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## *Spaces of Terror and Death*

### *September 11<sup>th</sup>, Public Memory and the High School Imaginary*

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#### **Abstract**

*September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 is forever cloaked in affective resonances: feelings, emotions, and desires that remain in bodies after that fateful day. However, the memories and events of 9-11 are centered in the creation and reproduction of spaces of terror and death that traverse global boundaries, linked by historical precedents rooted in European colonization. Although 9-11 was a tragic day for the lives lost, this event has signaled a new era in the hegemony of global capitalism, the United States, and the surveillance technologies that have arisen. September 11<sup>th</sup> now exists in the memory as justification for a host of problematic relationships occurring globally. In this article, the author moves across multiple traditions to rethink 9-11 in the context of space, postcolonialism, the body, and the forging of public memories. He ends by sparking his utopian imaginary, resisting dominant conceptions of that fateful day and rethinking September 11<sup>th</sup> through alternative narrative understandings.*



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*The attacks of September 11th were intended to break our spirit. Instead we have emerged stronger and more unified. We feel renewed devotion to the principles of political, economic and religious freedom, the rule of law and respect for human life. We are more determined than ever to live our lives in freedom.*

Rudolph W. Giuliani (December 31, 2001)

The above quote demonstrates the affective forces behind September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 and the role it played collectively for the United States. Affect, emotional responses from bodies ranging from desire to hate, happiness to melancholia, seems to be at the heart of 9-11, located in doomsday scenarios and Orange color-coded threat levels. Although cries of “freedom” and “justice” emanated from conservative and liberal pundits and other State agents and officials, what occurred after that fateful day in the foreign policies of the United States have seemed anything but. Mr. Giuliani saw no apparent contradiction in the idea that September 11<sup>th</sup> supposedly helped to renew the principles of, “the rule of law and respect for human life”, while at the same time, the United States was beginning to lay the foundations to open, for example, secret prisons throughout the globe and begin a war that has eclipsed its decade mark. Couched in hegemonic discourses like “freedom” or “justice”, a collective cry for revenge arose from the White House and Bush’s inner circle of advisors. The Iraq invasion was still 2 years away when Giuliani spoke, but the colonial endeavor was already well under way in Afghanistan.

Giuliani’s words speak to how the dominant narrative is situated in the United States through the corporate media, coercive hierarchical institutions, and the ruling classes, but there are other ways in which this particular story can be told; one that is constructed from the radical imagination. The radical imagination evokes a scream from this historically situated body: a scream that can produce a crack in the hegemonic role that 9-11 serves for the State and for global capitalism (Holloway, 2010a). An alternative understanding of that event is necessary as the 10-year anniversary is upon us. There seems to be nowhere as appropriate in reshaping this memory than in the collective experience of public education that should allow these types of important conversations to occur. The title of this article evokes a utopian imaginary already; an alternative social imagination situated apart from the discourses of standardization and those supported by the State that comprise this current historical conjuncture (Grossberg, 2010).

The narrative of *No Child Left Behind* and its reproduction in educational circles of “measurements”, “AYP”, and other technicist jargon positions education as one of rote exercises, empty and meaningless tests, and the erosion of the arts, music, theatre and dance. Science is glorified as the neutral harbinger of capital Truth, math is exalted as the best measure for student knowledge in which schools should be directed at becoming globally competitive, and reading is reduced to simple decoding of written symbols on the page and is decontextualized from the political implications of what it entails. The arts in their myriad forms are cut and social studies, a potentially critically informed framework, abandoned to secure more time for test preparation (DeLeon & Ross, 2010). In the neoliberal high school, imaginative thinking is replaced for rote memorization that reproduce socially acceptable historical and social narratives and standardization of the curriculum that strips creative power from teachers. The imagination is abandoned for reverence of the glorious dead.

I want to oppose this death of the imagination by providing a challenge to its hegemony and spaces of (re)production: especially those created under the current configuration that Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000) have called *Empire*. Empire produces spaces of terror and death at an alarming rate, as war is always waged despite the common position that it represents

perpetual peace and order. Interestingly, colonization occurs within the discursive terrain of State politics, however, the real locus of power appears to lie in economic and global capitalist relations that comprise Empire. Although they seem to be central players in political machinations that occur throughout the globe, States are secondary to the whims of neoliberal capitalism. The centrality of State politics is not up for debate in most mainstream discourses and remains a constant tension in any exploration of 9-11 because of its role both the reproduction of Empire and the reification of the centrality of State political formations. We need to think outside the paradigm of solely autonomous State actors with full understanding that they of course do play a role in current configurations. The recent “economic crisis” endured by the global working classes (especially in the so-called “Third World” and historically oppressed groups located in the “West”) demonstrates the webs and networks of global capitalism span vast and heterogeneous territories, traversing State boundaries freely; what Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1987) have called deterritorialization. Capitalism not only deterritorializes physical boundaries and spaces, but bodies are deterritorialized by capitalist relationships, marking what is good, right, fair, and beautiful; in essence capitalism produces desire and marks bodies, influencing the construction of what appear to be “individual” subjectivities at the same time (Massumi, 1992). Thus, capitalism has an affective component, rooted in psychological processes that quantifies and marks time, spaces, and bodies with market logics and consumer desires (Thrift, 2004).

States, and ultimately our bodies, are secondary to global capitalism and the corporations that run it. Although the spectacle of the State still remains and endures in 4<sup>th</sup> of July fireworks and football games, it is only a reminder of the allegiances, for example, that working class bodies must assume as they overwhelmingly fill the ranks of enlisted soldiers in the United States military (Glater, 2005). September 11<sup>th</sup>, a pivotal turning (and some may argue beginning) point in the global “war on terror”, is the mnemonic signifier evoked to ensure patriotism, reverence, and an unflinching allegiance to war policies that guide U.S. actions in Iraq and Afghanistan. Waged in the name of States, patriotism, and “freedom”, the motive seems to lie behind the profit made by multinational corporations that marched along with the Special Forces soldiers that began the fight (Cray, 2006). Billions in dollars were made and blood turned into dollars as companies like Halliburton received lucrative, no-bid contracts to support the U.S. Military. The death and carnage in Iraq alone for example, demonstrates the role that terror and death serve when exotic and Oriental spaces are colonized and occupied by Western powers (Said, 1979). Even the soldiers that are tasked to carry on this fight have reported serious disruptions to their personal lives in divorces and separations, but also in the alarmingly high rate of suicide for current and former U.S. soldiers (Jelinek & Hefling, 2009). The bodies of soldiers bear the brunt of inhabiting and maintaining spaces of terror and death.

For Michael Taussig, spaces of death were also a key component to the project of colonization taken up by the West (United States and Western Europe specifically), and as I will argue, those still under way in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The space of death is important in the creation of meaning and consciousness, nowhere more so than in societies where torture is endemic and where the culture of terror flourishes. We may think of the space of death as a threshold that allows for illumination as well as extinction. Sometimes a person goes through it and returns to us, to tell the tale. (Taussig, 1987, p. 4)

This traveler that Taussig speaks of can be evoked in the imaginations that thrive in the bodies of subjects; subjects produced by larger discursive realities that shapes desires and subjectivities towards the will of neoliberal capitalism; subjectivities produced in spaces of death. The spaces in which education occur could be directed towards a subversive political agenda to question dominant frameworks and memories, sabotaging what Mbembe (2003) has brilliantly called “necropolitics”, the ability of the sovereign to, “dictate who may live and who must die.” (p. 11). Mbembe points that power resides in both the creation of life and death and socially constructed institutions are central in producing particular social formations we call “reality”, making resistance and the task of this article seem pointless. However, to nurture hope is to nurture resistance, and this scream hopes to produce a crack and fissure in the spaces of terror and death left after 9-11 (Holloway, 2010b).

The public memory of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 evoked by conservative and neoliberal pundits portray the United States as victim and the spaces where these attacks occurred are memorialized and canonized. A collective cry for revenge and reverence that came from conservative talking heads like Sean Hannity and other Fox News personalities about 9-11 were powerful indicators of the conservative agenda to maximize pain and its memories to justify draconian social policies and global military actions. A walk through the security lines at any airport in the United States demonstrates how effective their campaigns of fear were. Canonization secured representations, making it seem difficult to rescue that event from any other memory not rooted in the dominant ideology of the United States. A field in Pennsylvania, the Pentagon, and “Ground Zero” are spaces imbued with historical and nationalist significance: memorials to empty promises of freedom and democracy, truth and justice, beauty and righteousness. Unfortunately, memorials often reproduce dominant narratives and historical memories that fit with status quo normative frameworks (Savage, 1999).

The recent fight to place a mosque in the same physical vicinity of a sacred State space caused mass protest and the public was galvanized from a binary discursive frame of with us/against us, inhibiting a larger conversation to occur about the role of memory and space. I am looking to other ways of understanding September 11<sup>th</sup>—beyond the binaries that inform its dominant construction. In what follows, we will dance across multiple traditions to rethink 9-11 in the context of space and the postcolonial, the social construction of the body and the forging of subjectivities, the memory of September 11<sup>th</sup> within the context of Empire, and the beginning spark of a utopian machine that traverses and crosses boundaries, existing in the middle ground of dominant social experiences (DeLeon, 2010).

### **Marked with Boulders: Space and the Postcolonial**

To commemorate the field in Pennsylvania in which United Airlines Flight 93 crashed, there has been a “gigantic boulder” placed at the site (“Marked By a Boulder”, 2011). The spaces of our collective memory have been permanently marked with a seemingly unmovable object. Interestingly, this field in Pennsylvania is linked to other global spaces in which memories are forged towards the will of colonial power. It is impossible to try to contextualize September 11<sup>th</sup> without discussing the role that colonization has served for the West and the role that space plays in its historical and current manifestations. Although anti-colonization movements seriously challenged the dehumanizing nature of colonial existence (Césaire, 1972; Fanon, 1967), the terror and death that followed conquest is often a side-cursor to the racialized, gender, and classed realities colonialism also engendered in the indigenous bodies it tried to discipline and order.

Colonization necessitated a rigid racial hierarchy in which Europeans inhabited the highest rung based upon discourses of science, an inherent belief in the superiority of European culture, and a society based upon mercantile capitalism (Smedley, 2007; Young, 1995). The process and violence of colonization also influenced the ways in which spaces were structured. This means that space served a direct role in Western colonization. Despite being situated outside historical forms of colonization, efforts still currently operate and are now dispersed, found in other cultural projects like architecture (e.g., the World Trade Center, a symbol of U.S. hegemony and global capitalism). Since European imperialism greatly influenced U.S. colonial projects, it seems more apparent the roles that locales such as Iraq serve for these aspirations. Spaces are imbued with metaphorical, symbolic, and literal meanings; especially situated in what many consider to be the epicenter of a sprawling global, corporate, and neoliberal capitalism. Space, and in this case architecture (the actual Twin Towers) serve as metaphor and actualization for the larger machinations of global capitalism and the hegemony of seemingly important State actors like the United States. Although 9-11 seems to be centered in these relationships, it also influenced other areas that link to the spaces created in this particular conjuncture.

At the heart of events like September 11<sup>th</sup> are social constructions such as race, as certain groups are targeted for their less than dubious cultural or religious practices that do not conform to mainstream culture in the United States. The project of racialization taken up by the West is an ever-shifting affair that seems to never be completed: new bodies emerge that must be ordered and classified into categories historically produced. People of color from across the social spectrum have often been the target. But, in the case of 9-11, it was overwhelmingly Muslims that became the center of this racialization project. Muslims, targeted heavily by the FBI along with vigilante citizens after the attacks, bore the brunt of Islamophobia and its implications after the attacks on the social construction of difference in the new forms of racism currently manifesting (Amin, 2010). Race was at the heart of these constructions and the process of racialization on Arabs and Muslims intensified, especially in the case of Mark Stroman in Texas who murdered two people he *thought* were Muslim for revenge for the deaths on September 11<sup>th</sup> (Teague, 2011).

This behavior is not solely isolated to our contemporary era. Many French colonial authorities believed that intangible cultural practices or achievements demonstrated the worth and superiority of a particular cultural formation. French colonizers used architecture as one measure to judge a society or culture, determining if a civilization was “advanced” or “primitive”. As Morton (2000) argued, “architecture was one of the gauges by which French social scientists judged a society’s evolutionary status. Physical signs of racial difference—in body, technology, and material culture—between whites and other races formed the basis of French ethnology and anthropology until the 1930s” (p. 179). The French colonial regime was invested in architecture to human bodies in a social order that made, “signs of authority...as distinct as possible to make colonialist supremacy a self-evident proposition, so that it is immediately recognizable, and so that it seems to be a natural part of the physical and political landscape” (Morton, 2000, p. 205). The Twin Towers were an important target because the role that architecture plays in the symbolic meanings of social and cultural systems. Architecture was an extension of the French social body (the Twin Towers an extension of the capitalist global order if a comparison is necessary) constructed within specific relationships of power. Michel Foucault argued that power was located along a continuum of repressive and productive relationships. Space was forged within these types of continuums, containing the ideologies, epistemologies, and overall *logic* of a particular system (Foucault, 2000). Architecture is an extension of these spatial manifestations, containing relationships of power that transcends bodies. Power thus exists in spaces, architecture, and in

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cultural artifacts, technology, machines, and other “things” that carry a vibrant materiality (Bennet, 2010).

Space reproduces relationships of power and cannot be separated from its larger socio-economic-political context (Lefebvre, 1991). Morgan (2000) notes that, “it is no longer possible to see ‘space’ as natural. Instead, the production of space is always tied up with questions of power and politics...and the production of inequality” (p. 278). Space structures our lives and has been a defining feature in the reproduction of inequality, especially when we think of colonial relationships (Legg, 2007). Europeans constructed the spaces of Western culture in diverse realms of the globe, (de)territorializing labor, bodies, and stretching the limits of the racist imagination through rigid classification systems. This colonial network aided in the ultimate deterritorialization of capital, unhindered by State borders. This demonstrates the importance of Western colonization and its impact on the formation of racial ideologies and scientific discourses. “The colonization of most of the free world between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries has brought not only territorial but epistemic and historiographical violence and domination” (Legg, 2007, p. 265). Colonization not only included the actual spatial practices of colonial rule and the architecture that Europeans brought with them, but also the investment colonization had in legitimating itself.

The Twin Towers offered their own “lens of modernist rationality” as they represented the seemingly timelessness of global capitalism. Although located in Manhattan, it covered vast territories away from its center, shaping global economic relations. Tied to Wall Street, their symbolic role in the financial industry and chic, modern conception of upward Western mobility must have been a beacon for those who were angered or resentful of U.S. Foreign Policy. Anger, resentment, and fear appear to be the affective resonances at the heart of this tragic event. Taussig (1987) speaks to this last point readily in his own work by examining tactics of fear utilized so readily during colonial rule.

The creation of colonial reality that occurred in the New World will remain a subject of immense curiosity and study—the New World where the Indian and African *irracional*es became compliant to the reason of a small number of white Christians. Whatever the conclusions we draw about how that hegemony was so speedily effected, we would be unwise to overlook the role of terror. And by this I mean us to think-through-terror, which as well being a physiological state is also a social one who special features allow it serve as the mediator *par excellence* of colonial hegemony: the space of death where the Indian, African, and white gave birth to a New World. (p. 5)

He is able to expose an important feature of space and colonialism: the types of subjectivities that spatial arrangements and traumatic events produce for bodies that must endure terror. He effectively links bodies to space. Spaces are transformative, producing new realities and subjectivities. In essence, a “traumatic past must be passed through, whatever pain it may cause in order for us to truly understand ourselves in the present. This is a combined legacy of critique and regeneration” (Alessandrini, 2010, p. 11). To pass through these spaces of terror and death, bodies move in a constant state of “genesis, in a state of potential becoming” (Manning, 2007, p. xxi). By traversing these hegemonic spaces, bodies can be subsumed, but can also resist, linking the production of bodies intimately with larger social realities. This allows us to reflect on the social construction of the body through the lens of biopower.

## Buried at Sea: Biopower and the Social Construction of Bodies

The bodies of terrorists are disposable. Whether tortured in secret CIA Prisons, destroyed on Internet videos by U.S. Army Apache Helicopters, or remaining constructed as faceless global terrorist cells bent on destroying the “American” way of life, it is the bodies of terrorists that must be ultimately dealt with. Errant bodies have always existed throughout history, whether the bodies were mad, leprous, queer, or criminal (Foucault, 2006, 2011; Horn, 2003; Stanley, 2011). Eric Stanley (2011) argues that queer bodies are constructed as abnormal in similar ways that bodies are racialized, marking difference and abnormality against what is supposed to be right and normal. Anti-queer violence shapes bodies in what he calls the “negativity of forced death”, often going unreported or barely recognized by society (p. 1). It is not only this invisibility, but the mutilations that often accompany the murder speak to a deeper sense of violence that queer, and ultimately *Other*, bodies must endure. Abnormal bodies become the locus for social control in globalized spaces of death. He claims,

in plain view and hidden from sight...a shallow grave, unrecognizable as such...indexes the limits of a queer present. A portrait of a near life, out of time, it terrorizes through its everywhere-ness. Beyond the pageantry of meaning, this scene pictures the untraceability of anti-queer violence. Both everywhere and nowhere—a series of trash bags, a burning blanket, a concrete ditch—perhaps this is the province of the queer. This ditch ought not be our end. Yet I stay in the place of violence, in the muddy abjection of a drainage ditch, precisely because it offers no recuperation, no rescue beyond decomposition. (p. 15)

Stanley speaks of decomposing bodies, shallow graves, and corpses: “throw-away” bodies that ultimately are disposable in the larger society or the State in which they are situated; what he calls living a “near life”. Marginalized and despised by the society in which the errant body is located, oppression spans territories and historical eras and marks them. He speaks of the ditch as a space of violence and wishes to remain there because it reminds him of the provinces of those marginalized for social indicators like skin color, sexual choice, body type, or dialect. However, what the queer experience has shown us is that abnormality will be constructed along a wide network of social mores, customs, and beliefs, even traversing privileged racial, gender, and class boundaries. Similar ideas concerning difference (say race for example) will also influence other social markers like gender or sexuality. Representations emerge through a networked reality; comprised of webs and nodes of ideologies, popular conceptions, and other discursive constructions (Hall, 2002). The bodies of terrorists fall under similar regimes of representations and State technologies perfected on other historically oppressed groups.

Osama bin Laden, the man that the United States claimed was responsible for the 9-11 terror attacks, rests now in his watery grave at the bottom of the ocean. His body would prove to be too strong of a rallying cry to other terrorists, according to U.S. officials, so burial would not to be an option because of the fear of further martyrdom (Whitaker, 2011). The depths of the ocean will be bin Laden’s final resting place. Even with the deterrent of an anonymous and unknown burial site in the ocean depths, a self-proclaimed adventurer wants to plan an expedition to pluck his remains from the ocean depths (“U.S. Diver”, 2011). The body of bin Laden seems to exist not only physically as a shell of its former self, but also metaphorically as the symbol for what 9-11 has meant for the United States. Whether bodies are queer, *Other* or terrorist, they exist in multiple spaces; physically, metaphorically, or symbolically for larger political machinations. The body of the terrorist becomes the center, the source of meaning for that particular event and wrapped within larger discourses of incarceration and capital punishment.

Although bodies seem far removed from 9-11, it is the affective experiences of that event along with the security technologies now developed to police our most intimate spaces that places them at the heart of post-9/11 hegemony. Bodies have been physically and metaphorically marked, especially in making sure the affective resonances of that tragic day always remain. One must only look at the explosion of 9-11 tattoos and body art that emerged after the event that shows how bodies have been intentionally memorialized based upon what the mainstream media and the U.S. government has told us about that day (see as one example, Hudson, n.d.). It is not only marking these bodies through adornment, but is also how the body has been the locus of control after 9-11. Panoptic surveillance technologies reproduce specific social systems that intertwine bodies and the State, becoming the heart of political coercion. As Manning (2007) aptly points out, “states and bodies coexist despite their great antipathy” (p. xxii). Agamben (1998) also argued that, “the species and the individual as a simple living body become what is at stake in a society’s political strategies” (p. 3). It is not to say that political or traditional forms of judicial power are not real or do not produce tangible effects on people’s lives, but as he further claimed, power “penetrates subjects’ very bodies and forms of life” (p.5). This makes power a much more sophisticated challenge that must be further theorized and rethought in terms of critical and radical praxis.

Agamben’s comments also speak to current political projects that are centered upon our bodies, especially in the United States of regulating movement (the current immigration “debate” or women’s reproductive rights (anti-abortion discourses, etc.)). Although 9-11 was planned to achieve mass destruction, it seems a by-product was the obsession with bodies that emerged. Whether they were the bodies of the Al Qaeda agents that carried out the attack, the victims that lined our collective subconscious once we knew the death tolls, or the surveillance technologies that have arisen post-September 11<sup>th</sup> that monitor and surveillance bodies articulate the various domains in which 9-11 traversed; bodies as the new frontier for the affective resonances of September 11<sup>th</sup>. Left after the attacks were these affective remains and the force of will by corporations and leaders to control and shape the perceptions and memories of that event through a non-stop media barrage. This tactic proved to be an effective propaganda campaign in which to forever solidify the United States with victim status. Instead of trying to deepen our understanding of why this event occurred, G.W. Bush suggested that we “go shopping” after the attacks (Fox, 2009), further solidifying the simulation of reality (Baudrillard, 1994). This control of personal actions and behavior and the shaping of beliefs is an excellent example of the productive nature of relationships of power.

Foucault called this biopower, or the administration, mediation, capturing, and controlling of all aspects of life. When speaking of the power of States or the sovereign to administer death (through war or the death penalty), this seems less significant compared with the ability to administer *life* and control its endless manifestations (Esposito, 2008). Moving beyond simple disciplinary techniques of punishment or coercion, biopower is invested in the politics of life and death. “Power is thus expressed as a control that extends throughout the depths of the consciousness and bodies of the population—and at the same time across the entirety of the social relations” and, “reaches down to the ganglia of the social structure” (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 24). Foucault critiqued viewing power traditionally as a force to be wielded against others or to influence events. Instead, he wanted to shift this understanding to the, “technology of power centered upon life” (1980, p. 144). He claimed further that his concerns were, “the set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy, of a general strategy of power” (Foucault, 2007, p. 1). Hardt and Negri (2000) argued further that biopower is vitally linked to networks of power that, “every individual embraces and reactivates of his or her own accord” (p. 23-24). Heavily influenced by the work of

Spinoza, Hardt and Negri stretched his conceptions of the body, tying its social construction to one of the many projects of modernity.

It is the “embrace” and the “reactivation” that makes biopower a potent force for social control because of its ubiquitous nature and its invisibility by a relatively uninformed populace. But, as Manning (2007) points out, it is the body that is at the center of relationships of biopower, as global capitalism claims them through “grids of intelligibility”, capturing bodies for “service to the national body-politic” through restraint, and stabilization. States attempt to claim and construct a unified and whole body (p. xv). Through the control of life itself, power is dispersed across States and bodies, linking them in cycles of (re)production. Bodies need to be controlled, managed and disciplined so that they reproduce a capitalist social order. Foucault (1994) argued that, “power relations have an immediate hold on [the body]; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs” (p. 25). For Silvia Federici, this also meant that, “the human body and not the steam engine, and not even the clock, was the first machine developed by capitalism” (p. 146). I have argued that the way we think of bodies cannot be separated from relationships of power nor the historical conjuncture in which the subject is located, but, it is also the affective resonances and forces that linger inside bodies that proves to be provocative when thinking about State spectacles. Often not mentioned in the literature, memories become part and parcel to an affective biopower that links bodies and States across historical conjunctures. It is the memories that reside in these bodies that must be secured by States to ensure allegiance and reverence to particular visions and constructions of the multiple pasts, presents, and possible futures.

### **September 11<sup>th</sup> and the Spaces of Collective Memory**

Turning towards autoethnography may prove to be useful to contextualize the affective component to September 11<sup>th</sup>, especially within the context of the last section that explored bodies. It may be common that we remember where we were and seems a cliché out of a television show to ask, “where you were?” on that fateful day. However, I will adopt this cliché to situate 9-11’s affective resonances in one historically situated body. I was in the middle of my master’s program in History at the University of Connecticut and remember a rush of students towards the televisions located in its foyer. Curious, I packed up my things and followed. Seeing the billowing smoke on television from the World Trade Center, and almost 2 minutes after I arrived the first Tower fell, flooded my mind with unanswered questions immediately. A collective gasp from students watching filled the air as tensions grew. These are the types of memories forged in the collective subconscious of a society.

Events like 9-11 trigger these types of affective forces, allowing States to conduct a host of actions in the name of “freedom” and “security”. Although the United States justified their actions with various conceptions of sovereignty, or even self-righteousness in what was popularly constructed as an unprovoked attack, the memory of that particular day will be forever rooted in the dominant construction that appeared in the media in the United States for months after the event. Television stations like the Fox News Channel had 24 hours of nonstop coverage, greatly influencing the opinions at the time with wild speculation and the drumbeat to war and invasion. Unfortunately, September 11<sup>th</sup> has not been the first significant historical experience that has been hijacked by popular conceptions, ideologies, and the vestiges of colonial memory. Memories too must be colonized and marked with dominant conceptions of past historical events (Lipsitz, 1990). The process of memorialization itself is a way in which power operates, as one understanding is fixed forever as that particular event’s representation. The battle for memory appears to be forged

in the processes of how we come to understand the past revealing further the productive nature of power. Power aids in producing mnemonic signifiers.

Interestingly, Savage (1999) explores statues erected after the Civil War that were on the frontiers of historical memory that emerged after that bloody war. What he overwhelmingly observed was that most memorials served to downgrade the racial and class conflict leading up to, during, and after the war, focusing more on its spectacle of soldier and freed slave. White Union soldiers or prominent politicians like Abraham Lincoln were glorified while other actors cast in less important roles or prostrations. The memorials signified the vision that the United States wanted to propel after a divisive and costly war, while also demonstrating the ideological imperative to capture and secure representations of that terrible event. Although the Civil War existed in the time and space we call reality, it never will exist as it truly did. Instead it is bound in dominant perceptions and ideologies about past realities (Barker, 2008). Representation, especially in the work of public memory, is the frontier in which relationships of power become so readily apparent.

Although Deleuze and Guattari speak of it in terms of bodies, desire, and spatial organization, however, we can also examine the idea of deterritorialization through memory and bodies. Power deterritorializes memories not associated with its internal functions or logics (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). This means alternative understandings of events are rarely explored or conceived because *the memory of reality itself is what is to be resisted*; the ontological death of the present, the potential future, and our collective past. Spaces of death are not only comprised in the physical space we inhabit, but death also occurs in the deep recesses of our bodies in the colonization and erasure of unwanted desires and memories. Once the reality is “fixed” by dominant representations, memories can be territorialized with popular conceptions of past realities and socially accepted understandings. Not linear mind you, but this happens across webs and networks of representations and discursive constructions. This positions economic and political systems like neoliberal capitalism as rhizomatic; networks comprised of networks that traverse State boundaries and borders (Vandenberghe, 2008). The body then is a performative actor within these and we construct our sense of self (subjectivity) within these discursive realities. This sense of self constructed from these dominant discourses helps to reproduce the overall logic of the system in which it is located, trapped by master narratives of conquest and death, because, “histories and trajectories become visible through performance” (Taylor, 2003, p. 271). Subjectivity, then, is a performative act and a creative and collective social process.

History is a vital component to this performative process of say, gender or race (Pelias, 2008); a series of interpretations of past events performed, fashioned by markets and States, even shaping consumer behavior (Lipsitz, 1990). In the case of September 11<sup>th</sup>, we see the master narrative to be of pity, revenge, and reverence for that day instead of an honest conversation about what led up to that fateful attack and its possible links to other events still occurring. These master narratives appear across different social strata and discursive formations, but also exist as tangible events such as the current wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the global economic crisis, or to the issues of State sovereignty that arose after we were told that SEAL Operators assassinated bin Laden. Perpetual war for a decade or more produces specific memories of pain and loss, but terribly decontextualized from the conditions that caused them to emerge in the first place. This lack of 9-11’s full historical conjuncture is a powerful mechanism for how social reproduction operates through memories of pain, loss, and revenge. However, resistance is always a possibility and the next section will explore the imagination as a site of resistance: the desire born in bodies to think

of alternative conceptions and ways of understanding the potentials of our past, present, and future rooted outside of the dominant memories of September 11<sup>th</sup>.

### **Building Imaginal Machines: Thinking Beyond States and Capitalism**

I want to evoke a new form of radical spectacle, creating possible alternatives from the ashes of the Twin Towers. I wish to build an imaginal machine that sits apart from the terror and death that resonated from that event: an imaginal machine that moves and traverses spaces, territories, and borders that exist outside dominant representational practices. Imaginal machines must always move, states of perpetual motion that do not allow it to be entirely replicable across time and space, not operating in every scenario or situation the same. This type of nomadic and imaginal machine stands distinctly apart from the standardized reality we are fed through traditional notions of education. Neoliberalism fixes space and celebrates replication, thus the imagination does not fit into the discursive regimes that comprise corporate capitalism. This does not have to be the end. The imagination has endless potentiality that can move unfettered, a wild spirit dancing beyond current limitations: affects that produce alternative worlds (Shukaitis, 2009). Imaginal machines can be adapted, modified, and rethought in communities of practice across time and space.

I speak of building machines metaphorically: an imaginal machine forged through the body of one particular scholar located in the contemporary United States. This imaginal machine is unapologetically utopian and inspired by anarchist thought (Amster, DeLeon, Fernandez, Nocella II & Shannon, 2009), born from the collision and interactions of bodies in particular historical conjunctures.

An imaginal machine enacts the production and interpretation of images, or the production of images by the body through its experiences and interactions. They mutate, multiply, ossify, die and renew themselves again in successive cycles of social movement. The term imaginal machine will indicate a particular arrangement or composition of desires and creativity as territorialized through and by relations between bodies in motion. (Shukaitis, 2009, p. 13)

We must aim to distinguish between radical desire born in this conjuncture to one that sits outside of this current reality, dancing across multiple traditions, authors, modes of thought, or ways of thinking about the world. In this way, the author is dead, but her ideas remain and live on (Barthes, 1977). Machines can thus operate outside individual intention and can be comprised of other machines, ideas, or creations: desiring-machines that transcend borders, boundaries and bodies (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). The desire of this particular imaginal machine is to rethink parameters given to use by State officials, political parties, media pundits, and other dominant conceptions of what is considered “real” or “true” that are transmitted and reproduced: I want to think outside of Empire and imagine a potential escape from the ashes and State memories of 9-11 (Papadopoulos, Stephenson & Tsianos, 2008).

This is especially relevant because this journal is situated in secondary educational experiences, a potential space that can be directed away from totalizing discourses contained in *No Child Left Behind* and other larger “accountability” movements rooted in neoliberal “reforms” (Gabbard, 2008). Cracks within Empire do exist, and recent events show that a dispersed and autonomous global multitude indeed exist, echoing claims made that new forms of resistance must be formulated (Hardt & Negri, 2005). Although the imagination has been abandoned for what

appear to be important goals of standardized tests and a push for more Science and Math, secondary education is an apt place to build imaginal machines apart from these educative realities: student bodies in motion creating and thinking about new ways of looking at and organizing their future world. This “particular arrangement or composition of desires” that Shuakitis (2009, p. 13) speaks of must always be free from institutional constraints and able to roam free intellectually, becoming a trans-disciplinary approach to building knowledge: sparked within institutions from a variety of approaches and perspectives (DeLeon & Ross, 2010). My imaginal machine will attempt to think outside of the discourses that constructed September 11<sup>th</sup> and our memory of that fateful day.

Visiting New York after the attacks, one could see the makeshift memorials for loved ones missing, whereabouts still unknown. Makeshift memorials lined train stations and random walls near where the Towers once stood. Although many probably perished, family members still held high hopes by placing beloved pictures of mothers, brothers, cousins, and best friends: the billboards of smiling faces covered the collective pain of loss and death. New York City became a shrine to the dead; spaces of death linked by the affective resonances of global trauma. Taylor (2003) speaks passionately about these shrines and memorials in places like midtown Manhattan and Grand Central Station.

Loved ones used photographs to create portals for their dead. Tiny shrines adorned with teddy bears and flowers, became the point of contact where the living went to communicate recent events with those no longer here to witness them. Somebody left a sonogram of their unborn child; someone else took a recent photo of the newborn baby to show the missing father. A son wrote a message to his dead mother. These sites became privileged conduits between here and there. (p. 252)

The conduits that can act between what she calls “here and there” are alternative stories of 9-11; different ways of understanding the trauma that unfolded that does not place blame solely on the United States or Al Qaeda (indeed these two actors are central), but also locates the tragedy in global relationships of power and privilege within a rhizomatic capitalism that shaped that event. This means we have to collectively rethink what 9-11 has meant for us historically and what this has meant for the increasing surveillance technologies used to monitor our bodies.

Although it may seem horribly naïve to think that collectively rethinking an event can change the pain and loss, but this collective effort has to occur across a wide social strata carried on by concerned citizens, teachers, professors, activists, and others who wish to tell different stories of that event; to build new understandings that can potentially guide us in different directions that seek alternative paths through the spaces of terror and death maintained after September 11<sup>th</sup>. The focus on personal narrative and stories is important because narratives are rich in perspectives and personal experience (DeLeon, 2010). In this way the affective resonances can be brought forth, explored for their implications for how we think about past traumatic events. Although contemporary forms of scholarship are rooted in positivism and supposedly “neutral” forms of analysis, personal narratives reveal intimacies and perspectives lost from mainstream and master narratives provided by our rulers, political parties, corporations, and the media. These hegemonic blocs, to borrow Michael Apple’s (1996, p. 14) term, are maintained to advance agendas overwhelmingly tied to the reproduction of the prison-industrial complex filled with poor and black/brown bodies; the *Other* disposable bodies of neoliberal capitalism (Brewer & Heitzeg, 2008).

Narratives reveal pain and loss, allowing new ways of understanding the world to emerge that may have remained hidden when trying to utilize supposedly “neutral” methodologies to understand complex social phenomenon. “Write, form a rhizome, increase your territory by deterritorialization, extend the line of flight to the point where it becomes an abstract machine covering the entire plane of consistency” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 11). Deleuze and Guattari urge us to construct machines that provide us with alternative lines of flight: lines of flight that can be found in the transformative potential of a narrative life (Pagnucci, 2004). Narratives challenge dominant discourses and could be a creative force to match the discourses that have emerged after 9-11, especially within the concept of the imminent threat of Al Qaeda and other terrorist cells that supposedly justified the rise of security technologies to keep us “safe”: scanners now so advanced that the Panoptic gaze penetrates clothing and flesh. These technologies and machines carry the vibrant materiality of the ever-potential threat. The concept of the threat is cloaked in affective resonances.

Threat is from the future. It is what might come next. Its eventual location and ultimate extent are undefined. Its nature is open-ended. It is not just that it is not: it is not in a way that is never over. We can never be done with it. Even if a clear and present danger materializes in the present, it is still not over. There is always the nagging potential of the next after being even worse, and of a still worse next again after that. (Massumi, 2010, p. 53)

Threats, either imagined, material or a combination of both, elicit strong responses from bodies; what is often yet to come is shrouded in fear and mystery because of the impending threat that the present seems to also possess. The threat from the future, basked in pessimism and bleakness, points to our collective inability to think of alternatives, demonstrating the necrotic state of current utopian thinking. Narratives however, can challenge this necropsy found today, linked with other ways of looking at the world found in literature, theory, and personal experience. They can form the basis of our imaginal machines we create in secondary educational settings, desiring-machines that allow us to explore alternative understandings of historical events. Narratives can help us escape the ghosts of our traumatic past producing a narrative life that refuses to be situated in spaces of terror and death.

### **Beyond September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001: A Postscript for the Dead**

The fear of terrorism lies in the ever-present threat, the affective remains of an event that caused untold damages to bodies and spaces, throwing into question what we thought was “safe” before that tragic day. September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 will forever be etched in our collective memories, the death toll a constant reminder about why we must not relent, searching for the faceless enemy thousands of miles away no matter where he/she/it is located. However, the costs of these wars are born by bodies that must continue this fight. The corporate media and political rulers in the United States (re)produce dominant narratives that claim this fight is for the dead, but the spaces of death linked globally say otherwise, as death begets death: now in the body counts of Iraqi and Afghani citizens murdered in the name of freedom and justice. “We Will Never Forget”, a popular mantra after the towers fell in the United States, seems to work from a variety of perspectives surrounding 9-11.

Death abounds in the memories of September 11<sup>th</sup>, along with the pain and suffering families and friends endured that lost loved ones. But, we were told to be comforted knowing that bombs would be dropped and terrorist leaders hunted like ancient beasts. However, this is not the way that the story has to end. This postscript for the dead is exactly what that means; a postscript

that gives an alternative understanding of 9-11 that is rooted in the complexity of the situation that caused that day to occur. We must move beyond the flag waving to really examine, through narratives, memories comprised from these traumatic events, producing new ones that examine its full historical conjuncture: *the utopian impulse to create an alternative world, along with new ways of producing knowledge and organizing ourselves collectively*. Thus this postscript ends, evoking my own imaginal machine that seeks different understandings of trauma and that terrible day: a body that wants to traverse contemporary spaces of terror and death left after September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001. Unfortunately, shadows still remain that slowly become ghosts of our collective past, enshrined forever in the Stars and Stripes of U.S. hegemony.

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