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Environmental Relocation Policy as Experienced by One Eastern Missouri Dioxin-Contaminated Community

Susan Annette Olsen
Walden University

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Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Susan Annette Olsen

has been found to be complete and satisfactory in all respects,
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the review committee have been made.

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Walden University
2017

Abstract

Environmental Relocation Policy as Experienced by One Eastern Missouri

Dioxin-Contaminated Community

by

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MPA, Southern Illinois University, 2003

MA, Texas A&M University, 1991

BA, University of Colorado, 1978

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

May 2017

Abstract

Research on environmental relocation is scant and narrow, focusing on a few aspects of permanent relocation and social impacts of natural disasters. As a result, little is known about the long term social impacts of the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) environmental relocation policy. A combined conceptual and theoretical framework of Walter's placeways; Ullberg's disaster memoryscapes; Richardson's remembrance and memorialization; Dynes' social capital; and, Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, and Pfefferbaum's work on community resilience guided this phenomenological study with the purpose of better understanding competing and complementary roles of each of these constructs in the context of environmental relocation of one dioxin-contaminated community in Eastern Missouri. Data were collected from archival materials and interviews with 10 adults who were youth, teens, or young adults who lived in the community from 1970 through 1986. All data were coded and analyzed using Moustaka's reflective analysis procedure. Findings confirmed that the loss of place was most significant. The loss of place in this study refers to not only the physical relocation of all the residents of the entire community, but the razing of all the physical structures that were buried in a landfill. A state park was established where the community once existed. Future research to further extend the scholarship on environmental relocation could examine one or more of the other 18 contaminated communities relocated by the EPA to compare and contrast findings. Implications for social change include informing EPA policymakers, legislators, and officials about the long term social impacts in order to improve planning and implementation phases of environmental relocation.

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A very special thanks to the former Mayor of Times Beach, Missouri, Marilyn Leister, who upon our first meeting, shared with me over 20 boxes of her own personal and public records and many hours of her time helping me with the foundation of this study. Marilyn helped me to realize the story had not yet been told from the survivors' perspective and that there was a dissertation in there for me.

I will be ever grateful to my husband, Randy, who has passed away, but who always encouraged me to continue my education and reminded me that "I am bound by nothing." My four children and five grandchildren have been very supportive, and I am thankful to them for their love and encouragement. Thanks to my friends (Minnie, Bernie, Cheri, and Diana) who didn't take offense when I declined dinners, movies, shopping, weekend getaways, and other tempting escapes, as well as my co-workers, Buz, Bob, and Jim, who continued to gently probe/nag, "Aren't you done yet?"

Thanks to my saint of a mom who was my cheerleader throughout this journey with our daily phone calls across the miles, her sweet notes, gifts, love, and tolerance of her eternal student daughter. She passed away this past summer, and I'm sorry she won't see me graduate. Thanks to my companion dog and buddy, Sammy, who passed away last Christmas. He always slept at my feet while working on this paper and stared me down if it was after midnight so we could go to bed. Thank you to my editor, Katie Gillen, for her expertise in helping me with the APA formatting requirements. Finally, thank you to all those amazing "river rats" and "beach bums" who gave of their time and heart to this study so that all they've been through will live on and hopefully effect needed change.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Background

Riding along the bicycle path, the soft breeze kisses my face and moves the tall grasses like a musician gently plucking strings from a harp. I can hear the lazy lap of the Meramec River below as it hits the narrow sandy beach. Beyond the path are wide open spaces and above, tall trees bend their branches toward me as if they were wrapping their arms around something absent. What is absent, is the entire town of Times Beach, Missouri (MO).

On February 22, 1983, the United States federal government sanctioned the permanent relocation of all 2,200 residents of Times Beach through a joint federal-state action, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), and the State of Missouri. This action was in response to the recommendations by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) considering high levels of dioxin reported in soil sample testing of the town's streets and yards. In the early 1970s, the city government had contracted with a local domestic waste hauler to spray domestic oil on their unpaved dusty streets. Unbeknownst to the city government officials at the time, the waste hauler had also contracted to collect wastes from a chemical plant near Verona, Missouri, that had manufactured Agent Orange for the federal government. That chemical waste was collected and then transferred into the same holding tanks that contained domestic oil wastes that were located throughout the St. Louis metro area. The chemical manufacturing process for Agent Orange results in a

by-product known as dibenzo-p-dioxins, or just dioxin. It is considered the most highly toxic and the most carefully studied of these compounds (Dow, 2014).

Today, the area is known as the Route 66 State Park, which lies about 20 miles southwest of St. Louis and a few miles east of *Six Flags Over St. Louis Amusement Park*. Gone are the street signs, water tower, the homes, businesses, churches, and the city park where residential children once played ball. There is no physical evidence that something previously occupied the space. Nothing is visible except a huge, unmarked, grassy mound that rises above the wooded park. This land fill is the size of four football field and holds all of the bulldozed structures and contents of the community's homes and businesses (Giegerich, 2016). Metal pipes protrude from the southern end of the mound and a test well lies along the center of the eastern side from which EPA personnel periodically test for signs of dioxin. A narrative synopsis of the events at Times Beach from its beginnings through today with several maps and other photos is included in Appendix A.

In this phenomenological study, I sought to understand the lived experiences of 10 individuals who were youth, teens, or young adults at the time of the contamination and subsequent permanent relocation during the years 1970-1986. In 2016, these individuals were in their late 40s and 50s. Through in-depth interviews, I explored the long term social impacts of the EPA's environment relocation policy at the time of the relocation. In 1983, when the federal government announced the buyout of the Times Beach community properties, the EPA did not have a formal policy for permanent relocation, but they managed to bring together various pieces of applicable legislation,

plans, and policies that had been previously applied to the disaster relocation events at Love Canal, New York, another community that was contaminated by toxic waste just 2 years prior to the Times Beach flood and dioxin.

At the time of the flooding and the announcement of the contamination 2 weeks later, scientists did not know much about the health hazards of dioxin. The results of the soil test samples aided in making the decision to relocate everyone and err on the side of safety. It was also feared that the flood waters might have displaced the original pockets of dioxin identified in the test sampling that was conducted prior to the flood of December 5, 1982.

My findings from this research may increase awareness and understanding of the actual social impacts of the EPA's permanent relocation policy. With the first-hand knowledge provided by the voices of those who survived the environmental relocation, policymakers and legislators may be able to improve current policies and legislation pertaining to forced permanent relocation due to toxic contamination of communities. Past studies were limited in scope and primarily focused on temporary relocation due to natural disasters. The findings in this study revealed new insights into the actual experiences of those who lived through the temporary and permanent housing phases of disaster recovery.

In Chapter 1, I include a problem statement, the purpose of my study, the research questions, the combined conceptual and theoretical framework, the nature of the study,

and relevant definitions. In Chapter 1, I also include assumptions, scope limitations, and the significance of the study.

Problem Statement

The area of inquiry for this qualitative research study was the long term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy based on the perceptions of 10 former residents of one dioxin-contaminated community. Previous research included narrow studies that addressed some aspects of permanent relocation and social impacts of natural disasters. Peacock, Dash, and Zhang (2007) focused on the short-term social impacts, as well as household recovery issues and displacement; however, the long term social impacts of permanent relocation are significantly understudied. With over 1,300 contaminated sites still lingering on the EPA's national priority list (NPL), April 28, 2017, the potential for future relocations of contaminated communities underscores the urgency of studying the long-term impacts of this governmental policy (Edelstein, 2004). Research conducted during the past 5 years regarding permanent relocation has been conducted primarily for urban housing and city planning studies; however, I did not see that the findings of those studies could be applied to the environmental relocation of toxin-contaminated communities. I reviewed several studies carried out during the early 2000s that addressed disaster recovery and temporary housing due to natural disasters, which are referenced in Chapter 2.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research was to yield increased understanding and awareness of the long term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy in the context of one dioxin-contaminated community in Eastern Missouri. My qualitative findings may lead to improved policies and legislation that take into careful consideration the recommendations that reflect the social concepts and theories discussed in this paper. These recommendations may also help mitigate the adverse impacts of permanent relocations of toxin-contaminated communities.

Research Questions

I designed this study with a combined framework of concepts and theories that examine the competing and complementary roles in environmental relocations. I explored the role of place via placeways theory (Walter, 1998). In order to understand disaster memory, I drew from disaster memoryscapes theory by Ullberg (2010). I examined remembrance theory (Richardson, 2010) to learn about memorialization and disaster rituals. Studying social capital theory as authored by Dynes (2006) in the context of a disaster, enlightened me how important it is that government planning and decision-making about relocation policy and procedures, include acknowledgement of existing community relationships that could be drawn upon. Finally, I considered resilience in the context of a disaster through the lens of resilience theory by Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, and Pfefferbaum (2008). Data collected during the interviews enabled me to test the viability of the theories and the archival documentation that I

reviewed provided the means for triangulation to increase reliability and verification. Several recent researchers (Cox & Perry, 2011; Hanna, Dale, & Ling, 2009) argued that decision makers and policymakers, who consider social theories in the planning and execution of permanent relocations, may see improved and more positive disaster recovery.

Central Research Question

The central research question of this study was: What are the long term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy as retrospectively perceived by 10 former residents of one dioxin-contaminated community during the one-on-one interviews and as evidenced in public/private archival document review?

This overarching question was designed to address an existing gap within the scholarly literature. I explored the actual experiences of former residents who were forced to abandon their homes and belongings due to the unknown effects of the toxic contaminant, dioxin.

Subquestions

The study was also guided by the following subquestions, which link to the combined conceptual and theoretical framework that is discussed in the next section.

RQ₁: What is the role of place, as defined by placeways theory, as it relates to long term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy?

RQ₂: What is the role of disaster memory, as defined by memoryscapes theory, as it relates to long term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy?

RQ₃: What are the roles of remembrance rituals and memorialization, as defined by remembrance theory, as it relates to long term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy?

RQ₄: What is the role of social capital, as defined by social capital theory, as it relates to long term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy?

RQ₅: What is the role of resilience, as defined by resilience theory, as it relates to long term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy?

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

During this study, I explored the following concepts: role of place, role of disaster memory, role of remembrance and memorialization, role of social capital, and role of resilience in the context of environmental relocation. The study was also framed by multiple theories: placeways (Walter, 1998), disaster memoryscapes (Ullberg, 2010), remembrance and memorialization (Richardson, 2010), social capital (Dynes, 2006), and resilience (Norris et al., 2008). Previous researchers primarily addressed permanent relocation in the short-term for a variety of types of disasters including but not limited to floods, earthquakes, and fires. Past researchers examined one or, at the most, two of the concepts listed above; therefore, this study is unique in that I brought together all five concepts and associated theories and applied them in the context of the environmental

relocation of this contaminated community. A detailed description of the links between the concepts and theories and the Times Beach environmental relocation is provided in Figure 2 located in Chapter 2.

Nature of the Study

The tradition of inquiry for this study is a qualitative phenomenological retrospective approach. Data were collected using face-to-face in-depth interviews and review of a variety of public and private archival records that were in my personal possession and on loan to me by Mrs. Marilyn Leistner, the former mayor of Times Beach. The combination of the interviews and review of the archival materials helped to substantiate and triangulate data collected during the interviews. Archival records and documents included federal government official records, state and local records, Congressional testimony, media reports, personal videotapes, photographs, artwork, music, poems, correspondence, cartoons, and other memorabilia. I will further discuss this methodology and other strategies for conducting the data collection as well as data analysis methods in Chapter 3.

Definitions

For purposes of this study, I used the following key terms:

Contaminated community: A residential area located within the identified boundaries for a known exposure to some form of pollution (Edelstein, 2004).

Dioxin: Officially known by chemists as 2, 3, 7, 8-tetrachlorodibenzo-p-dioxin (2, 3, 7, 8-TCDD), dioxin is a generic term which refers to a family of compounds known as

dibenzo-p-dioxins which are unintended by-products of chemical manufacturing (i.e., Agent Orange). It is considered the most highly toxic and the most carefully studied of these compounds (Dow, 2014).

Disaster: Defined as "social disruption and phenomena". (Rodriquez, Quarantelli, & Dynes, 2010, p. xvii).

Environmental relocation: Described as the permanent relocation of residents of contaminated communities (Lythcott, 2002). The term "environmental relocation" is used throughout this study in the context that a community has been contaminated by a man-made toxin.

Fair market value (FMV): Defined as the appraised value of a property. FMV is the price that property would sell for on the open market. Retrieved April, 2017 from <http://www.irs.gov/publications/p561/ar02.html#d0e139>

Place: Defined as a location of experience and the container of shapes, powers, feelings, and meanings that define a place. Walter (1998) studied the role of place in the decision-making process, and I am applying his placeways theory in the context of environmental relocation of the subject community.

Remembrance: Defined as the means by which victims of disasters can rebuild a sense of place after loss (Richardson, 2010). Remembrance will be used synonymously with memorialization throughout this research study.

Resilience: Defined as the capability of an individual, family, or a community to face a threat, survive, and bounce back or forward to a new normalcy and positively recover from a disaster or crisis (Norris et al., 2008).

Sense of Place: Defined as the psycho-support activities to assist disaster stricken victims to reestablish “place” (Prewitt Diaz & Dayal, 2008).

Social capital: In the context of a disaster, social capital is defined as the local knowledge about an impacted community's existing social organizations (i.e., families, local government, and community organizations) and how they functioned prior to a disaster (Dynes, 2006). Acknowledging how a community functioned between its residents, local organizations, and government has been shown to contribute to positive outcomes in disaster recovery (Dynes, 2006).

Assumptions, Scope, and Limitations

Scanlon (2002) contended that some disasters are so dramatic that an individual's memories can be very vivid even after three-quarters of a century. Scanlon argued that the memories remained despite the loss of memory that accompanies the aging process. Perceptions of the lived experiences of the former residents were likely to be very reliable even after more than 30 years since the environmental relocation of Times Beach in 1983. To help mediate the aging process effect, I selected participants who were adults in 2016, but who had been youth, teens, or young adults during 1970 through 1986. This period included the street spraying, the record flood, notification of the contamination,

and the forced evacuation and permanent relocation. Appendix A contains a chronological narrative that describes the significant events pertaining to the creation and eventual disincorporation of the town and then the relocation. The chronology of events in the narrative provided me with a guide and a timeline to keep the conversation moving as well as supporting the triangulation of data collected during the in-depth face to face interviews. How long a participant lives in a community may result in his or her being more vocal about post-disaster impacts such as loss of employment and businesses, declining property values, environmental stigma, and attachment to community (Edelstein, 2004; Shriver & Kennedy, 2005). The data seemed to support that premise.

I assumed that former residents participating in the interviews, who lived on streets with higher levels of dioxin would have a different perception of the environmental relocation events compared to former residents who lived on streets with lower levels or no dioxin contamination. To explore this assumption, I used the 1984 color-coded street map created by the EPA showing the sampling results and levels of dioxin contamination for each street (See Figure 1). However, what I found is that the participants had never seen or heard of this map and were not aware of the levels found on their streets.



Figure 1. 1984 EPA Map of Times Beach. Used with permission from Marilyn Leistner.

The scope of this research was bound to just one dioxin-contaminated community and sought greater understanding about the long term social impacts of the EPA's permanent relocation policy as it existed in 1983. The qualitative phenomenological design may have limited transferability; however, the study findings may serve as a baseline for future research for comparing recovery outcomes for the other 18 EPA sponsored environmental relocations.

Significance

One important aspect of significance for this study is that by hearing and recording the 2016 voices of the former residents of the 1983 environmental relocation,

policymakers and government officials will be provided with first-hand information about the after effects of their policies and potential ways to improve them. Potential implications for social change may be that policymakers and other government officials and legislators, responsible for decisions about environmental relocation, will gain a greater understanding about the importance of acknowledging the roles of place, disaster memory, remembrance, social capital, and resilience for individuals and communities that are environmentally relocated. Consideration of these social concepts and theories during the decision making process and various phases of disaster recovery, may provide a foundation for policy changes that may lead to a decrease in the associated negative ramifications that may materialize in response to permanent relocation.

I also have had the opportunity to contribute lessons learned by interpreting the data so that future disaster victims may benefit. In addition, the findings of this study could serve as a benchmark for future research that examines other communities that were relocated by the EPA due to contamination. While most communities have not been entirely evacuated, this community was one of the few places that was totally evacuated for environmental contamination. I hope that the findings of this study provide greater insight into how community members have adapted over time after the environmental relocation.

Summary

In this study, I examined the long-term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy for survivors of one dioxin-contaminated community and sought to

understand the lived experiences of the former residents. This study was designed using a combined theoretical and conceptual framework using multiple theories. For the first time, this study brings together five separate theories in the context of environmental relocation and includes: placeways theory (Walter, 1998), disaster memoryscapes theory (Ullberg, 2010), remembrance theory (Richardson, 2010), social capital theory (Dynes, 2006), and resilience theory (Norris et al., 2008). I used this conceptual framework to explore various roles of the concepts of place, disaster memory, remembrance and memorialization, social capital, and resilience in the context of environmental relocation. I discuss this in greater detail in Chapter 2.

In Chapter 1, I included a description of the background to this study, a statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, the research questions, the nature of the study, and the combined theoretical and conceptual framework, as well as relevant definitions. In addition, I presented the assumptions, scope, limitations, and the significance of the study. In Chapter 2, I will review the literature and identify the gaps and deficiencies in prior studies as well as the placement of this study in the related body of literature.

In Chapter 3, I will address the study design, participant selection, procedures, and assessments, and I will describe the methodology of this qualitative phenomenological research under the headings of research design, methodology, threats to data quality, and ethical considerations. I will also discuss research design in reference to paradigm, tradition, and research questions. In the methodology section, I will describe

the participants and population, my role as researcher, data collection and recording tools, the data collection plan, and the data analysis plan.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

Scant research has been conducted that examines the long term social impacts of environmental relocation policy on affected residents of toxin-contaminated communities. In this phenomenological study, I sought to understand the lived experiences of former residents of a dioxin-contaminated community that the EPA entirely evacuated and permanently relocated nearly 35 years ago. Little is known about how people cope during the various phases of disaster recovery, particularly in their progression from evacuation and into temporary, short-term, and permanent housing (Peacock et al., 2007). During the interviews, the study participants provided a reflective voice that sheds light on the long-term social impacts of environmental relocation through the sharing of stories and experiences that have not been previously told.

In Chapter 2, I review the multiple theories and concepts that frame the study and includes recent as well as dated but still relevant scholarship. Next, I present a review of past studies pertaining to permanent relocation in the context of disasters and urban renewal projects. Finally, in Chapter 2, I examine the EPA's current relocation policy, applicable legislation, and other government guidance pertaining to permanent relocation.

Literature Search Strategy

My topic initially seemed to best align with the disaster literature, but it became obvious to me that the long-term social impacts of environmental relocation had not been extensively researched. The theoretical framework for

this study extended across diverse academic disciplines and areas of study including: psychology, sociology, political science, economics, operations research, communications, public administration, geography, and anthropology. I accessed the following databases through the Walden University Library: Academic Search Premier, Lexis-Nexis, Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), PsychARTICLES, Soc INDEX, ProQuest Dissertation & Theses Databases, Sage Online Educational Journals, as well as Google Scholar and Facebook.

I used multiple, singular, and combinations of the following generic search terms: *permanent relocation, environmental relocation, contaminated communities, disaster, displacement, temporary shelter, evacuation, dioxin, disaster recovery, disaster memory, social memory, disaster memorialization, resilience, remembrance, social capital, coping, place, loss of place, place attachment, and sense of place*. I scanned the reference lists of relevant peer-reviewed journal articles for additional sources to increase the depth and breadth of the overall literature review.

Conceptual and Theoretical Foundation

This study is framed by multiple concepts and theories (See Figure 2).

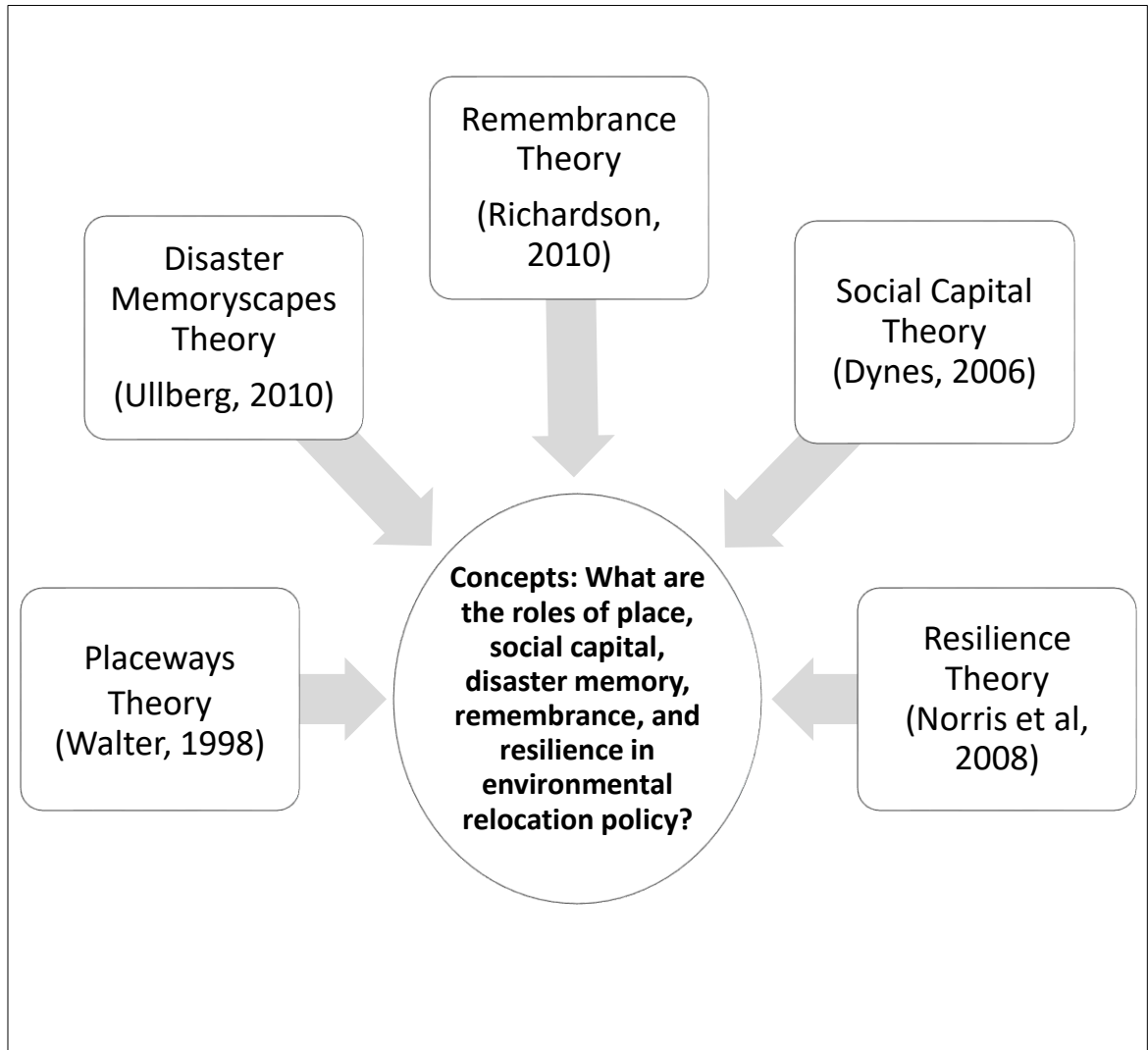


Figure 2. Combined Conceptual and Theoretical Framework.

I used this combined framework to examine the roles of place (Walter, 1998), disaster memory (Ullberg, 2010), rituals and memorialization after a disaster (Richardson, 2010), social capital (Dynes, 2006), and resilience (Norris et al., 2008). The interview questions directly link back to the theories, and data produced during the

interviews test the viability of the theories. A number of researchers (Cox & Perry, 2011; Hanna, Dale, & Ling, 2009, argued that decision makers and policymakers, who consider such social theories in planning and execution of permanent relocations, may see improved and more positive disaster recovery outcomes.

Placeways Theory

Understanding how much a place means to disaster-affected community members is important in facilitating the disaster recovery process. Walter (1998) described place as a container to store traditions, to provide a foundation for society, and to record historical changes. He advocated for a *renewal of consciousness* and held that emotions should be considered during every phase of decision-making processes. Walter (1998) also warned that by not acknowledging feelings, symbols, memories, myths, and dreams of people, a decision may have negative consequences. He further explained that even the ancient Greek philosophers believed that to understand the whole experience of a place, the senses and feelings expressed by those who had been conquered, must be acknowledged.

Gieryn (2000) suggested that people invest in a place through intangible cultural norms, identities, memories, values, and meanings, and that place serves as a means for measuring their lives. People feel safe and secure in their communities, close to family, neighbors and friends, and memories are made there (Halbwachs, 1980). Wulfhorst (2000) contended that rural community residents have stronger attachments to place than urban communities. According to Shriver and Kennedy (2005), symbolic landscape and

attachment to community is also linked to how long residents lived in the area and their view of the community in the context of contamination.

The concept of place has primarily been associated with geography, architecture, planning, sociology, environmental psychology, anthropology, environmental history, and philosophy. Studies concerned with the role of place within the context of natural disasters began shortly after Hurricane Katrina in 2005 (Quarantelli, Lagadec, & Boin, 2007). Prewitt Diaz and Dayana (2008) argued that loss of place is the most devastating impact on disaster victims and that loss of place can be prolonged or could be permanent. Furthermore, the ramifications of permanent relocation for the health and well-being of those affected can be profound (Prewitt Diaz & Dayana, 2008). Loss of place not only means a physical loss but also a loss of confidence in the norms, a loss of trust in institutions, and a loss of faith in the government as well as relationships and networks (Prewitt Diaz & Dayana, 2008). Effects of permanent relocation vary and are dependent upon whether it was forced, was temporary, or was permanent (Brown & Perkins, 1992).

According to Cox and Perry (2011), place serves as an orienting framework in disaster recovery but also as the foundation on which social capital and community disaster resilience are built. Richardson (2010) argued that including the concept of place during all phases of policy development for disaster recovery and relocation policies will enhance the likelihood for increased resilience and social capital by the community members.

Memoryscapes Theory

Ullberg (2010) conceptualized social memory and examined how and to what extent disasters are remembered. Ullberg's memoryscapes theory is defined as the "timespace that shapes and is shaped by different practices of making meaning of the past" (p. 13). Ullberg sought to understand the experiences of the Santafesian people of Argentina who experienced a deadly flood on April 23, 2003. Based on an assessment of the amount of damage and insufficient responses by the government to the disaster, Ullberg explored whether that flood was the first time the community experienced such a disaster. Review of local historical records revealed that the community had previously experienced over 30 floods, and Ullberg wondered about the lack of preparation. One explanation was that flooding disasters were not remembered equally by community members, which may have resulted in increased social vulnerability and a decline in resilience capability (Ullberg, 2010). Some members of the community accepted the recurrent flooding as normal, which Fabian (2007) referred to as *forgetful remembering*, and perhaps this acceptance was how victims coped with loss and social suffering. Other victims, especially first-time flood victims, were politically active in organizing anniversary events of remembrance, supported street graffiti, and other commemorative rituals to contest the government's failed emergency management practices associated with the flood (Ullberg, 2010).

According to Halbwachs (1980), social or cultural memory can be defined as the sum of its individual parts and that individual memory is influenced by the recollections of others. Kofman Bos, Ullberg, & 't Hart (2005, studied collective memory and found that it can be affected by formal and informal remembrances as well as by history. Parenti (1999) researched how governments sometimes prohibited disaster victims from talking about the event. Parenti (1999) studied disaster memory and found that public records were often destroyed to discourage remembrance because the situation was inconvenient, embarrassing, or possibly scandal-inducing for those in power.

Governmental officials who take the time to understand how disasters are remembered by survivors will produce more effective decisions and policies that reflect the needs and desires of those affected. In the past, officials have focused on the economic response aspects of a disaster because it is a prominent and highly visible part of the disaster process. Officials can design meaningful response plans that address the social and cultural aspects of the disaster recovery process to improve disaster recovery outcomes.

Remembrance and Memorialization Theory

Remembrance is how victims of disasters can rebuild a sense of place after loss and may manifest itself as the new normal, as well as serve as an expression of what the meaning of the disaster was to the community (Richardson, 2010). Richardson advocated that survivors can successfully find meaning in the disaster by sharing their experiences

with others and further showed that engaging in activities rich in symbols and rituals encouraged memories. Remembrance is an opportunity for disaster survivors to come together for the wider public to extend condolences and, as time goes by, to acknowledge the personal growth since the disaster (Richardson).

Both Eyre (2007) and Richardson (2010) agree that disaster survivors who are navigating the grieving process must perceive that government officials responding to a disaster are supportive and respectful. Government officials must also acknowledge that some survivors may not want to remember what happened and may oppose any kind of discussions or memorial pertaining to the disaster. Eyre (2007) also advocated that government officials should acknowledge the role played by loss of place in disaster recovery and include references to it in official permanent relocation plans as well as during all phases of disaster recovery.

Opportunities for various forms of personal and community expression following a disaster exhibits sensitivity for the grieving families (Eyre, 2007). Eyre maintained that participation should be extended beyond members of the impacted community, and include members of the media, government, and private individuals involved in the permanent relocation. High profile media coverage is critical to the process because it helps reinforce a sense of national tragedy and local impact of the disastrous events; the media also serves to reinforce socially appropriate forms of informal popular expression (Eyre, 1999).

Remembrance provides the connection to what has been lost through various means such as memorial services, observance of disaster anniversaries, and physical monuments (Doss, 2008; Richardson, 2010). Anniversary events represent the social significance of a disaster and mark both physical and social time, which include the passing of calendar years. Anniversary events allow expressions of collective remembrance by the affected community and raise the public profile of injustices and long-term impacts of failed disaster recovery policies (Eyre, 2007).

Richardson (2010) contended that the most important thing about disaster memorials is that they must be wanted. There are many kinds of memorials that can bring meaning to the experience of a disaster. Eyre (2007) and Nicholls (2006) both agreed that disaster victims must be involved in the development of a memorial so that it reflects the distinctive qualities that mean the most to them. Walter (1998) maintained that flowers and other gifts left in memory of a disaster stricken place, are really mapping the sacred site of contemporary culture. Waits (2007) found that music can also have a role in the memorialization and remembrance process by recording the events of a disaster in story form and by helping to keep alive the memory of the event. It is through memorials that survivors and victims are honored and the public is educated about the event and its causes for promoting remembrance.

Nicholls (2006) studied disaster memorial development and suggested that governments should recognize that disaster memorial development can be a viable strategy for it to open the lines of communication between itself and the affected

community. The government can show its support for disaster recovery by sponsoring a memorial effort to include paying for it and facilitating the process, which sends a message to the community that they can trust the government (Nicholls, 2006). Nicholls also acknowledged that a government's generous response to a grieving disaster-struck community may also reap a secondary benefit in the form of "solid electoral dividends" (p. 36).

Nicholls (2006) identified eight best practices for disaster memorial development (p. 43):

1. Allow the call for a memorial to come from the affected community
2. Establish a steering committee composed of key stakeholders including community opinion leaders
3. Establish transparent processes for extensive and inclusive community consultation employing people skilled in such consultation
4. Utilise as many forums for input as practicable (e.g. surveys, interviews, focus groups, Internet and email mechanisms)
5. Conduct consultation in stages to allow wide-ranging and developing conversations between community members, and community and government
6. Act on responses received and report back to community members at each stage of consultation showing how responses have been acted upon
7. Minimise government over-ride of community requests and, when necessary, explain reasons in order to achieve understanding

8. Disseminate reports on decisions and outcomes widely

Nicholls (2006) contended that memorials are specifically designed and deliberately positioned to commemorate a disaster that has catastrophically affected some combination of people, other living things and/or places. Historically, disaster communities most often chose a physical memorial to commemorate the event. In the recent past, online virtual memorials have been established. Spontaneous memorials often appear without notice and elaboration with flowers, monetary contributions, and other forms of support (Doss, 2008; Eyre, 2007). Memorials typically serve as a physical permanence with some combination of site, structure, building, planting, landscaping, artifact and/or monument.

Grider (2001) studied disaster memorials and advised that during the physical memorial development process, consideration must be given to the disposition of physical items left behind, including responsibility for maintenance, care of items, and long-term storage. One cost-effective solution is using photography to document and to preserve images of spontaneous shrines to avoid weather-related damage or destruction (Grider, 2001).

Grider (2001) identified the challenges of virtual memorials or cyber shrines, over a physical memorial. First, emails may be difficult to preserve, but new technologies may help with online archiving. Second, there are privacy issues to be addressed such as letters addressed to the deceased. And finally, what about people without access to the virtual memorial by persons without a computer?

Richardson (2010) suggested that memorial process does not have to be government led. He studied the Australian community of Strathewen, Victoria which initiated a virtual website to commemorate the tragedy resulting from the Australian bushfires of 2009. The site contained shared lessons learned, provided links to resources as well as updates on how the community continued to recover from the disaster.

Richardson (2010) recommended that community emergency management officials and planners should review that virtual website for applicability and such a site could also be recommended to government officials who are responsible for disaster recovery policies.

Resilience Theory

According to Norris et al., (2008), resilience is not a definitive set of characteristics, but varies with individuals and can be defined as a process that includes four interrelated adaptive capabilities during a disaster or traumatic event:

1. Social Capital
2. Information
3. Communication
4. Community Competence

Using these four competencies during the development of disaster readiness strategy and policy development may increase community resilience.

Norris et al., (2008) studied two rural Canadian communities destroyed by the McClure forest fire in 2003 to determine if there were any connections between community resilience, social capital, and place during the disaster recovery phase. The

methodology for the study was a qualitative multi-site ethnographic approach which included interviews, review of media reports, and field notes. They concluded that victims experienced disorientation especially when key decisions were being made about resource allocations and plans for rebuilding the communities (Norris, 2008). The “rush to return to normal” (Norris, p. 408) following a disaster is a natural desire and there is a push to rebuild the community quickly. However, Norris (2008) further argued that, at the same time, planners must be alert for possible unaddressed emotional and social recovery needs associated with loss and displacement. Norris recommended a more strategic approach. Revisions of policy and practices that address disorientation and reorientation interventions, may improve recovery outcomes and result in greater community disaster resilience.

Disasters are disruptive, cause damage to, or destroy a community's social institutions, infrastructure, and social networks resulting in a reduction in a community's resilience or ability to bounce back after a crisis (Prewitt Diaz & Dayana, 2008). To counter this, Tidball, Krasny, Svendsen, Campbell, and Helphand (2010) found that leveraging memories of greening activities (i.e., gardening, forestry) into effective practices promoted healing and resulted in greater success in the recovery of disaster-impacted communities and increased community resilience. That same study included a narrative that described how both WWI and WWII entrenched soldiers and the Warsaw Ghetto Jews planted gardens even though they knew that they would not reap the harvest.

The memories of those gardening experiences sustained them in their duties and they became more resistant and resilient (Tidball et al., 2010).

Tidball et al. (2010) also suggested that greening is a form of memorialization using trees and other living things; in symbolic terms, they represent place, hope, life and rebirth, all of which contribute toward increased resilience. Living memorials may range from single trees to small forests and are planted in various locations throughout a community. Recent national disasters have generated an outpouring of greening opportunities to aid in the healing process and the building of resilience in those communities (Tidball et al., 2010).

Walsh (2007) contended that during a disaster, people cope by reaching out to help someone else, which results in the self-actualization that they were doing something they might not have considered doing had they not had that traumatic experience. Individuals came out of a tragic situation enduring great loss and suffering but developed a greater ability to adapt to a new normalcy (Walsh, 2007). Rodriguez et al., (2010) sought to expose the myth that victims of a disaster were disconcerted and floundering and found that those who experienced a disaster were, in fact, active survivors.

Social Capital Theory

There are many definitions of social capital with common references to reciprocity among groups and individuals, networks, and trust (Putnam, 2001; Ritchie & Gill, 2007). Social capital can be best understood by examining community relationships (Dynes, 2006). Greater success in a community's disaster recovery efforts will occur if

government planners, policymakers, emergency management, and law enforcement officials acknowledge and utilize a community's existing social capital (Dynes, 2006). For example, schools and churches can be used as shelters, first-aid stations, and information centers. Dynes (2006) also found that social capital changes after a disaster; networks are restructured, obligations are reordered, and new roles for community organizations emerge and become involved in the recovery efforts. Dynes advocated that emergency efforts should be grounded in social capital, meaning that members of the disaster community should be involved in the collaboration and assistance efforts.

Murphy (2007) studied two rural Canadian communities; one experienced a water-borne disaster in 2000, and the other had a power blackout in 2003. Survey responders shared that they thought that their neighbors would likely come to their aid in the event of a disaster, which seems to indicate that social capital is comparatively "more robust" in rural areas (Murphy, 2007, p. 176). Murphy's assertion corroborates Wulfhorst's (2000) argument that rural community residents have strong attachments to place and networks for support. In another study, Chamlee-Wright and Storr (2011) examined how social capital, in the form of collective narratives, helped facilitate a better post-disaster community recovery and redevelopment. Chamlee-Wright and Storr (2011) supported the definition that social capital consists of networks and norms that individuals and groups identify with in their individual and group goals, especially in their responses to disaster preparedness, response, and recovery.

Use of a community's existing social structures (i.e., families, local government, and community organizations) in conjunction with command and control will reduce negative consequences and result in new resources and solutions (Ritchie & Gill, 2007). Ritchie and Gill further argued that social capital needs to be built on trust and reciprocity norms, both of which also contribute toward community resilience. Social capital appears to have a positive impact during each phase of disaster recovery and contributes to more successful outcomes (Yazin, 2010).

Nakagawa and Shaw (2004) examined the role of social capital in two disaster case studies that occurred in Kobe, Japan, and Gujarat, India. Each of these communities experienced an earthquake. The purpose of the study was to examine the recovery processes of each community. Both communities were found to possess social capital, which facilitated the recovery efforts. Nakagawa and Shaw, however, found that social capital must be accompanied by trust in community leadership. The combination of these two attributes appears to be universal, regardless of the economic condition of a community. Survivors were more satisfied with the outcome if the community possessed social capital (Nakagawa and Shaw, 2004).

Permanent Relocation Scholarship, Legislation, Policies, and Processes

Historically, permanent relocation (displacement) was studied in the context of urban renewal and interstate highway programs in the late 1950s and 1960s. The economic and social adverse effects of relocation were well known (Rohe & Mouw, 1991). To minimize the negative impacts caused by permanent relocation, particularly

economic impact, Congress passed legislation in 1979 called *The Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Act*. Federal agencies receiving federal funds for redevelopment are required to ensure that displaced residents are relocated to safe and sanitary residences.

Scholarship specifically about permanent relocation due to toxic contamination is limited (Edelstein, 2004). Even in the disaster recovery literature, past studies focused on evacuation and the immediate to short-term housing recovery, not what happened over the long term and the after effects (Edelstein 2004); Peacock et al., 2007). Edelstein argued that when a disaster occurs, a community's infrastructure is disrupted, which in turn disrupts the daily life of individuals and families. Disruptions affect a community's infrastructure, transportation, water, waste disposal, electricity, and businesses, all of which impact economic opportunities, goods and services, and employment (Edelstein). According to Edelstein, reestablishing permanent housing in a timely manner is critical, and he determined that when restoration occurred quickly, survivors were more likely to achieve a new normalcy. The literature review identified several dated but relevant case studies that argued that permanent relocation can have a successful outcome. Rohe and Mouw (1991) examined the relocation of an entire neighborhood to make way for a new expressway. Perry and Lindell (1997) focused on a rural southwestern community that had experienced recurring flood hazards and the decision to permanently relocate the entire community.

Rohe and Mouw's case study (1991) examined a community faced with forced displacement during the 1960s, which was the peak of the United States' urban renewal and interstate highway program projects. The Crest Street neighborhood in Durham, North Carolina, was going to be razed to accommodate the highway which was to run right through their community. Rohe and Mouw sought greater understanding of how to preserve a community's important and primary social relationships and social support networks. Rohe and Mouw (1991) also advocated for community development of horizontal and vertical integration alliances to encourage positive participation and capability to defend a community's interests in the relocation decision-making process. Horizontal integration refers to the close-knit relationships and shared common goals of a community. Vertical integration occurs when there are a large number of existing inter-governmental contacts, which help in acquiring greater access to resources to resist the relocation of a community (Rohe & Mouw, 1991).

Community members who felt threatened by the proposed expressway banded together, and a small group of local citizens became the single voice to represent their concerns. Outside supporters from across the city gave credibility and legitimacy in the fight against the expressway. As a result, government planning was modified to include the goal to preserve the community's primary relations, cultural institutions, and supporting networks. Rohe & Mouw (1991) found that the resulting social benefits far outweighed the higher expenses of the permanent relocation. Additionally, sponsors of the Crest Street relocation project utilized the *last resort* clause contained in the Uniform

Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Act of 1979, which authorizes project funds to be allocated for replacement dwellings for the displaced residents.

The second case study was undertaken by Perry and Lindell (1997) to examine the permanent relocation of the entire community of Allenville, Arizona, which had experienced cyclical and devastating flooding of the Gila River due to springtime upstream protective water releases. Then Arizona Governor Babbitt, contacted the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in 1978 to do something about the recurring flooding to the community. Three years and \$4.5 million in federal funds later, the flood victims were moved seven miles north of Buckeye, Arizona, and named their new community, Hopeville (*Tucson Citizen*, 2001). Perry and Lindell (1997) examined possible mitigating measures that may guide policymakers toward more positive outcomes for policies pertaining to permanently relocating communities due to both natural and technological threats. The permanent relocation of threatened communities can be cost-effective for the government since the move would negate future seasonal disasters (Perry & Lindell, 1997).

Perry and Lindell developed five managerial principles based on their findings from this case study to assist in reducing the negative consequences of permanent relocation as well as to educate officials with oversight for the relocation:

1. Community group participation will be necessary
2. All potential relocatees will be involved in decision-making

3. Citizens will have knowledge of multi-organizations involved in relocation process
4. Personal and social needs of residents will be addressed such as housing/shelter, financial needs, employment, and personal needs
5. Preservation of social networks will be maintained

Perry and Lindell further recommended that permanent relocation should remain a viable mitigation option for disaster struck communities.

Lythcott (2002) studied the permanent relocation of a neighborhood in Morrisonville, Louisiana, that was executed not by the government, but by private industry. Dow Chemical Company sponsored the buyout and permanent relocation of Morrisonville residents. He compared and contrasted the differences between the EPA's relocation policy and private industries' models for permanent relocation policy and studied programs highlighting the positive outcome which Morrisville experienced. Lythcott argued that historically private industry buyouts and relocations were monetarily more advantageous than government buyouts for affected residents and included consideration of additional issues such as health, safety, and quality of life. Lythcott also advocated that the option for community relocation should be codified in the EPA's environmental relocation policy.

Evacuation, Sheltering, and Housing Recovery Processes and Policies

Evacuation and housing recovery processes and policies for disaster stricken communities are primarily set and enforced by state and local officials (Peacock et al.,

2007). Federal policy provides certain aspects of civilian emergency evacuation. The issue concerns the scope and reach of federal policies regarding civilian evacuation and resettlement as well as the implementation of those policies, in light of the traditional role exercised by state authorities. Federal and state policies typically provide minimum financial support to disaster victims to serve as a safety net or to fill a gap. For example, the support may supplement individual resources (i.e., private insurance, household savings, commercial loans, and loans from friends and family), as well as those provided by non-profit charities (Peacock and Girard, 1997; Quarantelli, 1982).

Public funding for disaster victims has been available from a variety of sources such as low interest loans from the Small Business Administration (SBA), grants from the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) including minimal home repair (MHR) or individual or family grants (IFG). These resources are typically administered at the state level. Individual states may also have programs for rebuilding after disasters. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) may also make funding available through Community Block Grants (CDBGs), the Section 8 Voucher program, and HOME program funding (HUD website).

Access to resources after disasters is unequal; this is especially true for low-income and minority households because they typically do not have their contents insured (Peacock et al., 2007). Peacock et al. found that the housing recovery model in the United States has traditionally been framed around the "Great American Dream" (p. 270). This seems to suggest that anyone can achieve a single-family detached home; however, after

a disaster, it especially becomes apparent that some parts of society cannot achieve it. Low-income victims may be faced with limited borrowing options due to lender skepticism about the ability of low-income victims to repay their loans (Peacock et al., 2007).

Quarantelli (1982) studied sheltering and permanent relocation in the context of a disaster and developed four stages that described possible avenues of progression during a disaster event: emergency shelter, temporary shelter, temporary housing, and permanent housing.

1. Emergency sheltering typically lasts just a few hours or overnight such as in the event of a tornado or hurricane passing through an area.
2. Temporary sheltering occurs over a longer period of time until it is safe to return to permanent residences. In this stage, daily necessities are provided, expected to be short term, and is part of the social process with help provided by local faith-based sources and non-profit organizations. Several studies found that it is a last option, since most people prefer to stay with family members or a local hotel (Drabek, 1986; Perry, Lindell, & Greene, 1981; Quarantelli, 1982).
3. Temporary housing, like the temporary shelter stage, involves the resumption of daily routines (Quarantelli, 1982, 1995b) and can last from weeks to months to years.

4. Last, there may be a transition from temporary housing to permanent housing with some residents choosing to make the temporary house their new permanent home. For some disaster survivors, living in a FEMA provided mobile home is an improvement in their housing situation, and, because they are faced with few economic resources, it may be necessary to remain in that situation.

Disaster recovery is measured in various ways such as psychological perceptions, satisfaction with recovery, income recovery, house size recovery, domestic assets restoration, and recovery of household amenities (Peacock et al., 2007). Overall, there has been very little focus on the actual permanent housing relocation process. Past studies focused on homeowners, particularly on owner-occupied housing, with no attention paid to renters and their recovery (Peacock et al., 2007). Peacock et al. argued that renters are more likely to be displaced due to little if any rights associated with property ownership, and they may only receive compensation for personal contents.

Government Relocation Legislation, Plans, and Policies

At the time of the Times Beach permanent relocation, the EPA did not have a codified policy. The EPA was still in a reaction mode to another contaminated community at Love Canal, New York, which was discovered just 18 months earlier. There are a number of federal, legislation, plans, and policies that address permanent relocation and the criteria for exercising permanent relocations and are discussed next.

Environmental Legislation

The majority of the nation's environmental legislation was enacted into law during the 1970s in response to toxic waste and the need for protection of the environment. *The Resource Conservation and Recovery Act* (RCRA) was passed in 1976 to regulate the transportation and disposal of hazardous wastes (42 U.S.C. §6901-6987, 1982). This law requires hazardous waste generators to make known the nature of the wastes to all transporters, storers, and disposers (§ 3002(4), 42 U.S.C. § 6922(4), 1982). Transporters may ship only properly labeled wastes and maintain a record of the source and delivery points of hazardous wastes they transport (§3003(a) (1), 42 U.S.C. § 6923(A) (1), 1982). There are penalties for violation of this Act (§ 3998(a), 42 U.S.C. §6928(a), 1982).

This law was followed by the *Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act* (CERCLA), Public Law 96-510; it is best known as the "Superfund" law which sought to address the problem of hazardous waste that had already been generated and stored. The Superfund law was passed on December 11, 1980, by a lame duck Congress and signed by President Jimmy Carter as one of his last official acts. The act was passed in direct response to the discovery of hazardous waste under housing tracts in Love Canal in upstate New York and Valley of the Drums in Appalachia. Congress' intention was to impose cleanup liability on specified parties and facilitated litigation procedures for implementation by the EPA.

CERCLA provided the EPA with a variety of tools to deal with hazardous waste cleanup including a trust fund. This fund held proceeds from a tax on refinery crude oil and imported petroleum products as well as a per ton tax on 42 designated hazardous chemicals. This applied to those which would generate hazardous wastes in addition to a corporate environmental income tax. Funds could be used for public works type cleanups and emergency action to protect citizens from immediate risks from hazardous waste contamination. In addition, funds were used to provide site remediation before reimbursements were obtained from Potential Responsible Parties (PRPs) responsible for waste and potential liability because it is retroactive, strict, joint, and severe. Section 107(a) of the act defines “responsible parties” to include present and past owners or operators of waste disposal facilities, generators of hazardous substances, and transporters of hazardous substances for disposal (42 U.S.C. §9607 (a) (1982)).

CERCLA delineates how EPA and state government authorities are to develop processes and procedures for identifying and cleaning up dangerous waste sites. States are required to pay 10% of the costs of the remedial actions taken at privately-owned contaminated sites and 50% of costs at publicly-owned sites (CERCLA, § 104(c) (3), 42 U.S.C. § 9604(c) (3), 1982). In addition, states are required to monitor and maintain the sites once they are cleaned up. CERCLA established the National Priority List (NPL) (§ 105(8), 42 U.S.C. § 9605 (1982)), which provides the EPA with a database to track hazardous waste sites in need of remediation.

In 1986, Congress passed the Superfund Amendments and Re-authorization Act (SARA). This legislation made several important changes and additions to the program including new enforcement authorities and settlement tools, and increased state involvement in every phase of the Superfund program. It also stressed greater emphasis on human health problems posed by hazardous waste sites, increased the trust fund to \$8.5 billion, and encouraged more citizen involvement in cleanup decisions (Collins, 2010).

Whether due to lack of funding or lack of will, the EPA's implementation of the federal hazardous waste statutes has been controversial, slow, and inadequate such as missing statutory deadlines and allowing politics to interrupt their charter. On the other hand, a House Committee Report addressed the proposed CERCLA amendments stating that resources given to the EPA were inadequate to fulfill the promises that were made to clean up abandoned hazardous wastes in this country. With political pressure on the EPA to treat every site discovered as a high priority, the EPA was virtually guaranteed to fail from the moment CERCLA passed in 1980, (HR REP. No. 253), pt. I, 99th Cong., 1st Sess. 55 (1985). In Section 104 of CERCLA, there is a brief reference to welfare considerations of those impacted by a release or substantial threat of release into the environment that may endanger the public health or welfare. The President is authorized to act according to the National Contingency Plan (NCP) to remove or arrange for the removal of and provide for remedial actions to remove the immediate threat.

The National Contingency Plan

The National Oil and Hazardous Substances Pollution Contingency Plan (NCP) is the regulation that implements CERCLA (Superfund) and the Oil Pollution Act. It addresses response requirements for oil spills and hazardous substances releases and is outlined on the EPA Superfund website. The Plan designates the EPA as the manager for all evacuation and relocation policies. However, there are a number of other agencies and departments that address this policy, as well and may cause duplication of effort, resulting in higher costs. The NCP designates responsibilities to the Department of Homeland Security's (DHS) Emergency Preparedness and Response Directorate (EPRD), which resides within FEMA.

The NCP discusses a system of comprehensive response capabilities that require hierarchal coordination between responders and contingency plans, establishment of a response headquarters, national reaction team, and regional reaction teams (currently National Response Team and regional response Teams). Since its implementation in 1968, the Plan has been expanded several times by Congress in response to new legislation such as the Clean Water Act of 1972 to address the response to hazardous substance spills as well as oil discharges.

Once the Superfund legislation was passed in 1980, the NCP was expanded to cover releases at hazardous waste sites that required emergency removal actions. The NCP outlines prioritizing criteria in order of application thresholds: overall protection of

human health and the environment; compliance with applicable or relevant and appropriate requirements (ARARs); primary balancing criteria; long-term effectiveness and permanence; reduction of toxicity, mobility, or volume through treatment; short-term effectiveness; implementability; cost modifying criteria; and state acceptance/community acceptance.

Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Act

The adverse effects of forced permanent relocation are categorized into two general types: economic and social. Congress passed legislation to minimize the negative impacts, particularly economic, caused by permanent relocation in the form of The Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Act of 1979 (42 USC §4601 et.seq.). It is the statutory authority (49 CFR Part 24) for all governmental relocations. The Federal Highway Division of the Department of Transportation has responsibility for administration of this law. (Note: Superseded by 42 USC, Chapter 61, 01/03/2012 [112-90]). Additionally, Congress passed this law to consolidate the relocation assistance requirements located in various federal legislation and regulations as well as to facilitate standardized and equitable treatment of displaced persons. The law directs that displaced persons are to be provided decent, safe and sanitary housing of adequate size within their financial means.

Less than five percent of the language in this law addresses relocation (Lytchcott, 2002). Instead, it focuses on the process for federal agencies to acquire real property. There is no additional guidance for property owners who are involved in a permanent

relocation and selling their property to the government. As a result, the law is open to interpretation by the various agencies.

Environmental Protection Agency Permanent Relocation Policy

Not until June 30, 1999, did the EPA have an official permanent relocation policy as a remedy for toxin-contaminated communities, albeit an *interim* policy, still in effect in 2016. The policy was based on recommendations provided by stakeholders who participated in several relocation roundtable sessions in the mid-1990s with the purpose of collecting recommendations for an EPA permanent relocation policy. The interim policy defined the circumstances when permanent relocation can be authorized as part of Superfund remedial actions. However, it does not specify how a permanent relocation is to be conducted (Lythcott, 2002). Lythcott noted that the EPA has executed the permanent relocation of individuals and communities just 19 times since the agency was created in 1970. Residents of Love Canal and Times Beach were the first United States communities to be permanently relocated due to toxic contamination and were funded by the then newly passed law, CERCLA (Superfund).

Garypie (2010) clarified that the EPA has two criteria for consideration of residential relocations: 1) imminent threat to the health of individuals and families and 2) remediation of the contaminated area is not possible unless residences are removed to have access to the contaminated site. The EPA acknowledges that there are possible negative consequences of permanent relocation due to contamination that include: material and psychological impacts, stress, social disruption, inability to find a

comparable home, increased taxes and utilities, new residences, and dissatisfaction with proposed government appraisals (Garypie, 2010). When permanent relocation is warranted, the EPA typically contracts with the United States Army Corps of Engineers (USACE).

Steps for EPA Cleanup of Contaminated Sites

The initial notification to the EPA or discovery of the possible release of hazardous substances triggers a contaminated site to be entered into the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Information System (CERCLIS). This is the EPA's computerized inventory of potential hazardous substance release sites. The EPA's website lists a series of steps in the Superfund cleanup process that result in data to be used to determine actions for cleaning up a contaminated site. First, the Preliminary Assessment/Site Inspection (PA/SI) investigates the extent of a threat to human health and the environment and whether response actions should be immediate or short-term. If so, the EPA's Emergency Response program of the Superfund is triggered. If further assessment is needed, a Site Inspection (SI) is conducted. The SI collects environmental and waste samples used to identify the presence and range of hazardous substances.

Results of the data analyses determine assignment of a site into the Hazard Ranking System (HRS) for scoring. Each site is assigned a score ranging from 0 to 100. To be eligible for being listed on the National Priority List (NPL), an HRS score of 28.50 or above is required (EPA, 1994). The EPA may also consider other factors, such as

recommendations of the state, before actually listing a site on the NPL. The EPA uses the ranking of sites with known or threatened releases of hazardous substances to determine which sites warrant further investigation. The NPL lists the most critical sites needing long term cleanup. The EPA's intent to propose to add a site to the NPL is published in the Federal Register as well as public notices announced by the local media to allow the affected communities to comment on the proposal. The EPA then responds to received comments after the formal comment period, and if the site still qualifies for cleanup under Superfund, it is added to the NPL. The addition to the NPL is then again published in the Federal Register as well as the EPA's formal responses to received comments. Also, the EPA may distribute a fact sheet or flyer pertaining to the site and the affected communities.

Once a site is on the NPL, a remedial /feasibility study (RI/FS) is conducted to determine the site conditions, nature of the waste, risk to human health, and the environment. It also conducts treatability testing to see what technologies might be considered. Further action includes the development, screening, and evaluation of alternative remedial actions. These actions are conducted concurrently but in phases which allows for continual scoping to improve data collection quality. Relevant documents are maintained and made available to the public in the Information Repository and Administrative Record.

Next, a Record of Decision (ROD) is completed and is the public document that proposes cleanup remedies for the Superfund site. It includes the site's history,

descriptions, and characteristics, community participation, the contaminant presence, scope and role of response action and selected cleanup remedy. It also addresses options for future land reuse. The ROD is followed by the Remedial Design/Remedial Action phase of the Superfund cleanup. This phase develops technical specifications for cleanup remedies and technologies. Implementation then follows with the actual construction phase of the cleanup.

Once the construction phase is completed, the site is qualified to be removed from the NPL. The EPA determines that no further response is necessary to protect human health or the environment, by virtue of § 300.425(e) of the NCP (55 FR 8845, March 8, 1990). In addition, there are two criteria that must be met before the removal can proceed after coordination with the State:

1. Assurance that responsible or other parties have implemented all appropriate response actions.
2. No significant threats remain to public health or environment.

It is of note that sites removed from the NPL remain eligible for further Superfund monies if future events warrant further or additional remedial actions.

Summary

In Chapter 2, I defined terms relevant to my qualitative study, outlined the research databases and other resources that were consulted during the study, identified the gaps and deficiencies in prior studies, as well as identified the placement of this study in the related body of literature. I thoroughly examined and summarized each of the

applicable theories as a backdrop for this study. Additionally, I explored the applicable legislation, plans, and policies pertaining to government acquisition of property and permanent relocation.

In Chapter 3, I address the study design, participants, procedures, and assessments and describe the methodology of this qualitative phenomenological research under the headings of research design, methodology, threats to data quality, and ethical considerations. I discuss research design in reference to paradigm, tradition, and research questions. In the methodology section, I describe the participants and population, my role as researcher, data collection and recording tools, the data collection plan, and the data analysis plan.

Chapter 3: Research Methods

Introduction

In this phenomenological study, I sought to provide an in-depth understanding of long term social impacts of the EPA's 1983 environmental relocation policy for one dioxin-contaminated community in eastern Missouri. In Chapter 3, I describe the research design, sampling strategy, participant selection, my role as the researcher, data collection procedures, as well as data analysis and interpretation processes. I also provide evidence of quality, feasibility, and appropriateness of the study, describe the informed consent process, ethical considerations, and summary

Research Design and Rationale

Central Research Question

The central research question for this study was: What are the long-term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy as retrospectively perceived by ten former residents of one dioxin-contaminated community, during the one-on-one interviews and as evidenced in public/private archival document review?

I designed this question to address an existing gap within the scholarly literature regarding the actual experiences of former residents who were forced to abandon their homes and belongings due to the unknown effects of the toxic contaminant, dioxin.

Subquestions

This study was also guided by the following subquestions that link back to the multiple concepts and theories, as previously discussed.

RQ₁: What is the role of place, as defined by placeways theory, as it relates to long-term social impacts of environmental relocation?

RQ₂: What is the role of disaster memory, as defined by memoryscapes theory, as it relates to long-term social impacts of environmental relocation?

RQ₃: What are the roles of remembrance rituals and memorialization, as defined by remembrance theory, as it relates to long-term social impacts of environmental relocation?

RQ₄: What is the role of social capital, as defined by social capital theory, as it relates to long-term social impacts of environmental relocation?

RQ₅: What is the role of resilience, as defined by resilience theory, as it relates to long-term social impacts of environmental relocation?

Type of Inquiry

I chose the qualitative research tradition of phenomenology to examine the lived experiences of a small Missouri community mandated by the federal government to relocate permanently due to dioxin contamination. McNabb (2008) described qualitative research as the use of nonstatistical techniques and methods to gather data and information about observable social facts or events. Qualitative data have the capability to move beyond just a simple description of an event or occurrence and can instead provide greater understanding, through interpretation and analysis. Creswell (2007) argued that to address the research question fully, deep and rich descriptions were needed.

I collected my study data by conducting in-depth interviews with 10 adults who were former residents of Times Beach. Data was collected from in-depth interviews with 10 individuals who are former residents as well as the review of a variety of archival documents. I also reviewed a variety of archival materials that assisted in validating the data collected during the interviews and supported triangulating the chronology of events described in the narrative presented in Appendix A. The archival materials included; official public records, federal, state and local records, Congressional records, media reports, videotapes, journals, photographs, artwork, music, correspondence, cartoons, and other memorabilia.

Moustakas (1994) advocated that researchers should set aside any predispositions or bias, as they conduct their studies. I sought to acquire an understanding of the meaning of the environmental relocation as perceived by the survivors and in doing so, hoped to determine whether their perspectives differed from the historical accounts that I had reviewed.

I considered other methods of qualitative inquiry, but they would not have been as effective in providing the insight necessary to understand the individual experiences of the survivors. For example, I considered a narrative research method for this study. Researchers using the narrative approach seek to examine the life of an individual through stories about that person's experiences. I thought about examining the life of the former Mayor Leistner of Times Beach, in light of the disaster. However, this type of study would have resulted in too narrow of a scope and only capture what the

environmental relocation experience was like for just that one person. I also considered an ethnographic design, which researchers use to provide a description or interpretation of a cultural group or system (Creswell, 2007). For this study, the population of the intended study no longer physically resides together as a community, so the use of this theory was not appropriate. Grounded theory is specifically designed to analyze the generated data and to use it to build a new theory (Trochim & Donnelly, 2007). In this study, the objective was to understand the lived experiences of the survivors, not to generate a theory.

Finally, I considered a case study method as it explores a particular event over time and sometimes looks comparatively at similar situations (Creswell, 2007; Trochim & Donnelly, 2007). The literature shows that transferability is difficult due to the number of diverse factors present in some disasters and not others such as physical location, weather, natural, or technological, to name a few. A case study to compare what happened at Times Beach with another community's environmental relocation experience would be challenging because there has been so little research done on this topic.

Role of Researcher

As the researcher, I strived to be an objective collector of data and avoided using indicators such as body language or tone of voice that might influence a participant or alter the focus of a response during the in-depth interviews. During my notetaking, I jotted down in the margins whether I experienced any biases or assumptions as I listened to the participants' experiences, opinions, body language, and emotions. I have a special

relationship with Mayor Leistner, the last mayor of Times Beach, Missouri. From the beginning of my inquiry regarding whether I had a viable topic for the study, former Mayor Leistner encouraged me and gave me unrestricted access to all of her official papers and her private collection of photos, newspaper clippings, magazine articles, media reports (CD/DVD/VHS), Congressional Hearing reports, correspondence, maps, cartoons, and music associated with the Times Beach disaster. Mayor Leistner did not have knowledge of who I interviewed nor did she have access to the raw data used in the study.

Methodology

Participation Selection Logic

To avoid unintended bias, Rubin and Rubin (2011) recommended selecting interview participants who have a wide range of perspectives. These interviewees should share a common experience but may recall events differently. I selected 10 individuals, who, in 2016, were in their 40s and 50s. During the period, 1970-1986, the participants were youth, teens, or young adults and lived in Times Beach. They had lived in Times Beach during the period 1970-1986. An additional point of interest was whether an individual who lived on a street with the highest reported levels of contamination would have had a different experience than someone who had lived on a street with no reported dioxin levels of contamination. Buyout monetary benefits differed for home-owners and those who rented their home. Business owners also received monetary benefits and

assistance to relocate their businesses. These varied perspectives provided greater insight to the actual lived experiences.

Instrumentation

Dr. Michael Edelstein is an environmental psychologist and professor at Ramapo College of New Jersey who gave me his written permission (Appendix B) to use his published interview instruments in my own research and to tailor the questions to fit the context of the Times Beach environmental relocation. Edelstein's current research interests include exploration of the environmental impacts on the lives of people in communities experiencing local fracking (extraction of oil from shale formations) by the oil and gas corporations. Edelstein's instrument model was designed to connect to actual events by allowing participants to tell their story and experiences so that a greater understanding can be made about the issue of whether any indications of a disaster remain with the survivors or were left behind.

I utilized the preliminary codebook to code the interview questions that linked back to the multiple concepts and theories that frame the study. I used the questions as a stimulus and guide for the conversations. I reserved the right to use or not use all the questions. The interview instrument is located in Appendix C.

Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection

Purposeful sampling provided the means for maximum variation, sufficiency, and saturation of information (Seidman, 2013). I used Facebook (FB) to recruit potential participants. More specifically, there is a closed FB site (over 200 members) that is open

to former residents of Times Beach, Missouri. Once the IRB gave me approval to conduct the research, I contacted the site administrator via private email, to request permission to post the recruiting flyer on the site (Appendix C) to solicit interest in participating in this research. The flyer invited FB members from the closed group, who were interested in participating in the study and who met the specified criteria, to contact me via my Walden University email address or telephone. If I had received more than 10 potential participants, I had planned to put the names in a hat and randomly select them. I emailed a copy of the informed consent form with the understanding that if I did not hear back from them within 1 week/7 days, I would select another individual. The primary benefit of using the private FB site for recruitment was that it allowed me to verify the names of former residents who are still alive. I had previously identified many of the former residents by family name during the literature review of applicable archival materials that included congressional records, media reports, city property and business records, and correspondence. I entered the names and addresses into an Excel spreadsheet to be further verified during the interviews.

In-depth Interviews

Seidman (2013) argued that the purpose of in-depth interviews was to understand the experiences of the participants, not to predict or control that experience. By using in-depth phenomenological interviews for a small number of participants who experienced the same phenomenon, Seidman (2013) predicted that the data collection would be rich and thick. Rubin & Rubin (2011) contended that in-depth interviews enhance the

historical record, which has been shown to ignore individuals who experienced a common event. Rubin and Rubin (2011) further argued that the open-ended structure of the questions can elicit understanding and meaning of a participant's experience. According to Rubin and Rubin (2011), taking notes by hand forces one to listen and identify the main points; in the event of technological failure, the notes will serve as a backup plan.

The majority of my participants opted for one interview resulting in an average of 90 minutes each. Follow-up interviews or conversations occurred only for clarification and lasted less than 10 minutes on average. Interviews were conducted in person, by phone, or by Skype. If conducted in person, a public location was mutually agreed upon.

During the first 20 minutes of the interview, I focused on building rapport with the participant, signing the consent form, and gathering demographic information about the individual and asked them to describe their early life and growing up in Times Beach. They were encouraged to reflect on the meanings of certain events and to describe memorable events in their past family life, school, and work experiences that place their participation in the environmental relocation of their community. I tried to understand the type of family and community relationships and social structure that existed during 1970-1986.

Immediately after the interview, I reviewed all hand-written notes for completeness and transcribed the recorded interview in full. I mailed each participant a copy of the interview transcript with the understanding that if I did not hear back from

them with any changes, I could assume they were in agreement with the content of the transcript. Other data collection included my review of numerous archival materials, including government official statements, congressional testimonies, informal conversations, social media, legal documents, advertising, newspaper and media reports, narratives, poems, recorded music, cartoons, graffiti, pamphlets, correspondence, and journals. By reviewing these materials, I was able to infer meaning to support and verify data collected during the in-depth interviews.

Data Analysis Plan

In this section I discuss the methods used for analyzing the collected data by using the software program, HyperResearch, to facilitate coding and analysis of collected data. Once the data was collected and organized, I thoroughly read each transcript in its entirety to obtain a general sense of the information, which is the first step in understanding the meaning of the experience (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003; Moustakas, 1994). The second step was to highlight or list statements in the text that have specific relevance to the phenomenon being studied. I extracted statements that linked back to the theoretical framework of placeways, memoryscapes, remembrance and memorialization, social capital, and resilience. This step is referred to as *horizons* by Moustakas (1994) or *meaning unit* by Giorgi and Giorgi (2003). The horizons or meaning units extracted from the text were listed separately, and there were no set numbers of results. Both Moustakas (1994) and Giorgi and Giorgi (2003) believed that a process of reduction and elimination needs to be considered during this step. Moustakas (1994) contended that each horizon

must contain a component of the experience that is necessary and has the potential to be labeled. If the horizon is not considered necessary to understanding the experience and cannot be labeled, then it should be eliminated (Moustakas, 1994). The third step requires labeling of the statements which provide further understanding of the participants' experience with environmental relocation.

I labeled the meaning units or horizons to indicate feelings, emotions, and actions concerning how the participant experienced the phenomenon. The statements were then reframed by using psychological meanings to describe the everyday language concerning the phenomenon. The final step in analyzing the data required the development of both individual and group descriptions of the experience. Constructing what it means for each participant to have experienced environmental relocation is called an individual structural description (Moustakas, 1994). Individual descriptions are formed by reviewing the psychological expressions and determining which of the invariant connections describe the meaning (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003). The connections of each participant were then clustered to provide a composite description of the meanings and essences of the experience, representing the group as a whole (Moustakas, 1994). The composite description of this group of individuals who experienced environmental relocation will provide a better understanding and awareness of their experiences.

Rubin & Rubin (2011) maintained that transparency lends to credibility. I kept a careful record of my handwritten notes and recordings from the interviews with the dates of the various versions of transcripts and annotations as to whether the data had been

verified (member checking). I documented my project's progression and highlighted my biases, slant, and reactions for transparency as suggested by Rubin & Rubin (2011). Credibility was enhanced by the variety of perspectives, and eventually I began hearing the same thing and arrived at a saturation point.

Preliminary Codebook

I developed a preliminary codebook, Figure 3 below, based on two primary sources: Hacker and Settles (2015) and Seidman (2013). The coding tree depicts five overall parent codes, each representing one of the five theories that frame this study: placeways, memoryscapes, remembrance, social capital, and resilience. These primary themes are coded with the capital alpha characters of A, B, and C. Each parent code is further subdivided into sub-levels that reflect the important suppositions for each theory. The second level themes are coded with the parent alpha character in addition to numbers (e.g., B1), and third level themes are identified with the first level alpha character, the corresponding second level number and a small alpha (e.g., B1a). The interview questions have been pre-coded to link back to the preliminary coding tree, which will facilitate notation and tracking during the interviews and will assist in the analysis. Another benefit of the pre-coding is to allow for axial coding across the five parent themes.

PRELIMINARY CODEBOOK

Based on Conceptual Theoretical Framework

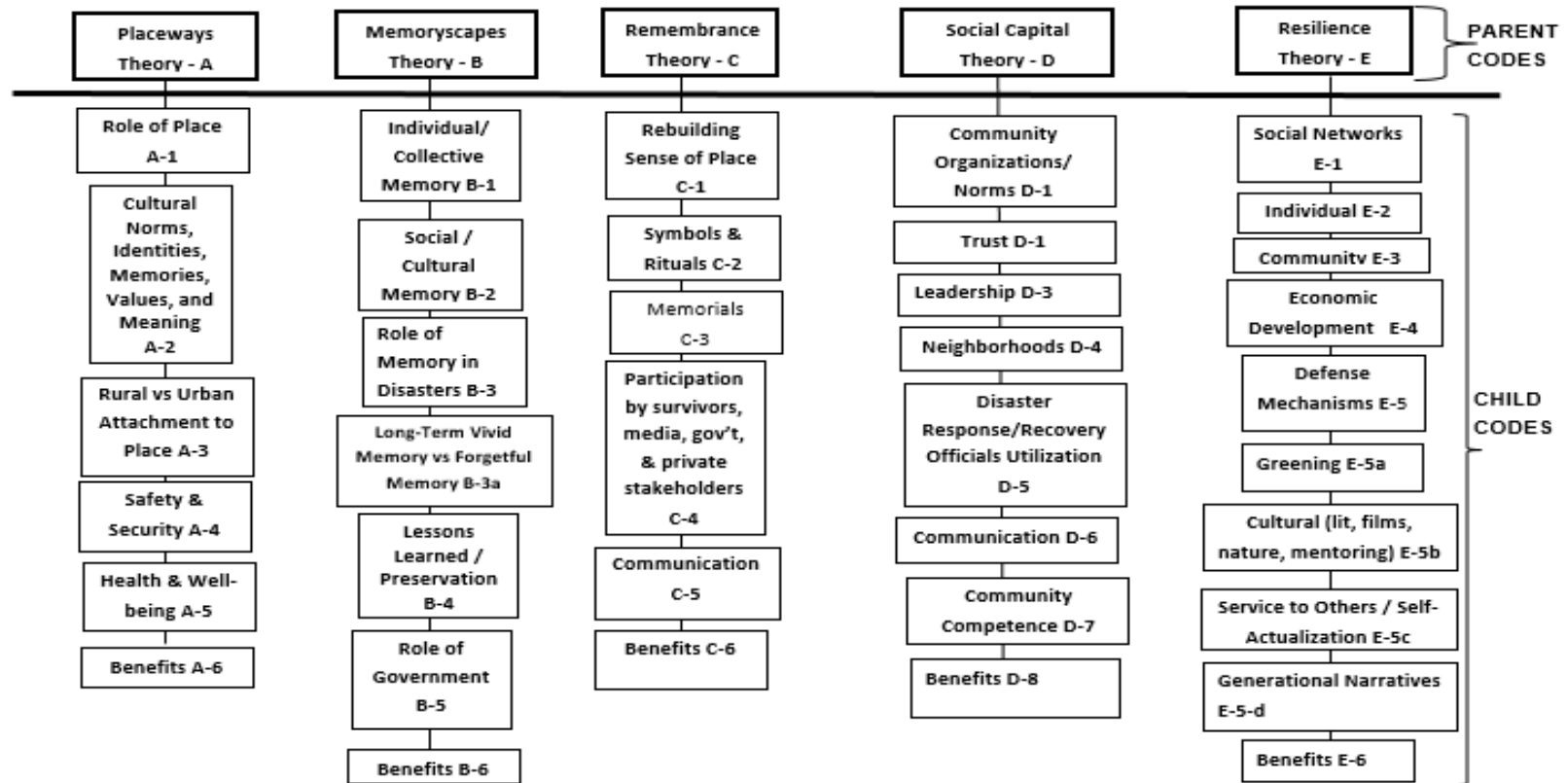


Figure 3. Preliminary Codebook

Issues of Trustworthiness

Prior to initiating the interview, I explained how the answers they provide might contribute to a better outcome for communities that are environmentally relocated in the future. I further explained that the findings of the study could possibly raise the visibility of the problem and increase public discussions that will contribute toward improved policy (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). I always asked permission to record the interview (required by law) and reminded them that participation is voluntary.

According to Creswell (2007), qualitative research findings are verified, instead of validated, which allows for the spirit of qualitative inquiry to stand on its own. Creswell suggested eight possible steps to verify qualitative findings to include: persistent observation, triangulation, peer review, negative case analysis, clarifying researcher bias, member checks, rich and thick description, or external audits. He recommended that researchers should not use all eight in a study. I selected triangulation, member checks, and rich, thick descriptions. I was able to triangulate the data collected from the review of a variety of archival documentation, member checks, and the final form of verification was the emergence of a rich and thick description, during analysis of the verbatim transcripts.

Ethical Procedures

According to Babbie (2007) and Rubin & Rubin (2011), the standard for researchers is to *do no harm*, which means that the role of the researcher is to ensure that participation is consensual. The participants in my study were youth, teens, or young

adults during the period beginning in 1970 and continuing through 1986. In 2016, they were in their late 40s and 50s and were free to choose whether or not to voluntarily participate in the study. There is no known harm associated with participating in this study. If an individual had experienced difficulties associated with participating in this study, including psychological upset, I would have offered them a break in the session and/or provided them with a list of available counseling services upon request (Appendix F).

All files, audiotapes, photos, journals, letters, maps, and transcripts will remain in a locked cabinet in my home office for a period of at least five years following the completion of the study. I do not plan to give anyone else access to the transcripts. Identifying information was removed from transcripts prior to data verification (member checking). Participants indicated in an email whether they had any issues with the transcript and whether they would like to receive a copy of a one or two page summary of the study results.

Overall, the ethical considerations for this research included all requirements contained in the Walden's Institutional Review Board (IRB) form. All participants in the study were provided with a copy of the required informed consent form, which gave them the opportunity to demonstrate their willingness to participate. Striving for objectivity and outright avoidance of bias was a principal part of the ethical considerations for this research study.

Summary

The purpose of this research was to increase understanding and awareness of the long-term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy in the context of one dioxin-contaminated community in Eastern Missouri. In Chapter 3, I described the study design, participants, procedures, and assessments as well as the methodology of this qualitative phenomenological research under the headings of research design, methodology, and ethical considerations. I discussed research design in reference to paradigm, tradition, and research questions. In the methodology section I described the participants and population, my role as the researcher, data collection and recording tools, the data collection plan, preliminary coding tree, and the data analysis plan.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis and Research Findings

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative study was to address research questions that could yield increased understanding and awareness of the long term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy as experienced by former residents of one toxin-contaminated community. The focus of Chapter 4 is to analyze the data that were collected and present the findings of the study. It includes a brief summary of the setting in which the data were collected; demographic considerations of the participants; and description of data collection to include type, location, quantity, frequency, duration, recording methods, and unusual circumstances.

Next is a description of the data analysis process using the preliminary codebook and precoded interview questions that allowed for grouping and development of themes that supported or did not support the theoretical and conceptual framework. Following this is a presentation of the findings for all of the research questions. This chapter also addresses credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Chapter 4 concludes with a complete summary.

Setting

One participant was very ill but consented to meet twice for the interviews. He had recently received a cancer diagnosis but wanted to make time to tell his story. Due to his health issues, we took frequent breaks during the first interview. Also, it was

necessary for me to drive to his community for the second interview as his health had continued to decline. His input was a valuable contribution to the study.

Demographics

At the beginning of each interview, I asked a number of personal questions of each participant that helped me to confirm information I had previously identified in archival real estate and legal documentation. The demographic data was analyzed and the findings are summarized in Table 1 to characterize the participants at particular points in time.

Table 1

Participant Demographic Data

P#	DOB	Gender	Marital Status	Religion	Occupation	Health Issues	Age Range Spraying '70-73	Age Range Relocation '82-86
P-1	1958	M	S	None	Driver	S	T	YA
P-2	1959	F	M	Christian	Children's Pastor	F, S	T	YA
P-3	1955	F	W	Baptist	Office Mgr/Material Production Mgr	F, S	T	YA
P-4	1973	F	S	None	Home HC Worker	F, S	NB	Y
P-5	1964	M	M	Methodist	Chemical Worker	F	Y	T/YA
P-6	1966	F	D	NP Catholic	Business Owner	F	Y	T/YA
P-7	1973	F	M	None	RN	F, S	NB	T
P-8	1964	F	M	Christian	Customer Service	F, S	Y	T/YA
P-9	1964	F	S	Protestant	RN	F, S	Y	T/YA
P-10	1957	F	M	Baptist	Disabled	F, S	T	YA

Note. M = Male; F = Female; S = Self; F = Family; T= Teen; NB = Newborn; Y = Youth; YA = Young Adult

I interviewed two adult men and eight adult women who were youth, teens, or young adults during the subject time period. The wide range of ages provided different perspectives that were instrumental in providing greater understanding of their lived experiences and gave direct insight into their individual and collective experiences. Four of the 10 participants were teens at the time of the dioxin contamination and by the time of the record flood in 1982 and subsequent relocation events from 1983-1986, they were young adults with their own families. Four of the 10 participants were youth at the time of the dioxin contamination and teens/young adults during the record flood and relocation. The remaining two participants were newborns during the last year of the spraying of the dioxin on the streets and by the time of the record flood and relocation, they were youth/teens.

Seventy percent of the participants proclaimed membership in a formal religion while the remaining 30% stated that they had no religion. Many of the participants and family members experienced severe health issues, many from birth, which seem to have gotten worse as they've gotten older: auto-immune diseases, cancers, thyroid disease, and skin eruption diseases were prevalent. All 10 of the participants grew up to have diversified occupations, including: several registered nurses, a chemical worker, a driver, an office manager, a children's pastor, and a customer service representative. A person who was disabled was also a participant.

Data Collection

Data collection for this research included conducting in-depth interviews with 10 participants and obtaining archival documentation. Purposeful sampling provided the means for maximum variation, sufficiency, and saturation of information (Seidman, 2013). I recruited potential participants using a closed Facebook (FB) group that is open to former residents of Times Beach. The site administrator gave me permission to post a copy of my recruiting flyer and to provide contact information to those interested in the study. I emailed each potential participant a copy of the consent form and gave them the opportunity to call, email, or send me a message through Facebook with any questions. We then scheduled the interview. The primary benefit of using the private Facebook group site for recruitment was that it allowed me to verify the names of former residents who were still living. I had previously identified many of the former residents by family name during the document reviews of real estate and legal documents.

I conducted 10 interviews from March through June 2016 in a variety of settings. Participants preferred to meet one time for an average of 90 minutes instead of two separate meeting times due to time and distance. Two of the 10 participants met me in local public establishments while two others joined me at the Route 66 State Park in the pavilion area. One participant talked with me via Skype, and the remaining five participants made themselves available via telephone. I provided each with a copy of the questions in advance to facilitate the discussion. All the participants met the predetermined inclusion criteria: they were youth, teens, or young adults during the

period 1970-1986 and lived in Times Beach during those same years. The range of dates includes the years that domestic oil mixed with dioxin was sprayed on their unpaved streets as a dust inhibitor and the record flood of 1982, which likely displaced the initial soil sample locations. It also includes the government's temporary and permanent relocations and the buyout process. I concealed the identities of my study participants to maintain confidentiality by designation each alpha-numerically as P-1, P-2, P-3, etc. Complete transcripts are available at Appendix J.

Interview Recording

I used a digital recorder for the 10 interviews as outlined in Chapter 3 and in the IRB application. I had informed the participants in the consent form that the interviews were going to be recorded. I reminded them again before we began the interview and also advised them that I would be taking notes at the same time to support the recording.

Unusual Circumstances in Data Collection

I followed the procedures for conducting the interviews as previously outlined in Chapter 3, however a couple of challenges occurred. At the time of our first interview, P-1 had recently received a diagnosis of stomach cancer and was obviously in pain when we met. I offered frequent breaks so that he could get up, move around, or get a drink, which seemed to help. We concluded the interview after about 70 minutes and agreed to schedule a time within the following week for about 30-35 minutes to wrap up the remaining questions. It took an additional 3 weeks to arrange to meet again due to his health issues. I ended up driving over to his location, picking him up at his home, and

driving to a public restaurant. He informed me that the cancer had spread and the prognosis was uncertain.

There were two instances where a participant scheduled an interview with me via telephone but did not answer the phone when I called. I followed up with an email, FB message and voicemail; after a few days of no response, I went back out to the FB site to ask for two replacements. Fortunately, I was able to recruit the last two participants. Six of the 10 participants lived great distances from me and indicated that they would only be available for one interview date. We were able to get through all the questions in about 90 minutes. We paused for breaks as necessary and then resumed the discussion.

Data Analysis

I analyzed the data and resultant findings were derived from interviews, follow-up email/texting responses to clarify interview questions, and the review of existing archival documents. I met face to face with four of the ten participants who were former residents of Times Beach and were in their late 40s and 50s in 2016. They had been youth, teens, or young adults during the period 1970-1986, the subject period for this study. Each interview averaged 90 minutes but one was 110 minutes. I digitally recorded the interviews and then manually transcribed the recordings using the playback function in VLC media player.

Process

I electronically organized the collected data from the transcribed interviews into folders and file structures on my laptop using Microsoft Window 10 operating system

software with backup on a removal hard-drive. I used regular file folders to store paper copies of archival documentation and other materials and developed a systematic catalog for tracking the data. I began the data analysis process by listening to each of the 10 recordings as I followed along with a paper copy of the transcribed interview. I compared my handwritten notes at the same time to check for missing data and make changes as necessary. Once completed, I emailed a copy of the transcript and member-checking form to each participant with instructions to inform me of any changes within one week. If I didn't hear back from them by that time, I assumed they were satisfied.

Coding

Figure 2 depicted the preliminary codebook and, with those initial parent and child codes, I read, reflected, and annotated notes on the hard copies of the transcripts. I had developed the preliminary codes based on the multiple theories and concepts brought together in this one study to yield greater understanding of the long-term social impacts of environmental relocation. This initial analysis allowed me to refine the initial codes through an alignment of similar themes as well as elimination of irrelevant codes and the addition of other codes from the data that were collected. I clustered the child codes for each parent code into themes/categories that were emerging with frequent references to love of place, safety, distrust of government, strong community relationships, health problems, loss of home, faith, stigma, disaster memory of events, frequent moves, remembrance and memorialization, and resilience. Figure 4 shows the relationship between the central research question, the subquestions, the categories/concepts, and the

codes. Themes were developed out of the codes for data analysis. Figure 4 also depicts how the research questions are mapped to the coding categories, codes, and themes.

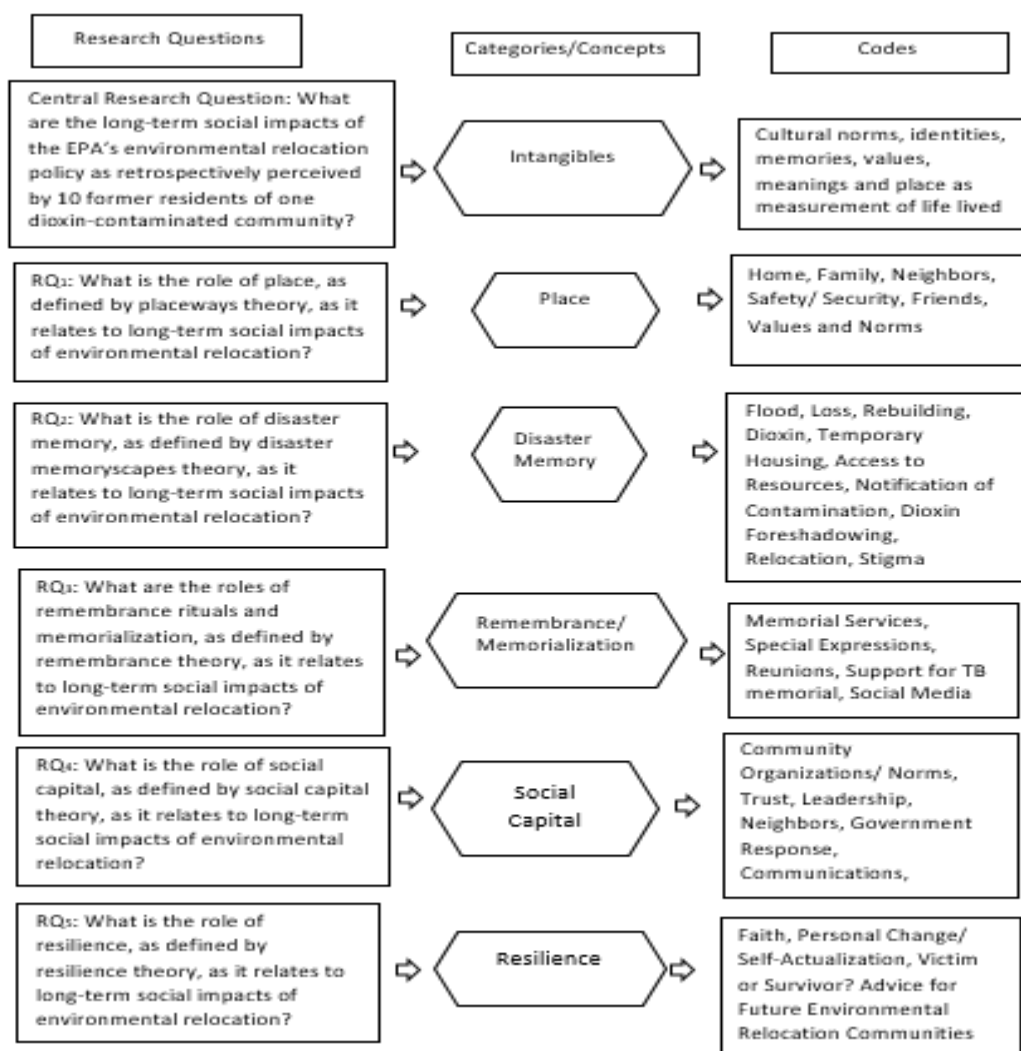


Figure 4. Mapping of research questions to coding categories, codes, and themes

Prior to uploading the transcripts into the HyperResearch software program, I reviewed each transcript again to ensure no personal information remained. In addition, I removed the actual questions so that when I ran a frequency report, those words would not be counted. I took advantage of several tutorial lessons offered within the software

program to learn how to create cases (categories) and codes, as well as how to generate useful viewable and printable reports. This helped make the transcribed data more meaningful. For manageability of the data, I entered the five parent and 38 child codes I had developed in the preliminary codebook, which linked back to the central research question or subquestions. All of them were entered into the HyperResearch software program as well as additional codes based on my initial findings during manual coding of each hard copy transcript. Once the coding was complete, each finding was factually described using the data provided in the interviews and archival documents for linking back to the central research question and subquestions.

Discrepant Cases

According to Creswell and Miller (2000), discrepant data is characterized as either not fitting into or in opposition to established themes identified within this research. Regarding codes and themes, the frequency word count (see Table 2) shows that the least mentioned code identified in the preliminary codebook was the word “communication” with five occurrences. Results of overall analysis determined that each of the participants felt that they were not provided information from the government in a timely manner and were not consulted during decision-making phases of the events.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

Credibility

Triangulation, member-checking, a rich, thick description, and peer review were the means used to verify the data. Triangulation was accomplished by reviewing a variety

of archival documentation that included official government records, media reports, litigation records, journals, photos, news articles, correspondence, poetry, and maps. During the literature review, I developed a timeline of events to guide my interview discussions. Member checking was coordinated with the participants after I transcribed the interview data. Copies of both the transcript and the member checking form (see Appendix F) were provided to the participants via email. They were informed that they had one week to respond with any changes or questions after which it would be assumed that they concurred with the data. Peer review is part of Walden University's dissertation process and assures that the completed research is credible. The student's committee chair and members possess the expertise and knowledge to provide guidance along the multiple points of validation. These included the development of the prospectus, dissertation proposal and oral defense, IRB approval, the completed dissertation, and, finally, the oral defense.

A rich, thick description obtained from the in-depth interviews was the final form of verification, and the resulting detailed descriptions provided an opportunity to relate to the actual related experiences of the participants in the study as well as exploring whether transferability can be made to other occurrences (Creswell, 2007). The direct quotes in the transcripts provided contextual and descriptive information. These along with my hand-written marginal notes taken during the interview provided a basis for highlighting various meanings, units, and horizons.

Transferability

The scope of this research was bound to just one dioxin-contaminated community and to the understanding of the long-term social impacts of the EPA's permanent relocation policy as it existed in 1983. The qualitative phenomenological design may have limited transferability; however, the study findings may serve as a baseline for future research to compare recovery outcomes for the other 18 EPA sponsored environmental relocations. Also, its findings may inform policymakers, lawmakers, and emergency management planners to include social impacts into their future documents.

Dependability

High dependability in this scholarly research was accomplished by focusing on details in the design and execution of the research process. Maintaining fidelity enables future researchers to replicate this research. In spite of several participants not being available on the date/time of scheduled interviews, the data collection went according to the plan. I successfully returned to the closed FB group page to solicit additional potential participants, which was a minor loss of time. If follow-up questions were needed, I submitted them to the participant through FB messenger to let them know I had sent an email with the request for additional information.

Confirmability

Miles and Huberman (1994) maintained that confirmability required a complete description of methods, procedures, and processes for formulating conclusions. In my

role as a researcher, I sought and received IRB approval to validate the achievement of academic and ethical requirements. I used Member checking to ensure rigor of the design. I explored the background, policies and procedures outlined in official records included in the archival documentation on loan to me from the former mayor of Times Beach. The data collected through the review of those materials served as a foundation of understanding for me as the researcher so that I could interpret the data collected from the interviews.

Results

This study was guided by a central research question and five subquestions that linked back to the combined concepts and theories that framed this research project. The questions were designed to address an existing gap within the scholarly literature regarding the lived experiences of an environmental relocation as well as to gain greater understanding about the long-term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy at the time. One-on-one interview data were triangulated with archival documentation for verification. Ten participants, who were youth, teens, or young adults during the 1970-1986 period, generously gave of their time to share their personal experiences during that period and since 1986 through the end of the data collection in June 2016. The responses to the initial interview questions helped establish a sense of what life was like in the community prior to the record flood and the dioxin contamination. Subsequent questions revealed detailed descriptions of their experiences during the evacuation, temporary housing, buyout process, and permanent relocation.

A summary list of findings is recorded here, and are addressed in more detail in

Chapter 5:

1. Their former home, *Place*, is the vessel that holds all their memories.
2. Individuals remember the flood, dioxin, and relocation vividly, even after nearly 35 years.
3. When participants were asked if they felt they had changed as a result of these experiences, the major change was increased “distrust of government.”
4. Interviewees unanimously desired to see some kind of memorial. Without a memorial, which is a commonplace response by government today, many participants expressed that they can “never go home” because their town no longer exists nor are there any references to the town anywhere in the state park.
5. Due to health issues affecting the participant or family members, the majority of the participants conveyed their discontent with the clause included in both the buyout conditions and lawsuits forbidding future requests for financial assistance with health problems.
6. Nine of 10 participants identified themselves as survivors—this despite chronic and severe health issues ranging from auto-immune diseases, skin issues, various cancer types, seizures, birth defects, and sterility; they particularly noted that even their own children and grandchildren are exhibiting similar health issues.

Findings of Central Research Question

Each research question is listed again with supporting data findings from the interviews and archival materials, followed by a recap of the findings.

Central research question: What are the long term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy as retrospectively perceived by 10 former residents of one dioxin-contaminated community during the one-on-one interviews and as evidenced in public/private archival document review? This overarching question was designed to address an existing gap within the scholarly literature and explore the actual experiences of those who share the same phenomenon of environmental relocation.

The results of the study show that indeed there are identifiable long-term social impacts to those participants who were interviewed. Little is known about how people cope during the various phases of disaster recovery, particularly progressing from evacuation, to temporary, to short-term, and then to permanent housing (Peacock et al., 2007). The data collected during the interviews provides great detail about many issues including: the consequences of individual and collective experiences of stigma; the loss of personal belongings and important papers; health care issues, media impositions, and communication issues with loss of place being the overriding issue for all participants.

Findings of Subquestion 1

Subquestion 1: What is the role of place, as defined by placeways theory, as it relates to long-term social impacts of environmental relocation? The purpose of this question was to determine the degree to which place plays a role in environmental

relocation and what the benefits might be if the role of place is considered when developing or revising policy and procedures. Questions 1-5 of the Interview Protocol (see Appendix C) link back to this subquestion.

Intangible Evidence of Place

Gieryn (2000) argued that intangible cultural norms, identities, memories, values, meanings, and place serve as a means for measuring people's lives. Table 2 shows a frequency inquiry (shown here again for convenience) which reveals that the most frequent words used by the 10 participants were home/place/house/town for a total of 447 times which is evidence of the critical role of place in these disaster survivors' lives.

Table 2

Word Frequency Query

Word	Frequency
House/Home/Place/Town	447
People/Family/Friends	377
Remember	186
Move/Relocation	152
Flood	130
Dioxin	106
School	76
Health	62
Communication	05

All of the participants grew up in blue-collar families who came to Times Beach for a variety of reasons: proximity to the Chrysler auto plant in Fenton or other local area workplaces, availability of low-cost housing, closeness to extended family, or family history of living in the area. Over and over I heard pining descriptions of the place they

called home. Across the board, the participants described the close relationships between friends and family, special memories, and safety and security. P-5 described one of his favorite childhood memories in the following words:

The thing I'll never forget is that every year the streets flooded. Not causing much damage. But one thing they did when the waters would recede, a lot fish would get caught on the grating going down to the water and they couldn't get back. So they just went by and scooped up these fish and had a big huge fish fry.

Law enforcement officials of this small community knew all the kids and helped them to become good citizens. Safety and security was felt by all. P-1 remembered building tree houses all over town and encounters with local law enforcement:

The City workers came after us to tear them down like a game of cat and mouse. The Marshall knew us kids well. Sometimes after he got a call, he'd show up in his housecoat and house slippers. He made us clean up the streets to work things off. One time, one of his men caught us shooting BBs at the water tower and along came the Marshall and told him to not worry about it –at least we weren't out doing worse things and he ordered him to let us go.

P-4 described the time when her bike was stolen:

We got to go to the police station and the cops talked to me and my friends about theft and they put us all in the jail just to teach all the kids – it [was] kind of like playing it out, but it was a kind of 'scared straight' program. I remember when

everyone's bikes were getting stolen and it was a teenage boy that did it. It was a great town; it was just sad what happened to it.

P-3 grew up in Times Beach, then married, and raised her own children there:

I don't ever remember locking my doors one time. Your children left and you weren't afraid that something was going to happen because you knew someone knew what they were doing and before they got home, you knew about it.

P-6 shared her memories of growing up in Times Beach as follows:

It was a great place because nearly every house had kids. My friends all lived within a block in front of me and a block behind me. I just remember that I was very happy as a child. I had a very happy childhood even though we were really poor. It was, ya know, a small town. Everybody knew everybody. My neighbors raised me as well as my parents. If I got out of line—you can bet the lady down the street was gonna drag me home. We were 'free-range children' before that term came out. Parents would always say, 'Don't go by the river'...because of the current...but of course we went to the river. I think every kid did—we grew up just hanging out at the river. We were like family, everyone was poor. We were lower class. There were a few families that were actually middle or upper middle class. But for the majority, our fathers were mechanics and ya know, they drank beer on the back porch.

Recap of Findings of Subquestion 1

In their own words, participants described life before the disasters (flood and dioxin) which included caring relationships among neighbors, watching out for each other's children, and law enforcement's patience and guidance for youth to become good citizens. These strong bonds and affection for their community were eventually put to the test when the community experienced a record flood on December 5, 1982, causing everyone to evacuate and go to temporary housing. Once the waters receded they returned and began to rebuild with determination. However, right before Christmas, December 23, 1982, they learned that EPA soil samples taken prior to the flood revealed deadly levels of dioxin on the streets and other areas of the community, and the government ordered everyone to evacuate again, never to return.

The findings for this subquestion supported previous studies. Walter (1998) described place as a container to store traditions, provide a foundation for society, and record historical changes. As Gieryn (2008) pointed out, the intangible cultural norms, identities, memories, values, and meanings, are reflective means to measure people's lives. Cox & Perry (2011) argued that place serves as an orienting framework in disaster recovery and is the foundation on which social capital and disaster resilience are built. Richardson (2010) urged consideration of the concept of place during all phases of policy development for disaster recovery and relocation policies; doing so would increase resilience and social capital by community members. Prewitt Diaz and Dayanna (2008) found that the loss of place is the most devastating factor facing disaster victims

especially if it impacts their health and well-being. Finally, Walter (1998) advocated for a renewal of consciousness during every phase of the decision-making processes and held that emotions must be considered. Government officials responsible for disaster recovery policies should seek to understand how much a place means to disaster-affected community members in order to facilitate a more successful disaster recovery process. Greater understanding is evident in the narratives above.

Findings of Subquestion 2

Subquestion 2: What is the role of disaster memory, as defined by memoryscapes theory, as it relates to long-term social impacts of environmental relocation? Ullberg's (2010) memoryscapes theory conceptualized social memory and examined how and to what extent disasters are remembered. Some members of the community she studied accepted the recurrent flooding as normal which Fabian (2007) referred to as forgetful remembering and suggested that perhaps this acceptance was how victims coped with loss and social suffering. Scanlon (2002) contended that some disasters are so dramatic that an individual's memories can be very vivid even after three-quarters of a century. Scanlon argued that the memories remained despite the loss of memory that accompanies the aging process.

The participants described their experiences in answer to Questions 6-18 of the Interview Protocol (Appendix C) to include: the day of the record flood and evacuation, temporary housing, rebuilding, dioxin contamination announcement, temporary housing

again, the buyout, permanent relocation, and environmental stigma, which are discussed next.

Record Flood

At the time of the record flood, December 5, 1982, P-4 and P-7 were youth; P-5, P-6, and P-8 were teenagers, and P-1, P-2, P-3, and P-10, were young adults. The significance of the age ranges are the insights gained from hearing their different perspectives and memories. All participants seemed to have gotten accustomed to flooding of their streets in the past. Weather forecasts for a record flood were not taken seriously until the last moment by the majority of community members. P-6 was 16 years old at the time of the record flood and remembers the day of the flood this way:

I had just turned 16 in May (11th grade high school) and found a job at *White Castle* in Fenton. So the actual day of the flood, I was working. I got a phone call from my best friend's mother, who lived in Fenton and she said that my mother had called and had to evacuate because our house had flooded. She invited me to stay at their house for a while. So that is how I heard about our house actually going under. We weren't expecting it—Mom wasn't expecting it to get that high. We never thought it would. We heard about the possibility the day before or a couple of days before it actually happened. It had flooded before but we were not really worried because it had never really gotten ...well maybe out in the road in front of our house—one time. But never to where we actually lived. I can remember Dad driving with a neighbor ya know down towards the river and

around where the Beach curved. He would drive around and come back and tell us where the floodwaters were on such and such street. And ya know, that day I went to work, I really wasn't concerned. I felt like it was still going to be okay.

P-7 was a youth at the time, and remembers the day of the flood very vividly despite the nearly 35 years that have passed:

I was eight when it flooded. The night before the flood, my parents were in a car club and they had gone out to a Christmas car club party. We [kids] just stayed home—no big deal. I think we had a couple of neighbor kids over as well. And it had been raining and someone, I think one of the older kids, told us that the water was coming up to the street closest to the river. So, ya know we did what we weren't supposed to do – leave the house. Then we ran down the street to the river. I remember it being up on that first block. Apparently it had flooded in the past because the houses on that first block were lifted up on stilts. So ya know, flooding down there was not uncommon to see water on that block when it rained—but not on our street—the third block from the river. We just thought it was cool that the water was up. And we'd run back home, then run back there again and check it out—we kinda just went back and forth. Eventually, mom and dad came home and we all went to bed. The next morning when we got up, the water was closer to our street. It was pretty unheard of! My mom started to panic. So within maybe an hour or two it was up to our street and into our front yard. And my Mom basically sent us kids to our rooms and said, "Go pack a bag and

you're going to go to Grandma's." So again, I'm eight and I packed an overnight bag for Grandma's. So, ya know...a couple shirts, underwear, pants, socks, and a couple of Barbies. By the time she got all three of us collected up, we got outside and I remember the water being up to my shins and my mother was pretty panicky. She put my youngest sister and myself in a girlfriend's car and told her to drive us over across the bridge and wait—she'd see us there. I remember distinctly that this girl had a small car and I remember putting my feet up on the seat. I was on the front seat because the water was in the floorboard of the car. As we were driving out, I remember turning around and looking at my mom standing there in the driveway. What's happening? Am I gonna see her again? I mean everything was going through my head. And I started getting upset because I didn't grab ALL my Barbies...I was torn between what was happening and toys in my room. We went across the bridge and got out of her car and stood and waited and watched the water rise. We watched the stream of cars and trucks—the people with very minimal belongings and they got out on the other side of the bridge and just stood there and waited and watched. We just stood there like a herd on either side of the road by Steiny's and just stood there and watched—waiting...they [parents] ended up coming out together and we stood there until nightfall. I remember it was cold and wet and everybody just stood there against the rain and wind...watching the town slowly disappear.

P-5 happened to be home on leave from the military at the time of the flood and aftermath. He described the record flood this way:

I came in on that Friday night and the flood came, I believe, on Sunday or Saturday morning, I can't remember, exactly. I came home and Pop said the river was going to flood—they were expecting this big massive flood and we went out and we sandbagged all night. Boy, that's such a waste. Ha! I'll never sandbag again. You're NOT going to beat the river—the river's going to win every time. If it decides to come in, it's goin' come in. The best thing we should have done at that point, instead of sand-baggin' all night, we should have been getting stuff out all night. My parents had a double-wide mobile home on a foundation. So that morning, we came in the house and my mom had made us breakfast and sitting on the table were eggs and bacon and what have you and I got up to go spit tobacco out the front door and I could see water coming down the road —ya know...about a foot and a half of water coming down the road through the storm drains down Juniper toward our house and I said, "Pops, it's time to go." My mom and sister was pretty young--she was seven... it got a little crazy...it got real crazy...we went to City Hall first and my Dad got in the Jon boat with a cop and by this time the trailer parks were in serious trouble and they went toward there. Dad already told my mom to leave...and I believe she had started to but she kind of panicked and she didn't do what she was supposed to do. So we kind of got separated. The cop tossed me the keys to his patrol car--I'll never forget him and he said, "Get

the police car out.” So I got in the patrol car and water was coming in really fast so I drove it as far as I could go and it got swamped so I had to abandon it. I waded in the water and swam back up to Galley West (Steiny’s) and all I was worried about at that point was finding my Mom and sister but couldn’t find them. The command center was there but they weren’t. So I was heading back in to look for them and I saw them walking across the bridge...I see my Mom walking with my sister in one hand walking across the bridge and in the other hand, a gun. I guess at some point the cop had run into my mom and he gave her his service weapon because he was in the water. So she walked out with a big ol’ 44 Magnum. And I said, “Okay Mom, give me the gun...let’s get you in here...” So I gave the gun to one of the State troopers and told him whose it was. That’s a true story—it actually happened.

P-7 recalls that within a day or two after the flood, her parents went back down to the flooded city using a boat owned by a family member with a list of people’s homes and belongings of things that people hadn’t gotten out:

They went in with the boat and [navigated] up and down the flooded streets to different people’s homes. My Mom would climb up on the roof top of the home—straddle the rooftop and hold the boat as my Dad and my uncle went in through a window to try to find belongings. And they would come out with stuff and go back and take it to the people, then go back in and come back out with stuff. They

did that for days. I know there were some people that did not leave until people with boats came in and got them—they just were not gonna leave their homes.

P-9, a teenager at the time, described her family's efforts to leave the flooded town by boat from the Galley West (Steiny's) restaurant and go to a brother's home over in Beck Woods:

I was scared. For one thing, I am afraid of water. All the massive amounts of water. And not being able to swim and being in a boat without a life vest on...I was so scared. But I don't know if it was the Coast Guard or National Guard (military for sure) that were present on the scene. They would not let us go in my brother's boat. By that time the water was up too high and they wouldn't let us go. And that was frightful thing too because there were a whole bunch of soldiers and me and my niece were standing behind Steiny's and they came around the buildings with weapons drawn on us. I don't know why they did that but it scared the daylights out of my niece—she was screaming and crying and I'm practically falling to pieces too. We finally made it to my brother's.

Rebuilding after the Record Flood

Within a week to 10 days, the flood waters had receded and residents were allowed to return to their homes to salvage what they could and rebuild if possible. Some had gone to a nearby hotel paid for by FEMA and other's preferred to stay with family or friends. P-4 was nine years old at the time and remembers returning to her family's

mobile home to see the damage when it was safe to return. She was 9 years old at the time:

We went back and I remember the whole floor in my bedroom was gone—all my toys and belongings had been on the floor and the whole bottom of my floor and all the toys were gone. The trailer had moved quite a bit, too. It was pretty much totally destroyed. We didn't get to take much of anything with us—just a couple things of clothes the day of the flood because we had to leave in a hurry. I remember my favorite doll was this *Curious George* doll and I was very upset because he had been left inside there...I lost him.

Another youth at the time, P-7, vividly recalled her family's efforts to clean up and rebuild after the flood:

Only adults were allowed back in at first, after the water had gone down. And at some point in time, then it was like—okay, anybody can go back in. So my parents borrowed a camper and drove it down and parked it in the driveway so that way, we kids would have somewhere to go play in while they were in the house cleaning out stuff. When we went in and out of the house...playing and they were cleaning, it was a mess. It was gross. It was disgusting. Things were turned upside down everywhere. I remember (chuckled) that the night of the actual flooding, my mother had made a huge pot of mostaccioli and we were supposed to have put it away—but we were too busy going down to the river and stuff. That pot of mostaccioli was like everywhere in the house. We had

mostaccioli remnants everywhere! My room was pretty much wiped out. As far as ya know things were still in the room but nothing was in the place that I had put it in. So we spent time in and out of the house, playing in the camper, playing games, eating lunch and taking a nap while our parents were doing what they needed to be doing. But by then we were pretty much living at my grandparents.

As long-time area residents, P-9's family anxiously returned to assess the damage to their home as soon as the waters receded:

The structure of the house was actually intact but the drywall was just a mess because it had been underwater for so long—muddy all around. We redid the whole bottom floor and part of the second floor with the drywall. Two of the cats survived (Tom and Baby) but we lost all our chickens—dead chickens all over the yard. We lost all the family picture albums and I lost all of my high school yearbooks. A bunch of my friends from high school wanted to help with the clean-up and actually had to get a tetanus shot before beginning any work. At that point we thought that was what we were going to do, then we saw the house. We had a two-story house and the floodwaters had reached about a quarter of the way up to the second floor...halfway. We shoveled out mud—I remember that. We had dead animals in the chimney. The cabinets in the kitchen were all warped. Wall damage. Plaster damage. The house was built of brick. Windows were solid though. All our personal belongings were all gone...history.

P-3 recalled the flood damage to both homes belonging to her and husband. They had moved to the one in the town of Pacific, Missouri, during late summer that year but it was totally destroyed by the floodwaters. They were hopeful they could repair the one in Times Beach and live in it:

We stayed with friends and yes, I went back to Times Beach and tried to see what was going on because we owned the house there. Of course you couldn't get in, right away. As soon as we could go back to the house in Times Beach, we went and tried to salvage that home because we had lost everything we had in Pacific. That wasn't the first flood we ever had so it wasn't surprising to me to have to clean up and do things like that. The damage was pretty bad but we were trying to dry it out as much as we could—we had a wood stove going to dry it out so we would have a place to live. We didn't have any place to go. As far the house goes, if we could have gotten it dried out good enough we could have lived in it. We lost everything—we had nothing left-- no birth certificates...school records.

P-5, still on military leave for the holidays and then emergency leave, described his family's return to their home after the flood:

It was four to five days before the water went down. Going back into town I absolutely remember every second of that. One of the TV anchormen got thrown right off that bridge. When we pulled up my mom and sister got upset and were crying and my Dad was crying and this [expletive] cameraman shoved the camera in their face. My brother got out of the car and helped him understand you just

don't do that—he pushed him down and pushed the camera away and he hit the ground and he said he'd have him arrested. It didn't happen. When we got to our home, it was horrible. It was. The windows were all broken out and there was mud everywhere. The plates with the eggs on them—the eggs were gone but the plates were still on the table. We just stood there and were staring and she [my Mom] snapped, 'Boys! Let's go. Just tear everything out and throw it out in the front yard.' So at this point, my Dad had two guys that he worked with that came to help. They were decorated Vietnam vets, tough as nails—Marine gunnery sergeants—these guys were tough—this one gentleman walked in—we were just taking everything and throwing it out in the yard and he walked into my sister's room, I was right behind him. He was this big tough guy. My sister went to the Catholic school in Eureka, Sacred Heart, and she had a little God corner in the corner of her bedroom, a little card table with a Bible and little one ounce statues and what have you—there wasn't a drop of water or a speck of mud. It had floated up and then it had come right back down—the statues were not even knocked down. And this big sonabitch looked at it and said, 'I'm not touchin' it!' and he just walked out—he got spooked. Yeh, the house was devastated--it was. We ripped everything out and dried it out and my aunt had a little camper trailer and they brought it and put it in the driveway and we lived in that while we were cleaning up and rebuilding.

Temporary Housing after the Record Flood

Little is known about how people cope during the various phases of disaster recovery, particularly progressing from evacuation, to temporary, to short-term, and then to permanent housing (Peacock et al., 2007). During evacuation and temporary phases, most people prefer to stay with family members or at a hotel (Drabek, 1986; Perry et al., 1981; Quarantelli, 1982). For the flood evacuation, seven of the 10 participants reported that their family chose to live temporarily with family or friends. The other three participants and their families stayed in a nearby hotel paid for by the government. That initial temporary phase lasted about 10 days. Just as some returned to their property to cleanup and rebuild, the CDC announced on December 23, 1982, that the results of the soil samples revealed high levels of dioxin and warned the community to evacuate...again. Those who had not yet returned were told to stay away.

Access to Resources after the Flood

Peacock et al. (2007) argued that access to resources after disasters is unequal and is especially true for low-income and minority households because they typically do not have their contents insured. P-9 witnessed the many efforts of support from faith-based organizations and local businesses:

I was having a hard time finding a job. I had my high school diploma and I even applied to fast food positions. It took me until August of '83 to find a job so I was unemployed that whole time. That was a depressing time because with the loss of everything and then not having money coming in...and for myself, I didn't have a

car. I was just stuck. So after the flood, my Dad and I went over to a school in Eureka and maybe we were applying for some type of voucher for assistance. Dad did all the talking. The Red Cross and Salvation Army were wonderful after the flood happened. The Red Cross provided cleaning supplies—buckets, mops and brooms. The Red Cross drove around to the homes where people were doing repairs and brought hot food right to our front doors. The Red Cross brought hot soup—best tasting. Very generous.

P-7 described her recollections about receiving assistance after the flood:

In Eureka, there was a grocery store that had closed down and it was just a shell of a building. And we would go up there with all the other Times Beach people and stand in line to receive handouts of supplies, food, and clothes. All the kids I knew each got a matching ski coat that was donated from a coat company. There were different colors, but basically we had the same things...um, cowboy boots, shoes, and a personal hygiene kit, toilet paper, tooth paste...we would just stand in line. If you're a girl, stand in this line; if you're a boy, stand in this line.

P-5 continued to come back to Times Beach on the weekends to help out his parents:

It was cold. The Red Cross trucks brought the best hot soup I ever had in my life—it probably wasn't but when you're cold and wet... There was a place in Eureka that you could just walk in and get furniture. I do remember Augustus Gussie Bush came to town and brought a truckload of food and clothing and he

was handing out these good down jackets. I have pictures of them in a magazine that I just bought a few month ago and there's some of my family. But he brought these Michelob vests and coats and stuff and you can see people wearing them. I kept mine until the thing fell apart. Looking at the photos...my God...we all looked so pathetic that day. I mean we did. It was a tough time.

Notification/Awareness of Dioxin Contamination

Many residents had been busy with clean up and repairs to their flood-damaged homes for about a week, and Christmas was coming. Each of the participants described how they heard about the CDC's notification of dioxin contamination that was read to the residents at the Town Hall Christmas party, December 23, 1982. Those not at the party heard about the notification through the media, official notification, or through their family members.

P-10 explained that she and her husband had purchased a new small mobile home after the flood:

They let us put it back down there before the dioxin announcement--still in the same mobile home park. Then ya know we thought everything was all right. I took my three-year old son to the Christmas party. It was fun because you got to see a happy moment. Everybody was craving a happy moment. When the announcement was made, because from that time on, all that happened, we had no happy moments for a while.

P-3 received a telephone call from a government official that notified her that she and her family had to leave Times Beach:

We were still trying to clean up when I got a call that I had to move immediately or the State was going to come and take my children away from us. I think the call came from a lady from FEMA. There had been a person right down the road (I forgot their name) and the state came took their children out of their home. So we were kind of forced to get out at that time. When I talked to her on the phone she offered to get us set up in a hotel in Fenton. I told her, we're not leaving—we're trying to get things done and my husband was at work at that time. She said that I had a choice or we could end up just like the family down the road—their four children were pulled out and that they would pull our children out, too. So, I packed my kids up and moved out.

P-5, still home on military emergency leave after the flood, described the moment when he realized that the dioxin contamination announcement was real:

It was really not until after the flood that I became aware of how devastating this was going to be. My uncle was a master carpenter and he spent a lot of time down there helping us rebuild stuff. None of us really knew how to do that. And then after we were doing it a while, mom and dad said we needed to just stop—that stuff was contaminated—everything's gotta go. And that's when the metal hit the meat grinder. That's when I first realized that this was something a lot more than just a devastating flood.

P-6 remembered that Christmas of 1982:

My family was at the Holiday Inn. Mom, for Christmas, she bought a portable radio for me and my sister to share and she knitted us socks and mittens. I

remember her crying that we didn't have any money and didn't have any way to get it and she felt bad because all she had were hand-knitted socks and mittens.

So, you just tell your mom, "It's okay!" And I remember, at school, some "secret elves" came into my classroom and gave me a sweater as a gift. And I remember thinking that was really cool. Yeh, I remember that Christmas after the dioxin announcement.

P-7 was a youth at the time of the dioxin contamination announcement and described the protective manner in which her parents shielded her and her siblings from the reality of the situation:

So, I don't remember personally hearing about the *Christmas Message* at the community Christmas party. I remember Christmas Day at my Grandparents' house where we were living after the flood. Ya know we didn't know what we were going to eat cuz my Grandparents, ya know...they didn't have much money either to have a big family meal. And then there was a knock on the door and everyone ran to the door—who comes to Grandma's house? And somebody dropped off a small cooked turkey, potatoes, rolls and a present for each of us kids. For me, it was a Barbie—might not have been an actual Barbie, but it was a doll. I don't remember what my sisters got. That was my favorite toy anyway. To

this day, we have no idea who did that. It was awesome...cuz we thought for sure we weren't going to get anything.

Dioxin Foreshadowing

Prior to the announcement about the dioxin contamination, none of participants seemed to recall specific knowledge about dioxin or its dangers; they had never heard of the chemical. P-7, though young, described a very vivid picture of the day she looked back on as the beginning of her awareness of dioxin:

Before I heard about it, I saw something. I do remember it was right before the flood. We caught the school bus across the street. I distinctly remember standing on the street corner at the intersection where we caught the school bus, outside, and it was a beautiful fall day. I remember waiting there. Then the Martians came. They basically were on the same corner and with a very large long pole they dug into the ground for soil samples. We just stood there and watched and worried about being abducted by the Martians. It was like a very traumatic moment and I remember very detailed memories of it. I remember this. But then, I never heard anything else about it. But of course we were kids and we never heard anything else about it.

P-3 recalled the day she saw the people collecting soil samples:

Yes. We were still cleaning up the house and trying to salvage what we needed to tear out and things like that. We watched the EPA people taking samples and they had on their little white suits and my children were outside playing in the yard. It

was kind of a funny thing. I did not even think about anything like dioxin at the time. The only thing I thought about was how ridiculous they looked—here we have children playing and they were running around getting samples...we didn't know we were on contaminated lands.

Spraying of the Roads

In the early 1970s, the small town of Times Beach had a majority of its citizens complain about its unpaved, dusty roads. City officials found a short-term solution by contracting with a local waste hauler, Russell Bliss, to periodically spray domestic waste oil on their roads at the cost of six cents per gallon of oil, which was much cheaper than paving the roads. Bliss sprayed the town streets during 1971-1973. But what no one knew at the time was that in addition to collecting domestic oil waste from gas stations, he also hauled waste from a chemical plant in western Missouri that at one time had manufactured Agent Orange for the federal government. Dioxin is a by-product of the manufacturing process. Bliss added that waste material to the other oil stored in his local storage tanks.

Eight of the 10 participants vividly remembered the spraying of the oil on their streets. The other two had been born in the early 1970s but continued to live in that community through the record flood and buyout. P-5 remembered the street spraying as something normal:

I remember the trucks bringing the oil...I absolutely remember that. I remember it being all over our bikes and of course as you ride your bike the oil kicked up and made trails up your back, ya know. We'd have it on us all the time. I absolutely remember that! It smelled like oil.

Most kids went around barefooted all summer long, according to P-9:

When the oil solidified it would almost be like taffy and it was sweet. Yes, we tasted it. It was like fresh taffy. And I've heard several people who lived in the Beach say, "oh yeh, we tried it too—it was sweet!" It was a dark color. It sounds kind of gross now thinking about it-- but kids are kids. It had a chemical smell.

Access to Resources after the Dioxin Announcement

It became evident that with the dioxin announcement, the Times Beach residents were going to be in a temporary situation for longer than what they'd just experienced after the flood. The CDC warned residents not to return to their homes even if they had begun to make repairs after the flood. By Christmas time, 1982, numerous faith organizations, local charitable organizations, and government representatives had arrived and tried to help the residents. Peacock et al. (2007) contended that access to resources after disasters is unequal and is especially true for low-income and minority households because they typically do not have their contents insured.

P-2 described how she and her family responded to instances of assistance from outsiders:

The government was not genuinely concerned. We had just lost our home and government was very matter-of-fact. We met with government officials in the evening after my husband got home from work to do the paperwork and spent Saturdays looking at homes. Fortunately, we had our important papers that had not been damaged or lost in the flood. I remember the Red Cross provided cleaning supplies. We really didn't need help with anything.

P-6 commented that her mom was one of the members of the Ecumenical Dioxin Task Force and that she spent a lot of time there:

My mother kept a scrapbook that has probably three-quarters filled with information about the EPA and how they screwed her over and ya know, newspaper articles and letters to the EPA from the Task Force. I remember she got a lot of support from those people. I think it was a way my mother and others from the town could do something—they were so helpless. I have no idea what my father did. He worked every day. I don't remember him being around much, to be honest.

Temporary Housing after Dioxin Notification

P-10 explained that right after the flood, she and her family were put up at a motel in Eureka and then, in about a week, went right into more temporary housing after the dioxin announcement:

All of us from Times Beach were put in the back. Then after a week in the hotel, they moved us up to the old junior high school behind *Super Smokers* and put us in the cafeteria. FEMA held many meetings to keep us informed. We talked and met with FEMA while we were in the temporary housing. You just had to wait for your turn to fill the papers out. I had my driver's license in my purse so I could prove who I was. Which was lucky, because some people couldn't. The bad part was there were so many people needing it—all at once. Because everybody's family lived down there—you didn't have a sister to go to or a mom to go to over there. It seems like they were slow. I really don't think they were. At the school they had picnic-like tables—metal ones with stacks of clothes, necessities and the Red Cross fed us. You just took what you needed and well, the bad thing was that there was so much media there. They knew you was from Times Beach and they were sticking cameras in your face and asked me, “Well, what do you think about this?” And I thought, “Well, what the h-ll do you think we think about this?”

P-3 described the frustration with all the temporary housing moves:

We didn't choose...they chose for us. They told us where to go. FEMA actually set us up in a house in Cedar Hill with all the furniture that we needed in February 1983 and my five children went to Cedar Hill School over by Dittmer, Missouri. Before that, they had been totally out of school. I don't think we were there even six months because the neighbors... I mean they were horrible—I guess they thought we were going to have three or four heads or something like that. A lot of

them wouldn't even let the children associate with each other. We had one neighbor in the back that he was just furious because FEMA put us up there. I couldn't figure it out—we didn't have a choice in this matter and I remember telling him that. It wasn't something that we wanted to happen. He was just so horrible, ya know...it was like, "I'm paying for your rent here." You're not doing it any more than I've done it in my life and my husband's... Others would say we needed to find another place to live. Like I said, it finally got to the point where my husband said no, we'll find our own place. And the kids were treated terribly in that neighborhood. So we decided we couldn't keep doing that.

P-6 talked about her family's frequent moving after the flood and dioxin

announcement:

We moved around to like four different cities in a year. I remember that the schools had rules for Times Beach children attending. A lot of kids just didn't go to school for a while. I remember the school told us that we could come to school at Eureka High School even though we had moved outside of the district. We had to provide our own transportation—so they weren't going to kick us out of the school but they weren't going to send a bus to get us either. I had a driver's license and car so once we moved to Pacific. I remember driving myself, my sister, and two neighborhood brothers who were also displaced and I dropped them off at the junior high. So I was the bus! That's the only way we got to stay in

our school. A lot of kids who didn't have transportation or their mom didn't have a car to take them to school, just couldn't go to our school again.

P-4 described the temporary housing that her family experienced:

We lost all of our important papers in the flood like my school records, shot records, birth certificates. Schools gave us a hard time because I missed a whole year of school. I don't remember anyone helping us. When Mom called, she was not told of these places to help us replace the records. Couldn't prove I'd had my shots or what grade I had completed. It was a big mess—she was pretty upset about it.

Stigma

Many Times Beach residents were stigmatized by people in nearby communities where they were temporarily housed as they conducted their daily chores of grocery shopping or banking. Schoolmates and teachers were insensitive and made snide comments to many of the Times Beach children. P-2 recalled experiences that she had with people from other locations:

We were looked down upon because we had lived in Times Beach. We were viewed as low-income people—we were living in a tiny two-bedroom home, and then we moved to a trailer while I was attending high school. It was hard. Later, when I was working, I did not experience any kind of stigma because the employees came from everywhere. It was very frustrating to know you don't feel good, and I had spent 10 years trying to get a doctor to understand there was

something wrong with me. No one wanted to listen. When I gave that doctor my history and said that I grew up in Times Beach, she knew exactly where it was and what it was.

With six children and husband in tow, P-3 described the difficulties and stigma she and her family experienced during the temporary housing phase of the relocation:

There was times when the girls especially, came home from school and they'd be crying. One little girl [at school] had said, 'My mommy and daddy say we take care of you that you come from a town that had some kind of germ.' Childish stuff like that and it was really hard on the kids. I can remember a few times when they'd say, 'so and so won't play with us because we came from Times Beach', ya know. It would infuriate me but there was nothing we could do about it. You can't even get a doctor to talk with you if you say something about dioxin. One actually told me he would prefer I find another doctor because he didn't want to be part of any lawsuit. That was while we were in Cedar Hill so it had to be around '83. That part I can remember being absolutely horrible and we finally just broke away and said, hey...we're on our own. You do what you want to do. We kinda got our own little place by the river and started over and told FEMA to leave us alone.

P-7 described her experiences dealing with hurtful comments by schoolmates and becoming aware of her mom's feelings as well:

I don't remember finding out anything about the contamination until we went back to school. I remember then being in fourth grade and being on the playground, and kids teasing us that we were contaminated—and said that we 'glowed' and wouldn't touch us and they wouldn't play with us anymore. And then we started hearing about it at the grocery store, then we'd hear it at the banks, then we'd hear it at the meat market—the same thing. All in Eureka. My mother drove us every day back and forth to Eureka to school. She tried to keep our lives as normal as possible. So, I didn't know that I was contaminated—until the kids at school told me I was. It was horrible. At first I didn't know what they were talking about. I didn't understand that —I mean, what do ya mean you can't play with me? Ya know you'd run around the playground and the boys had cooties—well we understood that cuz every girl understands that --but this was girls and boys. So we were truly ostracized. It probably stopped even before I really got out of elementary school.

P-4 remembers feeling like an outcast and not really having any friends until junior high, when she was 14-15 years old:

Oh yes, the other kids at school were afraid to be near me. Mom told me we had to move because people were terrified of us. Nobody knew if it [dioxin] was contagious. I felt like an outcast. Getting to the point where people didn't know the stories—up until that point I was an outcast—even teachers moved my desk to the back of the room. In school I went through counseling, but I was pretty much

told to 'get over it.' It was hard after losing our home and being out of touch with family and friends. It was a hardship—I couldn't get kids to come over and play, for example. I was always behind in my studies—kids were learning times tables and I missed that due to moving all around. It set me behind compared to ya know being where I should have been. I don't think I could have caught up. I went to high school, but I didn't graduate. I went to Job Corps and got my GED. It was because of a lot health problems, so my principal was supportive and helpful and I got to take the GED right away. He knew it wasn't me—when I was at school he knew I tried.

Permanent Relocation/Buyout/Lawsuits

It took nearly four years after the initial buyout announcement, February 23, 1982, for all the residents to permanently relocate (end of 1986). After that, the town lay completely abandoned as the decision of what to do about it languished in the halls of the federal government from one administration to another. Many residents participated in various lawsuits as well during this time. P-5 described the buyout in positive terms regarding his family's experience:

After the warning to get out of town, my parents moved to apartment in Pacific. And those apartments still stand. My parents then bought a house in Eureka where my Dad still lives. They did all right by the buyout. Reagan was held in high regards even though we're Democrats or I am. He's always been held in high regards. Here's what happened. A lot of people fought the government for what

happened there. And the gal from the EPA, she was naïve and she made some mistakes. But the government really saved a whole bunch of us. I'm not gonna sit here and say that the way they handled it was inappropriate –cuz they didn't have to do that. The government didn't do anything wrong—in my opinion. They gave my parents 'fair market value' for their home—the value before the flood. They certainly didn't have to do that. That was something that saved them and allowed them to buy where they're at now—their home and carry on. They gave them low-interest loans—so I commend them. And, this was a time before disaster relief ...they didn't really have those things back then. Whereas now, they're out there with their checkbooks—okay here ya go—this will get you through. I do believe they came through for us. They saved my parents. I mean my parents are survivors. They would have fought and clawed their way out regardless. Um, this one moment would not have defined us --as it hasn't. They would have done okay but the government made it easier for them to survive. And there was a lawsuit—and I was involved. I wanna say \$5,000 or maybe \$7,000—that was just mine. I think every member of my family got it—my sister got more cuz she was younger. I signed the document that was sent to me—because at this time, I was out of state. Pop said, “Just shut up and sign it—maybe something will happen someday.” And one day—the mail came and there was a check. So I took it. I think there's a lot of animosity over the lawsuits. Some people got in when they should have—some people didn't...and I think there's anger there—and that's

fine. I understand. I got in because I was told to. So I got a little bit of cash. Did it change my life? No. I got a car in the '90s—that's what I got...so. But I'm sure you're gonna have some people who are still upset.

P-2 described her family's experiences with the relocation and buyout:

We went to live with my husband's Dad for about six weeks over in Allentown. The flood did big damage to our home and we had begun to pull out the carpet and clean up when the announcement came. Then we lived in a FEMA trailer for a year and moved to Pacific into an apartment/condominium for another year. We met with government representatives in the evening after work to do the paperwork and spent Saturdays looking at homes. I guess we got a pretty fair offer for our home in Times Beach and we were able to build a new home in January 1984 with our buyout money. My husband and I both had good jobs unlike many other people. We paid for everything ourselves on our own dime.

P-3 was resistant to the proposed buyout announcement:

I was there in Eureka for the [buyout] announcement. It was in one of the meeting rooms at the hotel. I didn't want it—that was our home. And none of us really wanted to be bought out. In my opinion, there were a lot of us that were against it. We were giving up our homes and a lot of us didn't want to do that. Mostly they described the contamination as being in the streets where Russell had sprayed; they weren't giving a whole lot of details at that time. If I can remember there was a gentleman from FEMA and he was trying to explain things to us. Like

I said, I don't believe the majority of us wanted to move and be bought out. The main issue was just finding a home again. We felt like we really didn't have a place to settle down. It took so long to finally get a place over a year, to call home. It was hard on all of us. Most of us wanted to settle down among the others but a lot of us couldn't afford to go where some of the others went. It was really kind of sad. That's what sticks in my mind. We just lost contact with neighbors and friends and people we grew up with. We did participate in a lawsuit. I think ours settled in '91-92—not sure. There was a clause restricting future compensation for health issues. That was another thing-- that we really didn't have a choice. Had to go along. I would have liked it if they would have taken care of health problems down the line that may have occurred with the kids or grandchildren.

P-7 was a youth at the time of the record flood and buyout and described her memories of what she observed her parents doing:

As a child I did not know a lot of the details of what went on. I do know that my parents were high up or well known in the community and attended every meeting possible. They'd come home from the town hall type meeting and we'd talk about it. They participated in the buyout. I think my parents received \$25,000 for their house. My sister and I received \$8,000 in a saving account. I do remember the government coming in and spray-painting an X on the house that it had been inspected and we'd gotten all of our stuff out of the house. I know from reading

my mom's writings that she had to make a list from memory of all our belongings—what was in every room that she could remember—couch, chair, lamp, then put a price on it. Everything to get some kind of payout. My parents were very active in trying to help people and also survive for us. My parents did not participate in any of the lawsuits. At that point, they just wanted to rebuild. They just wanted to get on with things—it was affecting us in school...the community...and money. I do not recall my mom talking anything about a lawsuit. I recall them going to lots of meetings but nothing to my knowledge about that.

P-9's family was one of two that stayed in Times Beach until they received their buyout monies:

We had redone the whole bottom floor and part of the second floor with the drywall after the flood and continued to live there. So then the following spring, there was another flood in May 1984. It destroyed all the repairs we made downstairs. We ended up staying until June 14, 1984 –32 years ago! It was pretty desolate after everyone left. It was almost like you were at the mercy of the government. All the decisions with your daily life was in the hands of somebody else. I know my parents were real stressed during that time—worrying about when we were going to get the money for the buyout and what the final plan would be. Making the decision to buy a house was major-- which they hadn't done in 30 years. There was no negotiation and he ended up getting \$36,000 for

their home. FEMA chipped in \$15,000 for relocation for a total of \$51,000. So with that money they had to go and try to purchase a home. They were able to buy the one in Robertsville. We did participate in the lawsuits. I think we got one of the settlements around 1989-90--somewhere around that time. And another one followed that. It wasn't fair. It was not done fair. I know a lot of people who had health issues and they said that was what they were basing it upon. But there were some people with health issues who got hardly any compensation. And then other people who got well up into the thousands. I know one person...the day I was cashing my check, this lady had gotten close to \$60,000 and I had only gotten \$10,600. So it was kind of based on who you knew...honestly, because the lawyer who spearheaded this whole lawsuit actually was the municipal court judge for Times Beach prior to the flood. He was actually in on the class action suit from what I understand—kind of a conflict of interest to represent yourself. One of my brothers only got \$1,300 out of the lawsuit. There was a disclaimer forbidding future health issues monies. I don't think it was fair to have that disclaimer because you don't know what's gonna happen in the future. You're relinquishing your ability to be compensated –just for your health care! If you don't have insurance and you're bombarded with major medical issues-- that could bankrupt a person. Plus, wreck your quality of life, too.

Recap of Findings of Subquestion 2

Each of the participants provided very vivid descriptions about the day of the record flood and dioxin announcement, despite its occurrence nearly 35 years ago. There were some references to their perception of what their parents and other siblings might have been thinking or what actions they took. It was surprising how much detail was recalled about the record flood by those who were youth at the time and then their responses later as teenagers regarding the environmental relocation. Loss of a specific toy or personal item was particularly upsetting for the youth. Those who were young adults with their own families focused on the need to rebuild their homes after the flood.

As Ullberg (2010) found in her study of the Santafenesians, Times Beach had flooded many times before the record flood of 1982, and participants were accepting of the flooding until the record flood came. This may have resulted in increased social vulnerability and a decline in resilience capability, according to Ullberg (2010). Two of my young adult participants prepared for the record flood in advance by removing all contents of their home to a storage unit up the road in a nearby town. They had previously experienced flooding in the trailer court. Another participant suggested that sandbagging was really not productive and that preparations could better be spent moving personal items out of the home to off-site storage. Others merely moved their belongings to the highest part of their homes or just off the floor. For the most part, participants in this study accepted the recurrent flooding as normal, which Fabian (2007) referred to as

forgetful remembering, and perhaps this acceptance was how victims coped with loss and social suffering.

The lessons learned from the record flood included the determination by many of the participants to always live at the highest possible elevation and to protect their personal records and photographs. As far as lessons learned from the second disaster, dioxin and relocation, there was a unanimous distrust of government. However, P-5 did express appreciation for the government's role in the buyout of his parent's home and receiving the fair market value dollars that allowed them to buy another home in a different location. The rest of the participants felt they had not been treated fairly.

Reestablishing permanent housing in a timely manner is critical according to Edelstein (2004), and he determined that when restoration occurs quickly, survivors are more likely to achieve a new normalcy. The hope to rebuild after the record flood was shattered with the announcement about the dioxin contamination and the government mandate to evacuate the town. Participants described the hardships they had with trying to resume a sense of normalcy. School policies kept some students from attending class because their records had been lost or because they were living in temporary housing outside the school district where they had been attending. The Red Cross and other faith-based organizations came on the scene to assist, but participants described the difficulties of obtaining daily necessities and frustration with the long lines to apply for assistance. There was no central system of keeping in contact with other residents or government officials as residents were moved around quite frequently during the temporary phase of

recovery. Addresses were changed, and correspondence was lost. Many Times Beach residents were stigmatized by people in nearby communities where they were temporarily housed or as they conducted their daily chores of grocery shopping or banking. Schoolmates and teachers were insensitive and made snide comments to many of the Times Beach children. Dioxin was not contagious but there was so much that was unknown about the chemical.

The buyout of the properties lasted through the end of 1986. Lawsuits were paid out 1990-1992. Table 3 shows the participation levels of the residents for the buyout/relocation and lawsuits. Nine of the 10 participants were homeowners of either a

Table 3

Participation in Buyout/Relocation and/or Lawsuit

Participant #	Buy-Out/ Relocation Participation	Lawsuit Participation
P-1	Yes	Yes
P-2	No	Yes
P-3	Yes	No
P-4	Rentee received relocation money only	Yes
P-5	Yes	Yes
P-6	Yes	Yes
P-7	Yes	No
P-8	No	Yes
P-9	Yes	Yes
P-10	Yes	Yes

mobile or traditional home and had the option to receive buyout money at the fair market value price as well as receive relocation money for each member of the family. Two of the families did not participate in the buyout, but both did participate in the later lawsuits. P-2 had grown up in Times Beach and had children of her own at the time of the buyout. She described the frustration with the process and her family's choice to "do it on their own."

Understanding how disasters are remembered by survivors provides lessons-learned so that mitigation can be included in the development of meaningful response plans. Being sensitive to the potential social and cultural aspects of disaster recovery may improve the effectiveness of the decision-making process and policy development by government officials responsible for disaster response and recovery.

Findings of Subquestion 3

Subquestion 3: What are the roles of remembrance rituals and memorialization, as defined by remembrance theory, as it relates to long-term social impacts of environmental relocation? Remembrance provides the connection to what has been lost through various means such as memorial services, special expressions, reunions, memorials and social media (Doss, 2008; Richardson, 2010). Questions 19-27 of the Interview Protocol link back to this subquestion.

Memorial Services

Two events were held in honor of the Times Beach community 1) Christmas in July 1983 and 2) Farewell Ceremony for Times Beach, fall 1983. When queried about

these events, three participants acknowledged that they had attended the Christmas in July 1983 held at a Eureka park. Two of them were parents of small children excited to see Santa Claus, and the other one was a teenager who went because her mom wanted her to go with her and her little sister. None of the participants I interviewed remembered participating in the *Farewell to their City* event held on the bridge that led to their city over the Meramec River; however, they noted they had seen photos taken during that event.

Special Expressions

Richardson (2010) found that survivors can successfully find meaning in the disaster by sharing their experiences with others and engaging in activities rich in symbols and rituals which encouraged memories. Several participants recalled a cookbook with recipes submitted by the community members for printing by the *Ecumenical Taskforce*. Others mentioned that t-shirts commemorating Times Beach had been made up for sale at some of the reunions. Bumper stickers with the words, “Ignorance is Bliss” were printed at one time.

Mrs. Leistner, former Mayor of Times Beach, made available to me a copy of a CD entitled, *The Ballad of Time Beach*, 2005 by Helen Keplinger which highlighted Marilyn Leistner’s role in leading her community through the flood and dioxin disasters. In addition, she gave me copies of two poems from individuals who were not from Times Beach:

Judge Wm. Roy Bean from Fletcher, Missouri, wrote:

An American Tragedy – Times Beach

It is strange and very hard to understand
 Why our government gives billions to foreign lands
 Why eagerly force weapons and dollars upon them
 But our aid to innocent flood victims is so slim
 While helpless citizens suffer in our Times Beach
 Why does Washington help have such poor reach
 Isn't it time for our citizens to rise in indignation
 And demand we first help our own beloved nation!

Another poem was written by Jody Groeper, from Warrenton, Missouri, after she visited Times Beach, dated January 1983:

Death of a Town

A killer-Dioxin, creeps over the earth;
 Of a town called Times Beach, named so at birth.
 It was joined by flood waters, swift – rising high;
 Helpless – the people watched their town die.
 The invaders leave debris and contaminated space;
 The silence so loud, It's a ghost of a place.
 The buildings once filled with laughter and cheers;
 Are now damp with moisture, flood water and tears.

The echo of footsteps once heard on the street;

No longer exist, the Death – Watch complete

P-6 and friends secretly videotaped the abandoned town as a gift for her father for Father's Day and recalled that summer day in 1990:

Yes, you were supposed to have a pass. We did not get a pass. So we went through Eureka. We snuck through the woods and walked across the railroad tracks, through the old trailer park and into town. And we spent the day videotaping in like 180 degrees – it so hot that day and it was great. It was quite the experience. We came across the security people and we were able to hide behind a bus so they didn't see us. And we went back home and that's how some of the footage we shot ended up in that *History Channel* video—some of it was shot that day into that. It was on a VHS tape back in 1990. My girlfriend and her husband had just started a video business so she said, she would come along and videotape. So we said okay and she carried this huge video camera through the whole thing 'til the batteries died; ya know they didn't last that long back then. My sister put it on a CD for us a few years ago so we all have copies. We were so silly...we were 23. I've been back when it was the park but only that one time before that.

P-9 remembered a man named, *Bobcat Morris*, who lived in the trailer park and wrote a country-western song about life in Times Beach:

They played it on Channel 24, Larry Rice's St. Louis TV station. Reverend Rice and his organization had kind of been involved with the flood victims.

Reunions

Annual reunions have been held every year since the 1990s and it is always the last Saturday in September at the Route 66 State Park unless there is an issue. In 2015, for example, there was a huge backup on I-44 due to a multi-vehicle accident near *Six Flags over St. Louis* amusement park. It was moved to a local park in Eureka. These anniversary events represent both physical and social time and the passing of calendar years. Collective remembrance provides a way for participants to express the meaning of the shared experiences they have: record 1982 flood, dioxin, and relocation. They bring food and old photos. They share stories, a band may play music, and they review the growing list of those who have passed away since the previous reunion.

Five of the 10 participants in my study had attended one or more past reunions and found them meaningful. P-8 went back about five or six years ago:

It was just kind of weird — you try to...now that it's a park—all the roads are still there and you try to remember where like your friends lived or where the Church was or ya know...I had many, many friends that ya know, are the crux of my childhood friends from Times Beach...so, it's just odd you can't find your way around down there anymore.

P-10 described the annual reunions she and her family members have attended in the past:

My mom helped head up the 10-year reunion with a band and everything. Park rangers are against it; we would all bring food; there was stuff for kids to do. There were T-shirts for sale. It was a big picnic. People brought pictures. Now, not a whole lot of people don't come. Now they don't have much going on. I've got a hat that was my Dad's that says Times Beach on it. I offered to loan it to the museum but they wouldn't take it. Facebook won't let us say we're from Times Beach.

The other five participants had not attended any of the reunions for a number of reasons. P-2 commented that it was sad to see that some people are “so stuck in the past.” P-5 explains why he has never attended a reunion:

Nah. I've never attended any—and I don't know why. I don't think Times Beach was as...I guess I let go. My parents were okay -- I don't see any need to bring up that kind of ...the past... I love the town—I love what happened. So I don't go to the reunions—I know my Dad does and my brother does. But they play music there and they've got a band thing going.

Support for Times Beach Memorial

Previous studies maintain that memorials serve to honor the deceased, those who survived, as well as educating the public about an event and its causes to promote remembrance. Disaster memorial development is a viable strategy for a government to open the lines of communication between itself and the disaster-affected community and

sends a message that they can trust government (Nicholls, 2006). No memorial was ever dedicated to the community members of Times Beach.

When asked about whether they would support a memorial for Times Beach, I received a unanimous yes from all 10 of the participants. I asked them if they thought memorials were helpful and what kind of memorial they envisioned.

P-1 noted that he and others had been trying to get approval for former residents of Times Beach to participate in Missouri's *Adopt a Highway* program but has received pushback for years. He feels that the State does not want to have anything to do with Times Beach and the dioxin disaster and would not be supportive of a memorial to Times Beach.

P-2 was reflective about the possibility of a memorial to Times Beach:

For some, a memorial might be helpful. To me, Times Beach was the death of a community—not a person...no deaths from the flood...no lives lost. I have played the game with two truths and a lie and one of the truths is that I am from a town that no longer exists. No one believes that.

P-3 expressed her support for a future memorial:

Well, I think a memorial would help a lot of us. It would let people that come to the park, understand that we're not forgotten—that we're still there. It's just really sad there's not even a plaque. A nice plaque – about the people who lived there. Something that says, hey, ya know there were actually people who lived here. We were a community. We were a town. We were people who cared about each

other. We had friends and we just don't want to be forgotten. None of us do. Some us-- it took away our lives away from us. You just had to change. And a lot of people didn't have the money to go off to different places. I think there needs to be something--then we can go back. New York is not forgotten. You can go on the Internet and read all about it. Go online and search for Times Beach and people have never heard about it. It would be nice if someone would recognize the fact that we were real. A lot of people felt that way. Oh, I wish we could have our homes back there. It's so silly because you kinda hope they'll call and tell you you could go back and rebuild and say, "We done you wrong." I'd like to see a memorial there. I love to think about it—our homes back there. As far as what I hope to see there, I'm not real sure. At the park there I don't think people are understanding that was home for a lot of people at one time.

P-5 is supportive of a memorial:

Ya know...if it would make people feel good---yes. Times Beach is a beautiful park now. And I hope that never changes. I love going down there--I think they could actually do more—put some camping down there. And as a campground, if the river floods again, it doesn't do nothin'...it's a campground. At this point, 2016, if they're not over the grieving by now, a memorial is not gonna do it. If it would make someone smile, be happier, then sure, do it. The museum should mention the dioxin—it's our history. As for what kind of memorial? They'll work that out. It would be neat. The state should do it. They should allow it to be done.

If it helps people... I say it's good. So I think...I love it as a park—I do. But they could more with it.

P-9 has heard several people from the Beach say that they wish there was something to memorialize the town:

I think it would be real important to the people who went through the dioxin and went through the flood to have some type of memorialization for our time here.

I believe memorials are helpful. I was thinking of some kind of living memorial maybe; it would be kind of nice to maybe have benches where the streets used to be and my thought was maybe have the addresses and names of those who lived there. There'd be a place to sit while walking all that way. If we had designated areas... You know, that was what we kind of talked about at the 30th reunion.

Having some kind of memorial HERE—but they met opposition from the State Park people because they didn't want the stigma of Times Beach and the memory of the dioxin brought on the park. Knowledge is power. It almost seems like there's shame or liability. Maybe the bridge could be the memorial--it connected our town.

Social Media

All 10 participants are members of both of the Times Beach closed groups on Facebook. P-1 offered that he was actually the one who started up one of the groups in an effort to reach out to old friends and neighbors. He confessed that he didn't imagine that it would take off like it did.

P-4 had been trying to find all her friends from there and came across the Facebook page a few years ago:

I've asked on that Facebook page if anybody has seen certain people who moved to Franklin County in the same area as we did. We had kept in contact for the longest time but then we kinda lost touch. By people's comments, I can tell that some are angry still. Some had family affected. I didn't find the website until a few years ago. It brought the people closer together. Couldn't keep in touch when that was all going on but we're trying to find each other now and Facebook helps. We are still close. We remember the same experience. We pretty much pick up where we left off—post pictures and it is pretty neat to see.

P-5 says he enjoys reading what people post:

Every now and then I'll stumble across someone I knew back then or whatever. It's amazing because in your mind those memories freeze, okay? So this person is exactly like this and he's or she's still like that—or she is still like that today or not as much. Because I know I'm not. Ya know, I read some stuff on that website and there are some people that still are angry. I don't think I understand what they're angry about. I think there's a lot of animosity over the lawsuits. Some people got in when they should have—some people didn't...and I think there's anger there—and that's fine. I understand.

P-9 suggested that Facebook has given everyone an opportunity to reconnect:

There was a long time that we had no contact whatsoever. Especially like after the flood happened. We didn't have phone numbers exchanged so the only time we saw each other was maybe at some of the meetings for assistance or some of the churches or in line while getting assistance or at school—we would see people. If you look on the FB page, a lot of times people will say, “You're like family to me.” And that's what it felt like. Definitely all about the love for our town and missing the constant contact with each other.

Recap of Findings of Subquestion 3

Table 4 below provides a quick account of the interviewed individuals who participated or did not participate in various means of remembrance.

Table 4

Means of Remembrance Participation

Participant #	Christmas in July '83	Farewell to City Ceremony	Special Expressions	Reunions	Support for Memorial	Social Media FB Groups
P-1	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
P-2	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
P-3	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
P-4	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
P-5	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
P-6	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
P-7	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
P-8	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
P-9	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
P-10	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

There were two special memorial services held for the residents of Times Beach. Nearby St. Louisans arranged for a *Christmas in July* party in Eureka for the children of Times Beach who missed out on the past Christmas due to the flood and dioxin announcement. A *Farewell to Our Town* was also scheduled in the fall of 1983 on the bridge that connected Times Beach across the Meramec River. Both events were covered by the media in great numbers with government officials and local celebrities in attendance. Eyre (2007) found that these types of events exhibit sensitivity for the grieving families. Participation should be extended to not only members of the impacted community, but also to the media, government, and private individuals involved in the permanent relocation. High profile media coverage is critical to the process as it helps reinforce a sense of national tragedy and local impact of the disaster. It is of note that the majority of the individuals commented that they did not participate in the first two events because they simply had not heard about them; they had moved around so much, they had difficulty knowing what was happening.

Special expressions include music, poetry, videos, and other writings that record the events of a disaster in story form and help to keep alive the memory of the event (Waits, 2007). Richardson (2010) found that survivors can successfully find meaning in the disaster by sharing their experiences with others and that engaging in activities rich in symbols and rituals encouraged memories. Several participants remembered that a cookbook was printed by the *Ecumenical Taskforce* with recipes submitted by the community members. I was able to obtain a paper copy of the mimeographed cookbook

from Mayor Leistner, and I scanned and uploaded it to the Times Beach Facebook page for members to enjoy. Others mentioned that t-shirts commemorating Times Beach had been made up for sale at some of the reunions. Bumper stickers with the words “Ignorance is Bliss” were printed at one time as well. Two songs about Times Beach had been created, and I was able to locate a CD of one that I will make available online to the Facebook page in the near future. Several poems about Times Beach had been published in the newspaper, and I have obtained copies of those to be made available on the Facebook page as well.

For over 20 years, former residents of Times Beach have held an annual reunion on the last Saturday of September at the Route 66 State Park. Reunions are anniversary events which represent the social significance of a disaster and mark both physical and social time, which include the passing of calendar years (Richardson, 2010). These events allow expressions of collective remembrance by the affected community and raise public profile of injustices and long-term impacts of failed disaster recovery policies (Eyre, 2007).

All 10 participants enthusiastically supported the proposal for a memorial for Times Beach. The most important thing about memorials is that they must be wanted (Richardson, 2010). The overall purpose of a memorial is to bring meaning to the experience of a disaster and can be manifested in several forms. Disaster survivors must be involved in the development of a memorial so that it reflects specific aspects that

mean the most to them (Eyre, 2007; Nicholls, 2006). Table 5 identifies seven suggestions submitted by the participants for a proposed Times Beach Memorial.

Table 5

Suggestions for Proposed Times Beach Memorial

P#	Description of Memorial
P-9	Benches could be placed along where the streets used to be so folks could rest after walking all that way.
P-10	A large angel statue with a plaque dedicated to the community members of Times Beach.
P-8	Change the name of the <i>Route 66 Museum</i> to the <i>Times Beach Museum</i> .
P-7	A plaque could be placed in one of the Park pavilions in honor of Times Beach Community.
P-6	Below Steiny's and under the bridge was a strip of beach used in the past for picnics and could be dedicated as the Times Beach Memorial Park area.
P-6	Recommend calling the bridge they want to rebuild across the river, <i>The Times Beach Memorial Bridge</i> instead of the planned name, the Route 66 Memorial Bridge.
P-4	Planting trees as a memorial would be cool and new life would be coming from a bad situation.

Richardson (2010) contended that survivors can successfully find meaning in the disaster by sharing their experiences with others. Social media is readily available in our day. Two closed Facebook groups were created in the past several years that provide an opportunity to reconnect with friends and family. Both sites boast membership of 426 for one and 507 members for the other. Richardson (2010) also maintained that remembrance

is an opportunity for disaster survivors to come together for the wider public to extend condolences and, as time goes by, to acknowledge the personal growth since the disaster. Many of the posts found on these two sites appeared to do just that. A memorial list of former residents who have passed away is updated on a regular basis and members post status on ill family members or friends as well as funeral arrangements for those who have died. Other queries ask what happened to certain families. Some posts include photos of former residents or a photo of a landmark from Times Beach. Once in a while, the administrator throws out a question get conversation going. Many of the posts are quite candid, and I have observed the administrators warning that certain posts will not be tolerated.

On the whole, social media is now commonplace, and I can foresee it continuing to be a very valuable tool for future disaster participants as a means to maintain contact with those of their former community. It seems to be a godsend and comfort for many of the former residents of Times Beach. One comment from P-10 best sums up the frustration felt by so many: “Facebook won’t allow the members to state that their hometown is Times Beach, Missouri.”

Findings of Subquestion 4

Subquestion 4: What is the role of social capital, as defined by social capital theory, as it relates to long-term social impacts of environmental relocation? Nakagawa & Shaw (2004) maintained that social capital is a function of trust, social norms, participation and networks and plays an important role in disaster recovery. Local

community organizations (i.e., churches, businesses, and schools) play an important role in the disaster response and recovery processes. Trust in government and leadership to do the right thing is critical. Neighbors have unspoken networks of competent support that are reliable in others' time of need. Typically, local law enforcement and local government officials are respond in a disaster, but the first critical hours are filled with responses by the community members themselves. Communication is important to communities to maintain the social norms they desire. When disaster strikes, those social norms are interrupted. Questions 28-30 of the Interview Protocol link back to this subquestion.

Community Organizations/Norms

Times Beach was a community of citizens that respected church, school, God, country, law enforcement, fire and the simple way of life they shared.

P-5 shared that he and his Dad were volunteer firemen and described a typical response to a call for aid:

You had to go to Eureka to get on the firetruck to go to the fire. So there was a guy, from Eureka, he would drive when we'd get a call. My Dad would come by and get me cuz he didn't trust me with his vehicle. So I would run to the on-ramp and he would come by in his pickup truck and I'd jump and grab that row bar and flip over the bed of that truck and we'd race down the highway.

P-7 remembered that her Dad was a volunteer cop on the Times Beach police force but was not technically on the force:

Dad always had people over to the house working on different projects; my family was very social. My Dad probably knew everyone down there and my Mom did taxes so, people knew my parents—first and foremost for being right there. The City Hall was the central part of the town with Santa coming in December.

P-8 noted that everyone watched out for each other:

If you were at somebody's house, everybody were watchin' out for you. I think it was the sense of community down there was just absolutely awesome [Pause].

They ruined a really good place.

P-9 remembered her community like this:

Most of the families were here long term. So we really kind of grew up together and got to know everybody. It was a very comfortable and trusting community.

They knew who you belonged to—so you didn't have to worry about any problems with anybody in the town.

Trust

Prewitt Diaz & Dayana, 2008 argued that loss of place not only means a physical loss but a loss of confidence in the norms, a loss of trust in institutions, and faith in the government as well as relationships and networks. P-1 explained that he does not trust government because he feels that other sites got more cleanup. P-2 felt that government only has their own interests at heart. The government was not genuinely concerned about the fact that his family had just lost their home and government was very matter-of-fact.

P-4 believed the whole flood and dioxin experience created trust issues for her and her family:

Such an experience makes you question things; trust is not there anymore. I don't trust the government. They kind of ruined it for me at a young age—covered up the truth and treated us badly. As far as other people—we watched other families who went through what we did. I didn't blame those people. We all trusted only each other—that's all we had. Couldn't keep in touch--we had to move so much. Got to use more resources out there. When my mom was calling around, she was not told about what was available. So we heard about it much later. Also, the government didn't do very good getting the information out to us because we were all scattered all over. The State Park needs to have the truth about Times Beach told. Yes, the story needs to be out there and how it affected everyone. Today, the Park people don't let anyone know that Times Beach used to be there where the park is now—they try to blow it off. Agent Orange information (dioxin) information needs to be out there more.

P-9 was reflective when asked about trust and government:

It was almost like you were at the mercy of the government. All the decisions with your daily life was in the hands of somebody else. I know my parents were real stressed during that time—worrying about when we were going to get the money for the buyout and what the final plan would be. Making the decision to buy a house which they hadn't done in 30 years. I think if there hadn't been the

dioxin, people would have gone back and rebuilt. After a flood, they had done it before—you cleaned it up, did what you had to do, and went back to your lives.

Leadership

P-1 was grateful for all the mayor's efforts to help her community:

I never would have known about the lawsuit but for our last mayor. She gave up a big part of her life to do everything for all of us. It was about the future health issues.

P-2 was also positive speaking about the last mayor:

She took a lot of heat for things that were out of her control. She was the one in front of the camera. She was good at it.

P-6 remembers how upset her parents were with local leadership:

I just know they weren't too happy with the decisions that were made for the town by the mayor. I don't know what those decisions were or the reasons for it but I just remember her and a group of other people who I don't know were always complaining that she was making the wrong decisions for our town because she was the mayor, I think. I don't like politicians or the government. That's why I like working for myself. I don't have to answer to anybody else.

Neighborhoods

P-7 remembered groups of neighbors were close knit because of the vicinity of her dad's garage--the socialization at all the neighbors' houses. P-5 recalled the closeness of the neighbors and just being together and there might have been little cliques:

But, we all just kind of hung out. It was easy to meet people. There wasn't a whole lot of organized stuff. I guess there were some stuff but mostly just friends and they all might go out to dinner or BBQ.

Disaster Response/Recovery Officials Utilization

P-3 did not believe the government was helpful:

We did it all on our own. We lost everything—we had nothing left-- no birth certificates, school records. We had to send in for copies of everything. It's like they pushed us aside—that we didn't exist or matter. We were told how much we were going to get and you couldn't argue. You had to take what was offered. It was just an era –it had flooded there many a time—I watched it growing up. I'm not sure people had health issues because of it. I think they could have worked it better—put us somewhere, then clean it up and then let us go back. That's just my opinion.

P-9 described how the Red Cross helped the residents:

They provided cleaning supplies—buckets, mops, brooms. They just drove around to the homes where people were doing repairs and brought hot food right to their front doors.

Communications

The local weekly newspaper and TV were the means of communication for the community. The majority of the participants heard about the flood warnings through the

television news channels. Several participants remembered that the mayor came around and told residents to think about evacuating.

P-4 didn't feel like the news media covered the truth about the dioxin contamination:

They covered people being scared but even when they were debating about the incinerator, they already had made their decision and didn't listen to what we had to say.

Community Competence

P-3 described her community as a caring and great place to raise kids:

I don't ever remember locking my doors one time. Your children left and you weren't afraid that something was going to happen because you knew someone knew what they were doing and before they got home, you knew about it, you know. It was probably the greatest community I could have thought to live in. If I had the choice to go back again, I would.

P-7 remembered that her Dad was one of the last ones out of Times Beach the day of the flood:

He stood at that corner and directed traffic –people were startin' to get panicked to get out and he directed four lanes of traffic. He stayed for quite a long time--until the truck was nearly submerged. He was going to stay on the roof of the garage. Now this was like a pole barn garage—not just a little two car garage.

That was his plan. But my mom won out and they ended up coming out together

and we stood there until nightfall. I know my parents fought hard for those folks that really had nothing. My parents were very active in trying to help people and also survive for us.

Recap of Findings of Subquestion 4

Times Beach, as a community, possessed social capital, as evidenced through the participants' responses about the intangible bonds of trust and caring that existed among their community members long before the record flood and environmental relocation. Murphy (2007) found in his study of two disaster stricken communities that residents were confident that their neighbors would readily come to their aid in the event of a disaster. Over and over again I heard mention of family members who willingly stayed behind on the day of the record flood to help people get out of their homes safely and Jon-boated them to higher ground. Others directed traffic lanes by standing on rooftops as the water rose, and yet others sandbagged all night even though in the end it didn't really help. After the flood waters had receded, high school pals offered to help with the clean-up of a classmate's family's home and were willing to get a Tetanus vaccination prior to helping.

Nakagawa and Shaw (2005) contended that social capital must be accompanied by trust in community leadership. When I asked what the participants recalled about the roles of local leaders and community organizations during the disaster and environmental relocation phases, the responses were mixed. Several participants specifically acknowledged the positive efforts by the last mayor as she became the one designated by

the governor as Trustee to collect all the deeds and facilitate the transfer to the State so they could buy out the properties. She was the one to respond to the media, testify before Congress on behalf of the community, and worked full-time over a period of three years ending her last official act to disincorporate the city of Times Beach. One participant echoed the negative sentiments of her parents that the mayor was making too many decisions without the concurrence of others. The rest of the participants did not comment specifically on the mayor. There were several acknowledgements regarding the positive support to residents by the Red Cross, many churches, and schools. The means of communication, mostly word of mouth that existed prior to the record flood, was totally interrupted after the dioxin contamination announcement. Residents were asked to evacuate immediately, and they moved from one temporary location to another over the next year. So many participants remembered the confusion and lack of information available to them and their families because of the frequent address changes.

When asked how they think they had changed as a result of the record flood and environmental relocation, I was surprised that the majority responded —distrust of government. The distrust was founded in the knowledge that came out in the EPA's buyout announcement in February, 1983; from 1970-1976, Russell Bliss was responsible for spreading the dioxin mixture to 26 other sites in the state of Missouri (USACE, 1983), and the chemical was deadly. The people were even more upset when they learned that the government had known about it and didn't tell the Times Beach community that they were living in such a contaminated location.

Some participants felt that the government officials were insensitive and very matter-of-fact as they interacted with those who had just lost their homes. One participant remembered feeling like you were at the mercy of the government and that all the decisions with daily life were in the hands of somebody else. Another participant described her feeling that they did not have a lot of choices as to what was happening to them. Several participants did not really respond to this question but overall, there was just one participant, P-5, who reiterated his belief that the government's buy out of his family's property allowed his parents to be in a better position economically. He felt strongly that the government really did not have to do that, but they were grateful.

Findings of Subquestion 5

Subquestion 5: What is the role of resilience, as defined by resilience theory, as it relates to long-term social impacts of environmental relocation? According to Norris et al. ((2008), resilience is not a definitive set of characteristics and during a disaster, people are affected by a number of competencies such as social capital, information, communication, and community competence. Walsh (2007) suggested that during a disaster, people may cope by reaching out to help someone else, resulting in their self-actualization—they were doing something they might not have considered doing had they not had that traumatic experience. Rodrigues et al. (2010) contended that the myth that victims of a disaster are disconcerted and floundering are untrue, and they are, instead, active survivors. Questions 30-42 of the Interview Protocol link back to this subquestion.

Faith

Four of the 10 participants said that faith was not a part of their disaster/relocation experience. One participant had already moved away prior to the record flood and relocation so did not have a comment. However, five participants did provide statements about faith's role in what happened to them.

P-2 described the role faith has played in her life:

I had a strong faith as a little child since the church was in our neighborhood and every Sunday, my family went. As I got older the Church hurt. My parents divorced when I was age 12 and we moved away from the Church to the trailer park and we didn't really go anymore. I did walk to Church a few times after we moved but slowly came to feel that we were not accepted any more—maybe felt like we were being judged—it just wasn't the same anymore—people looked at us differently. I did not go to Church again from about the age of 12 until I was 28 years old with my own children. I can't really say if faith played a role in the dioxin and flood experiences. I went pretty far away from God—but I know now He was not far away from me. I can't say that God caused the flood and dioxin. However, I do know that God has a purpose for everything.

P-3 believes that her faith helped her and her family through the disasters and relocation:

If it hadn't been for my faith I don't believe I would have made it through half of it. So much of the time we were just not knowing what was going to happen and

what we were going to do. It just came to the point that I had to leave it in God's hands and see what happened. The children asked, 'Well, why did God let this happen?' This had nothin' to do with him so... I think in a lotta ways it built our faith. I know we had to lean a lot on God and trust Him through a lot of things—and He did! If it wasn't for Him, we'd have never made it through half of the things. It was really tough—some people had suicide on their minds—it got to the point that they felt they couldn't handle, ya know, not knowing and not being able to go anyway. There was a few—they didn't have any money. Times Beach was a very poor town. Not in the sense that we couldn't do nothin'—there were a lot of families that could afford to go pick up and go anywhere else. Some were renting and now they had nothing.

P-6 relied on her faith throughout her life:

I have one basic rule about faith-- that no matter what happens, I am going to be okay—God will make it okay. I would say that my faith has kept me positive in all the changes. I moved a lot after all that. So I think it has kept me positive.

Yeh...everything happens for a reason.

Personal Changes (Self-Actualization)

P-1 was reflective on this question of personal change as a result of the experiences:

I don't trust the government. Other sites got more cleanup. I wonder sometimes where we'd be today...kids scattered after it... if dioxin had never happened. I

miss my Dad and wish I could talk with him. I'm down in the dumps; still ain't done nothin; hardly talk to family. My niece wants me to come live with her but I can't leave my kids. I've been planning my funeral—never thought cancer would happen to me.

P-2 said that her views changed especially with regards to the government and dioxin:

They really weren't there for me. I was changed by my views about the dioxin. I believe Russell Bliss was used as a scapegoat. I don't believe it was intentional. After all, he had sprayed full strength on his own property in St. James and what he sprayed on the streets of Times Beach was diluted. Russell was a business man. I don't believe he intentionally sprayed dioxin on Times Beach. I don't believe that. I mean I know the man personally, so maybe my personal relationship taints that. But, I cannot imagine any human, short of a terrorist from another country doing that.

P-3 described the changes that she experienced after the disasters/relocation:

I think a lot of us had to do some maturing. Some us-- it took away our lives away from us. You just had to change. As far as changing, I did change because there was a lot of sadness. I was taken from a place that I dearly loved and felt very comfortable with. And I was uprooted. I think a lot of us felt that way. My kids hated to leave and start over.

P-4 believes she has changed as a result of the disasters/relocation:

I am more of a giving person, so when I see others going through a disaster or something, I kinda give them the story of what happened to me and what went on and I try to save people because of that. I relate to people that they aren't alone.

P-5 believes he did change after everything:

Well, I'm stronger. My relationship with my family—it wouldn't have mattered if we'd grown up in Fenton. It would always be the same. Now we don't always get along. I mentioned my sister—we don't really talk. But me and my brothers are tight. With my work, I can't say I think about Times Beach every day—but the experience of what has happened-- to the people, I carry that with me at work and when I see someone –I teach people at work how to do this stuff and that was actually my job for quite some time. I always relate these stories to them and what can happen if things get put in a ditch –it goes into the sewer and then what happens downstream? I'm ultra-sensitive, if that's a word, to how to handle properly.

P-9 had a number of things to say about how she's changed as a result of the record flood and environmental relocation:

Well, I don't think for me personally, I don't distrust the government—there are certain entities within the government that may not be on the up and up. I have more of a distrust for attorneys throughout this whole process. That's where my distrust is—because of the outcome of the lawsuit. Actually, I'm a very resilient

person—if anything THAT has taught me that. I was more of a quiet, stay-to-myself kind of person and not able to handle stress. I am in a very stressful job and I do very well because I am resilient. Oh yeh! Going through that whole experience has had to teach me that sometimes you just have to go with the flow of things. Things don't always work out the way you think they will. You have to make the best of the situation. So that has been a benefit for me.

Disaster Victim or Disaster Survivor

P-1 was the only participant that felt like he was a *victim* of the disasters:

Somebody at Syntex knew. Our house had just been painted, the Christmas tree was up and it was unseasonably warm...that was my home. After we moved out, I used to mow grass for Eureka—I'd see it across the way. That was my home. If dioxin had never happened I'd probably be working for the City of Times Beach. I've had a skin ailment for as long as I can remember. My mom used to wrap my hands to keep them from bleeding. I still wrap them [showed me his wrapped hands]. I was diagnosed with cancer a year ago. After two chemo treatments I stopped after the doctor told me it was not likely to save my life. It has moved into my spine. Lots of back pain.

P-2 described herself as a survivor:

I am a survivor. We didn't let what happened destroy us in any way...we may have lost material things but that isn't what's important. I don't know that we would have lived there forever anyway. We survived it. We're still alive. I have

four mostly healthy children. The twins have epilepsy which I've often wondered whether it has anything to do with the dioxin I was exposed to. I look at my three daughters and think about taking them to the doctors NOW so we can head off any problems. Let's start this process NOW. I don't know...its craziness!

P-3 described herself as a survivor:

I didn't let what happen to us put me into a place where I felt sorry for myself, I knew I had to go on and God was in control of it all. I longed for my life as it was but it was just another chapter in our book of life. Now I have two grandchildren and their mom grew up there in Times Beach. Neither one of them have been able to conceive at all so...it is so odd that neither one of them can have children and one of them has quite a bit of health problems—more so than ya know we ever had. Yes, I kind of wonder now if that's not what happened. My husband had connective tissue disease which affects different joints and is an immune disease; he had that when we lived there when we lived in Times Beach and we discovered it when he was 36 years old. He had lived in Times Beach during that time. I don't know if it has anything to do with it. But like I said, I don't know if it had anything to do with the dioxin. It was very traumatic for a lot of us to go through what we did and have to lose our homes and stuff like that. So no doubt that played a big part on our nerves.

P-4 considers herself to be both a survivor and a victim:

Both. I'm a survivor because I keep going. I learned a lot that I can handle anything. My Mom brought me up to be that way. My mom said she didn't give up on me when I was a baby and kept me going as a teenager with all this going on at Times Beach and I had bad health—she reminded me that I had survived all that and not to give up-- because she wasn't giving up on me. I was born the year dioxin was put down and was born with pneumonia. Later doctors put me down as someone with lung problems from having lived there. I was born without one of the hip bones in my hip. And my insides are backwards—when I had my appendix taken out, it was on the other side. The gall bladder too. So I have birth defects. When I lived in Florida, a military doctor, she was giving me the run-down of things and they were completely different from what you heard on the news is completely different from what we were getting in the letters as far as we were knowing something different. We all believed that it really did take away our health. I mean that's the thing that angers me—the place that I loved, the place I call home...even in my older years I would have lived there if that had ya know--never happened. As a victim, I think just because having both of my siblings being sick and losing my mom I had to lose lot of life from that situation and my mom was the strongest person I know. I mean the day the doctor told her the news she just smiled and say, 'Okay'. We had no history of cancer in our family. My mom never smoked or drank. Both my sisters, have had rare tumors.

One sister had a daughter born with meningitis and she died a month before her first birthday. My sister had a lot of problems with all her pregnancies. So I'm a victim for that part of my life being taken away.

P-5 stated that he struggled with this question and primarily he is a survivor:

I'm gonna say, that I'm a victim of a flood and in all other matters of my life, I'm a survivor. I think the dioxin was insignificant. I truly do. It was just one of those things that life throws at ya. Like I said earlier, there are so many worse things that could happen to a family than what happened to my family. I thank God every day that we did not have to deal with those things that were worse. The dioxin is insignificant. I'm the victim of a flood. It happened. Nature's tough. All other things ...as long as I got a pulse, I'm still fighting. It's just that simple.

There is no quitting. And I've seen my parents go through absolutely one day they had nothing--they had the clothes on their backs and they had a car, and they had some pictures. K? And I see where they've come and that's because they didn't give up. Sure they got some help from the government and that was great and again I told you I can't thank them enough but there's also a drive there and I learned a lot from them.

P-7 describes herself as a survivor:

Ya know, I don't think that I would ever say that I was a victim. Because I don't feel as victimized at my age—at that point in time. I wouldn't have known that I was a victim. After years have gone by and I think about all the things my parents

went through and we basically got nothing for our home and our belongings...and the way we were treated and that kind of stuff? I would say at some of those points—victim. For the most part, we survived it! No one died. We survived. Our family is mostly intact. Fairly all healthy...course nothing that any of us kids have can be directly related to dioxin contamination because anybody can have endometriosis. But my mother and all three of us girls, having had it and my mother and me both having hysterectomies at age 31. Ya know, that kind of stuff... no one wants to admit that. There's some bitterness, but for the most part, it's just who I am. With my background...and if now someone says something, I don't take it personally. Now I love to talk about it and people are floored by how much an eight-year-old remembers. I don't think originally I wanted to talk about it...I get my book out and show people and they say, how can you be so normal? It was just another event in my life.

P-8 views herself and her family as survivors:

I'm a survivor. Thankfully, it hasn't affected me health wise that I know of.

Luckily our children are healthy and I've just had thyroid problems. I was in my early 20's when they found a cyst in my thyroid gland and removed it. No one in my family had problems with the thyroid until me and now my nephew, my sister's son, had his thyroid removed. So do I contribute that to Times Beach?

Absolutely! Did dioxin play a role in my niece's death from cancer? My son had horrible eczema as a youngster—his skin would split. And my grandnephew has it

too. My Dad was diagnosed with non-Hodgkin's lymphoma, went for treatment and then went into remission for several years. When he was 80 years old he found out he had leukemia—you just never know how long down the road this stuff will impact a person's life. He had been a City worker on the roads down there. But am I a victim? No. The victims were people who lost their homes—that lost everything.

P-9 describes herself as a survivor:

I definitely don't feel like a victim. Because we survived it! Ya know, maybe at the time we felt like victims...but my philosophy is you've gotta take the positives out of negative situation and just make the best of it.

P-10 described herself as a survivor:

Survivor overall. I think for a while everybody was a victim when it was happening; and then you realize later you don't have a home to go back to. Not having a home to go back to—even if somebody else lived in the house, at least you could go by and see it. It is hard for everyone. Not having a home...a place to go back...that will always bother us. It's like-- I'll never understand why they won't say we're from Times Beach—it was their life. Just because it's not a town. It's a death and you survive and learn to live with it and keep going. It did ruin some people's lives. But it depended on which road you took...it could have been very bad. I think if they had offered to let us move and stay in the area together, we'd still have compassion and love for each other, the closeness, the peace and

safety. My mom never smoked a cigarette in her life and died of cancer that started in her kidney (very rare) then spread to her liver and lungs. I had an aneurysm in 2005 but they didn't have an explanation why it happened. My daughter was born with her intestines on the outside, 1980---right in the middle of all this dioxin stuff. She lived two months. The dioxin announcement was made after she was born and all that—but then different reports said that dioxin dose this and this and this...it kinda makes ya think.

Advice for Future Environmental Relocation Communities

Despite all the challenges and loss, most of the participants were happy to provide advice to future residents of a contaminated community who may have to relocate. Table 6 shows the responses.

Table 6

Advice to Future Contaminated Communities

- | | |
|---------|---|
| P-1/P-9 | Stand your ground. Get a spokesperson. Keep in touch with everyone. |
| P-4 | Be ready to move around. Seek others to talk to—get more counseling. Be aware that you might be treated terribly. Don't depend on the government. Reach out to us from Times Beach—we've been through it. |
| P-5 | Just keep going. You have no other option. Learn the system...fast. Learn the system—learn it fast. Keep your eyes and ears open. You've just gotta stay in the fight. |
| P-10 | I would tell them to be cautious. I would explain to them to realize that right now they may not have problems but 10 years down the road they might. And ask the hard questions especially about the future and health issues that might come about. |

Recap of Findings of Subquestion 5

The 10 participants reflected upon the experiences of environmental relocation and their responses revealed the roles played by faith, discoveries of growth from the experiences (self-actualization), description of how they see themselves either as a disaster victim or survivor, and their advice for future communities that must undergo environmental relocation. Over half of the participants believed that faith helped them through it. One participant acknowledged that, “God was not far away from me...even though I had gone pretty far away from God. God has a purpose for everything.” Another participant believed that if it hadn’t been for her faith, she wouldn’t have made it through half of it. There were so many unknowns that she believed that “it just came to the point that I had to leave it in God’s hands and see what happened.” Another participant held one basic rule about faith, “...that no matter what happens, I am going to be okay—God will make it okay.” “Faith is like a death,” another participant said, “...you just learn to move on...but I don’t think we’ll ever get through it.”

Participants described how they feel they’ve changed after all they had experienced. The majority had changed in their distrust of government, and one described distrust of attorneys. Several participants noted that they had to “grow up fast.” Others felt the experience had made them stronger or “made me a more giving person.” Another said she felt like she wanted to “make a difference in her own community” and was watchful over local officials and their actions.

Nine of the 10 participants categorized themselves as disaster survivors instead of disaster victims. I had listened to hours of their descriptions of loss of home, friends, family, and health issues and I was expecting that more would tell me they were disaster victims (see Table 7).

Table 7

Designation Victim, Survivor and Health Issues

P#	(V)ictim/(S)urvivor	Health Issues
P-1	V	SF
P-2	S	FM, SF
P-3	S	F, SF
P-4	S	F, SF
P-5	S	FM
P-6	S	FM
P-7	S	FM, SF
P-8	S	FM, SF
P-9	S	FM, SF
P-10	S	FM, SF

Note. S = Survivor; V = Victim; SF = Self; FM = Family

I learned that despite horrendous health issues, either their own or family members, these nine participants held an overall positive outlook on life. This supports Rodrigues et al. (2010)'s position that victims of a disaster are not disconcerted and floundering as earlier research had suggested, but are instead, active survivors. When I asked if my participants would be willing to provide advice for people who in the future may face a similar disaster/ relocation, they offered many suggestions, as listed previously in Table 6.

These suggestions reflect the participants' underlying love of place—their homes that they lost. These suggestions offer hope that others in the same situation in the future will not have to go through what they did. They are directed at those future members of contaminated communities with practical advice and demands about how to exercise their right to participate in decision-making regarding the disaster recovery/relocation. These suggestions can be interpreted and applied to future policies and procedures to help facilitate more successful environmental relocations by taking into consideration the social impacts described in this study.

Summary

Chapter 4 explained how data were collected and analyzed and presented the findings of the study. It described the process used for data generation, collection, and documentation. Interview data collected from 10 participants resulted in nearly 100 pages of transcription. Development of the preliminary codebook was a tremendous time saver during the coding phase. Uploading the transcribed data into HyperResearch software and preliminary codes facilitated the subsequent analysis by helping to manage the large amount of data.

The primary research question was answered after fully reviewing and analyzing the data and considering the five subquestions that supported it. Perhaps the biggest surprise I had was when I viewed the data as a whole and saw that nine of ten participants designated themselves as a disaster survivor—not a disaster victim. I had asked this

question near the end of each interview session, and I admit that I had been drawn into their stories and felt great empathy towards them for all that they had endured.

Chapter 5 closes out this dissertation research and addresses findings interpretations, implications for social change, recommendations for action, research limitations, recommendations for future research, reflection on researcher's experience, and conclusion.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to increase understanding and awareness of the long-term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy in the context of one dioxin-contaminated community in Eastern Missouri. The nature of inquiry for this study was a qualitative phenomenological retrospective approach using guidelines suggested by Trochim & Donnelly (2008) to capture the experiences and real life situations described by my 10 participants. Data were collected using face-to-face in-depth interviews and document review of a variety of public and private archival records in my personal possession, on loan to me from Mrs. Marilyn Leistner, former mayor of Times Beach. The combination of the interviews and archival materials helped me to substantiate and triangulate data collected during the interviews. Archival records and documents included federal government official records, state and local records, congressional testimony, media reports, personal videotapes, photographs, artwork, music, poems, correspondence, cartoons, and other memorabilia.

As a result of the concurrent data collection and analysis process of this research, I identified three key findings. First, the results of this study confirm that there definitely are long term social impacts experienced by this community as a result of the EPA's permanent relocation policy, or lack thereof, at the time. The impacts corresponded with the findings for each of the five social concepts that frame the study: place, disaster memory, remembrance and memorialization, social capital, and resilience, which I

addressed in Chapter 4. The role of place cuts across all of the five social concepts explored in this study, accentuating that loss of place/home is the biggest impediment to successful disaster recovery. All 10 participants expressed great affection for their former homes and shared similar memories of a happy childhood, safety and security, nurturing family and friends, and overall well-being in their families. The results of the word frequency query (see Table 2) further validated the importance of place attachment when I searched for the following related words and resulting word counts based on uses by the participants answering questions about the concept of place: House/home/place/town were used a total of 447 times; people/family/friends were used 377 times.

The second key finding highlighted the role of disaster memory as the participants vividly described their experiences, despite the fact that nearly 35 years had passed. They shared intimate details experienced by them and their families as they faced an uncertain future on the day of the record flood, the dioxin announcement, temporary housing, the buyout, and the permanent relocation. The participant's recollections provided previously unknown details such as what it was like to move so many times from one temporary location to another because permanent residents were afraid of possible contamination or thought the survivors were free-loaders. A number of participants were youth at the time of the record flood, buyout, and relocation and provided details of the events as they saw them through the eyes of a child but also shared collective memories they drew upon from parents and friends. The number of times the participants mentioned certain words related to disaster memory are listed in the word frequency query (see Table 2), as

follows: remember was used 186 times; move/relocation were used 152 times; flood was used 130 times; dioxin was used 106 times.

The third key finding strongly underscored the need for a disaster memorial, confirming Richardson's (2010) finding that a memorial is an expression of what a disaster meant to a community. A memorial is also an acknowledgement of the loss of place by government officials and should be reflected in the official permanent relocation plan as recommended by Richardson (2010). At the time of Times Beach disasters, the official EPA relocation plan had no references to loss of place or a memorial. As a result, it is my contention that the majority of the individuals I interviewed continue to struggle with not having a physical memorial to come back to since a state park now sits on the land where the town once stood with no reference to what used to be there. Government was actively seek an understanding of the role of place and how much a place means to the affected community members as they facilitate the recovery process (Walter, 1998).

Interpretation of the Findings

Despite the fact that the dioxin contamination and permanent relocation of Times Beach occurred nearly 35 years ago, a number of my findings both confirm and extend existing knowledge about the experiences of environmental relocation. The following findings correspond with each of the five concepts and theories that frame this study. I have summarized each findings and subsequent recommendations in the "Recommendations for Action" section of this chapter.

My findings confirmed the role of disaster memory and its importance in being included in the development of meaningful response plans that include social and cultural aspects inherent in a community. For example, as with Ullberg's (2008) study of the Santafenesians who accepted recurrent flooding as normal, I found that community members of Times Beach were genuinely surprised when the Meramec River overran its banks with the record flood of December 5, 1982. By ignoring the realities of recurrent flooding, the losses were devastating and were further exacerbated when the CDC announced on December 23, 1982, that the community members were to immediately abandon their homes due to the high levels of dioxin contamination identified in the laboratory soil sample results. There was uncertainty by the government as to whether the record flood had displaced the original soil sample sites.

Study participants shared striking memories describing the day of the record flood and subsequent moves during the temporary housing phase that confirmed Scanlon's (2002) finding that disasters are so dramatic that an individual's memory can be very vivid even after three-quarters of a century. Those who were youth at the time of the spraying of the dioxin contaminated oil on their city streets in the early 1970s and those who were youth at the time of the record flood of 1982 provided a profound sketch of individual experiences that I had not anticipated. One participant described the day of the EPA soil sampling as the day that the Martians invaded their town with their moon-suits and strange poles that dug into the earth. Waiting for the school bus to arrive, waves of worry and concern rushed over the youth who did not understand what it meant at the

time. Looking back with adult eyes, the participant understood that that the workers were conducting soil sampling for dioxin. Another participant described living at their grandparents' small home after the record flood and evacuation after the dioxin announcement. It was Christmas day, and she was hungry and worried about what they were going to eat for Christmas dinner. Someone knocked at the door and left a complete Christmas dinner and one present for each child. No one ever came forward to acknowledge that they had done this.

Ullberg contended that understanding how disasters are remembered by survivors can increase awareness of the problem areas that exist and provide details to promulgate changes to current policies and procedures. One participant described the difficulties with not being able to go to school during the temporary housing phase due to the loss of school records and personal identification records. Once she did return to school, after nearly a year, she experienced occasions of stigma such as when her teacher made her move her desk to the far back corner of the room so as not to contaminate anyone.

Richardson (2010) defined remembrance as the means by which victims of disasters can rebuild a sense of place after loss and may manifest itself as the new normal, as well as serve as an expression of what the meaning of the disaster was to the community. My study findings strongly underscored the need for a community disaster memorial for the former residents of this community. Richardson (2010) argued that such a memorial must be wanted by the participants; I found unanimous support for a

memorial among my interviewees, even from those who had never attended a reunion or a commemorative event.

A memorial is also an acknowledgement of the loss of place by government officials and should be reflected in the official permanent relocation plan (Richardson, 2010). At the time of the Times Beach disasters, the official EPA relocation plan did not address loss of place. The majority of the individuals I interviewed still seemed to be struggling with the loss of their town, even after 30 years. The land on which their town stood is now a state park with no markers of any kind indicating what used to be there.

Community competence is indicative of social capital and was manifested during the first hours of the record flood prior to the arrival of official government responders. The local leaders were out front directing the evacuation themselves and engaging other citizens to assist. Residents with boats went back to flooded homes to rescue pets and personal items for those without a boat. Resilience was an outgrowth of the experiences as were found during the data collection. Nine of the 10 participants of the study described themselves as disaster survivors rather than disaster victims. Each has found a way to look back on their experiences as a means for growing stronger during adversity, reaching out to help others more, and being more prepared for a future disaster response such as safe storage of important papers and living in a home that is on higher ground.

Limitations of the Study

To a considerable extent, the research confirmed virtually all the initial assumptions made prior to the conduct of the study. I will highlight three limitations.

First, this study was bound to just one dioxin-contaminated community in Eastern Missouri. Of the 19 EPA sponsored environmental relocations, only the first, Love Canal, New York has been studied extensively in the past 35 years. Times Beach has been studied by scholars to examine intergovernmental relations and roles of government in the clean-up as well as the incinerator controversy. This study fills a gap that gets at the heart of the experience by those who lived through the environmental relocation events.

Second, Scanlon (2002) maintained that disasters are dramatic events in the lives of people, and found that even after many decades, even the oldest survivors can still recount very vivid memories. I chose participants who were youth, teens, or young adults during 1970-1986, thus eliminating the possibility of memory issues had I chose to interview elderly individuals and increasing the likelihood of obtaining reliable data. I was richly rewarded with thick and rich details that characterize a phenomenological study.

Transferability might be possible, particularly when my findings about ensuring continuity of school attendance for disaster survivors (children) and recovery of important papers are addressed in disaster planning.

Recommendations for Future Research

The results of exploring this one contaminated community's permanent relocation extended the findings of previous studies in the disaster response and recovery scholarship field and may serve as a foundation on which to further explore, compare, and contrast similar lived experiences of the other 19 contaminated communities that

were permanently relocated by the federal government. There is a big gap in the disaster scholarship field that need further contributions that will enhance greater understanding of environmental relocation and the impacts on those who experience it.

Implications for Social Change

The findings from this study may provide greater understanding of the long term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy. Those responsible for developing disaster recovery and relocation policy and procedures should take into account these finding so as to improve outcomes in the disaster recovery phases as well as long term recovery.

I plan to write and submit a number of articles to peer-reviewed journal in hopes that my intended audience, the EPA, and other governmental agencies responsible for relocations will take heed and act upon some of the recommendations. I plan to assist the former residents in advocating for a memorial by meeting with them in organized focus groups and posting information on their closed FB group site.

The former mayor and I have undertaken a number of educational initiatives to include presentations to civic classes at local area schools to ensure the rising generations are aware of the implications of toxic disasters and the importance of students being aware of their community and societal responsibilities. We are also writing a book about Times Beach with the intention of educating readers about the role of place in our lives by telling the story of the special place called, Times Beach.

Recommendations for Action

I have two overall recommendations for action, one is for the EPA and the other is for the State of Missouri. First, despite all the threats of budget cuts to the EPA by the new Trump administration, I think a number of things can be done with little cost by modifying procedures and policies and education. The EPA should expand current guidelines for permanent relocation. The EPA's current policy on relocation is still an "interim" policy since 1999--almost 20 years. The preferred solution for contaminated communities to clean up in place or temporarily relocate the affected resident, clean it up and move them back in (Garypie, 2010). New guidance must be address the following:

- Ensure continuity of school attendance for children during temporary housing phases
- Enhance awareness and provide support/guidance for disaster victims to replace lost/damaged identification papers and official documentation
- Ensure continuity of communication during temporary housing and frequent moves
- Do a better job of acknowledging and using existing social capital in the community through all phases of decision making for an environmental relocation. Look at the relationships of the residents and utilize that bond so that everyone has needed information about the process and that their concerns are listened to.

My second overall recommendation is for the State of Missouri to review and relax past policies restricting any references to the dioxin contamination and permanent relocation of the community of Times Beach in the Route 66 State Park area and museum.

- Former Times Beach residents should be allowed to be involved the State's *Volunteer in the Park Program*--specifically in Route 66 State Park activities (maintenance of trails and greening projects, for example) or being allowed to serve as a volunteer at the museum.
- The State should allow the former residents to participate in the *Adopt-a-Highway* program with a sign erected along Interstate 44 saying, "Maintained by former residents of Times Beach, MO." To be fair, many former residents may not even be aware of these programs.
- A memorial for the survivors of the Times Beach environmental relocation should be officially explored and led by the former residents themselves.

Reflections on the Researcher's Experience

All participants provided candid responses to the interview questions that had been emailed to them in advance of the interview and then I read each question aloud during the interview. Data were gathered from all participants in a professional and cordial manner. I would characterize the communication between us as mutually respectful and thoughtful. Overall, the participants were very helpful and supportive of me in the data collection process.

The HyperResearch software was very helpful in managing and coding the data. I took advantage of the tutorials included in the purchased software package as well as the preinstalled studies, and I learned to create cases (categories), codes, and generate useful viewable and printable reports which helped in making the transcribed data more meaningful. HyperResearch was easy to manipulate during the coding process, and I could rename, move, or delete cases and codes as needed.

Meeting with the participants was the highlight of this journey for me. Each of them inspired me to keep going and get this study completed so that their contributions were not in vain. We continue to check in now and then by way of Facebook and I will be sending them a personal thank you note along with a copy of a two-page synopsis of the study.

Conclusion

The findings and analysis of this qualitative research study confirmed that long term social impacts of the EPA's environmental relocation policy do exist for this contaminated community. Revising the interim EPA policy for permanent relocation could include expansion of guidelines for ensuring continuity of school attendance during temporary housing phases, assistance with lost identification and documentation replacements, processes for ensuring continuity of communication during temporary housing and frequent moves, and options for maintaining existing social capital in the community. The State of Missouri could relax past restrictions at the Route 66 State Park to allow for former residents of Times Beach to be involved in the Park maintenance of

trails and greening activities or volunteer at the Museum. As studies have shown, the grief process, regardless of how long ago a disaster occurred, can be helped along by such activities.

The uncertainties of the 2018 federal budget allocations for the EPA's clean-up activities will require creativity to carry them out. However limited the resources, ensuring that affected communities perceive that the government cares about disaster clean-up and recovery outcomes is critical, and government must provide opportunities for participation and input into the decision-making process after the loss of their home. As this study's findings show, loss of home has the greatest long-term impact on survivors.

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Appendix A: Times Beach Chronological Narrative

Community Beginnings

Times Beach, MO. was a small river community located about 20 miles west of St. Louis, Missouri. Built on a flood-plain of 480 acres or 8 square miles, it was shaped like a fan, with the Meramec River nestled around the northeastern part of the town to the northeast, the Burlington Northern railroad tracks ran north and south along the western edge and Interstate 44 cradled the town across the southern edge (See Figure 5).

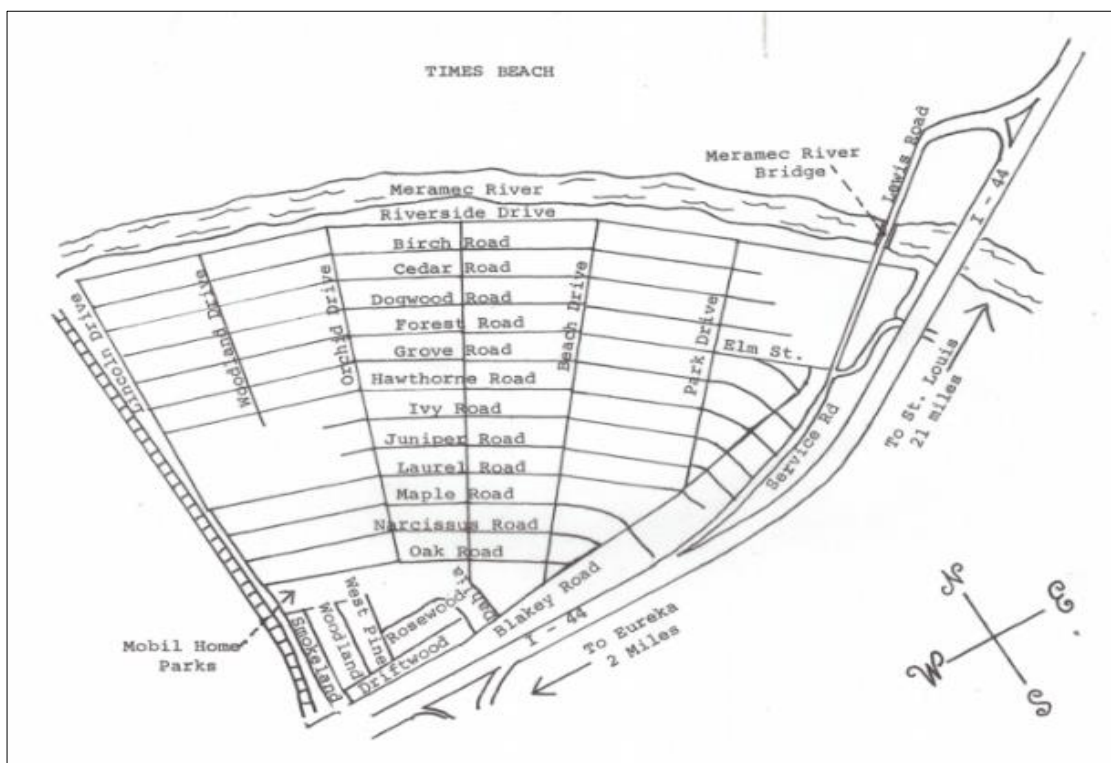


Figure 5. Times Beach's detailed street map 1983. Figure obtained with permission from Marilyn Leistner's private archival collection.

The town came into existence in 1925, as a result of an advertising gimmick created by executives of the former St. Louis Star Times newspaper who sought to increase its circulation. The company had purchased land along the Meramec River which had historically been a floodplain for farming. For \$67.50, one could purchase a lot that measured 20 feet by 100 feet and was entitled to a free 6-month subscription to the paper. However, purchasers wanting to build a house on the property, had to buy an additional lot--still, it was a good bargain. Over the next 20 years, the area became a popular weekend and summer resort area with simple cottages built on stilts. The name, Times Beach, was derived partly from the St. Louis Times newspaper and the beach which ran along the shores of the Meramec River.

During the Great Depression and World War II, the weekend cottages became permanent homes as the economy plummeted. By the 1950s, new homes were constructed without stilts, since there hadn't been any floods since 1915. The community of low-income housing and population continued to grow through 1960 - 70's with new houses, churches, and new businesses and the population grew to 1,240 residents. The locals began to refer to the town simply as "the Beach" and a culture of "nobody's gonna tell me what to do" was held by many residents who feared county government control, especially strict rules on property cleanup (Leistner, 1995). The new Chrysler plant operations in nearby Fenton, MO, increased the demand for low cost housing during the early 1960s which gave rise to two mobile home parks that were built along the southern edge of Times Beach.

In 1977, the city of Times Beach enrolled in the National Flood Insurance Program. However, it was repealed three years later by registered voters, in November 1980. Voters did not want to comply with the requirement that all new construction had to be above flood level. Since the entire town sat below flood level, all structures would have had to be elevated on stilts. The impact of this community decision would come back to haunt them just two years later.

Dioxin and Floods

In the early 1970s, the small town of Times Beach citizens complained about its unpaved, dusty roads. City officials found a short-term solution by contracting with a local waste hauler, Russell Bliss. He was to periodically spray domestic waste oil on their roads at the cost of 6 cents per gallon of oil, which was much cheaper than paving the roads. Bliss sprayed the town streets during 1971-1973.

What no one knew at the time was that Bliss had also contracted to pick up waste from a chemical manufacturing plant owned by Syntex Agribusiness, located in western Missouri near the town of Verona. Originally owned by Hoffman-Taff Inc., the plant had manufactured the defoliant, Agent Orange for the Federal Government. Despite the fact that none of the Hoffman-Taff's Agent Orange was actually shipped to Vietnam, components containing dioxin by-products, were stored in a 20-foot high tank. In 1969, Syntex Agribusiness bought the Hoffman-Taff plant and leased part of it to Northeastern Pharmaceutical and Chemical Corporation (NEPACCO), which produced the popular skin cleanser, Hexachlorophene. Dioxin was also a byproduct of the hexachlorophene

and was co-stored in the same tank as the Agent Orange dioxin waste. Independent Petrochemical Corporation (IPC) was one of NEPACCO's suppliers and had contracted with Russell Bliss of St. Louis to remove approximately 15,000 gallons of the dioxin waste. Bliss picked up the dioxin waste and then dumped the chemical wastes in with the domestic oil waste stored in his tanks located around the St. Louis metro area.

From 1970-1976, Bliss was responsible for spreading the dioxin mixture to 26 other sites in the state of Missouri (USACE, 1983). The streets of Times Beach contained the highest levels of dioxin of all the sites and it is estimated that Bliss sprayed more than 100,000 gallons of waste oil on the streets of Times Beach from 1972-1973 (USACE, 1983).

On November 10, 1982, a local newspaper reporter called the Times Beach City Hall and disclosed that the community was on a list of suspected sites that had been sprayed by Russell Bliss with dioxin tainted domestic waste oil. That call was followed by a call from the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) which confirmed that Times Beach was on that list. The EPA informed the city officials that it would take six to nine months before they could start taking soil samples. The citizens were notified of the news and it was "total chaos" (Leistner, 1995).

A town meeting was called and citizens voiced their opinion that nine months was too long to live in uncertainty. They started a collection to pay for their own soil samples to be tested by a private laboratory. The EPA learned of this and ended up taking its own soil samples. People began to think back to the early 1970s, after the roads had been

sprayed, and recalled that there were many dead birds, pets, and other animals, especially newborns, along with the presence of a strong chemical odor. The former road commissioner remembered when they cancelled the contract with Russell Bliss. He recalled that a few days later, one of the Bliss' drivers was seen dumping the entire contents of his truck in one of the undeveloped areas of town. That same area was later unknowingly, developed into the city ballpark where the children of the community played.

Meanwhile, by December 2, 1982, the National Weather Service and the Army Corps of Engineers began issuing flood warnings to communities located in low lying areas along the Meramec River and recommended the citizens evacuate to higher ground. Over the next two days, the majority of citizens left town and moved in temporarily with family or friends to wait for the water to subside so they could return and rebuild. The record-setting December 5, 1982 flooding of the Meramec River was one of the worst floods in history with a crest of almost 24 feet over flood stage (Leistner, 1995).

Christmas Message

By the middle of December 1982, many residents had returned to their homes to begin the cleanup. They removed flood water debris, replaced damaged walls, floors, carpet, and furniture. And, as if the flooding disaster wasn't enough, community members received a second blow on December 23, 1982 in the form of a telegram, which they later referred to as their "Christmas Message". The city hall was packed with families and children in anticipation of Santa's arrival at the town's annual Christmas party. The

telegram from the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) was read out loud and notified the residents that the EPA's lab results for the soil samples showed dangerous levels of dioxin in the soil samples taken prior to the flood. The message advised all citizens to leave town and not take anything with them. If they were still living temporarily with friends or family in another location as a result of the flood, they were advised not to return (Leistner, 1995). Over the next 30 days, the townspeople anxiously waited to see if the federal government would get involved and provide relief.

Buyout Announcement

On Feb 22, 1983, the public announcement authorizing the buyout of properties in Times Beach was made by an EPA official, Anne Burford, at the Holiday Inn, in nearby Eureka, MO. For unexplained reasons, the townspeople were excluded from the room where the announcement was made and were forced to press their faces against the glass doors to watch and listen over an intercom. Photos of the citizens on the other side of the glass were plastered in the newspapers. The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) of the Department of Health and Human Services had completed its analysis of extensive soil sampling of the area and determined that due to the known toxicity of dioxin and evidence of levels considerably above 1 part per billion throughout the soils of Times Beach, there was a significant health risk. Nearly all of the dioxin contaminated soil was on or under the city's streets or in the shoulders or ditches of the streets and samples taken from under the paved streets showed some of the highest readings.

Mrs. Burford said that the potential costs and time necessary to clean up the town were cost prohibitive. For example, to replace the city streets it would be necessary to tear them up, remove and discard 18 inches of soil then rebuild for an estimated cost of \$10 million (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Feb 23, 1983). The EPA's remedial solution was to permanently relocate all residents and businesses of Times Beach. Fred A. Lafser, Director of the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, was supportive of the idea of relocating the residents and demolishing their homes. He reported that as details of the buyout were being finalized, the issue of land re-use would play an important big role in the decision to relocate the residents. If the future land re-use was to be non-residential, perhaps the level of clean up would not be as strict for recreational or industrial.

It had been less than two years since the Love Canal dioxin disaster in upper New York State in 1980 and Times Beach, MO became only the second contaminated U.S. community to be federally mandated to evacuate and permanently relocate an entire population. More families were relocated at Times Beach (830 families) than Love Canal (700 families).

It took nearly three years after the initial buyout announcement, for all the residents to permanently relocate (end of 1986). The town lay completely abandoned as the decision of what to do about it languished in the halls of the federal government from one administration to another.

EPA Record of Decision (ROD)

The U.S. EPA Record of Decision (ROD) was issued September 29, 1988. It called for incineration at Times Beach of dioxin-contaminated soils from 28 sites, in eastern Missouri, including Times Beach. The settlement was intended to destroy the dioxin and return Times Beach to beneficial use. The Bush administration was adamant about assuring that private parties potentially responsible for the environmental problems were held accountable for the cleanup. Syntex Agribusiness was designated by the EPA, as one of the Potential Responsible Parties (PRPs). As such, Syntex was responsible for demolishing and disposing the non-contaminated structures and debris in uncontaminated areas of Times Beach as well as for the design and construction of an incinerator at Times Beach. The ROD estimated that the work would take five to seven years. Syntex also agreed to reimburse the U.S. for part of the government's costs by paying \$10 million to the Superfund.

In 1990, an incinerator and thermal treatment facility was installed on the cleared land in Times Beach, but operations did not begin until six years later, in March 1996. During the following 12 months, the incinerator cleaned 265,000 tons of dioxin-contaminated soil from Times Beach and 27 nearby areas. In June 1997, the incinerator was dismantled and removed.

Today - Route 66 Missouri State Park

In 1999, the state of Missouri officially opened the Route 66 State Park to recreational activities. Local interest groups, supported by the Missouri Department of

Natural Resources, had sought to increase the amount of green space along the Meramec River and advocated for turning the site into a state park (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Feb 23, 1983). Turning the cleaned up flood-plain area into a recreational area was an attractive proposal since it was a much less expensive remedy for the disposal of the dioxin-laced soil. The State agreed and negotiated with the EPA and Syntex Agribusiness to ensure the site cleanup aligned with standards for land reuse options as a recreational venue. In addition, the World Bird Sanctuary applied and received a grant from Syntex Agribusiness to develop habitat management activities to attract birds to the area. Some of the soil excavation pits were allowed to fill with rain water which created migratory bird waterways.

Today, there are no signs or markers in the park that indicate that a town once existed there. The museum interpretation center at the edge of the park dedicates just one wall to the story of Times Beach and primarily focuses on the Flood of 1982. Park employees do not encourage discussion of Times Beach and the environmental disaster that occurred there. Only a tall grassy mound, the size of four football fields, gives

visitors a hint that there is much more to this park than meets the eye; it is a landfill that contains all the structures that belonged to the town of Times Beach MO (see Figure 6).



Figure 6. Landfill located in Route 66 State Park. Photo taken by Susan Olsen, November 2013.

Researcher's Note: The majority of information included in this narrative is based on a presentation given by Mrs. Marilyn Leistner, former Mayor of Times Beach at the June 4-6, 1985 *Third Annual Hazardous Materials Management Conference* in Philadelphia, PA, unless otherwise noted. The presentation is available at:

<http://www.greens.org/s-r/078/07-09.html>

Appendix B: Permission to Use Previously Published Interview Instrument



SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMAN SERVICES

11/4/2011

To Whom It May Concern:

It is with pleasure that I give Susan Olsen permission to utilize my interview instruments developed for my own research in her dissertation work at Walden University. I greatly look forward to the contribution that I am sure she will make in this endeavor.

Sincerely,

Mike

Michael R. Edelstein, Ph.D.

Appendix C: Interview Protocol Instrument

Date: _____

Location: _____

Name of Participant:

INTRODUCTION

This interview instrument was designed to serve as a note-taking tool during the in-depth interviews as well as to support the recording of the conversations. The researcher reserves the right to use/not use questions in the course of the interview session. The interview questions allow the researcher to explore the participant's experiences as well as obtain information that links back to the conceptual and theoretical framework for this study. Interview questions are organized and coded according to the preliminary code book presented previously in Chapter 3.

Worksheet for Interviews

#	Questions	Preliminary Code	Researcher Notes:
1.	What brought your family to TB initially? How long had your family lived in TB? -Did you see any drawbacks to living in TB at that time? -Did you expect to live in TB a long time?	A-1 Role of Place A-2 Cultural Norms, Values, Identities, Memories, and Meaning; A-3 Rural/Urban Attachment to Place A-6 Benefits	
2.	Describe your community as to what it was like as a place to have a home. Did your home there fulfill this meaning? -as a place to raise children? -as a physical environment? -Does the former town as a "place" have a particular meaning for you?	A-1 Role of Place; A-2 Cultural Norms, Values, Identities, Memories, and Meaning; A-4 Safety & Security A-6 Benefits	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -What did the land mean to you? -Did you spend a lot of time outdoors -What kinds of activities and where? -To what extent did you rely on the surrounding area for food (i.e., garden, fishing, fruits, and trees)? -as a place to have friends? -a place where it was easy to meet people? -Were people pretty close to each other -What were the main ways people around there got to know each other? -Were there particular organization or events that people attended? 		
3.	During the period prior to any concern with the dioxin contamination, how was your family's health?	A-5 Health & Well-being	
4.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How did you keep informed about events in the TB/Eureka area while living there? -How did you learn about the dioxin contamination of your community? 	A-7 Communication	
5.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How did you keep informed about events in the TB/Eureka area while living there? -How did you learn about the dioxin contamination of your community? 	A-7 Communication	
6.	How do you remember the record flood of December 5, 1982?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> B-1 Individual Memory B-2 Social/Cultural Memory 	

	<p>-had you or your family experienced this kind of disaster before?</p> <p>-how did you hear of the impending flood?</p> <p>-did you receive/give help to evacuate prior to the impending flood?</p> <p>-how did your family respond (i.e., hotel, family/friend nearby)</p>		
7.	What was the damage to your home by the floodwaters?	B-1 Individual Memory	
8.	Did your family receive assistance? (Government? Faith-based orgs; friends? Other family members)?	B-1 Individual Memory B-5 Role of Government	
9.	Describe how you felt when hearing about the “Christmas Message announcement that dioxin had contaminated your community and the warning to leave the area. -were you at the party? -who made the announcement?	B-1 Individual Memory	
10.	How did you first become aware of the dioxin contamination of TB?	B-1 Individual Memory	
11.	Prior to the announcement about the contamination, had you been concerned about any environmental issues or hazards? Describe.	B-1 Individual Memory	
12.	Were you aware of Russell Bliss spraying the oil on the community’s streets? -were there detectable odors, vapors, or any other clues that pollution was occurring that you noticed? What did you make of this?	B-1 Individual Memory B- 3 Role of Memory in Disasters	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -did you view it as possibly affecting you in any way? -did you or any of your family members work for Russell Bliss? 		
13.	<p>Do you believe you or your family members were exposed to any hazardous substances due to the dioxin being sprayed on the streets of TB? [what? how? when?]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -children playing in the roads/yards -catching/eating fish from Meramec river? -eating fruit or vegetables grown in community? -working in the yard? -dust blown or tracked into home? -breathing smoke/fumes from spraying? -pets affected? -accessing the streets of TB (i.e., walking, driving, digging in soils) -other? 	<p>B-1 Individual Memory B- 3 Role of Memory in Disasters</p>	
14.	<p>Do you know whether your street had elevated levels of contaminants? How did you know?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -did other nearby properties have contamination? -was your property far enough away from the contamination that it was not an issue for you? -do you think your property was probably contaminated or not? 	<p>B-1 Individual Memory B- 3 Role of Memory in Disasters</p>	
15.	<p>Were you within the EPA study boundaries or not? Probe</p>	<p>B-1 Individual Memory B- 3 Role of Memory in Disasters</p>	

	<p>the meaning of these boundaries—</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Were properties within the perceived boundary at risk while those outside were not? 		
16.	<p>Did you change your daily routines at all because of what you learned about the dioxin contamination? Describe adjustments.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -personal hygiene -keeping house clean -abandon gardening -stopped yard work -closed up house -frequent furnace filter changes -more frequent clothes washings -removing shoes at door -stop fishing or eating fish from Meramec River 	<p>B-1 Individual Memory B- 3 Role of Memory in Disasters</p>	
17.	<p>How effectively did government officials/representatives address your concerns with the dioxin contamination and buyout process?</p>	<p>B-5 Role of Government</p>	
18.	<p>How did you and your neighbors and family members keep in touch during the evacuation and relocation?</p>	<p>B-7 Communication</p>	
19.	<p>Did you participate in the “Christmas in July 1983” event? Describe.</p>	<p>C-1 Rebuilding Sense of Place C-4 Participation by former residents, media, government, & private stakeholders</p>	
20.	<p>Did you participate in the “farewell to TB” ceremony? Describe.</p>	<p>C-1 Rebuilding Sense of Place C-4 Participation by former residents, media,</p>	

		government, & private stakeholders	
21.	Are you aware of any special expressions made to commemorate TB (i.e., art, music, poems, etc.?)	C-3 Memorials	
22.	Have you attended any of the September annual reunions? Describe.	C-1 Rebuilding Sense of Place C-4 Participation by former residents, media, government, & private stakeholders	
23.	Describe any discussions about a memorial to TB (gov't? friends? former residents? -Would you be in favor of a permanent memorial dedicated to the memory of the town of TB? -What kind of memorial would you envision? Do you think memorials are helpful? How?	C-1 Rebuilding Sense of Place C-3 Memorials	
24.	How important is it to you for the story of TB to be told? To who? Why?	C-1 Rebuilding Sense of Place	
25.	How often you are in contact with former neighbors, friends, and business owners from TB? -occasions? -phone? -email?	C-1 Rebuilding Sense of Place C-4 Participation by former residents, media, government, & private stakeholders	
26.	Are you a member of the closed FB page for former residents of TB?	C-1 Rebuilding Sense of Place C-4 Participation by former residents, media, government, & private stakeholders	
27.	What do you miss the most about living in TB?	C-1 Rebuilding Sense of Place	
28.	What were the major things you needed help with once the	D-5 Disaster Response, Recovery	

	<p>announcement was made about the environmental relocation (dioxin contamination, housing, and buyout)?</p> <p>-How effective was the government in addressing your needs?</p> <p>-How effective were faith-based orgs and other charitable service organization in addressing your needs?</p> <p>-How effective were your community leaders in addressing your needs?</p>	<p>D-6 Communication</p> <p>D-7 Community Competence</p>	
29.	<p>Specifically, what have you seen as the main issues related to the dioxin contamination and permanent relocation in the community for:</p> <p>-you and your family</p> <p>-you and your family's well-being</p> <p>-your home</p> <p>-the land area that used to be TB</p> <p>-trust of government</p> <p>-trust for industry</p> <p>-trust for others</p> <p>-your feeling of freedom</p> <p>-your sense of control over your own destiny your identity who you are</p>	<p>D-1 Community Orgs/Norms</p> <p>D-2 Trust</p> <p>D-3 Leadership</p> <p>D-4 Neighborhoods</p> <p>D-5 Disaster Response, Recovery</p> <p>D-6 Communication</p> <p>D-7 Community Competence</p> <p>D-8 Benefits</p>	
30.	<p>Has the experience of environmental relocation brought the former residents of TB closer together or further apart?</p>	<p>D-1 Community Orgs/Norms</p> <p>D-2 Trust</p> <p>D-3 Leadership</p> <p>D-4 Neighborhoods</p> <p>D-5 Disaster Response, Recovery</p> <p>D-6 Communication</p> <p>D-7 Community Competence</p>	

		D-8 Benefits E-1 Social Networks E-2 Individual E-3 Community	
31.	Has your faith played a role in how you dealt with the environmental relocation?	E-5 Service to others & Self-Actualization E-5 Defense Mechanism	
32.	How have you changed because of the environmental relocation? -you as an individual -relationship with your spouse -for your children -for your relatives -for your neighborhood or community -for you as a homeowner/renter -citizen who feels trusting of government -you as a worker -other	E-1 Social Networks E-2 Individual E-3 Community E-5 Defense Mechanism	
33.	Were there any instances of stigma related to these events that you or your family experienced? Describe.	E-2 Individual E-5 Defense Mechanism	
34.	Regarding your current home have you been able to achieve a comfortable home life again?	E-2 Individual	
35.	Would you describe yourself as a disaster victim or disaster survivor?	E-2 Individual	
36.	Have you visited the Route 66 State Park since it opened in 1999? Describe your visit(s).	E-2 Individual	
37.	Did you support the proposal to make TB acreage a state park? Describe.	E-2 Individual	
38.	What do you hope will happen there in the future?	E-2 Individual	
39.	Would other former TB residents answer these	E-1 Social Network E-2 Individual E-3 Community	

	questions in the same way? If differently, how so?		
40.	Is the TB site less of a hazard now that it is the Route 66 State Park?	E-2 Individual	
41.	Is there anything you want to add to what was said earlier? -Is there anything that you didn't feel comfortable saying before but want me to know about now?	E-2 Individual	
42.	What would you like to say to others who may have to undergo an environmental relocation in the future due to toxic contamination of their community?	E-2 Individual	

Appendix D: Sample Facebook Recruitment Flyer

Would you be willing to participate in a doctoral study about the long term impacts of permanent relocation on contaminated communities? Focus is on your former community, Times Beach, MO.



Susan Olsen, Doctoral Candidate, Walden University, Minneapolis MN

Research topic

Environmental Relocation Policy as Experienced by One Eastern Missouri Dioxin Contaminated Community

The present research project and its researcher

I am doing research that will tell the story of the environmental relocation events at Times Beach through the eyes of those who experienced it—you! I would like to identify 10 individuals who were teens or youth (ages 13 – 25 years) who lived there during 1970-1986 and are today in their 40s and 50s and whether their family owned/rented their home and/or owned a local business. This period encompasses the early 1970s when Russell Bliss sprayed the city streets with the dioxin contaminated oil.; Dec 5, 1982 record flood; the December 23, 1982 Christmas message announcing the dioxin contamination; the February 23, 1983 buyout announcement; and the subsequent years of temporary and permanent relocation of members of the entire community.

Why am I doing this research?

The Environmental Protection Agency's current and past policies for permanently relocating individuals and communities due to toxic contamination have not effectively addressed the long term social impacts. Times Beach had over 800 families who were permanently relocated and I am interested in learning about their experiences. What was it like to have to evacuate due to the 1982 flood, return and start rebuilding, only to learn that you had to leave again because of the dioxin contamination? What was it like to live in temporary housing? What are your thoughts on the buyout of your family's home by the federal government? What has it been like since these events and how have you coped? I believe that you can help by telling me of your personal



experiences. Your experiences may help others who will experience environmental relocations in the future as well as help to revise current policies.

What would participants do?

If you participate, you will be asked to meet with me for a minimum of two separate interviews lasting no longer than 90 minutes each, which would take place at a local area public library/ school or using Skype. If you do not wish to answer a question during the interview, you may say so and I will move on to the next question. The interview will be tape recorded and transcribed by me. Within a week of each interview, you will be provided with a copy of the written transcript for review. Your identity is confidential and no one except me will access the information documented during your interview and your name will not appear in the study. A follow-up interview may be necessary to clarify information.

Has this research been ethically approved?

The ethical dimensions of this research have been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Walden University. Permission has been given by the Administrator of the closed Facebook page, "Memories of Times Beach" for me to post this flyer for purposes of recruiting potential participants. There is a *Consent Form* you will need to sign if selected to participate in this study.

How to contact the researcher? If you meet the criteria for the study, please contact me at your earliest convenience of your interest. I will answer any other questions you may have. I look forward to hearing from you.

Appendix E: Permission to Use Archival Materials

**Permission to Use Archival Materials from Private Collection for
Doctoral Research**

I, Marilyn Leistner, give Susan Olsen, Walden University doctoral student, permission to use the archival materials from my private collection in her dissertation work to include pictures, photos, video recordings, audiotapes, official papers, digital images, media clippings, and the like. I acknowledge that I will not receive any compensation for the use of such materials.

I have read and understood this consent and release.

Marilyn A. Leistner
Signature

3-23-2017
Date

Appendix F: Member Checking Form

Date 2016

Dear

Thank you for the honest and reflective interview. Attached please find a draft of the transcripts for your review. Please check for accuracy and that I reported your responses accurately. Please feel free to contact me should you have any questions or concerns.

By your act of reviewing the transcript, if I do not hear from you within a week/seven days, I will assume you are in agreement with the transcripts. Thank you in advance.

Sincerely,

Susan Olsen

Appendix G: List of Counseling Resources

Centers for Disease Control (CDC)

Coping With a Disaster or Traumatic Event/Mental Health Resources for Traumas & Disasters.

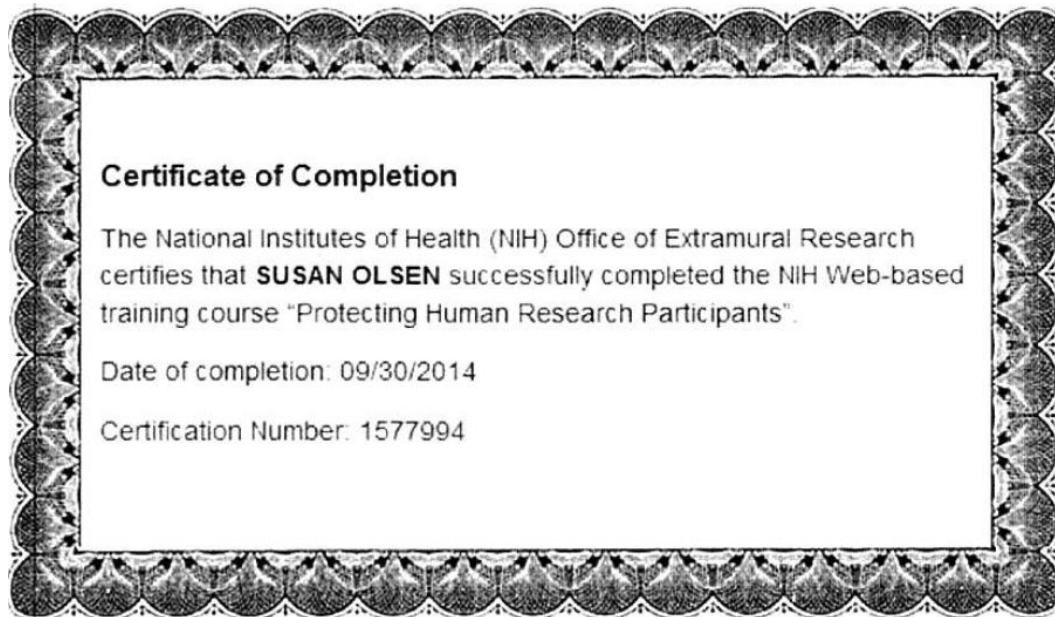
<http://www.bt.cdc.gov/mentalhealth/>

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) Disaster Distress Helpline

Provides 24/7, year-round crisis counseling and support.

- Call 1-800-985-5990
- TTY for deaf/hearing impaired: 1-800-846-8517
- Text TalkWithUs to 66746

Appendix H. NIH Certification



Appendix I: Walden IRB Approval

Approval number for this Study: 02-17-16-0083338

Expires: 2/16/17

Appendix J: Transcripts

TRANSCRIPT/INTERVIEWS I & II**P-1****Profile/Introduction:**

The first 30 minutes or so-- we talked about where P-1 lived today, where he lived in Times Beach, his family then and now. We also looked at the maps to identify where his home was and P-1 identified a number of neighbors and businesses as well. Identified the following businesses: donut shop on Forest & Park; Dakes Auto Shop.

Q-1. What brought your family to TB initially? How long had your family lived in TB? Any drawbacks? Did you expect to live in TB a long time?

P-1: Both parents born in the area, Allenton, Mo (today is a shopping center). Mom taught her children to always find the good in people. He said his Mom brushed his hair everyday into a ponytail—she spoiled me rotten. I miss my Dad—wish I could talk with him. I go up to the graveyard and ask him why he can't be here for me? Mom died in April 1998 and Dad died August 1998—just couldn't go on without her. They're buried in Pacific, MO. Near my apartment.

Q-2. Describe your community as to what it was like as a place to have a home. Did your home there fulfill this meaning? Place to raise children? Does former town as a "place" have a particular meaning for you? Land? River? Outdoors activities? Garden, fishing fruit trees, trees. Local activities?

P-1: In TB, no one locked their doors. Everyone looked after each other's kids. It was a safe place to grow up. There were no drawbacks to living there. We expected to live there forever. Great place to raise kids. We built tree houses all over town-- the City workers came after us to tear them down like a game of cat and mouse. Both parents born in the area, Allenton, Mo (today is a shopping center). Mom taught her children to always find the good in people. Mom didn't work outside the home; everyone loved my mom; My Mom brushed my hair everyday into a ponytail—she spoiled me rotten. I miss my Dad—wish I could talk with him. I go up to the graveyard and ask him why he can't be here for me? Mom died in April 1998 and Dad died August 1998—just couldn't go on without her. They're buried in Pacific, MO. Near my apartment.

I can't focus on anything. My girlfriend came home and found me sitting in the dark. She asked what I was doing and I said I was thinking. I love to read—like my Dad I need large print and glasses now. I go to the library that has free magazines; about 3 blocks from my apartment. I used to walk 14 miles a day—now I'm sick and don't do it no more.

Mom lost a brother and cousin to drowning in the Meramec River so she was always warning her own children about three things: stay off the tracks, away from the highway, and away from the river. P-1 said three of his own friends had drowned in the river. P-1 offered that the meaning of “Meramec” was troubled waters named by the early Indians. I loved to fish for catfish and carp in the river.

Marshall Wieda knew us kids well. Sometimes after he got a call, he’d show up in his housecoat and house slippers. Made us clean up the streets to work things off. One time, one of his men caught us shooting BBs at the water tower and along came Marshall Wieda and told him to not worry about it—at least we weren’t out doing worse things and told him to let us go. He lived by the police station and before he was Marshall, he had a huge garden with a fruit stand but guess he got busy.

Adults went to the bars to meet up with friends and there were dances. I remember the boy scouts set up their tents by the water tower.

Sports. Softball team was called “SOBS” –sons of the beach; played in empty lot before trailer park was built there.

Make Money. To make money, we cut grass for \$2.00 at the trailer park and did 4 or 5 a day. We also picked up soda bottles to cash in at the market or gas station.

Holidays: Remember Halloween parties at the Community Center.

Schools. Attended Eureka Schools; bus picked up kids all over town. Used to hang on the bumper. Drove on Route 66 to Eureka to school—no I-44 existed then.

Pets. Mom had inside Chihuahuas and we did have an outside dog—German shepherd. We had every kind of animal with my own kids.

Bonfires: Used to hike up the hill across the river in Crescent and build a bonfire and look across the river at TB.

Q-3. Prior to the dioxin contamination was there any concern with the dioxin contamination; how was family’s overall health/wellbeing?

P-1: In the early years, our family was always healthy as I remember. Later my Mother had CoPD. I have a skin ailment for as long as I can remember. My mom used to wrap my hands to keep them from bleeding. I still wrap them [P-1 showed me the wrapped hands]. I was diagnosed with cancer a year ago. After two chemo treatments I stopped after the doctor told me it was not likely to save my life. It has moved into my spine. Lots of back pains. Told my kids but don’t hear from them. I’m real close with my step-daughter. My 9-year old daughter Lexi is brilliant—she knows more than me.

I’m down in the dumps; still ain’t done nothin; hardly talk to family; Niece, Ashley wants me to come live with her but I can’t leave my kids. I’ve been planning my funeral—never thought cancer would happen to me. I do have good insurance.

Q-4. How did you keep informed about events in the local area? How did you learn about the dioxin contamination of your community?

P-1: I looked forward to Wednesdays when the Tri-County Journal came out. Later became the Suburban Journal.

Q-5/6. How to you remember the record flood of December 5, 1982? Remembering the Flood of 5 Dec 1982. Family ever experience flood there before? How did you hear of impending flood?

Did you give/receive assistance to evacuate prior to impending flood? How did family respond? Hotel, family/friend nearby?

P-1: Sid Hammer, the Mayor, came around and warned us to get out. We loaded everything we owned into my uncle's horse trailer (everything except washer & dryer. Packed up our Maverick including 11 puppies and 2 parakeets. Never had the water got so high. In the past, the trailer park was the only area that filled up with water in spots. When we were trying to get out of town, cars backed up and water was inside the car up to our waists. Car broke down but people pushed us. Near the donut was a patrol car and flood water was up over its top and all we could see was the flashing light.

Our family went to live with relatives in Labadie and I went to live with my older brother in Pacific.

I lived at my parents until 24 years old then father said "out!"

Q-7. Describe damage to your home by the floodwaters.

P-1: Totally under water and destroyed. Went back after water went down and stripped out and replaced drywall—ready to paint. But announcement came about the dioxin and we had to leave. Father bought the house next to the one they had been leasing.

Q-8. Did your family receive assistance? Government? Faith-based orgs, friends Other family members?

P-1: No government assistance. Father very proud and said he worked for what he wanted. Built a new house. Assistance from the buyout was about \$1,000 for replacing clothes and incidentals. Father took no money. He bought us all new clothes himself.

Q-9. How do you remember hearing about the dioxin contamination? Christmas message?

P-1: Not sure I was at the party.

Q-10. Dioxin Awareness. How did you first hear about the dioxin contamination?

P-1: TV

Q-11. Prior to the announcement about the contamination had you been concerned about any environmental issues or hazards? Describe.

P-1: I was out of town in Tulsa for the Christmas in July event as well as the Farewell to Our City event. Heard about events on TV.

Q-12. Were you aware of R. Bliss spraying oil on streets of TB? Odors? Vapors? Did you view it as possible affecting you in any way? Did you or any member of your family work for R. Bliss?

P-1: I remember riding our bikes through the newly sprayed streets and the driver always warned us to stay way back. Slip sliding along and the oil got in my ears and my mother was not happy about that.

Later I hauled rock for Jerry Bliss (Russell Bliss's son). Relationship was fine. I met R. Bliss several times and even went to his house before. Never heard if Russell went to jail or not. I believe him when he said he didn't know about the dioxin—seemed so sincere—looked so pitiful. I think R. Bliss was a scapegoat. Chemical companies knew but didn't tell him.

Q-13. Do you believe that you or your family members were exposed to hazardous substances due to the dioxin being sprayed? Riding bikes, playing in the roads, yards, river, pets?

P-1: I don't know. The roads were terrible and very dusty. I don't know if dioxin caused anything.
Diagnosed with cancer a year ago. Don't know if it's related to dioxin.

Q-14/15. Do you know whether your street had elevated levels of contaminants? How did you know? Neighbors contaminated property? Do you think your property was probably contaminated or not?

Note: We looked at the map and saw where P-1 lived and the levels of dioxin.

Q-16. Changes in routines after dioxin notification.

P-1: No comment

Q-17. How effective did the gov't address your concerns with the dioxin contamination and buyout process?

P-1: No comment

Q-18. How did you and your neighbors and family members keep in touch during the evacuation and relocation?

P-1: I've always been a big reader. We had a newspaper that came every day. After the flood and relocation kept in touch with friends seeing them at restaurants and bars in Eureka. I kept in touch with one guy years later; he went to the Navy.

Q-19. Did you support the proposal to turn the space into a state park?

P-1: I really didn't hear about it.

Q-20. Did you participate in the “farewell to TB ceremony on the bridge? Describe.

P-1: I was in Oklahoma at the time. I was out of town in Tulsa for the Christmas in July event as well as the Farewell to Our City event. Heard about events on TV

Q-21. Are you aware of any special expressions made to commemorate TB i.e., art, music poems, etc.?

P-1: I enjoyed writing. I used to keep a journal but don't know what happened. Maybe sister has it. People made fun of me that I wrote “like a girl”—I have nice handwriting like my Dad. I do write things down but end of tearing it up. I wish for forgiveness from my kids—give me another chance. I used to be real close to my grandson who is autistic—called me “Pa”. Don't see him now. Have a new baby in the family I haven't seen.

END OF FIRST INTERVIEW: Stopped at 1130 am due to his fatigue. He provided names of a number of friends who might be willing to be interviewed.

SECOND INTERVIEW

Q-22. Reunions. Did you ever attend them?

P-1: I attend them and enjoy them a lot. Crowd gets smaller every year but we have a good time and remember all the good times and see where everyone is. Usually organized by the same folks. Park people won't let us have a band for some music.

Q-23. Would you be in favor of a memorial to Times Beach? What kind of memorial would you like to see? Do you think memorials are helpful?

P-1: Yes I would. We've been trying to get a simple road sign along I-44 for keeping it clean with it saying, “Former residents of Times Beach, Mo.” But the State keeps pushing back. They just don't want to see anything about Times Beach out there. Maybe a separate pavilion—give us someplace to go.

Q-24. Is it important to you for the TB story to be told? To who? Why?

P-1: Yes it is. I think the story needs to be told. People don't even know about it and it's been 30 years! Right here in this area—they don't even know about it. That's an interesting question. It's like the former has said—they just don't want anyone to know about Times Beach—they want to completely cover it up. At the museum there's a big map in there used to be on the wall of the Commissioner.

Q-25/26. How often are you in contact with former neighbors and friends? Facebook Page?

P-1: I started that FB page. I didn't mean to start -- then it just took off.

Q-27. So what do you miss most about living in Times Beach?

P-1: Just the closeness. Everybody driving by in their cars—you knew them! Sitting outside—you knew everyone. For the first few years, I felt like a stranger. It wasn't like we had a choice—being uprooted.

Q-28/29. How effective was the government in making the residents “whole” again in the buyout?

P-1: For the first few years after that, I felt like a stranger. I mean it's not like we had a choice...Me and my brother we didn't get nothin' out of it—all we got was uprooted and moved out. We didn't get no relocation money. My Dad didn't want to be involved in the buyout but my mom made him do it. Had to take the buyout. You have to remember-- there were also summer homes there that the people didn't live in all the time. Probably not worth much but at least they did get something. There were some people who didn't even live in TB who got something—that part really bothered me a lot. They just said they lived in town and got some money—the same amount as we did. My Dad didn't think they got the best offer.

I never would have known about the lawsuit but for the former Mayor-- She gave up a big part of her life to do everything for all of us. It was about the future health issues. We used a chemical lawyer.

Q-30. Do you think the experience of the dioxin and relocation has brought your community closer together? How?

P-1: I wonder sometimes who we'd be today—kids scattered after TB—if it had never happened, I wonder if we'd still be there.

Q-31. How has your faith played a role in how you dealt with the dioxin and relocation?

P-1: Never really religious. Used to go to vacation Bible School in the summers. Curtis was the pastor of the Bible Church.

Q-32. How have you changed yourself because of the environmental relocation?

P-1: I don't trust the government. Other sites got more cleanup.

Q-33. Describe any stigma related experiences from being a former resident of Times Beach?

P-1: Yes. People asked me if I “glowed in the dark.” Even in prison I heard it.

Q-34. Have you been able to have a comfortable life since?

P-1: See previous comments

Q-35. Would you describe yourself as a disaster survivor or disaster victim?

P-1: Victim. Somebody at Syntex knew. Our house had just been painted Christmas tree was up and unseasonably warm...

Q-36. Have you visited the Route 66 State Park since it opened? Describe how you feel.

P-1: That's my home. When I used to mow grass for Eureka—I'd see it. I'd probably be working for the City of Times Beach if it was still there.

Q-37. Did you support the proposal to turn the space into a state park?

P-1: Didn't hear about it.

Q-38. What do you hope will happen there in the future? P-1:

P-1: I hope they build a memorial to our home.

Q-39. Would other former TB residents answer these questions in the same way? Differently? How so?

P-1: I think so. Yes, pretty much the same.

Q-40. Is the TB site less of a hazard now that it is Route 66 State Park?

Didn't discuss.

Q-41. Is there anything you want to add to what was said earlier?

P-1: No

Q-42. What would you like to say to others who may have to go through the forced relocation of their community in the future?

P-1: Stand your ground. Get a spokesperson—keep in touch with everyone.

TRANSCRIPT/INTERVIEW

P-2

Profile/Introduction:

The first 30 minutes or so-- we talked about where P-2 lives today, where she lived in Times Beach, her family then and now.

Q-1/Q2: What brought your family to TB initially? How long had your family lived in TB? Any drawbacks? Did you expect to live in TB a long time?

Q-2. Describe your community as to what it was like as a place to have a home. Did your home there fulfill this meaning? Place to raise children? Does former town as a "place" have a particular meaning for you? Land? River? Outdoors activities? Garden, fishing fruit trees, trees. Local activities?

P-2: Times Beach was a nice little community—but I have had no wish to go back. I had friends who have kept in touch but we took different paths. It was a close-knit community where everyone knew everyone. We rode bikes, played tag, horseback riding and parents took us to the river to play sometimes under supervision. The Times Beach Bible Church had many activities that we participated in.

Q-3. Prior to the dioxin contamination was there any concern with the dioxin contamination; how was family's overall health/wellbeing?

P-2: Family members were pretty healthy in general. As a kid I remember having hives that the doctors attributed to a bird in my school classroom. Later, I developed rashes on my arms that oozed constantly and my mother would wrap them. That went on until I moved away from Times Beach in 1984. Rash went to just my fingers and then eventually went totally away.

Q-4. How did you keep informed about events in the local area? How did you learn about the dioxin contamination of your community?

P-2: Local weekly newspaper and TV were the means of communication for our community.

Q-5/6. How to you remember the record flood of December 5, 1982? Remembering the Flood of 5 Dec 1982. Family ever experience flood there before? How did you hear of impending flood?

Did you give/receive assistance to evacuate prior to impending flood? How did family respond? Hotel, family/friend nearby?

P-2: We were married and owned our own home. We heard about the flood warnings to evacuate on the TV. We packed a few things and moved furniture and belongings to top level of the house. Filled a Jon boat and the news people filmed the whole thing. We went to live with my husband's Dad for about 6 weeks over in Allentown. Then we lived

in a FEMA trailer for a year and moved to Pacific into an apt/condo for another year. In 1984, we moved to the lake as we had bought some property there.

Q-7. Describe damage to your home by the floodwaters.

P-2: The flood did big damage to our home and we had begun to pull out the carpet and clean up when the announcement came.

Q-8. Did your family receive assistance? Government? Faith-based orgs, friends Other family members?

P-2: We did not get what we thought was a fair price for our property. My husband worked for Russell Bliss as a driver and I worked for Southwestern Bell Company so we had good jobs unlike many other people. We paid for everything ourselves on our own dime.

Q-9. How do you remember hearing about the dioxin contamination? Christmas message?

P-2: We were not at the Christmas party to hear about the message to get out of Times Beach.

Q-10. Dioxin Awareness. How did you first hear about the dioxin contamination?

P-2: We were sitting at the breakfast table looking out the window and we saw men in moon suits taking soil samples.

Q-12. Were you aware of R. Bliss spraying oil on streets of TB? Odors? Vapors? Did you view it as possible affecting you in any way? Did you or any member of your family work for R. Bliss?

P-2: We played in the oil that was sprayed on the streets and it got all over our feet and hands and tracked it into the house.

Q-13. Do you believe that you or your family members were exposed to hazardous substances due to the dioxin being sprayed? Riding bikes, playing in the roads, yards, river, pets?

P-2: I believe it did possibly affect me as we were so exposed. Our pets were exposed as well and affected negatively.

Q-14/15. Do you know whether your street had elevated levels of contaminants? How did you know? Neighbors contaminated property? Do you think your property was probably contaminated or not?

P-2: Yes, our street had high levels of dioxin.

Q-16. Changes in routines after dioxin notification.

P-2: Timewise, our jobs were further commutes but we really didn't change daily routines.

Q-17. How effective did the gov't address your concerns with the dioxin contamination and buyout process?

P-2: The government was not genuinely concerned. We had just "lost our home" and government was very matter of fact. We met with government representatives in the evening after work to do the paperwork and spent Saturdays looking at homes. Fortunately we had our important papers that were not damaged or lost in the flood.

Q-18. How did you and your neighbors and family members keep in touch during the evacuation and relocation?

P-2: Ran into people now and then in the local area.

Q-19. Did you participate in the Christmas in July event? Describe.

P-2: We did not attend.

Q-20. Did you participate in the Farewell Ceremony on the bridge in the fall of 1983? Describe.

P-2: We did not attend.

Q-21. Awareness of expressions to commemorate TB (i.e., art, poetry, music, writings)

P-2: Not aware of any.

Q-22. Have you attended any of the annual September Reunions?

P-2: I have never attended any of the reunions. Seems sad to me that are so stuck in the past.

Q-23. Proposed Memorial for Times Beach: Would you be in favor of a memorial to Times Beach? What kind of memorial would you like to see? Do you think memorials are helpful?

P-2: For some, a memorial might be helpful. To me, Times Beach was the death of a community—not a person...no deaths from the flood...no lives lost. I have played the game with two truths and a lie and one of the truths is that I am from a town that no longer exists. No one believes that.

Q-24. Is it important to you that the story of Times Beach be told?

P-2: I imagine the story will end up in the history books. My mother has it all in her head and it should be written down and told.

Q-25. How often are you in contact with former residents?

P-2: I keep in touch with very few friends. One couple we have been friends with since childhood and they have a place at the lake. We see them a few times a year. The husbands talk every month or so. The wife and I will chat on Facebook every now and then...maybe 6-8 times a year.

Q-26. Member of closed FB group?

P-2: Yes

Q-27. What do you miss most about living in TB?

P-2: Being a kid and not having to worry about life. LOL
I don't really miss living there.

Q-28. What were the major things you needed help with after the dioxin buyout notification?

How effective were government/faith-based orgs/community leaders?

P-2: I remember the Red Cross provided cleaning supplies. We really didn't need help with anything else.

Q-29. For you, what is the main issue(s) related to the environmental relocation (floods and dioxin and buyout)? I don't really have any issues.

P-2: I still do not trust government—only have their own interests. We met with government representatives in the evening after work to do the paperwork and spent Saturdays looking at homes. I guess we got a pretty fair offer for our home in Times Beach and we were able to build a new home in January 1984.

Q-30. Has the experience of environmental relocation brought the former residents of TB closer together or further apart?

P-2: I think it has been harder for the people who were older. They had spent so much of their lives there.

Q-31. Describe how your faith played a role in how you dealt with the environmental relocation.

P-2: I had a strong faith as a little child since the church was in our neighborhood and every Sunday, my family went. As I got older the Church hurt. My parents divorced when I was age 12, and we moved away from the Church to the trailer park and didn't really go anymore. I did walk to Church a few times after we moved but slowly came to feel that we were not accepted any more—maybe felt like we were being judged—it just wasn't the same anymore—people looked at us differently.

I did not go to Church again from about the age of 12 until I was 28 years old with my own children. I can't really say if faith played a role in the dioxin and flood experiences. I went pretty far away from God—but I know now He was not far away from me. I can't

say that God caused the flood and dioxin. However, I do know that God has a purpose for everything.

The Times Beach Bible Church is a good example here. After the flood and dioxin, the Church relocated to Eureka and is doing well despite Nature tearing them apart. It is still together and that is glorifying Him.

Q-32. How have you changed because of the environmental relocation?

P-2: I changed my view of the government—they really weren't there for me. I changed by views about the dioxin. I believe Russell Bliss was used as a scapegoat. I don't believe it was intentional. After all, he had sprayed full strength on his own property in St. James and what he sprayed on the streets of Times Beach was diluted. Russell was a business man. I don't believe he intentionally sprayed dioxin on Times Beach. I don't believe that. I mean I know the man personally, so maybe my personal relationship taints that. But, I cannot imagine any human, short of a terrorist from another country

Q-33. Describe any stigma related experiences from being a former resident of Times Beach?

P-2: Yes. We were looked down upon because we lived in Times Beach. We were viewed as low-income people—we were living in a tiny 2-BR home and then we moved into a trailer while I was attending high school. It was hard. Later, when I was working, I did not experience any kind of stigma because the employees came from everywhere.

Q-34. Regarding your current home, have you been able to have a comfortable home life again since the environmental relocation?

P-2: Yes. We were fortunate that my husband and I each had good jobs and were able to continue to work and bought some property and built our current home with our buyout money.

Q-35. Would you describe yourself as a disaster survivor or disaster victim?

P-2: I am a survivor. We didn't let what happened destroy us in any way...we may have lost material things but that isn't what's important. I don't know that we would have lived there forever anyway. We survived it. We're still alive. I have four mostly healthy children. The twins have epilepsy which I've often wondered whether it has anything to do with the dioxin I was exposed to.

Q-36. Have you visited the Rte. 66 state park since it opened? Describe how your visit(s).

P-2: No. I do not have any desire to ever go there.

Q-37. Did you support the proposal to make TB acreage into a state park?

P-2: I was not involved in it.

Q-38. What do you hope will happen there in the future?

P-2: I think a State Park is a great thing but I didn't know that they only cleaned it up to a certain level.

Q-39. Would other former TB residents answer these questions in the same way? Differently? How so?

P-2: No they would not answer the same way I do. They have their own experiences. They are more attached to the community and the memories they have of that place. I told you at the beginning I would be a different interviewee!

Q-40. Is the TB site less of a hazard now that it is the Rte. 66 State Park?

P-2: I wonder about the areas that are sectioned off and whether they are safe—not as cleaned up as they should have been....

Q-41. Is there anything you want to add to what was said earlier or that you didn't feel comfortable saying before but want me to know about now?

P-2: It took over 10 years for a doctor to understand something of what I was going through and identifying that I had thyroid disease. I just didn't fit the mold. A Nurse Practitioner identified this problem and they tested my thyroid. It has taken over 25 years to understand auto-immune deficiency disease. My body does not produce iron, iodine, vitamin D or B-12. I've seen so much that the dioxin could have been responsible for with cancer and deaths of babies. Honestly, it's the majority of the people feel that if given the choice, they would go back. I'm just not one of those!

Q-42. What would you like to say to others who may have to go through the forced relocation of their community in the future?

P-2: I think that for having gone through that process and spending 10 years trying to get a doctor to understand there was something wrong with me. It's frustrating to know you don't feel good—you don't feel right. But nobody will listen. You tell the doctor my father has had thyroid problems, both my sisters and my grandmother have symptoms. The doctor came back with 'you don't fit the typical profile—you're not overweight and you know...you have four children!' After 10 years it finally took a nurse practitioner to look at me and take that same medical history that I'd given 10 other doctors and she asked me when was the last time I'd had my thyroid tested. So, for me, going through this process taught me that I have to fight for myself...I know my body better than anybody and finally found a doctor who when I gave her that history and that I grew up in Times Beach, she knew exactly where it was and what it was. But was 25 years I spent trying to find someone understood autoimmune disease and why I have it. It is sad. I know people from Times Beach who had thyroid diseases, they've had cancer, they've

lost babies, they're not able to have babies—from what my mom tells me, a grossly large number have these conditions—compared to similar populations. So, that right there says something!

There's a problem and I think about when you read the back of your shampoo and conditioner, facewash and deodorant, they're just full of chemicals. Last April I started eating gluten free to try and see if it would help with the auto-immune disease. I wanted to find an ice cream that gluten free. I mean ice cream should be four ingredients: sugar, milk, eggs, and cream, right? Only 1 out of 50 had 4 ingredients! Our food, our homecare products and world are full of chemicals that are harming us every single day. Most people don't even think about that. Like the whole thing with the Johnson and Johnson baby shampoo—I don't know if you know about that. In Europe, they can't sell it like here in the U.S. They have to use a different formula. It's craziness! Well, I'm done with my rash so that's good. I take meds for my thyroid, iron, adrenals and vitamin B-12. My new doctor tested for things and found I had a mutated gene where my body does not absorb B-12.

I look at my 3 daughters and think about taking them to Dr. Poppy NOW so we can head off any problems. Let's start this process NOW. I don't know...it's craziness! I worry about the food we eat...I know as a Believer I'm not supposed to do that but...

It's like Dioxin...I had it all over my feet, legs...and within seconds, it had gone into my body. The government's protecting us...right? EPA is protecting the environment...right?

TRANSCRIPT INTERVIEW

P-3

Growing up in TB.

TB address: Lived there growing up and later when I was married. We lived there until August of 1982 when we moved to Pacific Mo.

Q-1. What brought your family to TB initially? How long had your family lived in TB? Any drawbacks? Did you expect to live in TB a long time?

P-3: My family moved there in 1968; step-father worked at Chrysler. I remember walking around the streets—quite a few friends there. Went to school in Eureka.

Q-2. Describe your community as to what it was like as a place to have a home. Did your home there fulfill this meaning? Place to raise children? Does former town as a “place” have a particular meaning for you? Land? River? Outdoors activities? Garden, fishing fruit trees, trees. Local activities?

P-3: We swam and fished in the river; we had a garden every year; my kids ate the dirt... Barbie was very bad about sticking things in her mouth. I remember one time telling Ed that she was eating the dirt. He said it wasn't hurting anything. After the dioxin thing I thought, here I let her eat dioxin... my kids were just kids—playing in the dirt, the boys would ride their bikes after Russell sprayed the roads. I didn't think anything about it.

It was a great place to raise kids. I don't ever remember locking my doors one time. Your children left and you weren't afraid that something was going to happen because you knew someone knew what they were doing and before they got home, you knew about it, you know. My Dad had a car just like one of the ladies that worked at the Quick Shop so we bought him a little ball to sit on the top of it so you could see it-- and someone would say 'I seen your Dad' and we'd run home—after dark. To me, growing up in Times Beach, none of us were rich, by no means, but we didn't know how poor we were because everyone was the same. Nobody looked down on anybody. It was probably the greatest community I could have thought to live in. If I had the choice to go back again, I would.

Q-3. Prior to the dioxin contamination was there any concern with the dioxin contamination; how was family's overall health/wellbeing?

P-3: Pretty good in good health.

Q-4. How did you keep informed about events in the local area? How did you learn about the dioxin contamination of your community?

P-3: There was a weekly newspaper. I first heard about the dioxin through Marilyn then through the television.

Q-5/6. How to you remember the record flood of December 5, 1982? Remembering the Flood of 5 Dec 1982. Family ever experience flood there before? How did you hear of impending flood?

Did you give/receive assistance to evacuate prior to impending flood? How did family respond? Hotel, family/friend nearby?

P-3: We still had our home in Times Beach and another one in Pacific that we had moved to in August of 1982. We were also flooded out of our home in Pacific. We stayed with friends and yes I went back to Times Beach and tried to see what was going on in Times Beach because we owned the house there. Of course you couldn't get in. But then after the water started to recede we back there and tried to salvage that home because we had lost everything we had in Pacific. The damage was pretty bad but we were trying to dry it out as much as we could—we had a wood stove going to dry it out so we would have a place to live. We didn't have any place to go. As far the house goes, if we could have gotten it dried out good enough we could have lived in it.

Did you have any pets at the time?

P-3: We had two dogs. About a week before the flood, the one dog had 17 puppies and we also had a bird. She was a blue-tick hound or something that my husband took hunting.

So did you take them with you?

P-3: At the time when we left the house in Pacific, they didn't think the water was going to reach us at all. The next morning when we managed to get there, the water was already an inch over the top of our house. The dogs happened to find a stack of wood that we had stacked up on the side of our house on a hillside and she managed to get everyone of her puppies up there and the other dog-- it was really kind of amazing that she did that. I could hear my dog, he was an Australian Shepherd, and I could hear him barking and so there was a fellow with Ed and they got in a boat and managed to get them all out—except the bird--we forgot the bird. It was horrible. It was a horrible time. And then going back. As soon as we could go back to the house in Times Beach, we went. That wasn't the first flood we ever had so it wasn't surprising to me to have to clean up and do things like that. The surprising thing was when they came in and said there was dioxin—you can't stay here. And I thought—that's ridiculous!

Q-7. Describe damage to your home by the floodwaters.

P-3: We lost everything—we had nothing left-- no birth certificates, school records. We had to send in for copies of everything. Anything that may have had dirt on it that had been in the flood had to stay there.

Q-8. Did your family receive assistance? Government? Faith-based orgs, friends. Other family members? So all these places that you moved around during that year, was it the government that told you where to go? How did you choose where to go?

P-3: We didn't choose. They chose it for us; they told us where to go. Like I said, it finally got to the point where my husband said no, we'll find our own place. Because at the last place we were in, I guess the people thought we were going to have two heads or something. And the kids were treated terribly in that neighborhood. So we decided we couldn't keep doing that. No, we did it all on our own.

Q-9. So where were you when the announcement came out on December 23 that you can't go back and live in Times Beach?

P-3: We were there at the house on Forest. We were still trying to clean up. I got a call that I had to move immediately or the state was going to come and take my children away from us.

I think the call came from a lady I talked to from FEMA. There was a person right down the road from us who had refused to move and the State came and took their children out of their home. So we were kind of forced to get out at that time. When I talked with her on the phone she offered to get us set up in a hotel in Fenton. I told them that I'm not leaving; we're trying to get things done and my husband was at work at that time and she said well you have a choice or you can end up just like the family [I forgot their name] right down the road; we pulled their four children out and we'll pull your children out. Yes, it definitely was a threat. So I packed my kids up and moved out. We went to the first hotel we stayed; it got to where we moved 11 or 17 places within a year. We finally said hey, we are going to do it on our own.

Q-10. How did you first become aware of the dioxin contamination of TB?

P-3: We were still cleaning up the house and trying to salvage what we needed to tear out and things like that. We watched the EPA people taking samples and they had on their little white suits and my children were outside playing in the yard; it was kind of a funny thing.

Did you even think about dioxin at that time?

P-3: No, the only thing I thought about was how ridiculous they looked—here we have children playing and they were running around getting samples and we were contaminated. I thought well they're doing something but...

Q-11. Prior to the announcement about the contamination, had you been concerned about any environmental issues or hazards? Describe.

P-3: See Q-3

Q-12. So let's go back to when Russell Bliss sprayed the oil on the streets of TB. Were you around when he was spraying the streets? Do you remember playing around it? Odors? Vapors? Did you view it as possible affecting you in any way? Did you or any member of your family work for R. Bliss?

P-3: My best friend's Dad worked for Mr. Bliss. I was at her house a lot. It was something we kinda got used to seeing I guess. As kids we rode our bikes and walked

through it as he sprayed. There was a strong oil odor smell; oil did get on our clothes and no doubt on our skin. It threw up on your shirt while riding through it. It was just like oil.

Q-13. Do you believe you/your family were exposed to a hazardous substance/dioxin that was sprayed on the streets? Did you all ever talk about? Were you aware of R. Bliss spraying oil on streets of TB?

P-3: Yes, as I look back, I'm sure that there was ya know—we were exposed. There's no doubt. My own children played in the yard and streets of Times Beach—to what levels I have no idea. I mean none of my children had health issues—no different than anybody else's children. Now I have two grandchildren and their mom grew up there in Times Beach. Neither one of them have been able to conceive at all so...it is so odd that neither one of them can have children and one of them has quite a bit of health problems—more so than ya know we ever had. Yes, I kind of wonder now if that's not what happened.

My husband had connective tissue disease which affects different joints and is an immune disease; he had that when we lived there when we lived in Times Beach (born in 1946) and we discovered it when he was 36 years old and I'm not sure what year—he was born in '46. He had lived in Times Beach during that time. I don't know if it has anything to do with it. Like lots a lot of us who used to live there, we have suffered from depression I think; but I finally got myself leveled out last year after husband passed away to where I can start to remember things that happened years ago. But like I said, I don't know if it had anything to do with the dioxin. It was very traumatic for a lot of us to go through what we did and have to lose our homes and stuff like that. So no doubt that played a big part on our nerves.

Q-14/15. So looking at the EPA map of contaminated streets I'm looking where you live.

P-3: We were on Forest and Dogwood—right on corner—actually lived on Forest. Our neighbors were: _____ on corner opposite us; _____ down the road; there was nobody living on the other side of us--going towards the river. _____ lived down there, too. My gosh, I can't remember. This last year has been a nightmare.

Q-16. Any changes to your daily routines after the dioxin contamination.

Not discussed

Q-17. The announcement about the government buyout came out in February 1983. Where were you at that time? What were you thinking?

P-3: Yes I was there. It was in one of the meeting rooms at the hotel. I didn't want it—that was our home. And none of us really wanted to be bought out. In my opinion, there were a lot of us that were against it. We were given up our homes and a lot of us didn't want to do that.

What did they explain were the reasons for the buyout?

P-3: The contamination—the dioxin had very high levels in town.

Did they describe where the contamination was found—streets, yards?

P-3: Mostly they described it as being in the streets where Russell had sprayed; they weren't giving a whole lot of details at that time. If I can remember there was a gentleman from FEMA and he was trying to explain things to us. Like I said, I don't believe the majority of us wanted to move and be bought out.

So with all the moving around, how did your kids manage to go to school? Were they bussed? Did you drive them? Did they not go to school?

P-3: My kids just didn't go. We were not settled down. They finally put us in a place in Cedar Hill in February 1983 and my children went to Cedar Hill School over by Dittmer MO. Before that, they had been totally out of school.

Was there ever discussion about the government moving the entire community together to another location?

P-3: No, to my knowledge they never offered that as an option—I wasn't aware of it.

Note: Chatted for about 10 minutes about the death of her husband and my own experiences with loss of my husband.

So how are you doing?

P-3: Healthwise, I'm doing pretty well. I have high blood pressure like a lot of people these days. I am a diabetic and I have neuropathy in my feet real bad but try to keep that under control.

Q-36. Have you visited the Rt 66 state park since it opened? Describe how your visit(s).

P-3: I miss family and friends. When I see things on Times Beach I miss it ya know. I'd like to go back. I did go back to the Beach twice. Both times it's just been so heartbreaking. All I can do is sit and cry. I wonder what life would have been like. You've lost contact with so many people. I have no idea where any of them are anymore. You can find some of them on Facebook. It is just a sad situation—it really is.

The first time I took my youngest daughter, we walked around and I showed her where we'd lived and about where the house was because the roadways were pretty much about the same. The second time, I went back she and I went up there for a funeral, my cousin passed away, and we stayed a couple of days and someone drove me around different places and we walked around like we did as kids and it was heartbreaking. It was like a death. You can't go back—I don't know. It was like going back in time and remembering things—just very sad. It really is, ya know.

Q-23. Do you think a disaster memorial to Times Beach would be helpful and would you be in favor? What kind of memorial?

P-3: Well, I think a memorial would help a lot of us. It would let people that come to the park, understand that we're not forgotten—that we're still there. It's just really sad there's not even a plaque. A nice plaque – about the people who lived there. Something that says, “Hey, ya know there were actually people who lived here. We were a community. We were a town. We were people who cared about each other. We had friends and we just don't want to be forgotten. None of us do. Some us-- it took away our lives away from us. You just had to change. And a lot of people didn't have the money to go off different places. I think there needs to be something then we can go back. New York is not forgotten. You can go on the Internet and read all about it. Go online and search for Times Beach and people have never heard about it. It would be nice if someone would recognize the fact that we were real. A lot of people felt that way.

Have you been in that museum in the old Steiny's? It's called Route 66 and all about that. There's one little wall that is all about the flood in Times Beach—nothing about the dioxin. There is a rumor that an agreement was made that when it became a state park, there would be no mention of dioxin and Times Beach.

P-3: It's like they pushed us aside—that we didn't exist or matter. We were told how much we were going to get and you couldn't argue. You had to take what was offered. It was just an era –it had flooded there many a time—I watched it growing up. I'm not sure people had health issues because of it. I think they could have worked it better—put us somewhere, then clean it up and then let us go back. That's just my opinion.

Second Interview

Q-18/25. How did you and your family keep in touch during the evacuation and relocation?

P-3: We didn't. If we didn't see em ya know like in one of the meetings, where we went to talk to FEMA, I didn't keep in touch with anybody.

And that must have been kind of hard.

P-3: It was! Very hard, yes.

Q-19. There was another event that the City of St. Louis hosted for former residents-- the Christmas in July 1983. Did you participate in that?

P-3: Uh huh. That was over in Eureka.

Was that meaningful?

P-3: It meant a lot to us—especially getting to see a lot of people we hadn't seen, ya know.

We were all kind of still upset over everything.

Q-20. Did you participate in the “farewell to TB” ceremony on the bridge?**Describe.**

P-3: No

Q-21. Are you aware of any expressions to commemorate TB (i.e., art, poetry, music, writings)?

P-3: I can remember some poems showing up out there. Somebody may have wrote it and sent it in to FEMA and to Marilyn. Now it’s showin’ up online and people asking if I remember seeing that, ya know.

Q-22. Have you made it back to any of the September annual reunions at the Park?

P-3: No I haven’t made it back to the reunions. I have been back there though. I look at the pictures taken at the reunions online and think, my goodness we’ve all aged so much.

Q-23. Would you be in favor of a memorial to Times Beach? What kind of memorial would you like to see? Do you think memorials are helpful? What’s meaningful for you and others?

P-3: So people and learn that hey, there actually was a town there at one time—it’s not just a park. We lived there... The last time I was there, a friend of mine took me and he lived in that area so he took me down there and showed me around. You can see where the streets—it was heartbreaking because as we were walking you could see flowers that were growing. You knew that somebody had planted them and were not there by accident—it kind of sad. It was very emotional to me to go back and see everything and have someone point out this is where this was or that.

Q-24. Is it important to you for the TB story to be told? To who? Why?

P-3: It was a traumatic event—to have to leave our homes. We were warned not to bring anything with us.

Q-25/26. How often are you in contact with former neighbors and friends?**Facebook Page?**

P-3: On FB a lot.

Q-27. So what do you miss most about living in Times Beach?

P-3: I miss my Times Beach friends.

Q-28/29. Think back and try to recall what were your main concerns were after flood, dioxin, and buyout notification?

P-3: The main issue was just relocation—finding a home again. We felt like we really didn’t have a place to settle down. It took so long to finally get a place over a year, to call home. It was hard on all of us. All we wanted was to just settle back down. Most of us wanted to settle down among the others but a lot of us couldn’t afford to go where

some of the others went. It was really kind of sad. That's what sticks in my mind. We just lost contact with neighbors and friends and people we grew up with.

Do you recall receiving a guidance booklet for the relocation process that outlined the various payments that people could expect for relocation such as relocation/incidental expenses and so forth?

P-3: I don't remember that but if FEMA passed them out at a meeting, I probably saw something like that.

Tell me about the settlement for your home and so forth.

P-3: Yes, I remember that now receiving relocation monies and I also remember the Red Cross came out and helped us with meals and rooms and stuff like that. FEMA actually set us up in a house with all the furniture that we needed.

How long did you stay in that house?

P-3: I don't think we were there even 6 months because the neighbors, I mean they were horrible—I guess they thought we were going to have three or four heads or something like that. A lot of them wouldn't even let the children associate with each other. We had one neighbor in the back that he was just furious because he could blame that FEMA put us up there. I couldn't figure it out—we didn't have a choice in this matter—and I remember telling him that. It wasn't something that we wanted to happen. He was just so horrible, ya know... It was like "I'm paying for your rent here." You're not doing it any more than I've done it in my life and my husbands. Others would say we needed to find another place to live. I just couldn't understand—dioxin is NOT contagious ya know, and that's what I told one guy—"you can't catch anything from us!"

You really had to deal with some stuff!

P-3: Yeh there were some people—when I'd take the kids to the doctor and I said we were from Times Beach, there were a lot of them who wouldn't take us because they didn't want to have to say anything, ya know. That part I can remember being absolutely horrible and we finally just broke away and said, Hey! We're on our own. You do what you want to do. We kinda got our own little place by the river and started over and told FEMA to leave us alone.

Where was that house that FEMA set you up with?

P-3: That was in Cedar Hill.

Did you participate in any of the lawsuits?

P-3: Yes we did.

How long did that take to get settled?

P-3: I think ours settled in '91-92—not sure. During that time my mother died '90 and we settled after that in '91.

Were there any conditions in that? A clause restricting future compensation for health issues?

P-3: Right. We were told this was it and they wouldn't be responsible for anything else.

And do you have any regrets about that?

P-3: No, and I like I said, that was another thing that we really didn't have a choice. Had to go along. I would have liked it if they would have taken care of health problems

down the line that may have occurred with the kids or grandchildren. You can't even get a doctor to talk with you if you say something about dioxin. One actually told me he would prefer I find another doctor because he didn't want to be part of any lawsuit. That was while we were in Cedar Hill so it had to be around '83.

Q-30. Do you think the experience of environmental relocation has brought the former residents of TB closer together or further apart?

P-3: Well, in a way it brought us closer together for those of us who have kept in touch with our lives but we lost contact with others –so both ways.

Q-31. Describe how your faith played a role or didn't, how you dealt with the environmental relocation. How you dealt with everything.

P-3: If it hadn't been for my faith I don't believe I would have made it through half of it. So much of the time we were just not knowing what was going to happen and what we were going to do. It just came to the point that I had to leave it in God's hands and see what happens. The children asked, well why did God let this happen? This had nothin' to do with him so... I think in a lotta ways it built our faith. I know we had to lean a lot on God and trust Him through a lot of things—and He did! If it wasn't for Him, we'd have never made it through half of the things. It was really tough—for some people had suicide on their minds—it got to the point that they felt they couldn't handle, ya know, not knowing and not being able to go anyway. There was few—they didn't have any money. Times Beach was a very poor town. Not in the sense that we couldn't do nothin' –there were a lot of families they just could afford to go pick up and go anywhere else. Renting and now they had nothing.

Q-32. How do you think you've changed because of the environmental relocation? As an individual? Relationships with spouse/children/relatives/neighbors/others?

P-3: I think a lot of us had to do some maturing. As far as changing, I did change because there was a lot of sadness. I was taken from a place that I dearly loved and felt very comfortable with. And I was uprooted. I think a lot of us felt that way. My kids hated to leave and start over. As far as my husband, he had to keep his family together. It had to have been a lot of stress on him—going through everything. But he didn't have the friends that I did. He hadn't lived there that long—so it wasn't as big a deal for him as it was for me and the kids cuz the kids had all grown up there and I had basically grown up there too.

So it fell on you to deal with all this while the kids were at school and your husband was at work.

P-3: Uh huh. He worked second shift so a lot of the time when the kids came home, I was the one who had to smooth things over and try to keep everything going. And he had to drive a lot further to work after the relocation. It was hard on us because he wasn't home much as what he used to be but...

How is your trust of government today?

P-3: No, I'm going to be totally honest...no. I guess that's kinda where it started—is with Times Beach. I realized that no matter what, if they want something, they're gonna get it—regardless. That's pretty much the way it is anywhere that you go. There's no need trying to fight it.

Q-33. So along those same lines that you were just describing, do you recall any stigma related experiences from being a former resident of Times Beach? How about your kids?

P-3: There was times when the girls especially, came home from school and they'd be crying. One little girl said, "My mommy and daddy say we take care of you and childish stuff like that. That you come from a town that had some kind of germ and it was really hard on the kids. I can remember a few times when they'd say well so and so won't play with us because we came from Times Beach, ya know. It would infuriate me but there was nothing we could do about it.

Q-34. Have you been able to have a comfortable life since?

P-3. Yes.

Q-35. Would you describe yourself as a disaster survivor or disaster victim?

P-3: A survivor. I didn't let what happen to us put me into a place where I felt sorry for myself. I knew I had to go on and God was in control of it all. I longed for my life as it was but it was just another chapter in our book of life.

Q-36. Have you visited the Route 66 State Park since it opened in 1999? Describe?

P-3: Yes it is heartbreaking.

Q-37. Did you support the proposal to make TB acreage into a state park?

P-3: I don't remember what year it was when I actually heard they were going to change it to a state park but my reaction was that they had tried before when we all living there they wanted to turn it into a park because of the flooding. When we actually got the official notice that they were going to change it to the state park, it didn't surprise me at all. They wanted it for a long time. I can remember by mom and dad talking about the government wanting to change it.

Q-38. What do you hope will happen there in the future?

P-3: Oh, I wish we could have our homes back there. It's so silly because you kinda hope they'll call and I'd like to see a memorial there. I love to think about it—our homes back there—I hope they'll call and tell you you could go back and rebuild and say, "we done you wrong". As far as what I hope to see there, I'm not real sure. At the park there I don't think people are understanding that was home for a lot of people at one time.

Q-39. Would other former TB residents answer these questions pretty much in the same way? Differently? How so?

P-3: Well most of them would answer pretty much the same way I think. There's gonna be some who have harder feelings. I was just fortunate enough to get my children out of there. I didn't want to be like others and have my kids taken away from me. It just got to the point that we were just tired of messing with the government.

Q-40. Do you think the TB site is less of a hazard now that it is the Rt 66 State Park?

P-3: Oh I'm sure it is less hazardous but ya know—how dangerous was it at one time? I mean I realize that they had dioxin in different areas but how many times did we have the roads sprayed by Russell and then floods come up and wash it away? Where did all that top soil go? Into the river? Did it go downstream? Why are there flowers and trees in the same area where a house was?

Q-41. Is there anything else you would like to add?

P-3: Just that it was a traumatic time for all of us; we lost so many friends...they were knew everyone –it was like we were one big family. That was a part of the separation of leaving your home and everything.

Q-42. Can you think of especially what you might say to others who may have to go through this in the future?

P-3: Have a lot of faith and keep it up. That's gonna be the big thing. Be receptive what they're sayin' because they're gonna get it one way or another—that's just it. Don't be like some of these who absolutely refused to give up. Because you end up with a lot less.

TRANSCRIPT _INTERVIEW

P-4

Profile/Introduction:

The first 30 minutes or so-- we talked about where P-4 lives today, where she lived in Times Beach, her family then and now. Will send signed Consent Form when I get to the library. Mobile home off Riverside Road and closest to the railroad tracks, Lincoln Drive and the river was right on the other side. Right there on the curve of the road as it came around.

Q-1. Life in TB. What brought your family to Times Beach originally? How long had your family lived in TB? Any drawbacks? Did you expect to live in TB a long time?

P-4: My Mom moved there with my siblings in 1972 because she liked the area and it was convenient to her job (Balder Electric Company, factory work). She lived there during the time they put the dioxin down. I was born with a lot of health issues –maybe from the dioxin. After the flood and dioxin, we moved around a lot after we lost our home in Times Beach, Washington, Marthasville and ended up in Franklin Co., MO. When I was 17, we bought a house in Beaufort, MO.

Q-2. What does Times Beach mean to you as a home, as a place, growing up? Describe your community as to what it was like as a place to have a home. Did your home there fulfill this meaning? Place to raise children? Does former town as a “place” have a particular meaning for you? Land? River? Outdoors activities? Garden, fishing fruit trees, trees. Local activities?

P-4: I loved being there, growing up there. I mean everybody knew everybody and the kids played outside all the time. I felt safe. My mom worked so much and during the day I don't know if you knew anything about the preacher who lived in the red shack under the bridge before the flood and all. I stayed with his family during the week days. I was always there. Before them, I had a teenage girl who was my babysitter but she kind of went a little wild. They would all help chip in and watch over the kids when they were outside. I like that. I don't remember their name—it's been a long time ago. I know that after the flood he moved across the way and had a big sign with Jesus on it. I don't know where he eventually went away. I think they were Pentecostal because they didn't have TVs or anything. My best friends were twins. I've been trying to find all my friends from there. I've asked on that Facebook page if anybody has seen them. Some people moved to Franklin County in the same area as we did, like those twin girls who were a little younger than me. Another resident of Times Beach was murdered by her boyfriend. We kept in touch for the longest time but then we kinda lost touch.

I used love going into the 7-11 there and my bike was stolen one year. We got to go to the police station and the cops talked to me and my friend's about theft and he put us all

in the jail just to teach all the kids – it kind of like playing it out but it was a kind of scared straight program. I remember when everyone's bikes were getting stolen but it was a teenage boy that did it. It was a great town it was just sad what happened to it.

Q-3. Prior to the dioxin contamination was there any concern with the dioxin contamination; how was family's overall health/wellbeing?

P-4: Our family health was very healthy and strong. I was born the year dioxin was put down and was born with pneumonia. A lot of lung problems. Later doctors put me down as someone with lung problems from having lived there. My siblings were healthy but not so much now.

Even with my mom getting breast cancer, we had no history of cancer in our family. My mom never smoked or drank. Sister had brain surgery in 1997 on my birthday. Both my sisters, have had rare tumors. Even with my mom getting breast cancer, we had no history of cancer in our family. One sister had a daughter born with meningitis and she died a month before her first birthday.

My mom was diagnosed in 2000 with breast cancer and died a year later. After she died, I heard it announced on the radio that breast cancer was one of the top things that was from dioxin. My mom always believed that it had something to do with her cancer. My sisters thought dioxin caused their health issues too. I've had lung problems my whole life and my illnesses and I always thought they could be caused by the dioxin. When I lived in Florida, a military doctor, she was giving me the run-down of things and they were completely different from what you heard on the news is completely different from what we were getting in the letters as far as we were knowing something different. We all believed that it really did take away our health. I mean that's the thing that angers me—the place that I loved, the place I call home...even in my older years I would have lived there if that had ya know--never happened.

Q-4. How did you keep informed about events in the local area? How did you learn about the dioxin contamination of your community?

P-4: Yes. My mom would explain to me to a lot during that time of what was going on. I bounced around from a lot of schools after the whole dioxin thing. We moved around a lot...because...ya know until we got our settlement, we could finally get some stable housing. But we moved around a whole lot. I was changing schools probably every couple of weeks. So she would sit me down and she talked to me that we couldn't go back and that they weren't going to fix our house or anything. I know she had been getting letters to explain the situation and I know she received paperwork or maybe she got phone calls too.—I don't know. I want to say it was letters that we got that stated what was going on and what they were doing. So she would set me down and tell me what was going on so I wouldn't have to hear it from school. Any place we went, they

knew we were the ones from that town that got flooded and found dioxin. So, each place automatically knew that when we got there.

Q-5/6. How to you remember the record flood of December 5, 1982? Remembering the Flood of 5 Dec 1982. Family ever experience flood there before? How did you hear of impending flood? Did you give/receive assistance to evacuate prior to impending flood? How did family respond? Hotel, family/friend nearby?

P-4: My mom was home earlier that day and when she woke me up that morning she was already debating about whether we would stay or not—we had had so much rain and because she had to work that night. So she was kind of concerned about me being there. She decided that we were going to go to my sister Kim’s in south St. Louis so we stayed there. We lived in a mobile home in Times Beach at the time on Lincoln Street.

Q-7. Describe damage to your home by the floodwaters.

P-4: We went back to visit right after the flood was over once they were telling people it was okay to go back home and look at their place and everything. We went back and I remember the whole floor in my bedroom was gone—all my toys and belongings had been on the floor and the whole bottom of my floor and all the toys--they were all gone. The trailer had moved quite a bit, too. It was pretty much totally destroyed.

Were you able to take anything with you?

P-4: No, we didn’t get to take much of anything with us—just a couple things of clothes. I mean it was happening so quickly—the flood that day we had to pretty much just kind of had to leave in a hurry. I remember my favorite doll was this Curious George doll and I remember being very upset because he was inside there. I lost him.

This was right before Christmas so did you have your Christmas tree up or decorations?

P-4: Yes. I remember we had the Christmas tree up. My mom was the one who always went way out when it came to decorations. She was the type that put it all up right after Thanksgiving. Pretty much that year as far as Christmas, I remember actually only getting one toy that which was a Pacman game. That was all we could do that year because we were trying to save up for a place to live which was more important—to be a little more stable.

Q-8. Did your family receive assistance? Government? Faith-based orgs, friends Other family members?

P-4: The government did not offer assistance. I don’t know if my mom told them we were staying at my sisters but they didn’t offer anything at that time.

Q-9. How do you remember hearing about the dioxin contamination? Christmas message?

P-4: We were told about it but my mom ended up having to work that night.

Q-10/11. Dioxin Awareness. How did you first hear about the dioxin contamination?

P-4: I received a settlement on my 18th birthday and they never should give that much money to an 18 year old (laughing). If you go on the Internet to *Missouri CaseNet* for 1985, there are court documents showing the litigation with my mom's name and my name vs. Syntex Agribusiness Inc. for personal injury and lists the judge and attorney. Result was, "Dismissed with prejudice."

What do you know about Syntex?

P-4: Last year I was in college and I wrote a paper because it had to be about something that affected our lives. So I wrote about Times Beach and looked it up and found out everything and how he put it down on ranches and everything else-- There were horses that died, too. That's what made them start questioning the other places. My sisters remember following the truck around when he sprayed the oil on those gravel roads to prevent the dust from flying up on the gravel roads. I took me until I was older so not until I was an adult did I really know all the details surrounding it. I mean I'm hateful towards him—I'm not going to lie. I mean I was only 26 when my mom died and I feel like he took away my life with all the having to move around and from that point—not being stable. I was probably in my teen years until I actually felt safe again. I still have more hate towards him. His wanting to be cheap cost a lot of people their health.

You are talking about Russell Bliss, right?

P-4: He sprayed the streets. And Syntex was the chemical plant that bought out the Hoffman Taft used to make Agent Orange and dioxin was left over.

Q-12. Were you aware of R. Bliss spraying oil on streets of TB? Odors? Vapors? Did you view it as possible affecting you in any way? Did you or any member of your family work for R. Bliss?

P-4: My siblings told me they played in the oil after the spraying. I was still little.

Q-13. Do you believe that you or your family members were exposed to hazardous substances due to the dioxin being sprayed? Riding bikes, playing in the roads, yards, river, pets?

P-4: My cat, *Patches*, had several litters of kittens that never survived. She got cancer and no vet would help her--but one finally did. She owned a ranch and that was only because she was such an animal fanatic. She pretty much wanted to help her to not suffer. We had a hard time to dispose of her body and ended up having her cremated.

Q-14/15. Do you know whether your street had elevated levels of contaminants? How did you know? Neighbors contaminated property? Do you think your property was probably contaminated or not?

Note: On the EPA 1984 map, it shows that your street was not the highest elevation of dioxin.

Q-16. Changes in routines after dioxin notification.

P-4: Not discussed

Q-17. How effective did the gov't address your concerns with the dioxin contamination and buyout process?

P-4: I remember one old couple that stayed to the last moment then got booted out by the government.

Q-18. How did you and your neighbors and family members keep in touch during the evacuation and relocation?

P-4: Media hid the truth. Some people said we were exaggerating. We were against the incinerator. We knew about the other contaminated sites. My mom explained to me about the "bad" man.

Q-19. Did you support the proposal to turn the space into a state park?

P-4: Heard about it but did not go.

Q-20. Did you participate in the "farewell to TB ceremony" on the bridge? Describe.

P-4: I remember hearing about that but my mom always was at work so we did not go.

Q-21. Are you aware of any special expressions made to commemorate TB i.e., art, music poems, etc.?

P-4: No.

Q-22. Reunions. Did you ever attend them?

P-4: No. When I worked at the prison, I knew a couple of people the same age as me, and they had gone. I didn't even know about it. I have never gone to one of the reunions. I just had lost touch because we had moved around so much. We went from getting the letters to not getting the letters because our mailing address changed so much. In the letters my mom would learn about the settlement and how it was going. When I was 16 I was able to go to court and get money out through my mom so I could get a car because we lived out in the country so I could get to work. But as far as the reunions I didn't know about that until maybe a couple of years ago. I haven't been yet but I told them I wanna go at some point.

Q-23. Proposed Memorial for Times Beach: Would you be in favor of a memorial to Times Beach? What kind of memorial would you like to see? Do you think memorials are helpful?

P-4: I said that and I always thought a memorial would be good. I've visited the park and gone to the museum and it only was about the flood and everything but it didn't really give you—I think it could be so much more...like as far as the people who were there at that time and were affected. Everyone who lived there have been affected. Not only from the dioxin but the flood and being told we couldn't go back and stuff like that.

What kind of a memorial would you think would be good?

The trees would be cool and new life would be coming from a bad situation. There should be something for the people who have passed and then remembering those who survived it—or who are trying to survive I should say.

Do you think memorials are helpful?

P-4: I do. I think it is an educational thing. I think people have a lot to learn—they don't know Times Beach existed—where's that? what is that?-- they ask. No nobody know what it meant to the rest of us. I try to explain the story and they look at you like—like you're crazy, ya know? You're explaining dioxin and Agent Orange and try to give them the rundown and how it was pretty intense—how much was in there.

Marilyn Leistner, the former Mayor, says that the State was the one that said there would be no mention of dioxin in the Rte. 66 Park or museum. I wonder if you had heard that too.

P-4: Yeh I heard about that. I was upset about that because I think everyone has the right to know. I read a couple years ago that people were still questioning if they'd done a thorough test because they only did the few layers of the soil and they should have went deeper because you have to count in the rain ya know. And they were debating to do another test and even another lawsuit but I how would they do it because there was the one that was really just shut up money, ya know just paying us all off to shut up. None of it was enough to replace our homes, a lot of us lost our families, our lives...ourselves. That really disturbs me—I don't think they did a thorough enough job. Like the incinerator—I think there were a lot of things they did that were stupid. Educational. People just don't know the meaning of the place. People looked at you like you were crazy.

Recollection of relocation options. Land Reuse—recreational level only. Based on time and money. When you go back there now, how do you feel?

P-4: I've been there twice and it makes me feel sad. I drive by there a lot because I have a sister in Valley Park. It is something I always look over and when other people are with me I tell them that used to be a town—that's where I'm from. They've kept it so hush hush and I've even had family members say “oh it's nothing—you guys are all

exaggerating as far as it being dangerous. So the whole public, even those who were from Times Beach said that. I would say well we had different paperwork than what you read in the media—I didn't feel like the media covered it—the truth. They covered people being scared but even when they were debating about the incinerator they already had made their decision and didn't listen to what we had to say.

Other sites around Missouri. And did it surprise you to learn that Russell Bliss had sprayed the oil mixture over so many other places than just Times Beach?

P-4: We knew there were other places he had sprayed so no surprise. My mom explained about this bad man who sprayed horse arenas and ranches as well—she gave me the good version like I didn't really know how bad it was but knew it was bad. It was hard for her—when she found out she had breast cancer...the first thing she said was, “Times Beach.” I mean all my health issues growing up—it had to be from there. I remember when the flood then the dioxin announcement happened my mom said, “Wait, my daughter was born with health problems we couldn't explain.” She said they were asking about our family and she explained our health issues. My mom lived there about four-five years before I was born.

Now they are seeing second generation health issues.

P-4: Yes, we have that going on with my great nieces and nephews and nieces and nephews. My sister has brain tumors. We all say it was from the dioxin. Baby sister had meningitis and died a month before her first birthday. My sister had a lot of problems with all her pregnancies. One of her kids was born without a lower esophagus. I was born without one of the hip bones in my hip. And my insides are backwards—when I had my appendix taken out, it was on the other side. The gall bladder too. So I have birth defects

Q-24. Is it important to you that the story of Times Beach be told?

P-4: Yes, the story needs to be out there and how it affected everyone. Today, the Park people don't let anyone know that Times Beach used to be there where the park is now—they try to blow it off. Agent Orange information (dioxin) information needs to be out there more.

Q-25. Contact with former residents.

See Q-26

Q-26. Member of closed FB group?

P-4: Yes. There's was a list of those who have passed that someone kept up on the Facebook page. That is a reality check. I can tell that some people are angry still. Some had family affected

Q-27. What do you miss most about living in TB?

P-4: I remember the Jerry Lewis Telethons and a plane would fly over us and the Army men would do stuff and then jumped out in a parachute and landed near the 7-11. It was like a big event—everyone came together. I miss the closeness that everybody had. Just can't get that anywhere else, now. I miss that. I remember feeling safe.

Q-28. What were the major things you needed help with after the dioxin buyout notification?

How effective were government/faith-based orgs/community leaders?

P-4: No, don't feel whole again. Lost so much more than that. Shut-up money.

Q-29. For you, what is the main issue(s) related to the environmental relocation (floods and dioxin and buyout)?

P-4: We lost all of our important papers in the flood like my school records, shot records, birth certificates. Schools gave us a hard time because I missed a whole year of school. I don't remember anyone helping us. When Mom called, she was not told of these places to help us with the records. Couldn't prove I'd had my shots or grade I had completed. It was a big mess—she was pretty upset about it.

Q-30. Has the experience of environmental relocation brought the former residents of TB closer together or further apart?

P-4: I think it did in a lots of ways. I didn't find the website until a few years ago. It brought the people closer together. Couldn't keep in touch when that was all going on but we're trying to find each other now and on Facebook helps. We are still close. We remember the same experience. It would have been better if we could have stayed in touch. So it's maybe both—we were torn apart but we're trying to find each other now which shows that that we all think about it—we are all affected by it—for that, it brought us closer together. Pick up where we left off—post pictures and it is pretty neat to see. Trying to remember everything. I wish I'd seen more pictures of the 7-11 and people lost a lot of their pictures. We pretty much lost a lot of stuff—took a few family pictures as other did with not much time to get out.

Q-31. Describe how your faith played a role in how you dealt with the environmental relocation.

P-4: I would say that it made you question a whole lot. I think that's where the trust issues came out. Such an experience makes you question things; trust is not there anymore. I don't trust the government. They kind of ruined it for me at a young age—covered up the truth and treated us badly. As far as other people—we watched other families who went through what we did. I didn't blame those people. We all trusted only each other—that's all we had. Couldn't keep in touch--we had to move so much. Part of my money into getting a house with my mom.

Q-32. How have you yourself changed because of the environmental relocation?

P-4: I am always more of a giving person so when I see others going through a disaster or something and I kinda give them the story of what happened to me and what went on and I'm I try to save people because of that. I relate to people that they aren't alone.

Q-33. Describe any stigma related experiences from being a former resident of Times Beach?

P-4: Oh yes, the other kids at school were afraid to be near me; Mom told me we had to move because people were terrified of us. Nobody knew if it was contagious. I felt like an outcast and I don't remember having friends until I hit junior high-- about 14-15 yrs old. Getting to the point where people didn't know the stories—up until that point I was an outcast—even teachers moved my desk to the back of the room. It was a hardship—I couldn't get kids to come over and play for example. I was always behind in my studies—kids were learning times tables and I missed that due to moving all around. It set me behind compared to ya know being where I should have been. I don't think I could have caught up.

You graduated then from what high school?

P-4: I went to Washington Senior High School but I didn't graduate. I went to Job Corps and got my GED. It was because of a lot health problems so my principal was supportive and helpful and I got to take the GED right away. He knew it wasn't me—when I was at school he knew I tried.

Q-34. Regarding your current home, have you been able to have a comfortable home life again since the environmental relocation?

P-4: My mom was able to buy a home with the settlement money.

Q-35. Would you describe yourself as a disaster survivor or disaster victim?

P-4: Both. I'm a survivor because I keep going. I learned a lot that I can handle anything. My Mom brought me up to be that way. My mom said she didn't give up on me when I was a baby and kept me going as a teenager with all this going on at Times Beach and had bad health—she reminded me that I had survived all that and not to give up because she wasn't giving up on me.

As a victim, I think just because having both of my siblings being sick and losing my mom I had to lose lot of life from that situation and my mom was the strongest person I know. I mean the day the doctor told her the news she just smiled and say, "Okay." So I'm a victim for that part of my life being taken away.

Q-36. Have you visited the Rte. 66 state park since it opened? Describe how your visit(s).

P-4: Twice. Felt sad. Sister lived in Valley Park. I think they should have cleaned it up more. I've tried to find the area where we lived but couldn't see where it was.

Q-37. Did you support the proposal to make TB acreage into a state park or option of moving community all together to a new site?

P-4: Yes. I remember option being moved together as a community. It would have been better—gave stability and would have been helpful to be together. Neighbors would have been good and I don't think all the ostracization at school would have happened.

Q-38. What do you hope will happen there in the future? Is it safe?

P-4: I think they should have cleaned it up so we could live there again. I was carrying a conversation with a gentleman on line recently and we were talking about that. His health was pretty bad and I came across an article that said they should have gone further to clean it up—we don't know how deep in the soil that it was. You hear stories and everyone has wild stories about two headed deer in the park and hunters say they won't go in that area—fisherman still fish and how do you know if the fish aren't contaminated? The park doesn't show how big it really was. I tried to go and find the area to see where we lived but um you can't see where any of that stuff was. I don't know. I don't feel it is safe enough.

Tell me about the river and if you went there. What about gardening in Times Beach?

P-4: Yes. Went fishing in the river and mom was big on her flower garden—we didn't have veggies. The yard was always done up nice. Today, it looks like they buried the trailers in the big mound. My babysitter lived to the right side of town. They owned their house. We carved out names in the tree and I've tried to find those trees which you would have been able to see from the road. Then I remember I was watching a movie when I was a teenager called, "Lost Angels" and the characters stopped over in abandoned Times Beach and wrote dioxin in spray paint. They went into one of my friends' houses—they broke into it.

Q-39. Would other former TB residents answer these questions in the same way? Differently? How so?

P-4: Some would. Some will still be angry for losing their home. I know whenever I first got on the FB site—that was the first posts. They angry because they lost each other it wasn't just the loss of their home. It didn't kick in later until they started posting a list of the deaths of those who used to live there. So I think it will vary. Some with family members with health issues and others trying to get settled and the people whose homes were just taken—by the government [eminent domain] and took them court. I remember one old couple who refused to leave and afterwards they went back into their home then were forced out. I can't remember their name. I remember the newscast of them fighting as long as they could. They lived on the outer rim of the contaminated area.

Q-40. Is the TB site less of a hazard now that it is the Rt 66 State Park?

P-4: Just don't think they did a thorough job. I remember seeing the incinerator going I remember seeing the smoke coming out and wondering—what are we breathing? Keeping it hush hush was what they did. The use of the incinerator was not told to us very well.

Q-41. Is there anything you want to add to what was said earlier or that you didn't feel comfortable saying before but want me to know about now?

P-4: No I felt very comfortable. I think the story should be out there. My sisters and I have talked about it and how it affected us our whole lives. The world doesn't remember or that it was a big deal and blows it off and you hear about the effects of Agent Orange but not what happened to us. Ya know, I don't know if it was true or not--I read an article that the CDC was supposed to keep health records but don't think they followed up. I thought to myself that maybe this is why the doctors don't treat us. My sister's brain tumors weren't found until they found the tumor in her spine. My health problems were ignored for a long time--what is really going on? It took a military doctor in Florida to tell me that she was very concerned. She wanted to test me but I had to move back because I had a tumor on my eyeball. I think something should still be done—these health issues show up later. But they're not going to do anything because once they paid us—that was it. Sad--government knew for years about the dioxin and didn't say anything and we continued to live there. Then the incinerator going up and all that stuff going up in the air. It was 2001 were the results and they said they should have done deeper cleanup. I think for today, there needs to be about Times Beach and the situation. Everything needs to be out in the open.

Q-42. What would you like to say to others who may have to go through the forced relocation of their community in the future?

P-4: Be ready to move around. They should be aware that they may I would say pretty much need more groups to people to talk to. I think more counseling should be available to those strictly affected. I would say they should know they might be treated terribly and that you can't depend on the government-not as much as you think they should. I think they should reach out to those of us from Times Beach who have been through it. More resources out there. When my mom was calling around, she was not told about what was available. So we heard about it much later. Also, the government didn't do very good getting the information out to us because we were all scattered all over. We should be able to share with those who will go through it to save them time and all. In school I went through counseling but was pretty much told to "get over it." It was hard after losing our home and out of touch with family and friends. I'd like to see us be able to talk directly with those who have to go through something like what we did –relocation and losing everything.—so they can avoid what we went through. Times Beach was our "Bogeyman" –how to avoid it. Who knows better than those who went through it?

Is there anything else you would like to add?

P-4: That's all I have to say.

**TRANSCRIPT _INTERVIEW
P-5**

**Q-1&2. What brought your family to live in Times Beach? Describe living there.
What does Times Beach mean to you as a home or place?**

P-5: Well, my earliest memory of Times Beach was when my mom and I—we lived in Pacific which is five minutes west and we were going to visit my grandmother in the city and our car broke down right at Times Beach on Highway 44. Now this is my earliest memory and my aunt actually lived in Times Beach as well. So we broke down—it was dark I remember that and it was raining. She took me across the highway into a gas station and somebody called the police on us saying there was a drunk lady with a small child crossing Highway 44; so we called my Dad and he came and got us. From that point on, I don't know if my mom and her sister were very close at that point or then they became very close, or I just didn't realize it--and she lived in the trailer park and owned the one she lived in and they had another one that was vacant and we moved into that.

Was that the Easy Living Mobile Home Park?

P-5: Yes.

So how old were you at that time?

P-5: Second grade—so what was that-- was about 7 yrs. old I guess.

So was Times Beach convenient to where your parents worked?

P-5: No at that time he wasn't a chemical worker yet. I believe at point they both worked downtown. I wanna say maybe at that time he was working over in Illinois in a place called National Vendors. And he got fed up one day, this was the 70s, and was crossing the bridge over the river to come home, and he'd had a bad day, and saw Monsanto. Back then you could just walk up and he could say I want a job and he had a job when he left. He stayed there for his whole career after that. It was the Queeny plant, it's in mid-town right by Soulard Market. The original Monsanto plant. He walked in and filled out the paperwork and at some point thereafter started working there.

So living in Times Beach was a pretty quick drive down the highway.

P-5: Yeh about 30 minutes.

So recall having feelings like that expected to live there in Times Beach forever?

P-5: Oh sure. Well, at first, well sure like I imagine like every child, this was my home. Looking back now, we were very poor--but ya know as a kid you don't realize that. Like any place, when you move into a new place there's some apprehension because you don't

know anybody—that lasted about a day and a half. Then you start meeting people and the normal conflicts arise as kids have. It was a great place to grow up—I thought.

So you feel like it was a good place to raise kids? Good environment? Feeling of safety? Did you worry about things?

P-5: No, no more than any child would experience in the 70s. I mean we're talkin' a million years ago compared with what kids today have to deal with. I remember when I started school—I went to school in Eureka actually. I got in a fight with a kid and he was from Times Beach and when I come home—he was bigger than me although he was my age. My Dad sent my brother to go beat him up. This guy had another brother who came and beat the kid up but we outnumbered them by one brother. Other brother came in and we were the best of friends for a decade. I guarantee you I spent as many nights at their house as they did at my own--we were inseparable. They are two people I have not been able to contact yet.

So did you spend a lot of time outside? What did the land mean to you? The river?

P-5: First off there was a place I related to the movie, *The Sandlot*. We had one of those—it was in the middle of the trailer park. It was actually right across the street—it was a lot that for whatever reason there were no trailers there. We played every sport imaginable there...baseball, football, hockey. We used to play trailer park kids against the other kids. We were the *beach bums* and they were the *river rats*. The big electric unit was right behind home plate and kept the balls from going off. On the map—these poor people were out some windows... Looking at the map, Lincoln and Blakey and so there's a trail 2-mile loop and it was by that loop and there's a 3mile loop on the outside. I bet I could find it. It was a magical place it really was. We'd go there and play sports, talk about girls and just do whatever.

Tell me about the river and what you might have done there.

P-5: Absolutely. We would camp a lot. Sometimes my Dad had a Jon boat and we'd load everybody in it and just float until a gravel bar and camp there a day or two. Or we'd go up to Crescent and there used to be an old quarry back in the '30s and there's a huge lake up there—hundreds of feet deep because it was a quarry. We'd go up there a lot. Then go down the river to fish—there was a rope swing and boat access ramp we used. One of the biggest fish I ever saw was by a friend of mine--he caught a big monster catfish. It was a neat place. It was a dangerous river. I've seen more than one person pulled out of that river dead. People came down to party and think the river was tame. It is one of the most dangerous river. If you don't respect it...if you don't know how to handle it...you're gonna die. I've had my kids down there when they were little and taught them how to handle it—go in the water and stay alive. But there's people that get drunk and think they can do anything...

What about gardens, fruit trees?

P-5: Not really gardens. We moved from there to Oak in the trailer park and another on Oak before that, and then over to Juniper. We did a self-move ourselves believe it or not.
P-5: passed a year ago March.

Had she been ill?

P-5: She had been fighting cancer for 7 years and went away. Then it came back hard and fast. Esophagus cancer—small cell lymphoma. Had some of the best doctors in the country; Dr. Hu at St. Johns—he gave her four more years. Dad actually on a cruise right now.

Does he live near you?

P-5: I used to live about a mile away from him for about 15 years and then after kids left my wife and I got tired of owning things and moved to the South City. He's not happy that we left Eureka. We live near the brewery really nice little area.

How did people meet in those early years? What were the main ways that people got together? i.e. –special events

P-5: Every year the streets flooded. Not causing much damage. But one thing they did – and I'll never forget this--when the waters would recede a lot fish would get caught on the grating going down to the water and they couldn't get back. So they just went by and scooped up these fish and have a big huge fish fry. I guess everyone had their own little cliques, for lack of a better phrase but we all just kind of hung out. It was easy to meet people. There wasn't a whole lot of organized stuff. When my Dad became Mayor I guess there were some stuff but mostly just friends and they might go out to dinner or BBQ. Behind the new Schuck's, about 2 miles back in there, there used to be a place called Circle R Ranch in Eureka and they had a pool – I guess that would have been when I was in high school until the time I left—you could become a member of it and have access to picnic areas and the pool so a lot of people would go up there. We went there in the summers.

Q-3. Prior to finding out that the town must evacuated due to the contamination—did you have any concerns with dioxin? And you hadn't heard that back in the 70's about the extent of the contamination spread by Russell Bliss?

P-5: No. Health was fine. Now I know about the horses dying... I remember the trucks bringing the oil...I absolutely remember that. It was a common occurrence—ya know anywhere from 10 and up at the time. I remember it being all over our bikes and of course as you ride your bike the oil kicked up and made trails up your back, ya know we'd have it on us all the time. I absolutely remember that!

Did it smell or anything?

P-5: It smelled like oil—the water was really nasty in Times Beach but I don't think that had anything to do with this. If you left and went on vacation or gone for a few days then turn your water back on, that was the first thing you had to do when you'd come back—turn the water on for a while and let the rust get out. I don't...I don't... Perhaps maybe the normal we know now as a society of course the oil had something to do with that oil—not so much the dioxin because when you spray it on the ground... it's gone leach into the ground water which it ultimately going to find its way...so... I'm sure that we drank it.

Because back then if you'd told me I wouldn't bat an eye and I'd be walking into a QuikTrip to buy a bottle of water for a buck-fifty, I'd called you a liar. Buying a water? Are you kidding me?

Did you or anyone in your family work for Russell Bliss?

P-5: No.

Q-4. How did you keep informed about events in the local area? How did you learn about the dioxin contamination of your community?

P-5: Tri-County Journal went around and it was free. In business way into the 90s replaced by the *Current*. That and the *Post-Dispatch* of course. TV and radio. No cable. Instead of video games we'd built forts and tree houses and scavenged wood all over the town. That is what we did.

Q-5/6. How to you remember the record flood of December 5, 1982? Remembering the Flood of 5 Dec 1982. Family ever experience flood there before? How did you hear of impending flood? Did you give/receive assistance to evacuate prior to impending flood? How did family respond? Hotel, family/friend nearby?

P-5: Well, I was actually already in the Navy.

Oh, you were already gone?

P-5: Yes, but I was here for the whole thing. I went to boot camp in June of 82 and after boot camp was then stationed in Millington, Tennessee which is a base about 30 miles outside of Memphis and I was going to school to learn how to work on jets which is what I did in the Navy. And the base I was on-- I was 18 years old and there were about 10 or 12 guys for every girl—so there weren't a lot of girls down there and at 18, that's what I was looking for. I had a girl at Times Beach so would come back, catch a bus or a ride with somebody-- A LOT of weekends. I happened to be home that weekend. I came in on that Friday night and the flood came I believe... Sunday or Saturday morning, I can't remember, exactly. I came home and Pop said the river was going to flood—they were expecting this big massive flood and we went out and we sandbagged all night. Boy, that's such a waste. Ha! I'll never sandbag again. You're NOT going to beat the river—the river's going to win every time. If it decides to come in, it's goin' come in.

The best thing we should have done at that point, instead of sandbaggin' all night, we should have been getting stuff out all night. That's what we should have done.

Were you in your house on Juniper at that time?

P-5: It was a double-wide mobile home on a foundation and stuff and yes, we were over on Juniper at that point. So that morning, we came in...I used to chew tobacco, Copenhagen, and my mom had made us breakfast and had sitting on the table were eggs and bacon and what have you and I got up to go spit this out the front door and I could see water coming down the road –ya know...about a foot and a half of water coming down the road.

So on the map, show me where you were and where the water was coming from.

P-5: We were here and it was coming in through the storm drains down Juniper toward our house and I said, "Pops, it's time to go." My mom and sister was pretty young--she was seven...he went...it got a little crazy...it got real crazy...we went to city hall first. He got in the boat first and by this time the trailer parks were in serious trouble. So he got in the boat with a cop and they went toward there. He already told my mom to leave...and I believe she had started to but she kind of panicked and she didn't do what she was supposed to do. So we kind of got separated. The cop tossed me the keys to his patrol car-- The cop's name was Officer Dan Gore –I'll never forget him. And he said, "Get the police car out." He was with my Dad in the Jon boat. So I got in the patrol car and water was coming really fast so I drove it as far as I could so it got swamped so I had to abandon it so I went back up to Galley West and all I was worried about at that point was finding my Mom and sister but couldn't find them—cuz that was the command center and they weren't there. So I was heading back in to find them. I found them walking across the bridge...

So describe how you got out of the police car and made it over to Galley West.

P-5: I actually had to swim and waded out. I see my Mom walking with my sister in one hand walking across the bridge and in the other, I guess at some point I guess this cop at some point had run into my mom and he gave her his service weapon because he was in the water. So she walked out with a big old 44 Magnum. And I said, "Okay Mom, give me the gun...let's get you in here..." So I gave the gun to one of the State troopers and told him whose it was. That's a true story—it actually happened.

It's funny I told you we lived in Eureka in 1990; there's like three or four hills in Eureka and when I lived there, there was a family member living on the top of every hill. It won't ever happen to us again. If it happens again, it's time to build an ark. That was devastating...the flood was.

Okay so you got across the bridge and got back with your mom and sister and your Dad was helping to get people out--what happened then?

P-5: I don't remember seeing my Dad again until later that afternoon...I stayed with my Mom and sister and we went over to the hotel near Six Flags—I think it was the Ramada Inn or Holiday Inn---it's been so many different names... The hotel put a lot of people up there. So we were there a day or two and Dad had arranged for some people to come and get my sister but my mom wasn't having none of that. So, we were all staying together. We notified my brothers who were still in Navy but they came, too-- one from Virginia and the other was in the Mediterranean—it took him a day or two. I actually helped the Coast Guard a bunch.

What did The Coast Guard do?

P-5: They were helping to get people out and they patrolled the town for looters—you hear about that all the time...I honestly don't have first-hand knowledge that there had been a single looting incident—I'm not saying there wasn't, but we had none as far I know.

Our car had made it out...my Mom had a Caprice Classic Station Wagon with the woody on the sides it was a great car and made it out to Eureka.

When did you go back?

P-5: It was 4-5 days before the water went down. Going back into town I absolutely remember every second of that. One of the TV anchormen got thrown right off that bridge. When we pulled up they got upset and she was crying and my Dad was crying and this #!%X#### cameraman shoved the camera in their face and my brother Danny got out of the car and helped him understand you just don't do that—he pushed him down and pushed the camera away and he hit the ground and he said he'd have him arrested. It didn't happen.

Please backup just a second, what was your Dad's role?

P-5: I think they were actually trying to verify that people going into town lived there.

Q-7. So describe for me what it was like when you returned to your home.

P-5: It was horrible. It was.

Was it off its foundation?

P-5: No. The windows were all broken out and there was mud everywhere. The plates with the eggs on them—the eggs were gone but the plates were still on the table. We stood there and Danny was home at this point but my oldest brother wasn't—you had to know my mom...Marilyn can tell you. She didn't mess around—ya know. She was a tough ol' gal—at that time she was a tough young gal actually... We just stood there and were staring and she snapped, 'Boys! Let's go. Just tear everything out and throw it out in the front yard.'

So at this point, my Dad had two guys that he worked with at Monsanto and they were decorated Vietnam vets, tough as nails—Marine gunnery sergeants—these guys were tough—this one gentleman walked in—we were just taking everything out and throwing it out in the yard and he walked into my sister’s room, I was right behind him. He was this big tough guy. My sister went to the Catholic school in Eureka, Sacred Heart, and she had a little God corner in the corner of her bedroom, a little card table with a Bible and little 1 ounce statues and what have you—there wasn’t a drop of water or a speck of mud. It had floated up and then it had come right back down—the statues were not even knocked down. And this big sonabitch looked at it and said, “I’m not touchin’ it” and he just walked out—he got spooked.

Yeh, the house was devastated it was. We ripped everything out and dried it out and my aunt had a little camper trailer and they brought it and put it in the driveway and we lived in that while we were rebuilding. It was a real small camper. And course you know we were on emergency leave from the Navy and I stayed there for probably about a month.

Q-8. Did your family receive assistance? Government? Faith-based orgs, friends other family members? So do you recall any government people being on the scene offering assistance? FEMA?

P-5: A lot of churches, the Red Cross. It was cold. The trucks brought the best hot soup I ever had in my life—it probably wasn’t but when you’re cold and wet.

But as far as the government—I really didn’t have access to any of that because once I went back to the Navy, I would come home on the weekends when I could, when I didn’t have duty—I was there a lot-- as much as I could. I don’t recall FEMA. There was a place in Eureka that you could just walk in and get furniture.

I do remember Augustus Gussie Bush came to town giving out free clothes and water. And for a very long time I had—he brought a truck load of food and a truck load of clothing and he was handing out these goose down jackets—I have pictures of them [shows me in the magazine]. I just bought this a couple of months ago—there’s my mom. But he brought these Michelob vests and coats and stuff and you’ll see people wearing them. And I kept mine until the thing fell apart. [We looked through the magazine together].

P-5: There’s a whole bunch of pictures that are in my Dad’s basement that the photographer took that didn’t make this publication. I look at these pictures now and of course we’d just gone through this massive flood—but my God, we all looked so pathetic that day. I mean we did. It was a tough time.

After the warning to get out of town, my parents moved to apartment in Pacific. And those apartments still stand. In the 1990s my wife and I rented there for a little while-- there into the Monroe Apartments. My parents then bought a house in Eureka and my Dad still lives there.

So at this point, you're still in the Navy and coming back when you can. Any recollections about assistance to your family from your church or other organizations?

P-5: I'm sure there was. I sent my paycheck to my parents because I really didn't need it. My brothers sent what they could afford. I want to say that my oldest brother was married at that point—I don't think Danny was. We all sent them money.

Q-9/10/11. How do you remember hearing about the dioxin contamination? Dioxin Awareness. Do you recall how you first became aware of dioxin?

P-5: Well yeh, before the flood, we started seeing people in level B out there taking samples. I asked what going on they was there had supposedly been some stuff sprayed down with the oil on the streets. But I was a teenager 16-17 years old—I didn't know what dioxin was—I didn't anything about chemicals. I don't remember if they mentioned dioxin—maybe they probably was not really caring about it—at that age I was a busy guy.

So you saw them out of your window and went out and actually talked to them?

P-5: Yep, we would see there out there and they would have the Tyvek suits and gloves taped off and full face respirators. And while they were out there we would be out there drinking...

So when do you recall that you learned about the dioxin announcement and that everyone had to evacuate the town?

P-5: It was really after the flood that I really became aware of how devastating this was going to be. My uncle was a master carpenter and he spent a lot of time down there and helping us rebuild stuff. None of us really knew how to do that. And then after we were doing it a while mom and dad said we needed to just stop—that stuff was contaminated—everybody's gotta go. And that's when the metal hit the meat grinder. That's when I first realized that this was something a lot more than just a devastating flood.

Q-12/13. Do you believe that you or your family members were exposed to hazardous substances due to the dioxin being sprayed? Riding bikes, playing in the roads, yards, river, pets?

P-5: Absolutely. Of course we were exposed. I'm a science guy. All right? Of course we were exposed. I know the methods of entry. Did I know it then? No. Just like those horses and all that other stuff. Yes, we were exposed. Now, if you ask me if I think it was hazardous based on the science...again, you have to understand where I work...okay? I'm a chemical guy. So I have an insight that probably a lot of other people don't have. Do I think it was bad—yes it was bad. But Russell Bliss was never charged with any crime other than tax evasion. Okay? So he broke no laws. At Mallinckrodt we processed uranium for the Manhattan Project and people died and are still dying from it. But no laws were broken because we didn't have laws back then. Of course it is silly to do that now. We know that now. I think maybe the possibility was

there for us to have been damaged and some people were. But I kinda question that. I don't believe it was as hazardous as they say it was. I think one of the doctors that originally made us leave town—in '90 or '91 I believe he changed his mind too.

Yes, that was Vernon Houk.

P-5: Yes that's right. I'm not defending Russell Bliss, I'm just saying I have an understanding of the laws that were there then and what they are now. We have a thing at Mallinckrodt called "cradle to grave." We make pharmaceuticals—all the bad stuff you can buy on the street ya know—oxycodone, oxytocin, morphine, bentynol, we make all that stuff. And with that there's a lot of hazardous waste. Once that drum is filled—we own it...forever. Even if we paid someone to legally dump that, and he does it, we are still legally responsible for it. And I believe a lot of that came from Times Beach and such other areas. So we own that forever! But those laws weren't in place back then.

Then you do have some insight.

P-5: Yeh and if I don't do my job right—I'll go to jail. We answer to EPA, FDA, and DEA (because of the drugs). If doing my job inappropriately, I'm criminally held accountable. I have to be up to date on the laws so I understand what I can and can't do.

Do you recall having any pets? Were they affected at all?

P-5: No.

Let's look at the map for a minute for your house.

P-5: Our house was about 50 yards from the on-ramp of I-44 and Waltmans and the gas station. Interesting story. At that point, I was a volunteer fireman In Eureka. You had to go to Eureka to get on the firetruck to go to the fire. My Dad was as well. So there was a guy, he's still in Eureka and his father was the only death in the Eureka fire department. Anyway, he would drive when we'd get a call and my Dad would come by and get me cuz he didn't trust me with his vehicle. So I would run to the on ramp and he would come by in his pickup truck and I'd jump and grab that row bar and flip over the bed of that truck and we'd race down the highway.

So if I look at the EPA map showing the colored codes for the levels of contamination found on the streets, let's find where your house was. So it looks like the testing samples show more than 100 pbb right there –pretty high levels.

P-5: Corner was a big yellow house (Berners) and we were the second property next to them. Maybe 100 yards. [had never seen the map before]

Do you recall saving anything after the flood and dioxin announcement?

P-5: Before the flood we saved the cedar chest with the pictures in it. My Dad has a god-awful hideous clock. Back then clocks were carved from a tree—it had a flood mark on it at one point.

Do you recall hearing anything about government officials warning people to not take anything from their homes for fear of contamination?

P-5: I do not recall that but if I had, they would have had a very hard time wrangling those pictures from my Mama.

Q-8. Did your family receive assistance? Government? Faith-based orgs, friends other family members? Do you recall about the buyout and how did that affect your family?

P-5: They did all right. Reagan held in high regards even those we're Democrats or I am. He's always held in high regards. Here's what happened. A lot of people fought the government for what happened there. And the gal from the EPA, she was naïve and she made some mistakes. But the government really saved a whole bunch of us. I'm not gonna sit here and say that the way they handled it was inappropriate –cuz they didn't have to do that. The government didn't do anything wrong—in my opinion. They gave my parents “fair market value” for their home—the value BEFORE the flood. They certainly didn't have to do that. That was something that saved them and allowed them buy where they're at now—their home and carry on. They gave them low-interest loans—so I commended them.

And, this was a time before disaster relief –they didn't really have those things back then. Whereas now, they're out there with their checkbooks—okay here ya go—this will get you through...

So in my research I have reviewed the pamphlet that was provided to Times Beach residents outlining the plan for buying the homes at fair market value along with relocation funds. It sounds like that happened with your family.

P-5: Yes. I don't think you'll find a anyone in my family that'll disagree with that. I do believe they came through for us. They saved my parents. I mean my parents are survivors. They would have fought and clawed their way out regardless. Um, this one moment would not have defined us --as it hasn't. They would have done okay but the government made it easier for them to survive. And there was a lawsuit—and I was involved.

Okay, so you received some compensation.

P-5: Yeh, I wanna say \$5,000 or maybe \$7,000—that was just mine. I think every member of my family got it—my sister more cuz she was younger. I signed the document that was sent to me—because at this time, I was in VA. Pop said “just shut up and sign it”. Maybe something will happen someday. And one day—the mail came and there was a check. So I took it.

Q-18. Communication. Going back a bit, --during the time after the flood in temporary housing. How did you keep in touch with your friends, family, and neighbors?

P-5: You really didn't that much. No communication devices like we have today—you give me a name and I can look him up—I can tell you what the guy had for lunch yesterday. So that didn't exist. So everybody drifted apart and then, in the '90 everybody kind of started coming together cuz of social media and the internet and stuff like that. I know you know the name of unnamed by now—the unnamed family—good people. He was a big guy—he was just like everybody else... People would come from miles around to fight this guy...he was so big. He was a tough, tough guy. But next time I saw him—and I was working at [Integrand?} and I'd gotten off work and went to the pool hall in Pacific. And he walks up and smacks me on the back and I turned around and went like this and then I said, "Jesus!" and he said, "How ya doin'?"-- and I hadn't recognized him. We're dear friends. My children have loved him. He's just a great guy. So everyone started running into each other and with social media—started right up where we left up. My parents and Marilyn Leistner and others –they stayed close over the years. They never actually go away from each other.

Would you say most of the residents settled in Eureka or nearby—they didn't go far did they?

P-5: Well, I don't know if you can say most of them settled in Eureka...I think maybe more the outer areas like Cedar Hill, Pacific, and Union. I think people scattered a little bit more. There was a kind of socio-economic thing—at this point in my Mom and Dad's life, they were actually doing financially better with their jobs and money from the buyout, so they could afford to live in Eureka. Whereas I don't know if everybody else—certainly some could... but I don't think everybody else could.

Q-19. Do you recall the Christmas in July event—1983 in the park in Eureka?

P-5: No, I was off the coast of Beirut at that time.

Q-20. Do you recall the official Farewell to Times Beach Ceremony on the bridge?

P-5: I didn't attend but I remember my Mom talking about it. They threw flowers into the river...

Q-21. Awareness of expressions to commemorate TB (i.e., art, poetry, music, writings)

P-5: N/A

There's a lady I'm actually dealing with now who is writing a book about what it was like being a kid in Times Beach. Not so much about this—flood and dioxin. Other than that, that's really all I know.

Q-22. Have you attended any of the September Annual Reunions?

P-5: Nah. I've never attended any—and I don't know why. I don't think Times Beach was as...I guess I let go. My parents were okay -- I don't see any need to bring up that kind of ...it past... I love the town—I love what happened. It taught me a lot about my parents and the stuff that you're writing about. I picked up some of those traits and I passed them along. Ya know--you don't stop. You don't give up. You get hit in the mouth and you stand up back straight and you get back in the game. Because in life, that's all you can do. There is no quitting. And I've seen my parents go through absolutely one day they had nothing--they had the clothes on their backs and they had a car, and they had some pictures. K? And I see where they've come and that's because they didn't give up. Sure they got some help from the government and that was great and again I told you I can't thank them enough but there's also a drive there and I learned a lot from them. So I don't go to the reunions—I know my Dad does and my brother Dan does. But they play music there and they've got a band thing going. Yeh, my brother plays all over—in Eureka. Dan is a chemical worker too. Like I said, it's a family business. He used to work for Monsanto and now it's called [ICL?]. . . in South City, down off Germania.

Q-23. Proposed Memorial for Times Beach: Would you be in favor of a memorial to Times Beach? What kind of memorial would you like to see? Do you think memorials are helpful?

P-5: Ya know...if it would make people feel good---yes. Times Beach is a beautiful park now. And I hope that never changes. I love going down there--I think they could actually do more—put some camping down there...I don't know if you've been down there but in the spring, there are herds of deer—and at some point they're gonna have to let people hunt them and thin that herd out a little bit—I'm not a hunter. It's a beautiful place. One thing I know about—chemicals and the environment and what chemical work can do to the environment—that is the first thing to go—the environment. It's the most fragile. More than we are. You can't go down there and walk through that place and not see turkeys and deer.

And the berm where the incinerator was. By this point--I'm in the chemical business and it's like the whole world is watchin' this ---this is the safest thing. I know people who actually went down there and protested and tried to chain themselves to it. Ya know what? What you don't understand is --the whole world is watchin' and is probably the safest chemical operation in this country at this moment right now.

So the reason I'm asking about memorials is that in my research, studies show that Memorials help people through the grieving process and can be educational for future generations.

P-5: I could see that. But at this point, 2016, if they're not over the grieving by now, a memorial is not gonna do it. If it would make someone smile, be happier, then sure, do it. Now isn't that what the museum is about?

They have one small area on a wall devoted to the flood and that's it.

P-5: And they should mention the dioxin—it's our history.

So what kind of memorial would you suggest? Planting trees? A marker? There's the issue of maintenance of course. Marilyn has tried to get the State to let Times Beach residents maintain a strip of highway along there but they refuse.

P-5: They'll work that out. It would be neat. The state should do it. They should allow it to be done. If it helps people I say it's good.

Q-24. Is it important to you that the story of Times Beach be told? Interesting to people?

P-5: I think it is important. Again I'm gonna go back to the science. It tells how we got to where we are today—like the laws... And people don't understand where we came from in every aspect of science and aspects of hazardous materials. So it is important. Twenty years from now, things I'm doing at work—that are legal, people will look at me and say oh my god—you didn't do that! Okay? They will. So I think it is important in that fashion. So this lady who's writing the book—who's gonna buy it? I don't know. She contacted me the same way you did. And I said sure, I'll sit down with ya. And I'll tell you the good stories and bad—that I remember. You can't get rid of your history—and it is good to get it out there.

What about your family's important papers?

P-5: It's funny you should bring that up. Like I said—we'll never be flooded out again. My father lost all his important papers in this past December—when the flood hit Eureka. Because he had them in the bank, in a vault, in a safety deposit box. And the bank got flooded out...and everything got wet. It still hit him. So now he's got everything in the safety deposit box in a black bag.

Q-25/26. How often are you in contact with former neighbors and friends? Facebook Page?

P-5: Yes, I enjoy it. Every now and then I'll stumble across someone I knew back then or whatever. It's amazing because in your mind those memories freeze, okay? So this person is exactly like this and he's she still like that—or she is still like that today or not as much. Because I know I'm not...a couple of old girlfriends I have bounced back into on FB. So, it's fun.

Q-28. What effective was the local government in helping your family?

P-5: I think they were very good. I do. At some point, my dad had to stop being the mayor cuz he had to relocate his family. He resigned and then Marilyn became the mayor. I think they all did well. I don't have anything negative to say...My dad won the

election by one vote and my mom said if he hadn't made her mad, he'd have won by two votes!

Q-30. Has the experience of environmental relocation brought the former residents of TB closer together or further apart?

P-5: I think it brought everyone closer together—because we all had that common bond. There's people that if it hadn't been for that, bonded together.

Q-31. Describe how your faith played a role in how you dealt with the environmental relocation.

P-5: Back then I wasn't very religious but I have faith—we went to Church. But I never allowed religion to come into my life much at 16 or 17 years old...as much as I have now.

Q-32: How have YOU changed after all this? Relationships? At work.

P-5: Well, I'm stronger. My relationship with my family—it wouldn't have mattered if we'd grown up in Fenton. It would always be the same. Now we don't always get along. I mentioned my sister—we don't really talk. But me and my brothers are tight. With my work, I can't say I think about Times Beach every day—but the experience of what has happened-- to the people, I carry that with me at work and when I see someone—I teach people at work how to do this stuff and that was actually job for quite some time. I always relate these stories to them and what can happen if things get put in a ditch—it goes into the sewer and then what happens downstream? I'm ultra-sensitive, if that's a word, to how to handle properly.

Q-33. Do you recall any instances of stigma related experiences from being a former resident of Times Beach?

P-5: I got that all the time! There was a hard line...those who lived in Fenton and those who lived in Times Beach. And the Fenton people were usually the upper echelon rich kids and then there was us from Times Beach. It was always like that. I don't know that it hasn't changed even today. I don't care. But I cared back then. I had a good life.

Q-34. Regarding your current home, have you been able to achieve a comfortable home life again since the environmental relocation?

P-5: Absolutely. I've been married for 30 years.

Q-35. Would you describe yourself as a disaster survivor or disaster victim?

P-5: I struggled with that question. I'm gonna to say, that I'm a "victim" of a flood and in all other matters of my life, I'm a survivor.

What about the dioxin?

P-5: I think the dioxin was insignificant. I truly do. It was just one of those things that life throws at ya. Like I said earlier, there are so many worse things that could happen to a

family than what happened to my family. I thank God every day that we did not have to deal with those things that were worse. The dioxin is insignificant. I'm the victim of a flood. It happened. Nature's tough. All other things ...as long as I got a pulse, I'm still fighting. It's just that simple. And I'm not trying to brag or pat myself on the back. That's just all I know.

Q-36. Have you visited the Rt 66 state park since it opened? Describe how your visit(s).

P-5: I run down there. I do. I trained there for countless races. I'm very familiar with the Park. There was an old creek bed—a place we called “the trails” and creek bed but I never saw any creek water in there. We used to ride our bikes down there and jump over. That is still there. If you come up Lincoln you can still see it.

Q-37/38. Do you recall the proposal to turn TB into a state park? Your feelings about that?

P-5: Absolutely. I know when they were talking about it. I'm saying that I had anything to do with it. But thought that was the greatest thing they could have done to the area. When we moved back in 1990 there were armored cars driving around the perimeters, there was this big fence and all this stuff. I don't know if it was the Army or not but there were guys with machine guns protecting that place. It always made me sad because ya know I couldn't go to my home—where I grew up and once they started talking about that I thought that was the greatest thing in the whole world—making it a park.

They could do more. They could help pay for a memorial and the upkeep on it—if they put a campground there and people could make reservations. You would need to make reservations a year in advance. You're right there on the river. Run some electric put some campgrounds for trailers. There's Six Flags nearby—they could make a fortune! And I know there are some legalities with the State but they need to get over that. And as a campground, if the river floods again, it doesn't do nothin' ...it's a campground. So I think...I love it as a park—I do. But they could more with it.

Q-39. With what we talked about here today, would you think that other former TB residents answer these questions in the same way? Differently? How so?

P-5: I think, obviously everybody has their own experiences and they have their own... I guess I kind of had an advantage cuz I left. I joined the Navy to get as far away from Times Beach as I could possibly get. It was a one horse town and there was absolutely nothing there for me. And the Navy gave me exactly what I was looking for. My brothers had done it and I wanted to do it too. I got on the plane and never looked back—or I thought I would never look back. And then I did move back.

My nephews from my wife's side, they live in this big mountain in eastern Tennessee—the only difference between there and Times Beach is it is a mountain. I tell them 'get as far away from this place as you can—don't look back'. It will be here if you want to come back. So I had the advantage of leaving whereas a lot of them didn't -- so you're gonna get a lot of opinions. Again, I would caution that if someone is still worked up and angry...

Do you know people that are?

P-5: Ya know, I read some stuff on that website so yeh—there are some people that still are angry. I don't think I understand what they're angry about. I think there's a lot of animosity over the lawsuits. Some people got in when they should have—some people didn't...and I think there's anger there—and that's fine. I understand. I got in because I was told to. My Dad said, 'sign this' so I did. So I got a little bit of cash. Did it change my life? No. I got a car in the 90s—that's what I got...so... But I'm sure you're gonna have some people who are upset.

Q-40. Is the TB site less of a hazard now that it is the Rt 66 State Park?

P-5: The incinerator was a good thing to make it safer. In the 1990s the patrols there bothered me.

Q-41. Can you think of anything you'd like to add to what was said earlier or that you didn't feel comfortable saying before but want me to know about now?

P-5: It was just a great place. I don't really think Times Beach is significant compared to other places. I don't. I have a lot of love for that place. Because that was my home when I was a kid. If I'd grown up in Fenton, I'd probably have that kind of love for that place. This is where I grew up. And, I've got a thousand great stories and maybe a thousand bad stories. Yes. Dioxin happened...but to me, the flood was way worse. My parents did okay with it. It was some tough times but it's how you handle it. I loved growing up there. I wouldn't change it for a minute.

I often think about that if the flood hadn't happened and the dioxin hadn't happened I often think about would my parents would still be there? And I don't know. I think they would. But I just don't know...how different their lives would be. Probably not a lot different. But still. It's a great place—it was a great place.

Q-42. What would you like to say to others who may have to go through the forced relocation of their community in the future?

P-5: I would say...In life, and I teach my kids—when life punches you in the mouth and knocks you down, you have to stand up and spit out the blood and broken teeth and get back in the fight. You have no other option. That's it. Quitting is not an option—period. It doesn't matter what happened—you have to keep going. You have to learn the system—learn it fast. Keep your eyes and ears open. You've just gotta stay in the fight.

You can't just throw your hands up and say 'I give up.' Because if you do that, you drive people away. You've gotta stay in the fight. That's all there is to it. Some days you win—some days you don't. My Dad taught me his version of that same speech, "...every day's a crap game —you walk into the casino. You pick up the dice and throw—every morning. Some days it's good---some day's it ain't so good. Every day's like that. And that's what I would say—stay in the fight. Love your God. Love your family. Keep everybody close and just keep right on going. There is no quitting.

So last thing I wanted to follow up on was—your mother is really the only one who had a big illness—with the cancer in your entire family.

P-5: Yes.

Because some of the people I've interviewed have experience incredible health issues.

P-5: Yes. I don't blame Times Beach for that. I don't. She had cancer. It was horrible. Her death was horrible. It shook me to my core. I was glad when she died ...she was suffering...that sounds horrible. I've come to peace with that. She suffered for a long time. But, was it Times Beach? Maybe. Was it the paint factory she worked in—because back in the '70s she would come home so stoned from the paint fumes my Dad would have to go pick her up. Was it that? You're talking methoketaotones and all this crazy stuff that are known carcinogens that she was pouring from a bucket? Or was it the fact that she smoked for 40 years? I don't know. My mom died. And that's horrible and I miss her every day. But I'm not going to say Times Beach did it...it was her time. And that's how I choose to look at that.

TRANSCRIPT INTERVIEW

P-6

Q-1. So what brought your family to live in Times Beach?

P-6: Not sure why my parents moved there in the first part—I was only two years old. I do not really know that my parents knew the people that they bought the house in 1969 from the guy who lived across the street.

So your family stayed in that house the whole time all the way up through the flood?

P-6: Yes.

Q-2. Looking back at your growing up years in Times Beach, what was it like as a place to have a home—to raise a family, physical environment? Did your home there fulfill this meaning?

P-6: It was a great place because nearly every house had kids. My friends all lived within a block in front of me and a block behind me. I just remember that I was very happy as a child. I had a very happy childhood even though we were really poor. It was, ya know, a small town. Everybody knew everybody. My neighbors raised me as well as my parents. Ya know if I got out of line—you can bet the lady down the street was gonna drag me home. You didn't see your parents...all day! You ate breakfast—left—and they never saw you again until the street lights came on and that was our clue—you had to come home. So I remember it as a very great place to grow up. We were “free-range children” before that term came out. Parents would always say, ‘don't go by the river!’ --because of the current...but of course we went to the river. I think every kid did—we grew up just hanging out at the river.

Were there activities in the town where people got together? Gardening? Holidays?

We didn't grow our own food. I remember my mom getting together with the ladies in the neighborhood and they would all come and sit out in the yard. The bus would come after school and the moms would hang out. We had a community center to town. But I only remember my mom had to go vote or pay the water bill. I'm thinking it burned down right before the flood...

Q-3. Prior to any concern with the dioxin contamination, how was your family's health?

P-6: My mother got pneumonia a couple of times. One time she went to the hospital and she was there a long time. Parents were very heavy smokers. So I don't believe that had anything to do with it—it was just opinion. No health issues until after the flood. I don't recall anyone being sick being caused by anything weird.

Q-4/5. How did you and your family keep informed about events in the TB/Eureka area while living there? Newspaper? TV? How did you learn about the dioxin?

P-6: Tri-County Journal like the neighborhood newspaper and then of course the local TV news channels. My mother would ask about whether it had arrived. That is where I remember getting most of the information.

So thinking back, how did you learn about the dioxin?

P-6: I remember we heard news stories about Russell Bliss. I remember it being on the local news channels as it got bigger and bigger. I remember Mom responding to a news story about chemicals in the oil that was sprayed her telling us about it. Everything else I learned from gossip.

Did you ride your bike through the sprayed oil or walk in it? Do you remember seeing him spray the roads?

P-6: I was maybe 10, 11 or 12. I don't remember seeing him spray, but I remember it being freshly done. I remember walking behind the mosquito truck. We rode our bikes through the newly sprayed road—it was cool. It was stupid [laughter]. I'd go to 7-11. That was a treat. It was the only other place than the bar, so... The clerk's name was Ruby; I still remember her.

Q-6. Let's talk about the day of the flood. How do you remember the record flood of December 5, 1982? Previous flooding? How did you hear about it? Receive any help to evacuate prior to impending flood? How did your family respond?

P-6: I had just turned 16 in May (11th grade high school) and I found a job at White Castle in Fenton. So the actual day of the flood, I was working. And, I got a phone call from my best friend's mother, who lived in Fenton and she said, "...you mother has called and had to evacuate because your house is flooding" so come stay at my house for a while. So that is how I heard about our house actually going under. We weren't expecting it—Mom wasn't expecting it to get that high. We never thought it would.

Do you remember before you went to work that day—was there talk about the possibility of a lot of rain and flooding?

P-6: Yeh. The day before or a couple of days before it actually happened. It had flooded before but we were not really worried because it had never really gotten ...well maybe out in the road in front of our house—one time. But never to where we actually lived. I can remember Dad driving with a neighbor ya know down towards the river and around where the Beach curved. He would drive around and come back and tell us where the floodwaters were on such and such street. And ya know that day I went to work, I really wasn't concerned. I felt like it was still going to be okay.

So when you got off work, what did you do?

P-6: I stayed at my best friend's house for at least until my parents got into the Holiday Inn in Eureka. They were there for two weeks so must have stayed there for the whole two weeks. Cuz I never lived at the Holiday Inn with my parents.

Q-7. So then after the floodwaters receded did you all get to go back and take a look at your house? What was the damage to your home by the floodwaters?

P-6: We did. A bunch of my friends from high school actually had to get vaccinated so they could help us. I remember that! We had to get a tetanus shot before beginning. At that point we thought that was what we were going to do. Then we got to the house; we had a 2 story house and the flood had flood about a quarter of the way up to the second floor halfway. We shoveled out mud—I remember that.

We had dead animals in the chimney. The cabinets in the kitchen were all warped. Wall damage. Plaster damage. The house was built of brick. Windows were solid though. All our personal belongings were all gone...history. The only thing...my sister and my mom...it's kind of a weird story...

The day before the flood, my Dad had received a bonus check at work and he took my sister and I to buy our very first pair of Nike tennis shoes. They were like \$19 a pair and all the kids were getting them. So he took a shopping. So when the flood happened, my mom and my sister tried to drive my mom's car out of town. By the time they got to the end of town the flood waters came up too high so they stalled out. They to grab just what was in the car and wade out to the exit. So they only they grabbed was a bag of clothes and my Nike shoes. To this day, my sister and I still talk about how she lost HER shoes but she saved mine. It was like the epitome of it all—we survived! We have the Nikes! The funny thing is—I still have the NIKE shoes. I've kept them all these years. I'll be 51 soon. They meant a lot to me that day.

So your family was in the process of rebuilding after the flood and then tell me about what happened when the dioxin announcement was made and everyone had to leave.

P-6: It was very shortly after we started the cleanup—just a week because we didn't get far in the cleanup other than the mud—shoveled under the house. That was as far as I think we got. I had to have heard about it from my Mom—my parents...other than the news and my parents, that's really where I heard about it.

So what were your options and what did you do next?

P-6: Ya know, here's the sad part. I don't remember. I remember I stayed with my friends as much as possible. I had my own car at this point and a job. So I was gone a lot during this process, which was probably helpful to my mom because she only had my little sister to deal with. My older sister had moved out by then; she already had a son and had moved out.

Q-8. Did your family receive assistance (gov't, faith-based, friends? family?) after the flood and dioxin announcement in December 1982?

P-6: I remember my parents stayed at the Holiday Inn first. Then my mother rented a little double side by side in Grey Summit MO and we were only there for a few months. Then there was the people that lived next door... my mother was so afraid she wouldn't stay there. Then we moved to an apt in Pacific and we lived there for, I'm gonna say, for six months at least—maybe more. By then I was a senior in HS. And we lived there until they found a house they wanted to buy 'til the buyout was over. Once the buyout happened they bought a house in Ellenton MO.

So do you recall anything specific about the buyout as far as your parents mentioning they got FMV price.

P-6: Recall my parents were not happy. I remember them and the neighbors talking about not accepting the offer. They had bought their home for \$11000 and I believe the government offered them \$47000, I believe. I do know they were upset and so were the neighbors. I remember them talking about accepting or not.

Were you and your family involved in any of the later lawsuits? Talk about those.

P-6: Yes. I remember that it was a group deal—a class action lawsuit. I just remember signing the paperwork about it. Mom explained to us what it was all about. But we didn't see a settlement on that until we were...I was living in Virginia at the time. So it had to have been the late '80s...'89 or '90.

So do you recall a clause in the paperwork describing some restrictions on accepting the settlement?

P-6: My parents saying to me, when I asked about it, that 'you were going to accept this money in exchange for never going back if you're sick.' Yeh.

So did you ever get to go back to TB after the buyout—I know they had patrols...had to have a pass.

P-6: Yes, you were supposed to have a pass. We snuck in through the back way—my sister and my friend. We did not get a pass. So we went through Eureka. Snuck through the woods and walked across the railroad tracks, through the old trailer park and into town. And we spent the day videotaping the entire town for our father for Father's Day. I know! It was like 180 degrees – it so hot that day and it was great. That was in the summer of 1990. It was quite the experience. We came across the security people and we were able to hide behind a bus so they didn't see us. And we went back home and that's what some of the footage we shot ended up in that History Channel video—some it was shot that day into that. It was on a VHS tape back in 1990. My girlfriend and her husband had just started a video business so she said "I'll come along with you guys—I'll videotape." So we said okay so she carried this huge video camera through the whole thing 'til the batteries died; ya know they didn't last that long back then. My sister put it on a CD for us a few years ago so we all have copies. We were so silly...we were 23. I've been back when it was the park but only that one time before that.

Q-12. Were you aware of Russell R. Bliss spraying oil on streets of TB? Odor? Contact with? Affect you in any way? Any family members work for R. Bliss?

P-6: No, we didn't know anybody that worked for Russell Bliss. Yes. We rode our bikes through it and to the 7-11. Ruby was the clerk.

Q-13. Do you believe you or any your family were exposed to hazardous substances due to the dioxin being sprayed on the road?

P-6: Yes. I believe we were all exposed to dioxin. To what extent...I don't know. Personally, do I feel that I have had any ill effects because of it? No. But both of my sisters had some health problems, after. One sister can't get pregnant. I haven't had any trouble. Amen.

What about any pets when you lived there. Do you think they were affected?

P-6: Yes we had lots of pets. We had two dogs, named Robin and Coco. And they got, I remember my mother saying it was the mange. They lost all their fur and had bad scabs all over their bodies. We had to call the ASPCA to come and take them away. It was a very sad thing. Coco was an Irish Setter mix and Robin was the older dog—she was like one of those Jack Terrier mix. It was a tough one.

Q-14/15. Have you had a chance to look at that 1984 EPA map showing the street levels of dioxin? I posted it to the closed FB page. Do you know whether your street had elevated levels of dioxin contaminants? You were on Hawthorne Street.

P-6: Our house was in the middle of the block. Grove was in front of us. Street to the left was something and Ivy was to the right.

Q-17. I know you were young but do you recall the gov't officials/ reps addressed your family's concerns with the dioxin contamination and buyout process?

Evacuation, temporary housing and then permanent housing

P-6: I know that my parents were very grateful that the Holiday Inn took us in—they opened up for everybody. The Holiday Inn was really great to the people who were displaced. I can remember my Mother being upset that FEMA wasn't helping quickly. I remember someone gave them vouchers for Sears we could use to go get furniture. Received furniture, clothing and things that we needed. I can remember her saying there weren't very many places to rent because of all the people needed places. That's what I remember. We moved around to like four different cities in a year.

What about going to school or not during this time for you?

P-6: That is true. I do remember that now that you mentioned it—a lot of kids didn't go to school for a while. That's right. I remember the school told us we could come to school to Eureka High School even though had to move outside the district. We had to provide our own transportation—so they weren't going to kick us out of the school but

they weren't going to send a bus to get us either. I had a driver's license and the car so once we moved to Pacific, I remember driving myself and then two brothers that were also displaced with my sister and dropped them off at the junior high. So I was the bus! That's the only way we got to stay in our school. A lot of kids who didn't have transportation, or their mom didn't have a car to take them to school, couldn't go to our school again.

Q-18. So when you were in the temporary housing stage, how did you and your family/friends/ neighbors keep in touch during the evacuation and relocation?

P-6: I kept in touch with my friends at high school and a couple of friends from school also worked at the Fenton job. We went to the same college after we graduated so I saw them after school there. Basically I saw them at school and then just hangin' out—I had my own car. My mom, she was one of the big members of the Ecumenical Dioxin Task Force and I can remember she spent a ton of time there. This scrapbook that I have, probably three quarters of it is filled with information about the EPA how they screwed her over and ya know, newspaper articles and letters to the EPA from this Task Force. I remember she got a lot of support from those people. I think it was a way my mother and others from town could do something. They were so helpless.

So during this time when your Mom was involved there, what was your Dad doing?

P-6: I have no idea what my father did. He worked every day. He was a heavy drinker then. I don't remember him being around much to be honest. At the time of the flood he worked in Dodge City in Manchester.

So he had had a longer distance to travel after the flood from temporary housing.

P-6: Yeh he did. And Highway 44 was my friend. Right after high school I went to Hickey Business School in St. Louis so I would have to drive there and then back to Pacific every day. It was a pain but when you're a kid you don't really think of that. You just do it.

Q-19. Do you recall anything about that "Christmas in July" 1983 event, for the Times Beach kids? Describe.

P-6: Yes, I do. I went with my mom and my little sister. The three of us went—I remember I didn't want to go because I thought it was stupid. But Mom really wanted us to go --so we went for her. There was a ton of media there; we all got presents were handed out and Lou the baseball player. My mom and I did a little interview with one of the local TV stations.

Going back just a little bit to that Christmas, 1982. The flood's happened, you're working, living with friends, what was Christmas like for you?

P-6: We were at the Holiday Inn then that first apartment after the flood with the creepy neighbors. I was still staying with friends for the most part. Mom, for Christmas, she bought a portable radio for me and my sister to share and she knitted us socks and mittens and because she said, and I remember her crying, because we didn't have any money and didn't have any way to get it and she felt bad because all she had were hand knitted socks and mittens. You just tell your mom, "it's okay!" And I remember, at school, some "secret elves" came into my classroom and gave me a sweater as a gift. And I remember thinking that was really cool. Yeh, I remember that Christmas...

Q-20. Did you participate in the "Farewell to Times Beach Ceremony on the bridge" event? Describe.

P-6: I can't really remember but I must have been there or if I remember because of all the photographs-- I can see all my friends so I was probably there and remember the flowers...

Q-21. Are you aware of any special expressions made to commemorate TB (i.e. art, music, poems, cookbook, etc.?)

P-6: This scrapbook that I have...my mother wrote a lot. My mother journaled and scrapbooked all about her town. So much that I haven't even read it all. She just kept track of everything. So I'm sure that there's some things in this scrapbook. But to be honest, I haven't gone through it because it is hard to open them up to read. I haven't written anything personally. But my mother did. It was HER town. She was 67 when she died suddenly of some type of pulmonary issue from a long illness with COPD and some other health issues. My father died of lung cancer and he had colon cancer as well.

Q-23. So when we talk about a memorial to TB, would you be in favor of a permanent memorial dedicated to the memory of the town of TB? What kind of memorial would you envision?

P-6: Absolutely! I was very disappointed when I visited the Park a couple of times—to see that there wasn't anything. That there wasn't any memorial whatsoever. When my kids were very small I'd tell them well this is what was here and this is what was there. You can't even find your street sometimes. I think that would be great. I would love to see something.

Do you think memorials are helpful? In what way?

Yes I do. Especially for a place like Times Beach. Because it is no longer around. A lot of people can go to their town and there's a memorial to the War of 1812 that happened here... There's nothing that says there were families here...that we raised our families here. It's more than just a place for you to eat a sandwich and ride a horse. This is where we lived! I had my first date there and I was 16. He took me to Steiny's for

dinner; I think he was a busboy there. We still laugh about it –we are FB friends. So when I think of Steiny’s, I think...that is where I had my first rum & coke.

So what kind of Memorial would you envision?

P-6: To me, rebuilding the bridge that went across the Meramec River would be a great memorial. I know I’ve seen FB where people are trying to get it turned into a memorial or something. I know they’re calling it the Route 66 Bridge –the one they just dismantled. You know the one I’m talking about? I think they should call it the Times Beach Memorial Bridge—it would be fabulous! That’s what led into our town.

I would also like to see underneath Steiny’s under the bridge, there’s a little bridge area where we all used to swim. That’s where people would bring their families all day long. So maybe a little park down there---Times Beach Memorial Beach Park or something—with a monument? I don’t know...

Q-24/42. So how important is it to you that the story of Times Beach be told? To who? Why? What would you like to say to others who may have to go through the forced relocation of their community in the future?

P-6: At this point in my life I would just say, just take care of your family. Social media today is not like it was for us-- it will help you keep in contact. Personally, I would just say—I’m out! I wouldn’t go through it all. If I owned my home I would probably walk away.

Q-31. So how has your faith played a role or did in how you dealt with the environmental relocation.

P-6: I have one basic rule about faith-- that no matter what happens, I am going to be okay—God will make it okay. I would say that my faith has kept me positive in all the changes. I moved a lot after all that. So I think it has kept me positive. Yeh...everything happens for a reason.

Q-32. How have you changed because of the environmental relocation (you as an individual/ relationship with children, relatives, neighborhood or community/ homeowner/renter/trust of government, employment).

P-6: I don’t trust the government. I never have. Is it because of all the crap I saw my mom go through? I’m not sure. Again, I was a young teenager—we don’t care about those things. So I really can’t say. I just know they were upset –they weren’t too happy with the decisions were made for the town by the Mayor. I don’t know what those decisions were or the reasons for it but I just remember her and a group of other people who I don’t know were always complaining that she was making the wrong decisions for our town because she was the Mayor, I think. I don’t like politicians or the government. That’s why I like working for myself. I don’t have to answer to anybody else.

Okay, we have just about 3 -4 more questions...

Q-33. Describe any stigma related experiences you or your family had from being a former resident of Times Beach?

P-6: A little bit. I had a close-knit group of friends and stayed within a little circle and I was kind of an introvert. But I remember other kids being teased saying they were going to “glow in the dark”. Kind of like the aids epidemic in the ‘80s—don’t play with that kid...you might get contaminated or stay away from Joey, he lived over on the Beach.” But for me, my friends really didn’t care.

Q-35. Would you describe yourself as a disaster survivor or disaster victim? Tell me about that.

P-6: Survivor. I’m not really a victim kind of person. I believe that we went through this and I didn’t understand the whole scope of it while I was going through it. It wasn’t until I was older that I really realized what had happened. And, ya know, I don’t think I was a victim because I didn’t own the house, I didn’t have to stand in line for food or furniture or clothing for my children. I didn’t have to do that. I’m a survivor. That’s all.

Q-36/37/38. Do you recall any discussions about what should be done with the land and particularly turning it into a state park? What do you hope will happen there in the future? Have you visited/were you supportive of the Rt 66 state park when it opened in 1999?

P-6: Yeh. I was much older by the time they were having those discussions. I believe it was the ‘90s was it? I just remember my mom telling me about it. I was living, let’s see by that time, then I was living in VA or NY. I remember her telling me that the EPA wanted to build this incinerator and burn all the contaminated soils. There were scientists there doing studies—it was like this huge deal. And that they were going to turn it into a park. And I thought that was kinda cool. At least people would be coming to the town—is what I thought. At least it would be made into something. It wouldn’t just go away. I was happy.

Q-40. Now that it is a State Park, do you think the area is less a hazard?

P-6: I’m not really concerned about it. I figured I made it 16 years of my life and I wasn’t sick nor my family, it was probably a lot of bulls...t that they were feeding us. So I didn’t feel threatened when I snuck back in. When I went back to the Park, I figured that if there was something there, all of the money that they spent—all the scientist to study the dirt and the depth—everybody would have made sure that the park was safe at point—before they opened it. So I am comfortable that enough had been done.

So you have seen the landfill where all of Times Beach’s structures are buried? It is 5-6 football fields long. It is down near the railroad tracks where near the old 7-11 was-- I believe.

P-6: I don't believe I have seen that.

Q-34. Regarding your current home, have you been able to achieve a comfortable home life again since the environmental relocation?

P-6: Yes I've been in this state a long time so I'll probably be here a while longer. I moved away back in 1991 and am very happy.

Q-39. Would other former TB residents answer these questions in the same way? Differently? How so?

P-6: Yes, I do. I think most of the people that had houses there or grew up there would answer about the same way about it being a great community for family. We were like family—everyone was poor. We were lower class. There were a few families that were actually middle or upper middle class. But for the majority, our fathers were mechanics and ya know, they drank beer on the back porch. So were all the same circle or same class of folk.

Q-27. What do you miss most about living in TB?

P-6: I miss the sense of security and safety. Nobody locked their doors in Times Beach. We could go on vacation to visit my grandmother four or five days and the door would stay unlocked. People came over and gave the animals water...that sense of security... I miss.

Q-22. So, have you attended any of the annual September reunions? Describe.

P-6: No, I have never been to one. They started those after I moved away in 1987. I never really came back there much. I'd go back about every 2-4 years after that I will come back into town to visit family—they're all still there.

If you lived closer would that be something you would want to go to?

P-6: Yes. My sisters went to the first one and my mom went to the first two. After that they stopped going because it was just a handful of people—maybe 12-15, last year.

I think that is all I have right now. I will email you a copy of the transcript to review. If I don't hear back from you within a week, I will assume you had no comments.

TRANSCRIPT INTERVIEW

P-7

Q-1. What brought your family to TB initially? How long had your family lived in TB? Expect live there a long time?

P-7: My dad's Dad actually owned the home as an extra home so we rented it. They lived in Eureka so when my mom and dad got married they allowed my parents to rent that house from them and then after sister was born they began to make payments to buy it.

Q-2. So as you look back at Times Beach--Describe your community as to what it was like as a place to call home? Did your home fulfill this meaning? Place to raise children? When I say TB was a "place" what does that mean to you? Land? River? Outside activities? Garden? Friends? Easy to meet people? Activities?

P-7: Absolutely. I was 8 when it flooded. But I couldn't have imagined growing up anywhere else. Our house was like the first house as you entered the town on Forest. My Dad had a very large garage which also served as a motorcycle shop. My Dad was also on the TB police force not technically on the force—more a volunteer cop. Dad always had people over to the house working on different projects; my family was very social; My Dad probably knew everyone down there and my Mom did taxes so...; people knew my parents—first and foremost for being right there. As a kid, I lived outside; the only time I watched TV was Saturday morning cartoons; riding our bikes was probably the biggest thing. And then from there making mud pies. Going down to the river when we weren't supposed to be—but did. It was such a community that we could ride our bikes all the way back to the mobile homes courtyard and circle by Fina gas station and feel extremely safe. We could pick up bottles and take them to the Fina station and turning in glass bottles for candy. There was never a fear of anybody being snatched and always felt safe. We knew not to go down that street because the dog will bark at you. So the normal kid thing but never a fear for our safety. We had the run of the town. Went to school in Eureka—lots of friends; went to Lion's Park and attended "Eureka Days" activities.

Are there any annual events that come to your mind that went on for the community members?

The City Hall was the central part of the town with Santa coming in December. Mostly that I remember were groups of neighbors that got together to grilled outside with the neighbors—close knit because of the garage I think. That's what I remember the socialization at neighbor's house.

Q-3. Prior to the flood and dioxin, how was your family's health and well-being?

P-7: From my perspective, my parents were always healthy. Then going off from what my Mother has told me, she was actually quite sick after she had my youngest sister. We all lived down there when we were born. We never lived anywhere else. I was the only child my mom was able to bring home from the hospital. With my older and young sisters, my mom was extremely sick. Both of them almost died from hemorrhaging. Both of my sisters lived in an iron lung for a while. My father I don't remember him being sick until after the flood.

Q-4. How did your family keep informed about events in TB and the surrounding area / the world? TV? Newspaper?

P-7: Eureka being the neighboring town and always at school in Eureka. So my parent knew what was going on. Eureka Days activities—didn't have that in Times Beach.

Q-11. How did you hear about the dioxin contamination of your community? Obviously Russell Bliss would have sprayed the streets before you were born. How old were you when it flooded?

P-7: Before I heard about it, I saw something. I do remember before the flood. We caught the school bus across the street. I distinctly remember standing on the street corner at the intersection where we caught the school bus, outside, and it was a beautiful fall day. I remember waiting there. Then the Martians came-- in their full hazmat gear. They basically were on the same corner and with a very large long pole they dug into the ground for soil samples. We just stood there and watched and worried about being abducted by the Martians. It was like a very traumatic moment and I remember very detailed memories of it. I worried about being abducted by the Martians. I remember this. But then, I never heard anything else about it. But of course we were kids and we never heard anything else about it.

P-7: I don't distinctly remember trucks going around spraying the streets I know they sprayed the grass the grass along the edges and at our house at the four way stop there was a big empty lot and from asking my mother, I know that that lot and the end of the street were contaminated quite heavily because of the driver's instruction to "dump as much as you can" in the empty area.

Q-5/6. How do you remember the record flood of December 5, 1982? Tell me about that day. (Experienced flooding before? How did you hear of impending flood? Evacuation? Temporary housing?); Response by family?

P-7: I was eight when it flooded. The night before the flood, my parents were in a car club and they had gone out to a Christmas car club party. We just stayed home—no big deal. I think we had a couple of neighbor kids over as well. And it had been raining and someone, I think one of the older kids told us that the water was coming up to the street closes to the river. So, ya know we did what we weren't supposed to do –leave the house. Then we ran down the street to the river. I remember it being up on that first

block—apparently. it had flooded in the past because the houses on that first block were lifted up on stilts. So ya know, flooding down there was not uncommon to see water on that block when it rained—but not on our street—the third block from the river. We just thought it was cool that the water was up. And we'd run back home then run back there and check it out—we kinda just went back and forth. Eventually, mom and dad came home and we all went to bed. The next morning when we got up the water was closer to our street. It was pretty unheard of!

My mom started to panic. I remember him and mom were arguing; my saying “We need to leave. And my Dad saying, “I’m not leaving my garage— all my tools! It has never gotten up this far...we’re not leaving!” So within maybe an hour or two it was up to our street and into our front yard. And my Mom basically sent us kids to our rooms and said, “Go pack a bag and you’re going to go to Grandma’s. Grandma, my Mommy’s mom lived in Pacific, MO. I remember she said to pick up our toys from off the floor and put them up on the shelf as much as I could do. So, again I’m eight and I packed an overnight bag for Grandma’s so ya know...a couple shirts, underwear, pants, socks, and a couple of Barbies.

By the time she got all three of us collected up -- we got outside and I remember it being up to my shins and my mother was pretty panicky. Very calm but I could tell she was panicky. She put my youngest sister and myself in one of her girlfriend’s car. Now what transpired between here and there I don’t know—as far as like did they make phone calls... everyone in town was trying to get out. She was going around the house trying to collect stuff, put stuff away. I don’t know how they knew what all was going on and what everyone else was doing—other than everyone else on those streets were trying to get out of town. The street was becoming very busy and crowded. So she put Amy and I in this friend’s car and said to drive us over across the bridge and wait for us—we’ll be there. Sheri I think went out with another friend. Amy and I drove out and I remember distinctly that this girl had a small car. And I remember putting my feet up on the seat—I was on the front seat. Because the water was in the floorboard of the car.

As we were driving out- I remember turning around and looking at my mom standing there in the driveway. What’s happening? Am I gonna see her again? I mean everything was going through my head. We were in a small car and the water was coming up through the floorboard. Everyone was trying to get out of town. I know this girl but I mean I don’t really know this person...ya know? Am I gonna see my parents again? And I started getting upset because I didn’t grab ALL my Barbies...I was torn between what was happening and toys in my room.

We went across the bridge and we got out of her car and stood and waited and watched the water rise. And watched the stream of cars and trucks—the people with very minimal belongings and get out on the other side of the bridge and get out and stand there and wait

and watch. We just stood there like a herd on either side of the road by Steiny's and just stood there and watched—waiting for people.

I do know that my Dad stood at that corner and directed traffic —people were startin' to get panicked to get out and he directed four lanes of traffic--as my mom ya know... packed up belongings in the house as much as she thought she could get...of importance—ya know, clothes that kind of stuff.

I know from speaking with my mom that her and my Dad fought quite heavily—and my Dad stayed for quite a long time--until the truck was nearly submerged. He was going to stay on the roof of the garage. Now this was like a pole barn garage—not just a little two car garage. That was his plan.

So they fought and they ended up coming out together and we stood there until nightfall. I remember it was cold and wet and everybody just stood there against...watching the town slowly disappear.

So we went then to my grandparent's house in Pacific and stayed. Um I don't know exactly how long it took for the water to then rise to the highest flood stage-- which I believe was 35 feet over flood stage.

My parents went down like within the next day or two—and with a boat with my uncle and went down with a list of people's homes and belongings of things that people couldn't get. They went in with the boat and went up and down the streets to the Hamilton's —to different people's homes. My Mom would climb up on the roof top of the home—straddle the rooftop and hold the boat as my Dad and my uncle went in through a window to people's homes to try to find belongings. And would come out with stuff and go back and then go back in and come back out with stuff. They did that for days. I know there were some people that did not leave until people with boats came in and got them—they just were not gonna leave their homes. Um, so that's what I remember of the flooding.

What happened when you went back—what was that like?—what happened to your home?

P-7: When we were allowed back in—there's actually a newspaper article clipping that has my dad and my mom walking and pulling a child's wheelbarrow/wagon with a file cabinet drawer with papers and so forth. Only adults were allowed back in for such amount of time—after the water had gone down. And at some point in time, then it was like—okay, anybody can go back in. So my parents borrowed a camper and we drove it down and parked it in the driveway so that way, us kids would have somewhere to go play in —while they were in the house cleaning it out stuff.

When we went in and out of the house...playing and they were cleaning, ---it was a mess. It was gross. It was disgusting. Things were turned upside down everywhere. I remember (chuckled) that the night of the actual flooding, my mother had made a huge pot of mostaccioli and we were supposed to have put it away--but we were too busy going down to the river and stuff. That pot of mostaccioli was like everywhere in the house. We had mostaccioli remnants everywhere!

My mom and dad had a water bed and it was completely lifted up and turned over, made and completely upside down with the carpet on top of it. My room was pretty much wiped out. As far as ya know things were still in the room but nothing was in the place that I had put it in. So we spent time in and out of the house, playing in the camper, playing games. So of course it was now past Christmas or around Christmas by then. From the fortunate giving of other people, we all each received a gift for Christmas—so we at least had something.

So did you have Christmas at your Grandparents?

P-7: Yes. Actually I think it was Christmas Day—I remember there...ya know we didn't know what we were going to eat cuz my Grandparents ya know, didn't have much money either to have a big family meal. And there was a knock on the door and everyone ran to the door—who comes to Grandma's house? And somebody dropped off a small cooked turkey, potatoes, rolls and a present for each of us kids. To this day, we have no idea who did that. It was awesome...cuz we thought for sure we weren't going to get anything.

So do you recall what the gift was?

P-7: For me it was Barbie—might not have been an actual Barbie but it was a doll. I don't remember what my sisters got. That was my favorite toy anyway.

Q-7. What was the damage to your home from the floodwaters?

P-7: My parents had been instructed, everything in the house had to go to the front yard to be burned. So we basically had to get all of our belongings out to the front yard. Pile it up there. As a kid, it was extremely hard to take your toys out. Yeh, that was very disheartening.

Had your family already decorated the house for Christmas? Early December timeframe.

P-7: I don't think that we had our tree up yet.

Q-9. Do you recall being at the community center for the Christmas party on December 23, 1982 just a few weeks after the flood, the CDC sent the message for residents to leave Times Beach as a result of the dioxin soil test results. Came to be known as the "Christmas message". If not, how did you learn about it?

P-7: I was not present. As a kid we just played like it was no big deal. I did not receive that message. But I think my parents did a pretty good job of sheltering us from what was really happening. When we were cleaning out the house it was ya know...everything's just dirty you have to get rid of it. It wasn't "contaminated" it was just dirty and we can't touch it anymore...but we touched all of it. Then we'd go back to my Grandma's house all dirty and yucky and covered in ya know everything---back to her house. So, I don't remember personally the "Christmas Message."

Going back a little bit about life in Times Beach before all this—did your family have a garden?

P-7: Yes. My mom always had a garden with vegetables and the neighbors across the street had apple trees.

After your parents stripped everything out of the house, they probably received the notice that they weren't going to be able to live there anymore.

P-7: Correct. So you took the camper and when back to Grandma's. So the camper we left it down there since they really didn't have a place to put it. When our parents were at the house we played in the camper, eat lunch and took a nap. The adults would be doing what they needed to be doing. But by then we were pretty much living at my grandparents.

What about any faith-based organizations, Red Cross, or churches reaching out?

P-7: In Eureka, there was a grocery store that had closed down and it was just a shell of a building. And we would go up there with all the other TB people and stand in line to receive handout of supplies, food...clothes. All the kids that I knew each got a matching ski coat that was donated from a coat company. There were different colors but basically we had the same things...um, cowboy boots, shoes, and person hygiene kits, toilet paper, toothpaste---we would just stand in line. If you're a girl stand in this line---if you're a boy, stand in this line. I believe it was the Red Cross that was there. My mom said she'd always given to the Red Cross—not the Salvation Army because they didn't come to help us then.

We'd just stand in line at different tables that had those kind of items.

Q-10/33. How did you first hear about the dioxin contamination of TB?

P-7: I don't remember finding out anything about the contamination until we went back to school. I remember then being in fourth grade. Being on the playground, and kids teasing us that we were contaminated—and said that we "glowed" and wouldn't touch us and they wouldn't play with us anymore. And then we started hearing about it at the grocery store, then we'd hear it at the banks, then we'd hear it at the meat market—the same thing. All in Eureka. My mother drove us every day back to Eureka to school. She tried to keep our lives as normal as possible. So, I didn't know that I was contaminated—until the kids at school told me I was.

How did that make you feel?

P-7: It was horrible. At first I didn't know what they were talking about. I didn't understand that –I mean, what do ya mean you can't play with me? Ya know you'd run around the playground and the boys had cooties—well we understood that cuz every girl understands that --but this was girls and boys. So we were truly ostracized. No

Did this occur only in elementary school or even later as you grew up?

P-7: It probably stopped even before I really got out of elementary school...we did not have any African American kids in our elementary school—so when they started getting were bused to our school –that was the hot topic and so things left us and went to them. It became no big deal. And I know that my parents still got it here or there-- cuz I do remember going to the grocery store and different places and there would be snide comments or remarks... and my Mom would just leave—just leave the shopping cart and then walk out. Because my Mom didn't want to put us through ya know, anything like that. She'd always come up with something but we knew something was up. We knew something was wrong. But she would never admit what was happening. My mom takes the flood and Russell Bliss' contaminating our town very personal because she feels it's her fault. Because she wrote the check to pay him. She'd say, "I paid the man" and I'd say "Mom. Like you didn't know what he was dumping...I mean you had no clue. You were the treasurer basically. You wrote the check --but that doesn't mean you are the one who contaminated us and lost our town." But she takes it extremely personally that she was the responsible person. To this day, that is her belief.

Now where do your parents live today?

P-7: My Mom and Dad got divorced in my senior year of high school so that would have been in '90. She got remarried and moved to Kentucky with her husband in '91. And my Dad stayed in Eureka and he died in '92 in a plane crash with two of his best friends.

Q-17. How effectively did the Government response to disaster—address concerns of your family and other community members? Obviously you were young but perhaps you recall hearing about these efforts? The buyout?

P-7: You're correct. As a child I did not know that. I do know that my parents were high up or well known in the community and attended every meeting possible. They'd come home from the town hall type meeting and we'd talk about it. They participated in the buyout. All needed something. I think my parents received \$25,000 for their house. My sister and myself received \$8,000 in a saving account.

I do remember the government coming in and spray-painting and "X" on the house that it had been inspected and we'd gotten all of our stuff out of the house. I know from reading my mom's book that she had to make a list from memory of all our belongings—what was in every room that she could remember—couch, chair, lamp, then put a price on it.

Everything to get some kind of payout. I have a copy of a letter that they wrote to President Reagan. I know that they pushed extremely hard. We had a family friend that lived there in a neighboring home with propane tanks in all our yards and their tanks had lifted and floated during the flooding then pretty much exploded and burned down their home. They had nothin' to go back to—didn't have a chance. I know my parents fought hard for those folks that really had nothing. My parents were very active in trying to help people and also survive for us.

Q-20. In late 1983 there was a Farewell Ceremony on the bridge (flowers off the bridge). Did your family attend that?

P-7: I did not. My parents may have.

Q-21. Are you aware of any expressions to commemorate TB (i.e., art, poetry, music, writings)

P-7: No.

Q-18. After the flood and then after having to evacuate due to the dioxin contamination, how did you keep in touch with your friends, school, and family members?

P-7: The majority of my friends, as a child, went to school together—some of us went to different schools after that but we still played together because we were contaminated together [laughs]. And then we lived at my grandparents for quite a while then my great grandmother's home two blocks down became available—we moved into that one in Pacific. The Webster's from Times Beach moved in next door into a house—there were several of us that moved into the Pacific area or Eureka. My mom would do carpool ya know pick all of us on a big route—house to house to house and then somebody else would bring us back. So we stayed in touch with those we were closest with in Times Beach. I know my Mom and Dad had stayed in touch with many other people because they knew a whole lot more people than I did. And a lot of people that lived there, worked at Chrysler—my mom still did their taxes after it flooded. All that kind of stuff--it was—a lot of things stayed the same...we just didn't live next door to each other. So those are the main ways we stayed connected and now with years gone by its Facebook with high school friends, ya know, acquaintances, and then the reunions every year.

Q-22. Now have you gone to any of the annual September Reunions? Attended any? Describe.

P-7: Yes, I've gone to almost all of them. And over the past three years, they've pretty much dwindled down to nothing. But since my Dad's gone, I'm in Iowa, my sister that was in Oklahoma now is in Alabama. We always made that time for a "family" reunion so did everybody else and so we'd meet up in September. We had a picnic along with everybody else. Sit and visit, listen to music, had a live band that would play, we always had a table where there'd be a map of where you were at so they could see who attended,

pictures and Boo that my Dad was friends with would go get the interstate sign that was “borrowed” [laughter]. Right. Somebody has that, right?

P-7: I’m not sure who has it. It was property of the Missouri DOT and kept getting “illegally” borrowed for our reunion. Then it would go back to wherever it was. We’d all have a picture with the sign. I tried to get to as many as I could and didn’t miss any then and last year...I guess, I went and there was only 2 or 3 people. We would always walk and find our street. And I can still go and find my street and where my house would have been. Because of the lines of the trees. Most any of us can do that that lived close to the river.

Q-36/37. So, while were talking about the Park, I wanted to follow up on something then we’ll go on. Do you recall hearing about the proposal to turn TB into a Mo. State Park? Describe your feelings.

P-7: I was back and forth in Kentucky. When I heard about it, it was kind of one of those, “What do you mean? That’s our town! How dare you!” It was sad to drive by it on the interstate—that was my town.

How dare you bulldoze the houses that we lived in! When they did that and pulled up the streets and took off the top soil and said everything was fine...according to what we were told. It was disheartening, it was dismantling our homes...—I felt very...not at peace. They brought in the incinerator and prior to that, had started tearing down our town. They had left my Dad’s garage. For a number of years, because it was so big and still in good shape that they used it for storage. They stored trucks and all kind of stuff in there. The house was gone but the garage was still there. It was like—what are you doing...ya know? Why are you doing this to us? Why can’t you just leave it?

Do you recall anyone ever offering the option to move the entire community together to another location? I know you were young but maybe your parents talked about it?

P-7: It sounds familiar but I know there was a lot of anger—people just wanted to go back and rebuild—that was the biggest talk I heard from my parents. We liked the community—we liked the town—our town. It was a struggle throughout-- listening to my parents.

Q-40. Do you feel the area of your former town is now less of a hazard now that it is the Rt 66 State Park? / Q-38. What do you hope will happen there in the future?

P-7: From studies that I have seen and knowing that one drop of pure dioxin can basically kill you and it’s made—ya know as the main component of Agent Orange, and how heavily it was sprayed and/or dumped, whatever word you want to use...um, feel safe going down there. I have taken my children down there. We can eaten on the ground down there—for a picnic. I don’t it is probably “unsafe”-- but I don’t think it is totally safe. I enjoy going back because that was my town. Is it safe for anyone to live down

there? That I couldn't be certain of. Is it safe for people to walk around and ride horses, have a picnic? Well, probably--because you're not going to be there for long periods of time—digging in the dirt...from the ground...

Is it safe to live there? Probably not. Cuz, I don't know--how clean can you get? They left the streets for the longest time and it was like—why wouldn't you tear up the streets and remove a couple of inches of top soil. Isn't that tree that was in my front yard still contaminated? Why not tear up EVERYTHING? Ya know, to me...now, being a nurse with a master's degree...being on a hazmat team, ya know...and knowing what I know...wouldn't it be best to wipe out EVERYTHING? So the real question is—what is the level of clean?

Q-31. Describe how your faith played a role in how you dealt with the environmental relocation.

P-7: No role.

Q-32. How have you changed because of the environmental relocation—the flood, the dioxin, the buyout? Individual, relations with spouse, children, relatives, neighborhood, community, homeowner/renter, worker?

P-7: For my parents, I know it changed them greatly. They lost a lot of really good friends but they also kept a lot of really good friends. They lost a lot. They were young; they were in their 20's...family...starting out...then they lost a lot and had to completely rebuild from nothing again. They were not on the government's side. Dad was negative about the government. For me, , personally, everything that has ever happened in my life, starting from the flood, contamination...to me...and I get this from my Mom, it's just made me stronger to make me who I am. Mom always said that God doesn't give you any more than you can handle—and we handled it! We made it through. We survived. Our family is mostly intact. Fairly all healthy...course nothing that any of us kids have can be directly related to dioxin contamination because anybody can have endometriosis. But my mother and all three of us girls, having had it and my mother and I both having hysterectomies at age 31. Ya know, that kind of stuff... no one wants to admit that. There's some bitterness, but for the most part, it's just who I am. With my background... and if now someone says something, I don't take it personally. Now I love to talk about it and people are floored by how much an 8 year old remembers. I don't think originally I wanted to talk about it...I get my book out and show people and they say, how can you be so normal? It was just another event in my life.

Q-35. Would you describe yourself as a disaster survivor or disaster victim?

P-7: Ya know, I don't think that I would ever say that I was a victim. Because I don't feel as victimized at my age—at that point in time. I wouldn't have known that I was a victim. After years have gone by and I think about all the things my parents went through and we basically got nothing for our home and our belongings...and the way we

were treated and that kind of stuff? I would say at some of those points—victim. For the most part, we survived it! No one died.

Q-34/Q41. Regarding your current home, have you been able to have a comfortable home life again since the environmental relocation? It sounds like you've made the best of it—your children, you've gone to school, you have a career, you're preparing to relocate to a new area...something new in your life.

P-7: Yes. But the flood was nothing compared to my Dad dying. Ya know, that was just a chapter. We had a flood, we lost all of our belongings. We lost our home---our town. I still have my family. So I feel like there's nothing that I couldn't handle. Again, it's just made stronger to deal with the things I need to deal with today. The next house that we lived in, we lost...we had a tornado hit the roof. We didn't lose anything but had some damage. Uh, my Mom and my step-Dad had a business in Kentucky had a business and it burned to the ground. They rebuilt. Yes I have my own book with chapters of stuff that happened to me growing up.

Q-13. Do you believe you or your family members were exposed to any hazardous substances due to the dioxin oil mix sprayed on the streets? Having been a child playing in roads/yards, fish from river, garden produce, working in the yard, dust/dirt/oil tracked into home, clothing, etc. Pets affected? You mentioned some of the health issues briefly and so continue that as well if you can.

P-7: Yes, my mom and I both had hysterectomies at 31. Yes, I believe we were exposed to hazardous material—very much so. Especially where we lived, in particular. We had always had a garden and ate the vegetables and had apple trees Um, health things that were wrong...my Dad and my sisters always then had from that point forward, severe allergies to many things. My Dad and myself, along with a lot of other families down there, ended up with like skin conditions— psoriasis, eczema. That kind of stuff. Its unexplainable cuz no one else in the family had it.

Several of my friends [from Times Beach] were sterile...couldn't have children or had several miscarriages. Myself...my mom, my older sister, and my younger sister...all had miscarriages. Ya know, nothing that can be directly pointing the finger that says that dioxin caused it. I absolutely wonder...I mean, if you look at the studies on dioxin, it says...can cause blah blah blah blah. So, why wouldn't we think that? That that's what caused those issues for us?

We did the buyout. So nothing could come back—we couldn't go back and claim health issues. We were stuck with having these health problems.

Did your family participate in any of the lawsuits—against the chemical companies?

P-7: They did not. At that point, they just wanted to rebuild. They just wanted to get on with things—it was affecting us in school...the community....and money. I do not recall

my mom talking anything about a lawsuit. I recall them going to lots of meetings but nothing to my knowledge...

Going back just a little bit. Did you have pets growing up and did they have any ill affects—or other animals in the neighborhood?

P-7: We had dogs. We had schnauzers. And I don't remember anything being wrong with them. They seemed pretty healthy to me. Other animals in the neighborhood...I know that as kids we thought it was really cool to find something dead. We found dead things A LOT! The neighbors across the street from us—a very elderly couple—didn't have their grandkids around them. So we became their grandkids. The older gentleman once caught a vole and call me over from across the street and I poked at it and carried it around with me and chase my sister in the house with it and freak her out. One of my passions other than Barbies was digging for worms everywhere ...turned over every rock possible.

So you were certainly in the soil.

P-7: I was there [laughter] I was very friendly with that soil. I do remember by mom explaining that the reason they were testing the soil was they were finding animals dying all over the town. Of course I was a kid...but it wouldn't have dawned on me---it was just cool!

Q-39. So in all the answers you have given me, would you think that other former TB residents answer these questions in the same way? Differently? How so?

P-7: I think depending on their age at the time and where they lived... if they were a kid of my age, I think they would answer pretty darn close to the same. If it was a kid of my older sister's age, they might be different because of what they were doing in their lifespan at that point in time.

Adults, would of course have even more different responses because of what they experienced. I mean all of us kids down there ...all of us felt the same that I know of—it was our home! And we felt safe. When we go back to the reunions and my age group gets together, we all kinda talk the same way. It was our home...we climbed that tree...we picked up bottles to the Fina station. It was just what we did. My younger sister doesn't hardly remember Times Beach at all. She remember stories from there. Her age friends little do they remember activity and life that we had there. So I think it would vary---depending on who you would talk to.

Q-23. Would you be in favor of a memorial to Times Beach? What kind of memorial would you like to see? Do you think memorials are helpful?

P-7: Yes, a memorial would be extremely helpful. The museum, there at the old Steiny's, it had a lot more at one point in time on Times Beach. We are the family that donated the street sign on Forest that was at the front of our house—that was our corner.

Somebody gave it to us and we had it for years. And actually we have a picture there showing the street sign and that's my Dad's garage of how high the water got. Over the years, ya know, they've tried to make it a little more park friendly so they have taken away the Times Beach memorial that we had as survivors to go and visit. Which has made me very sad. Whenever I've gone back, with my children, because I want to "go home" –I have less and less things to go back to at that museum. A memorial could be put in one of the pavilions in the Park. Something like that would be an honorable thing to give us. I can't imagine any of us that lived there would not appreciate. I wish they would have left the telephone poles. I would have loved if they had left the telephone poles and just clip the wires on either side of the pole. It meant something. And they started taking those things away. So it became less and less of our town which they had a goal and I understand that.

I went back there one fall day and got off the beaten path. The landfill has all the things that made up your town. There's an energy about the place—that people once lived there.

P-7: And mentioning "place"...every time I go back to St. Louis whether it is to meet up with family or friends in Eureka or Pacific, I end up down there, it is our meeting spot. I don't feel complete unless I drive through. I cannot drive past Eureka without exiting ya know and driving through. And standing on the other side of the bridge... where I stood when I was 8 watching back then. Ya know, kinda like PTSD.

It is something that I for myself have to do. Now my older sister, can't hardly stand to go down there. My younger sister she doesn't hardly remember it. My mom does not go down there anymore. She just can't, emotionally she can't. But for me, it is healing to go back there. It's amazing to be there.

Q-42. What would you like to say to others who may have to undergo through the forced relocation of their community due contamination-- in the future? Advice.

P-7: Don't give up. That's your home. Belongings can be replaced. . Fight for your home. I really do wish that we would have banded together and fought to keep it or rebuild it—not beside a river. I would tell people, if it means that much to you, fight for it! Don't give up.

There are options and studies about staying together.

P-7: In our town I don't think there could have been a unanimous decision. They were torn. Again, I was pretty little so I didn't have a vote. If I had-- I would have voted to stay.

TRANSCRIPT_INTERVIEW

P-8

Growing up in TB:

TB address: We lived in three different houses. First house was on Dogwood and I don't remember the exact address but it was one of my favorite houses.

What did you like about it?

P-8: It had hardwood flooring and a lot of windows --kind of like a Southern Georgian home—I remember it especially and I remember the other two but I remember that one.

So you lived in two other homes?

P-8: Yes, lived on Dogwood & Beech and then we moved over on Birch right off the river-- I'm looking at this map—I want to say, Dogwood and Beech and then Birch and Park. Right next to where the little old store used to be.

Q-1. So, what brought your family to TB initially? How long had your family lived in TB? Expect live there a long time?

P-8: My Dad's Church. My Grandmother had died and she had lived with us in Olivette. My mom couldn't live in that house after she died so my Dad took the Church in Times Beach and we moved down there. I was 5 or 6 or 7 years old—I was just going into first grade.

So prior to Times Beach did he have another church?

P-8: He was a pastor at Walnut Grove Baptist Church—I've got his license hanging on my wall—yes. It is from Walnut Grove.

Q-2. Describe your community as to what it was like as a place to call home? Did your home fulfill this meaning? Place to raise children? When I say TB was a "place" what does that mean to you? Land? River? Outside activities? Garden? Friends? Easy to meet people? Activities.

P-8: I was little when we moved there. I didn't get a lot of unsupervised time. Ya know, the freedom that we had to be able to play out ya know... in the yard—we could go anywhere in town. I remember being 8-9 years old and being able to hang out with my friends. We were very much one big family. I mean many of us are still friends to this day—many of the people that were there came to my Dad's funeral, which was quite a ways to go for a person's funeral. But a lot of people came to the funeral. Everybody watched out for each other. If you were at somebody's house, everybody were watchin' out for you. I think it was the sense of community down there was just absolutely awesome. Pause. They ruined a really good place...

So what were some other things do you remember doing as a child?

P-8: I remember picking cherries off the trees on the way home from Church cuz we lived right down from the Church. So I'd walk home and one of the stores had cherries on it and I'd pick those cherries off the tree. We played in the dirt, I didn't much play in the river- I was pretty much afraid of the river. But down along there on Riverside Drive, down before you'd get to the river, ya know, there's that hillside and we would just play in there—hike. Ya know, the town wasn't very big so you could walk that whole town. We were kids and we enjoyed being kids, played outside. I remember many times ya know, people were at our house or we would go to their house—we made lifelong friends. I didn't do too much partying I don't think.

My parents didn't do any gardening cuz my Dad worked sometimes 90 hours a week. I remember, was extra special because at my Dad's Church there was a basement and we bobbed for applies—like the 1950's. I guess Times Beach was a town sorta like stuck in the 50's...if I had to describe it any other way. There was a donut shop on one of the corners with a soda fountain stores-- ya know where you had the bar with the seats up against. It was great place where I could spend my formative years there.

Ya know, I think, ya know, had we not moved to California...and I think we did that because my Dad decided to go to theological school in Anaheim, CA, that he went to and that's why we moved when we did. Otherwise we probably would have been there until they closed the town down.

And what year was that when you left?

P-8: I wanna say, I was 12 years old—I remember that. 7th or 8th grade. January of '76.

So, during those years there were no indications—I mean dioxin didn't cross anybody's mind?

P-8: No absolutely not.

Q-3. Prior to the flood and dioxin, how was your family's health and well-being? And during those years and I understand you were small, but tell me about your family's overall health and well-being?

P-8: Yeh, um I think we were all pretty healthy. It was later in life that people started getting sick. I mean long after the settlement. I mean and it's been and it's transferred down through generations. Ya know I've got—my sister's boys have problems-- has terrible lungs—more mental health problems and then my older brother's oldest daughter just died this year of cancer.

Okay. So let's just go ahead and talk about this now—my questions about this are later but let's do it now. So then prior then to 1976, and you all moved to California, just up to that point no one was feeling any effects.

P-8: No.

Okay. You moved to CA in 1976—how long did you stay there?

P-8: I was there for 30 years—until 2006. I wanna say—let’s see—my brother died in the mid-eighties... I was in my early 20’s when they found a cyst in my thyroid gland-- or I don’t think I was out of high school yet—I’m not sure—I just remember I was just in to the doctor for a normal checkup. So they went in and removed that. And they tested for—we let them know about the dioxin—they tested it for PCBs and all kinds of things but I was young and don’t remember everything.

Obviously I didn’t have any real effects at that time. I know that each of us--all three of us girls-- me and my two sisters—all of us had hysterectomies; both sisters had theirs done in their 20s and I had mine in my late 30s. I don’t know what theirs was caused from but mine was caused from fibrosis. And I don’t know if that played any role in it; I just know that my mother who did not grow up there, never had any female issues at all. But all three of us girls did and then several of my nieces had fertility issues and like I said us three girls had hysterectomies at an early age.

How about your Dad?

P-8: My Dad in ’06 was diagnosed with non-Hodgkin’s lymphoma and he went for treatment and was in remission for several years and then just prior to his death, we found out he had leukemia. The doctors said his heart and lungs would give out long before the leukemia would get him—and it was true. He had two different types of cancer and he was actually one of the, if I recall correctly, he was one of the people that took care of the roads. I know that he had worked for the city [of Times Beach} at some point down there. I don’t know all the particulars but I remember him talking about either having to help spray that crap on the roads or having to deal with that crap on the roads.

So when did he pass away?

P-8: He died 2014—so he lived a long life. He was 80 years old. Ya know, he did get...

So you stayed in California...did your parents as well or did they go somewhere else?

P-8: They moved back here about the time I was 18-19 years old—no 20 years old. My brother had died and had a child. So they wanted to be closer and be a part of that child’s life. My little sister had moved back here because California wasn’t a good place for her. And so they just came on back after about a year and got all the property sold in California. They moved back here to Winona.

And what year was that that your parents came back?

P-8: I wanna say 19....let’s see, I graduated in ’82...brother died in....I wanna say the 80’s that they moved back here.

So everything was over with...the flood, announcement about the dioxin and the buyout by the time they returned...

P-8: Yes. They did settlements with all of us and it was strange how they did it. Ya know, my Dad got \$3,000 and my oldest sister she only got \$3,000 and my youngest sister and I got \$50,000. I don't know how they arrived at those numbers...ya know, but I think it was based on age—I'm not sure. Because the younger you are the more you're going to have been playing in the dirt and the streets and I played in the dirt! And I didn't wear shoes anywhere I went—barefoot all the way.

I mean I remember when I was in the fifth grade I broke my arm—I was playing with some friends and we were on top of what they called a doll house—a little shed type building—a play house and fell off the top of that and broke my arm and I remember they had just freshly sprayed the roads and I had went and sat right in the middle of the road ya know...so I'm grateful I haven't had any long term effects that I know of yet-- from their actions but that's neither here nor there.

How about your Mom? How's she doing?

P-8: My mom is as healthy as a horse. She'll be 81 in January. She still drives everywhere. She still goes—she just got back from Iowa, Seattle and various places. My sister is a travelling nurse and so she went with her to a bunch of different places.

And your Mom lives where?

P-8: Winona. The reason I moved back here from California was because my Dad's health was failing and I thought my kids needed to know their Grandpa.

Q-4. So thinking back to early years in TB—you went to school in Eureka and you picked up the school bus probably in Times Beach?

P-8: Yes. Usually at the corner of our street.

So do you recall—was there like a local newspaper was there a way that your family keep informed about events in TB and the surrounding area / the world?

P-8: Yes, at that store there, right just as you came into Times Beach there used to be—if you made a right off the bridge it would take you to town and then made a left there was that outer road and there was a little store there and I remember they had a newspaper stand and I remember when Nixon resigned and remember seeing it on that newspaper stand.

Q-5/6. So you were in California when you hear about the record flood of December 5, 1982?

P-8: Actually, I would come back every time like for holidays with my aunt—I would stay with her. She lived in Alton. So I was there at the time of the flood. She brought me

down to Times Beach right after the flood or after the flood waters had receded and I saw our garage on Birch out back—I remember seeing it just flattened.

So how did you feel about that? Do you remember? Let's see how old were you then?

P-8: It was hard to see your childhood home had disappeared. I was in high school then. People were still trying to clean up. I don't think they any idea there was a problem yet. I know that there was...ya know, I've read different things where ya know several people thought there was something going on and papers were being disposed of in the trash and people going into the trash and they went and got the proof out of the trash if I remember right. But that was just hearsay—I wasn't there during that time.

Q-7. What was the damage to your home from the floodwaters?

P-8: We didn't get down there far enough to see my favorite home. That house was semi-straight in the middle of town. Garage on Birch had been flattened.

Q-9. On December 23, 1982 just a few weeks after the flood, the CDC sent the message for residents to leave Times Beach as a result of the dioxin soil test results. Came to be known as the "Christmas message". Do you recall being at the town hall Christmas party and that announcement? If not, how did you learn about it?

P-8: I was still at my aunt's in Alton, IL for Christmas break but didn't hear about it until we got back in California.

Q-10. How did you first hear about the dioxin contamination of TB?

P-8: We were living in California still. My Dad was the one who told us about it.

Q-11/12. So thinking back when you were young and living in TB--prior to the dioxin announcement had you been concerned about any environmental issues or hazards? Describe.

Were you aware of R. Bliss spraying oil on streets of TB? Odors, vapors? Smoke? Did you view it as possibly affecting you in any way? Did any of your family members work for R. Bliss?

P-8: Yes. We didn't think anything of it. We rode our bikes behind the truck. We just didn't think anything about it. Now, ya know, it kinda spins ya a little bit, because you never really know what harm you're coming into without ever knowing. They do what they want to do and we suffered the repercussions. There's no amount of money for some people in that town that...there's one family who had two children while we lived down there; she's deceased now and her youngest son is completely special needs—he can't think for himself—for the most part. And her other one, ya know, he's probably two steps above that. And it's sad because I don't know, ya know, you don't know if that's genetic or environmental. To think that, and I don't ...I keep in touch with a lot of the people from Times Beach on Facebook ya know...and some went to our Church –we're still

very close to and they come down and we spend time together as family. Just like we did when we were kids. And so I've watched them all and I guess I don't know where I'm going with this...we've lost some and there's many of us still here. I just don't know. Ya know, we may never know. My Dad was 80 years old when we found out about the leukemia—you just never know how long down the road this stuff will impact a person's life. And to know that we rode our bikes behind the truck and we played in those roads and-- it just aggravating.

Do you recall if the oil sprayed on the streets had any kind of an odor/smell?

P-8: No, it just smelled like oil.

And what about when you got it on your skin? How about when you got home?

P-8: It didn't burn or anything. I remember at the house on Dogwood, with the wooden floors—once a month she'd strip 'em and wax 'em. And we weren't allowed to just...we came in through the basement actually—took off our shoes down there. I don't think we ever really...I don't remember any smells be associated with the oil. It wasn't like a tar substance...just like petroleum oil. Like the oil you put in your car.

Q-13. Do you believe you or your family members were exposed to any hazardous substances due to the dioxin oil mix sprayed on the streets? Playing in roads/yards, fish from river, garden produce, working in the yard, dust/dirt/oil tracked into home, clothing, etc. Pets affected?

P-8: Absolutely.

And that came from playing in the yards and the roads...

P-8: Uh huh. And the run off into the rivers. We were in all of that.

Q-14/15. Then looking at the EPA map showing the levels of contamination in various colors--do you know if any of the streets on which your three houses were, had elevated levels of contamination? How did you know? Other nearby properties? Far away so not a concern? Do you think your property was probably contaminated or not?

P-8: Yes they did. The Dogwood house had high levels; the one on Beech, Birch, Grove—the last house we lived on you came off the highway, Lewis Road—then you come into town and I'm thinking it was Grove—our last house. We were closer to the highway.

You can see the higher levels of the contamination included your three houses.

P-8: Especially the Dogwood house.

So you're living in California and how did you hear about the lawsuit portion of it?

P-8: I got a letter in the mail. Somebody must have added our names to the list. My Dad may have told me I don't remember... and he went over the letters with us. I think

my first recollection was they were wanting us to sign with “gross settlement.” And the lawyers advised against that. Ya know, it was so many years ago... but that first offer was what sticks out in my mind that I first became aware of the lawsuits. My Dad wasn’t one of those sue- happy persons and didn’t put much stock in those class-action lawsuits. I was 19 years old and so the first offer we turned down—I remember when I got my settlement I was 19 years old—just had turned 19. I don’t know how long it had been going on before that. I was too busy being a rotten teenager.

Q-22. So have you ever made it back to any of the annual September Reunions?

Describe.

P-8: Yes, we went back I think it’s been about 5 or 6 years ago. It was just kind of weird—you try to...now that it’s a park—all the roads are still there and you try to remember where like certain families lived or where the Church was or ya know...I had many many friends that ya know, are the crux of my childhood friends from Times Beach....so.... it’s just odd you can’t find your way around down there anymore.

Q-37. So what did you think about them turning the land into a state park?

P-8: I think it was wrong. I think the government owed it to the people to try have them clean the soil –make the guy that sprayed the stuff be responsible for getting the soil clean and everything. I don’t know...let the people, I don’t know...reestablish their lives again after so much...that was so dramatic...I don’t know if anyone would ever want it back.

So in your mind you would have preferred for the government should have maybe temporarily move people, clean it all up and then let them go back?

P-8: Right. I think they owed it to the people to do that.

And so the buyout then was something that your family really wasn’t involved in it where they bought the homes, right?

P-8: No.

Q-40. So back to the state park then—do you feel like the state park is pretty well cleaned up today? Is the TB site less of a hazard now that it is the Rte. 66 State Park?

P-8: It’s a pretty park.

And what about do think there is still hazardous material there?

P-8: Yes, I think there will always be hazardous material there. No matter how well they tried to clean it up, ya know... the ground was contaminated...the roads were contaminated...the river was contaminated. I don’t think they can ever get it all out.

So when you went there, do you recall seeing the big mound there—the landfill with all the Times Beach structures buried beneath it?

P-8: No. I never noticed there was a landfill.

I will send you a picture—put it on the Facebook page—in fact I think I already put it out there. I took it when my daughter and I took our bikes over there a few years ago. Do you know where the 7-11 used to be? The landfill is right across from that spot where the store stood. Maybe the next time you get out towards Eureka, you can drive by it.

P-8: I will do that. We come up there once a month to Fenton when we take the baby there to see his parents.

Q-23. Do you recall any discussions about a memorial for Times Beach? Would you be in favor of a memorial to Times Beach? What kind of memorial would you like to see?

P-8: My sisters were older and lived there longer than me so and one actually got married there at 17. I don't know that I live so much in the past as they do. I know a lot of people that think that there should have been a memorial. Ya know they took everything from some...and did not compensate them properly. That's not us-- because we didn't live there then.

Ya know, the flood took so much...and then the dioxin on top of that. Just kinda added insult to injury...I think. I've only been to two reunions but believe a lot of them would like a memorial.

And for yourself--do you think memorials are helpful?

P-8: I think memorials are a place people can go to understand the events. Like the OKC memorial. You can feel the full grasp of what happened there. But to me, I've been to the OKC memorial and it really is dedicated to those people who died there. And when you go there, you really can grasp the full picture of what happened there. So I don't know how many people have died from Times Beach that their deaths can be attributed to the problems at Times Beach. Ya know, during that flood, I lost two cousins...who were trying to help people out and were drowned in the Meramec River. But that was from the flood—not the dioxin. Maybe they could put up a memorial building and kind of show some of the effects of chemical contamination—understanding the world that we live in. Nobody back then had any idea about that and I don't think today they know either. A memorial would educate others on the effects of chemicals.

Q-36. Have you visited the Rte. 66 state park since it opened? Describe your visit(s). What about the latest efforts to reconstruct the bridge that is over the Meramec River?

P-8: Yes, during the reunion 5 or 6 years ago. I am against the bridge being open again. Steinys was a restaurant in our town and to me it's a historical landmark for the people and that would be a beautiful memorial.

Most is about Route 66 and there's one wall about the flood at Times Beach. There's nothing about the dioxin.

P-8: The history needs to be brought to the forefront so people can know about it. They owe it to the people that lived there I believe. The people that lost everything—not like us who moved away...

Q-35. Even though you moved away, you observed the flood aftermath and kept in touch with people; would you describe yourself as a disaster survivor or disaster victim?

P-8: I'm a survivor. Thankfully, it hasn't affected me health wise that I know of. And I didn't lose my home like others because we left. We lost family members from the flood. Did dioxin play a role in my niece's death? But am I a victim? No. The victims were people who lost their homes—that lost everything.

Q-42. What would you like to say to others who may have to go through the forced relocation of their community in the future due to contamination?

P-8: I would advise others to don't sign up for that—only recently people could contribute Didn't know enough.

Q-32. How have you changed because of the environmental relocation? Individual, relations with spouse, children, relatives, neighborhood, community, homeowner/renter, worker?

P-8: Oh, I don't know...

I mean do you look at life differently in any way?

P-8: I look at my local officials differently. Ya know, here I am in a small town...and I comment quite often on what they're doing. Unless we get some different people in there...but you live your life and you just go on. I have a distrust of government. Would like to make a difference. When we get a heavy rain our kids go out and play in that water—are they being exposed to anything? Even at the national level—they're not in it for us...my opinion.

Q-33. Were there any instances of stigma related experiences from being a former resident of Times Beach?

P-8: There's a lady at work from Missouri and had never heard of Times Beach. Others would say, "Oh, you're from Times Beach?"—I've heard them ask me about it and they don't even know what really happened there.

P-8: I think Times Beach would still be there today if somebody didn't get wise to it. They swept it under the rug. Because no one in my family had problems with the thyroid until me and now my nephew, my sister's son, had his thyroid removed. So do I contribute that to Times Beach? Absolutely. My son had horrible eczema as a youngster—his skin would split. And my grandnephew has it too. I take into consideration other environmental factors—most we can control...

Q-34. Regarding your current home, have you been able to have a comfortable home life again since the environmental relocation?

P-8: Yes I have a good life. All of us kids do. My brother works at the Licking Prison; my sister in St. Louis is a manager; and my little sister is a traveling nurse. And I have my medical training but right now I'm working in customer service. So, we've all done well in our lives but I attribute that to my parents cuz we weren't allowed to just be crazy... he told us that if he had to work every day, we had to work every day. I expected the same out of my kids and they both work 40 hour jobs and my son is going back to college. They instilled in us to work hard. My oldest sister lives in the past and I see that a lot from some of the people that were her age and living down there and seem to have that issue of living in the past. They can't seem to let go. The one child that was born severely retarded—his mom's gone now and they gave him a huge settlement but still it will only go so far.

So what do you think should have happened from the government regarding this person?

P-8: I think that kid should have been set up for life medically because he was born into it. That family they gardened. I think it was carried from mother to fetus. I'm sure he has Medicaid. I want to say he's in his 40s. We see them quite often. I don't know---in his case. All his needs should be supplied. He will end up in a nursing facilities.

Going back to the settlement, I understand that it had a disclaimer to never come back for more.

P-8: Right. The settlement said we couldn't come back for more I was 19 years old and nothing wrong at the time. I don't know what we will face in the future. Near our house on Birch I remember this big ol' hill I'd ride my bike and fell off a million times into the road. It ran off the roads when it rained so I was all over it. Luckily our children are healthy and I've just had thyroid problems.

Q-27. What do you miss most about living in TB?

P-8: I miss the people and my Dad's church. I loved my Dad's church. And there will never be another Church like that. I don't care where you go in life...you'll never have that preacher in that Church. Never again.

What happened to it after your Dad left? After the flood didn't it relocate to Eureka?

P-8: I'm not sure who took over the Church after my Dad. My Dad had lost the Church because you know...this was the mid-1970's and ya know we had a lot of the televangelists and he was learning some new...learning more about the Bible...instead of just what the Baptist Church wanted him to preach...so they didn't want him preaching that. So he just left—he just felt well, if I can't preach the word of God the way God wants me to...ya know we still have his Church down here. And he preached up until oh until about 8 months before he died. I know he did a funeral within months of his own death. Highly respected man. Anyone you ask in Times Beach –if you say his name, ya know, he was very well loved and he was a lucky man.

Q-30. So do you think the experience of environmental relocation (flood/dioxin/relocation) brought the former residents of TB closer together or further apart?

P-8: Oh, definitively closer I think...like I said, most of us are still friends to this day...I mean the [?name of family?] and even though the parents are both gone now, ya know, She comes down here even just for a funeral or for a weekend. The Talley's in Kentucky...they're like my cousins ya know...their Dad was a deacon at my Dad's Church. We were best of friends then and are best of friends now.

Ya know there's just so many... all those families. There wasn't anybody that didn't know anybody. Now through FB an old friend called me because someone had hacked my mom's FB page. That's the kind of community that they tore apart. You don't find that everywhere. That's what they ruined. Ya know...not only did they take the homes, they tried to take the friendships too. It didn't happen quite that way. I can't name another town anywhere I've ever been where there's family like the people of Times Beach. That's still to this day—30 some odd years...

TRANSCRIPT INTERVIEW

P-9

Q-1. What brought your family to TB initially? How long lived there? Any drawbacks? Expect to live there a long time?

P-9: My mom and dad—my mom was raised in St. Louis and my dad was raised in Valley Park. She came out here to live with her parents who had moved out here—she was I think 17 or 18 years old. My Dad’s family had moved out here too and when they had gotten married in 1950, they were just looking for a house to be kind of close to her parents. As a family, we pretty much expected to be here for the duration of the town because this was home! Never had aspirations for anything else—because this was just what we were used to. Family moved there 5 May 1950 – June 14 1984. I was 19 when we left. We were the last family to leave on the main side of the town. Klein’s were the last to leave on the outer road. It was a loss of normalcy for all of us.

Q-2. So just in general, what was your community like as a place to have a home? And when you define “home” - did your home there fulfill this meaning? Then please talk about what it was like living there as a child; your outdoors activities, the river? Were there garden activities that your family was involved in—fruit trees?

P-9: Pretty much everyone around here had a garden—every year. That was just a big thing—tomatoes and cucumbers. It really was a close knit community. Everybody knew everybody. Most of the families were here long term. So really kind of grew up together and got to know everybody. It was a very comfortable and trusting community. They knew who you belonged to—so you didn’t have to worry about any problems with anybody in the town. You didn’t have to lock your doors—house or cars. As kids, we were gone, during the summertime, on our bicycles all around the Beach. And we’d go down to the river, riding around on all the roads. Didn’t come home until we heard mom call us for supper.

So did you have opportunities to meet other people? Were most of your friends from the Beach?

P-9: I had some friends from school but mostly neighbor kids. Bicycling and spend the night at their house. The Church was close by so we got really close to the people who went there. The young people went most who were our neighbors too with their families.

Q-3. Prior to any concern with the dioxin contamination, how was your family’s well-being/health overall?

P-9: My dad had tuberculosis and my baby sister. Pretty much everyone’s health was okay. There isn’t anything I was aware of prior to the dioxin. That didn’t start until later until ’71.

Q-4. Communications. So then looking back prior to the flood and dioxin announcement--how did you keep informed about events in the local area—the world? Was there a newspaper? TV?

P-9: We were limited. We had newspapers and magazines. Television was a big deal.

Q-5/6. So let's talk about the flood of December 5, 1982. How do you remember the record flood of December 5, 1982? (flooding before? How did you hear about the impending flood? Evacuation assistance? Where did you go temporarily? Please describe.

P-9: When it happened, I had turned 18 that summer and graduated from HS. And the way that we heard that the flood was coming—and we had experienced floods before Back in 1969 when I was a little girl I remember it flooding and being about a foot deep in our house. And at time, my mom's brother lived in Crescent so the bigger kids went up there and I stayed in the house upstairs with my mom and dad because they didn't trust me to go since I was 4 or 5 years old. The way that I heard that the flood was coming in '82, was through my aunt who had moved here in 1980 with husband from Florida.

And did they live in Times Beach?

P-9: They did. 1980 until the flood. She had heard about the flood through a broadcast that this was going to be the granddaddy of flood. We all didn't take it seriously- cuz we'd seen it flood before and recovered from it. We'd never seen it that high.

So where were you when you heard about it and that day?

P-9: We went to Sister's house on Dogwood. Then I went to spend the night at my friend's house in Pacific. Brothers helped pack everything upstairs then stayed in a hotel in Eureka with friends from Times Beach and girlfriend. It got 16 feet in our house—up to the second level. Brother lived in Beck Woods and got our parents out by boat. Brother went to hotel in Eureka with other friends put up there from the Beach. Other brother went to his girlfriend's house.

The flood happened on a Sunday and I think by either Monday or Tuesday, after about 2 days, my sister in law, my brother's wife had been staying at her folk's house then came and picked me up from my friend's house in Pacific and drove me to Galley West restaurant that was there. Then my brother brought the boat over and attempted to haul me and two kids and sister in law took me by boat down the Meramec River to Beck Woods.

What was going through your mind at that time?

P-9: I was scared. For one thing, I'm afraid of water. All the massive amounts of water. And not being able to swim and being in a boat without a life vest on. I was so scared. But I don't know if it was the Coast Guard/Natl Guard (military) they were present on the

scene and they would not let us go in my brother's boat. By that time the water was up too high and they wouldn't let us go. And that was a frightful thing too because there were a whole bunch of soldier and military and me and my niece were standing behind Steiny's and they came around the buildings with weapons drawn on us.

I wonder why they did that.

P-9: I don't know but it scared the daylight out of my niece---she screaming and crying and I'm practically falling to pieces too. I didn't know what we were going to do.

So you get to Beck Woods and it is December 6 or 7, and what happened next

P-9: We stayed there a couple of days.

Q-7. What was the damage to your home by the floodwaters?

P-9: Drove back to TB to survey damage. 2 cats survived (Tom & Baby). Lost all our chickens. We lost all our family picture albums. I lost all of high school yearbooks.

How about the house itself?

P-9: The structure was actually intact but the drywall was just a mess because it had been underwater for so long—so muddy all around.

So was it your family's intent then to rebuild?

P-9: Yep. We redid the whole bottom floor and part of the second floor with the drywall. So then the following spring, there was another flood in May 1984. It destroyed all the repairs we made downstairs.

We ended staying until June 14, 1984—yesterday anniversary –32 years ago!

Your family was the last to leave Times Beach?

P-9: Yes. On this side of the Beach it was us and on the other side it was the Klein's. It was pretty desolate after everyone left.

You probably remember these days like clockwork. We lost all of our chickens. So there were dead chickens all over the yard.

P-9: Yes. It was pretty desolate—people began to realize they were not going to be able to return home to rebuild. It started thinning out for people that were still in town. Last straw—left the Beach.

Q-8/28. Do you recall any offers from faith-based organizations or the government to put you up or provide assistance? Friends? Other family members? What were the major things you needed help with after the dioxin buyout notification? How effective were government/faith-based orgs/community leaders?

P-9: So after the flood, My Dad and I went over to a school in Eureka and maybe it was applying for some type of voucher for assistance-- Dad did all the talking. The Red Cross and Salvation Army were wonderful after the flood happened. The Red Cross

provided cleaning supplies—buckets, mops, brooms.... The Red Cross drove around to the homes where people were doing repairs and brought hot food right to our front doors. The Red Cross brought hot soup—best tasting. Very generous.

So looking back, do you recall the Ecumenical Task Force—a conglomeration of faith-based organizations to help people out?

P-9: I remember hearing the name.

So at the time were you working?

P-9: No, I was having a hard time finding a job. I had my high school diploma—and I even applied to fast food positions. It took me until August of '83 to find a job so I was unemployed that whole time. That was a depressing time because with the loss of everything and then not having money coming in... and for myself, I didn't have a car. I was just stuck.

What about important papers for your family after the flood? Were you able to salvage those?

P-9: No. I don't even know if we had any assistance from anybody to help us get those replacements. When you've never really been through a disaster before, you don't know the protocols. Back then, didn't have internet like we have today.

How about trust of government. Talk about your family's well-being at the time?

P-9: It was almost like you were at the mercy of the government. All the decisions with your daily life was in the hands of somebody else. I know my parents were real stressed during that time—worrying about when we were going to get the money for the buyout and what the final plan would be. Making the decision to buy a house which they hadn't done in 30 years.

I think if there hadn't been the dioxin, people would have gone back and rebuilt. After a flood, they had done it before—you cleaned it up, did what you had to do, and went back to your lives.

Q-9. So where were you-- when there was the announcement about the dioxin contamination and the test results and that residents were advised to get out of town? Describe how you felt hearing about the dioxin contamination and warning to leave TB? Known as the "Christmas message". Were you at that town party? Who made the announcement?

P-9: I think I heard it on the news. We had Christmas at Mary's house. She lived in Cedar Hill. Consisted of really a Christmas meal.

Were you able to save or salvage anything of personal meaning yourself?

P-9: [Silence] I actually have the vanity I have in my bedroom. It was upstairs but it was sitting higher—like a little makeup table and a stool. I think it's about the only thing.

Were you able to get with family members since to get copies of family photos and records?

P-9: No. We don't have any pictures from that time. The only pictures that we have are some of the ones I took after the flood—of the damage and the like. Well, now that I think of it—we do have some pictures of my mom and dad when they were first married and had little kids. And I think my sister had those. I believe they were in some the belongings of my grandma—my Dad's mom. After she passed we got them and I guess they had been put up some place and got them from some cousins.

Q-10. How did you first become aware of the dioxin contamination of TB?

P-9: TV. Even before the flood, we had seen people taking samples but did not connect to dioxin at the time.

Where were you when you saw them?

P-9 Actually in our house. I looked out the window and saw them walking around in their moon suits. And I wondered, what's going on? And then it kind of brought to your mind—why do they have that on and we don't? What are we missing here?

Did you talk with them or anything?

P-9: I didn't. My Dad probably did—he talked with practically anyone who would stop by.

So that would have been late November, early December?

P-9: I remember see the broadcast on the news with the guys walking around in their moon suits.

Later when I heard it on the news I wondered... Sister lived on Laurel and then a house in Ballwin.

So when your family heard the news, what was their decision?

P-9: I think we were just waiting around not really knowing what to do—or should do. There was so much indecisiveness—about future plans. Where were we goin' go?

Q-11. Prior to the announcement about the dioxin contamination had your family been concerned about any environmental issues or hazards? Describe.

P-9: You mean about the dioxin contamination? Not really because we didn't know anything about it! If we'd had more information about what the risks were and the exposure, we would have had more fear. But never really thought about it because we were here for so long --what's damage is done is done.

Q-12. Were you aware of Russell Bliss spraying the oil on TB's streets? Detectable odors, vapors, other clues of pollution? Did you view it as possibly affecting you in any way?

P-9: I do. I remember because us kids would out there on the slick oil on our bikes and slip and slide all over. And at that time, and the oil would solidify and would almost be like taffy—and it was sweet.

How did you know it was sweet? Oh-- you could smell it?

P-9: No, we tasted it. It was like fresh taffy. And I've heard several people who lived in the Beach say oh yeh—we tried it too, it was sweet!

Was it a dark color? Did it have a smell?

P-9: Yes, it was a dark color. It sounds kind of gross now thinking about it but kids are kids. It had a chemical smell.

So you slipped and slide around in the oil barefoot?

P-9: Oh yeh, most of kids went around barefoot in the summer.

Did any of your family members work for R. Bliss?

P-9: No. We had no knowledge of who he was until the City contracted with him to do something about the dust control. Because our roads were SO dusty. It was hard to keep it down. That's why they did that.

Q-13. Do you believe you or your family members were exposed to any hazardous substances due to the dioxin being sprayed on the streets of TB? Talk about that and then were any of your pets affected?

P-9: I most definitely do. Well that's an issue too because we used to raise chickens. After the streets were sprayed-- our chickens were dying off! We lost a lot of chickens who were going down into the water in the ditches to drink and then expiring. We had a lot of them. But as far as our dogs and cats—I don't remember any of them suffering and type of health issues. But I do vividly remember the chickens because they were all over the place and the run-off from the road into the ditch water. And no correlation as to what could have been the cause. I do believe it definitely does cause physical effects. Ya know, before '71 nobody in our family had any kind of health issues. In 1973 I was diagnosed with condition called Hashimoda thyroiditis which is an autoimmune disorder. That we have absolutely no family history of. And basically it's when the body attacks itself. It pretty much wiped out my thyroid gland and with Hashimoda's you develop tumors in the thyroid gland that don't go away unless you either have them removed or aspirated to see if their cancer causing or you can have CT scans to check ya know if they are cancerous. I've had the diagnosis since '73.

So did you experience those tumors?

P-9: Yep. I've got them. With the medication at a high level, it suppresses the growth. There was absolutely no history of thyroid disorders in our family history at all—until that point. I've got multiple nieces and sisters who have had the thyroidism. Yes. And my mom too.

So all females?

P-9: Yes.

This is not a medical study but it might be interesting for someone in the future to follow up with a medical study of the Times Beach residents. I've heard a number of persons tell me they have autoimmune disease. And thyroid problems.

P-9: I did not know that. Because I know it does affect the immune system itself—central nervous system. I had issues with the chloracne.

You did?

P-9: Yep ...and I had skin eruptions, discolorations—on my arms.

And how long did that last?

P-9: It was really prevalent the summer before the flood. I had like rashes and areas where the rash would kind of scale back and leave just white patches on my arms and one of my other brothers, Dennis had the same thing.

So then how long did that continue?

P-9: It kind of...I'm trying to think...while we still lived here... but I really didn't have it pretty much after '84-- I don't remember having any type of skin eruptions like that.

And how about your brother? He doesn't have it anymore.

P-9: He actually has skin issues now—they've continued but not to the extreme like it was at the Beach.

Anything else about your family member's being exposed to the hazardous chemical?

P-9: Cancer. My nephew, one of my brother's son, at the age of 24, died of leukemia. No family history of cancer until that point. And he had never lived here but there's a predisposition for it—ya know, for your offspring.

Yes, there seems to be. What I understand is once the dioxin is in your system it tends to migrate to the fatty tissue and passes on to the next generation?

P-9: Right. It deposits there.

You would probably be a good one to do a future study with your medical background! Maybe a mixed method study.

P-9: Maybe kind of like a blind study... that's something to think about!

Q-23. Describe any discussions about a memorial for TB (gov't, friends? Former residents? Would you be in favor of a memorial to Times Beach? What kind of memorial would you like to see? Do you think memorials are helpful?

P-9: I have heard several people on the Beach that they wish there was something to memorialize the town.

Q-14/15. Are you aware of the levels of contamination on your street? How did you know? Nearby properties contaminated? Did you think your property was contaminated or not?

P-9: Yes it was pretty hot. But Maple wasn't quite as contaminated. Our house was between Maple and Laurel. And my sister lived right across the street [looking at the map]. And my other sister, lived on Dogwood—she lived down there right on another hot street. And then directly across the street from her was a lady we had gone to Church with who died of breast cancer at age 26 years old with no family history. Her name was Rhonda Rankins. Left a 5-year old daughter and husband.

Q-16. Any changes in routines after dioxin notification? Personal hygiene, house clean, abandon gardening, stopped yard work, stop fishing at river?

P-9: No because we didn't know much about it—what the risks were---there was so little information. The EPA was squashing things. So people didn't really take precautions because we didn't know there was a risk.

You stayed until 1984?

P-9: Yeh, we stayed until June 1984 is when we left.

Q-17. How effectively did government officials/representatives address your concerns with dioxin contamination and buyout process? Do you recall the buyout announcement in February of 1983?

P-9: I didn't personally go---my Dad probably did. I do know we applied for some type of grant for new belongings, clothes, but to get it, we had to sign a letter or declaration that we would never move back into Times Beach. Once the buyout was final, we relinquished any options of ever trying to come back. Through a government official. We stayed there until we got the grant money. I don't remember until we got the grant money. It took a long time.

So the government bought your home for FMV?

P-9: I remember my Dad was constantly on the phone with the lawyers who were administering the financial aspects. It took them forever to come up with an amount. There was no negotiation and ended up getting \$36,000 for the home. FEMA chipped in \$15,000 for relocation for a total of \$51,000. So with that money they had to go and try to purchase a home-- they were able to buy the one in Robertsville.

So that was when you left Times Beach?

P-9: Yes that was the June of '84.

Did you family participate I any of the lawsuits? Were there any kind of settlements there? What were the feelings and when did that happen?

P-9: I think we got one of the settlements around 1989-90 somewhere around that time. And another one followed that. It wasn't fair. It was not done fair. I know a lot of people who had health issues and they said that was what they were basing it upon. But there were some people with health issues who got hardly any compensation. And then other people who got well up into the thousands. I know one person...the day I was cashing my check, this lady had gotten close to \$60,000 and I had only gotten \$10,600. So it was kind of based on who you knew...honestly, because the lawyer that was spearheading this whole lawsuit actually was the municipal court judge for Times Beach prior to the flood. He was actually in on the class action suit from what I understand—kind of a conflict of interest to represent yourself.

And then was the lawsuit run through that other lawyer?

P-9: Oh are you talking about Gerson Smoger? Marilyn and some others had him and they fared much better than those of us on this one.

What law firm was yours?

P-9: It was Dorkasill & Poulos—they were located in St. Louis. It wasn't done fairly. One of my brothers only got \$1,300 out of the lawsuit.

Was there a statement restricting further litigation or anything like that?

P-9: Yes, there was a disclaimer. I don't think it was fair to have that disclaimer because you don't know what's gonna happen in the future. You're relinquishing your ability to be compensated—just for your health care! If you don't have insurance and you're bombarded with major medical issues-- that could bankrupt a person. Plus wreck your quality of life, too.

Q-18. Okay during the relocation, stayed with family. Now how did you keep in touch with neighbors and other family members during the evacuation and relocation? After the flood, folks went to temporary locations. What were you doing?

P-9: I was finished with school. We kept in touch with people we went to Church with because our Church relocated to Eureka but as far as the people we didn't see on a weekly basis at Church? We kinda lost touch. We didn't know how to contact each other. We all had different phone numbers—nobody knew how to network. No databases like we have today.

Q-19. Did you participate in the “Christmas in July” event? Describe.

P-9: I didn't but my sisters did.

Q-20. Did you participate in the “Farewell Ceremony” on the bridge? Describe.

P-9: No, I was not in the local area. I do remember seeing pictures of it. People threw flowers off the bridge into the river.

Q-21. Are you aware of any expressions to commemorate TB (i.e., art, poetry, music, writings?)

P-9: Actually, there was a guy, “Bobcat Morris”. He lived in the trailer park and he wrote a country & western song about life in TB and it played on Channel 24, Larry Rice’s TV station. He and his organization had kind of been involved with the flood victims.

Has that surfaced anywhere?

P-9: I don’t know! It’s been years since I had thought about it. When I was reading over the questions, I thought about it! As far as anything else—I can’t think of anything else...ya know...tributes to the whole thing...

Q-22. Have you attended any of the annual September Reunions? Describe.

P-9: I haven’t been able to go to the last couple because it was my turn to work on the weekends. But this year I’m going to be off and I plan to go. It’s always the last Saturday in September. I think it was when we had the 25th that was huge. We go by the date of the flood because that the beginning of the end. I think it was 2-3 years prior to that. I think they said that they had 1500 people show up. The Parks people didn’t expect very many to show up and they kind of played it down. But there were cars and cars and cars parked all the way back down by the road.

Is there someone that sets it up?

P-9: Back at that time I think it was Nettie Painter—she did it that one year. But for the past couple of years, it’s been kind of informal and they haven’t had a whole lot of people show up. I almost wish we could get back to having a big group again. But last year they had some kind of accident on the highway and the highway was shut down and you couldn’t get into the park or out of the park. So they had to have it over at Kirchner Park in Eureka. So let’s see, next year would be how many years—35! That would be nice to have a big one.

P-9: That would!

Q-24. Is it important to you that the story of Times Beach be told? To who? Why?

P-9: Yes, I think it is important because we had everything taken away from us. So we don’t want the memories of Times Beach to be taken away, too.

I wonder if you recall any options presented by the government to permanently relocate the entire town together to one site.

P-9: I think it would make it easier to acclimate to your new environment.

Q-25. How often are you in contact with former friends, neighbors from TB? How do you keep in touch over the years--Email/FB/in person/phone?

P-9: There was a long time that we had no contact whatsoever. Especially like after the flood had happened. We didn't have phone numbers exchanged so the only time was maybe at some of the meetings for assistance or some of the churches or in line while getting assistance or at school—we would see people. For example, my Dad and I were at a school getting some kind of assistance and I was sitting in this auditorium all by myself and in walks this really handsome man—he was about 10 years older than me and came over and sat right next to me. I was wondering why this man is sitting so close to me—I don't know you? And then he looked at me and said, “You don't know who I am, do you?” And I said, “No, I don't.” He said he was friends with my brothers and that was the first time I met him—was that day.

So are you still in touch with him?

P-9: I see him occasionally. He's always saying, “Hey kid! How ya doing?”

Q-26. Are you a member of the closed FB groups? There's two of them.

P-9: Yes I'm in both.

Q-27. What do you miss most about living in TB? I mean that's a broad questions...

P-9: I think I just miss seeing all the people I used to know. And not really being given the opportunity to see how everyone's lives turned out on a day to day basis. Cuz we had a lot of friends and neighbors that were there long term like we were. It makes me wonder that if the flood hadn't happened and if dioxin hadn't happened, would we all still be here.

And do you think you would?

P-9: I think we would! I've heard so many people say that if they we had the opportunity, we'd move back in a heartbeat. It was really hard when I was going to nursing school because at that time, I started nursing school in 1987 and went at Missouri Baptist Medical Center where I trained and we were living out in Robertsville and I would have to drive this highway ...and it was hard because I couldn't even look over here ...silence.

So in '87 it's still abandoned...

P-9: All you still saw were the houses...they didn't tear down the houses until I think '91. I just couldn't even look. I'd divert my eyes.

Did you ever sneak back in?

P-9: No. I wanted to and heard of people doing that. I would have been too afraid to. I was always such a good kid, ya know? Afraid of getting caught. They had a patrol and were a force to be reckoned with even when we were living here. One of the security officers had some issues and got into some trouble a few years later had shot and murdered somebody. He actually followed me home one night when I was coming home from work. He pulled in right behind me with his lights off and followed me the entire way home. And then when I got home I ran in the house and told my oldest brother. He went up to the guard shack and basically put the fear of God in him. Don't ever mess with her again. Never had any more problems with him again.

Q-28. What were the major things you needed help with after the dioxin buyout notification?

How effective were government/faith-based orgs/community leaders?

P-9: Important papers lost. Not sure how helpful anyone helped restore those that were lost. By August 1983, I was looking for a job.

Q-29. For you and your family what were the main issue(s) related to the environmental relocation (floods and dioxin and buyout)? (trust of gov't? land area that used to be TB home, your family's well-being, feeling of freedom, sense of control over own destiny?)

P-9: At the mercy of the government; daily decisions were made for us. I know my parents were stressed about everything.

Buyout: Dad was on the phone with the attorneys-- no negotiations with government – got \$36K for house and \$15,000 for relocation. Moved to Robertsville, June 1984. Two lawsuits, 1989/1990 unfair. Distrusting—Municipal Court Judge and belonged to law firm in St. Louis. Disclaimer noted we couldn't ever go back to our home in TB or ask for more money for health issues.

Q-30. Has the experience of environmental relocation brought the former residents of TB closer together or further apart?

P-9: We all suffered during the same experience. We're closer—we share the same grief. We don't have the opportunity to go back home. It's gone. The only way you can tell where you lived are the trees—the landmarks. Or if you see an area that has a growth of brush—a house was there. Where Marilyn's house was on Blakey you can see the daffodils in the spring.

Q-31. Describe how your faith played a role in how you dealt with the environmental relocation.

P-9: It did. We were a pretty religious family and believed in and had a lot of faith in God. It was a time when you had to trust your faith and pray. There was a lot of uncertainty and there's comfort in prayer. It was very important. I think that was pretty consistent with everybody that lived here.

So your church was flooded out and they relocated to Eureka?

P-9: They did. They rented a couple of buildings in Eureka and then they were able to build a big Church. The church is still there but the congregation has dissolved and went their separate ways and the pastor passed away and the son decided he did not want to take the church. James Curtis was our preacher and was actually the Local Water Commissioner here in Times Beach. He died of prostate cancer. My brother, the one with the chloracne, he read the meters and he'd have his arms down in the pipes and stuff.

Q-32. Looking back to all that that happened--how have you changed because of the environmental relocation? (Individually, relationship with spouse, children, relatives, neighborhood/community, homeowner, renter, citizen who fees trusting of govt, as an employee?)

P-9: Well I don't think for me personally I don't distrust the government—there are certain entities within the government that may not be on the up and up—I have more of a distrust for attorneys throughout this whole process. That's where my distrust is—because of the outcome of the lawsuit. Actually, I'm a very resilient person—if anything that has taught me that. I was more of a quiet, stay to myself kind of person and not handle stress. I am in a very stressful job and I do very well because I am resilient.

And do you attribute that to....?

P-9: Oh yeh! Going through that whole experience has had to teach me that sometimes you just have to go with the flow of things. Things don't always work out the way you think they will. You have to make the best of the situation. So that has been a benefit for me.

Q-35. So would you describe yourself as a disaster survivor or disaster victim?

P-9: I definitely don't feel like a victim. Because we survived it! Ya know, maybe at the time we felt like victims...but my philosophy is you've gotta take the positives out of negative situation and just make the best of it.

Q-39. Talk about whether you think other former TB residents answer these questions in the same way? Differently? How so?

P-9: Probably. Definitely about the love for our town. And missing the constant contact with each other. If you look on the FB -- a lot of times people will say, "You're like family to me." And that's what it felt like.

Q-33. Describe any stigma related experiences you and your family had as a former resident of Times Beach?

P-9: You know, there was a point where I would not tell people where I was from.

Why is that do you think?

P-9: Because I didn't want to get the negative comments. Talking about the dioxin. So I guess I didn't want face up to what had happened. It was my own grief trying to process through it. So I avoided telling anyone where I was from. I no longer do that. I quickly say where I grew up

And do they know about Times Beach?

P-9: No—they DON'T know. That's what kind of weird. And especially in my profession—I work with a lot of younger nurses and we've talked about where I grew up and none of them have any recollection of ever hearing about it. So it's like the stigma's kind of died. But I had a friend that went to Northeast Missouri State and they actually got ridiculed up there. I guess because it was so publicized on the news; Johnny Carson did his bit on his show about Times Beach. Um and my friend, somebody had said something to her like, "do you glow in the dark?"

Q-34. Regarding your current home, have you been able to have a comfortable home life again since the environmental relocation?

P-9: I am. And I have lived longer in my current home than I did in Times Beach. But I have so much childhood memories from this area and our town that it is equally as important. And I think as you get older you think about things more.

Q-36. Have you visited the Rt 66 state park since it opened? Describe how your visit(s).

P-9: Yes. We actually missed the opening of the park—we didn't really know about the park's opening in September of 1999. We weren't informed about the opening. They had asked the people who had actually lived down here to come first. But we didn't hear about it—we had no clue. So we came weeks after-- our whole family came and we walked down to where our property was.

What was that like?

P-9: Honestly, it was refreshing to be able to be home on the property—however, I was so disoriented to where the location was—I couldn't have found it—if my brothers hadn't of been there, I wouldn't have known where it was—cuz it looked so different—without the houses, too. So that's when we had to look for the landmarks in the trees.

Q-37. Prior to the Park opening in 1999, had you heard anything about the proposal to turn Times Beach into a state park?

P-9: No. I never even heard they were going to turn it into a state park.

Q-38. What do you hope will happen there in the future?

P-9: I wish we could camp there. My family I have actually talked about that.

Q-40. Is the TB site less of a hazard now that it is the Rt 66 State Park?

P-9: I guess because a lot of the information was not shared with us when we were living here and afterwards-- I am very distrusting as far as the safety of really how it is. There's an area a little bit further near the railroad—an area dug out but they didn't go any further. I just don't know.

They have fully erased the fact that this used to be Times Beach—that dioxin was an issue here. Unless you grew up around this area, you don't know because we get a lot of people from the West County area—Wildwood and the people that have migrated in here—you see them all the time riding their bikes and stuff. What comes to my mind is – do you know where you are?

Q-41. Is there anything you want to add to what was said earlier or that you didn't feel comfortable saying before but want me to know about now?

P-9: No

Q-42. What would you like to say to others who may have to go through the forced relocation of their community in the future?

Be very informed. Get as much information as you can. I don't know what else...get organized. Get a spokesperson. What are our options? I think that would have been a good option for us because of the relationships.

Is there anything else you would like to add?

P-9: I think it would be real important to the people who went through the dioxin and went through the flood to have some type of memorialization for our time here.

Do you think memorials are helpful?

P-9: Sure I do.

What kind of memorial?

P-9: I was thinking of some kind of living memorial maybe; it would be kind of nice to maybe have benches where the streets used to be and My thought was maybe have the addresses and names of those who lived there. There'd be a place to sit while walking all that way. If we had designated areas.

Maybe just even the names of the residents.

P-9: You know that was what we kind of talked about at the 30th reunion. Having some kind of memorial HERE—but they met opposition because they didn't want the stigma of Times Beach and the memory of the dioxin brought on the park.

“They” being who?

P-9: I actually heard it from the lady who organized the reunion who had talked with the park people.

They need to be informative.

P-9: Knowledge is power. It almost seems like there’s shame or liability.

How about that bridge they are raising money to reconstruct?

P-9: It connected our town.

That’s it.

P-9: We can drive around and I can point things out if you have the time.

TRANSCRIPT INTERVIEW

P-10

Q-1. What brought your family to TB initially? How long lived there? Any drawbacks? Expect to live there a long time?

P-10: My parents were from Kentucky. I was like 5 or 6 when we moved there. So I think they just found a house that they could afford to buy. He was working in St. Louis. And back then it wasn't as horrible to work in St. Louis as it is today—have to wear a gun shield –it's horrible--when you go!

So what year was that—about?

P-10: So, about 1962 or 63. I started first grade here and went all 12 years in Eureka.

So your family probably expected to live there a long time?

P-10: Yeh. I don't really know why we ended up there. Her sister (my mom's) lived in Ballwin and she had another sister in Kirkwood—to be near them.

Q-2. Describe your community as to what I was like as a place to have a home. Did your home there fulfill this meaning? (growing up as children, outdoors, river? Activities, meeting people, friends)

P-10 : Everybody down there knew everybody. You didn't have to worry about anything—you didn't do nothing wrong because everybody knew about it and somebody was going to tell your parents and they'd know by the time you got home or even if you hadn't done it yet –before you'd done it, ya know? We could take off and ride our bikes and go anywhere down the Beach and not have to worry about somebody picking ya up. It wasn't so bad back then. Played outside a lot. Walked everywhere. The thing to do on Saturdays was to go over to Ellisville for roller-skating. Parents took turn taking and picking up the kids. We had a group go—usually the neighbors across the street had seven kids that went.

Here's the map. You can have that one. You were on Hawthorne between Grove and Ivy.

P-10: Do you have the community house or the police station showing there? We were two blocks from the Bible Church. Let's see—from Steiny's...okay, we would be right through here on the third block. We were very close. Growing up down there everybody knew everybody--we all got on the bus—we had our spat but everybody took care of each other.

How about the river?

P-10: Behind Steiny's there was a little beach you could walk out or swim or take a small BBQ pit and make it a day of it. Some people fished but neither my mom nor dad fished in the river.

How about gardens? Fruit trees.

P-10: We had a small garden—everybody had gardens—large and small—depending on how much land you had, ya know? I thought everything done good down there. I don't remember fruit trees.

Q-3. So prior to any concern with the dioxin contamination, how was your family's overall health and well-being?

P-10: I was asthmatic --seems like I was born with it. I was born in Kentucky.

How about your parents and your sister?

P-10: They were all born in Kentucky and they were pretty healthy, My mom and dad didn't have health problems until they got older.

Q-4. Communications. Think back to when you were living there-how did you keep informed about events in the local area? Was there a local newspaper or strictly by TV.

P-10 : Mostly word of mouth. When you told someone something down there, the whole town knew it.[laughter] We had a community center and they would post certain things on the bulletin board there. My Dad ran a *teen town* which had a band—every other Saturday-- I think it was. That was the thing to do down there. My sister and I when we were old enough we helped at the snack bar—they had potato chips, I think we had hot dogs and soda, gum, candy—the things kids like to eat ya know. [laughter] That their parents didn't want them to have but they got it there.[Laughter]

Q-6. Okay let's talk about the day of the flood (December 5, 1982) –Tell me what you remember about that day—what you were doing--How do you remember the record flood of (flooding before? How did you hear about the impending flood? Evacuation assistance? Where did you go temporarily? 10:07

P-10: My ex-husband and I lived in the trailer court; My Dad was a firm believer that the flood was not gonna get in his house...I guess you could call it the highest part of the Beach. And so my Dad told me to bring my son, Frank, he was 3—over there.

So was your husband there too or was he at work?

P-10: He volunteered to help evacuate. Everybody was evacuating.

How did you hear about the coming floodwaters---the day before? TV? News?

P-10: Word of mouth really. Everybody was freaking out. Ya know, was worried. We'd had floods before...

Did it come into the trailer park?

P-10: Yeh

Did you have get out for a while whenever it happened?

P-10: Yeh. That happened a few times, I remember that happening – ya know and you usually just laughed—we usually went to my mom’s sisters and then we’d come back and everything would be fine. That happened I dunno—four or five times. And then so in our minds, that was what was going to happen. But then on the news, they kept sayin’ “worst flood in history” or whatever...so, everybody got out ...everybody got their stuff out...

So when you left your house and went to your Dad’s house, you acted like you always had done before...did you put anything up high or what...

P-10: We had moved all of our stuff out.

Where did you move it?

P-10: We put it in a storage place in Eureka --before the flood hit. My Mom got out. My mom was one of them that took pictures of everything didn’t move or she’d take a picture anyway. So we helped her get mostly her memorabilia, I guess you’d call it, out. She took it to my aunt’s basement in Ballwin-- the day before the flood.

Okay, so you left the trailer, went over to your parents and then what happened?

P-10: By the time my Dad realized it, it was coming in his basement, and you could literally stand and watch the water coming at cha. I said, “Dad we better get the h-ll outa here—it’s comin!” It was a one story house—two-bedroom. And so and it was bumper to bumper getting out of there and the news media was everywhere! I mean EVERYWHERE! And—it was good they were there, but then they were a hindrance because they were in the way...because we realized this is NOT like it was before...

So what was the direction you went to get out of town? Across the bridge to Steiny’s?

P-10: Yeh. And we just parked there and we just waited...and watched.

And so what was that like? What did you see?

P-10: Horrible. Just water everywhere.

So the Meramec River was down below and what was it doing?

P-10: It was rising I think-- three feet an hour! It got over the roof of our trailer. We had a canoe sitting on top of our trailer and when we got back in...I ain’t never...I don’t even know how to describe the feeling of walking back in there...devastated!

So you were over at Steinys and waiting...where did you go from there?

P-10: That was the bad thing about down there. Families all stayed down there...they may have moved away for a while but you still had family there so that when they were wiped out---it wiped everybody out. We went up to Eureka to a hotel—now it’s the Ramada Inn---right there by Six Flags. I think it was the Red Cross that paid—I could be wrong on that...I can’t remember exactly who paid for us all.

Was it the government?

P-10: Yes, because they put all of us in the back. Cuz I mean...it was a bunch of us...they had nowhere to go because all the families lived down there.

Q-18. How did you keep in touch with your other family members? There was you and your mom and dad and your husband and little boy...and then your sister?

P-10: We were together.

Q-8. Describe any gov’t assistance your family received? Faith-based orgs? Friends? Other family members?

P-10: Yeh, we were all the hotel and then they moved us from there we slept up at the old junior high school behind *Super Smokers* and put us in the cafeteria.

How long did you stay in the hotel?

P-10: About a week.

And they still wouldn’t let you go back into Times Beach?

P-10: Oh no. But I don’t exactly know how long it took for the water to go down. I don’t think it was a long long time but it seemed like it was – forever.

So how long did you stay there at the school? Until you could go back?

P-10: Yeh, In the meantime, FEMA was workin’ on... FEMA had meetings all the time.

What do you recall about that?

P-10: It seems like they were slow. I really don’t think they were. Ya know, when you have nowhere to go, you just somewhere to put your—you know.

How were you getting your daily necessities? Were there churches, Red Cross? Describe.

P-10: Yeh, everybody...just chipped in... at the school they had tables like these –the metal ones...with clothes...necessities...the Red Cross fed us.

What was that like? Standing in line?

P-10: Yeh. You just took what you needed...and well...the bad thing wasthere was so much media there...there knew you was from Times Beach and they were sticking cameras in your face and asked me, “Well what do you think about this?” And I thought,

“Well what the h-ll do you think we think about this?” And then of course dioxin hadn’t come out yet...

Q-7. Okay so when you got word that people could return to their homes to see the damage—what did you do then? What was the damage to your home by the floodwaters? What did you see?

P-10: Well, we walked in our trailer there was mud everywhere—from the ceiling ---just covered everything. The floodwaters had risen over the roof of our trailer—mud everywhere. Just a total loss. We were in a canoe to check it out. Saw chairs up in the trees.

But you had taken everything out the day before...thank goodness.

P-10: And ya know-- you realize when you walk in there and you see all this mud-- you’ve just lost your home.

Were you able to repair/reconstruct it?

P-10: No. Just a total loss.

So what happened next? Did the government reach out?

P-10: Yeh, we talked and met with FEMA while we were in the temporary housing. You just had to wait for your turn to fill the papers out. The bad part was there so many people needing it—all at once. Because everybody’s family lived down there. You didn’t have a sister to go to or a mom to go to over there.

So how old were you by the flood of ’82?

P-10: I was 22.

Was your son in school?

P-10: No, he was three.

How about your important papers? I’m hearing that some people without papers weren’t allowed to send their kids to school.

P-10: I didn’t have that problem because he wasn’t in school. But I had friends that did. I had my driver’s license in my purse so I could prove who I was. Which was lucky because some people couldn’t. They got to some parts quicker than other parts of the Beach. But the people right on the river—had to get up and get out right away. Others further away had more time to get out. Not a whole lotta more time but some.

Q-9. So, by that time then its December, almost Christmas time. Had you begun to prepare for the holidays in your mobile home at all?

P-10: Yes, because Stephen was three years old. They let us back in before Christmas so they had a Christmas party at the community house.

Did you go to that? What was that like?

P-10: Yeh. It was fun because you got to see a happy moment. Because from the time all that happened on, we had no happy moments for a while. Everybody was craving a happy moment.

So did Santa come?

P-10: They had a Santa come and they gave gifts out to the kids and don't remember who put that on. It had to be some organization.

Q-9. Was the Christmas party where you heard about the dioxin contamination and that residents were warned to get out of Times Beach in what has become known as the "Christmas Message"?

P-10: Well, it was like a rumor at first. Well, I remember while I was growing up and I can't remember where it came from --that they wanted to put a park there. I had heard that before. Years before. I mean we all lived there—how could they just want to put a park there? It didn't dawn on anyone. And then of course the news media started in on the dioxin and it was just unbearable. That's when the media started really coming around. We had Good Morning America, every news organization... One night, my husband and I, we had got enough money to buy a small mobile home and they let us put it back down there before the dioxin announcement]. Still in the same mobile home park. Then ya know we thought everything was all right. After the dioxin announcement-- the schools suddenly wouldn't let the buses drive down there into town to get the kids. They only picked them up at the beginning of the Beach—parents had to get them to the main road to get on the bus—because of contamination.

Going back a bit—end of November before the flood—do you remember seeing the EPA people in their "moon suits" taking samples? What were you doing?

P-10: And they weren't allowed to talk to ya.

Did you try to talk to them?

P-10: [laughs] My Dad did. He did just to mess with them. Cuz ya know they were in his yard [laughs]. And they had this white suit on so Daddy went out there and asked them, "How are you?" and he didn't answer then Daddy asked, "Can't you talk?" and the man just shook his head. He said, "Well you're in my yard, why can't you talk with me?" Ya know, he was just messin' with them. But they wouldn't talk to you.

So you didn't really know about the dioxin at that point?

P-10: Yes. They were in monkey suits WHITE!

Q-10. So back to the Christmas party timeframe—you were in your new mobile home back in the trailer park. So then what happened when you heard about the dioxin contamination?

P-10: Nobody knew exactly what was gonna happen. A lot of us--we still believed that we were going to stay there. Even with the dioxin--people didn't want to leave. Some people had been living down there since the Beach started--from the very beginning when that paper sold lots so cheap. So they didn't want to leave. They had a river lot and then they built their home there. They had been there for ya know, umpteen years. The older people were like, "I ain't leavin'." Then you had some people who believed the dioxin and some that didn't. Kind of split the town.

Q-12. Let's go back to when you were growing up. Were you aware of Russell Bliss spraying the oil on TB's streets? Detectable odors, vapors, other clues of pollution? Did you view it as possibly affecting you in any way? Did any of your family members work for R. Bliss?

P-10: Yeh. I was probably about in junior high. We walked in it. Barefooted. I hate shoes—the less shoes I have on my feet...the happier I am. We walked in it and the littler kids played in it. Saw the littler children play in it.

Some had said they even tasted it.

P-10: Yeh, I'm sure the littler kids probably did that—sit in it and lick their fingers... Those roads were dusty all right--dirt roads...and the City paid him to do it!

Did any of your family work for Russell Bliss?

P-10: No. My Mom later had a sticker on her car, "Ignorance is Bliss". Oh yeh.

You saw him then?

P-10: Yes.

Q-13. Do you believe you or your family members were exposed to any hazardous substances due to the dioxin being sprayed on the streets of TB? (what, how, when). (Children playing in yards, roads, fish from river? Fruit trees? Gardens? Dust blown into home? Pets affected? Walking/driving streets, bikes? And Q-11. Prior to the announcement about the dioxin contamination had your family been concerned about any environmental issues or hazards? Describe.

P-10 : Yeh, I do. When it first all hit I was like that's just nuts. But hind sight --20-20, yeh I do believe we were exposed. My Mom never smoked a cigarette in her life and died of cancer. And there's been several people down there that have died of cancer.

How about your Dad?

P-10: Daddy had emphysema and COPD but he smoked cigars. It is what it is. He didn't have cancer---I think a lot of his from smokin' and he drank. I think a lot of his was his own but—not dioxin related.

How about you and your sister?

P-10: My sister's healthy. I was healthy until I got his bad headache—11 years ago in August, right back here. I worked in a nursing home over 30 years. So when I felt pain right back here [points to back of head] I knew something was wrong.

What's back there?

P-10: Well the base of my brain. So I told my husband that I needed to go to the hospital. I was throwing up—it hurt so bad. I ain't never in my life other than having a child—hurt so bad in one place. And I went to the emergency room and thank God that the doctor listened to me and gave me a CAT SCAN and found a blood clot that was hemorrhaging.

What was that from? Did they say?

P-10: No. And the secondary problem was that I had an aneurysm.

Educate me on aneurysms.

P-10: It's like a blood vessel that was about to burst. I was in ICU-- oh dear God-- probably 2 weeks. The first week they didn't even know if I was gonna live. When I came to, my sister had called my Dad's family in Kentucky to come up. So when I woke up, and finally realized what was going on--the first person I see is my Dad's brother—and I'm thinking, oh dear God--it must have really gotten bad. And I didn't remember nothing for about a year. They took what they called Gamma Knife surgery and that's where they zapped me with radiation to shrink the blood clot. Then they cut me from here all the way down to here [showed me] to repair the aneurysm. From August to October – I was in and out cuz they had to schedule it and stabilize me first.

How's it been since?

P-10: Good! I don't have to go but every five years now for a checkup. I was going when it first happened—every three months. Like a heart catherization—they go through the groin area all the way up to my brain to check for blood clots. I mean they knock me out for it. What that was caused from? I don't have a clue. It was the only surgery I ever had to have. I thought-- man, Pam when you do it—you just really do it! Otherwise I feel like I'm healthy. I do battle depression. And I'm on medication for that. I think that's just life with all that's happened. So, when my daughter was born with her intestines on the outside—it was right in the middle of all this dioxin stuff.

What year was that?

P-10: 1980.

So the flood hadn't happened and the dioxin announcement hadn't been made. They say the dioxin attaches to the fatty tissue and can be passed on.

P-10: The dioxin announcement was after she was born and all that-- but then different reports said that dioxin does this and this and this...it kinda makes ya think.

Was there any reference in those reports about body parts being in the wrong place?

P-10: No. But I still wonder.

Q-14/15. On that EPA map--are you aware of the levels of contamination on your street? How did you know? Nearby properties contaminated? Did you think your property was contaminated or not?

P-10: Yes. But if you'd told me back then I would have argued and said there's no dioxin down here. Well a lot of people that were fighting it then-- aren't fighting it now. That it could dioxin. Well it doesn't seem to manifest itself for many many years. My mom worked—she was 78 that July when she thought she had pneumonia, actually. So she went to the doctor and she was gasping for air. And the doctor says to her, “You're not driving anywhere—you're going to go by ambulance to the hospital. And my Mom told him she wasn't going by ambulance. Call my daughters. I wasn't home –I don't remember where I was. So my sister went and got here and borrowed an oxygen tank from the doctors. They said yes she had pneumonia and the doctor said they wanted to do a cat scan and the next day they wanted a conference with my sister and me and told us she had six months to live. She had cancer that had started in her kidney which is very rare—they said and that it had spread to her liver and lungs. Since dioxin there have been, God, I don't know how many people have died of cancer that were healthy. Or they thought they were healthy. I think dioxin was the cause but you ain't gonna get nobody to tell you that.

And she didn't have any symptoms?

P-10: None. She'd been going to the doctor. And she was taking all those vitamins, fish oil and omega and...and that was July and she died on the 3rd of January 2014.

So you and your husband had bought a second mobile home and so how long did you stay in the second mobile home?

P-10: Not very long. We stayed there until they bought us out. We wanted to move the trailer but they wouldn't let us—said it was contaminated.

So where did you move to?

P-10: Washington.

So were you able to purchase another home?

P-10: No we moved into an apartment. And then we divorced.

Q-17. How effectively did government officials/representatives address your concerns with dioxin contamination and buyout process?

P-10: A lot of paper to fill out. Hurry up and wait.

Where were their offices?

P-10: Some at the school where we stayed. Since this brain surgery-- I have to really think.

How about the law suits? Did your family participate in that?

P-10: My son was a child that was to be tested. We went once a week down to St. Louis for tests blood tests...I've got all his results.

What were the results?

P-10: Never really said. I guess if it had been something really bad they would have told me. I have all the results but they didn't really say.

Was that part of the lawsuit—to do the tests?

P-10: I don't know. I remember I got a letter from the lawyer. I think he was from California --Mark Bronson—St. Louis based—once a week paperwork, blood tests.

So your son received a settlement amount and you and your husband?

P-10: Right. My son got around \$39,000 and my husband and I got around \$17,000.

I understand that there was a kind of disclaimer that you couldn't go back in the future?

P-10: Yeh. Yeh. When you signed and got the money—you're done. Which is not fair. Well I think dioxin is the kind of thing you may not have problems today but may in the future.

How did you keep in touch with everyone, family, neighbors etc. during all that?

P-10: Family members—we clung together. They had a lot of meetings so we'd see people there. And we don't know where everyone went. On the Facebook, we've gotten back in touch. When you got in touch with me I talked with Marilyn. Not that I didn't trust you but there's so much meanness in the world. My husband freaked out. If anybody knows anything Marilyn Leistner would know and she did. When I told him I was gonna meet you down here he was having a panic attack. It's just the way the world is ya know. Nothing against you.

And that's a requirement for me is-- that we meet in a public place. I don't go to people's homes. I totally understand.

Q-19. Okay so think back to the buyout announcement in February of '83. Then they had a "Christmas in July" at the park? Tell me about that if you went.

P-10: Yes. It was fun. Saw lots of people you hadn't been in touch with. It was well publicized by the media. The media is good cuz my grandparents were alive back in Kentucky when the flood hit. Back then you couldn't just go to a phone – and we didn't have cell phones like we have now. My grandparents saw my dad and my stepmom and

us on television and so they knew we were all right. They didn't know up to that point if we were all right. They knew Times Beach was where we lived...I'm glad that that happened. But then when dioxin hit, the media was rude. If they knew you was from Times Beach they'd shove a microphone in your face. I'd open the door at 10 or 11 o'clock at night and there'd be these Japanese people talking to me and I couldn't understand them. The local media was respectful. It was these big major stations.

Q-20. Did you participate in the “Farewell Ceremony” on the bridge? Describe.

P-10: I heard about it but couldn't make it. My mom was probably there—if it said Times Beach—she was there. I don't care what they put here—it will always be our home.

Q-21. Awareness of expressions to commemorate TB (i.e., art, poetry, music, writings)

P-10: Seems like I remember a cookbook. I never got one. I have it but will make it available so everyone could access it.

Q-22. Have you attended any of the annual September Reunions? Describe.

P-10: Yes. My mom helped head up the 10-year reunion with a band and everything. Park rangers are against it; we would all bring food; there was stuff for kids to do; Nettie Reid did the 10 year reunion I remember. She got and sold T-shirts; it was a big picnic. People brought pictures. Now not a whole lot of people don't come. Now they don't have much going on. I've got a hat that was my Dad's that says Times Beach on it. I offered to loan it to the museum but they wouldn't take it. Facebook won't let us say we're from Times Beach.

Q-33. Describe any stigma related experiences you and your family had as a former resident of Times Beach?

P-10: Sometimes. Oh, you're from there? When people hear I'm from Times Beach, they acted like you could spread dioxin—ooh if I touch you I'll get it. I think it was dependent on what if you moved to where the upper people live, a lot of people had in their minds we were all poor. They looked down on us—after the dioxin. I'll never understand. We live and pay our taxes just as much as you do.

Q-23. Describe any discussions about a memorial for TB (gov't, friends? Former residents? Would you be in favor of a memorial to Times Beach? What kind of memorial would you like to see? Do you think memorials are helpful?)

P-10: I think memorials are helpful. I am in favor. We'd need a big one to put everybody's name on it. Or maybe no names...like maybe a big angel statue maybe words on it...memorial for Times Beach. Too many names and if you left one out that would be the one a family came to find their Dad's name and it wouldn't be there. Or

just a memorial to the town not so much as for the people who have passed. I would love to have one down here but I'm telling you THAT ain't gonna happen. I think it would help the people of Times Beach that would give us a place to go. I'd just love to have it in the park. Something—that we were here...that this place mattered.

What about a “living memorial”? Think of OKC bombing in '95. I researched that greening activities are helpful to survivors of disasters.

P-10: That is a great idea too. I think a memorial would help everyone who lived down there. They act like it never happen.

Q-24. Is it important to you that the story of Times Beach be told? To who? Why?

P-10: Out of the mouth of babes. Yes. Truth be told, I think it would be helpful to the former residents. Informational to everybody else so they wouldn't look so down on us. I think ya know that would help everybody.

Q-27. What do you miss most about living in TB?

P-10: The families. I miss the people, the comraderies down there; the closeness, the safety, the friendships and peace. Because if somebody come down those streets I mean everybody would know it in a minute. Everybody pitched in to help everyone.

Q-30. Has the experience of environmental relocation brought the former residents of TB closer together or further apart?

P-10: Further apart. The only reason I say that is they moved—so physically further apart. Spiritually, closer. But people you used to see all the time you don't see until they die.

So you feel like it tore your community apart?

P-10: Oh yeh.

Q-31. How about your faith? Describe how your faith played a role in how you dealt with the environmental relocation and now.

P-10: I always had faith in God; my faith is stronger now. But I think that's because I'm older and life has happened. I think faith helped us get through this...but don't think we'll ever get through it. It'll always be here. You just learn to move on. It's like a death. You accept it and go on. I think this park—being able to come down here —it helps. But the first time you come down here it's very eerie. Cuz the last time you were here, there were houses. You knew where everybody was. Now you don't know where nothin's at. Ya know where it used to be.

And it seems like after everyone left, the government didn't do anything with it for a long time. You could drive by the highway and the houses were all still there. Until about the '90's. Did you try to go back?

P-10: NO. They wouldn't let you come down here. But we did ask. There's ways to get in here but I'd be the one to be caught. [laughter] I mean I tried to abide by the law but I would have loved to come down here and take pictures.

Q-35. Would you describe yourself as a disaster survivor or disaster victim?

P-10: Survivor overall. I think for a while everybody was a victim when it was happening; and then you realize later you don't have a home to go back to. Not having a home to go back to—even if somebody else lived in the house, at least you could go by and see it. It is hard for everyone.

Are you able to find your house now?

P-10: No. But I think pretty close. Not having a home a place to go back—that will always bother us. It's like-- I'll never understand why they won't say we're from Times Beach—it was their life. Just because it's not a town. It's a death and you survive and learn to live with it and keep going. It did ruin some people's lives. But it depended on which road you took...it could have been very bad.

Q-37. When they were throwing around the idea of turning Times Beach into a State Park, do you recall them asking you all about your opinion about the proposal? Town meetings?

P-10: No. Once Times Beach closed, we weren't involved in nothin'. And that's still hard to swallow. We were proud of our little town. I had always heard the rumor that they wanted the land for a state park—to cover up the real reason—dioxin.

Shouldn't they have involved you all in the decision?

P-10: It was like when they closed the town-- it was never there—nobody lived there...pssstt everybody vanished!

Q-38. What do you hope will happen there in the future?

P-10: I would like to see a memorial to let us all get together here. And quit treating us like the park system people or the state, like we never existed. We existed and we are proud to be from here.

Q-39. Would other former TB residents answer these questions in the same way? Differently? How so?

P-10: Yeh.

Q-32. How have you changed because of the environmental relocation? (Individually, relationship with spouse, children, relatives, neighborhood/community, homeowner, renter, citizen who fees trusting of gov't, as an employee?)

P-10: You have to take what life gives you or you don't ask for—through the initial shock of it all and you go through the tunnel toward the light at the end. IT is a choice. I really think everybody down there tried to make the right choice when it was all happening I've always been law-abiding. But we didn't have a whole lot of choices...

Do you recall anyone talking about an option to relocate the entire town together?

P-10: Yeh I do. It like it was mentioned and gone. That's how they treated us then and how they treat us now.

Do you think moving everyone together would have been helpful? Maybe even a neighborhood.

P-10: I think if they had offered to let us move and stay in the area together, we'd still have compassion and love for each other, the closeness, the peace and safety. When all that was being talked about—nobody wanted us to be around because we had dioxin! And that's a God-awful feeling—like it was our fault! Like if we lived next door to you, we're gonna give you dioxin. That's how some people even treat us like that today. Like the Park people. I'll never understand that. We were all proud to be from here.

Q-40. Do you think the Times Beach area is less of a hazard now that it is the Rt 66 State Park?

P-10: I wonder. If it was that bad down here—how could they get it all? They didn't dig up all the ground...I mean they didn't do every inch of the ground—just the main and most heavily contaminated. You wonder.

Do you remember seeing the big incinerator and what do you think?

P-10: Sucked. Cuz you seen all your stuff getting burned up in it.

And at that time were you aware that Russell Bliss not only contaminated Times Beach but over 40 plus other sites in Eastern Missouri?

P-10: Yeh. He got nothin'. Just tax evasion.

Q-42. What would you like to say to others who may have to go through the forced relocation of their community in the future?

P-10: I would tell them to be cautious. I would explain to them to realize that right now they may not have problems but 10 years down the road they might. I'd tell them to get with the government and find out exactly how much is at your house and see if you could stay there –if it can be cleaned up. And ask the hard questions especially about the future and health issues that might come about. I think the EPA needs to look at the Times Beach folks and see how many died of cancer and how many of something else so they have more of a record of what dioxin causes. You've got at least 50-100 that have died of cancer. I would tell them to know about your health. A lot of skin issues. Sometimes I don't think the EPA WANTS to know. I think should come back and see the health issues

NOW versus what they saw in 1982. Cuz the stuff was down there 10-11 years so how bad was it back in the '70s.

Q-41. Is there anything you want to add to what was said earlier or that you didn't feel comfortable saying before but want me to know about now?

P-10: I wish we could have been relocated together as a town.

Is there anything else you would like to add?

P-10: I would love to see a memorial down here but I just can't see it happening. And I don't understand why.

Q-25. How often are you in contact with former friends, neighbors from TB? How do you keep in touch over the years--Email/FB/in person/phone?

P-10: FB, reunions and everybody was here. You knew where everything was at. And now you don't know where things were that were here.

Q-26. Are you a member of the closed FB group?

P-10: Yes I am.