Remembering 9/11: Group Culture of Education

Mollie Elizabeth Birch

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is their own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

This thesis explores selected sources from the "September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project" held by the Library of Congress to conclude how the group culture of education responded to 9/11. The individuals chosen are interviews with school children, high school students, university students, teachers, and professors, alongside drawings from elementary school children. The interviews and drawings are all in response to the September 11th, 2001, terror attacks and provide an analysis into how the group culture of education responded to 9/11. One can see different forms of responses throughout the differing age groups. Within nursery schoolchildren it can be demonstrated that the children needed to react in a physical way through their play in order to process the event. From the ages of elementary school to high school the students show strong feelings of patriotism within their reactions; this is expected due to the American school system. Throughout the reactions of university students, schoolteachers and professors, patriotism can also be seen as well as trauma theories and the overlap of group cultures at a matured age. The most common theme throughout this thesis is a patriotic reaction in response to 9/11. Therefore, this thesis can demonstrate how the education system enforced patriotism at different age groups, as well as exploring trauma theory, art therapy, and racism in the aftermath of 9/11 as revealed through the group culture of education.

Notes

For privacy of the individuals mentioned the anonymisation of names will be in place. For school children, high school students, and university students only their first names will be referenced in both the thesis and references. For the teachers and professors only, their last names will be referenced in both the thesis and references. The drawings used in chapter 1 will be included in the Appendix at the end of this document.

Contents

Introduction and Literature Review

Introduction

This thesis will be exploring how the group culture of education remembered and responded to the September 11th, 2001, terror attacks. These terror attacks were through the hijackings of four airline passenger planes, which resulted in the crashing and collapsing of the Twin Towers, the hitting of the Pentagon, and the crashing of airline United 93 by passengers attempting to stop the terrorists. The term "group cultures" is used to describe the idea that individuals will understand and formulate their ideas on history and the present based upon their place within it. For example, those who would be classified as part of the "group culture of education" would be young children, high school students, college, and university students, as well as teachers, lecturers, and professors. These individuals will be heavily influenced by the education system, as a result this will have an impact on their understanding of history and the present. Another example of a group culture is those who work in the military. These individuals will understand events such as a particular war or military involvement with another country to a deeper extent due to their physical involvement within the sector. Whereas those in the group culture of education, specifically students, will understand military matters from more of a controlled and past perspective; particularly what the education system wants them to be taught. This example demonstrates further the characteristics of the group culture of education, which is information chosen by the education system, arguably providing more of a narrowed down approach to history. Additionally, an individual's understanding will also be impacted by other factors such as socio-economic, cultural, and geographical factors to name just a few. Throughout this thesis one can see the development of the argument that an individual will not belong to just one group culture. This can be seen through university students within and outside of New York. The students within New York at the time of the attacks arguably have a very specific and personal experience to the attacks in a physical way compared to university students outside of the city. Both groups are part of the group culture of education due to their place in university yet are also separate in geographical groups.

A brief exploration of how groups are formed is also needed for this thesis. Donald T. Campbell provides the term "entitativity" to explain the foundations of how groups form.[1] "Entitativity" describes the perception that people together form a group, either by the group members themselves or outsiders.[2] For group formations there are three factors that are needed:

[1] Principles of Social Psychology, *Understanding Social Groups*, <https://opentextbc.ca/socialpsychology/chapter/understanding-social-groups/> [accessed 30 June 2022]
[2] ibid

things in common, communication, and a group structure.[3] One can see this in the example of the "group culture of education." For both the younger children, students, teachers, and professors they all have the education system in common. This will include topics that are expected to be taught, a certain standard of behaviour and an encouragement of a way of thinking, for example an encouragement of patriotism in American schools. One can also see communication through the interviews with references to students or other teachers and the encouragement of a discussion about the attacks. Finally, a group structure is prevalent within the group culture of education with there being an obvious hierarchy. Once these factors are established "ingroup" and "outgroup" behaviours begin to form.[4] The perceptions of "ingroup entitativity can help people to retain their sense of collective self-esteem in the face of difficult circumstances."[5] Whereas "outgroup" perceptions may result in prosocial and antisocial behaviours towards groups."[6] An example of this is provided by Nancy Foner who explains how residents in Battery Park City, close to the destruction of the Twin Towers, experienced levels of hostility between long term residents and newcomers as they did not share the same bonding experience of going through the disaster.[7] An example of this is also shown within the interviews with New York students who struggled with discriminatory feelings towards those who looked of Arabic dissent, which created an attitude of "us versus them" which will be explored further in this thesis.

Through audio interviews, as well as drawings by third graders, the stories of these selected interviewees as well as the reactions of younger schoolchildren, are examined to see how those in the group culture of education responded to 9/11. In doing so it allows for the exploration of how the education system may have impacted their responses or encouraged certain teachings after the attacks. For example, patriotism and patriotic activities were heavily encouraged within American middle schools and high schools, and one can see this demonstrated within the interviews and the drawings by third graders. This emphasis on patriotism within the interviews leads to debates surrounding the dangers of patriotism turning into nationalism. As the chapters go through chronological order of age groups one can see how the opinions and reactions of the students develop and how this is in part due to the influences of the education system. As mentioned, those in middle/high school have strong patriotic influences from the school whereas those in university do not have the same control

[3] ibid
[4] ibid
[5] Ibid
[6] ibid
[7] Nancy Foner, *Wounded City: The Social Impact of 9/11 on New York City*, (Russel Sage Foundation; 2005) p12

over how they should show commemoration to the attacks. Therefore, the chapters focusing on those in high school and younger school children have strong patriotic influences compared to the interviews with those in university who discuss a wider depth of topics and can analyse the greater meanings and consequences of patriotic expression.

A critique of the work collected by the Library of Congress has not yet been attempted. Therefore, this thesis will be exploring a new avenue of 9/11 scholarship by focusing on a particular group in this collection. As these sources have been specifically chosen from one project, the findings do not attempt to draw a national conclusion. Instead, the wider scholarship will be used to support the topics and findings discussed from the interviews and drawings. For example, scholarship on trauma theory and young children will be explored alongside the interviews with nursery schoolteachers. Plus, art as a form of therapy will also be explored alongside the drawings by third graders in Elementary school. Additionally, concepts such as "blind"[8] and "constructive"[9] patriotism will be examined through some of the interviews with students and teachers, which once again relates back to the idea of patriotism and nationalism.

There are of course some weaknesses to these sources. For example, the purpose of the interviews varies. Some have been done to learn more about younger children and the response to 9/11, whereas others seem to be purely for the Library of Congress to keep in their collection. Arguably, this could weaken the source as the interviewers may ask specific questions in regard to their own intentions instead of a general set of interview questions. However, the information gained from these interviews are still incredibly useful in this examination. One can still see the general trends and patterns of how different age groups responded. The geographical scope of the interviews is limited providing another weakness of the source. For example, there are nine interviews with people from New York compared to only one from Utah. Plus, a lot of the interviews come from a collection of the same states: Florida, Maine, California, Colorado, New York, Michigan, Iowa, and Illinois all have at least four interviews or more. This is in comparison to Maryland, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Utah where there are less than two interviews. The states that are listed are all the states where the interviews have taken place showing that there is not a large range in relation to the whole of the United States. Unsurprisingly the majority of the interviews were in New York, which is expected as the attacks directly impacted this state. One could argue that the geographical scope of the

[8] Gail Sahar, 'Patriotism, Attributions for the 9/11 Attacks, and Support for War: Then and Now', *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, Vol. 30, pp187-197, (2008; Taylor and Francis Group LLC)
[9] ibid

interviews is too limited to conclude on how the group culture of education responded to 9/11. This is where it needs to be emphasised again that this is not an attempt to make a national judgement. Instead, this is an examination into the audio sources by the "September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project" to analyse how these selected individuals reacted.

These sources were selected by going through the "September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project" and choosing those who were involved in education someway. Overall, there are forty-nine interviews with school children, high school/university students, teachers, and professors. During the course of this thesis not all of the interviews are directly referenced. There are some interviews that are less than ten minutes long and do not overly discuss anything in great detail but have provided a general foundation that can be used. Also, the interviews with students outweigh the interviews with teachers and professors. This was not purposefully chosen but was instead the ratio that was available in the collection. If this was to be conducted again it would be helpful to have an equal number of teachers to students to provide a balanced examination. Plus, a wider and more balanced geographical scope would also be interesting to conduct in the future.

9/11 Scholarship

The scholarship surrounding 9/11 covers a broad range of genres in American studies. For example, certain scholars will analyse poetry after the attacks, such as Dennis Johnson et al.[10] Whereas scholars like Jeff Birkenstein[11] focus on the impact on film and the media. When considering the scholarship, it is clear to see how deeply September 11th, 2001, effected American culture. There does seem to be a break in history of pre and post 9/11 for the United States. Other areas of scholarship focus on the political implications of September 11th, with scholars focusing on U.S. foreign policy and the War on Terror as well as sociological matters like patriotism and commemoration. There is also a magnitude of oral history collections conducted about 9/11 and this thesis will be using these different genres to assess the impact of 9/11 on the group culture of education. The main themes viewed in this thesis will centre around oral history, artwork and therapy, and the impact of the rise in patriotism.

Foreign Policy

[10] Dennis Loy Johnson, Zidane Meriboute, *Poetry after 9/11: an anthology of New York poets,* (Brooklyn: Melville House, 2011)
[11] Jeff Birkenstein, *Reframing 9/11: film, popular culture and the "war on terror,"* (2010)

The scholarship on 9/11 is wide in scope. One of the most covered areas is how 9/11 impacted U.S. foreign policy and international relations. The attacks majorly impacted the relations of the United States with countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq and this is often covered through the analysis of the War on Terror. Some scholars, such as David Ryan compare the War on Terror with the Vietnam War, and this comparison is also made within some of the interviews. Ryan argues that the War on Terror was supposed to demonstrate the power of America but instead served as an example of its weaknesses.[12] Indeed, other scholars such as the co-authors of *The Long Shadow of 9/11: America's response to terrorism* agree with this argument and go further to criticise the invasion of Iraq.[13] This thesis will not heavily focus on how American foreign policy was impacted after 9/11, but the basic arguments will need to be covered as certain interviewees will discuss foreign policy. A large proportion of 9/11 scholarship focuses on the War on Terror, which is understandable considering its length and cost to the United States. One theme that is noticeable is that the work written roughly 10 years after the attacks like the work of David Ryan, seem to conclude that the United States acted too far, especially with the invasion on Iraq. This could be due to 10 years providing hindsight for the public and scholars to review the consequences as well as the successes, plus, the drive for action will have ebbed in the 10 years. This is where the similarities with Vietnam are often drawn as the government starts to lose the support of the public as they push their agendas too far. The comparison is also clear in that both wars gained the U.S. deep criticism and divide within the public, for example both wars provoked peace protests within the United States. What should be noted is that these interviews are conducted in the months following September 11th, 2001, ranging up until February 2002. Therefore, a lot of the interviewees show a level of encouragement for the war and the government response, which follows the trends of opinion polls at this time.[14]

Adding on to foreign policy scholarship are debates surrounding America's response to the attacks. Kent Roach explains how the United States explored the "dark side" of anti-terrorism policies.[15] He explains that Security Council Resolution 1373 barely mentioned the importance of respecting human rights in the countering of terrorism, which as a result allowed countries with a poor human rights record to defend their repressive laws as a prevention

[12] David Ryan, *Frustrated Empire: US Foreign Policy, 9/11 to Iraq*, (2007) p141
[13] Michael Brians Jenkins et co, *The long shadow of 9/11: America's response to terrorism*, (CA:RAND, Santa Monica, 2011) p4
[14] October 2001, 60% of adults expressed trust in the federal government as sourced by Pew Research Centre, *Two Decades Later, the Enduring Legacy of 9/11*, Hannah Hartig and Carroll Doherty
[15] Kent Roach, *The 9/11 Effect: Comparative Counter-Terrorism*, (University of Toronto, Cambridge Universtiy Press, 2012) p436

against terrorism.[16] In accordance with this he argues that countries with a history of abusing human rights of suspected terrorists before 9/11 could now proudly report their repressive laws to the new Counter-Terrorism Committee established by the UN Security Council without fear of criticism.[17] The "dark side" of these polices also include attempts to "preclude all judicial review of the detention of suspected terrorists at Guantanamo; waterboarding and other forms of torture and humiliation, and extra electronic surveillance authorized by presidential order but not by legislation."[18] Adding onto these policies, the Patriot Act also came into place, which has faced heavy criticism. Cassidy Pitt explains that the act holds policies that some argue restricts civil liberties and also violates some U.S. Constitution amendments such as the Fourth Amendment; this protects people from "unreasonable search" and the removal of personal belongings unless there is a "probable cause."[19] Additionally, under the act it allowed for the surveillance of the public through methods such as airport searches of passengers, wiretaps and traces on phones and computers to catch the early discovery of terrorist plans.[20] Roach argues that the Patriot Act was mild in comparison to some of the legal measures elsewhere and also domestically in comparison to the use of torture, but highlights that the post-9/11 pretextual immigration detentions and abuse of material witness warrants were not mild.[21] Although the argument that the Patriot Act was mild is a relatively uncommon one, it is easy to see the point he is making when comparing it to some of the harsher measures of anti-terrorism policies that the United States used. In Pitt's writing she explains how historians such as Golder and Williams argue that the Patriot Act and other counter-terrorism legislation led to the impingement of human rights for many Muslims and Arabs in America as they were the primary targets of these policies[22].

When looking through the research on foreign policy after 9/11, what seems to be the largest domestic problem that arises was how these new policies impacted the lives of Muslims and Arab Americans living within the United States. Some scholars suggest that the war became a fear of "unseen dangers"[23] and a war against the "unknown"[24] and unfortunately

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[16] Ibid p2
[17] Ibid p3
[18] Ibid p436
[19] Cassady Pitt, 'U.S. Patriot Act and Racial Profiling: Are There Consequences of Discrimination?', *Michigan Sociological Review*, (November 1st, 2011) p54
[20] Ibid p55
[21] Ibid p436
[22] ibid p55
[23] Michael Barkun, *Chasing phantoms: reality, imagination and homeland security since 9/11* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 2011)
[24] Michael C. Frank, 'At War with the Unknown: Hollywood, Homeland Security, and the Cultural Imaginary of Terrorism after 9/11', *American Studies*, Vol. 60, No. 4, pp485-504 (Universitatsverlag Winter ghmbh)

these fears were primarily targeted against Muslim and Arab Americans. It seems as though the new policies led to a subtle acceptance by the government to turn a blind eye to the level of discrimination directed towards Muslims. Indeed, when looking at the statistics available we can see this, as according to the Council of American-Islamic Relations the level of anti-Muslim backlash increased by 64% in the United States following the attacks.[25] The interviews within the collection also focus on this rise of discrimination towards those who look of Arabic dissent and explore how certain individuals feel about this.

Historiography

The origin of oral history is difficult to pinpoint. It is one of the oldest forms of historical source as humans pass down their traditions and stories verbally through generations. It is now most commonly used for collecting the histories of those who are nonliterate or a particular group/community that has been silenced, threatened, or destroyed.[26]. Within the case of 9/11 oral histories, many survivors wanted their stories kept as a record for what they had witnessed or to tell the stories of lost loved ones. As a result, oral history provides a voice to the individual effected by historical events. Historian Paul Thompson explains that the primary focus of history has been political; focusing more on the shifts and struggles of power or the economy and religion.[27] Even when viewing the working class or the public, these histories have often been represented by statistics or demographics and rarely focused on the individual's lives and how these shifts in power, money or religion may have impacted them. However, through oral history the historian can begin to piece these gaps together. Through interviewing people of the public, a better understanding is formed on that historical point in time. What Thompson is describing is the democratising aim of oral history, making it less about the powerful and more about the everyday individual, whilst also making it accessible. One should also consider the role of Allan Nevins with his creation of the Columbia University Oral History Archives in 1948. Although, of course, he was not the first to have practiced oral history, he was however more of the official name for the start of the study. The aim was to begin recording the "memoirs of persons significant in American life."[28]As Saul Beninson reflects, Nevins believed the individual played an important role in history and that the individual's autobiography may

[25] Ariana Chebel D'Appollonia, Simon Reich, *Managing Ethnic Diversity after 9/11: Integration, Security, and Civil Liberties in Transatlantic Perspective* (2010; Rutgers University Press) p4
[26] Paula Hamilton, Linda Shopes, *Oral History and Public Memories*, (Temple University Press, 2008) p103
[27] Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, (Oxford University Press, 1998) p2
[28] Ibid, p59

serve as a key to understanding contemporary historical movements.[29] One can see how the main goal for oral history has continued and has led to a multitude of arguments over its purpose and methodology.

During the 1960s the main discussions surrounding oral history were what it was and how it could be used. The first generation such as Nevins and Louis Starr used oral history as a means to collect unwritten recollections of prominent individuals for historians researching in the future.[30] Issues such as technological advancements were also discussed in the 1960s. Beninson, writing in 1965 about the issue of technology threatening the historian, quotes Starr, who argues, "the automobile, the airliner, and the telephone between them are steadily obliterating history's most treasured resource, the confidential letter. The inner thoughts, the private relations, the reactions of one man to another, the undercurrent of the times as we reflected in our personal lives, will be lost to him."[31] Some historians at this time were worried that history would be lost and overwhelmed by the sheer volume of documents but also through the advancement in technology losing traditional communication methods. Beninson disagrees with this worry and argues that these "superior methods of communication" will not eliminate the personal letter and document.[32] Indeed, with hindsight one can see now that advancements in technology have led to an easier access of old documents and a wider range of historical sources that the historian can chose from. These documents are needed in order for evidence to back up the oral historian's argument. When discussing the technique of oral history, Beninson argues that by keeping the entire interview tape the physical voice can give a rounded psychological portrait of the man or woman[33] as the listener will be able to hear the emotions within the voice of the interviewee. This is why the history of emotions is also important to consider alongside oral history, as the way emotions are presented and are felt change over time due to the societal trends. This reflection on oral history, and the purposes as well as the technique is common for historians around the 1960s/1970s.

A good example of this reflection is by that of historian William Moss in 1975. He proposes that the future of oral history is a paradox: "there will be less oral history and more

[29] Saul Benison, 'Reflections on Oral History' *The American Archivist*, Vol. 28, No. 1, pp71-77 (Society of American Archivists, Jan 1965) p71
[30] David K, Dunaway, Willa K. Baum, *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers INC, 18th September 1996) p8
[31] Benison, p72
[32] Ibid p72
[33] Ibid p76

tape recording and there will be more oral history and less tape recording."[34] Moss discusses the potential problems of oral history gaining popularity and how over time the pieces of work produced will become "designs created more by the "editor" than the narrators"[35] and questions whether this can still be called "oral history."[36]In an opposing sense he also hopes for a "new oral history to replace the tarnished old one... So, we will also perhaps have more oral history, value for value, with less tape recording."[37] Within the 1970s the purpose of oral history was being questioned due to the rise in popularity. One can see this within America and Canada where by 1971 there were already 100,000 recorded hours of interviews and over a million pages of transcript.[38] This is why this thesis is using already collected interviews so as not to add to the avalanche of oral histories; instead, this will aim to find hidden stories within those that have already been collected. One of Moss' future theories for oral history is the likelihood of seeing more use of videotape and cinematic film as well as more ambitious uses of videotaped interviews in TV and documentaries.[39] With hindsight, we can see that this has happened and videotaped interviews have been used for 9/11 oral histories.[40] The theories made by Moss backs up the argument by David Dunaway that the second generation of oral historians that came of age in the mid-1960s aimed to expand upon the original purposes of oral history.[41] They viewed oral history as more than a way to capture the stories of "important individuals" but to also empower the nonliterate and historically disenfranchised;[42]he argues that they laid the grassroots for future generations to use.[43] Arguably, Moss and others were doing this by questioning the uses of oral history and the potential downfalls and benefits of it gaining popularity.

One argument made by Moss is that there needs to be more articles that develop theory as well as an exploration of quality criteria.[44]This links well to the analysis of John Neuenschwander who was writing at roughly the same time. Linking to the need for a more

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[34] William W. Moss, 'The Future of Oral History', *The Oral History Review*, Vol 3 (1975) pp5-11, (Taylor and Francis Ltd) p5
[35] Ibid p6
[36] Ibid p6
[37] Ibid p7
[38] Thompson, P59/60
[39] Moss, p10
[40] Some examples include: 'Children of 9/11: Our Story' https://www.channel4.com/programmes/children-of-911-our-story, [accessed Sunday 5th December 2021], and 'The Children of 9/11 – Growing up in the shadow of terror', https://www.dw.com/en/the-children-of-9-11-growing-up-in-the-shadow-of-terror/av-59144610 [accessed Sunday 5th December 2021]
[41] Dunaway, p8
[42] ibid p8
[43] Ibid p8
[44] Moss, p10

developed theory of oral history, Neuenschwander argues that there is too much uncertainty about how the human memory works and that it is time for oral historians to begin to deeper understand the essence of memory.[45]This argument is still around presently, as although more is now understood about memory there are still questions as to whether the human memory is a reliable source. Arguably, this need that Neuenschwander is calling for has appeared in oral history literature, as we can see through the work of Alice Hoffman. In her work Hoffman explains how her and her husband, who is a psychologist, began exploring how memory works through oral history. Using his experiences as a soldier in World War 2, Alice conducted a set of two interviews with him based on free recall and separated by several years, with the emphasis that her husband would not engage in things that would stimulate him to rehearse or further explore his memories about the war.[46] A third set of interviews would be conducted based on any documentary evidence that could be found.[47]Their results, although deriving only from Howard, found that it is possible to recover past events reliably and accurately and to amplify and exemplify the existing written record.[48] To quote Hoffman "we think that our findings with respect to Howard's memories imply that there is a subset of autobiographical long-term memory which is so permanent and largely immutable that it is best described as archival."[49]Both Alice and Howard were inspired by Neuenschwander's article on memory and the need for the connection between the psychology of memory and oral history. Therefore, through the work of Alice Hoffman one can see that it is possible for the studies of psychology and history to come together to process how memory takes place. There are still gaps in the theories regarding memory and psychologists are still discovering what memory really is, but through pieces like this the oral historian can see that there is reliable evidence that can be taken from the interviewee's memory.

In their work *Oral History and Public Memories,* Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes discuss the differences between oral history and the history of memory. They explain that historians working with memory tend to ask questions about the broader social and cultural processes at work in remembrance whereas the oral historian privileges the individual narrator and focuses on his/her agency in the world.[50] They emphasise the difference that memory

[45] John Neuenschwander, 'Rememberance of Things Past: Oral Historians and Long-Term Memory', *The Oral History Review,* Vol. 6 (1978; Taylor and Francins) pp45-53, p46
[46] Alice M. Hoffman, *Archives of Memory: a Soldier Recalls World War 2* (University press of Kentucky, 2015) p5
[47] Ibid p5
[48] Ibid p144
[49] Ibid p145
[50] Hamilton and Shopes, p5

history is much more about the way that memory has been sustained beyond the individual lifespan and focuses more on the "collective," whereas oral history focuses on the individual.[51] Moreover, one could argue that Neuenschwander's call for a better understanding about memory may still be in the process; it seems as though the process in which an individual remembers things is not as focused on within memory studies but is more focused on how the collective remembers and shapes ideas. However, the work of Christina Weber attempts to tie the two together. Arguably she uses both oral history and the history of memory to analyse how the children of Vietnam Veterans understand theirs and their father's place in America. This example of trauma and Vietnam links well with 9/11 as some of the interviewees do make a comparison to the Vietnam War and the War on Terror. She explains how trauma causes gaps in the stories their fathers tell, so often it us up to the children to fill in these gaps.[52] Weber explains that instead of isolating cultural memories and narratives from personal ones she aims to understand the ways they rely on each other for meaning and legitimacy.[53] By observing the way they rely on each other, Weber is taking the traditional methodology of the history of memory further by looking into both the collective and the individual. Through her work she tries to piece together how the children of Vietnam War Veterans experienced trauma from their fathers whilst also trying to understand their place in history. Weber's final thoughts centre around the idea that the history of Vietnam is not over, instead the collective and singular stories are incomplete and in transition, which makes a history of the present.[54] In relation, the 9/11 oral history narratives can be viewed similarly. Due to the broadcasted nature of the attack, anyone in America no matter how close or how far they were to the attack, will have been impacted by it personally. The footage was repeated for days after the attack acting as a constant reminder of what had happened, making it into more of a collective trauma. Therefore, by viewing 9/11 purely as a collective trauma, historians risk losing an understanding of how individuals were impacted. It will be useful, then, to use Weber's approach of comparing both the collective and individuals' ideas and feelings of trauma to better understand the impact that an event such as 9/11 had on society.

Overall, it seems as though one of the main debates surrounding oral history and as a result the history of memory, is how reliable is it as a source? It is understandable why some historians will question the validity of a single person's narration of an event or place in time

[51] ibid
[52] Christina D Weber, *Social memory and war narratives; transmitted trauma among children of Vietnam War veterans* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)
[53] Ibid p2
[54] Ibid p197

– they could make things up, purposefully omit information to suit their telling of a story or simply forget important pieces of information. But it comes back down to the argument made at the beginning of this review. When one only focuses on the history created by those in power or focusing purely on the demographics and statistics about the population instead of the actual people, then the historian will miss a vital component of history, the voice of the people. Ultimately, every person has a story to tell. For example, Offner who was interviewed for the Library of Congress 9/11 oral histories was not too shaken by the attacks, but this is because his family had previously experienced a large amount of trauma.[55] This narrative opposes the generalisation of every American being deeply affected by 9/11, therefore, this is an example of how focusing on the narratives of individuals can act as a counterbalance for the ideas created by focusing only on the collective. Paul Thompson's analysis on the reliability of oral history as a source perfectly describes what has been discussed here. Thompson suggests that in some ways oral history as a source does have a stronger use for the historian in that "all the exact words used are there as they were spoken; and added to them are social clues, the nuances of uncertainty, humour, or pretence, as well as the texture of dialect… its human empathy or combativeness, its essentially tentative, unfinished nature."[56]Although a slightly romanticised view on oral history, Thompson smoothly describes how oral history captures the essence of the human experience narrating their place in history. The use of written documents does miss that level of emotion that oral history can provide: "every historical source derived from human perception is subjective, but only the oral source allows us to challenge that subjectivity; to unpick the layers of memory, dig back into its darkness, hoping to reach the hidden truth."[57]Furthermore, when analysing the interviews with those effected by 9/11 in America there will be the added layer of heard emotion and the gaps of memory that provides another layer of information to learn from.

History of emotion

A brief exploration on the history of emotion is necessary before looking into specific 9/11 oral history examples. One of the scholars most credited for launching the field of the history of emotion was Lucian Febvre. He called for historians to see human psychology as fluid and historically contingent instead of universal and constant.[58]It seems as though there is a theme

[55] Sonya Rhee and Offner, 'Interview with Offner,' New York, 18th October 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000106/, [November 2020]
[56] Thompson, p108
[57] ibid p150
[58] Susan J. Matt, *Doing emotions history*, (Urbana; University of Illinois Press, 2014) p3

within the literature surrounding oral history for the need of historians and psychologists to work together to better understand the fluidity of life and how the two subjects can benefit one another. Likewise, Keith Oatley describes that in the modern day if one was to hear a story of a father forbidding his 39-year-old daughter to marry, that the majority of people would be shocked and conclude that this is inappropriate.[59] As Susan Matt explains, the history of emotions helps us to see how emotions have a large impact in shaping the social and political implications of society and as a result shaping public realities.[60] Through emotions, historians can see the ways in which humans understand and shape these realities and to uncover worldviews and the fundamental assumptions about life.[61]This is important to remember when considering how collective traumas are created. As Arthur G. Neal explains an event becomes a national trauma when "the social system is disrupted to such a magnitude that it commands the attention of all major subgroups of the population."[62] Similarly, Oatley explains that reactive emotions happen when the appearance of the world as one assumes it to be is pierced by reality.[63] Therefore, one can see that emotions help to show historians what the overall perceptions of society are, and indeed, when a reactive emotion is felt by most of society this suggests that this perception has been broken and out of this a national trauma can be felt. Furthermore, this understanding of the importance of emotion and how it can help shape societal views and the ways in which people react to things is important to know alongside the analysis of oral histories.

9/11 oral histories

The "September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project" held by the Library of Congress holds a broad range of 9/11 oral histories.[64] The project has a large range of interviews from the months following the attacks with a wide variety of people in all different geographical locations. This collection is particularly useful for historians looking for a diverse collection of oral histories as it isn't focused on one specific group, like the victims of the attacks for example. The

[59] Keith Oatley, *Emotions: a brief history*, (Oxford; Blackwell, 2004) p9
[60] Matt, p1
[61] ibid p2
[62] Arthur G. Neal, *National Trauma and Collective Memory: Extraordinary Events in the American Experience*, (Routledge; 2nd edition, 31st May 2005) p10
[63] Oatley, p4
[64] Similar to this collection is the Columbia University Libraries, Columbia Center for Oral Histories, *September 11 Terrorist Attacks, 2001 – Personal Narratives,* https://oralhistoryportal.library.columbia.edu/results.php?component_text=%22September+11+Terrorist+Attacks%2C+2001--Personal+narratives.%22&limit_subject_t=on&repository_code=nnc-oh [accessed Sunday 5th December 2021]

interviews focus on what the day was like for the individual and cover a range of different lifestyles and emotions.[65] Alongside this, the American Folklife Centre holds the September 11th Digital Archive, which includes the "Voices of 9/11."[66] This project is conducted away from the traditional method of oral history; a semi-structured interview with a set of interview questions conducted between interviewer and interviewee. These are personal video testimonies recorded around 2002 and 2003, which were recorded inside a private booth where the participants started and stopped their own recordings.[67] There were no restrictions or guidelines to what the participants could say, meaning their stories could be constructed in the way that they felt was right. This particular method of oral history encapsulates how useful the individual narratives of the pubic are, without encouragement, guidance, or even manipulation of how their stories is told, the participants are allowed to express their stories openly, and hopefully honestly. One could even argue that this method of oral history allows for a much more honest telling of their experiences as there isn't another person watching and reacting to their stories, meaning the participants may feel more comfortable as there isn't the "judgement" of another watching.

One example of the ways by which oral history can be used in the public sphere is through the 9/11 Memorial and Museum. They have a collection of more than 1000 recorded interviews with responders, survivors, 9/11 family members, and others deeply affected by the attacks.[68] These interviews are kept at the museum with opportunities to view the personal testimonies located throughout the Museum. On their website there are also edited segments from the collection that are accessible for the public. Relating this back to Starr's concern that the advancement in technology may ruin history for the historian, one can see that this is not the case at all. Instead, the advancement in technology has led to history becoming much more accessible to the public, creating a more personal experience, and understanding. Dunaway explains that the third generations of oral historians that emerged in the 1980s were students and scholars and this led to the introduction of oral history into the public sphere with the 80s becoming the "decade of the public program in the oral history profession."[69]Additionally, Dunaway explains that with this popularity of oral history came the introduction of museums

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[65] The Library of Congress, *September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project,* <https://www.loc.gov/collections/september-11th-2001-documentary-project/?fa=online-format:audio&sp=5>
[66]The September 11th Digital Archive, *Voices of 9/11,* https://911digitalarchive.org/collections/show/267 [accessed Monday 7th March 2022]
[67] ibid
[68] 9/11 Memorial and Museum, *Oral Histories,* https://www.911memorial.org/learn/resources/oral-histories, [accessed Sunday 5th December 2021]
[69] Dunaway, p9

incorporating oral materials into exhibits,[70] which we can see being used in the 9/11 Memorial and Museum.

More recent traditional oral history projects are some such as the Stony Brook University, "Remembering 9/11 Oral History Project" and the U.S. House of Representatives "Due to the Circumstances of Today." Dr Luft with the help of colleagues at Stony Brook University established the project in 2009 by recording the stories of responders who attended the Stony Brook WTC Wellness program; by 2011, the Library of Congress formally expressed an interest in preserving these histories.[71] Here, we can see the link between the two oral history projects and how 9/11 oral histories have gained popularity as the American public wants to feel a connection to the day and the loved ones many lost. This relates to Arthur G. Neals theories about collective trauma and how a national trauma is often shared in the collective through gatherings where people reflect on the tragedy and its consequences; the individual feels as though their personal feelings are confirmed when others express similar emotions and this in its way is comforting to the victims.[72]Similarly, the U.S. House of Representatives conducted their oral history project with former representatives, House Officials, and employees to provide an account and emotions of the day.[73]Both of these examples show a much more specific example of oral history by only interviewing a selected group in relation to the September 11th attacks. Once again, oral history allows for this diversity in the interviewing process, having space for both specific groups of people or just members of the general public. This is where one can bring the idea of group cultures into the study of oral history to help understand why certain groups may feel or understand history in a certain way.

This thesis will be different to the wider scholarship that is already available as it will be focusing on one "group culture" by using one specific collection. By using the "September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project" held by the Library of Congress those who are a part of the group culture of education will be examined. In doing so, this thesis will not attempt to conclude a national judgement of how the group culture of education responded to 9/11, instead the wider scholarship will be used to support the findings from the interviews and selected

[70] Ibid p9
[71] Stony Brook University News, *Stony Brook WTC Wellness Program Donates 9/11 Responder Oral Histories to the Library of Congress*, https://news.stonybrook.edu/alumni/stony-brook-wtc-wellness-program-donates-911-responder-oral-histories-to-the-library-of-congress/, [accessed Sunday 5th December 2021]
[72] Neal, p4
[73] History, Art & Archives: United States House of Representatives, *"Due to the Circumstances of Today": The U.S. House of Representatives Remembers September 11, 2001*, https://history.house.gov/Oral-History/Events/September-11/September-11-2001/, [accessed Sunday 5th December 2021]

drawings to demonstrate the general trends after September 11th, 2001, in the group culture of education. Instead of adding more interviews to the wealth of 9/11 oral history collections this thesis will be further exploring and analysing already collected sources. Neither an analysis of the collection as a whole nor an analysis of a specific group has been attempted for this collection, so this thesis will be providing a new avenue of research into 9/11 scholarship.

Through the interviews with nursery school children an exploration of child psychology and the meaning behind children's play will be explored. Through this one will be able to understand how the attacks had an impact on children as young as the age of four years old even when adults around them tried to reduce the child's consumption of the news. Some of the research surrounding this topic will be looking into PTSD statistics for young children, as well as a consideration on how the school systems reacted. Additionally, scholarship on art therapy as well as drawings from elementary schoolchildren are taken into consideration. This helps to demonstrate how patriotic influences were prevalent in elementary schoolchildren and leads to an analysis of the meaning behind the symbols in the drawings. Moving on from this will be interviews with schoolchildren in middle school. This is where one can gather more of an emotional feel for how the children reacted instead of any explanations or debates about certain topics. This chapter highlights how the younger schoolchildren behaved and reacted to 9/11 and provides a psychological look into art and play.

Secondly, interviews with high school students and high school teachers will be reviewed. One can start to see how the opinions of the school students develop and there are more passionate responses to the attacks. Throughout these responses debates surrounding being "blindly" or "constructively" patriotic are brought into focus, as some of the responses of the students can relate to these terms. These patriotic responses often appear when debating why the attacks happened as some of the students place it on U.S. superiority. Additionally, one can see the impact that the American school system had on the students, both younger and those in high school, as patriotic activities as a way of commemoration was highly encouraged. Furthermore, the overall theme that arises from high school students and teachers is one of heightened patriotism and a development of understanding.

The final chapter will focus on interviews with New York university students, university students outside of New York, and the opinions of some professors. Within this chapter one can see the impact that geographical location can have. This chapter will blend first hand witnesses with those who experienced it from a distance. Through this one can see a contrast in the responses and the topics discussed; for example, New York students explain why they believe the terrorists attacked in New York compared to students outside of the city

who explain why they believe the terrorists attacked the United States. One can also see how the attacks impacted political attitudes with many of the students feeling positively towards President Bush and Mayor Giuliani. The theme of patriotism also continues into this final chapter as well as the issue of racism. Overall, this thesis follows the age groups of younger school children to university students, alongside teachers of these age groups, to examine the trends in the group culture of education after 9/11 and how the education system may have impacted them and their understanding. The general trend that can be discovered from these interviews and drawings is the heightened sense of patriotism after the attacks.

Chapter 1: Nursery, Elementary and Middle School Children and Teachers

Throughout this chapter the reaction of younger children, ranging from nursery through to middle school, will be observed. The aim of this chapter will be to analyse the reactions and behaviours of younger schoolchildren to provide an insight into how the attacks of September 11th, 2001, had a significant impact into their psyche. Through the narratives of nursery schoolteachers, the children's drawings, and interviews with middle school children one can begin to see how different influences and reactions were prevalent in the group culture of education. The nursery schoolteachers provide further insight into the environment of the classrooms at this time, as well as discussing topics that are explored within 9/11 scholarship. As these sources derive from the Library of Congress, "September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project," this chapter does not attempt to make a national judgement on how these age groups reacted to 9/11. Instead, it will focus specifically on the sources from the collection to then compare with the wider scholarship to see if the reactions are common to that experienced on a national level. The sources that will be observed in this chapter are: four nursery schoolteachers and their testimonies, one testimony from an assistant elementary school teacher, the drawings of elementary school children at Sequoyah Elementary School and the testimonies of middle school children.

The scholarship surrounding this topic is interdisciplinary. Often the research conducted about children and 9/11 focuses on the different ways they expressed themselves through play and drawings. Younger children are often not able to verbally express themselves efficiently so psychologists and academics have observed that play and art can help them effectively communicate their feelings. The scholarship examines how art can provide distance from the traumatic event in order for the individual to process it. This approach can be used for both younger children and adults alike but in this context the drawings of younger children will be analysed to show how sometimes verbal communication is not the only form of effective communication. The scholarship also focuses on the level of PTSD like symptoms that children experienced around the site of attack as well as nationally[1] and there was a strong encouragement by psychologists at the time to limit the amount of news that younger children consumed.[2] These research points will be discussed in correlation to the "September 11th, 2001,

[1] Michele E. Calderoni D.O., Elizabeth M. Alderman M.D., Ellen J. Silver Ph.D, Laurie J. Bauman Ph.D., 'The Mental Health Impact of 9/11 on Inner-City High School Students 20 Miles North of Ground Zero', *Journal of Adolescent Health*, Vol. 39, Issue 1, pp57-65

[2] Karen E. Hooker and Howard Friedman, 'Responding to the psychological needs of children after 9/11: A review of the literature,' https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED490449.pdf, (2005)

Documentary Project" sources in order to gain a deeper understanding into how the group culture of education reacted to 9/11. This chapter will provide a foundational base to begin to observe how younger children in the education system reacted to 9/11, and as a result, will allow for a comparison of the age groups to be formed.

Interviews with Nursery Schoolteachers

As a starting point the interviews with four nursery schoolteachers will be considered to see how the children reacted. All four teachers seem to make a reference to one another suggesting they come from the same nursery school; however, they do not state this clearly. Research from these interviews does not intend to represent the national response of younger children, however, many of the themes discussed have been analysed by psychologists and scholars in the years after September 11th, 2001.[3] The age groups within this school range from 4 to 6 years old. The interviews heavily focus on the behaviours of the children following the attacks. This may be due to the aim of the interviewer but also because younger children will have been observed closely in order to protect them and see if they need any help from changes in their behaviours. Within these interviews it is demonstrated how receptive and porous the younger children are even when their parents tried to distance them from the news. It should be noted that these interviews were conducted in January/February 2002 meaning there has been plenty of time for the teachers to have noticed a reaction. Wellmann and Dougherty who were interviewed together reported the effort to keep the news on an "adult level" and how it was difficult to contain when the teachers themselves were struggling with the news;[4] an elementary schoolteacher in New York also mentions this separation and refers to it as "kiddie land."[5]All four teachers explained that the children often referred to the terrorists as "bad guys" or the "mean guys" but Papiernik shows that they were aware of the words "terrorist" and "extremist" as some asked what that meant.[6] This separation of keeping the news on an "adult level" compared to the uses of terms "bad/mean guys" can demonstrate the level of comprehension that younger children have. Although confused by the more technical terms many of them were aware that people had been hurt and that there had been a plane crash that caused lives to be

[3] ibid

[4] Ann Kaplan, Wellmann and Dougherty, 'Interview with Wellmann and Dougherty,' Colorado Springs, January 30th, 2002, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000025/, [January 2022]

[5] Bibi Khan and Lederer, 'Interview with Lederer,' New York, New York, November 13th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000122/, [January 2022]

[6] Ann Kaplan and Papiernik, 'Interview with Papiernik,' Colorado Springs, February 1st, 2002, audio, accessed via http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.afc/afc2001015.sr053b01, [January 2022]

lost. Atwood and Donnelly explain that infants will be able to sense a change in their parents' anxiety levels,[7] therefore even if an understanding of the events are missing from the child's knowledge, they will still be able to sense that something bad has happened around them.

The teachers also discussed the action they took to help the children cope with their feelings. One main theme was the encouragement of parents to limit the amount of 9/11 TV coverage that the younger children consumed.[8] There are plenty of sources that were released in the years following 9/11 that go into detail about how this repeated coverage could mentally affect younger children negatively. For example, Michael W. Otto et al found that for the younger children (age 10 or below) PTSD symptoms were associated with the amount of television that was consumed.[9] The article concludes much the same as these nursery schoolteachers, that it is important to limit the repeated exposure to children of these types of traumatic events.[10]

In regard to any changes in behaviour and coping methods all four teachers did notice a slight change, as quickly as the day after the attack. Papiernik recalls noticing that some children played with blocks and played the event out by crashing into the towers made, as well as some young boys playing "terrorists" where they held a classmate in a place until the airplane crashes.[11] Whedon also recalls children piling leaves and sticks into a heap, coaxing another student over to the pile and then shouting "boom."[12] Papiernik notes how some of the more general reactions were through aggressive behaviour with the ultimate insult going from a "poo poo head" to everything becoming all about killing or blowing things up.[13] All four teachers noticed that the children were confused, with one boy thinking it was in his neighbourhood although the school is in Colorado Springs, showing that he didn't understand it geographically,[14] as well as some children thinking it was happening over and over again due to the repeated coverage.[15] Anna Bersin explores in her article the theories and importance behind what children's play represents. She references Brian Sutton-Smith explaining that play

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[7] Atwood, J. D., & Donnelly, J. W. (2002). The children's war: Their reactions to devastating events. The Family Journal: Counseling and Therapy for Couples and Families, 10(1), 11-18
[8] Hooker and Friednmad, p10
[9] Michael W. Otto et co, 'Post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms following media exposure to tragic events: Impact of 9/11 on children at risk for anxiety disorders,' *Journal of Anxiety Disorders*, 21 (2007) pp888-902, p897
[10] ibid p900
[11] Kaplan and Papiernik, 2002
[12] Ann Kaplan and Whedon, 'Interview with Whedon,' Colorado Springs, 13th February 2002, audio, accessed via http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.afc/afc2001015.sr054a01, [January 2022]
[13] Kaplan and Papiernik, 2002
[14] Kaplan and Whedon, 2002
[15] ibid

is "essentially ambiguous, modelling, mirroring, and artfully distorting the realities children face."[16]Bersin argues that September 11, 2001, was unique in American history and created a new "genre of folk games" that are specific to 9/11.[17]One can see this through the examples given already with games such as playing "terrorists" and bombing their friends. Bersin provides a personal example through her 4-year-old son who placed a black glove on his hand and is quoted to have said "look Mom, my arm is burned off" as well as songs and rhymes inspired by the attacks, such as: "World TRADE Center is FALLING DOWN, FALLING DOWN, FALLING DOWN, World Trade Center is FALLING DOWN, Oh – ON TOP of US."[18] Further explaining this Bersin acknowledges that children need to turn these images into playful and artistic symbols for release, with some needing to play the attacker (those bombing their friends or crashing blocks), the attacked ("my arm is burned off") and the shocked ("Oh – ON TOP OF US").[19] This is similar to the therapy of psychodrama. which is "a type of experiential, action-based therapy in which people explore issues by acting out events from their past."[20] It was seen in 2020 that trauma focused psychodrama may help the treatment of PTSD, as one study demonstrates a 25% reduction after the use of this therapy.[21] Therefore this method of acting out an event helps the individual to process and understand their feelings, which the children seem to naturally do through play. Although the interviews from the September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project only provide a small case study of nursery schoolteachers and as a result the children's reaction, one can clearly see that the reactions experienced in the classroom were common for children their age. Through these examples it can be seen that nursery school children may have needed to physically act out and express the events in order to understand and process the attacks. Highlighting how the younger generations in the group culture of education reacted shortly after 9/11.

Artwork by third graders at Sequoyah Elementary school

One specific response and coping mechanism after 9/11 that should be addressed is the use of art as a way to explore the emotional response to trauma. Nursey schoolteachers Papiernik and Whedon mention how the children were encouraged to draw and write in their

[16]Brian Sutton-Smith, quoted in Anna Richman Bersein, 'Children's Expressive Culture in Light of September 11, 2001,' *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 33 (2002), pp331-337, p331w
[17] Ibid p331/2
[18] Ibid p331
[19] Ibid. p335
[20] Very Well Mind, *What is Psychodrama?* (2022) <https://www.verywellmind.com/what-is-psychodrama-5193006> [accessed 13 September 2022]
[21] ibid

journal whenever they felt called to, even if they were in the middle of being taught something.[22] Karen E. Hooker observed that much of the literature on the mental health of children following September 11th revolves around the encouragement of art either as a therapy or as an activity.[23] This is a useful form of therapy for children, for one it provides an insight into what they are thinking and may not be able to verbally express. Secondly, Paula Howie demonstrates that art can provide a distance from the intense emotions and affects that are associated with the traumatic imagery, which allows the unconscious thoughts and feelings to connect to other thoughts.[24] When looking into the literature surrounding this subject there are many projects that used art as a way for people to express their emotions non-verbally, some of which will be noted later on. It seems as though some of the drawings created by children provide a sense of hope and positive images. Hooker provides the example of a third grader expressing that "I want to give the USA love because of September 11" and drew two towers surrounded by hearts.[25]

The "September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project" has a selection of drawings from third graders at Sequoyah elementary school.[26] When looking at the collection there are indeed positive and emotive images. Out of the 14 pieces, four are of the American flag – two of which are plain, and one has "God bless America" with the sub caption "I chose the American flag because I love America."[27] The other flag has written on the lines "my country tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, for this I sing: I'm sorry that this bad bad thing happened to you!!!!."[28] One could argue that this is a very typical image in reaction to the attacks, as the children would have noticed the patriotic upsurge that the country had with many members of the public putting up American flags and buying memorabilia to show support, this may have even occurred in their school. However, the writing on one of the flags by third-grader Brittany could be a reaction that is related more to younger children. The use of "this bad bad thing" shows the understanding on how impactful the event was but she does not yet have the right

[22] ibid
[23] Hooker and Friedman, p15
[24] Paula Howie, 'Releasing Trapped Images: Children Grapple with the Reality of September 11 Attacks,' *Journal of the American Art Therapy Association*, 19 (22 April 2011) pp100-105, p102
[25] Hooker and Friedman, p15/16
[26] Sequoyah Elementary School, "Sequoyah Elementary School Cares," artwork, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/resource/afc2001015.afc2001015_gr006/, (2001), it reads: "we are third graders… we care about America. We are helping America by sending cards and supplies to the police officers, firefighters, families, rescue workers, and the injured people in NY"
[27] Sarah, 'God Bless America,' artwork, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000240/, (2001), [February 2022]
[28] Brittany, 'My Country Tis of Thee,' artwork, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000236/, (2001), [February 2022]

vocabulary to explain this so the repeated "bad" adds that impact. Plus, the apology to the country shows a sense of personification; everything and everyone in the country has almost become one in this apology.

This use of personification and anthropomorphism is used frequently within the drawings in the collection. The Towers are some of the main images that have been personified. There are the two Towers crying with one saying, "Oh no, I can't take it any longer,"[29] similarly the Towers are shown again both saying "NO" with explosions around them and shocked faces[30], and there is also a drawing with the two shocked Towers having hands and one of them falling saying "ahhh."[31]Another drawing that is linked to the towers is labelled "Two angels," this shows two block like figures with their arms raised above their heads, with hearts for wings and smiling.[32] These are all interesting images as the children have made the Towers into living things, with emotions and fears, which demonstrates anthropomorphism as the children see the towers as "people." It could be argued that in doing so the children are working through their own fears and sadness over the event as well as the collective sadness surrounding them. One subtle common theme is the way in which the Towers are made to seem like a pair that cares for the other, which makes the drawings even more emotive as they have been "humanized" in a way. All the Towers in the drawings also have hands showing anthropomorphism, which could suggest the link between their own feelings and experiences with the Towers and how the children can sympathise with the loss. The image of the "Two Angels" is a particularly powerful drawing as although it has the connotation of death and the loss of loved ones, the bright colours, and the position of the angels with their hands above their heads gives a sense of hope as well as the hearts as wings representing the love that is with the lost loved ones. This sense of optimism can also be seen in a piece by Deanna who shows the Pentagon holding its hand out to an incoming plane with it saying "I can be strong" with the sun and the pentagon smiling, a crowd clapping at the bottom of the hill and the planes looking sad.[33] This is quite an observant image as although the Pentagon was attacked and there were casualties, a lot of the structure was left unharmed. The strength mentioned could also represent the symbolic strength that the Pentagon is to the rest of the world and many adults and older students discuss

[29] Hannah, 'The Crying Towers,' artwork, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000238/, (2001), [February 2022]
[30] Meagan, 'No No,' artwork, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000241/, (2001), [February 2022]
[31] Ben, 'Ahhhh,' artwork, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000232/, (2001), [February 2022]
[32] Thomas, 'Two Angels,' artwork, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000228/, (2001), [February 2022]
[33] Deanna, 'I Can Be Strong,' artwork, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000233/, (2001), [February 2022]

this strength in their interviews. Once again, the positive imagery is available with the smiling of the Pentagon and the sun as well as a cheerful crowd, possibly representing a united America against the sad looking planes.

The last four drawings are interesting as they contain very patriotic symbols. An untitled piece of work shows the Statue of Liberty and in the background the plane heading towards New York with two American flags.[34] Another piece is of a landscape with mountains, the bald Eagle, their state flower, and bird, as well as the American flag.[35]. It is unsurprising that within the younger children's drawings there are patriotic images as many people reported this upsurge of patriotic memorabilia and action. One particularly patriotic drawing is of the Statue of Liberty comforting the bald Eagle saying, "it's ok" and patting its head, the Eagle is also holding the American flag.[36] This is similar to the drawings of the Towers and the personification; it holds a similar meaning of these patriotic symbols showing emotion and acting like humans comforting one another. Lastly, the final image is arguably different to the others and is titled "Near the End of the Fall" and shows the American flag standing alone on a hill with what looks like Autumn trees losing their leaves in a pile of leaves at the bottom.[37]When observing this drawing, it gives the sense of a calm after the storm, but the American flag still stands. Through all of these drawings an argument can be made that artwork is just as informative as verbal communication, and maybe even better in some cases. Throughout these pieces one can observe the complexity of emotions and thoughts that the children have on the event and the ways in which they link and make sense of the situation. Instead of simply expressing that they are "sad" verbally, through artwork they show an understanding of the patriotic upsurge, the emotional impact it had on people as well as an understanding of the death that the United States' experienced.

When considering the sources provided by the "September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project" to research by art therapists it is important to note that these drawings were part of an informal exercise for the children to help themselves and the wider community, as opposed to being part of art trauma therapy. Although the drawings can show how the children processed the event there are a few differences in the reaction and creations of artwork pieces that art therapists have provided within their literature. For example, Hala L. Buck explains how she

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[34] Mollye, 'Untitled,' artwork, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000237/, (2001), [February 2022]
[35] Lee, 'I Did a Bald Eagle,' artwork, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000235/, (2001), [February 2022]
[36] Eddie, 'It's OK,' artwork, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000239/, (2001), [February 2022]
[37] Gracie, 'Near the End of the Fall,' artwork, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/resource/afc2001015.afc2001015_gr008/, (2001), [February 2022]

used and encouraged art therapy, in response to 9/11, with a group of young school children and their parents, with one child's reaction being useful to show how art therapy helps as a coping mechanism. Buck had the children and parents draw anything that made them feel safe as a way to find a "restful inner sanctuary" and a 5-year-old boy drew a figure underneath a rainbow.[38] Before this event the young boy was very agitated and talked a lot about the war in Afghanistan, afterwards however the boy would ask his mother to draw the imaginary rainbow over his bed and place his stuffed animals over his pillows in the shape of a rainbow;[39] for about a month this was a nightly ritual. It was reported that 6 months after the workshop when the family was facing a move the boy asked his mother to do the same thing again.[40] Here is an example that shows how art therapy can allow younger children to find a coping mechanism to use in order to help settle their agitated feelings and find a type of safety. Another example provided by Paula Howie is of a four-year-old boy named Stanley who did not talk during the art making process and created a human figure out of clay on a piece of paper, he then used different markers to draw, stab and poke at it whilst also ripping the paper.[41] It was observed that Stanley used this as a way to "discharge nervous energy, confusion, and anxiousness."[42] It seems as though this type of therapy allowed the children to release the energy of any of the emotions they were feeling into their art and even in some cases provide a place of safety. This is arguably where the difference between art therapy and art used as an informal helpful activity lies; it seems as though when done through a therapy setting it becomes much more physical and noticeable in how the children reacted. Whereas the drawings done by third graders at Sequoyah elementary school were conducted as more of a voluntary activity as well as a safe space for the children to explore their feelings instead of actual art therapy.

Additionally, art therapy has helped to serve the larger community. Marygrace Berberian created the WTC children's mural project where children in 22 countries gave drawings of their faces to be placed on two large tower like boards. She believes the process is that of a rebirth as "art is a recreation of past representations significant to the artist in the moment," and allows for people to keep alive what is lost and destroyed so they can let go.[43]La Shae Brigmon worked with employees at Louis Vuitton where they created mandalas; one

[38] Hala L. Buck, 'Rebuilding the Bridge: An Arab-American Art Therapist Responds to 9/11,' *Journal of American Art Therapy Association*, 19 (2011), pp164-167, p164
[39] ibid
[40] Ibid p165
[41] Howie, 103
[42] Ibid p103
[43] Barbara Ann Levy et co, 'Mobilizing Community Strength: New York Art Therapists Respond,' *Journal of the American Art Therapy Association*, 19 (2011) pp106-114, p107

woman created "Destiny's Journey" where the focus wasn't on the turmoil in the city but instead to trust the journey of where life takes you.[44] Lastly Barbara Ann Levy opened her studio for people to add their expressions onto the mural paper with a range of images showing things like the planes, a weeping flag, "I love NY" and the Towers.[45]This shows the artwork done by those older than the children may be more mature and "developed" in a sense, but they still hold incredibly similar messages and themes.

Through the drawings provided by elementary school third graders one can gather an understanding of how 9/11 impacted the group culture of education. Through patriotic symbolism and the personification of the Towers one can see how the children processed the event and applied the emotions to these structures. Linking this to the behaviour of nursery school children it is clear to see that younger children may have a different way of expressing their feelings non-verbally, but still have a level of understanding even as young as age 4. This is important to know as then one can compare the different reaction styles between ages within the group culture of education.

Middle School interviews

The interviews with middle school children are also needed for observing how the group culture of education reacted to 9/11. The themes within the interviews are similar to the themes examined previously. One argument that could be made through the interviews is that the artwork of young children could be seen as a more effective way to understand how younger children are feeling. All four interviews are with middle school children ranging from 10 to 13 years-old and hold a great deal of emotion, but they don't seem to know fully how to express themselves. Whereas when viewing the drawings one can gather a greater sense of meaning, for example, the personification of the Towers. One theme that is also prevalent throughout the interviews and within nursery school children is the identification with the victims. Papiernik recalls that it was hard for some of the children to deal with the fact that people their age may have died[46] and Whedon mentions how they were concerned that parents were missing.[47] This feeling of sympathy and identification with the family unit can also be seen within some of the middle school interviews, for example Brittany, who is 12 years old, cried imagining the

[44] ibid p109
[45] Ibid p112
[46] Kaplan and Papiernik, 2002
[47] Kaplan and Whedon, 2002

families that were experiencing loss[48] and Caitlin became emotional discussing how they will never feel how the victims felt.[49] Interestingly, research suggests that when children identify with the victims of the attack then they are more likely to develop PTSD symptoms.[50]This also relates to how an increased rate in the viewing of the news and the event also led to an increase in PTSD symptoms,[51] and all three middle school girls recalled watching the news a relatively large amount. For example, Amanda notes watching the news and how some people are "a little depressed."[52] It would be interesting to see now how much this may have personally affected their future mental health as many experts around the time did suggest the limitation of showing younger children the news.[53]There isn't any age where witnessing a traumatic event is acceptable, as PTSD will still be found in adults who consumed lots of news and footage about 9/11.

The school children also have a relatively patriotic response. Brittany recalls people being more enthusiastic with the Pledge of Allegiance,[54] Caitlin saw flags on her walk home and people in cars would honk in support and how she thought this was beautiful[55] and Andrew explains how he would be scared but willing to fight for his country.[56] These responses are unsurprising considering that after 9/11 the amount of patriotic bills increased in regard to the school system. For example, the Nebraska's state board of education approved a patriotism bill that encouraged the instruction of the superiority of U.S. government, the dangers of communism and appropriate patriotic exercises.[57]It further states that middle schools should "instil a love of country."[58]This example is not uncommon as within a few months more than two dozen legislatures introduced either new or resurrected old bills that aimed at encouraging or mandating patriotic exercises.[59] Furthermore, it can be explained why those in middle school and even elementary school had patriotic reactions to 9/11 as within the group culture of

[48] Kathleen Kuczynski and Brittany, 'Interview with Brittany,' Irvine, California, November 4th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000010/, [December 2021]
[49] Kathleen Kuczynski and Caitlin, 'Interview with Caitlin,' Irvine, California, November 4th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000009/, [December 2021]
[50] Otto et al, p897
[51] ibid
[52] Sonya Rhee and Amanda, 'Interview with Amanda,' New York New York, October 26th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000105/, [December 2021]
[53] Norma Asadorian and Andrew Jacob, 'Interview with Andrew Jacob,' Granite City, Illinois, October 27th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000045/, [December 2021], 13-year-old does recall trying to limit how much he watched the news
[54] Kuczynski and Brittany, 2001
[55] Kuczynski and Caitlin, 2001
[56] Asadorian and Andrew, 2001
[57] Joel Westheimer, 'Should social studies be patriotic?' *Social Education*, 73(7), pp316-320
[58] ibid
[59] ibid

education there was an increased level of patriotic encouragement. Overall, the middle school children do not express a lot within their interviews, and this may be due to unresolved trauma or the inability to express how they are feeling. However, what they do discuss can tell the listener a good deal about how the education system encouraged patriotic responses within the school children. Once again, the importance of art as a therapy or as an informal activity can be seen as this may have helped these younger school children to further process their feelings.

Interviews with Teachers

Much has been discussed on how younger children reacted to 9/11, however, little has been addressed towards the personal feelings of the teachers. Within this group there are the 4 nursery schoolteachers as well as one assistant elementary school teacher. The main theme discussed within the interviews of nursery schoolteachers is the reactions of the children. This is primarily due to the questions asked by the interviewer; however, they do reveal their own personal responses and thoughts to the attacks as well. The interview with Wellman and Dougherty is in contradiction to quite a few of the interviews with other teachers in regard to their patriotic feelings and responses. Many teachers, particularly those who teach older students, express similar patriotic reactions such as displaying a flag or expressing a love for the United States whereas Wellman and Dougherty do not seem to share this same notion. In fact, they explain how they did not think to put up an American flag as many U.S. citizens did and didn't really understand the need to.[60] They hypothesize that the reason why some people displayed flags was because of the overwhelming sense of unity and that may have been how some people demonstrated it.[61] This lack of patriotic expression could be linked to the lack of patriotic encouragement within nursery school towards the children; if the teachers don't need to encourage it too heavily, they may not automatically think to react in a typically patriotic way. It could also just be their own opinions; however, it is interesting that teachers whose classes are in the age groups that are encouraging patriotism often display more patriotic attitudes. This part of the interview is also useful in showing how oral history interviews can show the attitudes of both the interviewer and the interviewee, as the interviewer within this interview expressed how she felt the patriotic upsurge was fake.[62] In this way it can demonstrate how oral history interviews are beneficial to show the feelings of the time and can encourage a semi-structured discussion between interviewer and interviewee. Patricia Leavy explains how

[60] Kaplan, Wellmann and Dougherty, 2002
[61] ibid
[62] ibid

oral history relies on this open-ended interview format as oral history allows the researchers to "attend to their own position in the research process"[63] allowing for an engaging method like one can see in this interview.

In contrast to this is the interview with an assistant elementary school teacher, Lederer, in New York. Lederer feels as though the renewed sense of nationalism was a good thing and expresses how she would like to see more paraphernalia within schools; before 9/11 singing songs about the American flag at school seemed "corny" to her but now she feels it will help people to feel more unified.[64] This difference in their patriotic outlooks and reactions could be due to their geographical locations. Wellman and Dougherty are both situated in Colorado providing more of a distance to the attacks whereas Lederer lives in New York and discusses a student who has developed PTSD due to living close to the destruction[65]. Indeed, when listening to Papiernik's recollection of when she visited Ground Zero it is understandable why Lederer may have such strong patriotic reactions. Papiernik recalls how Ground Zero was a sensory overload in that you can see it, feel it, smell it and on the insides of buildings there was writing on the windows through the dust saying, "I am here."[66] So, to live close to this site of destruction and its emotional toll will have an effect on the people surrounding it. Therefore, Lederer would have felt the attacks on more of a personal level due to it happening in the city where she works. Lederer gives an indication on how her feelings have changed since the attack as originally, she wanted Afghanistan destroyed but then realised that taking "an eye for an eye" was not the solution either.[67] This change in attitude away from revenge can actually be seen within many student/teacher interviews, as well as other demographics; with time the heightened emotions calm, and more rational thinking comes back.

Conclusion

Observing the reactions of children from nursery to middle school provides a good indicator of how different age groups may react to a tragedy. Through the interviews of nursery schoolteachers, one can hear how the children reacted mainly through their play. The idea that the children needed to act out certain roles in relation to the tragedy shows a level of understanding at a foundational level, which many of the parents did not think their children

[63] Patricia Leavy, *Oral History: Understanding Qualitative Research*, (Oxford Scholarship Online, March 2015) p5
[64] Khan and Lederer, 2001
[65] ibid
[66] Kaplan and Papiernik, 2002
[67] ibid

had. The method of journaling and art was highly encouraged within this school so that the children could fully work through their feelings so that in the future it was not something that they had not yet dealt with. This was also seen through the drawings of elementary school children in third grade. Through the personification of the Towers and certain patriotic symbols such as the Bald Eagle and the Statue of Liberty, the children's feelings were demonstrated. A sense of support and sadness was present throughout most of the drawings, but there was a positive undercurrent. This can be seen through Towers as angels as well as the Pentagon defending itself against planes. In this way the drawings acted in a similar sense as the method of play for children to process the events. This detachment from the attacks seems to allow the children to effectively express themselves. Although the children in middle school did not seem to reveal as much as the younger elementary school children, there were times when they would express their upset or sympathised with the victims of the attacks. There was a sense of understanding the depth of the tragedy but not why it happened and how it could affect them. This demonstrates how sometimes the use of art could be argued to be an equal or even better method for children to use when communicating their feelings. The patriotic symbolism within the drawings as well as the patriotic support from the children in middle school is a good representation of how patriotic beliefs and a support of America was encouraged in the school system.

The reactions of the teachers were mostly focused on how the children reacted, but they do reference to the dialectic of remaining on an adult level away from the children, separate from "kiddie land"[68] as Lederer terms it. This separation is not seen with older students and instead more of a discussion about the event is encouraged, as we will come to see. When looking into how patriotism was encouraged in the school system this can also help to provide why elementary/middle school children reacted in a relatively patriotic way. Plus, this chapter also demonstrated how the teachers interpreted and supported the reactions of children, through observing how their play changed and encouraging the use of journaling and drawing. Overall, this chapter primarily demonstrates how the younger school children reacted to the attacks, as well as the different methods used to help them process the events.

[68] Khan and Lederer, 2001

Chapter 2: High School Students and Teachers

The next educational group that shall be considered is high school students and high school teachers. It needs to be noted that these are all separate interviews from a range of different areas within the United States, and there seem to be no ties between them for both students and teachers. The reactions of the students and teachers are unsurprising given their place in the group culture of education. As identified in the previous chapter, patriotic expression was highly encouraged in American middle schools and high schools, and one can see this reflected in these interviews. Through the students one can see that there was a high amount of volunteering or involvement in charity work or patriotic expression; plus, some teachers also note the different ways they showed their patriotic support. The topic of patriotism also allows for an exploration of the dangers of heightened nationalism, concepts such as "blind" and "constructive" patriotism as well as the reasons behind why the students/teachers believed the attacks happened. These interviews can be compared to those of middle school children to consider how ideas and feelings develop within the pupils, as well as demonstrating wider 9/11 scholarship. This chapter highlights how patriotism was prevalent in the high school education system, and as result demonstrates further the different influences those in the group culture of education had after the attacks.

"Top dogs of the world"[1]

A commonly asked questions within the interviews is why the interviewee believed the attacks happened. The "September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project" holds a wealth of interviews with people from different demographic groups and occupational roles and this question tends to get asked to a large majority within the collection. This is understandably a popular question when one considers how a national trauma happens. As Arthur G. Neal explains "a national trauma involves sufficient damage to the social system."[2] Therefore, the response of many members of the public to 9/11 will have been to ask "why?" in order to make sense of this disruption. Karen Hooker explains how adolescents were expected to have a greater reaction in comparison to younger children; she explains how with a better understanding they may become more emotional whilst also becoming curious about the war, the actions of the government and wanting to take personal action in a more tangible way such as donating blood

[1] Jessica Boyd and Dustin, 'Interview with Dustin,' East Sullivan, Maine, September 19th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000076/, [April 2022]
[2] Arthur G. Neal, *National Trauma and Collective Memory: Extraordinary Events in the American Experience*, (Routledge; 2nd edition, 31st May 2005) p5

etc.[3] One can see this through the interviews with high school students as they become more emotive and begin to have a deeper understanding of the situation. The interviews with middle school children demonstrate Hookers' findings as they were emotive but do not have the same curiosity about the war or government. The majority of high school students based their reasons why on the superiority of the United States. For example, Dustin believes they were attacked because the terrorists were jealous of their economy and being "the top dogs of the world."[4]This is a very similar reaction to that of Rachel who references to the United States as a "powerhouse" and that "somebody got jealous."[5]The idea of jealousy is quite a common response in the reasons behind why it happened; many discuss the idea that the terrorists are jealous of the power that the United States hold and sometimes may link this with seeing American culture as a threat. Other students hold more of a neutral opinion like Lauren who reports just being shocked at the "hatred"[6] towards America. One could argue that all three of these responses are rather generic and don't hold a great deal of knowledge about the situation. This may be because their knowledge of wider events and history may be limited due to the school curriculum, as well as what reasonably can be expected for teenagers to read and watch; in comparison to university students who develop their points further. One thing that their responses do emphasise is the strong influence that patriotic expression and beliefs had within the American school system. For Dustin and Rachel there is no hesitation in the power that the United States holds, and they give the impression that due to a jealousy of this that is the only reason why they were attacked. The student interviews within this collection are conducted with people from all around the United States; Dustin and Rachel both are situated in East Sullivan, Maine, so it raises the question of how the school system encouraged patriotism here.

In contrast to this is the thoughts of high school student, Heather. She does not give a specific reason as to why she believes the terrorists attacked but does however show a great deal of knowledge on the subject. Heather begins to explain how she thinks that the United States are doing exactly what Osama Bin Laden wants them to do in reacting in a "rash" way.[7]Heather relates back to the war between Afghanistan and Russia and how the U.S. was

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[3] Karen E. Hooker and Howard Friedman, 'Responding to the psychological needs of children after 9/11: A review of the literature,' https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED490449.pdf, (2005) p6

[4] Jessica Boyd and Dustin, 'Interview with Dustin,' East Sullivan, Maine, September 19th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000076/, [April 2022]

[5] Jessica Boyd and Rachel, 'Interview with Rachel,' East Sullivan, Maine, September 20th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000077/, [April 2022]

[6] Interviewer (unidentified) and Lauren, 'Interview with Lauren,' Iowa, November 9th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000070/, [April 2022]

[7] Jannaise Rodriguez and Heather, 'Interview with Heather,' New York, New York, November 13th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000132/ [April 2022]

believed to have used the idea of Jihad, holy war, between the two countries.[8] Her conclusion is that Bin Laden is using their own tactics against them and trying to turn this into a religious war as she believes the United States are uniting Muslims to be angered at America as they bombed during Ramadan.[9]This depth of historical knowledge is not seen within the other high school students. Heather goes to school in New York and lives in the Bronx area so a suggestion could be made that due to the close personal connection to the attacks she felt it necessary to fully educate herself on the situation. This can be seen when she explains how her school brought in a speaker to give an "inside look at what they go through" under the rule of the Taliban.[10] This awareness of culture and history could explain why her immediate reaction wasn't to defend the superiority of the United States. It demonstrates that she can make links between the past and other cultural experiences and how the United States may be slightly to blame. Extending upon this she believes that patriotism is "phony," and that if people are going to be unified, they should do it in all aspects; she goes further to explain that nationalism leads to militarism, which leads to war.[11] Arguably, her opinion on patriotism is not surprising when considering the topics presented in her interview and she notes that some people are now shutting off to other cultures, like persecuting innocent Muslims or Arabs.[12]

The idea that Heather presents of nationalism leading to militarism is a topic that has been largely debated and researched. Qiong Li and Marilynn Brewer help to explain the difference between patriotism and nationalism. They explain that "patriotism is positive love of one's own country related to secure group identification and independent of outgroup derogation. By contrast, nationalism is related to insecure group identification and intergroup differentiation, including the view that one's own country is superior to others and thus should be dominant."[13]To be aware of this differentiation is important to know when considering the reactions of students and teachers. For example, the reaction of Dustin and Rachel are more in alignment with a nationalist viewpoint as they believe in the superiority of their country in opposition to others. This research closely relates to that of Gail Sahar who explains the ideas of Schatz, Staub, and Lavine. Sahar uses their work to explain the ideas of being "blindly" and "constructively" patriotic. The idea of "blind patriotism" means to have an unquestioning

[8] ibid
[9] ibid
[10] ibid
[11] ibid
[12] ibid
[13] Qiong Li and Marilynn B. Brewer, 'What Does It Mean to Be an American? Patriotism, Nationalism, and American Identity After 9/11?' *Political Psychology*, Vol. 23, (2004) p728

loyalty to a country and resist any criticism of it.[14]Whereas "constructive patriotism" allows for there to be a critical analysis of the actions of the country as well as opposition in the purpose for positive change.[15]These ideas and terms will be used when evaluating the reactions of students and teachers further on as this distinction can be seen throughout students from high school to university as well as teachers and professors. It should be noted these patriotic/nationalist views do tend to be flexible and sometimes even interchangeable. For example, one could argue the response by Heather is constructively patriotic as she allows for the United States to be criticised, however, she does then feel that patriotism is "phony."[16] Plus, Dustin portrays elements of "blind" patriotism in his belief of U.S. superiority, but is also aware of the innocent lives that could get hurt, suggesting that he does not feel their American lives are worth more than those in Afghanistan, as we will come to see.[17]What is noticeable throughout the views particularly of university students and teachers is the ways in which their views may be extreme to begin with and soften over time, much like assistant elementary teacher Lederer in chapter 1. Therefore, often it is not so straightforward to label a person as one or the other.

Returning back to the question of "why?", the teachers provide further insight into their opinions. Social Studies teacher, Baker, states how his original thought was terrorism due to the previous attacks on the foreign embassy and the kidnapping of tourists in the Philippines.[18]He believes the message that is being conveyed is that the terrorists consider American culture an attack and provides the treatment of women as an example.[19]As will be demonstrated through university students, this is a common response to why they believed the attacks happened. Baker further explains how certain groups of people will not have the use of military expression to make their demands met, so will turn to acts of terrorism to be heard.[20]This response is similar to school superintendent Finch, who explains how the U.S. needs to have a better understanding of the grievances of other cultures and groups and provides the example of Palestinians.[21]Through Finch's response one can see an example of being

[14] Gail Sahar, 'Patriotism, Attributions for the 9/11 Attacks, and Support for War: Then and Now', *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, Vol. 30, pp187-197, (2008; Taylor and Francis Group LLC)
[15] Ibid
[16] Rodriguez and Heather, 2001
[17] Boyd and Dustin, 2001
[18] Jon Parkin and Baker, 'Interview with Baker,' Edwardsville, Illinois, October 23rd, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000052/, [April 2022]
[19] ibid
[20] ibid
[21] Interviewer (unidentified) and Finch), 'Interview with Finch,' Cedar Rapids, Iowa, October 17th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000066/, [April 2022]

constructively patriotic. Finch explains how he participated in patriotic events such as a candlelight ceremony and singing God Bless America, but still makes space to constructively suggest how the United States should react with "diplomacy, a better understanding of other cultures and controlled military action."[22] Teacher Day believes they should bear some responsibility as when America helped the Soviets out of Afghanistan he explains they created a refugee situation which let Bin Laden get in without helping a new set up of government.[23]Through the explanations of these teachers one can see how their arguments are much more developed in comparison to some of the high school students. When considering the group formation of the group culture of education this is an expected finding. The teachers are the educators of the students so will need to know information on current events and therefore their answers will hold more depth than simply blaming U.S. superiority like the students. These responses can help link to the next major theme that was discussed, which is foreign and domestic policies.

Foreign and Domestic Policies

As observed, foreign policy naturally is discussed when answering the question of why the attacks happened. There are three things that were made clear when listening to the interviews: 1) people wanted to retaliate but there was an awareness of the innocent people who could be harmed, 2) many teachers believed Bush was doing a great job but there needed to be more immigration control, and 3) there was a concern from some teachers about the future for children and lack of freedoms. Starting with the first observation, many of the students were aware of the innocent people who could be harmed but still wanted the United States to react physically. Dustin expresses how he wanted the U.S. to "bomb something" but doesn't want innocent people harmed,[24] and Erin shares a similar sentiment in that she thinks the U.S. should react in a cautious and united manner emphasising not bombing all of Afghanistan.[25] Allison takes it a step further saying that it's like "the United States being attacked for something that Bill Gates has done;"[26]here Allison is comparing a wealthy American figure like Gates to an influential Afghanistan figure like Bin Laden. Student Mike links the war on terror to the war

[22] ibid
[23] Carla Hilgert and Day, 'Interview with Day,' Alton, Illinois, October 2nd, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000051/, [April 2022]
[24] Boyd and Dustin, 2001
[25] Jean Jim and Erin, 'Interview with Erin,' Des Moines, Iowa, November 12th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000072/, [April 2022]
[26] Benjamin Treutler and Allison, 'Interview with Allison,' Arlington Heights, Illinois, November 23rd, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000055/, [April 2022]

on drugs as often the threat cannot be seen making it difficult to conquer.[27] These are all interesting reactions as it shows that their patriotic feelings do not make them blind to the innocent people who could get caught in the retaliation. It seems as though from the ages of nursery schoolchildren there is an awareness of the innocent people who could get hurt or who have got hurt. In a 2011 article conducted examining the "9/11 Generation" it was found that in a 2007 polling 70% of millennials were unwilling to join the military.[28] One reason for this could be due to a war weariness in the public, as Saddam Hussein had been captured in 2003 and the war was continuing longer than what was predicted. As this poll was taken in 2007, those who were taking part would have been around the age groups of high school students at the time of 9/11. This can demonstrate this war weariness as it will have been an on-going problem for a large proportion of their lives.[29]

The teachers do not discuss how the United States should react as much as the students do, instead they seem to have a need to educate the children on the situation or explain the current foreign policies in place within the interview. The only teacher who references the reaction is Baker who states how the United States didn't start it but "will finish it" and that people will suffer.[30] This is similar to student Dustin who feels that there is a need for retaliation to finish what has happened yet also an understanding that innocent people will get hurt.[31] One topic that was primarily discussed by the teachers is the feeling that President Bush was doing a good job. Findings from the Pew Research Centre demonstrate how the President's approval rating increased by 35% in the three weeks after the attacks.[32]All of the interviews with the teachers are either in October or November 2001, showing how this correlates with the national reaction. Baker notes how he was worried that as a Republican Bush would act in a "Reaganess manner" and is pleased that instead he seemed to have a "measured response."[33] Roudebush

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[27] Interviewer (unidentified) and Mike, 'Interview with Mike' Des Moines, Iowa, November 9th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000071/, [April 2022]
[28] Eleni Towns, 'The 9/11 Generation: How 9/11 Shaped the Millennial Generation,' *CAP*, *https://www.americanprogress.org/article/the-911-generation/*, [accessed April 2022]
[29] Six in ten Americans feel that the U.S. weakened its economy by overspending in response to the attacks, especially the mission in Iraq – Brookings, *The American public on the 9/11 Decade: A Study of American Public Opinion*,(2011) <https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-american-public-on-the-911-decade-a-study-of-american-public-opinion/>
[30] Parkin and Baker, 2001
[31] Boyd and Dustin, 2001
[32] Hannah Hartig and Carroll Doherty, 'Two Decades Later, the Enduring Legacy of 9/11,' *Pew Research Center*, (September 2th, 2001) https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2021/09/02/two-decades-later-the-enduring-legacy-of-9-11/, [accessed via April 2022]
[33] Parkin and Baker, 2001

thinks that Bush is doing "an outstanding job"[34] and Economou agrees but feels that the government could have moved quicker with matters regarding immigration and security.[35] This is a common reaction in that many seem pleased with how the government reacted but have a criticism over safety and immigration. One historical connection that is often referred back to is the attack on Pearl Harbour and the assassination of JFK. When one considers the research done by Neal on trauma this is expected, as members of the public will relate the events of 9/11 to another past traumatic event to make sense of it all. In contradiction to this is the opinion of Day who thinks that "Vietnam turned into Vietnam"[36] and that instead of measuring everything against that war the government and public need to instead learn the lessons. Historians in *The Long Shadow of 9/11: America's response to terrorism* also notes the "same arrogance in the institutional resistance to relearning lessons buried long ago with bad memories of the Vietnam War, and in Americans' tendency to ignore their own history."[37]

Lastly, some of the teachers also discuss the impact on the students in the future and their loss of freedoms. Economou notes how future generations won't have the same sense of freedom that they once had[38] and Day explains how important it is to protect the freedom of speech, as freedom given up is difficult to get back.[39] Day discusses with his interviewee the censorship of Bill Maher.[40] Marin Scordato provides a list of different columnist or public figures that have been criticised or even fired for their opinions. Some of the examples are of newspaper columnists such as Tom Gutting who was fired from his job at the Texas City Sun for writing that Bush was "flying around the country like a scared child."[41] Bill Maher is also noted in the article as he faced the withdrawal of two sponsors and the cancellation of his show by some ABC affiliate after he said that "we have been the cowards, lobbing cruise missiles from 2000 miles away… Staying in the airplane when it hits the building, say what you want about it, it's not cowardly."[42] Furthermore, one can see why the teachers are noting this change in the general freedoms of the public as the freedom of speech was being limited after the

[34] Roudebush, 'Interview with Roudebush,' Fort Dodge, Iowa, October 6th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000059/, [April 2022]
[35] Athena Skoutelas and Economou, 'Interview with Economou,' Michigan, November 22nd, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000086/, [April 2022]
[36] Hilgert and Day, 2001
[37] Michael Brian Jenkins; John Godges; James Dobbins, *The Long Shadow of 9/11: America's response to terrorism*, (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2011) P5
[38] Skoutelas and Economou, 2001
[39] Hilgert and Day, 2001
[40] ibid
[41] Marin Roger Scordato, 'Free Speech Rationales After September 11th: The First Amendment in Post-World Trade Center America,' *The Catholic University of America, Columbus School of Law*, (2002)
[42] ibid

attacks. Arguably, this way of thinking is specific to their role in the group culture of education as they help encourage and direct students with their future and will have to change teaching methods depending on the syllabus after an event like September 11th, 2001. The idea that the American public may lose their freedoms in response to the attacks is a common debate held by scholars, as we will come to see.

Commemoration

Finally, the topic of commemoration is discussed within most of the interviews with students and teachers, as well as within other demographic groups in the "September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project." This is understandable considering the tragic nature of the attack. Before looking directly at the commemorative activities of students and teachers it is first important to consider some of the scholarship surrounding commemoration. Neal explains how a collective trauma is formed when a "deplorable event… falls outside the range of ordinary human experiences."[43]Society experiences a break in their expected reality and as a result a large proportion of society can feel emotionally effected by an event no matter how far away they may have been. As Keith Oatley explains reactive emotions can happen when the appearance of how one views the world is pierced by reality.[44] This reactive emotion may be in the sense of emotional outbursts such as crying or anger, or even arguably in the participation of commemorative action. Seana Steffen and Alice Fothergill conducted a longitudinal analysis on the impacts of spontaneous volunteerism after the attacks and found that through taking action the individuals felt a meaningful therapeutic recovery.[45]One can see this in New York alone with nearly 36,000 units of blood being donated to the New York Blood Center after September 11th.[46] Students Mike and Lauren reported giving blood,[47] and Allison notes how she tried to give blood at the local blood bank in Illinois but the lines were too long.[48]In a similar action Dustin donated money to the Disaster Relief Fund,[49] and Mike and Erin also gave money to the Red Cross.[50] This relates back to the finding by Hooker that adolescents were more likely to take action in a tangible way such as helping the recovery effort and

[43] Neal, p9
[44] Keith Oatley, *Emotions: a brief history*, (Oxford; Blackwell, 2004) p4
[45] Seana Lowe Steffan and Alice Fothergill, '9/11 Volunteerism: A pathway to personal healing and community engagement,' *The Social Science Journal*, Vol.46, (March 2009), pp29-46
[46] History, *Reaction to 9/11*, (September 6th, 2019) https://www.history.com/topics/21st-century/reaction-to-9-11 [accessed April 2022]
[47] Interviewer and Mike, 2001 and Interviewer and Lauren, 2001
[48] Treutler and Allison, 2001
[49] Boyd and Dustin, 2001
[50] Interviewer and Mike, 2001 and Jim and Erin, 2001

donating.[51] Similarly, Eleni Towns explores the "9/11 Generation" and its lasting impact, and includes research by the UCLA's annual American Freshman Survey which found that millennials have an unusually high volunteering rate with 85% of entering freshman in 2005 volunteering during high school.[52]Through this it demonstrates that the group culture of education was heavily encouraged or felt called to volunteer following September 11th. Due to the nature of the interviews and the collection it is only a small insight into how children, students and teachers reacted to September 11th, 2001. However, research such as this can help provide the wider picture and that the findings within the "September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project" are not uncommon.

When listening to the interviews it seems as though the high school students discuss the commemorative activities they have done or participated in more than the university students, as we will come to see. This could be because the encouragement of patriotic activities may have been encouraged more within the high school environment. Typically, at university it is up to the students if they would like to join in with activities or donate whereas the school system is more controlled. For example, 16-year-old Allison had a "Support America Week" at her school where they were encouraged to wear the colours of the American flag.[53] Here one can see an example of patriotic activities that the school hosted with the expectation that the students participate, whereas at university the activities of an individual are normally dependent on their own volunteerism or the society/class they may be in. Allison explains how she tried to do as many "Americanised" things as possible and helped give away American pins and flags at her school.[54]This is a similar reaction to teacher Roudebush who made sure to wear an American pin and display a flag in his classroom to show that being patriotic is not old fashioned.[55] Student Mike also notes how they displayed a flag in their front yard.[56] These recollections demonstrate how the flag was a strong symbol in patriotic activities; this has already been presented in chapter 1 with the children's drawings. An argument made by Joel Westheimer poses an interesting question: if you were to walk into a school during a moment of patriotic expression how would you be able to tell the difference between a democratic state and a totalitarian one?[57] This is where an awareness of the differences between patriotism and

[51] Hooker and Friedman, (2005)
[52] Eleni Towns, 'The 9/11 Generation: How 9/11 Shaped the Millennial Generation,' CAP, https://www.americanprogress.org/article/the-911-generation/, [accessed April 2022]
[53] Treutler and Allison, 2001
[54] ibid
[55] Roudebush, 2001
[56] Interviewer and Mike, 2001
[57] Joel Westheimer, 'Should social studies be patriotic?' *Social Education*, 73(7), pp316-320, p317

nationalism is needed as well as concepts such as "blind patriotism" and "constructive patriotism" being useful.

Indeed, Phillip Bratta explores the ways in which the American flag was used after 9/11 to promote certain ideologies and feelings through the use of three examples. These examples are Flag as Image: 9/11 NBC "Special Report," Flag as a Symbol: Thomas E. Franklin's "Ground Zero," and Flag as a Rhetoric: George W. Bush's Speech to Congress September 20th, 2001.[58] The second example is perhaps the most pertinent fot this thesis, as it provides context to what we can see through the interviews when people mention the flag and the emotion that comes with it. Bratta explains that through comparing the picture of three firefighters raising the American flag at ground zero with the Iwo Jima photograph it provides the photo with the myth of sacrifice, unity, and victory.[59]It portrays the message to Americans that they will be victorious, but they must be patriotic, uniting through flag displays.[60] It seems as though this is an accurate argument as through doing tangible things like displaying flags and donating it gives members of the public the sense that they are helping America. Bratta concludes how post-September 11th the flag and 9/11 became almost inseparable as it acted as a cultural artifact with dual function: "the flag absorbed mythologies of America and on the other hand it unleashed these mythologies that construct and disseminate the patriotic narrative."[61]One particular argument Bratta makes is that the flag became a form of unity but also of separation, it was a way to label people unpatriotic if they did not display or support the American flag.[62]Once again, the debates surrounding patriotism and the displays of the flag seem to circle back to that thin line between patriotism and nationalism. As mentioned earlier nationalism creates a form of separation, the belief that one's country is superior to others and some professors mention this in their interviews further on. A good example of this weariness is through German exchange student Claas, who says that pride in one's country that leads to unity is a good thing, but on the other hand it can lead to arrogance and nationalism.[63]He relates it back to living in Germany where he felt that they were not encouraged to be patriotic, which he explains is because of Germanys past.[64] Through this example one can see how people

[58] Phillip Bratta, 'Flag Display Post-9/11: A Discourse of American Nationalism,' *The Journal of American Culture,* Vol. 32, Issue 3, pp232-243
[59] ibid
[60] ibid
[61] ibid
[62] ibid
[63] Heidi Barlin and Claas, 'Interview with Claas,' California, 31st October 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000019/, [November 2020]
[64] ibid

understand history due to their place in it. Claas is part of the group culture of education, however, it seems that he would not classify himself as patriotic and has a different patriotic upbringing to those in American schools.

The unity that Claas has seen within American is reported frequently. Many of the interviews within the "September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project" report on this surge of unity within people. Those who live in New York noticed a change in how much kinder the public treated one another. The high school students and teachers in this chapter are no exception to seeing this throughout the country. Dustin believes "us as Americans will be a closer unit,"[65] Erin describes how Americans will be more united[66] and even Heather who feels that patriotism is "phony" felt a greater sense of unity within her school community.[67] On the other hand, one example by teacher Smart helps shows the opposite side to this unity. Smart mentions in the interview that he is African American and believes that the government should deal with their own domestic problems such as racism and oppression before getting involved in international affairs.[68] This demonstrates the overlap of group cultures. Smart is a part of the group culture of education; however, he is also African American meaning he has most likely experienced racism living in America and is aware of the discriminatory attitudes within the country. Plus, the large majority of students and teachers in the group culture of education have so far been relatively patriotic, whereas Smart does not consider himself to be but does recognise he is lucky to live in America.[69] This shows that other group cultural factors can influence ones understanding and beliefs of the world around them as he will have arguably had a different experience to white interviewees.

Conclusion

The topics discussed within the interviews of high school students and teachers are relevant to many of the discussions held after September 11th, 2001. The natural response to a catastrophic event was for many to question why the event happened and the answers to these questions reveal a lot about society at the time. As shown some students believe it was because of the superiority of the U.S., which could be argued to be show levels of "blind patriotism." Whereas others analyse how certain foreign policies or relations with other countries and a

[65] Boyd and Dustin, 2001
[66] Jim and Erin, 2001
[67] Rodriguez and Heather 2001
[68] Jacquese Smart and Smart, 'Interview with Smart,' Flint, Michigan, November 24th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000097/, [April 2022]
[69] ibid

level of ignorance may have led to the attack. This will be worth keeping in mind when analysing how university students and professors reacted to see if the ideas are similar. Of course, there is a strong sense of patriotism within many of the students as well as an admiration for the government from the teachers. In regard to the group culture of education this patriotic response is unsurprising considering the patriotic encouragement that many states enforced. However, the reaction of teachers in response to questions about President Bush could arguably be unspecific to the group culture of education as their opinions mirror the general trend of the public at this time as his approval ratings rose significantly after 9/11.[70] This is similar to flag displays by students and teachers, as the upsurge of flags was noted on a national basis not just specifically in an educational setting. However, what is unique to the students and teachers in high school is the encouragement or even mandating of certain patriotic activities. The theme of patriotism that is seen within the interviews help to highlight the debates of scholars after 9/11. Some scholars discuss how this surge in patriotic expression and the use of patriotic symbols could have portrayed a sense of "us versus them." These symbols and feelings of "us versus them" can be seen in a few of the interviews within this chapter. Finally, through these interviews it has helped provide an example of how the group culture of education reacted to 9/11, specifically within high schools. Therefore, when comparing this to university students it will provide an overall look on the group culture of education after September 11th, 2001.

[70] "George W. Bush's approval rating soared to 92% in this poll, the highest on record in ABCNEWS polls, and Gallup polls before them" ABC NEWS, *Poll: Bush Approval Rating 92 Percent,* <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/story?id=120971&page=1>

Chapter 3: University students and Professors

The interviews used within this chapter will examine a sample of university students within and outside of New York. In total there are six interviews with New York students and twenty interviews with students and professors elsewhere in the United States. The main foundation of this chapter will focus on the six interviews with New York students. The interviewees describe their first-hand experiences of the attacks, they examine why the attacks happened to New York specifically, and also cover the rise of racism towards Arab people and other foreign policy matters. The university students outside of the city also discuss similar themes and their thoughts and opinions are compared to those in New York to provide wider context. The interviews with students outside of the city do not get referenced to as often as the New York students and this is because they cover a large majority of topics that are similar and can be summarised. Therefore, the interviews with those outside of the city have been deliberately selected for the context that their interviews can provide to further demonstrate how the group culture of education responded to 9/11. The main points that arise through these interviews is how locality effects the trauma that has been experienced, for example, the students in New York had a first-hand experience of the attacks and the interviews show how this affected them. This chapter also highlights "ingroup" and "outgroup" behaviours that form once a group formation has been secured, especially in relation to a traumatic experience. This can be seen through certain New York students who experienced feeling mistrusting towards Arab people. The underlying theme throughout this chapter, that has also been seen previously, is a strong sense of patriotism in the wake of 9/11.

"Wakeup call"[1]

When listening to the interviews with those based outside of New York many of the interviewees are asked if they know any anecdotes of survivors/witnesses or if they know of anybody effected. For example, university student Brian in Florida explains how he knew two friends from high school who were on the 40th and 65th floor and were ten blocks away when the buildings collapsed.[2] One can definitely gather from the interviews that there was a need from members of the public outside of New York to gather stories and information from witnesses. Christine Muller explains how these eyewitness recollections provide "empirical

[1] David, "Interview with David," Portland, Maine, September 25th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000073/, [January 2022]
[2] Kristin Congdon and Brian, "Interview with Brian," Orlando, Florida, September 18th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000037/, [January 2022]

evidence" to help the public formulate ideas on what was happening at the time.[3] This suggests why there are so many oral history collections on 9/11 for the public to listen to as there was a need to understand it from many. Returning back to the work of Arthur Neal he explains how when a national trauma is shared collectively, small and intimate groups will gather to discuss the tragedy, as a result individual feelings will be confirmed when others express a similar emotion.[4] Thus, this could be similar to the collecting of anecdote stories as members of the public who were distant from the attacks gather stories to confirm the tragedies that they have seen on TV. One can see this within the reactions of younger school children in how they related to those who had been killed or families who were saddened by lost loved ones. There seems to be a need from those distanced from the attacks to find personal connections or links.

Ronnie Janoff-Bulman quoted by Christine Muller, argues that trauma shatters "the most fundamental assumptions that govern functional daily living."[5] Bulmans theory of "Shattered Assumptions" has similarities with the theory of group cultures as she explains that people will interpret new information based on the context of what they already know[6]; this is the same with group cultures and people understanding history based on their place in it. Similar to the theories of Neal, Muller explains how an event of "sufficient scale and scope" can shatter "collectively held fundamental convictions" and as a result this could trigger a cultural trauma.[7] Muller uses the example of the American Dream as a previously held collective idea and argues that September 11th, 2001, helped shatter this for some.[8] One can actually see this in many of the interviews within this research with interviewees describing the idea of being awoken to their vulnerability in the world. For example, university student Meghan in Florida notes how Americans were naïve with their feelings of security before the attacks.[9] Plus, student David in Maine and Robin in Oklahoma say that the attacks were a "wakeup call" to America and its citizens.[10]

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[3] Christine Muller, *September 11th, 2001, as a cultural trauma: a case study through popular culture*, (Macmillan, 2017) p34
[4] Arthur G. Neal, *National Trauma and Collective Memory: Extraordinary Events in the American Experience*, (Routledge; 2nd edition, 31st May 2005)
[5] Muller, p7
[6] Ibid p4
[7] Ibid p8
[8] Ibid p8
[9] Reanna Stout and Meghan, "Interview with Meghan," Florida, September 20th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000039/, [January 2022]
[10] Tiersa Rose Draper and Robin, "Interview with Robin," Norman, Oklahoma, October 21st, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000142/, [January 2022] and Scott Ryboro, Kyle Glover and David, "Interview with David," Portland, Maine, September 25th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000073/, [January 2022]

The accounts of three university students in New York provide some "empirical evidence"[11] on what happened during the day for these individuals. The interview with New York university student Michael is particularly interesting when one considers trauma and emotion. Michael mainly gave a step-by-step description of what September 11th, 2001, entailed for him, and gives little about his opinions on foreign policy and other themes that have been discussed so far. He explains that "in a certain way you accept things on a cognitive level" but it doesn't truly sink in for a while.[12] Arguably one can see this in how Michael relays his story. He does not really give his opinions on wider matters relating to 9/11 and instead purely just retells his day. In doing so, his voice is relatively calm and monotone, showing little emotion. One could interpret from Michael's interview the idea of accepting and seeing things on a cognitive level but not yet processing it – Michael seems to sound quite dislocated to the day. Michael explains how he was 5 blocks away from the World Trade Centre and how he could make out the bodies jumping out of the towers.[13] In order to protect his friend from seeing this, they went on the train, and he explains how he continued to walk to his class; once he had reached this "goal" he started to cry.[14] Michael accepted things on a cognitive level which can be seen in how he just headed for his destination before processing what had happened. This can relate back to the theory of how a collective trauma is created when there is a break in the accepted way of life. Student Denise had a similar experience who saw one of the planes going into the towers, as well as people jumping out of the towers.[15]She explains how she started running, then 20 minutes later the towers came down creating inhalation issues and thick smoke.[16]This experience is similar to other recollections of being around that area during this time and one can really see how this broke their idea of an accepted reality. As is often quoted, this was the first attack on American soil since Pearl Harbour and it was shocking to many Americans that they could actually be attacked. This break in reality is also experienced by university students outside of the city, which has already been demonstrated.

Student Monique explains how she saw the engine of the plane on the ground as well as people covered in blood and says, "it was like a movie."[17] Marc Redfield analyses the term

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[11] Muller, p34
[12] Michael, 'Interview with Michael,' New York, New York, December 7th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000104/, [April 2022]
[13] ibid
[14] ibid
[15] Kamilya Farahmand and Denise, 'Interview with Denise,' New York, New York, November 1st, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000117/, [April 2022]
[16] ibid
[17] Monique, 'Interview with Monique,' New York, New York, November 9th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000127/, [April 2022]

"it was like a movie" as many people compared the attacks to film. For example, Hays in Florida and Melanie in Michigan both compare it to being "like a movie."[18] The attacks happened in a televised world, where Hollywood makes large action filled films and events can be shown on the news not long after it has happened. This level of accessibility and experiencing these types of scenes whether through a film or on the news then can help to show how it is understandable why people compared the attacks to something "like a movie." Redfiled argues that for those who experienced 9/11 on a TV, it became something that was mediated and not properly real – arguing that it was not "really" traumatic for them but more of a spectacle.[19]He explains how the military and Federal Aviation Authority learned of the attacks by watching TV and on the NORAD tapes voices questioned "is this real-world or exercise?"[20] On the one hand, this is an important argument from Redfield as he shows the distanced effect that 9/11 had on the public of America as well as the world due to the digital footage. On the other hand, this argument is problematic as statistics show that the amount of footage consumed by an individual correlates with experiencing PTSD symptoms,[21]demonstrating that it was traumatic for individuals who watched it on TV. Professor Mediavilla in California expresses how it was the "single most horrible thing she has ever seen"[22] and cannot stand anything in her house that reminds her of it.[23] Although she saw the attacks on TV she was obviously traumatised to some degree.

Ultimately, Redfield argues that in such a digitalised world where films can show large explosions and events of similar magnitude it is unsurprising that people compared it to being "like a movie." Indeed, one could suggest that Monique referred to it as "like a movie" in an attempt to describe the magnitude of the event that was once unfathomable to most members of the American public. Plus, an argument can be made that the public are becoming desensitised to large events as films show events of similar magnitudes. As mentioned previously, Alice Hoffman and her husband found that there seems to be an "autobiographical

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[18] Janice Linn and Hays, "Interview with Hays," Orlando, Florida, September 27th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000041/, [January 2022] and Antoinette Marie Whipple and Melanie, "Interview with Melanie," Lansing, Michigan, November 25th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000088/, [January 2022]

[19] Marc Redfield, *The Rhetoric of Terror: Reflections on 9/11 and the War on Terror,* (2009, Fordham University Press) p3

[20] ibid

[21] Michael W. Otto et co, 'post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms following media exposure to tragic events: Impact of 9/11 on children at risk for anxiety disorders,' Journal of Anxiety Disorders, 21 (2007) pp888-902, p897

[22] John Vallier and Mediavilla, "Interview with Mediavilla," Los Angeles, California, November 14th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000015/, [January 2022]

[23] ibid

long-term memory" that allows individuals to remember details of a certain time no matter how long it has been since then.[24] Therefore, it would be interesting to see if the findings of Alice Hoffman would be proven with these three students, and other witnesses of New York on September 11th, 2001.[25]

"New York is the best place to go"[26]

As demonstrated, there is definitely a strong theme of patriotism in the wake of September 11th with many interviewees showing patriotic expression or getting emotional over being American or seeing the American flag. Indeed, within school students this was due to the encouragement of patriotism by the school system, but it could also be down to their own personal feelings. Both sets of university students and professors, within and outside of New York, express these patriotic feelings. Barber, who is an English Professor in Iowa explains that it is the tangible things like having flags at home and a "I love NY" keychain that help show her support.[27] Student Melanie in Michigan expresses that she has "huge emotional outbursts" when she sees the flag or hears the national anthem.[28] The students in New York hold similar feelings of patriotism, however, more specifically towards the city of New York instead of America as a whole. Within the student interviews in New York one can see a more focused approach on why the interviewees believed the terrorists attacked New York specifically. In interviews with people outside of New York often they answer the question of "why attack America?" but these interviews focus specifically on "why attack New York?" This can help show this overlap of group cultures as students in New York do get asked the question of "why?" much like other students and teachers but they get asked it to focus more on "why New York?" instead of America in general. One can see the difference in what the interviewers are focusing on depending on the geographical location of the interviewee. Due to the location of university students in New York, there will be a heightened sense of locality as they were more likely to have experienced the attacks first hand, which they had. Therefore, the interviewers are more likely to ask questions specifically regarding the city. Arguably, this could be considered a weakness for oral history in that the answers depend on what the

[24] Alice M. Hoffman, *Archives of Memory: a Soldier Recalls World War 2* (University press of Kentucky, 2015)
[25] Christina Weber explores the gaps created in memory by trauma through her work *Social memory and war narratives; transmitted trauma among children of Vietnam War veterans* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). It would be interesting to see if there are these gaps in the narratives of those who witnessed the attacks
[26] Farahmand and Denise, 2001
[27] Barber, "Interview with Barber," Fort Dodge, Iowa, October 3rd, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000058/, [January 2022]
[28] Whipple and Melanie, 2001

interviewers want to ask, however, the information provided is still useful to provide an example of what New York university students felt after the attacks in correlation to those outside of the city.

The matter of symbolism is discussed when the students answered why they believe New York was attacked. When New York student Denise was asked she replied "obviously New York is the best place to go" and explains how there is a lot of business and beautiful buildings, concluding that New York is the "centre of the world basically."[29]Rosemary shares a similar view and explains that the towers were where all their markets were so the terrorists went for their money in order to put them in another depression and hurt them.[30] Interestingly, these two interviewees bring awareness to the importance of the symbolism of the towers and New York city. Nathan in Wisconsin believes that Osama Bin Laden is a "genius" as he explains that he believes Bin Laden was sending a message as the Pentagon is the "symbol of military policy formation" and the towers are the financial symbol;[31] similarly Jorge in California describes the Pentagon as "hitting the military chief."[32] Much of the scholarship surrounding September 11th, 2001, focuses on the symbolism of the attacks. As scholar Neal explains the Pentagon and the World Trade Centres were symbols of world dominance,[33] therefore, by successfully managing an attack on these two symbols of power the terrorists had sent a strong message to the United States as well as the world. This relates back to the idea of a collective trauma being created when there is a significant break in the accepted reality as for a large majority of Americans an attack on these symbolic structures was unfathomable. It is interesting as the symbolism is prevalent in the drawings by elementary school children in chapter 1. The Twin Towers were a recurring symbol within their drawings with only one focusing on the Pentagon. This shows the true significance that these buildings had on the public. The news footage after the attacks often repeated the images of the towers being hit and collapsing so it is unsurprising why these were reoccurring symbolic images.

There are similarities with the answers of New York students to high school students and university students outside of New York in response to "why?" Although those in New

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[29] Farahmand and Denise, 2001

[30] Kamilya Farahmand and Rosemary, 'Interview with Rosemary,' New York, New York, November 7th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000115/, [April 2022]

[31] Nathan, "interview with Nathan," Madison, Wisconsin, September 13th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000169/, [January 2022]

[32] Julie Bartolotto and Jorge, "Interview with Jorge," Long Beach, California, October 11th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000004/, [January 2022]

[33] Arthur G. Neal, *National Trauma and Collective Memory: Extraordinary Events in the American Experience,* (Routledge; 2nd edition, 31st May 2005)

York are specifically responding to the question in relation to the city, the answers are similar to the high school student's responses. Their definitely seems to be a feeling of U.S. superiority, whether it be about America as a whole or specifically New York. The statement by Denise that New York is the "centre of the world"[34] is incredibly similar to high school student Dustin who believes that America is the "top dogs of the world."[35] Furthermore, within the interviews with high school students and university students there is a sense of belief in U.S. superiority. This highlights the role that patriotism has in the education system and how deeply it effected many students. Additionally, the symbolism and significance of the towers and the pentagon is not lost on any of the students, even if they are not overly patriotic; demonstrating how the attacks created a cultural trauma breaking their American reality of invincibility.

Another branch of scholarship surrounding 9/11 that links to symbolism is the actual impact the attacks had on the skyline. Thomas Stubblefield explains how "the collision of the jet passenger planes with the Twin Towers, their subsequent collapse into nothingness, the ominous absence within the smoke-filled skyline, the busy streets of Manhattan turned disaster movie" were images as much as, or more than, the actual event.[36] Stockhausen and Hirst suggest that the attackers aimed for this eery image, with there being an echo in "the empty hole in the Manhattan skyline."[37] This is actually noted by student Daniel and Michael; Michael's personal interview has already been examined, but Michael is interviewing Daniel here. They discuss how "there is a hole" in the skyline and how the towers used to help people find their way around the city;[38] Michael notes how he was offended with the change in skyline.[39] In some ways the terrorists had succeeded in creating a lasting image as when one looks through the art and photography of the attack and the aftereffects the magnitude is clear. Therefore, seeing this image repeatedly on TV or in person walking past the site will definitely have had a lasting impact on many Americans. For example, in the interview with New York student Tenisha she explains how she wishes she doesn't have to go to school as she has to walk past the site where the air smells horrible and people are complaining about headaches and nausea.[40] This is something that students in New York will experience specifically as those

[34] Farahmand and Denise, 2001
[35] Jessica Boyd and Dustin, "Interview with Dustin," East Sullivan, Maine, September 19th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000076/, [January 2022]
[36] Thomas Stubblefield, *9/11 and the Visual Culture of Disaster* (Indiana University Press; 2015) p3
[37] Ibid p3
[38] Michael and Daniel, 'Interview with Daniel,' New York, New York, October 8th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000101/, [April 2022]
[39] ibid
[40] Shalena Rivas and Tenisha, 'Interview with Tenisha,' New York, New York, November 18th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000110/, [April 2022]

who live outside of the city will only experience it if they visited at the time, like Papiernik in chapter 1, but otherwise they do not witness this directly. This shows that overlap of group cultures as individuals living in New York, whether in the group culture of education or not, were likely to have experienced this.

"Us versus them"[41]

As shown through teachers and younger students in the previous chapter these positive and patriotic feelings also extend towards political figures, the most obvious being President George W. Bush. More specifically to students in New York, these feelings are also directed towards the mayor at the time, Rudy Giuliani. Denise, in New York, believes that he is "the most amazing person there is"[42] and New York student Rosemary thinks "he is a great man, and he gets things done."[43] They also hold positive feelings towards President Bush, which follows the overall pattern from teachers and students. Denise explains how originally, she wanted Gore to be President but does not think he would have handled it as well as Bush[44] and Rosemary holds a similar sentiment as she was surprised by his performance and originally she did not vote for him but has "complete trust" in his handling of the situation.[45] One can see the overlap of group cultures once again here, as the students in New York are asked on their opinion on both Giuliani and President Bush, whereas students and teachers from outside of New York only get asked their opinion on the President. It seems as though the rise of patriotism is also linked with a rise in emotions. For example, the students who witnessed the attacks felt strong emotional connections to what happened, and they seemed to be showing a great sense of admiration towards Mayor Giuliani in particular and in some ways towards the President also. It is similar to times of war when the public attitudes are swayed towards positive feelings of one's own country and their leaders in a display of strength and unity. Indeed, one could argue that these positive feelings towards political figures and the country is a way for individuals to feel that they are helping America after the attacks. To be verbally supportive of the country and its leaders could be similar to displaying an American flag or

[41] Margaret Waymel, Dunn and Flora, "Interview with Dunn and Flora," Boulder, Colorado, October 22nd, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000031/, [January 2022]
[42] Farahmand and Denise, 2001
[43] Farahmand and Rosemary, 2001,
[44] Farahmand and Denise, 2001
[45] Farahmand and Rosemary, 2001,

wearing American memorabilia. Rosemary for example thinks that seeing the American flag everywhere is a good thing[46] and Denise wore pins and symbols to "show we stand as one."[47]

On the other hand, some university students outside of the city note a decrease of patriotic feelings after September 11th. For example, Matthew in Michigan acknowledges the emotional toll that the attacks had and was indeed emotionally affected, however, he explains how he began to "scoff" at how the situation was being handled.[48] He believes the War on Terror became a "media created event" and thinks it is hypocritical seeing as the U.S. was founded on something that could be called a terrorist action.[49] Cheela in Ohio also notes how the media coverage did not seem to coincide with the facts and went from feeling patriotic to feeling cheated by the situation.[50] There seems to be a divide between the students with complete trust in the government and the media, versus those who originally felt this surge of patriotism but over time felt it wain. Both Cheela and Michael had their interviews conducted in November, allowing for two months to have passed since the attack for these feelings to develop. One interview of particular interest is between Professor Dunn and student Flora in Colorado. They discuss the meaning of the flag to them personally and Flora explains how the flag shows that there is military action somewhere instead of unity.[51] Dunn agrees and explains how she feels it is an "exclusionary symbol" and it feels more like "us versus them."[52] Dunn also explains how she believes the population is showing a level of unhealthy patriotism and feels that the government is leaving the definition of a terrorist vague,[53] which is a similar opinion to Matthew. She explains that by doing so the government can then label individuals or groups as terrorists if they don't agree with their politics.[54] Flora and Dunn conducted their interviews at the end of October which demonstrates a similar weariness like Matthew and Cheela after a couple of months. These differences of opinions are vital for analysing the group culture of education. One can see that there was an overall rise in patriotism and support in the government, but at the same time a weariness was beginning to form within a couple months after the attacks over how the situation was being handled.

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[46] ibid
[47] Farahmand and Denise, 2001
[48] Jacquese Smart and Matthew, "Interview with Matthew," Alma, Michigan, November 26th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000095/, [January 2022]
[49] ibid
[50] La'Keyta Rayford and Cheela, "Interview with Cheela," Cincinnati, Ohio, November 24th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000093/, [January 2022]
[51] Margaret Waymel, Dunn and Flora, "Interview with Dunn and Flora," Boulder, Colorado, October 22nd, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000031/, [January 2022]
[52] ibid
[53] ibid
[54] ibid

"We were all friends"[55]

Within the interviews so far it is clear to see that the students within New York directly focus more on the impact of the city than the rest of America, whereas students outside of New York reference to America as a whole. For example, Rosemary explains that after the attacks "we were all friends" in New York and that they became "one person trying to get out of Manhattan."[56] Denise credits the people of New York for being caring and that they were always "amazing" before the attacks, but she feels it more so now.[57] Interviews with those outside of New York do also note on this level of unity that was prevalent but do not seem to have the same sense of this admiration. This could be because those who had seen or been affected by the attacks may have felt closer with others who had experienced what they had. For example, Nancy Foner focuses on a study that was conducted between two residential neighbourhoods: Battery Park City and Tribeca. Both of these areas were affected by the attacks with people being evacuated from their homes as well as returning to homes that were covered in dust and debris.[58] She explains the largest difference between the two areas were the recovery times. For example, Tribeca was helped in that there was already a gentrification process in place, so this helped speed things up.[59] Whereas in Battery Park City the disaster led to divisions between long-term residents and newcomers who did not share the experiences of those who lived through the attacks and were cut off from the city.[60]Therefore, it can be demonstrated here how the attacks in New York may have led to a split in society of those who physically witnessed the attacks and those who watched/heard of it from the media. This relates to the "ingroup" and "outgroup" behaviours that form in a group, which has been discussed previously. For some of the New York university students it seems they experienced "ingroup" behaviours, this is where a secure group entitativity helps retain their sense of collective self, following a hard time.[61] Whereas the group mention by Foner demonstrates "outgroup" behaviours, which is a form of distrust of other groups.[62]

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[55] Farahmand and Rosemary, 2001,
[56] Farahmand and Rosemary, 2001,
[57] Farahmand and Denise, 2001,
[58] Nancy Foner, Wounded City: The Social Impact of 9/11 on New York City, (Russel Sage Foundation; 2005) p30
[59] ibid
[60] ibid
[61] Principles of Social Psychology, *Understanding Social Groups,* <https://opentextbc.ca/socialpsychology/chapter/understanding-social-groups/> [accessed 30 June 2022]
[62] ibid

The idea of unity after September 11th, 2001, is arguably flawed. As Dunn and Flora discussed, the feelings of division and "us versus them" seemed to arise in the American public. Unfortunately, the foreign and domestic policies of the United States after the attacks have arguably helped encourage these feelings, most notably to those of/ look of Arabic dissent. Within 9/11 scholarship policies such as the Patriot Act and the War on Terror have been heavily debated. Some, like David Ryan argue that the War on Terror was similar to the Vietnam war in that it was supposed to demonstrate the superiority of U.S. power but instead showed its weaknesses;[63] Michael Jenkins also agrees with this and criticizes the invasion on Iraq.[64] The Patriot Act is also debated within the scholarship and overall, many conclude that the act was harsh and potentially affected the public's civil liberties. The Patriot Act allowed for public surveillance through airport searches, wiretaps, and traces on phones and computers to catch early terrorist plans.[65] Cassidy Pitt argues that the act violated some of the U.S. Constitution amendments such as the Fourth Amendment that protects people from "unreasonable search" and the removal of personal belongings unless there is a "probable cause."[66] Kent Roach argues that the Patriot Act was mild in comparison to some of the other methods used and explains how the U.S. explored the "dark side" of terrorism through extra-legal measures such as torture.[67] Due to the nature of the attacks unfortunately the majority of people affected by these measures were many Muslim and Arabic Americans. As one will see through these interviews some New York students felt distrusting of anyone who looked of this ethnicity, and it can be demonstrated how the news and what people were seeing through the media impacted their way of viewing Arabic and Muslim people.

It has been suggested that the War on Terror became a fear of "unseen dangers"[68] or a war against the "unknown."[69] Unfortunately, these unknown or unseen fears were directed towards people who looked of Arabic dissent. A good example of this is with a student who lives in North Carolina; Ran is Cambodian and describes how the media did not make things

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[63] David Ryan, *Frustrated Empire: US Foreign Policy, 9/11 to Iraq*, (2007) p157
[64] Michael Brians Jenkins et co, *The long shadow of 9/11: America's response to terrorism*, (CA:RAND, Santa Monica, 2011) p4
[65] Cassady Pitt, 'U.S. Patriot Act and Racial Profiling: Are There Consequences of Discrimination?', *Michigan Sociological Review*, (November 1st, 2011) p54
[66] Ibid p54
[67] Kent Roach, *The 9/11 Effect: Comparative Counter-Terrorism*, (University of Toronto, Cambridge Universtiy Press, 2012) p436
[68] Michael Barkun, *Chasing phantoms: reality, imagination and homeland security since 9/11* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 2011)
[69] Michael C. Frank, 'At War with the Unknown: Hollywood, Homeland Security, and the Cultural Imaginary of Terrorism after 9/11', *American Studies*, Vol. 60, No. 4, pp485-504 (Universitatsverlag Winter ghmbh)

easier for those who fit in the supposed "characteristics" of a terrorist.[70] She explains that on TV they were describing these characteristics as being male or female, between the ages of 20-30 years old and not a U.S. citizen, more specifically anyone who looked of Arabic appearance.[71] Her family had immigrated from Cambodia and she explains how she was worried about being mistaken as coming from the Middle East and gives the example of an elderly woman who repeatedly asked if she was Arabic at work.[72] This testimony can demonstrate how this fear led to many groups of people feeling discriminated against. Therefore, one could argue that this unity that many Americans felt was only experienced if you fit into the right criteria of being considered a "safe" person. There are examples of Muslim women experiencing hate crimes for wearing a hijab; Louis Cainkar explains that it became "imbued with meaning as a counter symbol to personal freedom, an interpretation that exposed its alleged threat to American culture."[73] Some of the responses in previous chapters explain that they believe the terrorists attacked due to a dislike of American culture. Therefore, one can see how prevalent this idea of a cultural divide was in encouraging discriminatory behaviour, as a hijab could become a symbol to some Americans of going against the American culture of "freedom."

The students in New York do reference this backlash against Arab/Muslim Americans but also express a struggle in trusting people of this ethnicity. For example, Denise explains that at first, she could not look at Muslim people and would often move away from them.[74] She acknowledges that they are also suffering and that her behaviour can be considered racist but she also makes comments like "there are all these terrorist Arabs" that she sees on TV who are being taught bad things.[75] One can see an example here of how television can negatively sway the opinion of the public – her use of "all these terrorist Arabs"[76] gives the impression that she views this ethnicity as deviant due to the terrorist attacks as well as what the news was presenting. Denise is in an internal battle of knowing how she was behaving was wrong whilst at the same time having a deep mistrust of people who looked Arabic. Another New York student, Rosemary, has a similar reaction but does express how she thinks it is sad the way the

[70] Barbara Lau and Ran, 'Interview with Ran,' North Carolina, 14th October 2020, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000141/, [November 2020]
[71] ibid
[72] ibid
[73] Louis A. Cainkar, *Homeland Insecurity: The Arab American and Muslim American Experience After 9/11'* (Russell Sage Foundation; January 4th, 2011) p6
[74] Farahmand and Denise, 2001
[75] ibid
[76] ibid

world is reacting to Arabic/Muslim people.[77] However, she explains how she thinks it is a "natural tendency" to become distrusting of Arabic people afterwards and provides the story of a train stopping suddenly where she saw a man with a turban on and became terrified and said that she "can't help but look at those people."[78] This use of "those people" presents a "them verses us" mentality that academics have warned about with the rise of nationalism. As Qiong Li and Marilynn Brewer explain, nationalism is the view that one's own country is superior to others, and thus should be dominant as well as intergroup differentiation.[79]Arguably this can be seen here as Rosemary says "those people" suggesting that they are inferior or negatively different to Americans in some way.

Finally, students Daniel and Monique, also in New York, disagree with the discrimination that Arabic/Muslim people were facing. Monique called for unity[80] and Daniel discusses how he thinks it is "messed up" that people kicked a man from Pakistan off of a plane but acknowledges that people are "terrified."[81] Although Daniel disagrees with the discriminatory actions, he can understand that people are terrified and therefore are scapegoating a group of people. Once again, this demonstrates the force behind this fear of the "unseen"[82] or the "unknown."[83] Other examples of the type of behaviour Daniel mentioned is through Balbir Singh Sondhi who was the first murder after September 11th, 2001, due to his Sikh looks.[84] These examples as well as the interviews with some of the New York students demonstrates that there was a significant shift in public attitude towards anyone who looked Arabic and how it became almost acceptable to act in a discriminatory way towards anyone who looked "different" to them whilst blaming it on fear. This can also be seen through the statistic of an 64% increase in the level of anti-Muslim attacks in the U.S. after 9/11.[85]

There is an element to consider here of what type of language the government was using that helped encourage these types of attitudes. An interview with Adeel Mirza, who is not a student but is from Pakistan explains how he thinks that President Bush was using "buzz"

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[77] Farahmand and Rosemary, 2001
[78] ibid
[79] Qiong Li and Marilynn B. Brewer, 'What Does It Mean to Be an American? Patriotism, Nationalism, and American Identity After 9/11?' *Political Psychology*, Vol. 23, (2004) p728
[80] Monique, 2001
[81] Michael and Daniel Dominguez, 2001
[82] Michael Barkun, Chasing phantoms: reality, imagination and homeland security since 9/11 (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 2011)
[83] Michael C. Frank, 'At War with the Unknown: Hollywood, Homeland Security, and the Cultural Imaginary of Terrorism after 9/11', American Studies, Vol. 60, No. 4, pp485-504 (Universitatsverlag Winter ghmbh)
[84] Anny Bakalian and Medhi Bozorgmehr, *Backlash 9/11: Middle Eastern and Muslim Americans Respond,* (University of California Press, Berkeley; Los Angeles; London 2009) p1
[85] Ariana Chebel D'Appollonia, Simon Reich, *Managing Ethnic Diversity after 9/11: Integration, Security, and Civil Liberties in Transatlantic Perspective* (2010; Rutgers University Press) p4

words with phrases like "good versus evil."[86] For instance, Bush in one of his speeches remarked "this will be a monumental struggle of good versus evil. But good will prevail."[87] The "evil" is obviously the terrorists but then by characterizing terrorists as looking a certain way will lead to members of the public becoming distrusting of those who fit in the category of an "evil" terrorist. Domestically there seemed to be a good versus evil battle within the public as one can see with Rosemary's comment of "those people,"[88] which perhaps shows this distinguishment in her mind. This relates to the argument made by Phillip M. Bratta when he analyses the symbolism of the flag draped behind President Bush as he makes a speech to congress on September 20th, 2001. Bratta explains how Bush ignores the details of the whole situation, examples such as the relationship between the United States and countries in the Middle East, the history of U.S. in Afghanistan, as well as their relationship with some of the terrorists are all ignored; instead Bush focuses on the idea that the terrorists hate their freedoms and democracy.[89] By doing so, the government and the President are placing blame purely towards the terrorists instead of explaining any responsibility of the half of the United States. Additionally, by ignoring the deeper details of the situation it encourages the attitude of cultural divisions and threats within the public. This relates back to the concern of student Flora and Professor Dunn, outside of New York, who speculated how the flag was becoming an exclusionary symbol of American superiority.[90]

Conclusion

The interviews with students in New York provide more context into the actual day itself. From their own first-hand experiences, the listener/reader can get a better understanding of what it was like to be in the city the day of September 11th, 2001. What the interviewees say can also provide an insight into the culture of New York before and after 9/11. For example, Michael and Daniel discuss the effects that the attacks had on the skyline and how this will affect tourists and those living in the city navigate their way around. Another glimpse into New York culture

[86] Angela McAllister and Adeel, 'Interview with Mirza,' Wisconsin, 16th September 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000172/, [November 2020]
[87] 9/11 Memorial, *September 12th, 2001*
Remarks by President George W. Bush in Photo Opportunity with the National Security Team,
https://www.911memorial.org/sites/default/files/inline-files/2001%20sept.12%20Remarks%20by%20President%20Bush%20with%20National%20Security%20Team%20photo%20opp_1.pdf
[88] Farahmand and Rosemary, 2001,]
[89] Phillip M. Bratta, 'Flag Display Post-9/11: A Discourse on American Nationalism,' The Journal of American Culture, Vol. 32, Issue 3, pp232-243
[90] Margaret Waymel, Dunn and Flora, "Interview with Dunn and Flora," Boulder, Colorado, October 22nd, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000031/, [January 2022]

is this strong sense of admiration that the students felt towards the city. This would need to be explored further in other interviews to see if this was felt by others who lived in New York, but it does seem as though the experience unified those who witnessed it. This feeling of unity was also felt nationally with interviewees noting this in interviews outside of New York. However, as this chapter has explored the unity does not seem to spread out to all in America and unfortunately stops if an individual seems to fit into the "characteristics of a terrorist." Some of these students have demonstrated how there is an internal battle of distrust towards Arabic/Muslim people, whilst also recognising that their behaviour could be considered racist.

Both sets of university students also help to demonstrate certain trauma theories that are found in the wider scholarship, specifically the "Shattered Assumptions" theory by Bulman. Exploring how trauma is created when the assumptions of everyday life is shattered, this is shown through individuals like New York student Michael who experienced shock on the day as well as Monique who says, "it was like a movie." Additionally, David and Robin, outside of New York, explain how it was a "wakeup call" to Americans that they were vulnerable to attack. One can see within both sets of university students the breaking of reality over an event that most thought was unfathomable due to the invincibility of the United States. This seems to be a common trend throughout high school students to university students, as well as for the teachers. This is where the scholarship surrounding trauma helps demonstrate how an individual's understanding of history and their place in it is shattered when this assumption is broken, creating a traumatic event.

One difference between the two sets of students is the level of patriotism. Those in New York seem to have incredibly strong patriotic feelings towards their city and the government, as well as a level of distrust towards Arab people. Whereas some university students outside of the city do feel a level of patriotism and unity, but there are individuals who are aware of this divide in society and the level of nationalism that is arising. For example, Professor Dunn and student Flora discuss this feeling of "us versus them"[91] that was developing. This is a reoccurring theme throughout the chapters over the rise of patriotism leading towards nationalism. When considering group formations one can see how this begins to take place as groups begin to distrust "outsiders," which creates "outgroup" behaviours. Overall, the majority of students do feel a level of patriotism, the intensity varies, but that is a common denominator throughout most students.

[91] ibid

It could be argued that the interviews with university students do not provide a large deal of information on how the education system impacted those in this group culture. However, that argument demonstrates that university students are not as influenced by the education system when they are at university. Often at university, students are encouraged to make their own opinions on events and topics, therefore, there may be less of a direct push to think or react in a certain way like at high school with patriotic expression. Within this chapter one can begin to see how group cultures overlap and certain individuals may feel a different way due to their other cultural influences. For example, student Ran does not feel the unity that her fellow white students are experiencing due to the fact that her features are similar to that of an Arab person. Whereas high school students such as Allison were expected to take part in "support America week" at her high school. This is where this difference lies in that high school students are expected to join in with patriotic activities, whereas university students have a choice. One can still see the influences of the education system in the university students with the underlying current of patriotism throughout the majority of interviewees. Furthermore, this chapter demonstrates that university students have varying influences that will impact their response to 9/11. Instead of being heavily affected by the education system these individuals are encouraged to formulate their own ideas, and thus, react in the ways that best suit their needs as opposed to a collective response from a class that is found in high school.

Conclusion

Throughout this thesis the group culture of education and their response to 9/11 has been explored through multiple angles. This thesis predominately focused on the reactions of school children and students more so than the teachers and professors. This is because there were more interviews with students than teachers within the "September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project." If this were a national observation on how the group culture of education responded to 9/11, this would make the findings imbalanced. However, because this thesis is exploring specifically chosen sources provided by the "September 11th, 2001, Documentary Project" the imbalance does not largely impact the findings. Instead, the selected individuals who are part of the group culture of education have been chosen from this project in order to assess how they responded to 9/11. By going through the ages of the schoolchildren and students chronologically, different influences that will affect them at different age become clear. The underlying theme that has been found is one of patriotism and how different age groups responded accordingly with their varying levels of patriotic encouragement from the education system.

Firstly, it is demonstrated through the narratives of nursery schoolteachers how nursery schoolchildren responded in the days following the terror attacks. When considering the nursery schoolchildren, they will have socioeconomic factors that make up their group cultures, but their prominent group will be the group culture of education as that is where they will spend the majority of their time. A detailed examination on how the psyche of children grasp and interpret an event such as 9/11 was explored through examples of their method of play and expression. One can see through the selected interview narratives that these four- to six-year-olds needed to physically act out the attacks through play in order to process the event. Although there was an attempt to shield the younger children away from the traumatic news the children were still aware of the basic foundations of what happened, highlighting how porous young children can be to the environment around them. Even at such a young age the children showed empathy towards other children who had lost their parents and felt sadness that people had died. The nursery schoolteachers explain how there was an encouragement in their school system to limit the news around the children as well as allowing the children to draw and write in their journals whenever they felt called to; as the wider scholarship shows, this was a common response within schools for younger children. Additionally, the schoolteachers focus more on how the children behaved over their own opinions. This is due

to the focus of the interviewer asking about the children. But also, for nursery schoolteachers especially, a focus on the changes of behaviours of the younger children is needed in order to be aware of anything that may need supporting. Arguably, the influence of patriotism is not obvious within these younger schoolchildren and some of the teachers do note not feeling overly patriotic or needing to display a flag.

One can begin to see the patriotic influences in the education system through the drawings by third graders at Sequoyah elementary school, which can provide a clear difference between the two age groups. Now that the children are getting older the school system has started to instil a love of the country and this can be seen through their drawings. The children created images full of American patriotic symbolism, with the towers being anthropomorphised especially. Plus, there were many drawings of the American flag with words of support. These examples of schoolchildren's drawings directed the research to consider the scholarship surrounding art therapy and how it has been used to help younger children and adults after 9/11. It has been suggested that art allows the individual to dislocate from the traumatic event in order to process their feelings through their artwork. Although the third graders at Sequoyah were not doing this as a form of organised therapy, one can still see how the children processed and considered the attacks and this is valuable to examine when discussing how the group culture of education responded to 9/11. Through these images one can infer that patriotism and the symbolism that comes with this was prevalent for these third graders, demonstrating that patriotic expression was definitely encouraged within this school. This follows the trend of scholarship that explains how patriotism is strongly encouraged within American middle and high schools, therefore, the findings are not surprising. When comparing this back to nursery schoolchildren a distinguishment in the group culture of education begins to take form. It is clear that for nursery schoolchildren there was not a patriotic encouragement from the teachers as the main focus was on the emotional wellbeing of the children. Whereas already it can be inferred that in elementary school there were patriotic influences that the children experienced. This isn't to say that there wasn't an emotional focus on these age groups, but it does show this separation in the group culture that at the younger ages of 4 to 6 years old there was not this patriotic influence. Moreover, the children show that their reactions to 9/11 are in accordance with the environment around them. For younger nursery schoolchildren play forms a large part of their time at school so it is unsurprising that their reactions were found through this. Whereas in elementary school the focus is less on the emotional development of the children but more on their education and setting them up for middle school and high school. Therefore, this

patriotic symbolism in their drawing is a reaction to the environment around them, which was encouraging a love for the United States.

The selection of interviews with middle schoolchildren demonstrate that art could be considered more of an effective way for children to express their thoughts. One can gather form these interviews a strong sense of sadness from the children, but the interviews ultimately contain very little information otherwise. However, one can infer a strong sense of patriotism once again within these children as two individuals note on their sense of happiness of hearing the Pledge of Allegiance or seeing the flags everywhere. Again, this is a continuation of this theme of patriotism in the school system and how the group culture of education responded patriotically to 9/11. Overall, one can see through the responses of younger schoolchildren in the group culture of education, that they had more of a physical expression like play and drawing in response to 9/11, as well as a growing level of patriotism starting in third grade schoolchildren.

The selected interviews with high school students arguably show the strongest example of how the education system had an impact on the responses of individuals to 9/11. When the students answered the question of why they believed the attacks happened many of the responses focused on the superiority of the United States. Only one high school student went into great detail on the different reasons as to why they were attacked and did not focus on U.S. superiority but more on its weaknesses. Through these examples the concepts of "blind" patriotism and "constructive" patriotism were shown.[1] There was also a strong sense of support for the government from the teachers, which followed the general opinions polls at the time. The level of patriotism within the selected high school students is once again unsurprising due to the encouragement, and even mandating of practices in American high schools. Through examples like student Allison with "support America week"[2] this highlights an example of a patriotic activity that the students were expected to participate in, which further adds to this patriotic mindset. Many of the high school students do also note how they showed their patriotic commemoration. Within this chapter the teachers focused more on their own opinions instead of the reactions of the students and this provided more contextual information to their answers on why they believed America was attacked. Their answers were much more detailed, which is unsurprising due to their place as educators within the group culture of education. One

[1] Gail Sahar, 'Patriotism, Attributions for the 9/11 Attacks, and Support for War: Then and Now', *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, Vol. 30, pp187-197, (2008; Taylor and Francis Group LLC)

[2] Benjamin Treutler and Allison, 'Interview with Allison,' Arlington Heights, Illinois, November 23rd, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000055/, [April 2022]

teacher, Smart, provides an example of how an individual can have different cultural factors that influence their understanding of the present. For example, Smart has experienced racism due to his ethnicity as an African American in America and therefore does not feel that the public is unified.[3] Due to the focus of patriotism within this group, debates about the dangers of patriotism leading to nationalism were also explored through the wider 9/11 scholarship; this is a continuing topic into the university students. Moreover, for the selected high school students and teachers in the group culture of education, the response to 9/11 was an incredibly patriotic one, sometimes leading towards "blind" patriotism in U.S. superiority.

A differentiation can be seen through the university students in comparison to the previous chapters. This is because there is not an obvious correlation to the group culture of education other than the fact that they are students. The interviewees make very little reference to what their universities did in response to the attacks or what happened in lessons. Instead, the interviewees focus more on their own opinions and how it has impacted their lives. However, this does tell us that university students in the group culture of education are less impacted by the education system, which demonstrates how they responded to 9/11. It can be inferred that at a university level the students are encouraged to formulate their own opinions and will begin to understand their own place in the world to a larger degree. It seems as though from middle school through to high school the students were expected to participate in collectively organised methods of patriotic commemoration, whereas at university it is left to the individual to decide what is right for them. This can demonstrate the levels of authority that are prevalent in the differing age groups, with middle/high school students expected to follow what is asked of them in a collective manner as opposed to university students who are not as controlled by an authority figure. From this chapter the culture of New York before and after 9/11 is also explored through the New York interviewees. From these interviews they discuss how the skyline was affected as well as the unity that was experienced on the day and afterwards, plus, their own first-hand experiences of seeing the attacks. These experiences led to examining the "shattered assumptions" trauma theory by Ronnie Bulman[4], which helped to demonstrate how 9/11 shattered individuals' assumptions of everyday life and broke their expected reality, creating a traumatic event. Throughout these students there is a common theme of patriotism with the majority feeling patriotic in some way or supporting the

[3] Jacquese Smart and Smart, 'Interview with Smart,' Flint, Michigan, November 24th, 2001, audio, accessed via https://www.loc.gov/item/afc911000097/, [April 2022]

[4] Ronnie Bulman's "Shattered Assumptions" trauma theory as explained by Christine Muller, *September 11th, 2001, as a cultural trauma: a case study through popular culture,* (Macmillan, 2017)

government. These positive feelings towards the country and the city helped show “ingroup” behaviours as many of the interviewees felt unified. However, some of the New York students do express a feeling of mistrust towards Arab people, which further expands upon the worry of scholars that patriotism can lead to nationalism. Through these examples “outgroup” behaviours are demonstrated also.

For further analysis a study with a set of interviewees and specially designed questions would be needed in order to gain appropriate answers. As this thesis relied on previously conducted interviews it meant that the answers could not be tailored to a specific area of research. For example, the interviews with nursery schoolteachers were centred around how the children reacted, but then for older students and teachers they were conducted more on a general basis. Therefore, questions surrounding specific topics such as patriotism could not be asked but more inferred from their responses. Therefore, in the future my own set of interviews would be conducted to further explore how deeply patriotism influenced the group culture of education. It would be interesting to see if/how patriotism shifted in American high schools before and after 9/11, as these seem to be the age groups that were the most affected by this patriotic push. Additionally, more interviews with teachers would be needed to explore how patriotism in the education system influenced their reactions.

The group culture of education and their response to 9/11 has been explored within this thesis. What is clear throughout the age groups are the varying levels of patriotism that the school children or students experienced. For nursery schoolchildren patriotic influences were not visible within their reactions, instead the children reacted in a physical way through play to process the event. The nursery schoolteachers also do not seem to be overly connected to patriotic expression and this could be because they did not have to teach that way of thinking to the children. Whereas drawings from third graders in elementary school demonstrate strong patriotic symbolism within their work, highlighting the beginning of patriotic encouragement. As noted previously, patriotism was encouraged within American middle schools and high schools, therefore, this can signify that these third graders were already being patriotically encouraged. This is similar to middle schoolchildren who are supportive of the United States. Therefore, from the younger age groups one can see the development of patriotic expression within the schoolchildren and how their reactions to 9/11 were in relation to the environment around them. The strongest patriotic reaction to 9/11 is arguably through high school students. This is unsurprising due to the encouragement and mandating of patriotic activities that the students would have experienced. This shows that those in high school were heavily influenced by the group culture of education as the majority responded in a way that was expected of them.

Whereas university students, teachers, and professors reacted in more diverse ways. Of course, there were still those who were patriotic after 9/11 but there were also others who expressed concern over the rise in patriotism. It can be argued that as an individual matures in age their awareness of the group cultures and influences around them increases, suggesting that they may not react in a way that is attached to just the one group culture. Arguably, these older individuals are influenced by more than one group culture, and this can be seen from the ages of university students onwards. For example, the university students in New York are not only influenced by the group culture of education but also by the group culture of living in New York at the time of 9/11. Other topics such as trauma, art therapy and racism have also been explored, but the ultimate reoccurring theme that is prevalent throughout the group culture of education is that the students, especially those in middle and high school, reacted patriotically in accordance with the environment around them. Therefore, this thesis has demonstrated how individuals are influenced by their surrounding group cultures when responding to a traumatic event such as 9/11. The common reaction by the majority of students and teachers from middle school onwards is a patriotic one, and these reactions can tell the reader how heavily patriotism was encouraged within the education system for different age groups.

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Appendix

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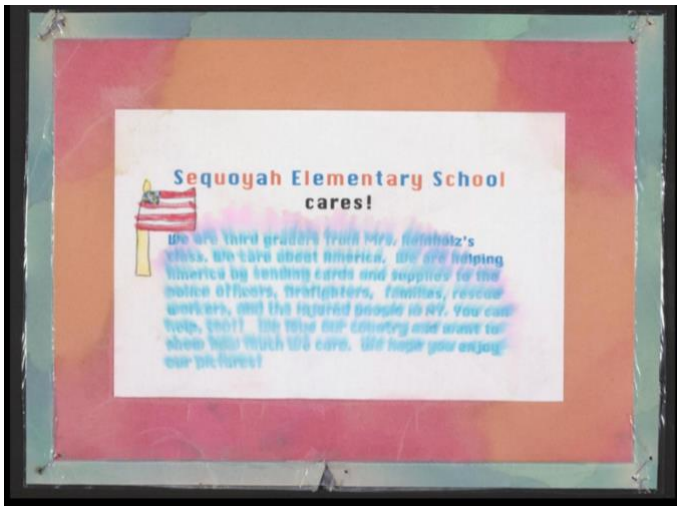

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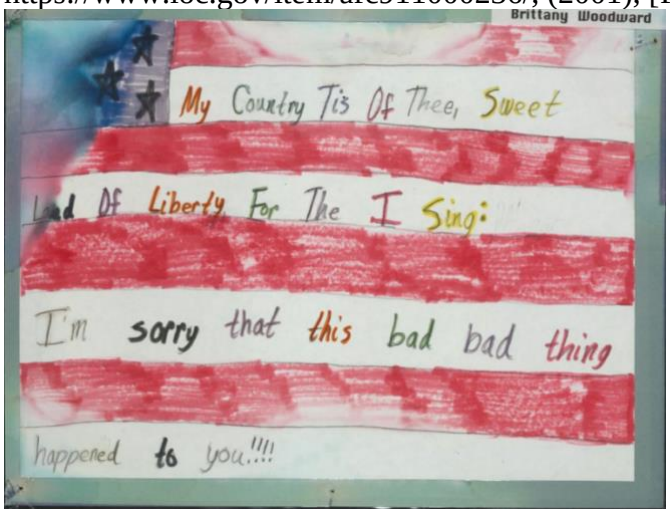

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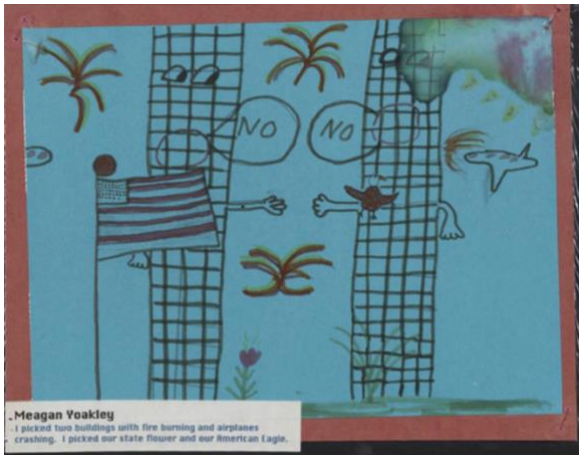

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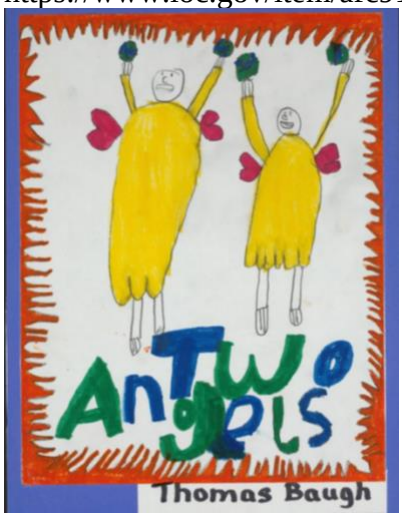

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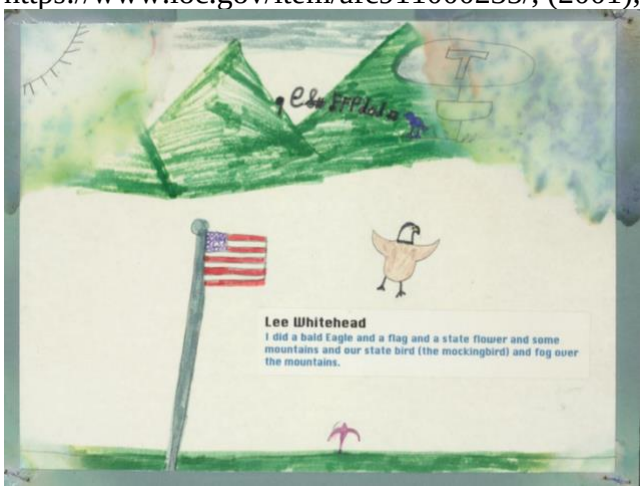

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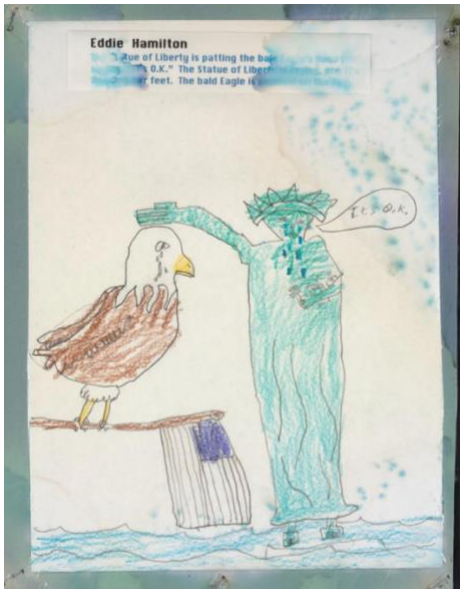

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