had fallen."

Much like the community members narrated their experiences in terms of their guests, the plane passengers narrated their experience through this shared experience that includes Gander community. In every kitchen and meeting room, passengers reported Newfoundlanders sitting up through the night, ready to lend a listening ear and a cup of tea. However, as the days wore on and passengers came to terms with their situation, they began to delve into Newfoundland culture. Jodi Taub characterized it as a bucolic place to be, separated away from the turmoil in the arms of a wonderful community. That dichotomy manifested in conflicting feelings for passengers, as Kevin Jung explained.

> There was this little Scottish woman on our plane…and we become fast friends but after about the third day, she grabbed me by the arm and she's whispering toward the ground like just gonna tell me a big secret that no one else can hear. I said, 'what is it dear?' She said, 'you know, I'm feeling terribly guilty for saying this, and I don't want anyone to hear because I feel bad. I'm having the most marvelous time.' We all [felt] the same way.

Passengers narrated their time in Newfoundland as a fairytale. Seven tried to give back to the community that had welcomed them in. They would not take cash so some passengers would go to the store and bought all the dry goods they could – coffee, flour, paper towels. Kevin Jung remembered things "my god, we're gonna break this place. Literally, we're gonna put it out of business." Though their time in Newfoundland started off uncertain and frightening, passengers espoused the love for the place that they were leaving, as illustrated by Wanda Kromer.

> "It was pouring down rain and the ramp stand was still up at the door. One other flight attendant and I were standing at the door and looking out at the terminal. You could see the control tower at the top and he said to me, did you just see what's on top of the tower? He said wait until the light goes around because the light was shining right at us. When the light started to go back around, I could see that the American flag was flying on top of the Canadian flag."

Cast and Creative

While the cast and creative were not in Newfoundland during 9/11, their experiences still helped shape the narrative. Irene Sankoff and David Hein, the husband and wife writing team behind *Come From Away*, were at the epicenter during the attacks and narrated their experience in terms of impact on their storytelling.

> We were living in New York during 9/11 – we had been staying in a residence for International graduate students from around the world - and that community took care of us and each other. There were music students there and we all came together to listen. And in the aftermath the community of New York took care of each other with kindness, as well as with theatre and art.

Later Narratives

Later Narratives are those narratives that either do not fit in the above sub-codes because they occurred outside of the week following 9/11 or involved some sort of present reflection on the events of the week. However, these are still emplotted narratives that are in the past. In these narratives, the community begins to refer to itself in terms of the narratives they tell, weaving the community together with the same thread.

Community Members

Despite being the boots on the ground from before the wheels of the first plane touched down, many Newfoundlanders did not piece together the full scale of the response until much later. Diane Vey-Morawski's husband worked with the Canadian armed forces.

> I didn't see my husband because he was at the base, dealing with all the high-secrecy stuff…There were only things later on in life that I found out about. I lived that and I thought I knew Gander's response, but I only knew my little world of 800. I didn't know the 7000 others.

Moreover, a good majority of these secondary narratives follow the Newfoundlanders process and reflect on their narratives. Morris looked back, noting that when the US airspace closed down lots of flights were diverted to all over Canada, but Gander gets all the attention because their effort was really spectacular. As she put it, "for a community of 9000 to accommodate stranded passengers of 7000 was truly an extraordinary effort."

> All peacetime military does is exercise, training, and exercise. When we do exercises, they'll come up with a scenario, and some of them are almost like a small novel and there's quite a bit of character development in a creative situation and sinister plots…We have little scenarios based on that and we respond accordingly. If someone had come up with this, we'd say come on guys get real, that's a little outlandish.

It was that outlandish nature that many find so inspiring. Some try to express the significance of their experience in their narratives. Brian Williams, the director of the Gander Aviation Museum, was playing live air traffic radio on 9/11.

> Looking back, I would have been the only person outside of Nav Canada [and] the air traffic controllers who knew any of this was going on. I had a front row seat to the chatter and the airport knew that I had the radio installed.

He had heard Beverley Bass' voice come over the radio that day and remembered it until he met her in person. Many Newfoundlanders found themselves crossing paths with those who had shared their experience. Brian Williams, now moved to his position in the Gander Town Hall, encountered Nick and Diane Marson several years later as they shared their own 9/11 experience with them after getting married. Most of all, each just wanted to put their experience in context, as Janice Goudie does every time she tells it.

> Everyone has a story about 9/11. They remember it they know where they were when it happened. And then there's this 21 year old reporter? It's weird but at the same time, retelling it again and again, I still get emotional sometimes when I tell the story. And you think after so many times of telling that you wouldn't, but it just brings you right back.

Putting the narrative experience into context seemed to be an important facet for Newfoundlanders, as they find their place on a much larger stage. Pat Woodford thinks about it in a grander scheme.

> September the 11th, 2001, there were approximately 6,800 strangers dropped into our town. You know, during the next five days we made 6,500 new friends and five days after they landed, we lost 6,500 family members…One day of sadness on September 11, 2001, there was so much joy came to our lives after, because of the friendships that we've

made. It would never justify September the 11th, but I was just so glad to be able to be part of the, I won't say cure, but part of being able to help these people because they brought a lot of joy back to our lives.

Plane Passengers

As they shared their experiences, plane passengers processed their experiences in much the same way as the community members. Reflection appeared to be essential in making sense of what has happened. Beverley Bass balanced the dual realities that her flight had been delayed as well as the new information she now had.

> Had we departed Paris on time, I would have never landed in Gander…We didn't know that the crew members had been murdered. We didn't know that their throats had been slit with box cutters. We didn't know any of those details and, again, we didn't know which airliners it was.

It was the dichotomy of the wonderful experience they had had in Newfoundland starkly contrasted with the horror and atrocity that had put them there. The loss of two American Airlines flights was not lost on Bass and Wanda Kromer.

> We'd all worked that particular type of aircraft and we knew the interior of that aircraft and what could have been happening during the hijacking. Something that will stay in our minds forever is what could have happened in that aircraft. We could put ourselves into their position because we knew that aircraft…we could put ourselves in their positions and it was very, very difficult to digest.

To hammer the terror home, Bass later found out a flight attendant friend had spotted Mohammad Atta, one of the perpetrators, flying practice runs on her flight. As they reflect, both the community members and plane passengers created a narrative structure in which to process their own survival, their own resilience, and their place in this community of survivors. This

reconciliation of two distinct realities was a common theme in the passengers secondary narratives, as Nicole Young recalled upon returning home and viewing unseen footage.

> There was so much footage that I had never seen that they were replaying, one of which was the bodies of people jumping out of the buildings. And I'd never seen that. I think I was aware that it happened. It had been on the news but I hadn't seen it. That was like the closest I came to reliving the experience…I mean, what happened was horrific and tragic. But my experience of it was the most positive things you could have. On the one hand, you've seen the depraved evil of people. On the other hand, you see the absolute genuine care and love of people, and they're happening at the same time.

However, the reflection extended to reliving the experiences they had enjoyed, placing them as significant narratives in their lives. Elias Kanaris, since his time in Newfoundland, began to parse through the organization, dividing the citizens and passengers into four groups of people, which later influenced his professional talks. Moreover, the passengers reflected on the obvious marks which their experience had streaked across their lives. Beverley Bass, who has been back to Gander six times, tries "to visualize all the tables they had set up there that were just covered with food" when she walks into the terminal. Kevin Jung has also made the pilgrimage back to Gander and cried in from of the TV where he first saw the footage. Jung, in his home state of Texas, recalled trying to fulfill the same role as the Newfoundlanders when Hurricane Katrina hit the Gulf Coast.

> There comes with that a constant question of, would we do this for somebody else? The first few years after this happened Hurricane Katrina happened and Austin got tons of evacuees. We did what we could but we weren't needed like that. I mean, we instantly bottles of water and blankets and bedding up to the convention center and they were like,

fine, put them in that heap and then get out because we've got too many volunteers. We didn't live in a place where that kind of all hands on deck sort of help was needed.

Eight passengers also spoke of the relationships they formed and opportunities they were afforded as a result of their time in Newfoundland. After staying at the Knights of Columbus in Gander, Anna de Haro was asked to come speak about her experiences with the fraternal orders' chapter in Arlington, Texas, giving thanks in the process. With experiences like this, the narrative community broadened even more post-crisis as participants found their lives intertwined. Perhaps one of the most poignant relationships to come out of this one the one of the two Steves, recalled tearfully by Steve O'Hehir.

Steve and I eventually built a relationship by email. My favorite memory is not the memory from that period – 2001. Though, you know, I can talk about the moose and meeting the racing driver and meeting Steven. My favorite memory, I can only attribute directly to that period is taking Steve to see his great uncle's grave at a Beaumont-Hamel. That was a really amazing period, an amazing time, and an amazing event.

Cast and Creative

Without the first-hand experience in Newfoundland, in order to bring the story to life on stage the cast and creatives dug deep into their own secondary narratives and put them in context. Petrina Bromley, who plays local SPCA owner Bonnie Harris, is a native Newfoundlander and was in Gander during the 10th anniversary where she ran into David and Irene.

We went over and said hello and they said what they were doing, and quietly to myself, I was like oh please don't do that. Don't write that story.

Little did she know that story would become the show that led to Bromley's Broadway debut. However, unlike Bromley, most of the cast were not so close to story, but dove head first

into understanding its potential impact, as Kevin Carolan – *Come From Away*'s tour Claude Elliott – explained.

> I knew peripherally about the story because my dad had read [the book] When the World Came to Town. So, I knew of the story and I knew that it had potential to be really, exactly what the show turned out to be.

Michael Rubinoff, a producer and genius behind *Come From Away*, felt the same way when he learned about the events in Newfoundland, saying it made him "proud to be a Canadian." It made the citizens of Gander and greater Newfoundland proud of their province as well, as Joel Hatch described when meeting his real-life counterpart.

> The first day I met Claude, he took me aside, and he said, I'm gonna watch the show tonight. But I don't want you to be nervous. This is not about how you portray me. I'm only here to see that my community's story is treated correctly.

Even the genesis of *Come From Away* began to narratively broaden the constructed community, moving the borders ever-wider than Gander. To David and Irene, that was the most important thing to them – honoring the stories and people of an oft overlooked province of Canada, which was a common theme in the cast and creative interviews. Their show was put to the test when they brought it to Gander and performed the show in concert in the ice hockey rink – also known as The World's Largest Walk in Freezer. Michael Rubinoff remembers breathing a sigh of relief when the show started.

> Petrina Bromley stepped up to the mic and they lost their mind. They're like, that's one of us. She's one of us. And it was so moving. And then by the time you got to the end, they were on their feet. And it was beautiful. And the second the second one, the same thing. And you realize, David and Irene somehow told 17,000 stories.

Experience of Being a Newfoundlander

These narratives distinctly show individuals trying to emulate Newfoundlander behavior and action after experiencing it for themselves. As participants narrated the events of day, week, and later, they storied a new definition of "being a Newfoundlander," defining community in terms far beyond geography.

Community Members & Plane Passengers

As they spent more time in Newfoundland, the passengers narrated their desire to give back and how they mimicked their generous behavior in an effort to help out. Here, the narratives of both groups – community members and plane passengers – merge as they co-constructed the experience of being Newfoundlander. Cindy May recalled them pitching in to help sweep or wash dishes – "They wanted to be helpful. At first we said no that is okay but being helpful made them feel useful." Some passengers have very specific memories that helped turn their experience around. Anna de Haro saw her friend struggling a few days in to their stay and thought doing something would cheer her up.

> We weren't paying to stay there, it was the goodness of their heart and we're like, how can we help you guys? But the simple fact that we were able to volunteer with them and we had to make enough breakfast for that entire flight…We had eggs, bacon, and toast and we were helping to make it. Then we helped to distribute it and then other people saw what we were doing and they were like okay, how can we help? Let's set up the tables and so they set up tables like in a long cafeteria. And then, of course, people lined up and had their breakfast.

This contagious act of charity was not the only example during those five days. Elias Kanaris, who was staying in the local Salvation Army in Gambo found himself helping prepare for a funeral.

> There was gonna be a funeral there. We suddenly realized that we were going to be stuck there, so what are we going to do? How do we respect a family's need for dignity and peace, when you have 200 people lurking in this church? So, a group of us became a leadership team, under the guidance of Monti from Belgium…We literally split up the work amongst us all so we could all go and do what we have to do. So, it's great that we were able to come together as a team, and do things that would help respect the dignity of that family. By the time they have the funeral, you would never guess the 200 bodies were lurking underneath the sanctuary, ready to pounce.

Empirical Narrative

Empirical narratives are the logical narration that give reason to the reasons behind the narratives and how each population behaves. It is narration that indicates the reasoning or logics applied to the actions narrated. For example, we use the moral lessons parents teach us as children to make sense of situations we encounter later in life. Empirical narrative, in this case 20 years post crisis, applies these logics to their interpretation of the crisis response and construct Gander as a community of resilience. When groups talk about Gander, the crisis becomes synonymous with the community. They understand Gander and teach outsiders to understand Gander by applying Gander's own cultural logics of resilience. These are the logics used to make sense of what Gander *is,* and therefore explain its crisis response. These narratives answer the question of 'why' behind the larger narratives. Results below detail three categories: Newfoundland Identity Logics, Prior Experience Logics, and *Come From Away* Logics.

Making Sense of 9/11 Experiences Through Past Logics

Prior Experience Logics refer to the logics behind individual behavior due to previous experiences in their life, applied to their narrative reflections. The three participant groups made sense of their 9/11 experiences of in Newfoundland, or their portrayal of the events of those

days, through past experiences. These logics are most notable for what is absent – the language of resilience. Community participants described their understanding of crisis management going into 9/11 in terms of planning and experiencing minor events like fires or natural disasters. Passenger participants, similarly, expressed some knowledge of crisis, but mostly fear and uncertainty. Elias Kanaris framed it as "totally unexpected [and] totally unprepared for this."

Community Members

Gander community members take pride in being an aviation town. Much like their identity narratives, their narratives of prior experiences revolved around their history – of famous passengers touching down, of airline disasters, of once being the largest airport in the world with a large runway to boot. Jerry Goudie couched the lack of emergency planning in terms of their history.

> We have plans in place for more like disasters, or major crashes…Years before that, we've obviously had people who were coming through [from Russia], defecting…They would have several [armed police officers] surrounding the aircraft, making sure no one was leaving the aircraft. But, nothing like this where the possibility where there were terrorists on board the plane or bombs on the plane.

However, these narratives shifted to taking those past experiences and applying them to their present situation. Oz Fudge, as a law enforcement officer, described thinking of past crises in comparison to this one:

> Our emergency plan would deal with fires, would deal with plane crashes, would deal with anything along those lines. But, we had nothing – and I believe I said this on the Today show – we had nothing where seven thousand people would drop in for a bucket of tea and a bicky.

Plane Passengers

On the other end of the crisis, the plane passengers were only in the position to make sense of their experiences. As such, their prior experience narratives concern personal histories – applying the known past to their very unknown present. While most other passengers could not point to Newfoundland on a map, Steve O'Hehir knew the airport well.

> As a small boy, as I sort of a very young teenager even, I went to boarding school, so I used to fly out to Jamaica where my parents were working, my father was working, so I knew Gander very well. In those days, aircraft couldn't make it [all the way]. We used to refill in Gander, sort of a normal stop.

For most, though, their prior experiences had no counterpart with which to compare what they were experiencing. Every passenger participant grasped at whatever they could to rationalize and contextualize what was happening, as Wanda Kromer did.

> The first thing that hit my mind was, this doesn't happen in our country. I thought about the TWA Flight that sat on the ground and they got hijacked. Every year, we had to do recurrent emergency training and one of the things they talked to us as international flight attendants, is about hijacking…I thought this just isn't what happens in our country. This all happens somewhere else. We had, back in the 70s, aircraft that were hijacked out of our country in Cuba – but never terrorism.

Cast and Creative

Both the cast and creatives applied the Newfoundland internal logics of resilience that took root post-crisis. In order to understand it and to write about these real people, they took their own experiences of the same event. By doing so, they were able to take the resilience narrative to the world. These narratives were, of course, not directly connected to the events in Newfoundland, but rather the cast and creatives took their own experiences to overlay on their

portrayal of the characters. David and Irene's experiences in New York heavily influenced their writing and storytelling as a whole, but cast members brought it down to the individual level. Marika Aubrey used her memories of her mother as one of Australia's first female police officers as inspiration for her portrayal of Beverley Bass.

> I remember the times where I would pick her up from work and I would see her talking to some criminals, perhaps, or I'd see her fingerprinting someone. I saw her at work and how she was a different kind of person and I think that's a really fascinating duality. Sure, men have to do it as well, but it is different. It does feel different because there's something incredible about how women can be so maternal and also so fierce. I love that contrast and I really want it in my Bev.

Petrina Bromley did the same process in creating her Bonnie Harris, while also taking her Newfoundlander identity and history into account, "Bonnie for me is very much based on one of my aunts, who is just that kind of like, get her done. Maybe a little bit too caring about some things and not other things."

Newfoundland Identity Logics

Newfoundland Identity Logics deal with the logics behind Newfoundland behavior, such as childhood or historical background that feeds into narratives and stories. In the 20 years since crisis, each of the three groups has come to narrate their experiences of 9/11 using the same language of resilience. They all applied the same shared meanings of resilience, ruggedness, and belonging in order to interpret Gander's handling of the crisis. As they repeatedly narrate with these logics, they reinforce and reproduce the resilience narrative. Participants described applying cultural logics taught to them throughout childhood and life about what it means to be a Newfoundlander. The two groups – plane passengers and cast and creatives – internalized these

logics to explain their own experiences retrospectively, and propagate the resilience narrative by continuing to talk about these Newfoundlander logics.

Community Members

It is important to know that Newfoundland and Labradorians describe having a specific identity that they have curated over the years. These narratives centered around themes of pride, history, and identity. According to Brian Williams, Newfoundland and Labradorians have "always had to fight to keep our identity, to keep ourselves who we are." A few participants painted Newfoundlanders as the butt of jokes all across the country – stereotyped as the welfare province, looked down upon. Yet, the pride in their province is still there. These logics of generosity, hospitality, and hardiness are inherent in the Newfoundland culture, not specific to crisis. Citizens brought these to the crisis only to haven them amplified. Janice Goudie, a former writer for the Gander newspaper, The Beacon, speaks on their pride and close community.

> I always joke, Newfoundlanders aren't friendly, we're nosy. They always want to know…That's what makes us friendly…We're very much a tight-knit community, we help each other out and we come from a history of doing that. Being in a small community where you were isolated, you helped each other and you helped your neighbor because someday you're going to need them to help you. It's just the way of life.

Diane Davis encapsulates the same message, "People jump in to help. It's just part of the culture here." That same culture has built up Gander and Newfoundland as a community of resilience that extends beyond its physical geography. The culture of kindness pervaded the narratives, as well. Logics of the NF identity were described as ingrained from childhood. For example, Brian Mosher recalled a lesson taught to him by his dad.

> It's a Newfoundland thing. I get asked this question a lot. Why does this happen here? It was preached into me by my dad…that you don't just look at yourself, but you look to

> your left and right and straight ahead and then someone else has a need. And what you have isn't yours. It's partly theirs.

Brian continues to tell of how the Newfoundland identity is inherently welcoming. When you come into another's house, "You're not just going to have a cup of tea, you're going to have a meal. A cup of tea in Newfoundland as a social event is a meal." Another narrative that expresses this identity was retold by at least three participants. "How do you tell a Newfoundlander in Heaven? He's the one that wants to go home." The citizens acted upon their preconceived identity to care for the plane passengers that descended upon the province. Participants described approaching the 9/11 crisis by drawing on what they knew and directly applying these Newfoundland identity logics. It was a system of logics that the passengers bought into.

> We could've had a lot of trouble, but I have to give the passengers credit. They bought into the Newfoundland and Labrador system. One of the comments that one of the teachers made was, "We gotta get 'er done. Let's just get 'er done." It's what we do.

Out of the Newfoundland identity and the narratives that were emplotted, a stronger identity formed for both the Newfoundlanders and the plane passengers, now more intrinsically tied to one another. As part of the interview, I asked each participant how they would describe the Newfoundland community – why it was the way it was. The words were very similar: open, caring, generous, loving. But it is the identities that emerged out of 9/11 that said the most about the Newfoundland community. Pat Woodford likes to call them "mine."

> I'm so proud of each and every one of them because they all put their hand out and

> helped some people in the world…They said, 'Come stay with us. We'll give you a hug. We'll put a warm meal on the table and somewhere to lie down, shelter over your head, and you've stayed as long as you need.'

These previously held logics defined the community members' approach to the crisis, their actions, and the way they storied their role in that moment. Woodford continued, carefully reflecting on how his community fits in to both his narrative and his identity.

> I got to know that the little girl down the street from me speaks Russian. I got to those that the man on the other side of me is Jewish. I got to know my neighbors. I got to know that they're so hospitable, they're so likable, and they're so caring and giving. I assumed they were, but I didn't know they were…We got to know our town and I really, really am so proud of that. It's the story I tell people.

These logics learned and enacted by Woodford and his community cohort also inform the narration of their experiences. As the 9/11 narrative is told and retold, it is repeatedly imbued with these specific Newfoundland logics of kindness, generosity, and resilience.

Plane Passengers

These 'come from aways' had a front row seat to the Newfoundland culture, therefore, their narratives demonstrated their desire to know and understand their hosts. As they came to know the community, they started to internalize its culture and to become part of the narrative by accepting its logics. Now, long past the event, passengers reflected on these Newfoundland cultural logics as a key part of their experience in Gander. They narratively constructed their secondhand understanding of the Newfoundland identity through these logics. Both community members and plane passengers alike understood Newfoundland's resilience through their cultural identity of toughness and caring for others. They reflected, most notable, on Newfoundland's past and its impact on their behavior and identity, as Kevin Jung does.

> I think it has a lot to do with, besides how they were raised, but it's got a lot to do with the harshness of life on the rock. I've had long conversations with them about this too and I ask them, why do you think you guys are like this? [They say] because in those times when there's snow over the door, you gotta check on your neighbors…In an environment like that, It's necessary for people to take care of each other and I think that just spilled out.

Seven plane passengers also expressed how astounded they were at the Newfoundlanders' quick actions and generosity, as Nick Marson characterized it, "it's a community of people that haven't unbelievable willingness to jump in and help." After getting married and returning to Gambo for their honeymoon, the community members threw them a reception. Only later, as Nick went on to reminisce, while the newlyweds were sipping champagne, the Newfoundlanders drank flutes of apple juice. Many of these narratives also revolved around food and the Newfoundland culture surrounding feeding, as the Marsons noted: If you're lonely they'll feed you, if you're unhappy they'll feed you." But overall, these narratives were expressions of utter comfort and longing for the Newfoundland kindness. As Steve O'Hehir put it, "you could just dissolve into it, can't you?"

The way these passengers describe the community becomes a logic in itself. As an empirical logic, the passengers, 20 years later, use the language of Newfoundland's cultural toughness, caring, and resilience to tell their story. By narrating it to others outside of Newfoundland, they apply the empirics they learned there during those five days. When they talk about their experiences, passengers narrate in the language of Newfoundland's cultural toughness, caring, and ability to "jump in and help" in crisis – a vernacular learned from the community. These participants have not only internalized these qualities to become part of this

narrative, but propagate these logics as intrinsic in the understanding of Newfoundland. To understand the island of Newfoundland and its people, is to understand its cultural logics.

Cast and Creative

In an effort to learn the community they were portraying the cast and creatives narrated their deep dive into Newfoundland culture and the process of peeking behind the curtain, if you will. As they told the story, cast and creatives both learned and spread the Newfoundland logics as a means of internalizing the Newfoundland identity. Joel Hatch, who plays Claude on Broadway, dug into their history.

> Everybody cares about you. They want to see you do your best. They want to help when they can and you see them do that with each other on a regular basis. I think this takes practice. There was a terrible accident that happened in the 1980s with the US military airplane. They take that day, every year, to have a memorial. That is a practice of remembering. It is the practice of saying "this is important." When something like this happened, we as a community to come together, remember it, never forget it and act on that memory. They practice their goodwill.

As storytellers themselves, the cast and creatives thought immediately in terms of story and narrative. In creating *Come From Away*, Michael Rubinoff reflected on the Newfoundland culture and how to properly bring it to life on stage; He "knew that music was how Newfoundlanders told story. It's in their DNA. They're storytellers. That's their thing." The cast becomes part of that storytelling heritage by not only internalizing these logics as part of their own being, but how they *reproduce* the Newfoundland narrative over and over, each night. Irene Sankoff and David Hein also expressed the Newfoundland identity in terms of story, but also with the focus on music and its connection to their community.

> Newfoundlanders survive their long winters by bringing instruments - everyone there plays multiple instruments - over to each other's kitchens and staying warm by telling stories and singing songs. That's how they survive - by coming together as a community and making art.

Marika Aubrey, who portrays Beverley Bass on tour, calls them "the miraculous combination of strong and gracious." Petrina Bromley, who straddles the line between cast and Newfoundlander herself, took her unique perspective and infused it into the show, as Newfoundlanders are "very protective of how we're represented because small places with small populations often get misrepresented by people from elsewhere who think they know what it is to tell the story of that place." With a bit of tongue and cheek, Bromley narrated her own experiences as a Newfoundlander and the island's harsh climate: "you live here, you're stuck here. You can't grow a potato. Figure it out."

Come From Away Logics

Come from Away logics specifically refer to the influence of the show on behavior, particularly in continuing stories and in reflection on narratives of the past. *Come From Away* took the Newfoundland crisis narrative to a broader audience, solidified the communication of the resilience narrative, and bonds together the three groups of participants. The show itself portrays Gander as resilient, using the language of its community members. However, *Come From Away* moved beyond a space of portraying the Newfoundland narrative of resilience, but instead became a logic for the other two groups that they now use to explain their own identity and experience.

Community Members

Many of the community member logics and narratives surrounding *Come From Away* deal with wanting to be represented well on the world stage. Brian Williams, echoing a number of Newfoundlanders, was not so sure he wanted to see it happen.

> When we heard that this play had been written and it's going to come to Gander for its inaugural show, I didn't want any part of [it], a lot of us didn't because at that point all we knew is that they're going to get these mainlanders, these Torontonians are going to get up on stage and pretend to be us.

In their narratives, Newfoundlanders seemed to have their hackles up in defense and fierce protection of their identity, culture, and stories. Once they realized that the show not only portrayed them in a positive light but was a glowing review, David and Irene were welcomed with open arms as honorary Newfoundlanders.

> They're Newfoundlanders in another life. They're just good people. They are such wonderful listeners and modest and humble. David and Irene found time to get the *Come From Away* people, around the world to wish our Gander Collegiate grads, around the world, and they got them together to give well-wishes to our grads.

Despite their initial hesitancies toward the *Come From Away*, the community members use the show as a lens through which they narrate their identity and experiences. Every participant referred to specific scenes from *Come From Away* or fold the quotes into the way they tell the narrative. *Come From Away*, and all it stands for, has become internalized and immortalized in their narratives.

Plane Passengers

Come From Away, while not directly portraying their community, was still deeply personal to the plane passengers. Their narratives echo the important place the show has come to

hold in their lives. Kevin Jung mused that the cast looks at it more than a job, “it’s more of a movement than a piece of theater, at this point. It's really, really special.” Diane Marson described her interactions with audiences.

> I think they love to hear the story about these beautiful people. The world is such sort of a mean place right now. We need a positive story, something positive that came out of all that horrible event and something about somewhere in this world there were nice people.

Cast and Creative

Each group has adopted the narrative logics, language, and ultimately the traits and behaviors of the others. More than any, the cast and creative have taken these lessons to heart. *Come From Away* enacts the cultural identity logics of Newfoundlanders while simultaneously constructing that narrative for outside audiences. Moreover, the cast and creatives use of Newfoundland logics to construct the show drives its very brand. Everyone talked about the storytelling experience and the role that it plays in *Come From Away*. As Joel Hatch put it, “everybody in the cast is seasoned veterans at storytelling.”

Another theme that emerged in their narratives was that of the found family within the show. Kevin Carolan notes that “the sense of family is exponentially greater than almost any other show I’ve been a part of.” The cast members stated that the casting was an intentional choice, looking for “kind souls for a kind show.” This intentional casting contributed to how they told the narratives of their real life counterparts, even in the midst of a pandemic: “to have such a strong sense of family, as evidenced by our producers writing an email saying, we're gonna be back out on the road as soon as this clears up.” But outside the theatre, the cast spoke about the influences the show’s message was having on their actions and behavior. The narratives, then, extends beyond the curtain-line, as exemplified by Marika Aubrey.

> Our producers let us walk the talk of the show, our particular company has helped to raise nearly $1 million for all different types of charities. That's bucket drives and concerts that we've done outside of the show or personal fundraising initiatives. When we go to the producers and say we need this help, every single time our producers go, “yeah not only can you do it, we’ll match you dollar for dollar.” That's the kind of people they are.

The most apt theme in the cast narratives was kindness. They painted it as taking a page from the Newfoundlander play book. Every cast member spoke about the leadership of Tony-winning director, Christopher Ashley and his marking of the show as one about kindness and generosity. As he said in the first day of rehearsal, “this show works best when you not only hold that on stage, but you bring that off stage as well to one another and how you interact.” Each cast member expounded on how easy it was to exemplify and represent the show in their own actions outside of the theatre. Marika Aubrey mused further.

> We are lucky because our brand happens to be kindness and compassion…That's a brand that I can happily get behind without feeling the least bit icky. That's a brand I'm really comfortable to lean in and be associated with and to see how that can help me give back to my community…It's so nourishing watching a show that's good – that's the first thing. For then, that show to also true is a really satisfying thing for an audience member. Thirdly, to not only have it be good, to have it be true, but have a connection to (which every single person in an audience over a certain age has). That's why our show is as popular as it is.

As Aubrey narrated, each cast and creative keyed in on the need to, as Joel Hatch put it, “allow the audience to have their own experience.” Not only does the cast feel an immense honor

and duty to be portraying real people, but they feel they have a duty to allow for the audience to have their own experiences, in the theatre, at the stage door, and in every interaction.

> Every audience member brings their own memory of what that tragedy was like, whether it's First Person and they lived through it, or just knowing about it and learning about it over the course of the last 18 [or] 19 years. Those people in the audience are doing the heavy lifting for you and you don't need to lean into it because it's like a hat on a hat, it's gilding the lily - you don't really need it.

Ontological Story

Ontological Story asks the question of 'what are the underlying categories directing action?' Maintaining Boje's distinction between narrative and story, Ontological Story is ongoing, unfinished, and living. All three groups live their story in the merged identity/logics world they have co-constructed. It is in the living story of these three groups of participants that the narrative process of constructing a community of resilience that transcends geographical boundaries is most evident. Ontologic story was told both in terms of how the crisis experience narrative and creation of the global gander community impacts current daily life; and how the co-constructed narrative that has now gone global through CFA serves as a lens through which participants reinterpret their own experiential narratives of 9/11.

Past Influences on Present Story

Past Influences on Present Story refer to the way in which narratives of the past (such as day of and week of narratives) impact the individual's current and ongoing story as well as behaviors as a result of past experiences. Participants current living story showed deep ties to the 9/11 crisis of the past. As participants in all three groups told about their current lives, the merging of past lived experience narratives on their current stories was expressed terms of both

how the crisis itself still lives in the community, and how the co-constructed narrative of what Newfoundland is – a community of resilience – impacts current life.

Community Members

These narratives centered on the benefit to the province and the joy the experience and the show has brought the community members. Newfoundlanders sought to justify their break onto the world stage. Evert community member participant couched it in the idea that kindness and generosity was "just part of living here." But some dig way back into their ingrained past, like Diane Vey-Morawski.

> It's not easy living here. The weather's not great and harsh. People who came here and settled in Newfoundland, it was not an easy environment to settle in. It's rugged; it's beautiful, but you have to be very hard-working, resilient, and lean on each other. Especially our early immigrants, would never be able to survive without that and…I think that's instilled in us that this, you just get along with a little help from your neighbors.

This ontology pervades the Newfoundlanders' new reality – a second wind, a second life. Three Ganderites talked heavily about the sheer increase in tourism. Brian Williams is now the tourism director for Gander.

> We're up about 25% of last year, which is often like 20% over the prior year and almost all of the increases from New York and Toronto where the show is. So that's led to economic benefits through more jobs for people that, which is always a good thing.

However, the popularization of the story and their own experiences have also changed citizens' very behaviors. Claude Elliott described how he thinks about it in practical terms and always packs his medication in his carryon just in case something happens – "there was a lot of little things that we learned from those things that what happened…all the sudden you would

say, oh, I should change how I do this." Eight also shared new things in their lives from relationships, giving tours, and…dinner theatre. Diane Davis is involved in all three.

> Gambo started doing a dinner theater this year where they're now telling their stories. That's the community development organization and Gander and Gambo that is doing these dinner theaters. They have local Gambo people telling their stories and I didn't get to attendance, but I know that it's sold out every Wednesday night.

All community members became reflective in looking at how the past has influenced their present. No one was untouched. All pointed back to the goodness that came out of such a terrible day. Pat Woodford notes that "9/11 was a very bad day, but 9/12 we started to rebuild the world and we hopefully we made it better."

> I don't remember 9/11 - I remember 9/12. I got to know that the little girl down the street from me is Russian. I got to those that the man on the other side of is Jewish. I got to know my neighbors. I got to know an awful lot about a lot of people who might community that I never knew before. I got to know that they're so hospitable, they're so likable, and they're so caring and giving.

Come From Away has also played a huge role in how community members see themselves, but also how the outside world views them. For example, a theatre fan and grad student, Alina Sergachov, is collecting stories from these same populations to record them for posterity. Oz Fudge notes that since "*Come From Away* has come on the scene and *You Are Here* has hit the screens it's now become cool to be a Newfoundlander." All of these stories of change have a tone of positivity and gratefulness for the extra attention. Nine also shared their experiences with *Come From Away,* like how Claude Elliott watches the show.

> I'm not sure I enjoyed the first musical because I didn't know what was coming. But it was when I saw it the second time that I sat back and I was more relaxed. I always look at the people in the audience. When the lights comes up and when you see the tears flowing down people's eyes, and they know who you are and they come up and embrace you and they thank you. They're crying on your shoulder. You have that good feeling that you've done something good.

Overall, the ongoing influence of their experiences during 9/11 and the fame of *Come From Away* is overwhelmingly optimistic and filled with pride. Jerry Goudie put many citizens' thoughts into words, "I do not go to a performance, to this day, and not feel extremely emotional. I cry every time to some stage of it."

Plane Passengers

These stories describe feelings of luck and gratefulness for being gifted such a unique experience that has changed their lives for the better. There were several themes to these narratives but the most obvious would be a change in the opportunities they receive. Elias Kanaris gives corporate talks based on his 9/11 experience. Beverley Bass has become essentially an international spokesperson for *Come From Away* and Newfoundland.

> I will never say no because I believe in the show so much. One of the things I said when we left Gander on the morning of September 15th, I said the whole world needs to hear this story…I can only tell X amount of crew members. In all fairness, every trip I flew, the whole crew would want to hear the story. So, I would regurgitate the story but that's a finite amount of people. So, *Come From Away* became the gift that I begged for. Certainly, I couldn't have imagined that anyone was going to write a musical about our stay in Gander. But, how beautifully they have pulled it off. It is now all over the world and the talent telling the story that we so desperately wanted to tell.

Much like the community members, ten plane passengers reflected on their experiences and used it to change their own behavior. Some went the most logical route, like Jodi Taub who always carries on when flying, " if I have to check your luggage, I always make sure I have something in my bag that I could be okay for a period of time." Kevin Jung volunteers on a regular basis to give back to his own community, emulating his Newfoundlander hosts. However, a large portion found themselves more connected to New York City. They view it as a pilgrimage to pay their respects, As Taub does.

> When I go to New York, on 9/11 I would go down to the site and continue to do that as part of my history and remembering that time period as a special time. My experience has played different roles at different point. With *Come From Away* and being away from the trauma so many years later, I began to be able to share my story again over the last couple years.

But they also see re-visiting Newfoundland and their friends as a sacred pilgrimage in itself. It is a kind of holy place to bring family members and relive the good experiences. Steve O'Hehir makes regular trips with his wife. "The period during the 9/11, those few days that we were there opened up a whole area in my life…I'm retired now, so Sonia and I go to Newfoundland every year." In the same way their experiences has brought plane passengers new opportunities, upon reflection, they have also changed their overall outlook. Kevin Jung reflected on what his life would be like if he had not landed in Gander, and he thinks that "9/11 would have just been a horrible terrorist attack, like it is for everyone else. It wouldn't have been this awakening." For many, like Steve O'Hehir, the marriage of the two dichotomous things still tugs at their heart.

> Out of 9/11, I ended up in Newfoundland and I found a new family. That was such a positive thing. But out of that, so much misery, so many people died. So much death and destruction and sadness came out of it. Trying to sort of marry those two things together in my mind is incredibly difficult. There are a lot of people that didn't smile and haven't smiled again since. I'm glad you're not looking at me cause there's tears. It's still to this day, something that bites very, very deeply at my soul.

More than just their experiences, the rise in popularity of *Come From Away* has had a majorly positive impact on the plane passengers. They tell the story of feeling like they are part of something grand, something bigger. Kevin Jung has seen it across the globe, and touted its positive impact – "If you see it in New York, New Yorkers who don't know each other jump up and started hugging each other. It's the oddest reaction I've ever seen on Broadway." They tell stories of making new friends and becoming close with people they would have never met. Then there is the obvious element of telling their own narrative. Kerry Derringer-Cashin has seen a shift in interest since *Come From Away* came on the scene. Nick and Diane Marson, who are in an unofficial race with Beverley Bass for number of times they have seen the show, see the duality of their own lives because of *Come From Away*.

> I think we have two identities. When we're on Broadway or at a show, [or have a presentation], we have this fake [persona]. I know we're not celebrities, but people want to come up and talk to us to take a selfie and get an autograph. That's lovely and fine and it's really quite nice. But it would get old in a hurry, I think if you were in everyday life. You go a hundred yards away from Broadway, and you're just a normal person.

Cast and Creative

One would assume that the population for which *Come From Away* has had the greatest impact would be the cast and creative who have brought the Newfoundland 9/11 narrative to life.

Their whole lives have been changed because of the Newfoundlanders' actions. As the creative minds behind the show, David and Irene have been welcomed into both the Newfoundland and theatrical community; they even help raise their daughter. But they also want to give back.

> When we used to travel for the show, we used to open our house up to anyone who needed a place to stay. Whether they were in transition or just needed a free place to crash, we just asked them to feed the cats, like they asked us to in Newfoundland.

That desire to give back was pervasive in these stories. The cast and creatives seem to feel the need to live up to the Newfoundland generosity standard. Michael Rubinoff, who works at Sheridan College in Toronto, is working to reinvest the *Come From Away* windfall into Canadian BIPOC voices in theatre. The *Come From Away* production team has also given the cast opportunities to volunteer and donate. The producers introduced a matching program for donations and volunteering has become a regular activity for casts, as David and Irene talk about.

> Every September 11th we do the Pay it Forward action that Kevin T. talks about at the end of the show, and that he and his company actually did. We go out and we do good deeds alongside our cast and crew, just as is suggested in the show. We take $100 and do random acts of kindness. So that could be buying a meal, paying for someone's bus ticket. Last year the whole CFA team packed food for food banks across the country.

Every cast and creative spoke on the unique impact that *Come From Away* is having on the communities in which in performs. Joel Hatch classified this as a great story – one you have to celebrate when it comes along. Petrina Bromley likes to think of what the show has done for Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, that they have never had more pride in their identity. These stories showed the immense honor that they feel in telling the story night after night, as Michael Rubinoff mused.

> I wasn't looking to change the narrative. What happened in 9/11 was horrific, and remains horrific, but I needed people to know that there was this outpouring of humanity. I'll tell you something, the greatest privilege of this journey has been meeting with the families of victims who have come to see the show. The greatest gift, also of generous spirit, has been able to say there's a tiny crack of light.

Marika Aubrey told her story in the same manner, highlighting the pride *Come From Away* brings her as well as the influence it has compared to other shows.

> I also am very aware that when I've been in other commercial musicals, I don't get into Ubers and get thanked for my service. I don't get people coming up to me at the stage door, crying, and telling me about how they were a female pilot and this show has moved them to donate $1,000 to a charity. I don't get people sending me messages because they're a young girl working in an environment that they don't feel as comfortable in as probably the men do and that seeing the show made them feel a bit tougher and that's going to get them through. I don't have those experiences in other commercial musicals. People still stand and they still clap, and I go home and feel like I've done a good job and everyone's had a nice night out, but I don't feel the ripple effect that I feel in the communities being in this show.

Perhaps most pertinent to this study, a few cast and creative spoke on their own personal resilience as a result of the show. They take on the message of the show, the resilience of the Newfoundland community, and apply it to their own lives. Michael Rubinoff is constantly reminded that this is not just any musical, but "this is about a community of real people and that line, that moment reminds me of that duty to do justice to their stories." These stories suggest an

ongoing desire to prove themselves worthy of telling such a story. Kevin Carolan finds great strength from his storytelling.

> We hear a lot of stories from people. My listening to that story is just as active as they're telling it. I have become a better listener. Resilience is a good point that I hadn't considered, but I do feel that I'm stronger as a person, by telling the story, all the factors. All the actors, though, feel that being able to perform [this] show is a privilege and a great responsibility.

Current Ontology Applied to Past Narration

Current Ontology Applied to Past Narration deals with the opposite of the previous code, applied current experiences – un-emplotted – to the emplotted narration of the past. It is the retrospective reflection of the present onto the past. The narrative of a community of resilience is co-constructed by the Newfoundlanders, *Come From Away*, and passengers. The community serves as a living ontology, a lens through which members of all three groups describe now viewing their experiences of 9/11. As participants reflect on the crisis, they make retrospective sense of their actions, and interpret them through this ontology of resilience.

Community Members

Many of these stories were reflective, taking their 20 years of experiences and changing the way they view their narrative emplotment of 9/11. Between the media coverage, the documentaries, and the Broadway show, it would be understandable if over the years, the narrative and its impact had been inflated. Brian Mosher, and all of his community member cohort, said not a bit of it was exaggerated. While the narrative was not blown out of proportion, all Newfoundlanders have looked back and applied what they know now. Jerry Goudie sees his experience in a whole new light.

> I think for Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, the fact that the community came together in a time of need and showed humanity, not only to the passengers but to each other, proved to each other, that they could come together when they needed to. That was a lot of the healing process.

Plane Passengers

Several plane passengers explained their experiences in terms of scenes or lines in *Come From Away*. For example, Beverley Bass told her perception of the Newfoundlanders in terms of "the barbeque grill scene" in the show. And that was not the only one. Nick and Diane told the story of how they fell in love by comparing it to the bar scene in the show, telling me what was true and what had been tailored a bit. They see it as chronicling their experiences, an archive of their life story. Kerry Deringer-Cashin, though not explicitly a character in the show, sees her narrative represented.

> A lot of [*Come From Away*] is very true. the scene in there where the guy says he's listening to President Bush's speech to the nation. He says, 'I'm in the cockpit with another passenger.' I was that other passenger.

Another common theme for plane passengers was reflecting and comparing their experiences of COVID with that of 9/11 in Newfoundland. For example, Anna de Haro thinks we are just as antsy as she was on the plane but lacking the human connection they got so plentifully in Newfoundland. Still others want to place their experiences in the context of where they are now, with more knowledge and more awareness. Jodi Taub is proud to have the narrative and the experience as part of the history of who she is. Most of the plane passengers echoed this sentiment of pride. Wanda Kromer, as a flight attendant, put in into context for the aviation industry.

> I guess I had been oblivious to Al-Qaeda ad all that. Not really thinking that it would ever be anything that I needed to think about. I think it opened my eyes to the fact that, even though in this country we are surrounded by big oceans that keep us separate from so much of the world, we are not isolated.

Cast and Creative

Though the cast and creatives did not have that same direct experience, they take their second-hand knowledge and apply it all the same. What most Newfoundlanders like to say is that anyone would do the same as them in times of crisis. However, Petrina Bromley, and many non-Newfoundlanders, take that statement to task.

> Everybody tells a story of how Claude says, we just did what anybody would do. But is it? Is it really what anyone would do? I don't know.

Antenarrative

Antenarratives, as Boje (2012) defines them, are the 'before-narratives.' They can be seen as the little wow moments and living stories often forgotten. They also function on bets on the future, but are not yet emplotted. Antenarratives serve as connecters between overlapping spheres of narration – as participants project their potential futures, the retrospectively select past experiences and logics to inform their visions of the future. In this study, future-looking antenarrative appeared as rhizomatic antenarrative – projections of the future deeply rooted in past events and logics.

Rhizomatic

In the case of Newfoundland and *Come From Away*, antenarratives emerged in rhizomatic form, where the expected futures are deeply rooted in individuals' past events or ideas. For each of these populations there was a different role they took on in using antenarratives. Rhizomatic antenarrative projects future events and feelings by drawing upon

logics that are deeply rooted in past events. Like the roots of a tree, these antenarratives anchored the participants' visions of their futures squarely in the past experiences of the 9/11 crisis.

Community Members

As the primary keepers of the Newfoundland culture and identity, community members mostly used antenarrative to explain the background and identity for others' understanding. This allowed them to connect the emplotted to the current story as well as project forward toward what they see in the future for their community. The most prevalent form of this was referring to Gander as an aviation community to set the stage and make sense of what happened for other people.

As Newfoundlanders have come into this windfall of new interest, they take the past to plan for the future. For example, at least ten Newfoundlanders – both participants and not – have entreated me to do specific activities that bear some meaning from the past when I finally get to Gander – from being Screeched In at the Legion to visiting the Town Hall to sitting on the bench at Dover Fault to letting them feed me. All of these things hold specific significance from past events and they want to keep that significance alive. Some participants laid out their vision for the future of gander in terms of what they *do not* want it to be. As the town, now famous from *Come From Away*, looks forward, community members are firmly rooted in maintaining their tight-knit community roots. Diane Davis described her own vision.

> We don't want it to turn into Disneyland. I don't want to turn into something that's Mickey Mouse or everybody running around. Westerners thinking that the Screeching In is the be all and end all of Newfoundland culture. But at the same time, people have this desire to give back.

All community members talked of bringing their lessons from those five days into the future. Davis describes her perception of her experiences as "a bigger thing" than she could have

imagined. She thinks people are "desperate" for a story like this and hopes it can be a beacon in the years to come. Claude described his hopes in the same manner, looking toward *Come From Away* as the vehicle for that proselytizing.

"I think if we can come away with that, and make everyone a little bit better, somewhere in our world, one of those days, we'll probably try to get along a bit better than what we do."

Plane Passengers

This participant population exists in the in-between – neither civilian nor Newfoundlander. Are they honorary Newfoundlanders? Are they simply ambassadors through their experience? Nick Marson was adamant that they were not refugees but rather "displaced plane passengers. Real refugees seek asylum [and] we weren't being persecuted." This grappling of place extended to placing it within their own lives, looking to how to continue remembered, as Steve O'Hehir does even though "it's been almost 20 years and I remember it like it was yesterday. It's the only memory that I will never ever let go." At least five of the plane passengers spoke of wanting to never let go, to root themselves physically to Newfoundland. Beverley Bass brought her husband, Tom Stawicki, back with her.

> When we went there the very first time, which was the 10th anniversary when we met David and Irene, we honestly talked about getting a home up there. It's just that we knew nobody would come visit us. For us, it what like going back to the 50s when people didn't lock their homes, they don't lock their cars, they leave their keys in the car. It's just a way of life that we no longer have, at least not where I live.

Though they do not have a physical home, Bass talks about making a pilgrimage as almost a religious rite – one that she and her family will continue into the future. This allows them to stay connected with the narrative. That grappling with their own place in the narrative and current story is the plane passengers' focus. Are they keepers of the story as well or are did

they simply float through something unique? In order to keep it as something special, many look toward the future of how to honor and remember 9/11 in a way that keeps the story alive and allows them to give thanks or give back for the positive experience that they had.

Cast and Creative

The *Come From Away* team, without that direct experience, also grapples with their place in the narrative. They used antenarrative to connect the dots of storytelling creation by looking back and looking forward to how they want it to be portrayed. The cast started by looking back by sharing their own 9/11 stories as a building block. David and Irene used the same foundation to build the story of *Come From Away*.

> We were staying in people's houses and being invited to dinners – we saw much of the same generosity that the come from aways did in 2001…We first thought that it was a Canadian story that high schools would be forced do. But then we learned that it's not just that; it's an American story, it's an international story and it's a story that we were all feeling on that day.

The cast and creatives also work on maintaining the story, to tell it every night and keep it alive. They are in a unique position where they are playing real, living people who often see the show. Beverley Bass, portrayed by Marika Aubrey on tour, is the real character who has seen it most. As Aubrey put it, "[the audience] know that I know that we all know that [Beverley]'s there and we're all in the show doing it knowing that." This shows the logical gymnastics required of the actors to maintain the story now and long into the future. Michael Rubinoff has seen *Come From Away* through its entire journey and reflects regularly on the past in order to continue the story and spread the Newfoundland message. "I saw this as exhibiting really Canadian values there it was. If I was going to say what does it mean to be Canadian? There it was in Gander."

Summary of Results

These results explore the intricate relationships between epistemic narrative, empirical narrative, ontological story, and antenarrative in the complex telling and keeping of the narrative of 9/11 in Newfoundland and the ongoing experience of *Come From Away*. This study was driven by the following research questions:

RQ1: How did Gander and the wider Newfoundland community narratively construct itself as resilient following the 9/11 crisis?

RQ2: How has Newfoundland's narrative of crisis resilience constructed its current community identity?

The first research question addresses the process of narrative construction. Results suggest that the process was a joint effort among the three population groups, first the community members and plane passengers, and then the addition of the *Come From Away* cast and creatives. In retrospective sensemaking and reflection, they formed their narratives in concert with one another, folding in the lessons and logics they had learned. By telling and retelling these narratives of their 9/11 experience, community members and plane passengers have solidified their joint narrative that has been imbued with the classic Newfoundland characteristics of generosity, toughness, hospitality, genuinity, and yes, resilience. In turn, the community members and plane passengers took on and enacted those characteristics for themselves, labeling themselves as resilient, generous, tough, hospitable, and genuine. When *Come From Away* was written and brought to the world, the same narratives that had been told by community members and plane passengers for 10-15 years were now being told every night on stages across the world. Thus, the same process was recreated not only in the show's cast and creatives but in the audiences that witnessed the narratives every night, folding it into their ongoing life stories.

The second research question addresses the outcome of that narrative construction and how it has influenced the community resilience. Results suggest that as these populations were telling and retelling these narratives both in the intimate setting and on stage to the world eight times a week, the narrative became solidified and codified. Now, Gander and Newfoundland was known across the world as a place of kindness and resilience so they began to step into that role as a fulfilment of that narrative moniker. Moreover, the community itself began to narratively grow past the physical geographical location to those who have taken the lessons of *Come From Away* to heart. As the community grew, so did the reach of community resilience as a result of the mythological narrative of kindness and generosity spread far and wide.

CHAPTER FIVE: Discussion

Welcome to the friends who have come from away

Welcome to the locals who have always said they'd stay

If you're comin' from Toledo or you're comin' from Taipei

Because we come from everywhere, we all come from away.

-Come From Away

Overview

Following Boje's (2012) theory of quantum narrative storytelling, this study examined the narratives told and retold by community members, plane passengers, as well as the cast and creatives of *Come From Away*, and how they have reshaped the very culture and identity of Newfoundland. Boje (2012) views storytelling as dynamic process. This dynamic, ongoing narrative process of building resilience also takes into account future visions of the community as well as current and past experiences as the narrative is co-constructed and emplotted. Where the bulk of existing crisis literature has examined the actions of crisis actors during the crisis stage and its immediate aftermath (e.g. image repair, physical rebuilding after a weather crisis), this study presented a unique opportunity to examine the role of crisis in reshaping of a community two decades after the crisis event. Moreover, the nature of this particular crisis response – in a community adjacent to, not directly impacted by the 9/11 attacks – and the participation of multiple groups of narrative actors in the co-construction of Newfoundland's culture of resilience offered rare situational means to examine definitions of crisis communities and the construction of crisis narratives.

The results of this study suggest two important theoretical considerations. First, crisis narratives can reshape the way a community narrates itself and redefine its culture in long-term ways. Second, findings challenge current definitions of both community and resilience as they

are presented in existing crisis literature. Findings also suggest practical implications for crisis-adjacent communities (those that are not directly impacted by the crisis or disaster) and crisis response organizations.

Broadening Definitions of Community Resilience

The findings of this study challenge the definition of community resilience presented in existing research. Where the bulk of existing community resilience literature treats communities as resilient based upon successful mitigation of a crisis, or recovery from its effects (Aldrich, 2012; Aldrich & Meyer, 2015; Bowen & Heath 2007; Chamlee-Wright & Storr, 2011; Ganor & Ben-Lavy , 2003; Zobel, 2014), this study suggest a broader definition of resilience that includes ingrained cultural ideologies, behaviors, and narration.

Part of that narrative reconstruction of the past into future is that of the resilience. Past literature has discussed resilience as simply an observable phenomenon that is either there or not there. However, results of this study suggest that resilience is a narrative process, an ongoing narrative that becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. Resilience is not defined by short term actions, but by narratively constructed and reinforced cultural qualities that the city becomes – always, not just in a single crisis. Resilience, then, is not what a community is but rather what they do. Moreover, the more a community performs and narrates its own resilience, the more it grows into it, much like nominative determinism. In fact, many participants of all groups used the word resilient to describe Newfoundland and its residents.

Existing literature has treated resilience as a short-term phenomenon. It is seen as an observable feature in the immediate aftermath of a crisis when a community rebuilds (Ganor & Ben-Lavy; 2003; Kapucu & Sadiq, 2016; Madsen & O'Mullen, 2014; Masen & Garmezy, 1990; Rahman et al., 2016; Sherrieb et al., 2010). If it rebuilds, it is said to be resilient. This study afforded opportunity to examine the place of retrospective crisis narratives of community

members twenty years post-crisis in reshaping the entire being of the community. Current lit has also treated community resilience as a phenomenon exclusive to communities *in* crisis – like those wiped out by tornados or hurricanes. This study suggest, however, that crisis can be the impetus for a crisis adjacent community to redefine itself.

Results of this study also suggest a broader definition of a crisis community to which the term resilience is applied. This dramatically changes our definition of community away from a geographic one to a narrative one. An example of this would be the concept of an "Honorary Newfoundlander." In looking at the characteristics of what makes a Newfoundlander, Diane Vey-Morawski swears David Hein and Irene Sankoff were "Newfoundlanders in another life" citing them as good people, wonderful listeners, modest, and humble. This club of "Honorary Newfoundlanders" is not exclusive nor is it formal. It has to deal with one's proximity to the narrative and to the people who deem you fitting in with their values. In fact, with the blessing of my Newfoundlander participants, I myself have become an Honorary Newfoundlander. This kind of honorary citizenship has become so ingrained in Newfoundland's generous community that they have a sort of informal ceremony for it – Screeching In. Screeching In is a short series of tasks for come from aways (or non-Newfoundlanders) that involves a shot of Screech run, a recitation, and kissing a cod (yes the fish). It must be officiated by a native Newfoundlander – a task Oz Fudge takes great pleasure in. Most often, these are performed in homes or local pubs but the practice has been taken abroad as the narrative of *Come From Away* spreads. In fact, the show itself depicts a scene in which a few plane passengers are screeched in, which is how Nick and Diane Marson had their first kiss.

The idea of narratively and informally folding outside individuals into their community is prevalent in the Newfoundland culture and continues on as the continue to bring in non-

geographic individuals into their narrative community. Therefore, the broader community here was not geographically bound nor was it bound by the shared same experience of the crisis, as each individual comes to the narrative with their own experiences, whether they were there or not. By the end of the single day when crisis came to their community, participants described a change not only in their actions, but, retrospectively, they see this single day as a turning point in their definition of community. In narrating their experiences of the day, they see this moment as pivotal in what their community becomes.

The Narrative Construction of Community Resilience

The findings of this study suggest that long-term community resilience is co-constructed in a narrative process that may reshape a community's very culture. This study suggests a narrative process is a joint effort between the three population groups. In retrospective sensemaking and reflection, they formed their narratives in concert, imbuing them with the characteristics of generosity, toughness, hospitality, genuinity, and resilience. By labeling their narratives with these specific positive Newfoundland traits, they themselves took on those same traits as person identity pieces and cultural touchstones. This process is a clear indication that community resilience is not a thing, an observable phenomenon that a community achieves by successfully mitigating crisis and rebuilding. It is a living, constantly changing, storied process that shapes the community. It lives and breathes in the way a community defines, narrates, and stories itself.

Most crisis literature focuses on those who were the direct victims of a crisis (Federal Emergency Management Agency [FEMA], 2011; Ganor & Ben-Lavy, 2003; Kapucu, 2006; Kumar, 2017; Pomeroy & Tapuke, 2016; Rahman et al., 2016; Tampere et al., 2016; Thornley et al., 2015;) – like a town hit by a hurricane or the employees of a bankrupt business. If not focusing on the crisis victims themselves, the research coalesces around the crisis event itself in

the location it occurred, either looking at immediate preparation, the acute behavior during, or the immediate aftermath and cleaning up. The plane passengers and community members were only dealing with side effects of a crisis thousands of miles away and now look back on it with two decades of hindsight. The best way to describe this position is crisis-adjacent. This allowed the community members – and by extension the plane passengers – to reap the benefits of recovering from trauma and the resilience it begets, without directly experiencing the trauma. Many participants who were in Newfoundland during 9/11 reported feeling connected to the tragedy but without the immense pain or trauma.

In looking back on the events and telling and retelling the narrative of their experiences, the community members and plane passengers are narratively reshaping the way they experience the very place – Newfoundland. Narrative, then becomes a lens through which these people see the world and the location. According to Boje (2012), we live out current ontological story through past epistemic and empirical narratives. For example, plane passengers and *Come From Away* cast and creatives make regular pilgrimages to Gander and Newfoundland because of the way narrative has transformed that place for them. Michael Rubinoff, a *Come From Away* producer, even made a point to visit for Tony Award nominations to be with the people who inspired the story. Many passengers being their friends and loved ones to Newfoundland to put context to the narratives and fold them into the living story.

Moreover, the Newfoundlanders themselves have used these crisis narratives to reshape their current lives in their province. Many have taken on roles of tour guides, archivists, and activists. In light of that, the Newfoundlanders and plane passengers understand and view both their current experiences and the crisis through the lens of the narrative and logics formed during

9/11 in Newfoundland. Essentially, the crisis narrative that has been co-constructed has reshaped the province's past and future.

Another important feature in the co-construction of the past and future are antenarratives – how the logics of the resilience narrative become rooted antenarratives that allow the community to envision its own futures as a resilient community. In part, antenarratives bridge the gap between narrative as they become living story. When the narratives are told and retold to generations who were not there for 9/11, it becomes part of their story too. Experiencers pass their potential future, living story, and past narrative on to their kids and to guests. Thus, antenarratives bring the future into being. As the town and province faces other adverse events, like the COVID-19 pandemic, these past narrative experiences can inform their behavior through antenarrative.

Resilience can also be narratively constructed. In Newfoundland, this takes the form of their shared identity of being hardy, strong, and able to withstand the harsh climate. It is also their culture of helping one another and relying on community. These narratives are passed down generationally from person to person in the same way the 9/11 narrative is passed from one person to another, whether they were there or not. Thus, by consistently telling these narratives and using them to antenarratively inform their living story, the Newfoundlanders have storied themselves into resilience by using this crisis to bolster their characteristics.

The findings of this study suggest that crisis can serve as the catalyst to the growth of a community narrative of resilience. For the Newfoundlanders, this crisis was thrust upon them. If we take the strong facets of Newfoundland culture and identity – generosity, kindness, "get 'er done" attitude – and place them in a crisis atmosphere, these already strong facets are amplified as they coalesce in response to the crisis. In order to maintain these amplified resilience

characteristics, they needed to be repeatedly and consistently narratively reinforced. Newfoundlanders, plane passenger, and now *Come From Away* cast and creatives do this narrative reinforcement on a regular basis. As the narrative is reinforced every night on stage, more people buy into Newfoundland's narrative resilience and continue to spread that narrative far past the province's boundaries. Thus, the community *is* its narrative, and the narrative *is* the community.

This positions crisis not, as current crisis lit suggests, as a thing for a community to overcome, a singular event, but as a potential pivotal chapter in a community's narration of itself. In this study, community resilience was constructed through a process of narrative co-construction of what it means to be a resilient community. If we break down community resilience to its component parts, it follows that community can also be narratively constructed. This exemplified by the earlier example of the "Honorary Newfoundlander." By marrying the concepts of narratively constructed resilience and narratively constructed community we reach community resilience. Through these new definitions of these concepts, individuals who were not present at the crisis can also take on the characteristics narratively constructed by the community and become resilient themselves.

As such, the common narratives become ever more important. In coding for Epistemic Narratives, a list of recurring narratives emerged that were told and retold by multiple participants (see *Table 1*). These recurring narratives serve to solidify the crisis' place in time and the participants' lives and bind the individuals who tell them together. Thus, anyone who is a part of that narrative is now part of the community. While the way they may be told is slightly different, as with much mythology, the core narrative remains the same. Therefore, these narratives function like lore or oral mythology that serves to broaden the community.

Table 1

Recurring Epistemic Narratives

NATO Commander	How to Get Off the Island	Tent Girls
Strangers to Friends to Family	The Come From Away Experience	World's Largest Walk in Freezer
Toilet Paper Story	Wish Kids	Smell of Jet Fuel
Nigerian Moose Hunting	Mayor of Frankfurt	Oil Sheikh
BBQ Party	Cars at the Airport	Nick & Diane
The Chocolate Bars	The Bus Strike	Hannah & Beulah
Take My Truck	Gourmet Chef	Eating Moose
Claustrophobic French Lady	Barbara Fast	Newfoundlander in Heaven
Bucket of Tea and a Bicky	Going to Walmart	

As participants in this study retrospectively narrated their experiences of the day and week of 9/11, they applied epistemics, or logics, from their current understandings of Gander – a process that reframes Newfoundlander as a community of resilience. Moreover, the current living story and the projected futures – the antenarratives – are rhizomatically rooted to the past crisis. The process constructs, reconstructs, reinforces, and constantly rebuilds Gander as resilient. Of note, before the crisis was the absence of language of resilience. Rather, in interviews, they spoke only in terms of past preparations for crisis, such as airport maintenance or crash preparedness. That language of resilience builds later, as it is co-constructed by the community members, plane passengers, and later, the cast and creatives of *Come From Away*.

This show has been embraced by the town, even in language. Newfoundland citizens use the words and stories of *Come From Away* and act out what tourists expect of them from their knowledge of the show. In the words of Kurt Vonnegut, the community becomes what they pretend to be. Moreover, all three populations have come to narrate their lives in terms of Come From Away, referencing its scenes, lyrics, and dialogue to compare and inform their own living stories. They allow it to inform their actions as well. Twenty years later, some Newfoundlanders

like Diane Davis, are facilitating the asylum of Syrian migrants and refugees in Canada and helping them find footing in their new community. With that, the narrative of those five days in Newfoundland has become a cultural zeitgeist and cultural touchstone that helps both those directly and indirectly related to the narrative understand their own lives and identities.

Practical Implications

While the theoretical implications of this study push the boundaries of current theory and provide a pathway for future research, the practical implications have the potential to improve the way we respond to crises. For practical application, this study shows uses in being crisis-adjacent and improving crisis organization response.

Crisis-Adjacent

Considering the concept of crisis-adjacency, rather than directly experiencing a crisis like a hurricane, tornado, or shooting, may have a lot of benefits for crisis communities. Results of this study suggest that a community does not have to directly experience the fallout or trauma from the acute crisis event but in order to reap the benefits of growing from the indirect experience. Most plane passengers mentioned not feeling like they had experienced trauma but were still able to learn from their time in Newfoundland. This concept can be incredibly useful in looking at surrounding communities that experience ripple effects from an acute crisis, such as Texas being the recipient of many new residents from Louisiana after Hurricane Katrina.

This secondary experience of crisis can also change the way we understand organizations, especially crisis response organizations. These findings suggest that crisis communities are formed around a shared experiences. While crisis communities can be created under this format, the strength of organizations can also coalesce with the narrative of a shared experience – crisis or otherwise. Other examples might be organizational offices or businesses

that experienced a shooting and find shared identity through that (Capital Gazette Shooting: McEvers, 2021).

Organizational Uses

Findings of this study suggest communities may be constructed and more tightly bonded over distance and time through shared narratives that co-construct resilience. Organizations, particularly crisis response organizations like the Red Cross or FEMA, can capitalize on existing narratives to help them become better in their work. This could be done in a number of ways. Crisis response organizations that have teams and missions that are widespread and distant might benefit from understanding the ways narrative creates community. Existing organizational literature has suggested that orgs that encourage narrative bonding around a central figure (e.g. Smokey Bear: Bullis & DiSanza, 1999) foster deeper organizational identification and deeper commitment to organizational missions. Practices that encourage shared crisis experience narratives in the aftermath of crisis might serve to assist organizations from Red Cross to emergency responders to create a better sense of community, and ingrain cultural resilience.

Moreover, A resilience narrative can be used to instill resilience in their own teams. A community narrative may help with employee turnover, creating a more stable organization in the long run. Both can be integrated in promotional and training material. Berkes and Ross (2013) call community resilience a manifestation of the strengths of a community that lead to agency and self-organization. If we are viewing a community like an organization, the same could be said for crisis response organizations. If these research findings of narratively constructed resilience and community are applied to such organizations, such as the Red Cross or FEMA, then resilience can be ‘baked in’ to the organization itself, becoming an inherent attribute. In the long run, this will help them be better response organizations and, in turn, make them more effective at responding to crises and their victims.

Limitations & Future Research

This study is bound by a few limitations that suggest directions for future research. To begin, COVID-19 restrictions during the timeframe of this data collection limited the researcher's ability to engage in travel and in-person interviews. Future research might benefit from ethnographic observation and experience in the town of Gander and the surrounding Newfoundland area to fully understand the ingrained narrative process of resilience. In this case of such physically disparate response, it would benefit the research to visit specific sites of interest – such as Gander Academy, the Salvation Army, or YQX airport itself.

Next, community member interviews for this study included only individuals who were in Gander and the surrounding Newfoundland towns during the 9/11 crisis. Given the findings of generational instillation of resilience into the fabric of the community, future research into either this community or another long-past crisis might benefit from including interviewees who have learned about the crisis second-hand, such as children born after the crisis, community transplants, or *Come From Away* audience members. This would allow researchers to track the theoretical expansion of narratively constructed communities overtaking geographically constructed ones.

Further, Gander (and Newfoundland writ large) is a community that did not experience an economic or physical devastation (e.g. Gulf Coast towns in Katrina), and, moreover, has received international attention through *Come From Away*. Future research might examine devastated communities, and those in economic hardship long past crises where mitigation efforts were not deemed successful and the community does not see itself as resilient. This would provide a comparison point for the study at hand. Furthermore, future research might also examine other successful crisis responses where the community emerged with a narrative of resilience (such as Houston after Hurricane Harvey).

Conclusion

The Newfoundland community and the way they handled a crisis that quite literally descended upon them makes it a perfect case study into the potential positive impact of community resilience. The success and sharing of the 9/11 and *Come From Away* narrative and the creation of a stronger Newfoundland identity also speaks to its strength of narrative as a coping mechanism. So often crises are looked at with a critical and tragic bent, that it does well to examine the potential good in the world. Without the extensively tight-knit and welcoming nature of the Newfoundland community, the events of 9/11 and the days that followed would have played out much differently and the narrative would not have been spread to the level we see today. Citizens say that anyone would have done the same, but I speculate that very few communities could have done it as well and with as much heart.

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Appendix A: Interview Protocol, Community Members

Community Members

1. Where were you on the morning of September 11th, 2001? How did you hear about the events that took place in the United States? How did you react?
2. What role did you fill during the beginning of the crisis? Was it official or unofficial?
3. Was there an official crisis plan for an event like this? If so, could you detail it?
4. What did the next few days look like in terms of caring for the people on the ground? This could be specific dates that things took place or a generalized account.
5. What was your favorite memory from that time?
6. What were some of the challenges faced in handling the mass of people coming off the planes? How did you manage those challenges?
7. How do you tell and retell your 9/11 story to others who were present? Not present?
8. How has the resilience of the community impacted (if at all) the community healing post-9/11?
9. If you had to describe the Gander/Newfoundland community in a few succinct words, how would you do so?

Appendix B: Interview Protocol, Plane Passengers

Plane Passengers

1. What was your morning like on September 11th, 2001? How did the news of the attacks reach the plane?
2. What were your experiences on the plane prior to being able to exit?
3. Describe your personal interactions with Newfoundland community members and the actions they were taking for the 'plane people'?
4. Walk me through your days in Newfoundland.
5. What did you notice about the organization of the community? Were their actions spontaneous or did there seem to be a community plan of action?
6. Though being out of the country while the events of 9/11 and subsequent days took place, what were your feelings about the attacks and how did you manage them?
7. What was your favorite memory from that time in Newfoundland?
8. How do you tell your 9/11 story to those that were present? Not present?
9. How did your experiences in Newfoundland and with members of the Newfoundland community shaped (if at all) your healing post-9/11?
10. If you had to describe the Newfoundland community in a few words, how would you do so?

Appendix C: Interview Protocol, Come From Away Cast/Creatives

Come From Away **Cast**

1. How did you come to *Come From Away*? What drew you to this show?
2. What was the process of storytelling/narrative creation like for you?
3. What impact, if any, did meeting your real-life counterpart have on your interpretation? How did/does playing real people, if at all, impact your narrative/character formation?
4. What was the most important thing you wanted to get across in your performance? Did that change over the course of the production?
5. How would you describe the impact, if any, of storytelling on your own identity, community, and resilience?
6. What is it like being a cast member in this particular show?
7. If you had to describe the Newfoundland community in a few words, how would you do so?

Come From Away **Creative Team**

1. How did you come to *Come From Away*? What drew you to this show?
2. What was the process of storytelling/narrative creation like for you?
3. What was the most important thing you wanted to get across in this production? Did that change over the course of the production?
4. What impact, if any, did meeting the real people have on your view of the show?
5. How would you describe the impact, if any, of working with this show have on your own identity, community, and resilience?
6. If you had to describe the Newfoundland community in a few words, how would you do so?

VITA

Laine Zizka was born on October 9, 1996 and grew up in Houston, Texas. She pursued her undergraduate education at Texas Christian University. In May 2019, Zizka graduated summa cum laude with two degrees, a B.S. in Communication Studies and a B.A. in Anthropology with a minor in Political Science, with honors.

After receiving her bachelor's degrees, she pursued her Master of Science in Communication Studies, also at Texas Christian University. During this time, Zizka worked all four semesters as a Graduate Teaching Assistant for the Basic Speech Communication course. She plans to earn her master's degrees in May 2019 and move on to the Ph.D. of Communication Studies program at the University of Colorado Boulder.