A Complex Organizational Adaptation to the World Trade Center Disaster: An Analysis of Faith-based Organizations

Jeannette Sutton
Department of Sociology
University of Colorado–Boulder

Introduction

The disaster on September 11, 2001, was massive in scope, affecting a major metropolitan area of world significance and all levels of social life. It was a complex, human-conceived disaster, resulting in the loss of more than 2,800 lives, enormous material destruction, and worldwide economic turmoil and political strife. The long-term effects remain unquantifiable in terms of levels of individual and community health, finance, and recovery.

Faith-based organizations have always responded to disasters, playing important roles in all phases of disaster relief. For instance, as a regular course of action, the Southern Baptist Men and the Salvation Army traditionally provide volunteers at feeding stations, local congregations routinely offer building space for emergency housing and meeting space, and Church World Service consistently provides a coordinating effort for financial and long-term resources for recovering communities.

The attacks on the World Trade Center created immense need throughout New York City and the tri-state metropolitan area, where an outpouring of aid was provided through governmental and non-governmental channels, including hundreds of congregations, faith-based community organizations, and disaster response agencies. Each of these organizations, whether they had existing disaster protocols or not, was challenged and stretched in task and structure as it addressed the immediate and long-term needs of disaster victims and the surrounding city.

Theoretical Problem

The mission of many faith-based organizations includes the provision of aid to persons in need. This activity informs the structures from which those organizations operate and the tasks in which they engage. In a disaster, many organizations must adapt to meet needs within their communities that may or may not be within the scope of their normal ranges of activity. Although faith-based organizations have historically participated in disaster response in numerous ways, little research has been conducted on the ways that they adapt in structure and task over the course of a disaster response. One question that is raised in particular is: how do latent functions (unintended consequences of which the participants are unaware) impact the adaptation of faith-based organizations after a disaster?

Research Problem

The purpose of this research is (1) to discover what impact, if any, latent functions affected the way faith-based organizations adapted to meet needs in the week after the World Trade Center attacks, and (2) to determine if the established typology depicting organizational adaptation applies to faith-based organizations in this situation, and if not, to suggest changes to that typology.

Literature Review

Organized behavioral responses in disasters have been the subject of extensive sociological research for several decades. Within the disaster literature, specific attention has been given to organizations that are traditional emergency responders, such as police and fire departments, as well as groups responding to emergent needs, such as search and rescue and other citizen groups. Of particular interest here is an analysis of faith-based organizations that exist before the disaster and continue to function within their communities as part of the disaster response. This analysis makes use of the typology of organizational adaptation in disaster developed by the Disaster Research Center, known as the "DRC typology," and the few developments made in analyzing established, expanding, and extending organizations and their disaster responses.

DRC Typology

Proposed as a model by which to analyze organizational adaptation in crisis (see Quarantelli, 1966; Brouilette and Quarantelli, 1971; Dynes, 1970), the DRC typology has provided a foundation from which to identify and analyze the changing structures and tasks of organized behaviors and has served as a

springboard for further theoretical work. This typology clustered a wide range of organized behaviors observed after disaster into four simple categories based upon the organizational tasks and structures. Tasks were identified as being either routine or non-routine. Structures that were used to accomplish these tasks were identified as either old or new, that is, operating within the pre-disaster time frame, or emerging after its occurrence. These structures develop as a result of tasks—activities that are undertaken—resulting in social organization in disaster response (Bosworth and Kreps, 1986). When the two dimensions are cross tabulated, four analytic categories are produced, demonstrating four forms of organized behavior.

Type 1, **established organizations**, are established before the disaster and continue to function with routine tasks and old structures after a disaster. Police and fire departments typify a Type 1 organizational response. Type 2 organizations are **expanding organizations**, for which routine tasks continue but new structures are added after a disaster. The new structures may comprise an increase in volunteer bases, such as within the American Red Cross, or an increase in structural complexity, such as the reorganizing of employees within an organization to meet emergent needs. A Type 3 organization is an **extending organization**. This type continues to function within its old structure, but adapts by means of employing nonroutine tasks to meet needs. An example of this could be an elementary school that serves as a shelter for earthquake victims. A Type 4 organization is an **emergent organization**, where nonroutine tasks and new structures are developed to meet unmet needs. Local citizens, for example, may identify a long-term need that is not being met by existing structures, thereby forming a coalition to address these issues.

Although the existing DRC typology has served as a fruitful analytical tool for organizational adaptation in disaster, several researchers have argued that the typology is too limited (see Bardo, 1978; Stallings, 1978; and Quarantelli, 1996), resulting in elaborations by Bardo (1978), Quarantelli (1983 and 1996), and Drabek (1987). Each of these additions capitalizes on the existing typological categories and creates further distinctions and complexities.

Bardo's (1978) inclusion of latent and manifest disaster behavior within organizations develops the argument that pre-established organizations responding in disasters often make use of latent tasks in their response. These latent disaster behaviors are not engaged in under normal circumstances, but only become manifest during the post-disaster time phase. Bardo provides the example of a "disaster plan" for an established organization not normally maintaining a role in disaster, explaining that in a disaster, an organization can respond in a systematic, pre-specified manner by making manifest these normally latent activities (that is, invoking the disaster plan).

Upon further examination of empirical data, Quarantelli (1983) also provided an expansion of the DRC typology to account for emergent behaviors within established organizations. He found that within most of the established groups, there were considerable emergent phenomena. Three adaptations were noted: quasi-emergence, structural emergence, and task emergence. Quasi-emergence was the adaptation of established groups that underwent no major alterations in their structures or functions but exhibited some temporary or minor emergent qualities. Emergency organizations that temporarily improvise communication procedures when telephone connections are knocked out for a short period in a flood are one example of this type of emergence. Structural emergence was seen in organizations that carried out old functions or tasks and developed some new structure, but did not become an expanding group. One example of structural emergence is the temporary use of amateur radio groups when the traditional means for spreading public warnings is unavailable. Task emergence was seen in pre-existing groups where the structure was in no way altered or changed, but a major new task was assumed. Task emergence may be seen when a group carries out a temporary task such as setting up a public shelter when normal channels for this function are closed. In each of these examples group adaptation is temporary, and organizations return to their old form of functioning soon after implementation. The return to normal tasks and structures is what marks this new formulation, distinguishing the adaptation of established groups from the emergent groups described by the original DRC typology.

Faith-based Organizations in Disaster Research

Although past studies of disaster recovery have included organizations without predetermined disaster-oriented tasks and structures, few studies have focused specifically on the adaptation of faith-based organizations in disaster. Most work has been limited to descriptive accounts of church activities, pastoral leadership, and the activities of groups such as the Salvation Army in disaster (for example, Form and Nosow, 1958; Barton, 1969; Martin, 1976; Drabek and Key, 1984), or the impact of devotionalism on helping behavior (Nelson and Dynes, 1978). However, a small number of studies make use of the DRC typology in their analysis of faith-based organizations.

Ross and Smith (1974) provide an organizational analysis of emergent interfaith disaster recovery groups examining the later stage of emergence identified by Quarantelli as the "crystallization phase" (Quarantelli 1985), during which emergent groups solidify. Ross (1980) also examined interorganizational relationships between ecumenical disaster recovery groups focusing on the "post-crystallization conditions" (Quarantelli 1985), leading to institutionalization. At a congregational level, Smith (1978) examined local

church responses to natural disasters, identifying organizational task extension based upon their pre-disaster demand-capability balance and disaster conditions.

One key trend identified by Smith (1978) was the expansion of the conceptualization of disaster organizations to include organizations that perform tasks and develop structures that are different from their pre-disaster tasks and structures. In other words, the definition of organizations responding in disaster expanded beyond those organizations that were developed with the purpose of providing disaster response, such as emergency management organizations, to those groups that play some role in disasters beyond their day-to-day operations, such as faith-based organizations. More importantly for the purposes of this paper, is the identification of the adaptive measures within faith-based organizations that are based upon those latent tasks that modify existing structure or help develop new ones. In contrast with Bardo's conception of latency (such as the creation of a disaster plan that is invoked in a disaster), here latency refers to the underlying mission, or function, of many faith-based organizations; that of providing some sort of "humanitarian aid" and "spiritual care." In the case of disaster response, many faith-based organizations make manifest these latent functions, meeting needs produced by the disaster.

Quarantelli's concept of adaptive behavior within existing groups is helpful because it shows that for some existing groups, there may be experiences of emergent phenomena in disaster response. Existing groups may not respond entirely within their predetermined domains, but instead make use of their resources in non-traditional ways. However, the emphasis on non-traditional behavioral adaptation necessarily conflicts with the idea of latent tasks made manifest. When latent tasks and inactive structures come into being, they are not newly emergent but simply put into practice. This paper examines several pre-existing faith-based organizations and their disaster response after the World Trade Center attacks, making use of the DRC typology with an emphasis on their latent functions.

Research Methods

This research is based in qualitative data collection and analysis approaches following Lofland and Lofland (1995), in which gathering, focusing, and analyzing data occurs concurrently throughout field research. The researcher as witness and observer also becomes a participant in the field site, leading to direct observation of and participation in the setting (Lofland and Lofland, 1995) while engaging in open-ended interviews with subjects. Different data collection techniques are appropriate during different stages of research (Weller and Romney 1988). For example, in the early stages, informal

exploratory interviewing is necessary in order to obtain a general notion of the setting, activities, and organizational structures in which the activities are taking place. In the immediate post-disaster time frame, this same concept of exploratory interviewing and observation provides a framework from which to identify particular phenomena for consideration. These phenomena are then analyzed and interpreted with the aid of theory.

Due to the perishable nature of data immediately after a disaster, one of the first goals during this project was to enter the field as quickly as possible in order to observe and collect data that would have otherwise quickly become lost. In the days immediately after September 11, telephone contact was made with representatives from the Presbytery of New York City (PNYC), Church World Service (CWS) and the national Presbyterian Church's Disaster Assistance (PDA) office with the goal of identifying congregations in Manhattan and local faith-based organizations that were providing aid and services to victims within New York City. Although there are several hundred religiously based communities and faith-based organizations in New York City, the choice to contact the PNYC and PDA was based on this researcher's personal qualifications as a Presbyterian clergy-person. This insider status opened doors to access information about the response of the Presbyterian Church at the national level and the response of the PNYC, while adding credibility to requests for interviews with local clergy members.

The initial phone contacts made to the PNYC and members of CWS began a snowball sample of local spiritual care providers located in Manhattan and the boroughs of New York City. Contact was made with the Executive Directors of the Temple of Understanding (a broadly reaching interfaith educational center on the east side of Manhattan) and the Interfaith Center of New York (a center directly involved in local education and outreach of an interfaith nature). Within the PNYC, unstructured interviews were conducted with several persons working at an administrative level, and contact was made with several ministers in the surrounding boroughs of Manhattan. The PNYC also held an unscheduled consultative meeting for all ministers of the Presbytery, attended by many representatives from disaster response agencies (PDA, CWS disaster relief, and the American Red Cross (ARC)), who provided information and resources on short- and long-term recovery. As a result of interaction with these organizational representatives, interviews were scheduled with members of the ARC, including members of the ARC-affiliated disaster child care team, and disaster spiritual care team.

Over this week-long site visit, a total of 24 qualitative interviews were conducted with representatives of 10 faith-based organizations. These interviews include representatives from two interfaith ministries, four local Presbyterian congregations, administrators and ministers of the PNYC,

representatives of CWS, and the two ARC-affiliated groups that provided disaster child care and spiritual care. These interviews focused on service delivery and organizational change in this particular disaster and included questions about normal organizational structure and function in contrast with the post-disaster tasks and structures, such as the types of needs assessed within the communities each organization traditionally served, additional emergent needs as a result of the disaster, and the services offered based upon the normal working structures and traditional activities of the organization.

Field observation of disaster activities took place at settings such as the Disaster Head-Quarters for the ARC, the Presbytery offices on the upper west side of Manhattan, and Pier 94 where the Family Assistance Center was established for this relief effort. These observations were noted in field notes, focusing on the setting of the activity and the types of activities in which organizational members were engaged.

Data Analysis

After all interviews and observations were transcribed, inductive methods were used for this analysis; in other words, descriptive material that had been collected was examined to identify themes and develop empirical generalizations. Analysis was based in the theoretical model established by the DRC on organizational adaptation, paying close attention to the structures made manifest and identifiable latent tasks and functions associated with the organizational change.

The next section describes the post-disaster structures and tasks of nine faith-based organizations: the Presbytery of New York (PNYC), four local Presbyterian congregations, two interfaith organizations, and two faith-based organizations affiliated with the American Red Cross response. It will show how they chose to meet the needs that emerged as a result of the World Trade Center attacks and provide an analysis of how each organization adapted as a result of latent functions.

Findings

The Presbytery of New York

The Presbytery of New York (PNYC) is responsible for the mission and government of local Presbyterian Church congregations throughout its geographic district. The PNYC provides governance to 99 churches in all five boroughs (the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, Manhattan, and Staten Island). Paid staff members provide executive leadership within the Presbytery offices, while elders and clergy serve as members on committees and commissions, providing oversight in designated areas.

Presbytery tasks include coordinating the work of its member churches; providing pastoral care and counseling to its congregational membership and pastors in forms such as supportive listening, physical assistance, and seasoned advice; and providing similar resources to member churches as needed (Book of Order, 1999, p. G-11.0103). On occasion, special commissions are established to deal with judicial matters or other issues. These commissions, which comprise elders and ministers, have the ability to make decisions on behalf of the larger membership of the Presbytery.

Disaster Activities

In response to the attacks, the PNYC immediately began making calls to congregational pastors to determine congregational and pastoral needs, fielded phone calls from congregations and Presbyteries across the country, and called an emergency consultative meeting of member congregations. The purpose of the meeting was broad and included offering a forum for local pastors to share their experiences of the attacks, to encourage one another in their ministry with members in their congregations, to share ideas for outreach to the neighborhoods around them, and to learn about the roles of governmental and non-governmental disaster relief efforts.

One of the questions that emerged through the forum and outreach calls related to the monetary donations that were coming in through the Presbyterian Church's national offices, the PDA offices, and the local PNYC. This question was coupled with a concern about how to plan for and respond to long-term congregational needs and the provision of internal pastoral care to the ministers of the Presbytery.

At the time of this meeting, preliminary needs assessments had been underway for several days. However, the extent of the impact on congregations was not yet known and decisions about financial assistance, pastoral training, and pastoral care could not immediately be made. In response to the need for an official decision-making task force and coordination of PNYC resources to the long-term disaster needs, the Presbytery executive body made the decision to establish an administrative commission that would attend to any ongoing and emergent issues.

Structure and Task

As a permanent faith-based organization in New York, the PNYC had an established structure with specific responsibilities designated through the Book of Order for the Presbyterian Church, USA. Additionally, this faith-based organization provided services to its member congregations, which are well within the boundaries of Presbytery responsibilities, where the activation

of an administrative commission to address ongoing disaster needs is one service provided by the PNYC to its member congregations.

Although the structure of the commission is defined within the Book of Order of the Presbyterian Church (1999) the tasks for which it is responsible depend upon the emergent needs of the Presbytery and its member congregations. These needs, such as training in trauma counseling and crisis management, as well as the distribution of donated funds and material resources, can be identified as non-routine, requiring adaptive measures that were met by the expansion of organizational structures.

Expanded Organizational Structures

The administrative commission of the Presbyterian Church is one example of making manifest a suspended structure, whereby the organization expands to meet emergent needs. Although this structure does not actively function in the normal operations of the organization, a task force such as this is traditionally assembled when specific needs arise. The addition of such a commission increases the structural complexity of the organization in non-routine situations. However, the addition itself is built into the operations of the Presbytery.

The PNYC did not have any specific internal pre-disaster plans. Resources were made available through the PDA program and by connections to the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and other disaster relief organizations. However, the organization found itself adapting to meet the long-term needs of member congregations. This need was met by the addition of the administrative commission, which created an expansion of the organizational structure and an increase in organizational complexity. Therefore, the Presbytery can be analyzed as an expanding organization within the DRC typology, where structures were activated in order to provide the means for the addition of a commission to address emergent needs.

Local Presbyterian Congregations

The first of the four congregations studied is a predominantly white, upper-middle-class congregation in New Jersey. The congregation experienced the death of one member, and is the home to 20 members who escaped from the towers on September 11. Those who escaped and survived were described as experiencing “survivor guilt” and their family members were having difficulty knowing how to provide support in the aftermath. In the first week, the church sanctuary was opened for prayer and meditation, and crisis counseling was offered to congregants and to neighborhood visitors who did not have a church home.

In the week after the attacks, the co-pastors made calls to every member of the church to assess needs and to offer counseling. Educational materials were produced addressing such issues as how to talk to children about death and the effects of posttraumatic stress disorder. By the second week, support groups for spouses had been developed and were underway.

The second congregation is a Hispanic congregation, led by a newly installed minister. No members of this congregation died in the disaster, but many expressed a great deal of fear and were questioning life, faith, and the meaning of community.

In the days after the attack, the church was open for prayer services and silent meditation. The pastor of this congregation reported that he noticed more visitors and persons in attendance who were turning to the church for answers about the meaning and purpose of their lives and the disaster events.

The third congregation is a small, racially diverse group whose most consistent attendees are numerous neighborhood children. The pastor of this congregation explained, "If I walk the four blocks around my church, I walk around the world," noting the international flavor of residents of this outlying borough in New York City. On September 11, the local children came to the church and asked to pray and to sing together. The children, in particular, expressed a need for a place to go to where they would be protected and provided assurance of safety. In the midst of this, the church continued to provide ongoing programs, modeling stability and consistency for the children.

The fourth congregation is a large Presbyterian church located within several miles of the World Trade Center. This area of Manhattan, below Canal Street, had restricted access for several weeks after September 11. Many persons in the neighborhood voluntarily evacuated and those who remained offered housing to friends who had fled the lower part of Manhattan. The church facility houses a church-run nursery school and the congregation experienced the loss of three members and several parents of nursery school children.

In the days after the attacks, the church conducted a memorial service, was open for nightly prayer, and collaborated with a local synagogue to provide an interfaith service. Two weeks after the attacks, the church was no longer holding special prayer services for the community, but the pastors were preparing for memorial services for their congregants who were killed.

Increase in Manifest Tasks

Each of these congregations had established structures and tasks before the disaster. Although they may not be considered "disaster-related," many of the services they offered did address the needs of the community and membership, while remaining well within their traditional realm of activities. Even with the emergence of new needs, these churches continued to function

within their daily mission of congregational care and community outreach, operating as existing organizations under the DRC typology.

The maintenance of daily functions and the increase in resources aimed toward the congregation and community is important to note. Past research has focused on existing organizations and their operations in emergency management, rescue, and relief, but this examination has not generally included faith-based organizations or congregations as one of those existing structures involved in disaster relief. They have traditionally been identified with extending organizations, as they take on additional tasks that are beyond the scope of their daily operations. In this case, this sample of congregations maintained their pre-disaster structures and tasks while addressing disaster-needs and serving as community leaders.

Interfaith Groups

The Temple of Understanding is a small organization located in New York City that works globally to provide education about the beliefs and practices of multiple faith groups. It has the specific mission of developing partnerships with the United Nations and providing interfaith education in a variety of contexts. After September 11th, the Temple continued to provide education and outreach to churches and academic institutions in order to teach about the Muslim faith and Arab populations in New York City. They were particularly responsive to Christian church groups that requested a representative from the Muslim faith to provide education to their congregations. Additionally, the Temple was preparing to provide interfaith education to local and international universities with an emphasis on interpretations of the recent violence.

The Interfaith Center in New York City traditionally provides facility space and leadership for the provision of public educational, artistic, and cultural programs; creates opportunities for diverse groups to work together to meet specific common challenges and to raise mutual concerns in communities; and provides information, referrals, and consultation to religious organizations, community groups, and the media through ongoing working relationships.

Before the attacks, the Temple of Understanding and the Interfaith Center of New York assisted UNICEF in its preparations for the "Annual Interfaith Service of Commitment to the Work of the United Nations." This multi-faith service, designed to mark the opening of the 56th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, was subsequently dedicated to "all those whom we have lost and their loved ones in this week's tragedy" and was adapted to include memorial prayers. Held on September 13, it included representatives from such faith traditions as Judaism, Buddhism, Native Americans, Christianity, Islam, Hindi, Sikh, Jan, Tao, Zoroastrian, Shinto,

and Yoruba. The service was representative of the memorial and prayer services held throughout the city in the weeks after the attacks that purposefully included multiple faith traditions.

As accounts of harassment were reported across the country, educational events and interfaith memorial services served as opportunities to speak publicly against acts of hate and violence. These incidents included verbal and physical intimidation, racial and ethnic slurs, vandalism, and physical assaults against Arabs, Muslims, and others who appeared to be of Middle Eastern heritage. In New York City, many Arab-looking persons were singled out and became the target of harassment. This "retaliation" against persons who were perceived by some to have a relationship to the group assumed to be responsible for the attacks evoked fear and concerns for personal safety. The interfaith faith-based organizations worked in partnership with multiple faith groups to present statements to the public and to serve as a religious and moral voice against the reported violence.

Increase in Manifest Tasks

These two interfaith faith-based organizations did not have pre-established disaster response plans. However, their organizational missions and structures prepared them to continue the provision of services with their messages extended into the realm of public statements as a moral and religious authority. Their everyday tasks were consistent with their post-disaster response; they were prepared to offer education, religious interpretation, and moral voice in response, altering their regular programs to accommodate the emergent needs.

Both interfaith faith-based organizations cited here can be seen as existing organizations whose manifest tasks were continued and increased according to the emergent needs that presented themselves after the disaster. The resources they offered were consistent with their daily functioning as they maintained their patterns of outreach and education within the community.

Faith-based Organizations affiliated with the American Red Cross: Child Care and Spiritual Care Organizations

The American Red Cross (ARC) defines itself as "a humanitarian organization, led by volunteers, that provides relief to victims of disasters and helps people prevent, prepare for, and respond to emergencies." As an independent entity with federally designated responsibilities, the ARC operates as a neutral organization, making services available to all persons regardless of race, religion, creed, national origin, gender, etc. The ARC is a non-sectarian organization and thus must access external resources to ensure the availability of coordinated, qualified, and appropriate responses.

At local, state, and national levels, the ARC works with government, business, labor, religious, and community organizations as well as other voluntary agencies to identify responsibilities and roles, share information, and find ways to coordinate an efficient response to disasters. Among the results of coordinated disaster response are the relationships established between the ARC and the Church of the Brethren to provide disaster child care and between the ARC and a set of professional chaplain cognate groups to provide disaster spiritual care in aviation disasters. These two groups represent faith-based organizations that are attached to the ARC through statements of understanding through which the ARC provides the administrative support and guidance to the mobilized teams in disaster response.

Title VII—Aviation Disaster Family Assistance Act of 1996

The Federal Aviation Re-authorization Act was signed into law in 1996, designating the National Transportation Safety Board (NSTB) as the federal agency responsible for assisting families of passengers involved in aviation disasters. In accordance with certain Victim Support Tasks described in the Act, the NTSB approached the ARC to coordinate emotional support for families. With the undertaking of this responsibility, the ARC formed the Aviation Incident Response (AIR) team. This team grew to include specially trained mental health, childcare, and spiritual care teams. The Childcare Aviation Incident Response (CAIR) team was coordinated through the Church of the Brethren. The Spiritual Care Aviation Incident Response (SAIR) team was coordinated through the ARC along with an advisory team of representatives from the professional chaplain cognate groups.

The CAIR and SAIR teams had been mobilized to multiple aviation disasters before September 11, functioning as an expansion of ARC disaster services. As a disaster relief organization, the ARC maintains an organizational structure that expands its volunteer base in a disaster. As the structure changes, growing in complexity, the tasks of each volunteer participant are pre-established in accordance with specific disaster response plans. Therefore, the organizational structure is new, but the tasks are routine.

The attacks on September 11 pressed the local and national offices of the ARC into service, requiring a quick mobilization of hundreds of disaster volunteers from across the country. The CAIR and SAIR teams were also mobilized. These teams were established in structure and task in accordance with the Aviation Family Disaster Assistance Act with the mandate that in an aviation disaster, the AIR team would be mobilized and all necessary resources would be made available. Although airliners were the precipitating agent of destruction on September 11, the disaster itself was not technically classified as an aviation disaster. Therefore the Act was not invoked, the

NTSB did not have jurisdiction for leading any investigation, and the ARC did not have the primary responsibility for victim support in the resultant response. The CAIR and SAIR teams were specifically designated for aviation disasters and were to be mobilized only when the Act is invoked and the NTSB and ARC provide primary support services. Therefore, with the mobilization of CAIR and SAIR in this disaster response, the ARC extended the domains of these teams, simultaneously adapting in multiple dimensions.

Childcare Aviation Incident Response

The Childcare Aviation Incident Response (CAIR) team is composed of six persons designated to provide administrative leadership and child care at an aviation disaster. It is part of the Church of the Brethren's Emergency Response Services Ministry program and has jurisdiction over the provision of aviation child care as authorized by the ARC under a statement of understanding created after the passage of the 1996 Act. Although not an ARC program, it is integrated into the services that are the responsibility of the ARC, receiving support and guidance from the Disaster Mental Health officer on the AIR team.

The Church of the Brethren designed these teams of specially trained disaster child care workers in 1980 when volunteers saw that families were spending hours in long lines for assistance. Emotionally charged children who were required to sit and wait for long periods of time were found to be in need of a safe space designed in accordance with child development and the probable psychological stress they were undergoing as a result of the disaster. The provision of aviation disaster child care is an offshoot of the Church of the Brethren's normal role in natural disasters.

CAIR volunteers receive training in child development and disaster response, serving as volunteers on "less traumatic" events such as natural disasters, before becoming trained and certified to work as a member of the AIR team. These volunteers are located nationwide and are available for mobilization within hours of a call received from the ARC through Church of the Brethren headquarters.

Disaster Activities

After the September 11 attacks, the CAIR team set up a secure child care area in the Family Assistance Center on Pier 94 where parents or guardians could drop off their children with volunteers while they attended to the paperwork and tasks of applying for victim assistance. The secure child care area was a large room with high walls and a locking door. For security reasons, each child was photographed with his or her guardian and remained in the facility until that guardian returned for the child.

As children played with the abundance of toys, read books, listened to music, or interacted with the therapy dogs, CAIR volunteers watched for signs of distress or need and intervened when necessary. Many of the activities available were designed to stimulate self-expression and be creative outlets for the feelings the children could be carrying with them. Although the CAIR volunteers do not counsel the children, they do refer them and their guardians to ARC disaster mental health services if needed.

By the third week, CAIR volunteers had seen a shift in the children who were coming in to the child care area; there were many more children who did not speak English and a realization was setting in that those who were missing were most likely deceased. Additionally, the CAIR volunteers were gearing up for what could prove to be particularly stressful for children and their guardians: the announcement that death certificates would be made available at the Family Assistance Center. CAIR coordinators were preparing for larger groups of children who would be reacting to greater levels of stress and would need extra volunteers to provide care.

This third week was also a period of staff transition for both leaders and workers on the CAIR team. A normal aviation disaster is "completed" within two weeks of the crash. For AIR team members, the meaning of completion varies, but in a general sense it means that the crash location has been excavated, remains have been recovered, and families have received notification of the death of their loved ones. In some instances, a memorial service has been prepared and conducted as well. However, after this disaster, CAIR team members rotated in for two- to three-week periods over the course of several months.

Spiritual Care Aviation Incident Response

The Spiritual Care Aviation Incident Response (SAIR) team is a seven-person team that provides management of the spiritual care component of the ARC AIR team. Like CAIR, SAIR is not an ARC program, but is integrated into the services that are the responsibility of the ARC, receiving administrative support and guidance from Disaster Mental Health.

Members of the SAIR team have ecclesiastical endorsement, are members of one of five certifying groups (the Association for Professional Chaplains, the Association for Clinical Pastoral Education, the National Association for Catholic Chaplains, the National Association for Jewish Chaplains, or the International Conference of Police Chaplains), and have attended the ARC-SAIR training program. Chaplains are on call for an aviation disaster for one month of the year, making themselves available to respond within four hours notice and to be away from their workplace for up to 10 days.

Chaplains who are members of the SAIR team are dedicated to three goals: ensuring that appropriate spiritual care is provided to those affected by

aviation disasters; recruiting, training, and administering local spiritual care volunteers; and controlling who has access to victims and rescue workers. In addition, SAIR eventually provided chaplaincy services and supervision of local spiritual care volunteers at the temporary morgue at Ground Zero.

Disaster Activities

During their first few days in New York, SAIR team members trained over 500 local clergy who would provide ongoing spiritual care at the Disaster Assistance Service Center (DASC), the Family Assistance Center (FAC), the Respite Centers, and the morgue at Bellevue Hospital throughout the rescue and recovery efforts in New York City. The DASC offered resources to displaced families and workers; the FAC offered resources to families of the missing and deceased; the Respite Centers housed feeding and resting spaces for rescue workers at Ground Zero; the morgue, on the east side of the city, was a receiving area for all human remains found in the rubble.

Spiritual care represented different things at each site, but overall it consisted of a chaplain offering a presence or a listening ear for those who wished to talk. The ARC defines spirituality as "each person's way of finding meaning in his or her life experiences in light of a relationship to themselves, their community, and the transcendent." Therefore spiritual care is "a sustaining care that draws upon a person's own inner religious and/or spiritual resources . . . in its fundamental sense is service to others, including the religious/spiritual; emotional; social and, at times, physical care of those entrusted in the mist of crisis." Chaplains who work with the ARC are required to provide non-sectarian spiritual care, meaning they do not proselytize, they are available to persons of all faiths and persuasions, and they do not force themselves upon anyone. Instead, they make themselves available to those who are in need of spiritual support by "providing accompaniment, ritual, and prayer . . . and assisting others to regain and utilize their own spiritual resources."

ARC-affiliated chaplains were required to work without an agenda (such as the goal to convert a person to his or her own faith), following the lead of the persons to whom they were providing care in order to help them access their own spiritual resources. For some, this included offering prayer or other ritual, such as a blessing or anointing. For others, the simple accompaniment of a spiritual person through the process of gathering resources and dropping off DNA samples was considered supportive.

Controlling access to the different sites became an issue of security as well as assuring appropriateness of spiritual care. It was not unusual for ministers of differing faiths to arrive unannounced at the FAC, DASC, or morgue claiming that they had been "called by God" to provide care to survivors, grieving family members, and rescue workers. This was compounded by the fact that many New York City police were highly

respectful of persons representing faith traditions, so persons wearing clerical collars were often given access to secured sites based on appearance alone. On the streets around Ground Zero and in local parks where impromptu shrines and memorials had sprung up, many persons who claimed to be religious professionals would often stop people on the streets and request to pray, hand out religious tracts, or proselytize. The SAIR team was charged with preventing this type of activity within the boundaries of each of the sites and worked diligently to screen for ministerial appropriateness, permitting access only to local volunteers who agreed to work in an interfaith manner and to abide by charter of the ARC.

During the second week after the disaster, hope remained that survivors would be found within the rubble of the fallen towers. Emergency personnel and construction crews at Ground Zero worked 24 hours a day with extreme urgency. At the FAC, family members came to provide descriptions and to post flyers with pictures of their missing loved ones. At the beginning of the third week, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani announced that death certificates would be available to family members. This marked the end of the rescue operation and a beginning of recovery. Many family members interpreted the option of applying for death certificates as "giving up hope" that their loved one would be found, thereby creating an additional layer of tension at the FAC as families were torn between receiving assistance and holding out for a miraculous rescue.

The announcement of death certificate availability marked an increased need for additional spiritual care support staff at the FAC. This also marked the beginning of daily boat trips from Pier 94 to the World Trade Center area. ARC chaplains and Disaster Mental Health personnel accompanied family members as they traveled to see the space where the towers fell, and to leave flowers at a makeshift memorial.

Like the CAIR team, SAIR staff also made several transitions through these early weeks. For the first four days, spiritual care was coordinated out of the local chapter, advised by staff from the ARC National Headquarters in Falls Church, Virginia, and led by a national SAIR member who resided in New York City. Although SAIR members were on call and ready to fly in to New York, airports had been shut down and most team members were not able to fly in until the third day of operations. Many drove, and one group even flew in on a FEMA transport, accompanied by military fighter jets. It took several days to determine available office space for screening and training, to receive phone lines and computers, and to provide badges and ARC vests to local volunteers.

Many Jewish holy days fell within these three weeks, requiring rabbinical SAIR members to absent themselves from their positions and SAIR leadership to be temporarily restructured. Additionally, most SAIR team members made 10-day commitments to the operation. So just as the operation was changed

from rescue to recovery, an entirely new team of SAIR volunteers was arriving and faced new challenges for coordination and response.

Latent Tasks Leading to Expansion and Extension

Quite obviously, the latent tasks and resources available for the highly tragic nature of an aviation disaster cross over to the setting of this particular disaster. Because this disaster was not considered aviation and the Act was not invoked, CAIR and SAIR became an extended resource for the ARC. The specialized training of CAIR members to work with children who are bereaved and undergoing stress was a naturally transferable skill for the FAC setting in New York City. Additionally, with the high numbers of casualties, and the massive amount of loss, the SAIR team was well equipped to provide administrative support to the local volunteers at all sites where spiritual care was offered through the ARC throughout the city.

However, the expansion of ARC disaster services coupled with an extension of these two teams into non-routine settings requires making use of the DRC typology in a new way. This was a multi-dimensional organizational adaptation in which expansion and extension occurred simultaneously. An increase in structural complexity and an expanded volunteer base coincided with the mobilization of specialized teams to non-traditional settings.

The latent tasks of CAIR and SAIR made this adaptation a rather simple expansion of services to a disaster of overwhelming proportions. The two groups continued to function in fairly similar ways to their pre-disaster design, but in a setting that was outside of the scope for which they had been initially developed. Although the responders have self-evaluated their activities as successful for the most part, the potential for inter- and intra-organizational conflict and turf battles created an added tension as the organizations adapted to their new domains. Latent functions helped the organizations carve out new territory as structures expanded to include massive numbers of local and national volunteers as well as new levels of administration.

Summary

The adaptive strategies of faith-based organizations described within this paper have been analyzed along the DRC typology with the additional factor of latent organizational tasks leading to activation of suspended structures or the expansion of structures to meet disaster response needs. By making note of those available resources that come into practice during a disaster, it has been seen that these organizations are able to draw upon structures and tasks not normally manifest in day-to-day operations.

Structural adaptation was seen in the PNYC as an administrative commission was mobilized to meet ongoing needs within congregations across the city. In the language of the DRC typology, the PNYC expanded in complexity due to provisions that were created through the denomination to be activated when needs arise that are beyond the scope of normal functioning. These pre-existing provisions were put into practice with the assessment of needs following the disaster.

The local congregations and interfaith organizations increased their daily activities to meet needs within the community, but largely operated within their normal tasks and structures. They can be framed within the quadrant of existing organizations in the DRC typology. The increase in activities, such as memorial services, prayer services, support groups and counseling, as well as education and public statements condemning violence were all within the normal scope of the existing organizations' structure and tasks. One important point related to the lack of adaptation seen within these organizations is the implication that disaster-related tasks extend beyond the rescue and recovery efforts of emergency managers into the local community as faith leaders seek measures of maintenance that include outreach and assessment of needs.

Multi-dimensional adaptation is shown by the response of the CAIR and SAIR teams. These teams expanded in volunteer base and structural complexity while extending their response to a new form of disaster for which the teams were not initially designed or formed. The latent tasks of these teams were ideally suited for this disaster response in light of the number of casualties and the traumatic nature of the event.

Conclusions

The analysis of faith-based organizations presented above leads to comments directed at the methods used for this study as well as the assessed outcomes of specific organizations. For instance, past studies of local congregations have provided analyses that identify congregations as extending organizations rather than existing organizations, where they have opened their doors to flood victims and served as shelters, or as expanding organizations where new volunteers increase the structural complexity of the organization.

This paper offers only a snapshot of relief efforts provided by congregations in the week after the attacks, but it provides an interesting contrast to the "normal" adaptive measures reported in other studies. This may be due to several things: (1) the sample of representatives interviewed was biased towards those congregations located outside the restricted zone of lower Manhattan. Had the research concentrated on congregations closer to Ground Zero, there may have been a different outreach to groups such as the homeless and other persons in need; (2) the nature of the metropolitan area of New York, with its abundance of resources, may have resulted in

congregations' referring persons to other agencies that are normally prepared to address those needs; and (3) the congregations may have shown adaptive measures over a longer period of time. The data available from the short site visit prevents a longitudinal analysis that may provide differing conclusions. Nonetheless, this study does provide an account of the work of faith-based organizations in the response period immediately after the disaster and offers several insights to the application of the current DRC model.

Applications for Emergency Management

Organizations that concurrently expand their volunteer base while reaching into new territory will have to innovate and be creative in their work. This challenges organizational flexibility and resourcefulness as organizations navigate the terrain and work to maintain a sense of order. The benefit of activating pre-existent structures is that there will be some sense of regularity and cohesiveness in the midst of novel situations. Additionally, as organizations branch into new areas and establish themselves in new domains, they will develop structures to meet those needs that can be called upon in the future.

Understanding that multi-dimensional adaptation is occurring may help emergency responders to explain what appears to be disorganization in situations that are fraught with structural challenges. This may affect planning and mitigation measures as personnel evaluate and develop response initiatives for future events. Such developments may include the training and structuring of specialized response teams that are prepared to mobilize to multiple jurisdictions, taking more of an "all-hazards approach" to disaster response.

Additionally, a greater awareness of the functions that congregations, denominational agencies, and interfaith educational centers perform can expand the way that emergency response professionals view disaster response. For instance, as professional emergency managers provide rescue and relief efforts at the most severely affected disaster sites, ongoing work within the community to assess long-term needs and to provide support to victims and their families can be met and addressed by these local organizations, which will continue to operate long after the emergency response has concluded. This recognition of the work and leadership of congregations should lead to the inclusion of local faith-based organizations in community recovery plans for disasters of all types.

Theoretical Implications

Multi-dimensional adaptation of the SAIR and CAIR teams push the DRC typology into new directions. Past studies of organizational adaptation have focused on singular adaptive measures—organizations are situated in only

one of the four quadrants of the typology and new behaviors take place within existing organizations. Multi-dimensional adaptation requires a shift in the way that organizations are analyzed and framed, away from single dimensions to a multi-faceted understanding. Just as Bardo (1978), Stallings (1978), and Quarantelli (1996) noted that the DRC typology is too limited, the existing two-by-two matrix does not allow for theoretical complexity. The existence of two-dimensional adaptation raises questions about the DRC model, begging the question of how the typology might be restructured to provide for an inclusion of these types of organizations and their adaptive measures. Further clarity might be gained by adding theories of organizational processes such as those by Kreps and Bosworth (1993, 1994) and emphasizing that structures are in the constant state of formation as tasks and activities affect social organization.

This multi-dimensional adaptation also raises questions about the type of disaster and organizational preparation for disaster response. Had the CAIR and SAIR teams been established as teams that were prepared to respond to any incident with mass casualties under the auspices of the ARC, regardless of the ARC jurisdiction, this type of adaptation may not have been seen. These implications result from definitions of disaster and the appropriate routes for organizational management and response. Future policy changes within CAIR, SAIR, and the ARC may precipitate new agreements through which these teams will become regular responders to mass casualty incidents along with their normal role in aviation disasters, thereby aligning their adaptations within the single quadrant of expanding organizations in the DRC typology.

This research also furthers the DRC concept of expansion to include growth of organizational complexity as well as the traditional understanding of an increase in volunteers. It also raises the idea that existing organizations are not just those groups with specified emergency response structures and functions, but includes faith-based organizations that continue to function in traditional ways, meeting emergent needs of their congregations and community. However, this is coupled with additional research questions about the use of manifest/latent tasks in organizational adaptation. For instance, in this analysis, latency has served as a concept to explain the conditions leading to the adaptation of faith-based organizations. How does latency function in other types of organizations that adapt in disaster response, such as for-profit businesses or non-profit community agencies? To what extent does the mission and function of the organization affect the response and relief efforts in meeting employee and community needs after a disaster?

In addition to the conditions leading to organizational adaptation, there remain questions regarding the consequences of these types of adaptive measures, including the implications of patterned change based on latent functions and the assessment of their success. For instance, are organizations

that make use of latent tasks and functions in adaptation more or less successful in disaster response than organizations that take on nontraditional tasks and behaviors? What are the impacts of the behavioral change on the creation of new structures? And what are the long-term implications of change for these organizations? Is there a greater potential for institutionalization in contrast with emergent groups and those not making use of latency?

Finally, it is important to note the specific type of disaster invoked by the attacks on the World Trade Center as it relates to the adaptation of these faith-based organizations. Due to its complex nature, the resultant war efforts, and the assessment of religiously oriented causality, faith-based organizations played a special role in responding to moral questions and offering resources, critique, and interpretation to all those affected by the disaster. This made it especially important to focus on faith-based organizations as a particular group of responders while paying attention to each of them separately as individual organizations adapting to crisis and stress in a violently shocked community.

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Correspondence should be addressed to Jeannette Sutton, Department of Sociology, 327 UCB, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO 80309; e-mail: suttonj@mail.colorado.edu.