Beyond the Towers: September 11, 2001
Watching the Past & Present to Understand the Surveilled Future

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December 2023

This project was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Graduate Liberal Studies Program in the Graduate School of Duke University.
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2023
## Contents

Abstract ..........................................................................................................................................iv

Standpoint .......................................................................................................................................v

Introduction .....................................................................................................................................7

Section One: Exploration of Memory ............................................................................................10

Section Two: The Memorialization ..............................................................................................16

Section Three: Uncovering the Historical Narrative .................................................................23

5th anniversary .................................................................................................................................24

10th anniversary ...............................................................................................................................25

15th anniversary ...............................................................................................................................26

20th anniversary ...............................................................................................................................26

2023 anniversary ...............................................................................................................................28

Section Four: The Fear - Exploring #NeverForget ......................................................................29

Section Five: What Lies Ahead .......................................................................................................36

Section Six: Conclusion ..................................................................................................................52

References .......................................................................................................................................54
Abstract

September 11, 2023, marked twenty-two years since the tragedy of 9/11. In this project, I examine the stories that are told and remembered to date about the September 11 attacks on the United States of America and the subsequent events that followed. After the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were tragically attacked on September 11, 2001, many media outlets began highlighting the significance of the attack, capturing the magnitude of the events. This project will look at what is memorialized, remembered, and cemented across the 22 years in our social memory of 9/11. I will further explore what is rooted in politics and memorials, shaped through the media. Through the historical narrative of celebrations of 9/11, looking at memory, memorialization, fear, and what lies ahead for the surveilled future ultimately assesses the forever remembrance of 9/11 in media and memorials and how memory operates to influence Americans' view of safety.
My Standpoint

As a young scholar and someone who has no recollection of 9/11, I find it pertinent to acknowledge my standpoint as the writer of this paper. My research was sparked due to the curiosity of wanting to understand more about 9/11 beyond a history book. Therefore, this paper is for and by Gen Z. While myself and my generation may not recall the tragedy, we visit memorials and museums, learn about it in the classroom, and honor each anniversary. Therefore, acknowledging that while I did not experience 9/11 firsthand, I hope that twenty-two years removed, Gen Z not only sees the power of memorials as physical remembrance but also the power in society to keep this event alive and well in our memory while also choosing to challenge the moments we choose to remember in U.S. history like I did.
Thank you to my supervisor, Dr. Mathers for the guidance, my family for the endless support, the ICS/CULANTH Imagining the Global South course, and College of the Holy Cross for a well-prepared undergraduate experience.
Introduction

Have you ever thought about the physical history all around you? Memorials like the Martin Luther King, Jr. or the Lincoln Memorial attract crowds from all over, but do we fully understand the story told through that memorial? Well, I believe memorials are like scars, constantly reminding you of what was. They may fade or dim, but they will always take up space in this nation.

September 11th, 2001, is a date inscribed in U.S. memory. I began researching the United States' complex relationship with the September 11th, 2001 tragedy, both past and present, nearly a year ago when I became interested in seeing how many memorials are in the memory of 9/11. Yet the United States' complexity with 9/11 is also the overflowing impact it holds on other aspects of life such as airport security. I then became intrigued to see how the memorialization of 9/11 collided with Americans' views on safety and surveillance. I started my research by exploring many news media outlets on everything and anything related to 9/11 and the change.

Part of what I discovered is that the event's magnitude ultimately altered much of the world, but new and emerging technology platforms exacerbated the events. To further unpack this, I researched social media, advertising, and local news to understand how contemporary media on 9/11 amplified the nation's collective memory. The impact of the collective memory is how media continues to shape a singular memory even though it changes over time. Thus, my research will analyze media sources to see how memory operates to influence how Americans view safety and ask how much power truly lies in the past and what encourages the current culture of security, safety, and surveillance. I will use secondary sources to unpack safety, surveillance, and the theory of memory to better understand how these concepts changed in the
aftermath of 9/11; it will be crucial to understand this tension of the current social constructs of security, safety, and surveillance developed through the trauma of 9/11.

I began by looking at Andrews McMeel’s 2003 publication, "September 11, 2001". This publication contains a collection of 150 National Newspapers that were put out all across the globe in the wake of the 9/11 attacks. In analyzing and examining these newspaper covers, I have seen how the verbiage used created the fear of the unknown for a country unfamiliar with terrorist attacks. America has now adopted super surveillance in all aspects of the world, heightened airport security, and protective actions that place Americans under constant surveillance. For example, Steve Mann’s report, “Sousveillance: Inventing and Using Wearable Computing Devices for Data Collection in Surveillance Environments,” looks inside a variety of wearable devices to see how it generates different responses to different situations. Mann also takes a look into one year after the 9/11 tragedy to further discuss how security experts and privacy advocates say there has been a surge in the number of video cameras installed around the country (Mann et.al., 2003). For that reason, with an uptick in video cameras, the question arises of how does safety become a buzzword not only for the State but the home?

In the wake of September 11, 2001, Congress passed the Patriot Act that expanded authorities’ ability to conduct warrantless searches and access information about Americans. The Patriot Act was the first action taken by the government in order to bring back control and a sense of security by drawing on the “terror” and “fear” language used all across the globe about the attack. However, I hypothesize that this Patriot Act was the start of what we now see with in-home cameras, extreme measures at airports, and American’s data constantly being watched. But above all there developed a changed culture about privacy and the meaning of security, good technology is just one symptom of what has changed. As a result, I believe this will also create
an even different culture in the future and self. Ultimately, the question becomes how will we begin the conversation to reimagine the future of safety and surveillance for the coming generations.

Memorials are a unique aspect of American society. After the tragedy of September 11th, 2001, the U.S. entered a healing process as a country unfamiliar with terrorist attacks. Within the first half of this paper, you will see that through the exploration of memory as it relates to healing through memorials, creating a historical memory that will always be drawn into the present. In the second half of the paper, I examine the media and language present surrounding 9/11 when the tragedy took place. The reaction to 9/11 is in the soil, all around us, and, therefore, in the media. I will further explore what is rooted in memory and memorials that ultimately shaped the future of safety, security, and surveillance.
Exploration of Memory

“During the decade-long period of healing, people in towns across America have been erecting memorials to the nearly 3,000 victims of the 9/11 terror attacks. There are 500 recorded memorials in the U.S., and more are underway or planned.” 2011 CNBC article (Zhang, 2011)

Memorials focus on the remembrance of a historical moment. Memorial sites are an important phenomenon in the United States. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial is the most visited memorial on the National Mall in Washington, with more than 5 million people each year visiting the memorial. Built in 1982, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial holds the most prominent feature of the memorial is the massive wall that lists the names of more than 58,000 servicemen and women who lost their lives during the Vietnam War. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial wall was dedicated on Veterans Day, “fulfilling one veteran’s promise to never forget those who served and sacrificed during the Vietnam War” (U.S. Department of Defense, n.d.). While the Vietnam Veterans Memorial is just one example of a prominent memorial site, there are memorials all across the country that open the door to the constant remembrance of history in the U.S.

If you were to research the most famous memorials, you will find a website for the “14 Famous Monuments and Memorial Buildings Around the World, monuments and moving memorials around the world, from Israel’s Yad Vashem to New York’s 9/11 Memorial and Museum”. The famous list holds the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the Gateway Arch in St. Louis, Missouri, and the National September 11th Memorial and Museum in New York. As the quote that opens up this section states, there are 500 recorded memorials in the U.S., and more are underway just for 9/11 alone. On the morning of September 11th, 2001, terrorists from the Islamist extreme group al Qaeda hijacked four planes and crashed two of them into the North and South Towers of the World Trade Center complex in New York City. A third plane crashed into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, and the fourth crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. Almost 3,000 died on September 11th, 2001 (U.S Naval History, n.d.).

Twenty-two years later, the U.S. has put up over 500 memorials to commemorate this significant tragedy. The National September 11th Memorial & Museum, built in 2006, is a memorial and museum in New York City commemorating the attacks. Located on the eight acres of the 16-acre former World Trade Center complex, the 9/11 Memorial is a place of remembrance within the heart of lower Manhattan (About the Memorial National September 11 Memorial & Museum, n.d.). Most 9/11 memorials are in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, home to most victims. However, some memorials, like one in North Dakota, lay hundreds of miles away. Many 9/11 memorials vary widely in size, design, and cost but demonstrate a cohesive desire to recall the tragic event and never let it be forgotten, as seen with the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. The North Dakota 9/11 memorial involved five universities in the United States and Canada; the site is “composed of three separate yet interdependent

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2 About the Memorial | National September 11 Memorial & Museum. (n.d.).
https://www.911memorial.org/visit/memorial/about-memorial
chambers titled “Recall, Reflect, and Remember,” each a separate emotion that promotes self-reflection, understanding, and forgiveness” 3(The International Peace Garden 9/11 Memorial - Living Memorials Project, n.d.). Memorials centralize their own message and tell their own story, showing that memorials must be examined with curiosity and the idea of ‘informed social memory’; as I explore more 9/11 memorials, it will be through this perspective. While there is much to say about the monuments and memorials worldwide, exploring the power of memory is essential as it builds on and gives meaning to the many physical memorials across the U.S.

Reading DeLugan’s “Reimagining National Belonging: Post-Civil War El Salvador in a Global Context,” allows for the examination of memorials with this idea of “informed social memory” that helped me understand how 9/11 memorials can be so far North Dakota.

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Memory is a tricky thing, especially in the United States. The memory of 9/11 lives on because of the legacy the U.S. is writing, creating, and reporting on about this specific event. Schwenkel’s *American War in Contemporary Vietnam: Transnational Remembrance and Representation* takes a critical eye on what continues to make 9/11 omnipresent in U.S. history. DeLugan's ideas of informed social memory and the control that pastness holds in the Nation - Schwenkel's ideas build upon that, allowing the establishment that tragedies live on through Americans' methods of memorials. As Schwenkel states in her work on war memorials in Vietnam:

“What makes the United States an empire? U.S. historiography and studies of American culture and society have long expressed ambivalence about identifying the United States as a global imperial polity. However, such positions have begun to shift since the international events following September 11, 2001.” (Schwenkel, 2009, pp. 202)

The U.S. is an empire, which is why it is pertinent to understand that as long as the U.S. upholds the tradition of memorials, it will continue to build a stronger mindset and memory around 9/11 not as a moment of weakness but as a moment of constant remembrance. Whether on vacation or
possibly taking a hike, you engage and see memorials and thereby remember that event, leading
to the constant remembrance we see. Whether in Massachusetts, Utah, or North Dakota,
memorials and memory go hand-in-hand. As a result, the government, alongside the media, helps
to construct a narrative surrounding 9/11 that has lived on for twenty-two years, remaining fresh
in many minds.

Along the same lines, although written in 1989, David Thelen's research is relevant to
preserving 9/11.

"Since people's memories provide security, authority, legitimacy, and finally identity in
the present, struggles over the possession and interpretation of memories are deep,
frequent, and bitter.”

Kidron describes how we have personal, collective, and “traumatic” memories. Kidron also
notes: “Scholars of memory, unlike historians, do not document recollected events but rather
trace the discourse, practices, and sites in which and through which the past is made present and
meaningful—and at times the way that past is selectively enlisted to serve political and
ideological agendas or strategically “forgotten.” For that reason, it is important to analyze
memorials with an “informed social memory” to understand that memorials not only preserve the
memory of historical events but also communicate a narrative.

So what is memory, and what is being called into memory when looking at US history?
According to Robin Maria DeLugan, based on post war El Salvador cultural sites, memory holds
great power. DeLugan takes us through an extensive look at a nation's culture, history, and
identity. DeLugan's states:

"Pastness is a central element in the socialization of individuals, in the maintenance of
group solidarity, in the establishment of or challenges to social legitimation. Pastness,
therefore, is preeminently a moral phenomenon, therefore a political phenomenon,
always a contemporary phenomenon" (DeLugan, 2012, pp.106).
Understanding the power of memory when many nations are built around a sense of a shared national past, as DeLugan discusses, ultimately allows national tragedies to live on (DeLugan, 2012). In addition, Delugan also discusses memory as an “informed social memory.” We choose to remember 9/11 by having over 500 memorials and museums dedicated to 9/11\(^4\). Therefore, just like the Vietnam War and 9/11, memorials are memory, and memory is memorial. While this is conveyed to many Americans as “..long period of healing”, healing through memorials creates a historical memory that is drawn into the present (Zhang, 2011). This suggests that the media’s work, or lack thereof, is to create memory through repetition, images, and language in headlines. Therefore, how is the reliability of human memory and shared perception called into question? Nevertheless, it does not matter just how reliable it is but rather the power it continues to hold to be amplified in history; this is what my research seeks to do.

\[^4\] About the Memorial | National September 11 Memorial & Museum. (n.d.). https://www.911memorial.org/visit/memorial/about-memorial
The Memorialization

As seen in the previous section the U.S recognizes 9/11 without a doubt in this country every year. The building of memorials and the process of preserving memories of people or events shows just how prevalent 9/11 is. In the article “Massachusetts’ 9/11 Memorials” by Hafsa Quraishi, published in September of 2021, she examines how captivating the plethora of memorials is in Massachusetts alone. “Massachusetts is home to dozens of memorials that honor the victims and first responders of the September 11th, 2001, attacks. The spaces offer loved ones and community members a place to pay their respects and grieve. There’s power in letting people grieve, said Faith Artery, board president of the Massachusetts 9/11 Fund.” Below is a map that outlines all the areas in Massachusetts alone with memorials, in the color red. The memorialization of September 11th is essential to creating the historical narrative. Each and every anniversary that is celebrated tells a story.

A 2011 CNBC article stated “The memorials convey a variety of emotions and ideas, from loss to hope, in both concrete and symbolic ways. Some mark the life and character of an individual, others the values and ideals of the nation” (Zhang, 2011). The Villanova, PA memorial is a great example of a both concrete and symbolic way the Villanova University remembers 9/11. The 9/11 Memorial Stained Glass Window at Corr Chapel, Villanova University with a bright-colored memorial window commemorates the 15 Villanova alumni who perished in 9/11. Built in 2006, the glass took 10 months to complete and costs about $25,000 to make. “The left window depicts the sites that marked the 9/11 attacks, the twin towers, the Pentagon and the field near Shanksville, and four planes hovering over the sky.”(Zhang, 2011)
In Athens Georgia, the 9/11 Memorial Garden And Trail was sparked after a trip to post-9/11 New York City, by Bob Hart, a retired teacher from University of Georgia. Hart came up with the idea to build a memorial on his 18-acre wooded property that is open to the public, remembering the 99 victims’ names on poles. The names are deliberately arranged in random order, emphasizing the individuality of each person (Zhang, 2011).

In addition, the Osprey Memorial “Morning Call” by the harbor of Greenport is “an osprey perches atop a 20-foot tall beam made up of three World Trade Center steel remains. With its wings stretching and its beak open, the osprey is landing to build a nest and crying out for dignity”(Zhang, 2011).
The Pentagon Memorial, located in Arlington V.A where the plane crashed on the morning of September 11, is dedicated to the 184 people at the location who lost their lives on 9/11. Built in 2008 and marked by a steel bench with water running beneath it, The Pentagon Memorial is a significant memorial. These four memorial examples are all centered on 9/11 and are all unique forms of the Historical Narrative of 9/11 (Zhang, 2011). Memorials like GreenPort N.Y, Athens, Ga., and Villanova, Pa. evolves and endures the narrative of 9/11 as well (Zhang, 2011). Rooted in tragedy, the memorialization of 9/11 captivates the world, creating space that

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will never allow the collective American memory to be erased. As Marita Stukren argues in “The Objects that lived: The 9/11 Museum and Material Transformation”, 9/11 memorialization takes the shape of materiality. Stukren discusses how 9/11 museums are a project of many contradiction and “such memory souvenirs can only perpetrate a myth of innocence, conveying a sense of comfort that disavows the complex world of global politics that produced the events of 9/11 and its aftermath and in which the United States is implicated.”

Sturken, in the scholarly article “The objects that lives: The 9/11 Museum and material transformation”, also speaks of the commodification and constant remembrance of 9/11. “Amidst the more tasteful educational materials such as books and films, we have stuffed animals, hoodies with the museum logo, firefighter outfits, flags and patriotic pins, scarves, jewelry, and household ceramics. What is, we might ask, the material aim in purchasing an item from the 9/11 Museum gift shop? As I have written elsewhere, such souvenirs sell a form of American innocence that obscures the complex machinations of global politics that produced the attacks of 9/11 not as something ‘out of the blue’ but as a response to US foreign policy”
(Sturken, 2007). Creating materials in direct memory of 9/11 show us what narrative is being collected both physically, socially and thereby mentally.

On October 9th, 2023 NBCNews reported that a man jumped into the reflecting pool at the 9/11 Memorial in New York City. I think it is also very timely to discuss how a man jumped into the 9/11 Memorial this past October, as it highlights that memorials are vital to the continuous memory of tragedies. David K. Li says: “The pool is one of two at the memorial, both in the footprints of the Twin Towers that fell during the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001. According to the 9/11 Memorial & Museum website, each pool descends 30 feet into a basin and drops 20 more feet into a “central void.” Memorials are alive and well, therefore, remains top of mind in this Nation. “With memory comes responsibility, the determination to share our stories with this next generation, so that through them, our loved ones continue to live,” Rabbi Jeffrey Myers said (Peltz, 2023). Yet, what story are we exactly sharing if individuals are interacting with history and this memorial in nature? So with memory is responsibility and I think the constant remembrance of a threat is what influences our need for safety because what was once threatened lacks security/secureness is the “collective memory”.

In Ericka Doss’, The Emotional Life of Contemporary Public Memorials notes that, “this volume considers the contemporary explosion of public commemoration in terms of changed cultural and social practices of mourning, memory, and public feeling. Positing memorials as the physical and visual embodiment of our affective responses to loss”(Doss, 2008).The 9/11 memorialization lends the Nation to remember the historical events and carry on the memory of those events through monuments and statues.

As 9/11 anniversaries continue and memorials are made, the story of 9/11 will continue through the media narratives. Not only does the media tell the story of 9/11, but the media
reports on who is in attendance. Political leaders and politicians remember 9/11, capturing moments they then place within traditional and social media. In reading the Memory of the Encyclopedia states how the US created: "politics of memory, extending investigations beyond commemoration into a wide range of institutional and cultural practices. Over time, the study of collective memory has become an impressive strategy for interpreting cultural history" (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences). It is essential to study memory, specifically in this nation, as it lends us to understand what is physically commemorated and what is absorbed in the media. Holland in his in the scholarly article, “Night fell on a different world” states:

“...the commemorative vehicles promoting the preservation of a particular memory of 9/11 are varied, operating at official, state levels and in personal, private capacities. This forms a wide and powerful set of practices of remembering which have helped to guarantee the institutionalization of a contingent narrative of 11 September 2001 as a moment of temporal rupture. That these practices of remembering are now so sedimented in everyday and public life raises, moreover, the risk of inertia, as citizens and politicians unthinkingly reinforce a politically significant narrative from habit and custom. As the article has shown, while contestation has been apparent, dominant discourses promoting the defense of 9/11 as temporal rupture have tended to drown out critical voices” (Jack Holland & Lee Jarvis, 2014).

In the last 22 years, the magnitude of the 9/11 tragedies has been strongly present in the U.S. media. Thus, in this next section, I will describe the media surrounding 9/11 at different moments in time over the last 22 years.
Moments of celebration happen in many different ways. That can be through fireworks, cakes, or through creating statues. However, all over the U.S. specifically, you can find 9/11 memorials in almost every state. The National 9/11 Memorial & Museum in New York has a memorial database that seeks to track each 9/11 memorial across the world. The Memorials database shows through a plentiful of dots the abundance of 9/11 memorials around the world.

Whether you visit the Community 9/11 Memorial, completed on September 11, 2011, for the community in Billings, Montana, or the World Trade Center Memorial and Reflection Garden, built on January 29, 2014, dedicated by the University of Houston’s Student Government Association and Division of Student Affairs; the 9/11 memorials in the US are a testament to the impact of 9/11 and many different forms of memories in different communities all across the

country as shown on the 9/11 memorial database (Memorials Database — 9/11 Remembered, n.d.) The National 9/11 Memorial & Museum map of the memorials is specifically because at a glance you can internalize the capacity the memorials fill in the U.S.

September 11, 2023, marked twenty-two years since the devastating tragedy of 9/11. Therefore, in this section, I will examine twenty-two years ago, stories of the 9/11 attack.

5th Anniversary

September 11, 2006, five years after the attack, NBC News, “We stand together,” is one of many articles that shows that in a nation unfamiliar with terrorist attacks, 9/11 left its mark on all aspects of society and placed emphasis on remembering. An NBC News article states: “We stand together as one” “Five years have come, and five years have gone, and still we stand together as one,” Mayor Michael Bloomberg said. “We come back to this place to remember the heartbreaking anniversary — and each person who died here — those known and unknown to us, whose absence is always with us” (Sept. 11, Five Years Later: ‘We Stand Together,’ 2006).

Paying close attention to the words surrounding the fifth anniversary, it put forward that the Nation leans into encouragement. However, encouragement is not the only thing the news shows.

The NBCNews article, “September 11, Five Years Later: ‘We Stand Together’”, also discusses moments of silence all across the world. Marking the times each tower was stuck: “The war is not over: In excerpts from the speech he would make before the Nation on Monday night, Bush set the tone for the Nation’s war footing going into the future. We face an enemy determined to bring death and suffering into our homes.”(Sept. 11, Five Years Later: ‘We Stand Together,’ 2006) This suggests that the story written on the fifth anniversary reinforces fear mixed with moments of encouragement. Bush’s words, specifically, send a firm message that we should fear and the media, it continues the memory of conflict and trouble. On the fifth
anniversary, messages of encouragement and the vital conversation of what the Nation is doing to fight the “war” was conveyed through the U.S. media, such as the NBC News.

10th Anniversary

Just five years later, the 10th anniversary of 9/11 focused on the words and actions of the current and past Presidents. President Bush and Obama's White House Archives detailed what the President was doing to commemorate the Nation's tragedy. Through messages, videos, Instagram posts, action items for the Nation, and visiting memorials, politics plays a role in remembrance. With a significant focus in the media on the President, other political branches, such as the Justice Department, also paint the historical narrative of 9/11. The 10th anniversary made way for people in positions of power and structures to shed light on what they were doing to "fight" against threats to American life. For example, the Justice Department on the 10th anniversary stated:

“The Justice Department and the entire nation honor the memory of those who lost their lives in the 9/11 attacks. The department remains fully committed to the fight against those who target Americans and our way of life. The best way to honor the legacies of the victims of 9/11 is to prevent further terrorist attacks on this country, which remains the highest priority and most urgent work of the department.” (USDOJ: Ten Years Later: The Justice Department After 9/11, n.d.)

This reinforcement of the loss and constant visibility of 9/11 both through memorials and the media, the 10th anniversary enforces a need for safety and surveillance; along with pushing policies and agendas supported by those who recalled the event and feared it occurring again. The Justice Department, while stating at face value something that seems quite reassuring, is influential in using memorialization to justify surveillance and further extend the memory of 9/11. The Justice Department’s statement shows that even ten years after the attacks, this country is collectively creating a memory that begins by telling citizens to remember the fear of what could be and remembering citizens that their safety is needed.
15th Anniversary

In 2006, many news outlets centered on encouraging the public, while in 2011, the focal point was politicians. However, examining the 15th Anniversary shows more politics as remembrance proceeds. The *New York Times* article on 9/11 Anniversary, “Somber Reflections on Lives, and a World Changed,” published in 2016, speaks to how politics reinforce anniversaries. *New York Times* writer Samantha Schmidt reports: “Both presidential candidates, Donald J. Trump and Hillary Clinton attended the ceremony, though neither made public remarks and agreed not to campaign for the day” (Schmidt, 2016). The collective memory building with a focus on politicians influences the healing process, which is all done through the media in the United States.

20th Anniversary

Looking at the 20th celebration, it is very similar to past stories in many news outlets. We see remembrance when President Biden shares a message with the country on the eve of the 20th anniversary. President Biden honors the lives of those we lost and highlights the message of strength and hope. In addition to political messages, the National September 11 Memorial & Museum in New York celebrated its 20th anniversary through a show highlighting moments of evolving remembering. The National September 11 Memorial & Museum in New York shared the anniversary through school webinars.

“Students and teachers from around the world commemorate the 20th anniversary of 9/11 by registering for the 9/11 Memorial & Museum’s free Anniversary in the Schools program. View a film highlighting first-person accounts of the attacks and their aftermath and connect with Museum staff in real-time through an interactive live chat. The
30-minute program will be available on-demand beginning Friday, September 10, 2021” (20th Anniversary | National September 11 Memorial & Museum, n.d.).

While there is still much media coverage and coverage on politics surrounding 9/11, we see new ways this nation leans into remembering. In commemorating the 22nd anniversary there was the creation of the digital learning experience as seen in the photo below, which ultimately captures that even in a digital space 9/11 is remembered and importantly in the classroom.

2023 Anniversary

“Today we honor the memory of all the brave souls we lost 22 years ago. May we always remember their stories, the courage of our first responders, and the sacrifices our troops made to protect us in the years that followed.” - former President Barack Obama Instagram Post

Twenty-two years later, President Obama's message is very similar to how the US Department of State reflected back on the 10th Anniversary. “The memory of those who perished

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9 President Barack Obama Instagram Post
on 9/11 reminds us of why we must continue to fight against those who commit acts of terrorism. In the years since, we have stood side by side with partners from around the world to end the scourge of terrorism and ensure terrorists are held accountable for their crimes. The United States will continue to defend our homeland, our people, and our allies.”(Blinken Secretary of State, 2023) Reading these passages, we can see the recurring theme passed along about the 9/11 narrative: we (Americans) must never forget how this nation suffered and those we lost.

‘The US marks 22 years since 9/11 with tributes and tears, from ground zero to Alaska’, AP News reports similar accounts that remembrance lives throughout the nation. AP News states: “At ground zero, Vice President Kamala Harris joined other dignitaries at the ceremony on the National Sept. 11 Memorial Plaza. Instead of remarks from political figures, the event features victims reading the names of the dead and delivering brief personal messages.” Yet, at the same time, President Biden spoke at a military base in Anchorage, Alaska. In his visit, Biden urges Americans to rally around protecting democracy. Just like in 2006, many news outlets
centered on encouraging the public, while in 2011, the focal point was politicians; twenty-two years later, these two methods were combined.

Through uncovering the Historical Narrative, each anniversary of 9/11 sheds light into understanding many current social cultures. Delugan states, “I decided to end with a chapter on museums and monuments because they are among the important public sites that represent the nation and can reveal contests over national inclusion and exclusion” (DeLugan, 2012). The American media, willfully chooses to inform society pieces of a story that it can never tell in totality about tragedy, and 9/11 is no different. To situate the work in context, in this next section I will describe how memorials of 9/11 reinforce who and what is remembered through a very specific narrative.

The Fear- Exploring #NeverForget

"Let us remember who we are as a nation. We will never forget. We're never afraid. We endure. We overcome." (CBS News) -Joe Biden

Social media, such as X, formally known as Twitter, plays a fundamental role in what is read, engaged with, and ultimately remembered. With many American’s leveraging the platform, messaging became restricted to 160 characters, giving birth to the many hashtags we know today. September 11, 2023 I searched social media on 11 September 2023. I found multiple hashtags evoking or memorializing the events of 2001. One of which was X, the trending hashtag of #NeverForget and #September11 which gives memory a hashtag.
Looking into the scholarly work on fear, David L. Altheide states: “U.S. newspapers reflect the terms and discourse associated with the politics of fear, or decision makers’ promotion and use of audience beliefs and assumptions about danger, risk, and fear, to achieve certain goals.” Vocabulary is used to create the fear of the unknown for a country unfamiliar with terrorist attacks. In addition, the Patriot Act was the first action taken by the government to bring back control. Politics of fear is precisely what we see in the news media-related articles about September 11th. Each memorial and article published about 9/11 hints towards the emotion of fear. Whether it be news reports from the Wall Street Journal, CBN News, or the New York Times.

Similar to the Justice Department on its 10th anniversary shows how the reinforcement of the loss and constant visibility of 9/11 on the 10th anniversary enforces this need for safety and surveillance, pushing policies and agendas supported by those who recalled the events and feared
it occurring again. The Justice Department’s statement shows that even ten years after the attacks, this country is collectively creating a memory that begins by telling citizens to remember the fear of what could be and remembering their safety is needed. What I began to see is the development of never forget as a Hashtag that would find its place all around museums, memorials, and news articles. It operates as a fear generator and places phrases to push into our memory.

In the 2023 year’s celebration, several news reports were placed about President Joe Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris’s attendance at 9/11 memorials. And how is that linked to fear? That because it is still a political item of action is something that we Americans should never forget and must remain strong so the 9/11 tragedy will never occur. In the book, ‘Terror post 9/11 and the media’ David Altheide: “suggests that the politics of fear is a dominant motif for news and popular culture. Moreover, within this framework, news reporting about crime and terrorism is linked with “victimization” narratives that make crime, danger, and fear-relevant to everyday life experiences. Moreover, the changing social discourse is central to the process by which social problems are constructed” (Best, 1999). For that reason, the media constructs fear, and the absence of people and the towers inflicts the hashtag never forget. As seen in the many memorials across the country, names are inscribed, and towers are painted in windows like The 9-11 Memorial Stained Glass Window at Corr Chapel, so Americans see and engage with the absence. According to the scholarly article “The Objects That Live: The 9/11 Museum and Material Transformation: “Absence: “From the moment the two buildings fell, there was an obsessive preoccupation with the lack of their presence in the New York City skyline. The sense of unprecedented material transformation, from skyscrapers to dust, was displaced into a preoccupation, enacted in public discourse and design, with the void. This is most clearly

10 Trending hashtags on September 11th, 2023 (X)
manifested in the design of the 9/11 Memorial. Its original name, Reflecting Absence, focused the attention of memorialization not simply on the dead but on the loss of the Twin Towers, defining the space as one of absence rather than presence” (Sturken, 2016). To fill this absence the Nation built memorials, museums, implemented safety measures and also places the absence throughout the media so it is truly never forgotten the fear that once was there.

The media is the primary decision maker of what we consume and, most importantly, how long. While many don’t speak of it, Altheide’s work can highlight: “A politics of fear rests on the discourse of fear. The politics of fear serves as a conceptual linkage for power, propaganda, news, and popular culture, and an array of intimidating symbols and experiences, such as crime and terrorism.” In my research, I conclude never forget started long before it was trending on Twitter\(^\text{11}\).
While searching for the 20th anniversary narrative, I came across The Never Forget Fund. The Never Forget Fund is a newly launched fundraising campaign in 2021, campaign to support the 9/11 Memorial & Museum educational programs and preserve its significance as a sacred place of remembrance, reflection, and education. This hashtag has become a staple of the 9/11 narrative. Thinking back to the many news articles released about 9/11, we see that The Never Forget Fund is a price you pay to ensure the Nation never forgets, while invoking justifications to stop threats such as ensuring protection, even if they are only perceived ones.

Todd Green, Associate Professor of Religion Luther College, writes on the very prominent phrase, never forget. Green states:

“Never Forget” is the most recognizable slogan connected to the 9/11 attacks. In the months and years following the attacks, the slogan was plastered on banners, bumper stickers, and billboards. The meaning seems clear, so much so that the slogan is not really debated or questioned in mainstream America. But is the meaning clear? After all, what–or who–are we supposed to remember? …It’s best to think of “Never Forget” less as a slogan with an obvious meaning and more as a question–or better yet, as a series of questions stemming from larger moral concerns about how we remember tragedy.”(Green 2015)

Challenging this powerful slogan NeverForget reveals how memorialization makes a #never forget a culture and pushes the question of “After all, what–or who–are we supposed to remember?” The hashtag is a prominent slogan that is everywhere. This past anniversary, Duke University posted “Never Forget”, symbolizing that no matter where you are in the country, 9/11 is present.
This consistent focus on security over the decades has made it possible for the US’ surveillance culture to expand and grow even when it contravenes citizens’ own privacy. The spread of pervasive surveillance in the United States has produced different measures of safety between generations. News outlets, like the New York Times and the Atlantic, have reported how Americans continue to integrate surveillance into their daily lives in an era of active shooters, smartphones, and advances in other technology (Chen, 2022). In addition, Ivan Greenberg’s book, Surveillance in America: Critical Analysis of the FBI, 1920 to the Present, considers the question of surveillance as harassment and looks at the further erosion of privacy stemming from Obama’s counter-terror policies which extend those of the Bush Administration (Greenberg, 2012).

As 9/11 anniversaries continue and memorials are made, the story of 9/11 will continue through the media narratives. Not only does the media tell the story of 9/11, but the media reports on who is in attendance. Political leaders and politicians remember 9/11, capturing moments they then place within traditional and social media. In reading the Memory of the Encyclopedia states how the US created: "politics of memory, extending investigations beyond
commemoration into a wide range of institutional and cultural practices. Over time, the study of collective memory has become an impressive strategy for interpreting cultural history" (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences). It is essential to study memory, specifically in this nation, as it lends us to understand what is physically commemorated and what is absorbed in the media. Holland in his scholarly article, “Night fell on a different world” states:

“...the commemorative vehicles promoting the preservation of a particular memory of 9/11 are varied, operating at official, state levels and in personal, private capacities. This forms a wide and powerful set of practices of remembering which have helped to guarantee the institutionalization of a contingent narrative of 11 September 2001 as a moment of temporal rupture. That these practices of remembering are now so sedimented in everyday and public life raises, moreover, the risk of inertia, as citizens and politicians unthinkingly reinforce a politically significant narrative from habit and custom. As the article has shown, while contestation has been apparent, dominant discourses promoting the defense of 9/11 as temporal rupture have tended to drown out critical voices” (Jack Holland & Lee Jarvis, 2014).

The startling increase in surveillance since the events of September 11th, as seen in Ivan Greenberg’s book, *Surveillance in America: Critical Analysis of the FBI, 1920 to the Present*, with both Obama’s counter-terror policies and Bush’s Administration; reveals the extent to which Americans’ memory constantly goes back to trauma while placing it on display, like 9/11.

**What Lies Ahead- Safety, Surveillance, and Security**

To understand what lies ahead we first have to take a step back and look at where we have come. In previous research I have found that: all different kinds of newspapers, as seen below, around the world were using very similar language that can bring on fear among Americans and established new cultural norms for the whole country. Phrases and words used in
just a few examples below such as: “This means war”, “Americans core identity”, “Act of War”, Security, Terror, and War; were all ways to increase concern around a perceived threat of future terrorism (Hubby et. al., 2011). I believe this then created the license to act based on the potential of a threat versus an actual threat which has lasting consequences. This was justified as being proactive vs. reactive to create further safety, while at the time most Americans did not understand the vital force of 9/11, one thing they thought they understood and internalized from the powerful language in the newspaper (as shown below), was surveillance equals safety even if that meant giving up certain freedoms.

We must understand the strength of media and memory that allowed the social construction of security, safety, and surveillance to be constructed on trauma and imposed on the present. Themes such as, “we must never forget” remain at the forefront out how we engage with and remember tragedies.
Have you ever heard the saying “Someone is always watching”? Maybe once or twice in your life, someone has said this to you, but why? Is it due to advancing technologies or was it the world-changing attack of September 11, 2001? This project is an attempt to understand the culture that has been created in the 21st-millennium US. In examining the particular historical moment of 9/11, I will seek to understand its impact on surveillance, security, and America’s current relationship with both concepts. The spread of pervasive surveillance in the United States has produced different measures of safety between generations. Recent news outlets, like the *New York Times* and the *Atlantic*, have reported how Americans continue to integrate surveillance into their daily lives in an era of active shooters, smartphones, and advances in other technology (Chen, 2022). Therefore, it is crucial to see what has been the cultural impact of surveillance on the lived experience, and the individual living it.

First, it is important to unpack safety and surveillance as they were direct symptoms after 9/11. Hubby describes how safety “in the context of disaster research, threats to one’s physical safety typically elevate a sense of personal vulnerability and motivate self-protective action” (Hubby et. al., 2011). There is similar evidence that those who worried about being personally victimized by terrorism took steps to protect their personal safety after 9/11. However, what is extremely important to note is this is in the context of the United States. Surveillance means danger and fear to many people around the world, not security and safety, so why is it the opposite in the US? As a result, defining other terms like surveillance and security is key.

Surveillance is a multidisciplinary concept that has evolved and changed over time. Today, with many things being at the touch of our fingertips, surveillance capacities have heightened. As David Lyon argues in his book, *Surveillance*, it is an analytical concept. Lyon states:

“Surveillance, then, is a modern concept, used in English since the nineteenth century as a loan word from the French; sur- ‘over’ and veiller ‘watch’, which both come from the
Latin, \textit{vigilare}, to keep watch. Surveillance may be viewed as appropriate vigilance, to protect society from risks of attack, disease, crime, or corruption. Indeed, it may be considered as protective of freedom and liberty, as much as it is about care as control (Rule, 1974; Lyon, 1994; Taylor, 2020).”

On the other hand, we also have the notion of security. According to Macdonald, security is defined as: “Alternatively, security may be seen as an opportunity for people to reach beyond close relationships and communities and to generate social solidarity in an uncertain world of promise” (Macdonald, 2020). However, both these definitions only hit the surface of what truly happened on September 11th, 2001. To critically define what Americans imagine security post 9/11, I turned to De Goede’s unique take on the terminology deployed after the wake of 9/11.

As Lyon and Macdonald’s definitions of surveillance and security lay the groundwork it is important to also look at how those words are used or described in the context of 9/11. Thus, looking at literature post-September 11, De Goede’s scholarly article examines the relationship, “between the politics of risk and premeditation as a security practice. Premediation simultaneously \textit{deploys and exceeds} the language of risk”. Much of what is seen in many news outlets after the attack of 9/11 drew on the language of risk and fear of the known and unknown. De Goede brings up a very interesting dimension of the ways media also plays a role in imagination. As much of my project involves taking a critical look at how the media and its influence on the constructed narratives surrounding 9/11, De Goede states:

“... one member of the Bush administration recounts how, in the days and weeks after 9/11, White House Situation Room meetings were dedicated to imagining the worst: ‘What about poison in the New York reservoir system? What about a private plane flying into a nuclear reactor?’ (Taylor, 2007: 5). Or, as one journalistic celebration of premeditation puts it, ‘Imagine your most unthinkable nightmare of the next terrorist attack’ (De Goede, 2008).

Therefore, looking at the historical moment of 9/11 into the imagined future, the role that surveillance, security, and safety plays is critical in seeing the impact media and language had and continues to have on the United States. However, we must first understand how the past
impacts the present and future. Similar to The NBCNews article, “September 11, Five Years Later: ‘We Stand Together’, surrounding the 5th anniversary the story written then in the media reinforces fear mixed with moments of encouragement. Therefore the imaginative process of political tools like Bush’s words to draw on Americans’ need of wanting to “feel safer”.

The United States became more politically engaged with domestic and foreign security policies (Hubby et. al., 2011). Is it important to understand that within the US, the Patriot Act not only allowed for the heightened surveillance of American citizens but also the changing narrative around safety. Hubby et. al. stated:

“In the TNSS, Americans varied in the degree to which they felt anxious in the months after 9/11. Respondents were asked, “How much, if any, have the terrorist attacks shaken your own sense of personal safety and security?” A small minority (almost 18%) of the sample said that the attacks had shaken their sense of personal safety and security a great deal, and an additional 34% said that it had shaken them some. That left 47% who said the attacks had little or no effect on their sense of safety and security. Respondents were also asked how often they had felt four anxiety-related emotions: anxious, scared, frightened, or worried. “(Hubby et. al., 2011)

With feelings of anxiety, stress, and fear post 9/11 a social and political culture was created that opened a door to certain beliefs of what safety needs to be in order to prevent another attack (Hubby et. al., 2011). Yet to push Hubby’s work further, it begs the need to understand and unpack the respondents’ feelings such as: What did respondents do as a result of feeling like the attacks had little or no effect on their sense of safety and security? Where did the feeling of anxiety come from? And, what do respondents do now because of 9/11 as a result of being "shaken up"?

Many Americans who perceived substantial terrorist threats were more supportive of policies that would restrict the number of foreign visitors, strict visa laws, and place Arab Americans under special surveillance (Hubby et. al., 2011). This support not only led to racial profiling but also inadvertently gave power to the government to monitor telephone calls and
emails that were “perceived threat of future terrorism”. In looking at the cause-and-effect relationship, there is a learned notion that large-scale terrorist attacks like the 9/11 attack increased surveillance and security to premature actions in order to create safety in a time that was unsafe to America in a way previously not known. But the question becomes, how did we get to such a point, and was it all imagined through the media?

After the tragedy of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, many media outlets began highlighting the attack, trying to capture the magnitude of the events. Many covers of newspapers captured smoking buildings while other photos captured the faces of those who watched in agony. In 2003, Andrews McMeel published the book "September 11, 2001", a publication containing a collection of 150 National Newspapers from all across the globe highlighting the tragedy. Throughout my research process, I began noting the headlines of all the new articles within McMeel’s publication to understand more critically what impact these headlines had. So, I began to focus on the structure, verbiage, common word phrases, and repetition. McMeel’s publication contains 150 newspaper articles; however, in my analysis I looked at 100 news article headlines. Breaking it into two categories of frequently used words/phrases and how many times did it appear in a newspaper headline.

In my analysis of the covers of newspapers, I also looked at the structure of the news report to see how much language was absent and which drove a lot of fear. “Powerful creators and composers of historical change, like George Orwell's Big Brother, fear they will fail to win popular approval for their changes so long as people combine their private memories of a warm and unchanged past with the local customs and folkways of community, workplace, and religion. Big Brother could triumph only when he persuaded people that they could no longer trust the authenticity of their memories …The struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory
against forgetting” (Thelen, 1989). Many headlines held the same phrase of words that tied together the pain and culture of surveillance that was instilled in the wake of the attack and what Americans could not scrub from the Nation’s collective memory. Below is a table of the very common phrases and words that came about (McMeel, 2003).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency used words/phrases</th>
<th>How many times did it appear (*=1)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Terror</td>
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<td>War</td>
<td>**************</td>
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<td>Bush</td>
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<td>Osama Bin Laden</td>
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<td>Terrorism</td>
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<td>Attack</td>
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<th>Frequency used words/phrases</th>
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<td>Evil</td>
<td>*********</td>
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<tr>
<td>Horror</td>
<td>*********</td>
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<td>dead/death</td>
<td>************</td>
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<tr>
<td>“On alert”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Military</td>
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<td>terrorist/terrorism</td>
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<tr>
<td>Military base</td>
<td>*********</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Bush Rushed to military base”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hijack/hijackers</td>
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<td>Assault</td>
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<td>Disaster</td>
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<td>Danger</td>
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<td>Devastation / Destruction</td>
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<td>Panic</td>
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<td>Nightmare</td>
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<td>“America’s Darkest Day”</td>
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<td>“Reign of terror”</td>
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<td>Tragedy</td>
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<td>Strike</td>
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<td>Beyond Belief</td>
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<td>Fear</td>
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<td>American</td>
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<td>Security</td>
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<td>U.S. Airport Security Screening</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fears</td>
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<td>Attacks</td>
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<tr>
<td>“This means war”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Who could have done it?”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Americans core identity”</td>
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<td>“The Nation Reels”</td>
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<td>“Act of War”</td>
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<td>Unthinkable</td>
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<td>Day of terror</td>
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The first analysis I gathered from the headlines of the newspaper covers was the idea of fear of the unknown for a country unfamiliar with terrorist attacks. Many news outlets in the United States used terms such as terrorism, war, and attack which all created the symptom of increasing
fear after the 9/11 national tragedy. In addition, what many of these media outlets share in common is the service of creating a culture of war and insecurity. Saying phrases such as “This means war” or “Act of war”, not only politically created a war on “terror” but socially broke America’s notion of safety. One newspaper even goes as far as directly stating: “As jetliners strike U.S. landmarks, America’s sense of security is shattered”.

The terrorist attack of September 11, 2001, defined and publicized the understanding that security within the United States needs to be stronger to prevent another attack. The language I observed in the newspapers left an impression on Americans that ultimately instilled fear and changed what we know as safety. Malcolm X once said on optics in the media, in his autobiography: “If you're not careful, the newspapers will have you hating the people who are being oppressed, and loving the people who are doing the oppressing.” While 9/11 is not a matter of oppression, Malcolm highlights the vital message of carefully looking at what is presented in

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the media. Emerging technology platforms reporting on 9/11 allowed for 9/11 memorials reinforcing who and what is remembered.

Yet, I kept coming back to how these words were so powerful in our memory to produce fear and changed the conceptualization of safety. So thinking back to the important theme of memory, Said’s, “Invention, Memory, and Place”, I specifically pulled Said’s article, as memory and place have a direct correlation with the tragedy of 9/11. Said discusses how national identity always “involves narratives of the nation's past, its founding fathers and documents, seminal events” (Said, 2000). So through continued research and examination of newspaper collections the words “attack”, “danger”, “assault”, and “evil” constantly came up leaving a mark on generations to come. I also believe these words combined with “war”, “military”, and “security” and photos of destruction all had a direct impact on the way we see and internalize what safety means. So, the question becomes: how does our memory impact the way we can imagine the future? And how much power lies in the past? As seen with the memory of 9/11, memory’s impact is so tremendous that it reached plays as far as North Dakota.

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Said’s also examines the power of collective consensus. The newspaper covers tell us the power of the media and how it is carried into the present. Through McMeels’s publication, we see the direct result of using words and phrases such as panic, attack, security, military, and danger. As Said states, “people now look to this refashioned memory, especially in its collective forms, to give themselves a coherent identity, a national narrative, a place in the world” (Said, 2000). So as we think and imagine safety it has a lot to do about how previous historical tragedies are conveyed. Therefore, what can be gathered is “the invention of tradition is a method for using collective memory selectively by manipulating certain bits of the national past, suppressing others, elevating others in an entirely functional way. Thus memory is not necessarily authentic, but rather useful” (Said, 2000). Memory is ultimately a very powerful tool and has the ability to impact the notion of many social ideas.

Kalil’s “Dreaming with Guns”, is an article that shows strong parallels to how words can be impacted. Dreaming With Guns also shows the “male figure that protects material and
immaterial things and ultimately has supreme power over political life” (Kalil et. al., 2021). Oftentimes, in 9/11 coverage male firefighters are seen carrying women from buildings as well as Bush constantly headlines as addressing the nation. As seen in many of the newspaper collections, many of the photos thereby depict women crying in photos as seen in the newspaper covers below.
In addition, Bush, as President at the time, had a large presence in the newspaper headlines. One newspaper even stated: “Bush rushed to the military base” (McMeel, 2003). Fast forward to the present day, security is a majority-male role. As well as highlighting how 9/11 stories produced the contemporary moment of surveillance with the heightened military present across the U.S. In further analysis, the book, “Surveillance in America: Critical Analysis of the FBI, 1920 to the Present " , exhibits the in-depth treatment of surveillance practices since the year 2000. Ivan Greenberg’s book, Surveillance in America: Critical Analysis of the FBI, 1920 to the Present, considers the question of surveillance as harassment and looks at the further erosion of privacy stemming from Obama’s counter-terror policies which extend those of the Bush Administration. The startling increase in surveillance since the events of September 11th, reveals the extent to which Americans’ memory constantly goes back to trauma, like 9/11 (Greenberg,
2012). Very similar to what the nation saw in the aftermath of the Sandy Hook shooting with more surveillance in schools.

In further research, I looked at a study conducted by Steve Mann, which shows an inside look into one year after 9/11. Mann discusses how security experts and privacy advocates say there has been a surge in the number of video cameras installed around the country. Further implementing protective actions like the Patriot Act, rallying Americans in a united cause. Very similarly, Bail’s, "The Fringe Effect: Civil Society Organizations and the Evolution of Media Discourse about Islam since the September 11th Attacks. Bail states: "Numerous studies indicate that civil society organizations create cultural change by deploying mainstream messages that resonate with prevailing discursive themes” (Bail, 2012). Therefore, we can only imagine what the impact could be of seeing the word “dead” or “death” many times. With a President hanging his head low and the word “dead”, this newspaper allows for the extension of fear. Allowing for such things like the Patriot Act and the emotion of fear that invites people to act and respond.

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In examining a scholarly article about the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001, "The impact of post-9/11 airport security measures on the demand for air travel", we also see the impact 9/11 had on airport security. In response to the terrorist attacks, the federal government enacted new legislation to increase air passenger safety (Blalock et.al, 2007). With the establishment of new security screening acts for passengers, "Prior to 9/11, about 16,200 private security screeners were employed at U.S. airports...By the end of 2002, the TSA had hired 56,000 screeners for both passenger and baggage screening” (Blalock et.al., 2007). Not only was intensive airport screening put in place to regain confidence but as Faludi's book, The terror dream: Fear and fantasy in post-9/11 America, summarizes it best “...the Terror Dream is ultimately concerned not with what 9/11 did to women or men but with what it revealed about all of us—....”(Faludi, 2007).

Therefore, thinking of this notion in post-9/11 America, Susan Faludi shines a light on the country's psychological response to the attacks. As she turns to the powers of the media, popular culture, and political life, she asks, “did an assault on American global dominance provoke an almost hysterical summons to restore "traditional" manhood, marriage, and maternity? Why did our media react as if the hijackers had targeted not a commercial and military edifice but the family home and nursery? …swaggering presidential gunslingers, and the "rescue" of a female soldier compulsively recast as a helpless little girl”? (Faludi, 2007) If newspaper covers over and over again show “helpless women” and the strong firefighter the power of memory affects social dynamics and constantly draws us to the past. As seen, one newspaper article even goes back in time and brings the memory of Pearl Harbor up.
All different kinds of newspapers, as seen below, around the world were using very similar language that instilled fear among Americans and established new cultural norms for the whole country. Phrases and words used in just a few examples below such as: “This means war”, “Americans core identity”, “Act of War”, Security, Terror, Attacked\textsuperscript{15} and War; were all ways to increase concern around a perceived threat of future terrorism (Hubby et. al., 2011). In the photo we see the mass destruction of the tower. The damage and ruin in this picture amplified with the words of Pearl Harbor; give the understanding and drive for American culture to create a multitude of memorials. I believe between words and images this then created the license to act based on the potential of a threat versus an actual threat which has lasting consequences. While at the time most Americans did not understand the vital force of 9/11, one thing they thought they understood and internalized from the powerful images and language in the newspaper (as

shown below), was surveillance equals safety even if that meant giving up certain freedoms as seen through the Patriot Act.
Conclusion

So, where does this leave us for the future? To a generation that only knows surveillance as safety to those who lived through 9/11, What then can be the imagined future of surveillance? It is essential to realize the impact of 9/11 as it sits all around us in museums, gardens, and statues. The 9/11 memorials show us how reimagining the future of safety and surveillance for the

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coming generations can add to the collective memory in particular notions of privacy and surveillance. As seen throughout this paper the media and memorialization of 9/11 over time put in place our surveillance and safety notions.

George Orwell once said, “who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past.” While there is a difference between the definition of security and the social construction of security, these forces combined allowed for security in all avenues like home doorbell cameras, alarm systems, and much more due to the fear response of 9/11, creating the desire in many Americans to find “safety” for themselves as best as they could define. 9/11 was a national tragedy, one that Americans had never experienced. For that reason, if memorials overwhelm our spaces, that past “controls the future”.

From the powerful slogan NeverForget to uncovering the historical narrative of the tragic events of 9/11, this project examines the stories that are told and remembered about the September 11 attacks on the United States of America and the subsequent events that followed. So as I stated in the beginning: Have you ever thought about the physical history all around you? Memorials like the Martin Luther King, Jr. or the Lincoln Memorial attract crowds from all over, but do we fully understand the story told through that memorial? Well, 9/11 memorials are the scars that will haunt us in the future.
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