

**HOW 9/11 AND THE WAR ON TERROR INFLUENCED
ECONOMY, SECURITY, CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN THE WEST**

Bachelor Thesis

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Anotace

Tato práce se zabývá událostmi 11 září 2001, jejich následky a takzvanou Válkou proti terorismu. Analyzuje efekt těchto událostí na různé aspekty života ve Spojených státech amerických a po celém světě. Události 11 září a Válka proti terorismu jsou představeny, a poté jsou jejich dopady rozebrány z politického, ekonomického, bezpečnostního a sociálního úhlu pohledu.

Abstract

This thesis deals with the events of September 11, 2001, its consequences, and the subsequent so-called War on Terror. It analyzes the effects these events had on various aspects of life in the United States of America and around the world. The events of September 11 and the War on Terror are introduced, then the impacts are analyzed from a political, economic, security, and social point of view.

Keywords

September 11, Patriot Act, War on Terror, terrorism, New York City, economy, security, airport, air travel, media, culture, Islam

Klíčová slova

11 září, Patriot Act, Válka proti terorismu, terorismus, New York City, ekonomika, bezpečnost, letiště, letecká doprava, média, kultura, Islám

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Declaration

I hereby declare that I have worked on this thesis independently, using only the sources listed in the Reference section.

In Brno, 17 April 2021

Jan Šalomon

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Introduction

It was the beginning of the new millennium, which all the world had been looking forward to for so long. New opportunities lay ahead, technology was evolving at a faster rate than ever before and people were sure nothing could stand in the way. But in 2001, not even two years after the world celebrated the coming of the new millennium, the face of the world changed forever.

On the 11th of September, 2001, four locations around the United States were targeted by four passenger planes, three of them hitting their expected targets. The deed had been done; the deadliest and most terrible terrorist attack in recorded human history. What came after was a long period of change in the world that still has an impact on society today, a time of anger, fear, and regret, but also of compassion and selflessness.

This thesis deals with the events of 9/11, as they are often called, and also with their aftermath; the reaction of the world, the impact these events had on world economies, security changes that were implemented and the subsequent wars for revenge. The aim is to analyze different areas and the effect the terrorist attacks of 9/11 had on them around the world. Areas that are obvious, such as the resulting wars, as well as areas that are less obvious, like security, or society.

In its first chapter, the thesis focuses on the events of September 11th themselves. It describes the damages, costs, and casualties, as well as the motives behind the attack and the reactions from around the world. The second part of the chapter then introduces the USA PATRIOT Act, an Act of the United States Congress written as a direct response to the 9/11 attacks. The ending part then analyzes the subsequent war(s) against terrorism in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq.

The second chapter delves into the economic consequences these events had on the United States and the world. It describes the most obvious economic impacts, the damages and costs of the attacks themselves, and then goes on to show the longer-lasting effects, such as the dip of financial markets, or the crisis in the airline industry.

The penultimate chapter analyzes the changes in security the 9/11 attacks brought. From the changes in domestic and border security of the United States, through international intelligence, to airport security that felt some of the biggest changes of them all.

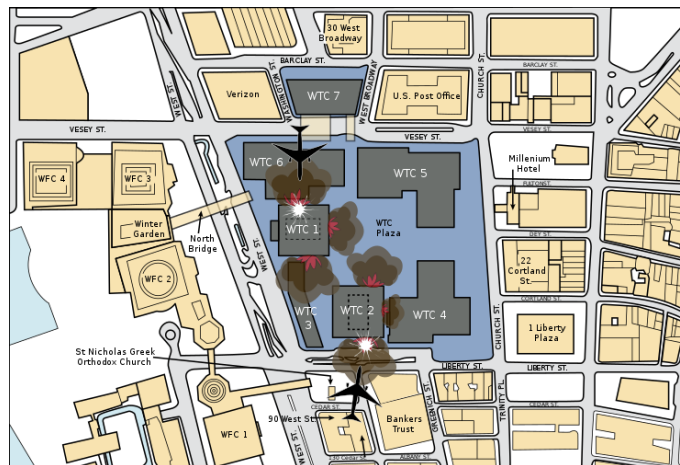
The fourth and last chapter outlines the effects the attacks had on culture and society in general in the United States. It show us the reaction of the media, popular culture, as well as the public to the attacks. It also delves into the issue of conspiracy theories surrounding the attacks.

1 The events of 9/11, the Patriot Act and The War on Terror

1.1 The terrorist attacks of 9/11

The attacks that happened on the morning of Tuesday, September 11th 2001, were terrorist attacks on the United States of America. It was discovered later that the attacks were coordinated by an Islamic terrorist group al-Qaeda. The attacks resulted in 2,977 fatalities, over 25,000 injuries, and substantial long-term health consequences, in addition to at least \$10 billion in infrastructure and property damage (Morgan, 2009, p. 222). The United States Congress (2006) reports on the events:

Four passenger airliners which had departed from airports in the northeastern United States bound for California were hijacked by 19 al-Qaeda terrorists. Two of the planes, American Airlines Flight 11 and United Airlines Flight 175, crashed into the North and South towers, respectively, of the World Trade Center complex in Lower Manhattan. Within an hour and 42 minutes, both 110-story towers collapsed. Debris and the resulting fires caused a partial or complete collapse of all other buildings in the World Trade Center complex, including the 47-story 7 World Trade Center tower, as well as significant damage to ten other large surrounding structures. A third plane, American Airlines Flight 77, was crashed into the Pentagon (the headquarters of the U.S. Department of Defense) in Arlington County, Virginia, which led to a partial collapse of the building's west side. The fourth plane, United Airlines Flight 93, was initially flown toward Washington, D.C., but crashed into a field in Stonycreek Township, Pennsylvania, after passengers thwarted the hijackers (p. 9909).



Pic. 1: The attacks on the World Trade Center

1.1.1 Casualties

The attacks resulted in a huge amount of casualties. 2,996 lives were claimed, including 265 passengers, 125 Pentagon office workers, 343 firefighters, 72 law enforcement officers, 55 military personnel and the 19 hijackers (CBC News, 2011). Another 6,000 people were injured. The deaths of adults in the attacks resulted in over 3,000 children losing a parent.

New York City	World Trade Center	2,606
	American 11	87 + 5
	United 175	60 + 5
Arlington	Pentagon	125
	American 77	59 + 5
Near Shanksville	United 93	40 + 4
Total		2,977 + 19

Fig. 1: Total deaths of the events (victims + hijackers)

The North Tower, being the first one hit, had more than double the amount of casualties than the South Tower, the numbers reaching 1,462 dead. This was mainly due to the fact that many occupants of the South Tower were able to evacuate in the 17 minutes between the crashes. Another factor might have been the intact Stairwell A in the South Tower, whereas in the North Tower, all stairwells were destroyed in the impact of Flight 11, trapping all occupants in and above the impact zone (Shyam-Sunder, et al., 2008, pp. 46-48). The failure to evacuate the South Tower fully, however, is still seen today as one of the greatest mistakes in the tragedy, as described by Phillip Purpua (2018, p. 300).

1.1.2 Damage

The events of 9/11 resulted in approximately \$10 billion in infrastructure and property damage. The debris from the targeted Twin Towers damaged the whole World Trade Center Plaza. Buildings WTC 3 and WTC 7 were destroyed immediately, WTC 4, 5 and 6 were severely damaged and had to be demolished. Neighboring buildings such as the Deutsche Bank Building, two World Financial Center building or St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church were badly damaged as well, leading to their closure and/or deconstruction (Summers & Swan, 2012, p. 75).

The Pentagon suffered severe damage in the attack. The impact of the American Airlines Flight 77 ensued fires, causing the building to collapse. Parts of the plane moved inwards for a split second and eventually broke through the three outermost of the building's five rings (Goldberg, Papadopoulos, Putney, Berlage, & Welch, 2007, p. 17)

1.1.3 Motives behind the attacks

Osama bin Laden stated his and al-Qaeda's motives behind the attacks very clearly in his *Letter to America*, writing, "Do not await anything from us but Jihad, resistance and revenge. Is it in any way rational to expect that after America has attacked us for more than half a century, that we will then leave her to live in security and peace?!" (bin Laden, 2002). Osama bin Laden already issued two fatwas¹ in the 1990s, the first published in 1996 and the second in 1998. The first, called *Declaration of War against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places*, complains of American activities in numerous countries (bin Laden, 1996). The second fatwa, *Jihad against Jews and Crusaders*, was issued by a group of five individuals, formally known as World Islamic Front. The fatwa condemns the actions of Americans and states that "to kill the Americans and their allies—civilians and military—is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it" (bin Laden, 1998). However, these two fatwas were paid little to no attention due to the fact that bin Laden was not yet known as the leader of the terrorist group al-Qaeda, nor was he a wanted man anywhere besides his native country, Saudi Arabia. Only after the 1998 United States embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania was bin Laden recognized as a potential threat and indicted by the US.

1.1.4 Domestic reactions

The 9/11 attacks resulted in immediate response from the United States and other nations around the world. There were immediate hate crimes, especially targeting the Muslim American population. SCATANA² was activated for the first time in US history, leaving hundreds of flights to be redirected to neighboring

¹ A fatwa is a nonbinding legal opinion on a point of Islamic law (sharia) given by a qualified jurist in response to a question posed by a private individual, judge or government. (Hendrickson, 2013)

² The Plan for the Security Control of Air Traffic and Air Navigation Aids (SCATANA) – an emergency plan of the United States to control air traffic and air navigation aid under emergency conditions.

countries, especially Canada. Police and rescue workers from around the country took a leave of absence from their jobs and traveled to New York City to help recover bodies from the twisted remnants of the Twin Towers. President George W. Bush addressed the nation on September 20, 2001 and described the past nine days of terror and his planned response to the attacks. The United States also enacted the Homeland Security Act of 2002, creating the Department of Homeland Security, while also passing the USA PATRIOT Act (more on this in Chapter 1.2) to help detect and prosecute terrorism and other related crimes (United States Department of Justice, 2010). The National Security Agency (NSA) was also given much broader powers, allowing them for example to survey telecommunications without a warrant, which was widely criticized. The U.S. set up the Guantanamo Bay detention camp to hold inmates they defined as "illegal enemy combatants".

Shortly after the attacks, numerous reports of hate crimes against Muslims and South Asians came from all around the US, especially New York. There were reports of attacks on mosques and other religious buildings and assaults on people. An academic study found that people perceived to be Middle Eastern were as likely to be victims of hate crimes as followers of Islam during this time. The study also found a similar increase in hate crimes against people who may have been perceived as Muslims, Arabs, and others thought to be of Middle Eastern origin (Ball State University, 2003).

1.1.5 International reactions

The attacks were immediately denounced by governments and media worldwide and many nations offered solidarity and support, both spiritual and material, to the United States government. Even leaders of most Middle Eastern countries joined in the denouncement and solidarity expressions, with the notable exception of Iraq. British Prime Minister Tony Blair said Britain stood "shoulder to shoulder" with the United States (BBC, 2001) and, subsequently, tried to rally the world for military action.

1.1.6 Conclusion

It is safe to say that most people know what the September 11 attacks were – when it happened, where, and how and also that it was one of the costliest

events in the modern times, both in terms of lives and money/infrastructure. Far less people know what stood behind the attacks, why it all happened. That American activities in the Middle East and around the world in general during the second half of the 20th century led to unprecedented anger and bitterness in the people of those countries, which in turn later led to what we now know as “9/11”. Could it all have gone differently? Maybe, but that is a topic for another paper.

1.2 The USA PATRIOT Act

The USA PATRIOT Act (commonly known as the Patriot Act) is an Act of the United States Congress that was signed into law by U.S. President George W. Bush on October 26, 2001. USA PATRIOT is a backronym that stands for Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (The United States Department of Justice, 2001). It was written by the US government in response to the 9/11 attacks in an effort to tighten the US security.

1.2.1 Title I: Enhancing Domestic Security Against Terrorism

The first title of the USA PATRIOT Act deals with the issue of domestic security services, such as the FBI or the NSA. It mainly increased funding for several domestic security agencies and organizations and authorized the military to provide assistance in severe terrorism situations, such as WMD (weapons of mass destruction) threats. The bill, surprisingly enough, also deals with the discrimination and persecution against Arab and Muslim Americans that appeared soon after 2001 (U.S. Congress, 2001).

1.2.2 Title II: Enhanced Surveillance Procedures

Title II contains some of the most controversial parts of the Patriot Act, as it deals with surveillance and security agencies authority the most. It amended the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) and the Electronic Communications Privacy Act (ECPA) to enable far better options of surveillance of suspected terrorists and agents of a foreign power. Title II also altered the scope of wiretapping and electronic surveillance, allowing agencies to not only obtain sensitive information with nothing but warrants from any judge, but to store them as well. Lastly, the title enabled the so-called “sneak and peak” warrants, which meant the FBI could search without prior notification, roving wiretaps, and

the ability of FBI to gain access to any book, records, papers, documents, or other items (U.S. Congress, 2001). More on Surveillance after September 11 in Chapter 3.4.

1.2.3 Title III: International Money Laundering Abatement and Financial Anti-Terrorism Act of 2001

Title III was separated into 3 subtitles, but as a whole, it was intended to provide detection, prosecution, and prevention against international money laundering, which is easily used to finance terrorism.

Subtitle one strengthens banking rules against money laundering. It establishes many rules and procedures to limit banks and other similar institutions from aiding money launderers. The U.S. Department of Treasury was given full authority over this, for example being able to hold all assets of a given subject if the subject was a suspect in a money laundering case, or stop a financial company or bank merger if one of the subjects had a bad reputation in preventing money laundering. And if the restrictions on domestic banking institutions seem harsh, foreign institutions were restricted even more. The definition of money laundering was also expanded to provide better grounds for a criminal investigation (U.S. Congress, 2001).

The second subtitle dealt with the Bank Security Act (BSA). Designated BSA officers were now obliged to report any suspicious activity to U.S. security and intelligence agencies for them to investigate. It was also prohibited to structure transactions in a way that it would be possible to evade BSA completely. Civil and criminal penalties for money laundering were also significantly increased (U.S. Congress, 2001).

The third subtitle dealt with currencies and currency crimes. In this act, any attempt to evade currency reporting by concealing more than \$10 000 on a person, in a luggage, or in merchandise, was considered a criminal offense with up to 5 years of imprisonment. This was meant to stop money laundering through bulk currency movements (U.S. Congress, 2001).

1.2.4 Title IV: Protecting the Border

The fourth title of the Patriot Act amended the rights of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The INS and the U.S. State Department were

given full authority to require any information about an individual attempting to enter U.S. soil, such as criminal background information, etc. The INS was also able to deny entry to the United States to any alien and his family affiliated with a foreign organization related to terrorism. More about U.S. border security after September 11 in chapter 3.2 (U.S. Congress, 2001).

1.2.5 Title V: Removing Obstacles to Investigating Terrorism

Title V was part of the attempt to bridge the communication gap between security services and federal law enforcement agencies. It also greatly extended U.S. Secret Services' jurisdiction and gave the U.S. Attorney General the right to pay rewards related to assistance in combating terrorism (U.S. Congress, 2001).

The most controversial part of Title V was, however, the introduction of National Security Letters (NSLs). The NSLs basically allowed the FBI to issue letters to individuals or organizations, which listed all the required digital information to be submitted to the FBI without delay. These letters also contained a gag provision that prevented the recipient to ever disclose that this letter had been issued, even in court. This part was later found as unconstitutional by the United States Court (U.S. Congress, 2001) (*Nicholas Merrill v. Loretta E. Lynch*, 2015).

1.2.6 Titles VI and VII

Title VI made changes to the funding and management of the U.S. Victims of Crime Fund, enabling much faster to individuals and families affected by terrorism. The single purpose of Title VII was to increase the ability of U.S. law enforcement to counter terrorist activity crossing jurisdictional boundaries (U.S. Congress, 2001).

1.2.7 Title VIII: Strengthening the Criminal Laws Against Terrorism

The eight title of the Patriot Act altered the definition of terrorism (domestic terrorism, cyber terrorism, etc.) and the rules and ways to deal with it. It created new measures to combat terrorism and included new penalties for activities related to terrorism and strengthened already existing penalties (U.S. Congress, 2001).

1.2.8 Title IX: Improved Intelligence

The penultimate title amends the National Security Act. It was made mandatory for any law enforcement or federal agencies to provide any intelligence to the Director of Central Intelligence with the exception of intelligence critical to an ongoing investigation. It also introduced other measures and methods to promote better communication between intelligence agencies and federal law and security enforcement agencies and better intelligence sharing (U.S. Congress, 2001). More on intelligence and intelligence agencies after 9/11 in Chapter 3.1.

1.2.9 Controversy and Criticism

The Patriot Act met with a lot of controversy, its opposers mainly criticizing the blank check given to the US Security services in matters of surveillance and investigation, as FBI and/or other institutions and agencies could, for example, intercept private communications, track via GPS technology, or search your home without receiving a proper warrant beforehand. The Electronic Privacy Information Center criticized the Patriot Act as unconstitutional because it could enable monitoring of private communications of law-abiding US citizens without any kind of control mechanism (2005). There were also many controversial cases, such as the case of Susan Lindauer³ or United States v. Antoine Jones⁴.

Despite its controversy, the Patriot Act was reauthorized by three bills throughout its existence. But on March 15, 2020, the bill expired after almost two decades of extensions and reauthorizations, and as of 2021, the Patriot Act remains expired.

1.2.10 Conclusion

The USA PATRIOT Act was an Act of the United States Congress like none before or after. We could argue that it just rode on the wave of emotions after the 9/11 attacks, being passed in late October. What we know for sure is that it introduced unprecedented changes and reconstructions to almost all aspects of

³ Susan Lindauer is a former Congressional staffer who was charged under the Patriot Act with „acting as an unregistered agent of a foreign government“, although she was, in fact, a CIA agent-link between the US and Iraqi governments.

⁴ Antoine Jones was a nightclub owner charged with drug trafficking. His car was tracked with a GPS device, which violated the warrant and sent the case to the Supreme Court in the end (Anderson & Marimow, 2013).

government and life in the United States, some even reaching worldwide. It is an impact of 9/11 which can be felt even today, although not nearly in the same magnitude as 15 years ago.

1.3 The War on Terror (2001-2011)

The Global War on Terrorism, also known as The War on Terror, was launched as an international military campaign after the September 11 attacks. The term, although it refers to a series of smaller conflicts, rather than a single, big, all-out war, was first used by George W. Bush in his address to the Congress and nation on September 20, 2001, nine days after the attacks (CNN, 2001). It was then adopted as a general, non-official name for any campaign and conflict connected to radical, terrorist groups – mainly Sunni Islamic fundamentalist groups, such as Al-Qaeda, Taliban, or the Islamic State.

Criticism followed soon after the start of the first campaign, the invasion of Afghanistan. Critics claimed that the term “war” was misused and that terror, not being an identifiable enemy, cannot be countered by brute force. Later, it was speculated that the wars itself were more about political, economic, and military objectives, rather than combating terrorism (Richissin, 2004).

Although Barack Obama said in May 2014, that The War on Terror was over, it is still widely speculated that the war is going on even today. The rise of the Islamic State in the second half of 2010s only proves this point, with NATO forces still largely present in the states of Afghanistan and Iraq (Makarechi, 2014).

1.3.1 The Wars in Afghanistan and Pakistan

Shortly after the 9/11 attacks, US president George W. Bush delivered an ultimatum to the Taliban government of Afghanistan to turn over Osama bin Laden and other Al-Qaeda leaders (CNN, 2001). The Taliban wanted evidence, connecting the Al-Qaeda to the attacks, but none was provided by the United States government.

But, in October 2001, US and other NATO forces launched an invasion of Afghanistan. The invasion was swift, with the capital city Kabul falling in November and the remaining Taliban and Al-Qaeda forces retreating into

mountains in the eastern region of Afghanistan. Coalition forces, in an attempt to end the conflict as quickly as possible, launched an offensive in the region, but met with little to no success, with Osama bin Laden and many Al-Qaeda combatants fleeing to Pakistan (Shane, 2009). The following 12 years saw an insurgent-style conflict between NATO and the remaining Taliban and Al-Qaeda forces, which resulted in a security agreement between Afghanistan and the United States, allowing US, NATO, and ISAF (Operation Resolute Support)⁵ forces to stay in Afghanistan at least until 2024 for security reasons. The coalition forces are still present in Afghanistan today, with Operation Resolute Support (NATO) and Operation Freedom's Sentinel (United States) being still in effect.

1.3.2 Operation Iraqi Freedom

The Iraq War began in March 2003 after Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq repeatedly violated the post-Operation Desert Fox agreements. The coalition forces swept through Iraq's defenses quickly and by April 2003, the capital city of Baghdad fell, and Hussein's regime fell apart (Ehrenberg, McSherry, Sánchez, & Sayej, 2010).

The victory was soon followed by a big rise in insurgency, even after the US forces captured Saddam Hussein in December 2003. The rebel forces, supported by Al-Qaeda, reached their peak between 2004 and 2007, which led to a huge increase in US and NATO forces presence in Iraq and, subsequently, a great reduction in insurgent activities. In 2010, US forces managed to kill two Al-Qaeda leaders in Iraq, striking a "potentially devastating blow" to the Iraqi rebel groups, according to Vice President Joe Biden (BBC News, 2010). This was followed by the decision to withdraw all US troops from Iraq, which was completed by December 2011.

⁵ A NATO-led force created in 2001 to assist the new post-Taliban Afghan government with training its own troops, securing unstable regions etc. It was completed and followed by Operation Resolute Support in 2014.

1.3.3 Casualties and costs

There is no widely agreed figure for the number of people killed in the conflicts in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq. A study from 2018 by the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs of the Brown University puts the total numbers as follows:

	Afghanist	Pakistan	Iraq	Total
US Military	2,401	-	4,550	6,951
US DOD⁶ Civilian Casualties	6	-	15	21
US Contractors	3,937	90	3,793	7,820
National Military and Police	58,596	8,832	41,726	109,154
Other Allied Troops	1,141	-	323	1,464
Civilians	38,480	23,372	182,272-204,575	244,124-266,427
Opposition Fighters	42,100	32,490	34,806-39,881	109,396-114,471
Journalists/Media Workers	54	63	245	362
Humanitarian/NGO workers	409	95	62	566
TOTAL (rounded to nearest 1,000)	147,000	65,000	268,000-295,000	480,000-507,000

Fig. 2: Total casualties of the wars in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq. (Crawford, 2018)

The Watson Institute also puts the total costs of the wars between 2001 and 2011 at around 2,662.1–3,057.3 billion USD (The Watson Institute of International and Public Affairs, 2011).

1.3.4 Conclusion

The global War on Terror is a still-ongoing conflict, one that has never been seen before, as it is a war against an indefinite enemy that has no shape and usually no concrete face. The conflicts that started it all, the wars in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq, were conflicts that were born from anger and need for revenge. The casualties were many and even though some consider the war to be won now, a more realistic view is that the war is still very much raging and costing world governments enormous sums of money and infrastructure every year.

⁶ United States Department of Defense

2 Influence of 9/11 on the U.S. and other World Economies

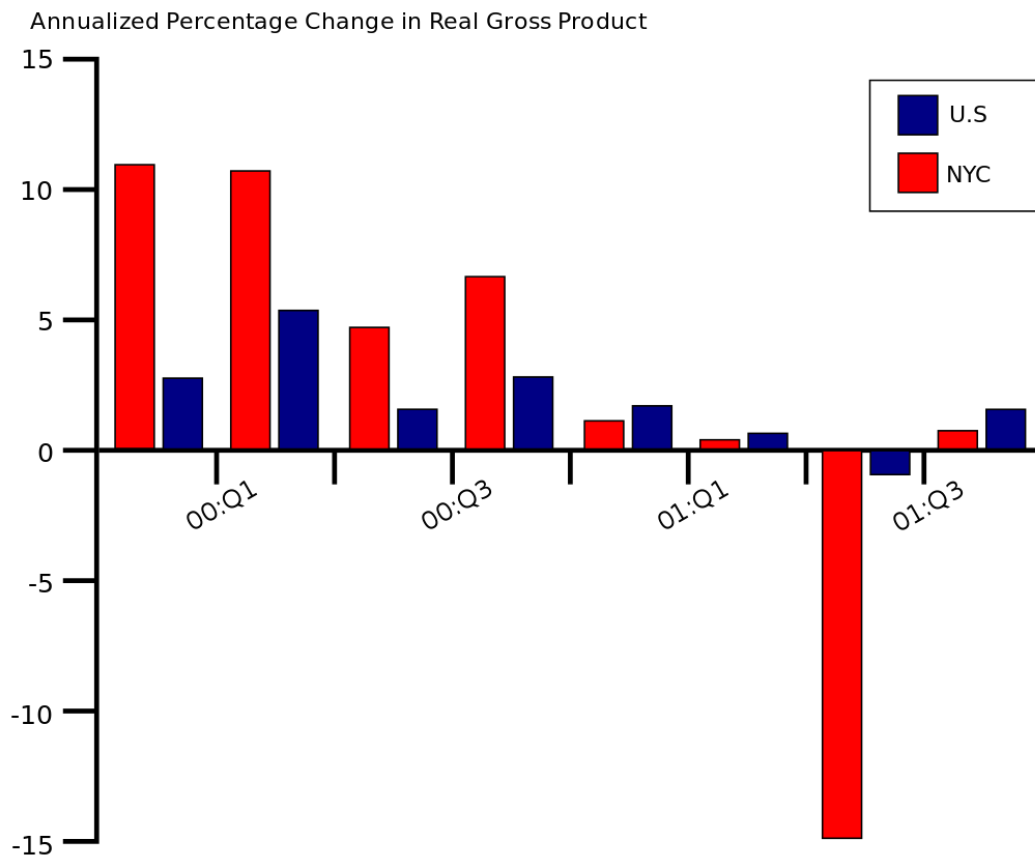
2.1 Economic Impact of the 9/11 Attacks

Terrorism has been described to have four main effects on economy. First, the capital stock of the country is affected because of the terrorist activities. Second, the threat of a terrorist attack induces a high level of fear and uncertainty in the population of the given nation. Third, terrorist attacks and activities promote a rise in counterterrorism and bigger spending on security. And fourth, terrorism affects many specific industries, and not only the ones directly targeted by the terrorist activities. Tourism is, arguably, the most affected in this case (Abadie & Gardeazabal, 2008).

The 2001 attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were no different. Right after the attacks, a shockwave resonated through stock markets all over the world, causing stocks to drop sharply. The damages amounted to around \$10 billion, and the attacks also caused \$40 billion insurance losses (Makinen, 2002).

2.1.1 New York City

Areas and cities struck by terrorism usually experience a typical scenario of economic downfall. First, there are the immediate damages of the terrorist act, which result in huge sums of money being spent on clean-up and repairs. Second, the terrorist attacks usually result in a stagnant economy, closed businesses, and a generally lower economic activity. This then leads to a significantly reduced tax revenue for the local government. “According to estimates by the New York City Comptroller, the 4-year gross city product (GCP) loss from the 9/11 attacks... is \$82.8-\$94.8 billion.” Of that total loss, \$27.3 billion is for the last 3 months of 2001 and all of 2002” (Makinen, 2002).



Pic. 2: NYC's economic growth shocked after 9/11. Data from: National Income and Product Accounts

The NYC Comptroller, William C. Johnson Jr., also estimated that the resulting tax revenue losses in 2002 and 2003 would amount to \$950 million. But, in 2002, the United States Government Accountability Office came with completely different numbers – \$1.6 billion in 2002 and an astronomical \$4.2 billion in 2003 lost in tax revenue. Why there is such a big difference between the two estimates is unknown, some experts saying that Johnson's estimate was a much rougher one (made in October 2001), whereas the GAO's one is much more accurate, as it came out during 2002 and there were some concrete numbers already involved (Makinen, 2002).

The rescue plan for the NYC economy came very soon after the attacks and involved three phases.

Phase one was the biggest one, launched on September 19, 2001, and involving the creation of the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Recovery from and Response to Terrorist Attacks on the United States by U.S. Congress and a \$40 billion fund to be used for such emergencies. New York City immediately withdrew \$11.2 billion from the fund and directed the money to the

response and recovery efforts. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) controlled \$6.35 billion, some of which was used for the cleanup operations on the WTC site. The rest has been and is currently being allocated to affected individuals and families. A program called Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) was created by the Housing and Urban Development organization and was allocated \$2.7 billion, which was mainly used to provide loans with zero or minimal interest rates to affected businesses and other operations that needed a monetary injection. The rest of the money was allocated to many different areas that needed an emergency budget raise, such as transportation, sanitation, repairs, or security (Makinen, 2002).

Phase two was launched in March 2002 and involved around \$5.5 billion. It was meant as more of a long-term solution to the steep decline of NYC's economy. It centered around specific provisions for New York City, such as:

- *An expansion of the Work Opportunity Tax Credit for certain employers (mainly Lower Manhattan based) in NYC - \$631 million.*
- *A 30 % bonus depreciation of property placed in service in the Liberty Zone - \$1.6 billion.*
- *Expanded authority of New York City to issue up to \$8 billion of tax-exempt private-activity bonds and to advance refund outstanding bonds - \$2.2 billion.*
- *Other business tax provisions designed to encourage new capital investments in New York City - \$950 million* (Makinen, 2002, pp. 45-46).

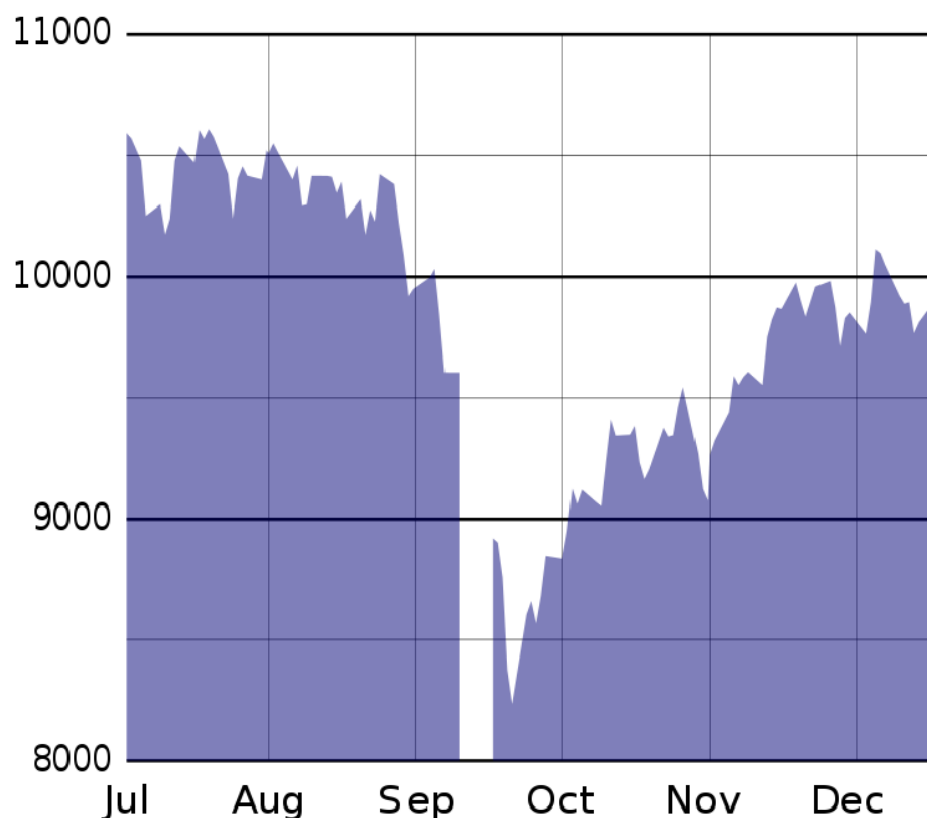
Phase three is a mix of supplemental aid for affected individuals and businesses and for repairs of damaged infrastructure. It was launched in August 2002 and involved another \$5.5 billion (Makinen, 2002).

2.1.2 Financial Markets

Financial markets were one of the first places that reflected what was happening. On Tuesday, the day of the attacks, the New York Stock Exchange did not open right after the first plane crashed into the World Trade Center and was closed until further notice after the second crash. The NASDAQ (National

Association of Securities Dealers Automated Quotations) Stock Market also remained closed and canceled any trading operations. Following these actions, other stock markets around the world, such as The London Stock Exchange, or the German Deutsche Börse, closed as well, fearing follow-up terrorist attacks. The New York Stock Exchange remained closed for 6 days, experiencing such prolonged closure only for the third time in its history, the first two being during World War I and in 1933, during the Great Depression (Makinen, 2002).

Prices of virtually all commodities spiked upwards. Gold even went from \$215.50 to \$287 an ounce. Oil, and, subsequently, gas prices, went up as well, whereas in currency trading United States dollar spiraled down against other major world currencies (Makinen, 2002).



Pic. 3: The DJIA⁷ falling sharply during the initial crisis of September 2001.

2.1.3 Airline Industry

The airline industry was already in deep waters before 9/11, but brighter times seemed to be emerging on the horizon. The attacks distributed the final

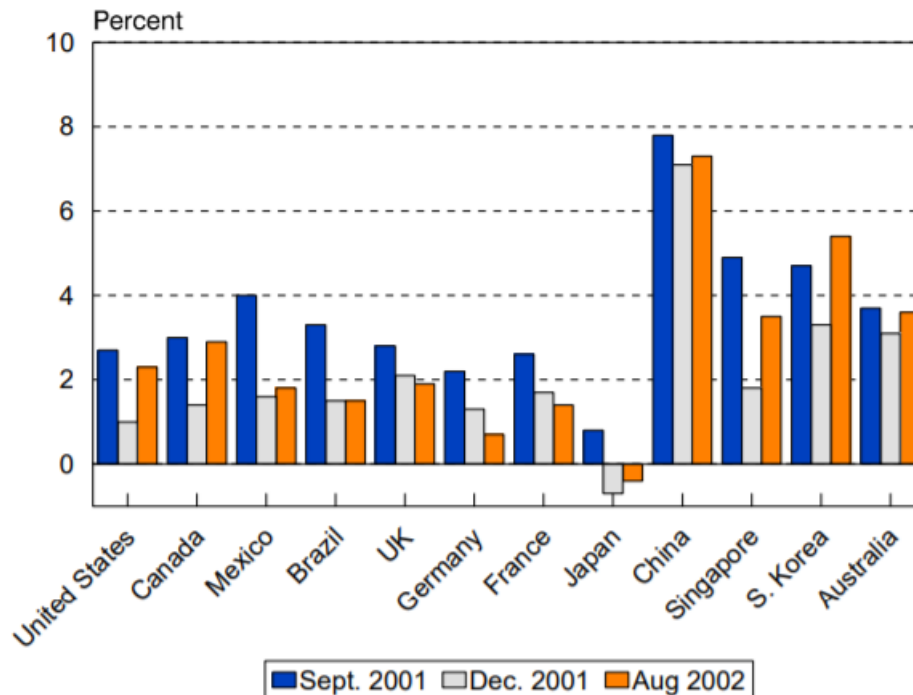
⁷ The Dow Jones Industrial Average is one of the world's most watched and most cited stock indices, containing America's 30 biggest companies (Hall, 2021).

blow, with the airline industry being one of the most affected. Flights were completely grounded for several days and airlines had to refund tickets, resulting in a \$1.4 billion loss in revenue during the four days of lockdown, according to the Air Transport Association. And even after airlines were given the green light to resume operations, the public was generally unwilling to even set sights on a passenger-jet (Zuckerman, 2001).

The Congress was quick to respond with a \$15 billion aid fund. \$5 billion was given as an immediate emergency injection, \$10 billion was reserved for loan guarantees. But even with this assistance, many airlines and airplane manufacturers stood on the brink of bankruptcy, with other, such as Midway Airlines, shutting down operations soon after September 11. Companies had to lay off employees, resulting in a significant raise in unemployment rates. This trend continued during 2002 and somewhat in 2003, after which the situation began to stabilize (Clark, McGibany, & Myers, 2009).

2.1.4 World Economies

After a strong 2000 with an annual economic growth of 4 %, 2001 came with a hint of a coming recession, the growth reaching only 1.4 % by September. The weakened international economy was not left without notice and world governments pumped money into its markets to stimulate action, halting the recession at least a little bit. But in the aftermath of September 11, all economic forecasts turned to a much more pessimistic view of the rest of 2001. As we can clearly see in the graph in Picture 4, the forecast for economic growth dropped dramatically in the last quarter of 2001 (using 12 representative countries as an example). The forecasts in August 2002 are more optimistic, however, due to the real numbers from the first half of 2002 being much better than what was expected, with the notable exception of European countries that were much more vulnerable to the turbulent movements in the stock markets of 2001 and 2002.



Pic. 4: 9/11 and the Forecasts for Economic Growth in Selected Countries. (Makinen, 2002)

Even though most of the effects 9/11 had on economies worldwide were proven to be temporary and quickly solved, some effects could be felt during the whole first decade, while some of them can be felt even today. Perhaps the most obvious and easily recognized one is the increased need for security. Institutions and citizens worldwide now call for stricter security measures to feel safe, and the governments provide. But this, in turn, costs world governments enormous amounts of money. For example, the Department of Homeland Security's 2021 budget has been set at \$149 billion (U.S. Congress, 2021). Another longer-term effect was the increased border security that limited and slowed goods and workforce that travelled around the world, although this lasted mainly through the first decade and was gradually softened during the 2010s (Makinen, 2002).

2.1.5 Conclusion

The damages resulting from the terrorist attacks of September 11 were catastrophic, but it did not end at that. This chapter analyzed other, perhaps less known economic impacts this act of terrorism had on the world. From the losses in tax revenue, through the impact on financial markets and stock trading, to the devastating effect on airline industry with many companies left out of business and many people left unemployed, 9/11 was an event that had economic consequences we can still feel even today.

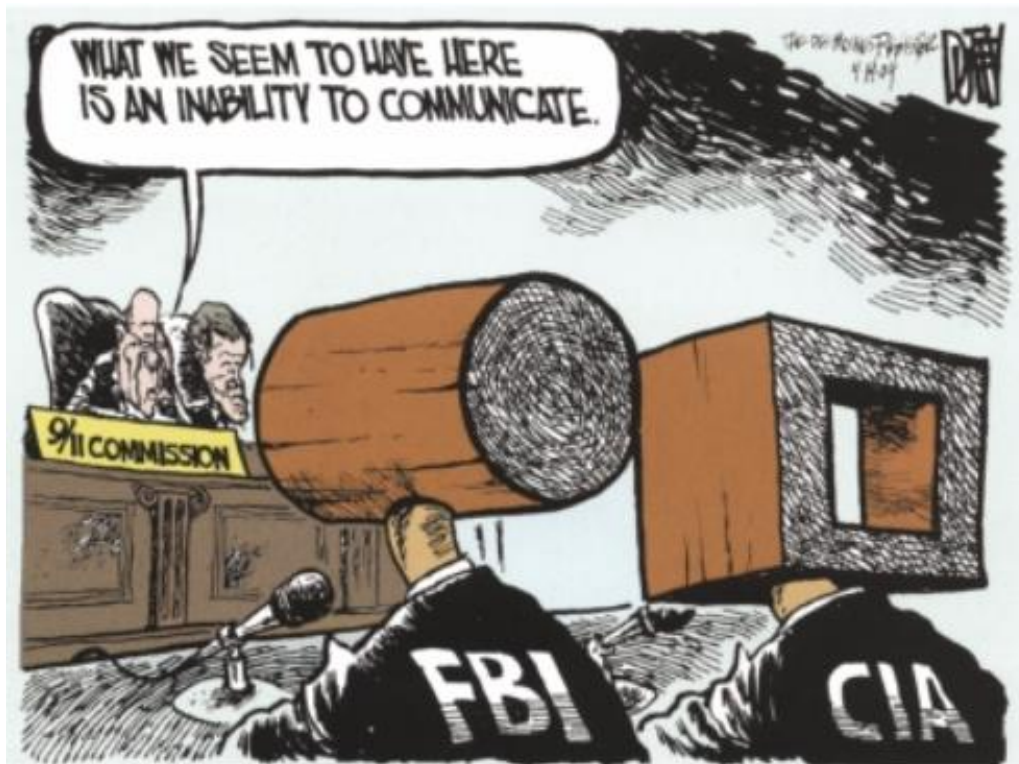
3 Domestic Security, International Security, and Intelligence After September 11

In the months and years after September 11, many people believed that the attacks on the World Trade Center were just a taste of what was about to come in raining down on them. Many were afraid that such attacks would become commonplace in the future. We now know that this was not the case, even though 107 people have died in terrorist attacks (such as the Pulse Nightclub shooting in Orlando in 2016) since 2001. The people of the United States can surely be grateful to the relentless work of all the security agencies that operate in the U.S. as well as internationally. All the security measures put in place after 9/11 seem to have discouraged any plots by foreign agents on American soil. But this has not come without its price. The infamous Patriot Act was enacted just a month and a half after September 11 and altered the security measures of the United States brutally. Congress gave the FBI and NSA a blank check to collect information and data and share it with each other. The agencies could suddenly eavesdrop on American phone calls, text messages, emails, or other forms of communication. Agents could also search one's internet history, library records, or even home with little judicial oversight (Roos, 2020).

The Patriot Act aside, the United States has made many notable steps on the homeland security agenda since 9/11, such as establishing new security-related institutions like the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the Homeland Security Council (HSC), the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC), or the Transportation Security Administration (TSA). The government has devoted huge amounts of resources to improved border security, aviation and airport security, countering of biological and nuclear threats, and intelligence and surveillance. Many critics say this whole new security infrastructure is just a mere facade and that it is a house of cards that will crumble and fall when first tested. Only time can tell whether that is the case or not (Smith & Sanderson, 2006).

3.1 U.S. Domestic Security and Intelligence After 9/11

3.1.1 Department of Homeland Security



Pic. 5: The lack of communication between U.S. security agencies as viewed by the 9/11 Commission, (Treverton, 2011)

The inability of all the U.S. security agencies to communicate, mainly the FBI and the CIA, was one of the things that was really blamed for the September 11 attacks. Lack of coordination and information sharing was a real issue that was discovered and pressure from Congress arose to bridge the gap between the various security agencies. The initial approach of Bush's administration was to establish two new White house institutions that were supposed to "cover it all". The Homeland Security Council (HSC) and the Office of Homeland Security were created but lacked almost any administrative power and were thus very limited in their quest to reorganize and unite United States security agencies under one banner. It took the administration more than a year, despite pressure from the government, to reform the Office of Homeland Security into the Department of Homeland Security as we know it today. The DHS was supposed to rally and consolidate all homeland security matters under one banner and provide the necessary management infrastructure. But even after years of existence, the Department was still short on funding and overwhelmed with

bureaucracy and paperwork, which made its task really difficult. As a result of this, the DHS was unable to focus on the pressing matters of homeland security. One notable exception of the initial incapability of the DHS was the creation of the Homeland Security Operations Center (HSOC), which was supposed to coordinate security systems in a state of emergency in case of a terrorist attack, and Homeland Security Advisory System (HSAS), which was meant to provide early warning to the security agencies, as well as the public, through color-coded signals. Although the two organization's functionality and ability to quickly respond to threats has been questioned several times throughout their existence, May 2005 Washington⁸ incident being a great example, the organizations and the color-coded system of warning are still in operation and being used to this day (Smith & Sanderson, 2006).

3.1.2 Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act

The Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act (IRTPA) was an Act of Congress introduced by Senator Susan M. Collins. It played a pivotal role in the restructuring of U.S. federal terrorism laws. It established the position of Director of National Intelligence (DNI) and the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC). The establishment of the DNI came from a general call for an independent and powerful CEO for a joint intelligence agencies organization, but, in the end, the DNI still had to share authority with the secretary of defense, the attorney general, and the director of the FBI (Smith & Sanderson, 2006).

3.1.3 National Counterterrorism Center

After it was recognized that the Department of Homeland Security is not really accomplishing its given task, the administration created a new stand-alone organization, focused on one task and one task only – combating terrorism on U.S. soil. This organization was named Terrorist Threat Integration Center (TTIC) and was later renamed to National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC). The NCTC provided where the DHS had previously failed, and the gap between the FBI, CIA, and other intelligence agencies was finally somewhat bridged. It also created the Terrorist Identities Datamart, a database containing over half a million names,

⁸ In May 2005, a small private plane flew into restricted airspace around the U.S. Capitol. No public warning was issued, nor was the mayor of Washington, D.C., or its security officials, informed (Smith & Sanderson, 2006).

that includes a no-fly list – a list of people that are not allowed to fly into or over the United States at all or after secondary screening by the security agencies. The database is now being widely used and shared between the FBI, CIA, or NSA (Smith & Sanderson, 2006) (Treverton, 2011).

So, do all these organizations, agencies, and security measures mean that United States citizens are perfectly safe now? That is something one cannot say with certainty. Terrorism these days is very different from terrorism in the first decade of the 2000s and U.S. homeland security had to adapt. These days, there is an even bigger need for information processing and sharing, with the Internet being the biggest source of data and information ever created. Security agencies now how to scan, analyze, process, and share huge amounts of information on a daily basis to detect the threat in time. Is the security apparatus of DHS, NCTC, FBI, CIA, NSA, etc., prepared to deal with what might or might not come in the future? Only time can tell.

3.2 U.S. Border Security After September 11

Before September 11, there was no real border screening in the way we know it today and no security agency was really tasked with systematic analysis of terrorist travel strategies. And that was highly criticized by the 9/11 Commission as a negligence on the part of United States security. After all, terrorist need a way to get into the country, they must travel to meet, scan their targets, prepare plans, etc. During this time, they are visible, vulnerable, they must resurface, and it is the best time to discover them and contain them before they even have the chance to do any harm. In its report on border security, the 9/11 Commission states that:

We found that as many as 15 of the 19 hijackers were potentially vulnerable to interception by border authorities. Analyzing their characteristic travel documents and travel patterns could have allowed authorities to intercept 4 to 15 hijackers and more effective use of information available in U.S. government databases could have identified up to 3 hijackers (The U.S. 9/11 Commission, 2004).

The 9/11 Commission concluded that two systematic border security errors largely contributed to the September 11 attacks – a lack of developed

counterterrorism measures as a part of border security and a failure in the immigration system. Both these issues were immediately pressed to be countered and removed. Soon after, all border security agencies were merged under direct command of the new Department of Homeland Security, which was supposed to come up with a solution to both problems found by the Commission, which clearly stated that:

The Department of Homeland Security, properly supported by Congress, should complete, as quickly as possible, a biometric entry-exit screening system, including a single system for speeding qualified travelers.

But, as has already been mentioned, the DHS was not at all successful in the beginning of its existence and strong security measures on U.S. borders came into existence long overdue (The U.S. 9/11 Commission, 2004).

With the beginning of the attempts to counter the issues of border security began the never-ending race of who develops a better system or a way to counter the system first. Passports can be forged; visa can be falsified. But you cannot forge your fingerprints, your iris, your face, or other biological information, at least to some extent. It was decided that information like this can be and will be screened wherever it is possible – ticket counters, airport gates and exits, government institutions and facilities – and will be used to identify and contain threats as quickly as possible. It was also clearly decided what information an individual is supposed to present when transiting between countries, when, and in what form (The U.S. 9/11 Commission, 2004).

Seeing the bigger picture, 9/11 was the starter of today's border security measures, such as biometric passports, facial recognition at border checkpoints, or fingerprint scanning and U.S. Customs and Border Protection checkpoints.

3.3 Air Travel and Airport Security after 9/11

3.3.1 Airport Security Before September 11

One of the things that disturbed government officials and ordinary Americans the most was the fact that 19 al-Qaeda soldiers were able to board a commercial aircraft, their weapons with them, and then even seize the cockpit and execute their plan. Before 9/11, no one had ever thought about anything

concerning airport security. No one viewed commercial airplanes as a potential deadly and destructive weapon in the hands of a mad man. Yes, there was some mild screening, airports had their own security departments, but these were supposed to deal with occasional trouble like drunk people wandering around, or fights between customers. None of the security departments was tasked with strict screening and checking of passengers before they even had the chance to arrive at their gate. People did not have to have a valid ticket to be able to wander around airport grounds, nor did they have to present their IDs before boarding their plane. Airport security just was not a priority, in spite of several high-profile hijackings that had happened before, such as the 1988 PanAm Flight 103 bombing (Roos, 2020).

After the 9/11 attacks, all easily exploitable holes in airport security were quickly found and sealed almost airtight. The first few months and years were a little hectic, mainly due to the fact that no standardized procedures and equipment were known at the time and every state (even every airport in some cases) had its own playbook for handling airport security. Nowadays, we all know what the process of flying from one country to another involves – multiple checkpoints, showing your ID countless times, being screen or even frisked, etc. (Roos, 2020)

3.3.2 Transportation Security Administration

The Transportation Security Administration (TSA) was created as a direct response to the September 11 attacks. It is an agency that belongs under the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and has full authority over the security of public travel in the United States. The creation of TSA was approved by U.S. Congress in November 2001 in an effort to create the ultimate aviation security system that would encompass virtually everything concerning air travel. Of course, the agenda of the Transportation Security Administration, as its name suggest, is all public transportation, not just aviation, but as commercial air travel is supposed to be one of the biggest potential terrorist targets, it is its main concern. Soon after its creation, the TSA launched one of the biggest staffing projects since World War II, filling 55 000 screening jobs in just 10 months (Roos, 2020).

Nowadays, the Transportation Security Administration operates with a yearly budget of roughly \$7.5-\$8.0 billion, which comes partly from the criticized

passenger fee known as the September 11 Security Fee that charges every trip coming to or originating from the us \$5.60, not exceeding \$11.20 for a round-trip. In 2020, this passenger fee totaled around \$2.5 billion, around a third of TSA's budget (Gayden, 2019).

The most common TSA employees are Transportation Security Officers (TSOs), whose main task is to provide necessary security and protection for air travelers, airports, and aircrafts. Their jobs include operating various screening equipment, performing screening and searches (which includes physical, personal searches), and controlling terminal entry and exits. TS Officers have to complete a thorough training which includes for example a Behavior Detection Program meant to teach them to recognize suspicious and potentially dangerous behavior (Gayden, 2019).

3.3.3 Airport Screening

Even though private firms focused on airport security still exist and are being used at some airports, the vast majority of airports in the United States nowadays use federal security in the form of TSA's TS Officers (Gayden, 2019).

The standard procedures and documents required for the passenger to board a commercial airplane include (Gayden, 2019):

- Identification requirements (REAL ID) – a standardized list of acceptable IDs which can be presented at checkpoints to verify a passenger's identity.
- Pat-downs (frisking).
- Full-body scanning – screening passengers with backscatter X-ray scanners or millimeter wave scanners.
- Reverse screening – screening a passenger not only before departure, but also upon arrival at destination.

Common equipment used by the TSA at airports includes for example:

- X-rays – used to get a look inside baggage.
- Walk-through metal detectors (WTMDs) – the classic “mag” used to detect metal.

- Advanced imaging technology (AITs) – more advanced than the WTMDs, these walk-through scanners are designed to detect both metal and non-metal threats and produce full-body images.
- Hand-held metal detectors.
- Explosives Detection Systems (EDSs) – used to scan large numbers of checked baggage and automatically trigger an alarm if an item exhibits the physical characteristics of an explosive device.

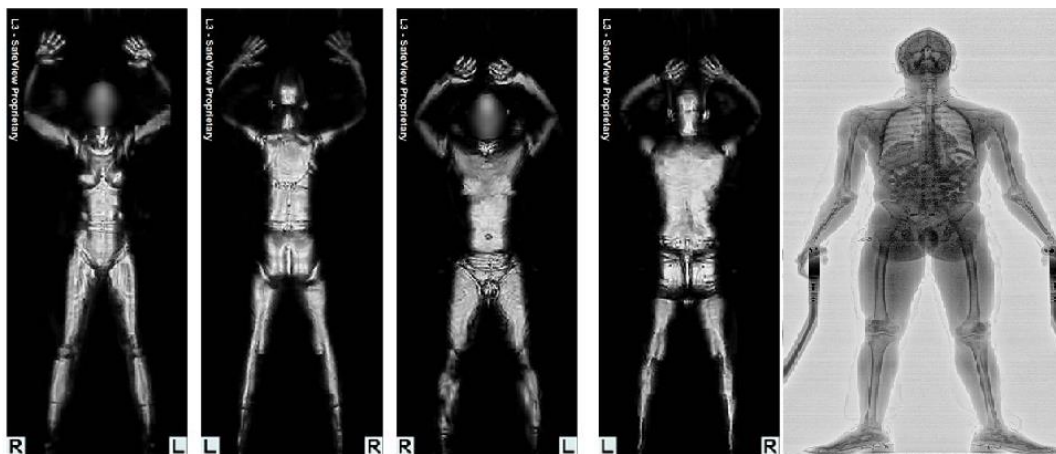
3.3.4 Effectiveness of Screening Procedures and Criticism

The Department of Homeland Security and TSA's Office of Investigations carries out routine undercover investigations to test the effectiveness of airport security measures and screening procedures. Numerous reports arose from these tests, including the report on Newark Liberty International Airport from 2006 which found that 20 out of 22 undercover security tests were failed, allowing numerous fake guns and bombs on board, or a report from 2015 with the result of 95 % of the tests failed by TSA officers. In December 2010, a man was able to carry a forgotten gun in his carry-on through the whole process of airport screening without anyone noticing, which caused a huge outrage and the biggest debate about TSA to date. Many critics argue that with failure rates like this, there is absolutely no need for TSA's existence and that the TSA is only a big waste of government money. Some experts also argue that the ineffective TSA's measures only foster a false sense of security in the public, which can, ironically, increase the danger of a tragic terroristic attack happening. On the other hand, supporters of TSA and its security measures counter with facts – no terrorist attack the magnitude of 9/11 has been reported since (Elias, 2010).

3.3.5 Full Body Scanners – Health Issues, and Controversy

A full body scanner is a security screening device that detects objects on or inside a person without the need to physically remove clothes or make direct physical contact with a person. Unlike common metal detectors, full body scanners can detect any object, even a non-metallic one, even inside a person's body (swallowed or hidden inside a cavity). Two main technologies are in use these days:

- X-ray scanners, where we then differentiate between backscatter X-ray scanners and penetrating (transmission) X-ray scanners. Both technologies are somewhat similar, using low doses of X-ray or gamma radiations to screen a human body and detect any objects not common for human biology, which could represent potential contraband.
- Millimeter wave scanners, which use non-ionizing electromagnetic radiation in the frequency of 30-300 GHz, a frequency commonly used in wireless data transmitters, to generate a cartoon-like image of a human body, detecting potential contraband in the process (Gayden, 2019).



Pic. 6: A millimeter full body scanner generated picture (left) compared to an X-ray full body scan (right). Source: TSA website – <http://www.tsa.gov>

The first airport in the world to implement these devices on a larger scale was Schiphol in the Netherlands, purchasing 17 full body scanners in 2007. Nowadays, the European Union permits each member state to decide whether to use full body scanners or not. The United States, on the other hand, remain the single biggest user of full body scanners in the world with 172 airports having at least one of these machines (Gayden, 2019).

Health concerns relating to the use of full body scanners have been widespread over the years of use. Millimeter wave scanners have not been the main target, although no long-term studies on the effect of millimeter waves on a human body have been done to this day. Most scientists and experts coincide on the idea that short-term exposure to sub-terahertz (millimeter) waves poses little-to-no danger to a person (Elias, 2010).

Backscatter X-ray scanners, on the other hand, “use a form of ionizing radiation, that is, radiation powerful enough to strip molecules in the body of their electrons, creating charged particles that cause cell damage and are thought to be the mechanism through which radiation causes cancer” (Wald, 2010). The International Atomic Energy Agency and several other radiation agencies tried to raise awareness about the dangers of use of X-ray scanners, arguing that the doses of radiation distributed during a scan can potentially be harmful, if done repeatedly and often enough, and that some manufacturers do not comply with the ANSI N43.17 radiation safety standard⁹ and their machines distribute up to ten times more radiation than the regulation allows. The agencies were also concerned about any malfunctions of the X-ray scanners, stating that a malfunction could release a dangerously big amount of ionizing radiation, potentially harming a person’s life (Elias, 2010). The manufacturers of course rejected all allegations, saying that their machines are equipped with top tier safety measures and that every machine undergoes thorough testing before being sold, eliminating the chance of a machine emitting more radiation than allowed. However, in March 2011, it was indeed confirmed by routine examinations that some X-ray scanners actually do emit more than ten times the allowed amount of radiation. The TSA and independent experts closed the issue, stating that a passenger would have to receive the standard dose of 0.25 μSv 1000 times to reach the 250 μSv per year limit, something not easily accomplished even by frequent travelers. One way or another, X-ray full body scanners were banned and fully replaced with the arguably safer millimeter scanners in the United States as well as the European Union in 2012 (Elias, 2010).

But, for some people, an even more pressing and concerning issue came with the use of full body scanners. As can be seen in Pic. 6 on page 24 the details of both millimeter and X-ray scanners are relatively accurate. The public became very concerned after seeing the accuracy of the pictures taken by full body scanners, some even saying that scanning someone like this is nearly equivalent to a full body strip search, only transforming it to a virtual one. That would, to some extent, violate basic human rights. What is even worse about this is the fact that even children are subjected to these mandatory scans, meaning the airport security

⁹ The ANSI N43.17 radiation safety standard states the maximum single dose per one person to 0.25 μSv (microsievert), not exceeding 250 μSv per year.

officers can basically see a naked picture of a child's body, making the line between security measures and child pornography unbelievably blurry. As a response to these claims, TSA introduced an option to decline the full body scan and receive a thorough pat-down instead. This, however, was just another way to invade a person's privacy, many people argued. There were reports of TSA officers reaching into someone's underwear with their fingers, lingering around their private parts for much longer than needed, and even thorough searches of genital areas. Of course, TSA denied all these claims, stating that its officers are strictly following their assigned protocol to avoid any human rights violation (Elias, 2010).

Even though X-ray scanners were banned in 2012, there were still complaints about the privacy-invading nature of the millimeter scanner produced images. Furthermore, it was also speculated that some TSA offices are storing the images from mmW (millimeter wave) scanners, which were never supposed to be stored anywhere, not even to be accessed retrospectively in case of a real terrorist attack. The TSA again strictly denied these allegations, but in November 2010, a hundred stored images from a courthouse in Orlando, Florida, were leaked and posted on a blog called Gizmodo (Rothman, 2010). The TSA commented on this, saying their own machines are simply incapable of storing images, unlike the machines U.S. Marshalls use in courtrooms. This was immediately opposed with the fact that their machines and the machines used in courtrooms around the United States are virtually the same. Whether or not the TSA stores images from full body scanners remains unknown to this day (Elias, 2010).

Nowadays, full body scanners around the United States and the European Union are strictly mmW-only. It is also required that the person examining the pictures is locked in a separate room, never seeing the scanned person with his/her own eyes, and the images from the scan never reaching anyone but the officers eyes. A "no-nudity" software is also being implemented in new screening machines. The resulting image only resembles a male or female body, not showing any detailed features (Elias, 2010).

3.3.6 "Don't touch my junk"

An incident occurred during a regular security screening at the San Diego International Airport in 2010. John Tyner, a computer programmer from

Oceanside, California, refused to go through a full body scan, and when asked to submit to a pat-down, he told the TSA officer: “if you touch my junk, I’m going to have you arrested.” In the end, Tyner refused the pat-down and had his plane ticket refunded. The officer wanted to frisk him anyway and threatened him with prosecution and a fine, but Tyner refused and was eventually released (Alberts, 2010). Since then, the phrase “Don’t touch my junk” has become a symbol of resistance against the full body pat-downs the TSA use when a scan is refused.

3.3.7 Baggage Screening and Theft

According to instructions, the TSA may randomly investigate a checked baggage without probable cause and without prior notice to the passenger. The agency even authorized two manufacturers of safety locks to create special padlocks that can be opened by TSA officers without being damaged. When the baggage is not locked by an authorized lock, the officer is entitled to break the lock open, damaging it in the process. This has sparked enough controversy on its own, but between the years 2010 and 2014, around 25 000 reports of theft were filed by passengers who complained about missing goods, or even valuables. In 2012, a convicted former TSA agent revealed the secrets behind baggage theft in an interview, admitting to stealing around \$800 000 in goods and valuables over his career as a TSA officer (Chuchmach, Kreider, & Ross, 2012). The TSA has also been criticized for their very slow and low reimbursement of passengers for their stolen goods, giving them only a marginal part of the actual values of the stolen things.

3.4 Surveillance and Privacy Concerns

3.4.1 Surveillance After 9/11 and the Patriot Act

One of the aftermaths of the 9/11 attacks is an unprecedented tightening of surveillance for security reasons. With all possible surveillance technology on the rise and getting better and better with every year, governments now have every means imaginable to gather whatever data about whoever they want. And it is not only technological advancement in surveillance technology that is making it easier for security agencies like the FBI or NSA to monitor people. Almost all people today conduct their lives electronically. We communicate through e-mails, social networks, or messaging services. Most people have at least a portion of

their sensitive information online somewhere. Humankind has digitized most of our daily, monthly, or yearly agenda and stored it on third-party servers, where it can be then accessed by security services without the need to notify the person concerned. This has resulted in huge privacy concerns (Shamsi & Abdo, 2011).

The problem of exaggerated surveillance has already been dealt with in chapter 1.2. The enactment of the USA PATRIOT Act was a turning point in the matter of surveillance, but perhaps the most impactful part was the amendment to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). The FISA was originally created in 1978, but the amendment of 2001 meant, besides other minor things, that security services could gather any information about an individual without any suspicion of wrongdoing, with the only condition being that the target of the search was foreign intelligence information or a foreign agent. This gave the FBI and NSA a blank check to gather information about an American citizen based only on him communicating with an individual outside of the United States or about information concerning anything going on outside of the United States. In short, security agencies could gather information about virtually anyone, not even needing to notify them prior to this, only needing to obtain a surveillance order from the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (Shamsi & Abdo, 2011).

Other controversial sections of the Patriot Act include:

- Section 215, making it mandatory for an American citizen to enclose any information requested for the purposes of investigation of a terrorist activity.
- Section 206, authorizing the so-called “roving wiretaps”, allowing security services to an individual’s communication without any form of prior notice.
- Section 505, authorizing the National Security Letters (NSLs), already dealt with in chapter 1.2.5. (Shamsi & Abdo, 2011)

3.4.2 Government Violations of Law

In two separate reports from 2009 and 2010, it was revealed that the NSA frequently misused the FISA amendment to request purely domestic private communication from American citizens. Although the use of FISA was criticized many times by organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU),

the government backed the NSA, saying that the agency complies with all necessary standards (Shamsi & Abdo, 2011).

An even bigger number of misuse incidents is connected with the NSLs. Two reports by the inspector general of the Department of Justice from the years 2003-2005 and 2006 tell us that the FBI issued around 190 000 NSLs between 2003 and 2006, severely under-reporting 22 % of them. What is even more frightening is the fact that FBI reportedly used NSLs when denied the use of Section 215 by the FISC, justifying this by saying it simply “disagreed with the court’s decision” (Shamsi & Abdo, 2011). Despite all these infringements, there is still very little effort to establish any functioning oversight over governments surveillance.

3.5 Conclusion

One of the biggest areas the world felt the influence of the September 11 attacks in was security. Every American probably knows the controversial Patriot Act, which resonates through society even today. Even though it was not felt immediately, it brought changes to the lives of ordinary citizens like never before. And there was the not-so-publicly known restructuring of U.S. security agencies and services and the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, too. People knew the world would never be the same again.

And changes could soon be felt throughout everyday lives. When you wanted to visit your relatives on the other side of the country, you suddenly had to go through a lengthy and unpleasant process of security screening at the airport. You never knew what type screening you would be forced to go through, who would go through your baggage, etc. Security cameras started appearing in number, and you never knew who could be listening to your phone calls and reading your text messages. Changes in airport security and increased surveillance are the most dominant of them all, ones we experience even today to some extent. Ironically enough, all these changes that were supposed to bring a much bigger sense of security into society, brought much uncertainty with them as well. But, on the other hand, those changes might well be the reason there has not been any incident of the magnitude of 9/11 since.

4 Media, Culture, the View of Islam after 9/11, and Conspiracy Theories

“The attacks percolate as a central theme or historical backdrop in countless works of art, which bear witness to the complexity of 9/11 as historical, political, and media event, and contribute to the negotiation of its cultural meaning” (Bauder-Begerow & Schäfer, 2011). As this thesis attempts to establish and analyze, the impacts of September 11 were felt not only in politics and economy, but rather through many different areas of people’s lives. It resonated through culture and society for years and many people still have goosebumps when the terms “9/11” or “World Trade Center” are mentioned. The immediate response to September 11 in society was a greater focus on home-life and spending time with one’s family, as well as an increase in patriotism (seen by the increase in American flags around U.S. homes). 9/11 was also immediately reflected in popular culture, be it movies, TV series, comics, or perhaps music. The high level of anxiety and suspicion through society also contributed to the general mood, and conspiracy theories started appearing soon after (Carducci, 2009).

4.1 Media and Popular Culture

4.1.1 9/11 in Media

The media coverage of the September 11 attacks was vast, with newspaper headlines all around the world, inspired by CNN, reading “Attack on America” by the end of the next day. Media in the United States soon established a certain position towards the events – many critics argue that it was this particular position that influenced many Americans and led to the widespread anxiety, suspicion, and also to the huge support of the subsequent War on Terror. There was no major media opposed to the Bush administration and everyone just rode on the wave of patriotism and call for revenge. Supporters say that this was one of the major reasons the population of the United States stood so united after the events. Critics, on the other hand, counter by pointing to the fact that the few who tried to question the reaction of the U.S. were silenced and shamed by both the media and public, like Senator Tom Daschle, who was labeled as unpatriotic for opposing the invasion of Afghanistan (Kellner, 2007).

4.1.2 Popular Culture and 9/11

The influence on pop culture could be described by three phenomena:

- An increase in patriotism.
- Increased anti-Muslim tendencies.
- The topics of 9/11 and the WTC being taboo.

After the September 11 attacks, various movies and TV shows simply deleted scenes with the World Trade Center, some TV series even deleting entire episodes. Some examples might include one episode of *The Simpsons*, “The City of New York vs. Homer Simpson”, that takes place inside the World Trade Center for much of its duration and had to be completely removed as a result, or movies like *Kissing Jessica Stein*, *People I know*, or *Spider-Man*, which had to be re-edited to remove scenes with the World Trade Center (Mashberg, 2019).

A great example of the increase in patriotism and anti-Muslim tendencies can be South Park’s episode “Osama bin Laden Has Farty Pants”, or the comic-inspired *Iron Man* movie. Tony Stark was originally supposed to be an anti-communist crusader, but after 9/11, his canon was rewritten to the form we know today – his weapons being stolen by a terrorist group in Afghanistan and him fighting the terrorist threat later. A notable reference, or better to say a number of them, can also be seen in the popular TV series *Friends*, with Joey wearing a T-shirt with the name of one of the firefighters killed (Captain Billy Burke), or the dedication of one episode to “the people of New York City” (Pumphrey, 2016), (Ellis, 2017).

As far as music goes, it was especially the country music industry that paved the way for patriotism-inspired music to come, with songs like *God Bless the USA* by Lee Greenwood or *Courtesy of the Red, White, and Blue (The Angry American)* being just two examples of the wave of patriotic music that was designed to lift the spirits of Americans and support the U.S. troops going into Afghanistan. But this tendency did not last long, with the likes of Green Day, System of a Down, or Eminem criticizing U.S. foreign policy in their songs as soon as 2004 (Ellis, 2017).

4.2 Muslims in America after 9/11

Although Muslims had been living fairly quietly in the United States long before September 11, the attacks on the WTC and Pentagon have really brought them into a nationwide spotlight. Al-Qaeda was, after all, a militant organization founded and overseen by Muslims in the Middle East. Muslims all around the U.S. feared retribution would come, and they were not far from truth. The White House tried to intervene right from the start, with President Bush saying in his speech in a mosque in Washington, D.C., that “these acts of violence against innocents violate the fundamental tenets of the Islamic faith, and it is important for my fellow Americans to understand that.” But it was already too late to calm the thirst for revenge down (The Pluralism Project, 2020).

Despite the efforts of the government, people who simply “looked like” Muslims started being targeted by Americans. One group that had no relation to Muslims, and yet still was targeted by Americans, were the Sikhs. South Asians and Arabs in general became targets of discrimination, murder, and other hate crimes. Muslim organization across the United States were placed under constant surveillance by the FBI, with even student’s university clubs being no exception. Some politicians also poured oil into the fire, labeling all Muslims in America as “radical” and a “threat to the concept of freedom” (The Pluralism Project, 2020).

Witnessing all the negative attention, Muslim organizations around the United States went two separate ways. Some decided to lay low and weather the storm, some opened to the public and tried to show Americans that they have nothing to do with terrorists and terrorism whatsoever. One way or another, Muslims living in the United States are now becoming much more active, and even though there are still occasional hate crimes against them, the population is becoming much less negative towards them (The Pluralism Project, 2020).

4.3 9/11 Conspiracy Theories

As with many significant events in the history of humankind – for example, the Moon landing – conspiracy theories about the September 11 attacks did not take long to arise. Many of them attribute the execution and planning of the 9/11 attacks to other parties than al-Qaeda, other theories speak about

cooperation of U.S. individuals and organizations with the terrorists. Most of these theories agrees on the fact that there are inconsistencies in the generally accepted version of the events, and that certain evidence went missing or was overlooked. This chapter will introduce some of these theories and describe them in more detail (Norman, 2011).

4.3.1 Controlled Demolition Theory

One of the most prominent and wide-spread conspiracy theories is the World Trade Center Controlled Demolition Theory. Supporters and proponents of this theory, including architects and physicists from U.S. universities, argue that the collapse of the two WTC buildings could not have been caused by the aircraft impacts. They say that the impacts and the resulting fire could not have damaged the structure of the buildings sufficiently enough for them to collapse completely in the way they did. In their opinion, rather than the impacts of the two aircrafts, demolition charges placed carefully in advance all over the two buildings caused the collapse. In other words, they say that someone orchestrated a secret controlled demolition (Knight, 2008).

Chief among supporters of this theory is Birmingham Young University's physicist Doctor Steven E. Jones. In his article for The Open Chemical Physics Journal, titled *Active Thermotic Material Discovered in Dust from the 9/11 World Trade Center Catastrophe*, Jones and his colleagues talk about the thermite traces found among the debris from the WTC collapse. Although they do not specify the amount of thermite needed to bring down a building like that, they introduce several arguments for their thesis. One of them is the fact that an impact like that would not be enough to bring down a modern building with a solid steel structure. Yes, perhaps it would bring down the upper part of the building, but certainly not the whole of it. Opponents of this theory counter by saying that it was the subsequent fires, rather than the airplane crashes, that weakened the steel structure and brought down the buildings. Jones et al. counter this by saying that burning kerosene (airplane fuel) does not reach the temperatures required to melt or significantly weaken steel. Just for reference, burning kerosene diffused in air can reach a maximum temperature of 990°C, the melting point of steel sits at around 1500°C, supporting Jones' argument (Knight, 2008), (Jones, et al., 2009).

The National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) counters this, saying that the fires did not have to melt the steel for the buildings to collapse. The sheer amount of immediate heat after the explosion was enough to weaken the steel, causing the collapse. The NIST concludes by rejecting any conspiracy theories including demolition charges or thermite, saying that the official explanation is clear enough in stating the cause of collapse (The National Institute of Standards and Technology, 2002).

4.3.2 Foreknowledge Theories

Many conspiracy theories center around the fact that the U.S. government and other institutions and individuals might have known about the attacks in advance. Conspiracy theorists base these accusations on several facts.

The first and most prominent theory out of all foreknowledge theories is about the U.S. Air Defense being on stand down on the day of the 9/11 attacks. Supporters of this theory claim that the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) deliberately issued a stand down command and scrambled fighters only when it was too late. Opponents, including NORAD, counter with the fact that the aircrafts were just three dots among hundreds of other similar dots, and that the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) had no direct link with NORAD at the time, making it difficult for the FAA to warn NORAD in advance. Indeed, the warning about Flight 175 came when it was already on its way down into the WTC building. The same goes with Flight 77 – NORAD was notified just three minutes before it crashed into Pentagon. Flight 11 was announced missing some 8 minutes before the crash, again not giving NORAD enough time to scramble interceptors (Molé, 2006).

Another foreknowledge theory analyzes the suspicious amounts of trading and insurance investments prior to the September 11 attacks. Supporters of this theory point to the fact that just a few days before 9/11, extraordinary amounts of put options were placed on the stocks of United Airlines and American Airlines, indicating that many traders were afraid of stock prices dropping, which eventually happened after the attacks, of course. These put options indicate that traders might have known about the attacks in advance from some source in the government (Knight, 2008). The 9/11 Commission spoke about this in their report, saying that “exhaustive investigations by the Securities

and Exchange Commission, FBI, and other agencies have uncovered no evidence that anyone with advance knowledge of the attacks profited through securities transactions” (2004).

One theory also points to the fact that some people working in the World Trade Center might have had connections in the U.S. government or the FBI that told them not to go to work on September 11 for unspecified reasons (Knight, 2008).

4.3.3 Flight 93 Theory

On September 11, four planes were hijacked, but only three of them succeeded in hitting their targets. The fourth plane, Flight 93, crashed in a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania, after the passengers revolted against the hijackers. One of the theories about Flight 93 states that the plane was in fact shot down by a U.S. fighter jet. Supporters of this theory then explain that the passengers must have found out about the government plot and had to be shot down as a result. The theorists claim that there were parts of the airplane found miles away from the crash site, something that could not be explained by just a crash. Opponents argue that the main body and parts of the airplane were all found fairly close together, which is a surprising fact, as a mass travelling at around 800 kph can eject its parts far away after such an impact (Molé, 2006).

Other theories about Flight 93 include locals talking about a silver airplane spotted leaving the area of the crash – later explained as a small civilian plane tasked with surveying the crash site – or people claiming that the real Flight 93 landed safely in Ohio and the crashed airplane was empty (Knight, 2008).

4.3.4 The Pentagon and the No-planes Theories

These two are somewhat wilder, both speculating about a missile attack on the three targets orchestrated by the U.S. government.

The No-planes theory, as its name suggests, argues that no planes were used in the attacks. Instead, a CGI was used to picture two planes crashing into the World Trade Center buildings, and the buildings were actually hit by two cruise missiles launched by the government. Eyewitnesses, according to the supporters of this theory, saw a hologram of the two airplanes mounted on the missiles. Supporters of this theory do not acknowledge the attack on the Pentagon at all.

This theory was dismissed as being completely ridiculous even by most other conspiracy theorists (Knight, 2008) (Molé, 2006).

The Pentagon theory is fairly similar to the No-planes theory, with the only difference being a pretty major one – no eyewitnesses other than workers paid by the government. Its supporters claim that the hole in the Pentagon could not have been made by a big airplane and must have been made by a missile instead. Mete Sozen, a professor of civil engineering at Purdue University, counters this by saying that a crashing object does not leave a hole precisely its shape in a structure, like in a cartoon, but can leave different-shaped holes depending on the rigidity of the structure. Other, clear evidence contradicting this theory includes parts of the jet being found around the Pentagon, as well as bodies of victims (Knight, 2008) (Molé, 2006).

4.4 Conclusion

This thesis has already gone through many different aspects of the 9/11 attacks and the aftermath, from the immediate damage, through the longer-lasting economic impacts, to security changes. This last chapter dealt with what ordinary citizens felt the most – changes in society and in culture.

9/11 will forever have an imprint on Americans, even on those that do not remember the day. Even people from foreign countries around the world will tell you what exactly they were doing at 9:00 AM, September 11. Many Americans and people around the world still get goosebumps when they see the Twin Towers on TV, or when they visit the National September 11 Memorial in New York.

Some people refused to believe what happened and are trying to find reasons to explain the attacks other than an attack by a terrorist organization. These attempts paved the way for conspiracy theories, some of which were introduced in this chapter.

Wherever the truth lies, it is a fact that the events of September 11, 2001, made a permanent stamp in the annals of history, one that will probably be remembered forever.

Conclusion

This thesis explored the different areas affected by September 11 attacks. It analyzed the direct impacts of the attacks and the subsequent War on Terror in the first part. The motives behind the attacks were also described. It then went on to include detailed information about the USA PATRIOT Act, describing all its titles and the controversy caused by it.

The second part introduced the topic of economic impacts of the attacks. The thesis talked about the impacts on New York City, as well as other world economies. The major effects on financial markets and stock trading were also described, as well as the crisis caused in the airline industry.

The third part analyzed in detail the changes in security, surveillance, and intelligence after September 11. From the restructuring of U.S. security and intelligence force, through the unprecedented changes in air travel and airport security, to public surveillance and the controversy and concerns it caused.

The last chapter described how the September 11 attacks influenced the public and popular culture, showing some examples of the sudden anxiety and suspicion in the society. It also delved into the issue of discrimination towards Muslim Americans that followed 9/11. The last part of the chapter spoke about some of the conspiracy theories surrounding the September 11 attacks.

As a whole, this thesis analyzed the topic of the September 11 attacks and the resulting War on Terror from many different angles and in a wide spectrum. Even though each of these areas and aspects would certainly deserve its own paper, as the problems are indeed really complex and there is many of them, this general plane view provides a much-needed hindsight on the things that were.

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