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## 9/11: News Media as Prism

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9/11: News Media as Prism

Senior Project Submitted to  
The Division of the Arts of Bard College

by  
Luka L. Murro

Annandale-on-Hudson, New York

May 2022



To my loving family and friends whose patience for me never seems to run out.



## Acknowledgements

I want to thank my advisor Julia Rosenbaum for her guidance over the past nine months. I feel incredibly grateful for the chance to work with someone who truly believed that I had something to say, and pushed me to say it well. She has made me a better writer, researcher, and student of the visual world. Her commitment to this project was inspiring and I will always have sincere gratitude for that.

I am indebted to the Art History and Visual Culture program at Bard College. Every course over the past four years has refined my critical view and made even attempting a project like this possible.

And finally, thank you to all of you who listened to me talk about newspapers and two very big, and very bold buildings for months on end. I won't forget it.



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## Introduction

"All the News  
That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

VOL. CLXX . . . No. 59,178

© 2021 The New York Times Company

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 2021

\$3.00



After the death of U.S. troops last month, 13 new flags were added at the Global War on Terror Memorial near Shanksville, Pa.

### A WAR RAGES ON IN THE SHADOWS

#### Afghan Exit Didn't End Fight With Extremists

By MARK LANDLER

When President Biden told an exhausted nation on Aug. 31 that the last C-17 cargo plane had left Taliban-controlled Kabul, ending two decades of American military misadventure in Afghanistan, he defended the frantic, bloodstained exit with a simple statement: "I was not going to extend this forever war."

And yet the war grinds on. As Mr. Biden drew the curtain

### In Shanksville, a Field of Flags for All the Fallen

By CAMPBELL ROBERTSON

SHANKSVILLE, Pa. — When the plane crashed in the empty field north of town, the schools let out early. Katlin Rodriguez, 11 at the time, waited in a cafeteria full of crying and shocked classmates for her mother and stepfather to come and take her home. When they showed up, they had brought along a family friend. "Don't worry," said the friend, a teenager who announced he had just enlisted. "We're going to get them. We're going to get the ones who did this."

On a muggy Friday morning 20 years later, Ms. Rodriguez, now the wife of a Marine and the mother of a 10-year-old girl, was planting American flags in a small

#### Where Flight 93 Went Down, Memorials Beyond 9/11

went down outside Shanksville, Pa. About a dozen people were with her, each flag they planted representing one of 2,049 U.S. service members who had died in the wars that were waged since that late summer morning in 2001. "A lot of the kids I went to school with, they enlisted," Ms. Rodriguez said, looking out across the field. "It made a lot of us feel more connected to the larger world."

By the time that the plane went down in Pennsylvania, the larger

streets of downtown Manhattan were filled with dust clouds and terror as the South Tower of the World Trade Center had just collapsed. In Washington, federal officials and city residents were bracing for more attacks as flames poured out of the western side of the Pentagon. People across the country sat in shock in front of their televisions, waiting to hear what institution might be hit next.

Unlike the Pentagon or the World Trade Center, Somerset County, Pa., was not a target on Sept. 11, only a place that Flight 93 was passing over on the way to the terrorists' grim objective in Washington. People did not live in Stoystown or Friedens or Shanksville, a tiny town without a traffic light, because they wanted to be near the levers of global

#### Late Edition

Today, plenty of sunshine, seasonable, low humidity, high 78. Tonight, clear, mild, low 65. Tomorrow, mostly sunny, breezy, warmer, high 85. Weather map is on Page A51.

## Biden's Orders Deepen Conflicts Over Vaccines; G.O.P. Vows Legal Fight

### 11 Times as Likely to Die Without Shots

### President Tells Rivals to 'Have at It'

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI  
and RONI CARVIN RABIN

Just a day after President Biden issued broad mandates aimed at encouraging American workers to get vaccinated against the coronavirus, federal health officials released new data showing that unvaccinated Americans are 11 times as likely as vaccinated people to die of Covid-19.

Three large studies, published on Friday by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, also highlighted the effectiveness of the shots at preventing infection and hospitalizations with the virus.

The research underscored a deep conviction among scientists that vaccine hesitancy and refusal have prolonged the pandemic. The administration's new plan should stem the flood of infections and return the country to some semblance of normalcy in the long term, several experts said in interviews.

"It's going to fundamentally shift the arc of the current surge," said Dr. Ashish Jha, dean of Brown University School of Public Health. "It's exactly what's needed at this moment."

The new data also may help bolster confidence in the nation's vaccines, which has eroded amid unexpected reports of breakthrough infections.

One of the studies looked at more than 600,000 virus infections in 13 states, representing about one quarter of the U.S. population, between April and July. The researchers concluded that Americans who were not fully vaccinated were far more susceptible to infections, illness and death from the virus.

Even after the Delta variant became dominant in the United

This article is by Jack Healy, Richard Fausset and J. David Goodman.

President Biden's orders pushing millions of workers to get vaccinated were aimed at turning the tide on a pandemic that has killed 650,000 Americans. But on Friday, the mandates immediately deepened the nation's political divisions over coronavirus vaccinations and government power.

Some employers and business groups welcomed the sweeping new requirements, which affect most federal employees and contractors, health care workers, and companies with 100 or more employees. Labor unions representing millions of workers expressed a mix of support and reservations. And Republican leaders issued outright condemnations, calling the mandates a big-government attack on personal freedoms and private business.

News of the mandates prompted Gov. Henry McMaster of South Carolina to say he would fight Mr. Biden and his party "to



Gov. Kristi Noem of South Dakota pledged a challenge.

the gates of hell." Several Republican governors

### Figure 1<sup>1</sup>

On the twentieth anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, *The New York Times* published this front page. Central to the page is an image of a flag-laden field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania, the site where the fourth hijacked plane, Flight 93, crashed. Some of the headlines on the page engage with the political climate of the country, concerned with matters like vaccine mandates and the COVID-19 crisis. One would have to read further into the page to understand that the main image is the central element of *The New York Times*' commemorative 9/11 coverage on this major anniversary. After twenty years, this front page from *The New York Times* marked the

<sup>1</sup> *New York Times*. September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001

first time that the news organization published a 9/11 related image not from the physical space of New York City. Does this example represent an end of a form of 9/11 coverage from *The New York Times* that had previously been deeply situated within New York City? What effect does a lead image on a front page have regarding national trauma? Where do front pages from major news organizations leave us two decades from a day that defined a generation of American foreign and domestic policy? Ultimately, this project asks why front pages actually matter and how have they shaped the way Americans have dealt with loss.

By midday on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, an estimated two billion people had watched, live, the Twin Towers, two bastions of American economic, social, and physical culture disappear into a cloud of fine dust. In the following years, the front pages of the print newspaper conveyed the magnitude of such an event through a distinct a post-9/11 lexicon assembled through images, text, and commemorative features. For over twenty years, the printed news media has ushered the American public through the dizzying consequences of the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, guiding its audiences through grief at the local, personal, and, national level. Targeted for their monumental presence in the American cultural psyche, the Twin Towers were widely considered as icons. This project is about the news media's extensive role in creating these towers as icons in the late 60s and early 70s, and further remembering them through narratives of commemoration after 9/11, by way of the front page of the print newspaper. This early history constitutes the first chapter of this project. The study of the pre- and post-9/11 narrative, offers a comprehensive look at the way that the print newspaper has shaped the public's view of the Twin Towers as buildings and, subsequently, as memory. The Twin Towers were key figures in the New York skyline and cultural imagination. The Towers, and the commentary around them from

both before and after 9/11, raise questions of commemoration, shock and awe, and the creation and destruction of an icon.

The printed news media had an effect on the public's perception of the attacks, acting as the shepherd through a fraught time in modern American history. The printed newspaper operates as the memory-maker, and the principal force in the memorialization of the Twin Towers, and 9/11. Through an analysis of the front pages of four major newspapers, *The New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *New York Post*, on four anniversaries of 9/11 (years 5, 10, 15, 20), a pattern of visual imagery emerges, moving from graphic to vague photographic reference, fear inducing language, varying levels of justification for war abroad, and a shift from reporting on the victims to a commemorative response.

The attack on the Twin Towers was particularly devastating for New York, a city that after much debate, came to love the identical structures. At first hated the Twin Towers, in American historian Angus K. Gillespie's words, stood for "capitalism, for free trade, for private enterprise, and, by extension, for the American dream."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, this was the intended effect of their design. And while it took some time and quite a roundabout way for the Twin Towers to be loved, the execution of this plan created a monument by their sheer magnitude. By the time they were built, the Twin Towers became the focal point of New York City, a central axis of the United States' economic infrastructure since the end of World War II. Two texts, in particular, have helped ground my analytical framework for this project; Angus K. Gillespie's *Twin Towers: The Life of New York City's World Trade Center*, and Philip Nobel's *Sixteen Acres: Architecture and the Outrageous Struggle for the Future of Ground Zero*. Gillespie's text offers

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<sup>2</sup> Tara Bahrapour, "Learning to Love the World Trade Center." *The New York Times*, March 4, 2001. <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/03/04/nyregion/city-lore-learning-to-love-the-world-trade-center.html>

a comprehensive, almost clinical, analysis of how the World Trade Center came to be, both physically and culturally. Published only two years before the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks and close to six years after the February 26<sup>th</sup>, 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, Gillespie's text gives us a sense of the magnitude and cultural weight that the Twin Towers held.<sup>3</sup> Nobel's text, published in 2005, is an analysis of the Ground Zero site, its future, its past, and the major players in its eventual recontextualization as a commemorative 'super-block' that is Ground Zero.<sup>4</sup>

Much of the scholarship surrounding the World Trade Center before the attacks is concerned with the challenges that principal architect, Minoru Yamasaki, faced during the design process. The World Trade Center was, from its beginnings as a mere concept, an aesthetic, social, and architectural challenge. After the attack on the Twin Towers, I have come across much analysis of the World Trade Center, and the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, which further comments on American domestic and foreign policy. An example of this type of work is seen in the book, *Tell Me Lies: Propaganda and Media Distortion in the Attack on Iraq*, co-written by a number of authors including Noam Chomsky and Robert Fisk.<sup>5</sup> Any scholarship dealing with the relationship of public media and 9/11, and the World Trade Center, engages with news media in the form of television and the influence of 9/11 in entertainment and art; evidenced also in the previously cited text and in Anne Longmuir's article, *This Was the World Now': Falling Man and the Role of the Artist after 9/11*.<sup>6</sup> The only literature available on the matter of the printed

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<sup>3</sup> Angus K. Gillespie, *Twin Towers: The Life of New York City's World Trade Center*. (New York: New American Library, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> Philip Nobel, *Sixteen Acres: Architecture and the Outrageous Struggle for the Future of Ground Zero*. (New York, New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> Noam Chomsky, et al., *Tell Me Lies: Propaganda and Media Distortion in the Attack on Iraq*, (Pluto Press, 2004)

<sup>6</sup> Anne Longmuir, "This Was the World Now': Falling Man and the Role of the Artist after 9/11." *Modern Language Studies* 41, no. 1 (2011): 42-57

newspaper's coverage of 9/11 is, in many cases, limited to the newspapers on September 12<sup>th</sup>, 2001; the first day that the attacks were represented in media. I see a gap in scholarship that deals with the printed news media's coverage of the 9/11 attacks over twenty years specifically through the analysis of the front page.

The analysis of the post-9/11 era within the news media begins some five years after 9/11/2001 on the fifth anniversary in 2006. Conducting this analysis in five-year increments illustrates the manner of change within commemorative methods. The second chapter of my project engages with the fifth and tenth anniversary of 9/11, while chapter three focuses on years fifteen and twenty. The five-year gap between each anniversary allows us to grasp in more tangible ways the change of style, effect, and editorial narrative. Each paper also brings a separate perspective essential to understanding the wider scope of post-9/11 coverage in the printed news. *The New York Times* gives us a look at a New York perspective in a different way than that of the more 'hard-hitting' graphic nature that the *New York Post* cultivates. The *Los Angeles Times* provides an important west-coast perspective from the city of Los Angeles. I include the *Chicago Tribune* to show the mid-Western perspective. Together, the four papers serve as the mediators of this American socio-political traumatic memory and give a wide perspective on the news media's role in creating it as a memory.

If we are to understand that the news media operates as a prism, then we must acknowledge that what enters this prism, the factual and visual reality of 9/11, is not what emerges. The product, that being the front page of the newspaper, becomes a narrative critically altered through editorial functions. One key aspect of this narrative of commemoration is the victims of the attacks. There have been numerous stories published about individual victims through editorial pieces. Over the past twenty years, the news media has also mourned the Twin

Towers themselves. *9/11: News Media as Prism* looks at the socio-cultural impact 9/11 had in the visual field of the newspaper's front pages. The project offers an understanding of the news media's narrative-assembling role through a specific case study of the September 11th attacks and the World Trade Center. Now, twenty years removed from the event and with 2021 marking the end of military involvement in Afghanistan, the longest war in American history, reckoning with 9/11's change of presence in print news media is essential to understanding where the newspaper leaves us.

Because of the narrative capabilities that front pages hold, such as photographs, articles, and headlines, I argue that over twenty years, the print media's visual relationship with 9/11, and the Twin Towers, has been gradually reduced; heralding an era where 9/11 is to be covered indirectly in terms of its consequences, visual or otherwise. This reduction in visual representation of 9/11 signals to us, the news reading public, that 9/11 has, after twenty years, been dealt and reckoned with by the print media. Further, that its continued presence on the front pages is no longer necessary. The commemoration of the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks has always been about memory and memorialization. Now, commemorating 9/11 is about moving on; not by forgetting but by engaging with the consequences of the attacks. The printed news media pushes the American public to "never forget" but makes sure to no longer be the reminding force of the attacks. As the printed newspaper gradually reduces the frequency and type of visual elements regarding 9/11 on the front page, the site at Ground Zero emerges as the central commemorative agent, permanently cementing the memory of the attack on the twin towers as a physical memory, not a printed one.

## Chapter One:

### Before September 11th: The Creation of the World Trade Center as an Icon

The Twin Towers and the surrounding World Trade Center in lower Manhattan existed in the physical fabric of New York City's skyline for close to thirty years. While the buildings themselves only stood for that short period of time, their role in propping up the cultural significance of New York City as the American city was massive. That influence wasn't built solely in the construction and the life of the towers, but equally in part to the years before they were inaugurated on April 4th, 1973. The process of studying, designing, zoning, and creating such an architectural project was extensive and spanned nearly 40 years. The printed news media played a role in establishing the towers as a bastion of New York City's, by extension, America's, cultural and economic power and gravitas. *The New York Times'* coverage in the late 60s and early 70s of the World Trade Center gives us a look at how the Twin Towers came to be an architectural and cultural force. Analyzing the World Trade Center as a monument before the September 11th attacks can be done by looking at several facets of their pre-attack context. Advertisements, critical responses, and formal architectural analysis of both visual quality and historical context are the principal indicators of this history.

### Architectural Context

The most prominent player in the World Trade Center's creation, the Port Authority of New York, founded in the early 1920s to construct bridges and other infrastructure projects, took the lead on its development. The general idea of such a "World Trade Center" wouldn't come



until the financial boom that the United States enjoyed after emerging victorious from the Second World War that brought devastation to many parts of Europe and the Pacific. This post-war reality placed the United States at the forefront of the global economy and subsequently laid the groundwork for major industry, development, and economic stability. In 1946, the State Legislature in New York founded the World Trade Corporation, an organization created to investigate what a Manhattan trade center would operate like. Historian Angus K. Gillespie, in his book *Twin Towers*, writes “There was a growing realization that New York City was the home to corporate headquarters that generated paperwork reflecting the enormous movement of goods not only within North America but throughout the world. Put simply, the proposed trade center would be a place for the exchange of paper.”<sup>7</sup> Drawing from these plans, in 1958, David Rockefeller would go on to contract the major firm Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill to take on the challenge of revitalizing Lower Manhattan with a trade center included in the original mockup by the World Trade Center corporation. While the inkling of an idea for the World Trade Center took shape in 1946, it would be sixteen years until Japanese-born Minoru Yamasaki, would be selected for the project in 1962. It would be another eleven years until the World Trade Center would finally open its doors on April 4th, 1973. When the World Trade Center and its twin towers were inaugurated, they surpassed their Manhattan counterpart in the Empire State Building as the tallest buildings in the world.

The size of the buildings would not boil down simply to each tower’s respective height, but also in the fact that there were two of them. When Minoru Yamasaki was awarded the contract to design and formulate the architecture of the World Trade Center, he did so with

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<sup>7</sup> Angus K. Gillespie, *Twin Towers: The Life of New York City's World Trade Center* (New York: New American Library, 1999). 32

painstaking processes. Yamasaki would design around 100 detailed plans of the site in various forms and styles. On this process, Angus K. Gillespie remarks,

Yamasaki tried one large tower. He tried three square towers. He tried four identical square towers. All in all, there were more than one hundred schemes in this subjective process. Somewhere between the twentieth and fortieth attempt, he hit upon the idea of a pair of towers.<sup>8</sup>

Yamasaki's eventual landing upon two towers gives us a sense of what could have been. Indeed, it is hard to imagine what the effect on New York City would have been had three identical towers been erected, much less four. Yamasaki also, of course, had to take into consideration the needs laid out by the Port Authority for sufficient office space. We can imagine, then, that had there been three towers, the height of all three would have been shorter; even more so with four. Ultimately, this reality would have had less of an impact on the skyline, even if they had been identical. Three would leave one of the towers always playing the third wheel, while four is a party. The two towers in many ways symbolized a sort of marriage of architectural brute force. They support each other and nothing else. If we are challenged to take away one of the towers by simply covering one with our hand over a picture of the trade center, the stability of the remaining "twin" is lost. After all, they were designed to be the tallest buildings in the world. Their scale was, just like every other aspect of the buildings in terms of design, deeply and intrinsically intentional.

From a formal aesthetic standpoint, we can take, for example, the Empire State Building. Imagine for a moment that there were identical Empire State Buildings or even Chryslers. The result is a gaudy, excessive use of space. Because of the ornamentation both of these buildings exhibit with multipartite sections and decorative facades, they would almost blend into each

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

other leaving nothing but one. From a first glance and a quick draw flavor of analysis on Yamasaki's Trade Center, it would be quite easy to attribute a blending and loss of visual character to the Twins. In my view, the Twin Towers had the opposite effect. Each tower stood by itself, together. Their distinct simplicity and uniform aesthetic principle allowed for the two towers to be looked upon separately, while also lending themselves to the irrevocable reality that there was always another right next door. Yamasaki asserts their siblinghood not by attaching strenuous decorative detail, which would have landed the World Trade Center in the camp of identical to the detail. It would have been this way if we again referenced the supposed doubling of a building like the Chrysler. Rather their identical design puts them in necessary stylistic conversation with each other. One of the Towers could not exist without the other.

The Twin Towers are a duolith. They operate, aesthetically, formally, and architecturally as one, yet without the second there is a complete deconstruction of visual effect. They were undoubtedly identical twins, dressed the same and spoke a similar voice, though they were workplaces to broadly different businesses and people. In fact, there is an advertisement that anthropomorphizes the towers (fig. 3). In one of the major American skyscraper cities, the Twin Towers, unlike any other architectural project, had each other. During the morning of September 11th, 2001, the towers suffered almost identical structural damage; they collapsed in an identical manner.

The World Trade Center's design was so imposing that even the rapidly expanding New York City of the 60s and 70s might disappear in its wake. The newspaper had a role in creating such a narrative as evidenced in a 1971 page spread published by *The New York Times* (Fig. 1).



Figure 1<sup>9</sup>

The advertisement above lays no claim on the buildings, what they do, or why they are being built but rather just posits them as an idea, a concept. This large print begins to lay the foundation for their existence as the monumental buildings they would become. This advertisement works as if to say, “they speak for themselves”. This is a prime example of the making of the iconic nature that the buildings took on. In addition to this, the fact that it was the newspaper itself that advertised it immediately creates a narrative of monumentalism, by including only the words, “THE WORLD TRADE CENTER”. Behind the towers is only what

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<sup>9</sup> Advertisement, *The New York Times*, Feb 28, 1971, *The New York Times Supplement*

we must assume is blue sky. What is markedly absent is New York City. *The New York Times* builds a New York City defined by the World Trade Center. This example reads less of an advertisement, as it is not particularly trying to sell something, but rather an implication; a supposed reality of definitive architectural icons. Commercially, we can see this similar icon-creation in the form of more specifically clear advertisements for goods and services that used the imagery of the World Trade Center, both before and after their completion, to advance financial possibilities.

Selling Points: Advertisements Using the World Trade Center's Image as a Vector

Promotion for the World Trade Center by affiliated parties created a narrative for the WTC as a real center point for world trade and globalization. In a 1972 article published by *The New York Times*, Frank J. Prial raises the concerns that critics have had during its construction, “The Port Authority is particularly sensitive to criticism that the Trade Center is not really oriented towards world trade. Thus, the agency has devoted considerable effort to supporting and promoting its World Trade Institute, an educational organization designed to foster international commerce and to i[e]nsure that the Trade Center is a focal point for trade activity here.”<sup>10</sup> This significant fact points towards the very prominent, and quite prolific, criticism as well as an orchestrated pushback against such criticism by public relations teams.

This can clearly be seen in an advertisement published on January 8th, 1973, just a few months until the official inauguration of the World Trade Center. Published by *The New York Times*, the advertisement is for “Practical Language Courses for Businessmen at the World Trade Institute a part of the World Trade Center” (Fig. 2).

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<sup>10</sup> Frank J. Prial, “Promotion of the World Trade Center Focuses on International Commerce,” *The New York Times* (New York, NY), October 15, 1972, pg. 70

# LANGUAGES

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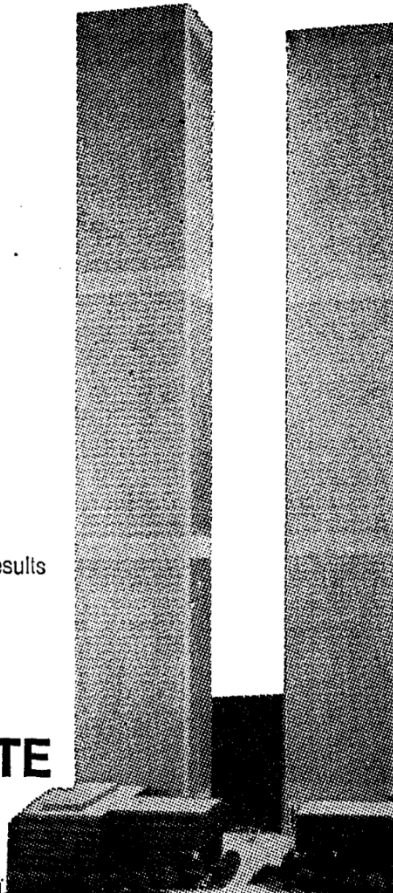


Figure 2<sup>11</sup>

In the second portion of the text, directly under “a part of THE WORLD TRADE CENTER”, the ad promotes its location in the “midst of the international business community”. The rhetoric used even in this short sentence, exemplified by the use of “the” when referring to an international business community. It centers the World Trade Center as the primary “international business community”. The image of the Twin Towers reinforces the towering visual quality in accordance with the textual contents that make up the “Center” part of World

<sup>11</sup> Display Advertisement 132, *The New York Times*, January 8, 1973, pg. 80

Trade. We see this promotion of the World Trade Center again in an ad published in *The New York Times*, by the East River Savings Bank, offering an assortment of household goods in return for opening an account at their new office at the World Trade Center (Fig. 3).

19

**"What's all the excitement at East River?"**

**"Gifts galore and top interest at every branch—to celebrate their new World Trade Center office."**



20

16

**A world of gifts to choose from, Dec. 26 thru Jan. 24,** when you open a new account or add to your present account at any East River office during our big bankwide celebration in honor of our new World Trade Center office opening.

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MAIL TO: EAST RIVER SAVINGS BANK, BOX 916, CHURCH STREET STATION, N.Y. 10008		TO TRANSFER FUNDS TO EAST RIVER SAVINGS BANK, please fill out this form and the coupon at left. Enclose your passbook of the account to be transferred and mail to us. We'll return your passbook after the transfer is complete.	
<input type="checkbox"/> I receive \$_____ per month (or other specified transfer from left page) NYT <input type="checkbox"/> I want to add to my present East River Account of _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Big Bonus 6% Savings Certificate Account (\$500 minimum) <input type="checkbox"/> 5% Day of Deposit/Day of Withdrawal Account <input type="checkbox"/> In my name alone <input type="checkbox"/> Joint Account with _____ <input type="checkbox"/> I understand that minimum balance stated above must be maintained for 14 months. Please mail me my passbook and gift if I have checked below:		ACCOUNT NUMBER _____ PAY TO THE ORDER OF EAST RIVER SAVINGS BANK \$ _____ (Use Figure) DOLLARS _____ (Write amount in words, or simply write "Balance of my [or account].")	
1. <input type="checkbox"/> Dishes: Bath-room scale, white. <input type="checkbox"/> Clock Alarm <input type="checkbox"/> Van Wick Elec. Oper. <input type="checkbox"/> 10" Impulse Hair Dryer Automatic Control Timer. <input type="checkbox"/> 10" Electric Blanket 72" x 90". <input type="checkbox"/> 10" Van Wick Elec. Oper. <input type="checkbox"/> 10" Impulse Hair Dryer Automatic Control Timer. <input type="checkbox"/> 10" Electric Blanket 72" x 90". <input type="checkbox"/> 10" Van Wick Elec. Oper. <input type="checkbox"/> 10" Impulse Hair Dryer Automatic Control Timer. <input type="checkbox"/> 10" Electric Blanket 72" x 90".		2. <input type="checkbox"/> G.E. Airtank-Top Portable Air Filter and air plug included. <input type="checkbox"/> G.E. Airtank-Top Portable Air Filter and air plug included. <input type="checkbox"/> G.E. Airtank-Top Portable Air Filter and air plug included. <input type="checkbox"/> G.E. Airtank-Top Portable Air Filter and air plug included.	
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Member FDIC

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Figure 3<sup>12</sup>

In the small drawing on the left-hand side of the page, the towers are represented as twins with faces on the sides of the towers that look at each other. Adding these faces and positioning the advertisement as a celebration of the new buildings immediately creates a personalization of the World Trade Center and some sort of air of friendliness and welcoming. Through this particular ad, the World Trade Center is made to be a hub – or hive – of some sort, attracting business and housing corporations that acted upon the hype, per se. What becomes clear through the ERSB (East River Savings Bank) and the WTI (World Trade Institute) advertisements is that

<sup>12</sup> Advertisement, *The New York Times*, January 17, 1973, pg. 23

even though they were published before the completion of the buildings, there was enough of an aura around the visual forms of the two towers to use their aesthetic appeal, or lack thereof according to some, to market a product.

### What is a Skyline: Architectural Criticism

The printed newspaper also contributed to aspects of the World Trade Center's reception in the form of intense criticism, and, over time, a distinct though gradual acceptance of the Towers. During her life, Pulitzer Prize for Criticism-winning and *The New York Times* resident architecture critic, Ada Louise Huxtable, was often credited with being one of the most influential voices in her field.<sup>13</sup> Holding a custom made position at *The New York Times*, Huxtable regularly offered her take on architectural questions of design, efficacy, and social context. Huxtable was a significant voice in the conversations surrounding the World Trade Center during the entire design and construction process. While her position on the buildings fluctuated, a scathing critique published by *The New York Times* on April 5th, 1973, just one day after the inauguration of the World Trade Center, encapsulates one particular attitude towards the, in Huxtable's words, "megalomaniacal" World Trade Center. In the article titled, "Big but Not So Bold", Huxtable criticizes into the aesthetic quality of the Towers,

These are big buildings but not great architecture. The grill-like metal facades are curiously without scale. They taper into the more widely-spaced columns of 'Gothic Trees' at the lower stories, a detail that does not express structure so much as tart it up. The Port Authority has built the ultimate Disneyland fairytale blockbuster. It is *General Motors Gothic*.<sup>14</sup>

While Huxtable does not hold the same position as others on the perceived "marring" of the skyline, she directs her critique towards the formal qualities of the Twin Towers. Her position on

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<sup>13</sup> Kate Wagner, "Ada Louise Huxtable (1921-2013)," *Architectural Review*, July 12, 2021, <https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/reputations/ada-louise-huxtable-1921-2013>

<sup>14</sup> Ada Louise Huxtable, "Big but Not So Bold," *The New York Times*, April 5, 1973, pg. 34



the lack of scale of the Twin Towers was a popular critique of their design. In an unattributed anecdote, for example, the Twin Towers caused some to consider the New York skyline as consisting of the Empire State Building, the Chrysler, and the boxes they came in. Considering the aesthetic qualities of the Twin Towers, Huxtable did not approve of their most decorative aspects, that being the wider “columns” at the bottom which “tapered” upwards into the systematic, rising lines that contained twenty-two-inch windows in between.

Speaking on this window design element, Huxtable claims that a part of a skyscraper’s charm comes from the panoramic possibilities inherent in tall buildings, and that, subsequently, the Twin Towers’ lack of this possibility reduces their effectiveness as a great architectural work. Even in this markedly tough-worded take on the World Trade Center, Huxtable alludes to an aspect of the “tall building question” that ultimately led to the WTC being revered. From the same article, “Big But Not So Bold” Huxtable writes, “The tall building is recognized not as an isolated object, but as an element of the environment.”<sup>15</sup> If we are to consider the Twin Towers, and generally the World Trade Center, as an isolated object, the twinness created by the duplication of such massive structures creates more of a significant mark on the built environment than the mark of one building. Huxtable also concedes that the Port Authority’s aim for something special instead of retranslating the standardized style for skyscrapers is something to be “grateful for”. This air of positive sentiment is much more present in another of Huxtable’s writings years earlier in 1964.

In the article, “New Era Heralded: Architectural Virtue of Trade Center Expected to Enhance City’s Skyline”, which was also published in *The New York Times*, Huxtable is decidedly optimistic and enthusiastic about the formal possibilities that the World Trade Center

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

would bring to New York.<sup>16</sup> Calling the World Trade Center model “monumental”, Huxtable writes, “From the design aspect this is not only the biggest but the best new building project that New York has seen in a long time. It represents a level of taste and thought that has been distressingly rare in the city’s mass of nondescript postwar commercial construction”. Written almost ten years apart, Huxtable’s original opinion on the design clearly changed throughout this time. We can attribute some of this to a few conditions; those being the significant number of years from proposal until completion and also the unforeseeable shock that such enormous structures would have on any New Yorker, or otherwise, that would see them. Upon the completion of the World Trade Center in 1964, the New York City skyline was forever changed. No matter how many times one could study the models and attempt to superimpose a crafted image of the towers onto Manhattan, to create something so massive, and then to duplicate it, was a significant step towards the urban, commercial and, architectural future that Minoru Yamasaki and associated players envisioned.

Huxtable’s disapproving position on the World Trade Center in 1973 was a sentiment shared by other critics. In a 1972 *The New York Times* article, “Notes on a Revolutionary Dinosaur,” author Glenn Collins quotes acclaimed architecture critic Lewis Mumford.<sup>17</sup> When questioned on the buildings, Mumford said, “Elevators, load-bearing walls, these things are absolutely inconsequential. There’s nothing revolutionary about the World Trade Center. Tall buildings are outmoded concepts – this is Victorian thinking.” Mumford goes on to finish his quote with a rather brutal comment, “They are not economically sound or efficient – in fact they are ridiculously unprofitable – and the Trade Center’s fate is to be ripped down as nonsensical.”

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<sup>16</sup> Ada Louise Huxtable, “New Era Heralded: Architectural Virtue of Trade Center Expected to Enhance City’s Skyline,” *The New York Times*, January 19, 1964, pg. 78

<sup>17</sup> Glenn Collins, “Notes on a Revolutionary Dinosaur,” *The New York Times*, August 6, 1972, pg. SM12

Collins refutes Mumford's claim that the technological aspects of the World Trade Center were "inconsequential." Evidently, many engineers, critics, and architects from all sides of the heated debate on the design of the World Trade Center agreed that the towers, were if nothing else, a technological marvel.

As much as architectural critics, citizens and others may have criticized the design, sheer height of the towers, and the general shift of the Manhattan landscape; everyone with a take had to agree that the view from the observation deck was spectacular. In a December 1975 article published by *The New York Times*, Pulitzer Prize winning architecture critic and author of the "Skyline" column in *The New Yorker*, Paul Goldberger, commented,

Even the World Trade Center's greatest detractors have expected that there would be at least one good aspect to the overall horror of the design of the 110-story twin towers: the view from the top is something spectacular, unlike anything else in this city, where skyscraper viewing posts have been common ever since the Latting observatory tower was erected on West 42nd street in 1853.<sup>18</sup>

After slamming the design, likening it to an "overall horror", Goldberger raises the cultural interest of observation decks that New York City became home to, due to its unique skyscraper-dotted skyline. The World Trade Center's view would become something of a cultural landmark in the city, with a venue for dining called "Windows of the World" opening on the top floors of Tower One (The North Tower). Even my mother, a resident of New York City between 1987 and 1999, remembers this restaurant as one of those, "if you went there, you were in" kinds of places. This sentiment was shared widely among New Yorkers. *New York Magazine's* resident restaurant critic, Gael Green, wrote of Windows of the World, saying, "Windows of the World is a triumph. No other sky-high restaurant quite prepares you for the astonishment of these

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<sup>18</sup> Paul Goldberger, "From 110 Stories Up: A Silent City Far Below," *The New York Times*, December 15, 1975, pg. 33

horizons.”<sup>19</sup> Angus K. Gillespie, remarking on the same quote from Greene, writes in his book *The Twin Towers* in response to her article, that, “People could begin to forget all the controversies surrounding the construction of the Twin Towers – the delays, the strikes, the lawsuits, the waste, the extravagance, the pollution, and so on. None of that seemed to matter so much anymore.”<sup>20</sup> Of course, it was not a restaurant that eventually made the towers beloved to citizens of the tri-state region and beyond, it was a milieu of other cultural moments, such as the famous tight-rope walk of Philippe Petit in April of 1974 (Fig. 4), that created the sort of broad acceptance that characterized their life governing the New York City skyline.

While Huxtable and her counterparts opined several different viewpoints and takes on the World Trade Center question, the pervading concern among critics was the effect that the towers would have on the skyline. The complimentary words from Paul Goldberger on the view from the observation deck at the World Trade Center are connected to the character of the New York City skyline. Looking from across Manhattan on the banks of the New Jersey riverfront, the New York City skyline is characterized by a distinct escalation of building elevation in the midtown area, where the Empire State Building and Chrysler are generally located, and then a clear region of low-lying buildings only for skyscrapers to reemerge in lower Manhattan. While commonly attributed to a demonstrably false myth that the bedrock was too gooey, per se, in this in-between space, rather it was the socio-economic realities of New York City at the time that skyscrapers began to emerge, that caused these established regions of low-lying buildings and the megalithic ones New York City is in part famous for. Before the Twin Towers, this so-called gap in the skyline was likely noticeable though it would have taken a much more tapered visual form, from

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<sup>19</sup> Gael Greene, “The Most Spectacular Restaurant,” *New York Magazine*, May, 1976

<sup>20</sup> Angus K. Gillespie, *Twin Towers: The Life of New York City's World Trade Center* (New York: New American Library, 1999). Pg. 159

midtown descending to downtown. Evidently, when construction on the World Trade Center began in the middle-to-late 1960s, that sort of visual weight began to shift dramatically. From their completion, the gap became much more prominent. In this way, the city's skyline appeared balanced, if not scaled towards the downtown area. There are few instances where a building project can affect such a significant cultural landscape as New York City. The fact that there were two identical towers in the form of a duolith, only reinforced this sense of visual architectural strength.

## The Human Limit



Figure 4<sup>21</sup>

Moving 25 years ahead to March of 2001, *The New York Times* published an article called “Learning to Love the World Trade Center.” Author for the “City Lore” column, Tara Bahrapour, writes on the shift in cultural perspective on the buildings from hatred to unadulterated love. Bahrapour quotes author Robert Fitch, writing, “King Kong was probably the watershed moment,” he said, referring to the 1976 remake of the movie in which the gorilla, desperately in love with Jessica Lange, scales one of the towers. “If King Kong could love it, who are we to disagree?”<sup>22</sup> The article, resembling a love letter to the towers, cites this, the daredevil work of Philippe Petit, and even the mere fact that by the point of the article’s writing

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<sup>21</sup> “Philippe Petit tight rope walking between the North and South Towers,” James Marsh, *Man on Wire*, 2008

<sup>22</sup> Tara Bahrapour, “Learning to Love the World Trade Center.” *The New York Times*, March 4, 2001. <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/03/04/nyregion/city-lore-learning-to-love-the-world-trade-center.html>

that the image of the twin towers was the mainstay image on postcards from New York City. In a sense, they were the city, and more so, they stood for everything that New York City represented internationally; the center of capitalism and free trade. After all, the towers were only a short walk away from the New York Stock Exchange. A short 10 days previous, the buildings were leased for 3.5 billion dollars, which amounted to, at that point in March of 2001, as the largest transaction of that kind in history. The buildings became the most “precious piece of real estate in Manhattan.”<sup>23</sup> George Willig, who like Philippe Petit in daredevil fashion, performed a base jump off one of the towers in 1975. His jump was another example of the cultural draw that the World Trade Center worked as during its existence. In some way, the Towers operated as a cultural canvas, pushing their storied life forward.

The printed newspaper, along with other publications that included commentary on the World Trade Center from their introduction to the world in the form of models to their completion and use as office space, created the monument. Of course, supported by a sequence of other socio-cultural factors, those criticisms, stunts, advertisements, and the numerous ways that these very elements were written about added and enhanced the all-encompassing aura that they had commanded. When the World Trade Center collapsed, the towers would be memorialized not simply as just a building but as a symbol of stability in the form of architectural duolith.

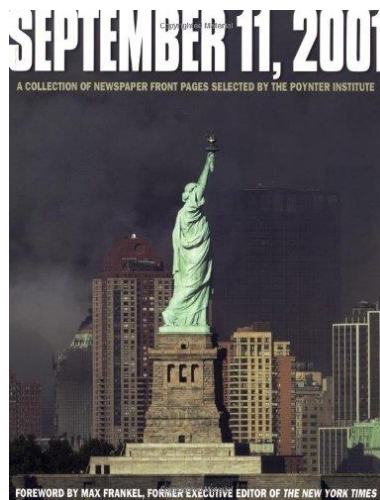
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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 2:

### Representations of Resolve

In early November of 2001, two months after the attacks, Max Frankel, the former editor-in-chief at *The New York Times*, published the book, *September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001*. Frankel collected the



front pages of international newspapers that were published a day after 9/11 on September 12<sup>th</sup>, 2001. Frankel’s book includes 147 such front pages. Each front page holds distinctive characteristics including some with strong words that reflect the anger that many Americans felt. For example, Frankel includes the front page of the San Francisco newspaper, *The Examiner*, with the headline, “BASTARDS!”<sup>24</sup> Other papers headlined their editions with the

same phrase, “Our Nation Saw Evil.”<sup>25</sup> Frankel’s collection of papers depicts rage, sorrow, and fear. In 2008, German artist Hans-Peter Feldmann collected 151 international papers’ front page



from September 12<sup>th</sup>, 2001, and displayed them together in a gallery setting (image left).<sup>26</sup> Putting these prints on the wall of a gallery space affirm both the consistent displays of the fraught emotions on 9/12/2001 and that the front page was the key

communication device of the devastation in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania.

<sup>24</sup> Max Frankel, *September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001* (Kansas City, Mo. : Andrews McNeel, 2001)

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Hans-Peter Feldmann, *9/12 Front Pages*, 2008, 303 Gallery.



In the introduction to *September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001*, Frankel explains his view on the role of the newspaper in the mediation of the attacks, asserting,

Every page in this book proves that news is no mere rendering of lifeless facts. (Facts galore inhabit the phone book, but not a shred of understanding.) News is the portrayal and ordering of information in vivid image and narrative. News is the transformation of facts into stories so that they can be understood and remembered in ways that inform and instruct, even as they delight or dismay.<sup>27</sup>

Indeed, Frankel addresses the reality that the news, and by extension the front page, is the narrative-creator. The news media is the prism that the factual reality passes through and is affected by the narratives imposed on these realities. Such narrative creation is not inherently deceptive. As Frankel makes clear, narratives are essential to understanding and the front page assists this goal. Both Frankel and Feldmann's work make clear that front pages matter.

In this chapter I explore front pages from the fifth, and tenth-year anniversary of the 9/11 attacks. I argue that the front pages on these two years, 2006 and 2011, represent resolve and a sense of hope. On the fifth year this is done through raising concerns about national security but also reassuring the public that the nation was better prepared. On the tenth anniversary the printed newspaper reckons with the trauma of the attacks through depictions of Ground Zero and the 9/11 memorial; the physical site. Through that inclusion of a New York-centered narrative, the printed newspaper marks a decade removed from the date of the attacks with a closing of the distance to the site.

Five years after the attacks restorative work had begun on Ground Zero and President Bush had been reelected in 2004. The United States was also at war in Iraq and Afghanistan. As a testament to these geo-political factors, all four newspapers from around the country published photographs of a wreath laying event at Ground Zero, where President Bush was present,

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<sup>27</sup> Max Frankel, *September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001* (Kansas City, Mo. : Andrews McNeel, 2001), pg. x

invoking leadership and resolve from the top tiers of the U.S government. These elements, combined with different methods of execution between the four papers, create a visual lexicon. The printed news media, through years five and ten, keep the memory of 9/11 at the forefront of the American public psyche and make clear that visualizing 9/11 was critical in keeping that memory alive. That memory, of course, includes the victims and the Twin Towers.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

Late Edition  
New York: Today, cool, ample sun, high 69. Tonight, chilly, mostly clear, low 53. Tomorrow, still cool, sunny, high 70. Yesterday, high 73, low 54. Weather map appears on Page D16.

VOL. CLV... No. 53,699 Copyright © 2006 The New York Times NEW YORK, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 2006 ONE DOLLAR

## Bush Marks 9/11 at Ground Zero as New York Remembers



**'WITH A HEAVY HEART'**  
On Eve of 5th Anniversary, Baggpipes and a Surprise Stop at a Firehouse

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

Knowing that he was "never going to forget the lessons of that day," President Bush said without hesitation to the victims of the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attack, laying wreaths at ground zero, attending a prayer service at St. Paul's Chapel and making a surprise stop at a firehouse and a memorial museum overlooking the vast gash in the ground where the twin towers once stood.

The official commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the attacks, one of many memorial gatherings around New York and the United States yesterday, began without a word. The strains of bagpipes were all that could be heard as the president and Mrs. Bush, joined by Gov. George E. Pataki, Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg and former Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, descended into the pit at ground zero under a starry sky.

There, the president and the first lady let wreaths of red, white and blue flowers affix to separate small reflecting pools, one in the footprint of each fallen tower. It was a hint of life in a place that still brims with memories of death, a reminder that even five years later, the attacks are not so very distant.

"Learn and I approach tomorrow with a heavy heart," the president, visibly moved, said later, after an unscripted stop to shake hands with fire crews and view what he called "horrific scenes" inside a small gallery near ground zero established by relatives of trade center victims. "It's hard not to think about the people who lost their lives on September the 11th, 2001. You know, you see the relatives of those who still grieve -- I just wish there were some way we could make them whole."

The president spoke outside the brick center of the firehouse for Ladder Company 18 and Engine Company 16, against the backdrop of a 36-foot-long bronze bas-relief depicting the towers in flames. Harking back to the theme of a series of speeches he delivered last week, he said he was reminded that "there's still an enemy out there that would like to inflict the same kind of damage again."

The president's visit, on the eve of the anniversary, ushered in what will be a solemn day of remembrance of the attacks that tore through the city and the nation.

Across the city yesterday, there was a feeling of bitterness as streams of humanity converged and mingled at dozens

**Broken Ground**  
A SPECIAL SECTION  
The terror attack on the World Trade Center five years ago today presented New York's government and civic leaders with the monumental challenge of reimagining and rebuilding ground zero. The effort began in good will. But it quickly devolved into a clash of political agendas and business interests and conflicting visions of how tragedy should be memorialized. Today, ground zero remains a 16-acre, 70-foot hole in Lower Manhattan where only subterranean construction has begun. A special section in today's paper is devoted to recounting this New York story, with its mix of colorful characters, powerful emotions and valuable real estate.  
BY DEBORAH SONTAG

**Portraits of Grief**  
REVISITING THE FAMILIES  
For a year after Sept. 11, reporters for The Times offered capsule portraits of 2,400 victims, including the eight below. Their families have now had five years to reflect, to mourn, to recover. Interviews with a sampling of them found that, while they were at markedly different stages in the healing process, many have found constructive ways of embracing life without forgetting. Widows and widowers have remarried. Children have gone on to college or begun first grade. Some people have settled into new homes, new geography. And a few, while still struggling with their loss, have arrived at surprising places that they could never have foreseen.  
PAGES A14-15

Fig. 1 - *The New York Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2006<sup>28</sup>

To mark the fifth anniversary of the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center, Pentagon, and United Airlines flight 93, *The New York Times*' front page included a series of ten images

<sup>28</sup> "Bush Marks 9/11 at Ground Zero as New York Remembers," *The New York Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2006, A1

that bring three different facets of representing mourning together; the local, personal, and national (Fig. 1). Below the headline, “Bush Marks 9/11 at Ground Zero as New York Remembers,” is the largest image on the front page. Taken at night from an aerial view, the photograph centers the Ground Zero site lit by floodlights. Surrounding the site are buildings, silhouetted by lights shining out of the windows. Below the main image is a collection of nine, small, square photographs of the faces of several victims with a page numeration directing the readers to the complete article remembering the people included in the images as well as other victims from the World Trade Center. On the left column running from the top of the page down to the bottom is a small image, larger than the faces, but much smaller than the New York City site photo, of President George Bush and First Lady Laura Bush standing, with heads in down-tilt, in front of a wreath at Ground Zero. The largest picture is that of the actual site, the local. The nine smaller images feature a few of the victims, the personal. The final photo of the President and First Lady, signal the national.

At first glance, the main photograph is distinctly dark. Taken at night, it focuses on the site using the lights at Ground Zero. Emphasizing repair and construction work that went on through the nights, it conveys not panic or sensationalism but a city that has changed. All of the lights in the surrounding buildings and at Ground Zero demonstrate that New York is still alive and active five years removed from the attack. A night photograph makes that clear. What is missing is the Twin Towers. We are not even able to discern the two squares where the towers had stood five years before. The image plainly shows a New York City missing its Twin Towers. For *The New York Times*, a prominent New York news organization, this centering of New York City speaks to its local audience. The fifth anniversary front page of *The New York Times* is emblematic of resolve. The *Los Angeles Times* took a slightly different approach to the notion of

resolve, focusing on concerns of national security through its photographic and textual contents, notably in the use of an image from the wreath-laying event.



Fig. 2 - *Los Angeles Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2006<sup>29</sup>

In 2006, the *Los Angeles Times*' front page centered the city of Los Angeles as another point of possible attack (Fig. 2). This concern of national security is demonstrated through the inclusion of a weapon on the central image of the *Los Angeles Times* front page on 9/11/2006 as well as the invocation of an image of the President present in all four newspapers (Fig. 2). The

<sup>29</sup> "Moving Ahead, Guardedly," *Los Angeles Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2006, A1

headline reads, “Five Years After / Moving Ahead, Guardedly.” Below this headline is the central image on the page. Taken on a coastguard boat as the vessel travels under the Vincent Thomas Bridge in Long Beach California, two Coast Guard officers occupy both ends of the picture. In between them, a large mounted automatic machine gun is unmanned but at the ready. Above the weapon is the bridge that connects throughways in the massive Los Angeles-Long Beach port complex that makes up the largest port in the country. The “busiest port in the Western Hemisphere,”<sup>1</sup> Los Angeles’ international trade complex, like other major infrastructure in the country, went through massive security changes and upgrades because of 9/11. Moving away from a graphic depiction of New York City, Ground Zero, the attacks themselves, or the victims, the *Los Angeles Times* focuses on local security. With major military operations underway in Iraq and Afghanistan and fear of another terror attack, the *Los Angeles Times* emphasized the tense security posture of the American government through straightforward imagery of law enforcement and President Bush. These elements tell its audience that Los Angeles will not be like New York City and that there is a protective apparatus in place to make sure it never happens again. Although the *Chicago Tribune* picks up on these concerns, the subject of their fifth anniversary publication is the mastermind of the attacks, Osama Bin Laden. Their front page calls into question Bin Laden’s effectiveness, illustrating an alternate way of achieving the same goal of highlighting American strength in a subtler, text-based manner.



Fig. 3 - *Chicago Tribune*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2006<sup>30</sup>

The *Chicago Tribune*'s front page on 9/11/2006 marked the national response from the President through the picture from the same event at Ground Zero, but included the primary headline, "Bin Laden elusive, but is he effective?" (Fig. 3) This headline represents the first time any of the four presented newspapers included Bin Laden's name. The "elusive" nature that the *Chicago Tribune* references is in regards to the failure to capture or kill Bin Laden after an extensive, and multi-pronged ground and air campaign in the Tora Bora mountains of Afghanistan yielded no result. This element of the *Chicago Tribune*'s front page addresses security concerns by identifying the mastermind of the attacks and, furthermore, that he is still at large and could direct yet another strike on the United States. At the same time, the headline

<sup>30</sup> "Bin Laden elusive, but is he effective?," *Chicago Tribune*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2006, A1

minimizes his power by questioning Osama Bin Laden’s ability to carry out another attack. Looking back at *The New York Times*’ front page where the lights of the buildings around Ground Zero illustrated a continuity of the way of life, the *Chicago Tribune* achieved a similar effect in their 2006 publication, where half of its front page was directed to a story on an NFL game that had just taken place. This depiction of the NFL, a very American league and sport, pushes this notion of the continuity of the American way of life. This element acts as a counter to Bin Laden, nodding to his ineffectiveness by telling its readers something to the effect of if we are still playing football, Bin Laden has lost. The narrative of resilience is also found in the *New York Post*’s 2006 front page in the form of an advertisement coupled yet again with the image from the same wreath laying event.

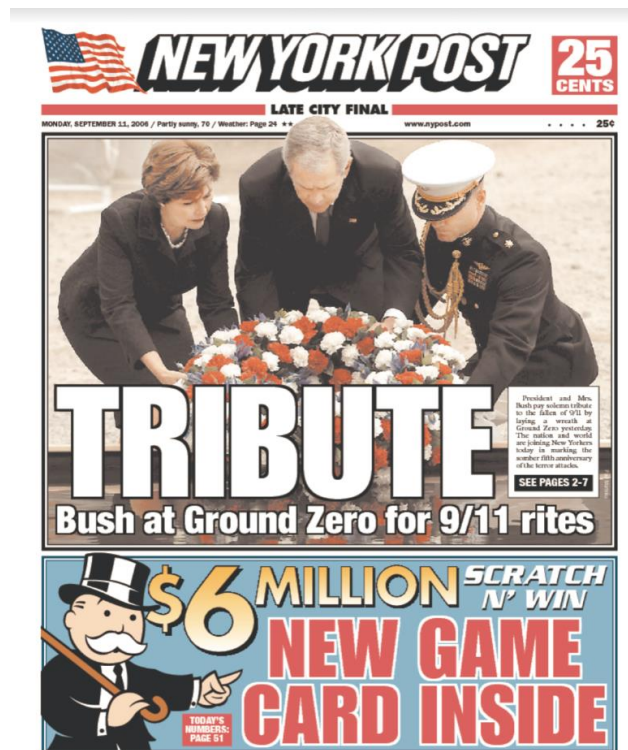


Fig. 4 - *New York Post*, September 11th, 2006<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> “Tribute; Bush at Ground Zero for 9/11 Rites,” *New York Post*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2006, A1

The *New York Post* elected to publish the image of the event with one major distinction; their photograph includes a U.S Military officer laying the wreath with the President and First Lady (Fig. 4). The *New York Post* appears more dramatic and theatrical in the way the headlines are authored and even in the use of the color red in the paper's header prompting a more "eye-catching" visual yield. Featuring only two general elements, the front page includes the largest picture out of the four papers of the President and First Lady Bush; in this case with a Marine Corps. Officer. The addition of the officer evokes leadership, resilience, and resolve of the military in the commemorative aspects of the national 9/11 response. The inclusion of this image with a military representative effectively acts as an attempt to justify American troops in active combat in Afghanistan. It recenters the reason for the invasion of Afghanistan and propels the language of all three aspects present on this date; those being national security, loss, and victims on, in this case, the national scale. Below the main photo and headline which reads, "TRIBUTE; Bush at Ground Zero for 9/11 Rites", is an advertisement for a new Monopoly lottery game. This element is, admittedly, difficult to reason with. It strangely imparts some sort of brevity to the page. Stranger, even, is that the *New York Post* does not always have an ad on the front page making it appear more as a choice. It conveys a sense of continuity, and normalcy, of the proverbial American way of life with the capitalistic character of lottery games, connecting the narrative of the World Trade Center, even after its collapse, to the American Dream.



10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary

A decade after the attacks, all four newspapers center New York City as site of commemoration through images and text. The front pages of these newspapers affirm the trauma that New York City, and its citizens, faced over a decade and convey resolve through the site itself. Through dramatic photographs and headlines, the front pages conclude a decade removed from the attacks with a sense of hope.



Fig. 5 - *The New York Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2011<sup>32</sup>

In 2011, *The New York Times* print edition published the first depiction of Michael Arad and Peter Walker's "Reflecting Absence" Ground Zero memorial on an anniversary of 9/11 (Fig.5). This depiction reaffirms the World Trade Center site as a critical element within the

<sup>32</sup> *The New York Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2011, A1

newspaper's dialect of 9/11 memorialization. The image is also the first time where *The New York Times* expressly included the names of several victims at the World Trade Center as words rather than images. The concrete walls lining the deep black pool of "Reflecting Absence" make up the foreground of the image. With eleven names partially visible in the photo, only two, Anne T. Ransom and Lakshmika Niha Kadaba, are fully captured. Behind these names and out of focus is the water falling into the deep pit in the footprint of one of the two towers. Below this image is the text, "The Reckoning: A Decade After 9/11". The human toll of the attacks is communicated in the depiction of a few names of victims. While the audience for *The New York Times* had been exposed to reading the names of victims through past articles and editorial projects, the main image adjoins the names of the victims with the memorial built in their honor. This is not to say that the photograph focuses directly on the memorial, as it only captures one corner of the Arad and Walker structure, but rather it uses the memorial as a mode for remembrance. The photograph itself is an ephemeral and visually "unclear" depiction of the memorial. The background's blurry and out-of-focus quality in conjunction with the lack of context to the photograph's location anywhere on the page centers the victims rather than the memorial, and its own aesthetic quality.

In an attempt to deal with the loss of the Twin Towers themselves, *The New York Times* inclusion of "Reflecting Absence" is simultaneously a memorial of the victims and the recognition of a physical space to achieve the same goal. Upon a visit to the site, "Reflecting Absence" confronts the viewer by showing the sheer number of victims on engraved metal lining the edges of the two pools. The names span each of the eight sides to the now destroyed buildings. "Reflecting Absence" reimagines the duolith in a heavy tone. Thus, *The New York Times*' inclusion of its image draws out a shift in the narrative toward memorialization as a

physical place where one can visit. “Reflecting Absence” takes on the role of being a physical commemorative location of a New York tragedy. *The New York Times* establishes Ground Zero not as a construction site as it was presented in 2006, but now as a somber reminder. It asks the reader to remember the site with the victims. Operating in the same vein, the *New York Post* uses the memorial as its primary commemorative agent, largely achieving the same goal of centering New York City as the focal point for a decade of memorialization.



Fig. 6 - *New York Post*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2011<sup>33</sup>

In 2011, under the *New York Post* header, the headline for this issue reads, “TODAY IS FOR THEM – THE VICTIMS OF 9/11 TEN YEARS LATER” (Fig. 6). The headline is laid

<sup>33</sup> “Today is for them – The Victims of 9/11; Ten Years Later,” *New York Post*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2011, A1

over the image of “Reflecting Absence.” Below the image a sub-header reads. “SPECIAL COMMEMORATIVE GLOSSY MAGAZINE INSIDE.” The clearest distinction from *The New York Times*, is the large headline “This is for them....” The particular “this” that the *New York Post* references, seems to be the memorial site as well as the newspaper issue including the “special commemorative glossy magazine” to be found within the issue. The *New York Post*’s September 11th, 2011 issue is an effective packaging of commemoration. Take for example the many instances of the famous words afforded to the operative memory of 9/11, “Never Forget”. These words assemble a form of marketed traumatic memory; they are, in all intents and purposes, the 9/11 catchphrase. Comparing this edition to the 2006 paper, we see that the lottery advertisement is gone, suggesting that the tenth anniversary holds more significance. Both New York based papers use “Reflecting Absence” as the principal element of the front page, ushering their readers back to the location of tragedy. Both non-New York City based newspapers achieve this recentering in a way that recalls the physical and visual trauma of 9/11. The memorial itself had also opened on the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary, informing both New York area based papers decision to include its image in some capacity. The two other paper, both non-New York based, do not include an image of the memorial and instead return to New York in different ways.

# Los Angeles Times

## Pastors heed a political calling

The prime is playing a bigger role in the 2012 presidential election.

The Obama camp has a new strategy: to get pastors to endorse Obama.

The issue of the pastor's role in politics has become a hot topic for many ministers in the past few years.

The issue for the Obama camp is to get pastors to endorse Obama.

The issue for the Obama camp is to get pastors to endorse Obama.

## Israel shrugs off allies' ire

Israel's stance on the Gaza conflict has drawn the ire of its allies.

Israel's stance on the Gaza conflict has drawn the ire of its allies.

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9/11, TEN YEARS AFTER

Out of the smoke and fire of tragedy came a day that forever changed people, families, nations and the world. Some are too young to remember. Others can't forget.



## For some, war is now a way of life

For some, war is now a way of life.

For some, war is now a way of life.

For some, war is now a way of life.

For some, war is now a way of life.

For some, war is now a way of life.

For some, war is now a way of life.

## A RETURN TO MANHATTAN

An essay by Steve Lopez

What if I could go back to the day after 9/11?

What if I could go back to the day after 9/11?

What if I could go back to the day after 9/11?

What if I could go back to the day after 9/11?

What if I could go back to the day after 9/11?

## A challenge for teachers and students

A challenge for teachers and students.

A challenge for teachers and students.

A challenge for teachers and students.

A challenge for teachers and students.

A challenge for teachers and students.

A challenge for teachers and students.

Middle America's tragedy... Airlines using Max clip... Extended coverage online...

Fig. 7 - Los Angeles Times, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2011<sup>34</sup>

In 2011, the *Los Angeles Times* included the only non-photographic visual representation of 9/11 that I have come across in my archiving of the newspapers selected between 2001-2021. Large and taking up the entire center page, is a drawing by Kent Barton (Fig. 7). From the perspective across the river (as seen in the Brooklyn Bridge in the foreground), the towers are illustrated in flames with smoke billowing out. The drawing is in black and white, done with fine

<sup>34</sup> “A Return to Manhattan,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2011, A1

marks in either ink or pencil. The clouds of smoke are the darkest part of the drawing and the towers are highly detailed. The damaged facade of both faces of the tower is represented with jagged cracks and holes, much like how the actual buildings appeared at a point in the early morning of September 11th, 2001. It suggests a callback to the visual memory of 9/11 in New York City and recounts, in a less literal medium than photography, the markedly visual terror. Barton's drawing distances the reader from the attack both emotionally and visually, while still confronting the reader with the visual memory of 9/11. In a sense, it is an image of an image; a commemorative element that deals with visual trauma as a memory.

The *Los Angeles Times*' headline reads, "9/11, Ten Years After / Out of the smoke and fire of tragedy came a day that forever changed people, families, nations, and the world. Some are too young to remember. Others can't forget." This headline suggests that a decade since 9/11 raises the new reality of a post-9/11 society that includes people who have no memory of the attacks and others that "can't forget." The headline indicates the distance that ten years provides. A decade, it seems to the *Los Angeles Times*, is enough time to return to the imagery presented to the American public on September 12<sup>th</sup>, 2001. The drawing evokes the image that *The New York Times* published on 9/12/2001. It tells us that it is no longer "too soon" and that from this point forward, addressing the consequences of the attacks is now the key narrative shift. The *Chicago Tribune* makes a return to New York on September 12<sup>th</sup> as well, also illustrating a change of narrative to a post-9/11 world by making the site of the attacks its centerpiece, though replacing the twin towers with the Statue of Liberty. Using an image of the Statue of Liberty, another monument engrained in New York City's culture, asserts the city's strength and resolve.



Fig. 8 - *Chicago Tribune*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2011<sup>35</sup>

The *Chicago Tribune*'s September 11th, 2011 front page centers an image of New York City with the smoke still rising from the site of the World Trade Center (Fig. 8). This being the only use of a photograph from September 12th, 2001, the *Chicago Tribune* uses the attacks, and the aftermath, as its central image. In the photograph, rising smoke from the debris still burning

<sup>35</sup> "We Remember," *Chicago Tribune*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2011, A1

from the day before, drifts above the raised torch of the Statue of Liberty, one of New York City's most iconic structures. In the center of an image, the silhouette of a bird flies, a symbol of hope. Below the image is the headline, "We remember" with two sub-sections, titled, "It's time for us to shed the fear" and "One day changed an entire decade," respectively. This issue is clearly different in tone from the more victim-centered approach of the two New York City papers presented. The headline's general acknowledgment that there was fear to be "shed" was a shared narrative, again invoking questions about homeland security, but this time with a demand that fear has no more place in the American heart and mind. The article "One day changed an entire decade" alludes to the tectonic shift in American policy since 9/11 with the article further mentioning some of the consequences of the attacks like, "Ground Zero. War on Terror. Gitmo. The Patriot Act. Anthrax. Abu Ghraib. Homeland Security. Orange Alert. Waterboarding. Freedom Fries." This article which acknowledges the dark consequences of America's war on terror sparked by 9/11, raises subjects that are particularly post-9/11. The *Chicago Tribune* turns to damaged New York City in image, to convey national resolve. As the first decade after 9/11 passes, these invocations of resolve seen in years 2006 and 2011, set a composed tone from the front pages. The next decade of front page coverage of 9/11 focuses the view to the individual, while still relying on the established elements of resolve and national solidarity as the structure.



## Chapter 3:

### Reckoning with Loss

The commemoration of the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks dealt with the loss of life, the loss of icons of American architecture, and the loss of the sense of safety from an attack directly on American soil. Fifteen years after 9/11, it was this all-encompassing loss that the printed newspaper dealt with in more direct ways compared to 2006 and 2011. Fifteen years removed from the attacks, the front pages reckon with loss and lasting trauma that affected families, individuals, and communities. The front pages in 2016 rely upon specific stories and images to convey the generational trauma inflicted by the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks and personalize the tragedy. In going specific, the newspaper's front page requires less visual reference to the attacks and more of a precise focus on individual stories of loss.

From the more focused coverage in year fifteen, marked by a reduced visual presence of the attacks on the front page, the twentieth anniversary works to broaden that scope. The front pages in 2021 deal with loss by reckoning with the full consequences of the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks; foreign wars, loss of the idea of an impenetrable homeland, and even loss of the memory of 9/11 itself are some of them. In 2021, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, “Nearly Half of Californians Report Lasting Effect, Poll Finds” (in reference to 9/11).<sup>36</sup> The reduction of visual references to the loss of the Twin Towers makes a changed America the focus of commemoration in 2021. That focus has also made room for different avenues of remembrance, chiefly at the very site that the Twin Towers stood. Ground Zero, which includes the “Reflecting

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<sup>36</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2021

Absence” memorial and the National 9/11 Memorial Museum takes on the role of being the primary commemorative space, physical, printed, or otherwise.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

Late Edition Today, clouds giving way to sun at midday, less humid, high 84. Tonight clear, cooler, low 62. Tomorrow mostly sunny, not as warm, high 78. Details, Sports/Sunday, Page 12

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## Trump's Putin: Strength Seen As Top Virtue

Maintaining an Image, No Matter the Costs

By ANDREW HIGGINS

MOSCOW — Tiger shooter, bare-chested horseman and architect of Russia's revival as a muscular global power, President Vladimir V. Putin, dressed in a somber suit and tie, sat for over an hour this past week sipping tea from a delicate porcelain cup and offering earnest advice on how to improve housing, medical care and other services in a provincial town south of here.

State television broadcast the entire encounter. In between reports of Russian airstrikes in Syria ordered by Mr. Putin and gleeful accounts of how, thanks to a stunt by a pro-Putin athlete, the Russian flag appeared during the opening ceremony of the Paralympic Games in Rio de Janeiro despite a ban on the Russian squad because of a doping scandal.

It was, in the span of just a few hours, a dizzying display of the political mastery that Mr. Putin has over his country and his own image — a tough, can-do warrior; caring father of his people; and guarantor that no slight to Russia's pride will go unanswered.

Mr. Putin, 63, has shown an extraordinary ability to project an image of towering strength no matter what the circumstances. When he first took power, an old schoolteacher of his in St. Petersburg, Vera Malishkina, remembered her former pupil, who is below average height, as a superb basketball player because he was "very tall."

He has many critics, many of them now in exile outside Russia or voiceless outside the coffee shops and wine bars of cosmopolitan cities like Moscow. But as Donald J. Trump said with admiration: Mr. Putin has "very strong control" over Russia.

According to Mr. Trump, the Republican Party's presidential

Continued on Page 4



## U.S. Extradition Benefits Warlords From Colombia

Held to Account for Decades of Atrocities — Until the Americans Stepped In

By DEBORAH SONTAG

CALABAZO, Colombia — Skinny but imposing with aviator glasses, a bushy mustache and a toothy smile, Julio Enriquez Santamaría was leading a community meeting in this sylvan hamlet when he was abducted by paramilitary thugs, thrown into the back of a Toyota pickup and disappeared forever on Feb. 4, 2001.

Ahead of his time, Mr. Enriquez had been organizing farmers to substitute legal crops like cacao for coca, which the current Colombian government, on the verge of ending a civil war fueled by the narcotics trade, is promoting as an antidrug strategy.

But Hermin Giraldo Serna, or his men, didn't like it, or him.

From his early days as a small-time marijuana farmer, Mr. Giraldo had grown into El Patrón, a narcotics kingpin and paramilitary commander whose anti-insurgent mission had devolved into a murderous criminal enterprise controlling much of Colombia's mountain-draped northern coast.

Mr. Enriquez was hardly his only victim. Mr. Giraldo, whose secondary alias was the Drill because of his rapacious appetite for underage girls, had all kinds. But Mr. Enriquez became the emblematic one, with a family tenuous enough to pursue Mr. Giraldo even after he, along with 13 other paramilitary leaders, was whisked out of Colombia and into the United States on May 13, 2005, with impunity," said his daughter Bela Enriquez Chacín, 32, who was 16 when her father was murdered and hopes to speak at Mr. Giraldo's sentencing in Washington next month. The Enriquezes will be the first foreign victims ever given a voice in an international drug smuggling case in the United States, experts believe.

Whether this recognition is more than symbolic remains to be seen. Mr. Giraldo's fellow extraditees have received relatively lenient treatment for major drug traffickers who were also designated terrorists responsible for massacres, forced disappearances to face drug charges.

Continued on Page 11

## Seeking the Final Faces To Fill a Sept. 11 Tapestry

10 Missing from Gallery of Grief, Loss, Life and Joy

By DAVID W. DENLAP and SUSAN C. BEACHY

Albert Ogletree, a food handler with Forte Food Service, was working in the cafeteria at Center Fitzgerald in the north tower of the World Trade Center when a hijacked jetliner careened into the skyscraper. He is one of the 2,983 people killed in the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, and Feb. 26, 1993, when the trade center was bombed.

He is also one of only 10 victims whose portraits are not in the vast gallery at the National September 11 Memorial Museum, on the trade center site in Lower Manhattan. Museum officials have tried for years, without luck, to find

drawing cars, something he loved to do.

Faces have defined the events of Sept. 11 since the earliest hours. On lampposts, bulletin boards and hospital walls, "Missing" posters beseeched passers-by to recall whether they had seen this face or that. Faces filled the pages of *The New York Times* and other publications and websites. Portraits were carried, facing the public, by survivors at memorial services and protest gatherings.

The museum's goal is simple and increasingly challenging: to gather every face and weave it into the overwhelming tapestry of grief, loss, life and joy on display in the memorial gallery.



## Antonio Dorsey Pratt

Antonio Dorsey Pratt was killed on Sept. 11, 2001. A picture of him has yet to be found.



Fig. 9 – *The New York Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016<sup>37</sup>

On September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016, the print edition of *The New York Times*, conveyed the personal elements of trauma and grief and recenters the human cost in a story about unknown victims of 9/11, representative of a shift in narrative towards the individual (Fig. 9). Here, *The New York Times* focuses on a different chapter to the commemoration of the victims of the attacks and

<sup>37</sup> Front Page, *The New York Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016, A1

changes its method of this narrative by not engaging with the physical site either visually or textually. We are pushed to remember 9/11 by the victims not the towers, which by this point would be replaced, at least conceptually, by the Freedom Tower. From this edition, and as we can see in the other three newspapers, remembering 9/11 takes a turn even away from New York, or even the horror of the event itself. There appears to be a recognition that the more engaging stories, from an emotional standpoint, are the ones about the human cost. From representations of national trauma apparent in 2006 and 2011, after fifteen years, the printed newspaper goes personal.

The central image on the page, and the largest, captures a plaque on a wall of victims displaying the name “Antonio Dorsey Pratt,” with an engraving of a leaf. According to *The New York Times*, no image of Mr. Pratt has ever been found. Below the image is the largest text on the page reading, “Seeking the Final Faces to Fill a 9/11 Tapestry”. The borders of the image only capturing parts of the faces of other victims. Only does the photograph of the leaf, in honor of Mr. Pratt, register as a full image. At this point in time, 10 faces had been missing from the complete assembly of every victim’s face of the attacks. This element of the front page supports the argument that the language of commemoration is focused on the lasting effects and reaffirms that, while the attacks are in the past, the lasting consequences are ever-present and personal. *The New York Times* communicates this through running its primary story on the unnamed and unidentified victims, a particularly New York facing element. In contrast, the *Los Angeles Times* goes specific, highlighting an individual story.



Fig. 10 – *Los Angeles Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016<sup>38</sup>

The 9/11/16 edition of the *Los Angeles Times* makes only a reference to the 9/11 attacks, again, through the lens of victim families (Fig. 10). On the front page there are four images and four articles. The bottom-most article and image are titled “National Tragedy, Personal Loss.”

<sup>38</sup> Laura King, “National Tragedy, Personal Loss,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016, A1

The main photograph depicts an individual named Francesca Picerno leaning up against a wall. She faces north and looks away from the camera. Her head held high, the photograph lights Ms. Picerno in a strong manner. We know she faces north as in the background, out of focus, albeit very much a part of the image, is the newly inaugurated Freedom Tower. Wearing a red dress and a crucifix pendant, Ms. Picerno was only nine years old when her father died in the World Trade Center. Here, the *Los Angeles Times* takes a route of giving voice to the families of the victims instead of recounting the attacks or even the governmental response to the attacks. Instead, the *Los Angeles Times* chooses to profile just one person as a testament to the fifteen years that had passed, and with that time, a new generation of people who may not remember the attacks and some who have grown up under the shadow of it. If we look back to the *Los Angeles Times* headline in 2011, "... Some are too young to remember. Others can't forget.," the 2016 front page follows up on this notion.

This individual story, however, has a very small space on the overall front page, indicative of the gradual reduction in referencing 9/11 as a whole. Stories like these recontextualize the attacks to the reader. They bring the challenge of dealing with loss directly to the audience, yet are careful not to lead with images of the destruction of the Twin Towers. In choosing this editorial structure, the *Los Angeles Times* solely engages with the loss of the individual as opposed to the loss of Twin Towers.



Fig. 11 – *Chicago Tribune*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016<sup>39</sup>

Similarly, the *Chicago Tribune* print edition on 9/11/16 contained one image in reference to 9/11 (Fig. 11). The picture centers a young girl, held up by her mother. The frame is in a slightly off-tilted position, with its left side depicting a large memorial wall with the engravings of victims’ names. The young girl touches the memorial with her hand. Her mother, at the bottom right of the frame, holds her daughter with closed eyes. The mother’s name is Bernadette

<sup>39</sup> “A Solemn Anniversary,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016, A1

Ortiz. Her daughter is named Adriana. Bernadette's father was a police officer killed on 9/11. The headline for this picture reads, "A Solemn Anniversary." As the *Los Angeles Times* raised the issue of the generational trauma inflicted by the attacks, the *Chicago Tribune's* piece, including the granddaughter of a slain first responder, moves this trauma one generation down the line. Its profiling, when put in conversation with both New York newspapers presented, indicates another newspaper's shift towards the personal. The *New York Post*, while not invoking generational trauma, highlights a different type of victim, the loss of first responders.



Fig. 12 – *New York Post*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016<sup>40</sup>

On 9/11/2016, the *New York Post* centered first responders that were killed in the attacks (Fig. 12). The focus on a particular type of victim of 9/11 caters to an audience that would be

<sup>40</sup> “Hallowed Be Their Names,” *New York Post*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016, A1

more affected by the death of these firefighters than that of children, or grandchildren, of 9/11 victims. This places the narrative of the *New York Post* in a position of retroactive grief. The *New York Post's* tasks its readership to remember 9/11 by the personal toll and the sacrifice made by emergency services. To this day, many of the first responders that survived the attacks face health issues caused by the environmental devastation in Lower Manhattan. The *New York Post's* invocation of this story of four firefighters affects the reader, reminding them that the sacrifice was generational. The remarkable consistency of commemorative elements propels the news-media consuming public into a phase of personal memorialization; from the spectacle of terror to the sobriety of individual stories of lost life.



## 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary

The twentieth anniversary of 9/11 in the newspaper represented a shift in the news media's relationship with covering personal and national loss, the Twin Towers, and questions of national security. This is seen in the near total reduction of 9/11 pertinent imagery on the front pages. After twenty years, the printed newspaper has presented 9/11 as an event, however tragic, of the past. Within the space of two decades, four different presidents have occupied The White House and other major global events, like the COVID-19 pandemic, have been the primary focus of news reporting. The role of the print newspaper in reporting on these stories has also changed because of the technological advancements made in information sharing. Between 2001 and 2021, the newspapers' position as the chief disseminator of news has shifted to the digital sphere; a shift that reduces the printed front page's weight in the public sphere. 2021 was also the year that a full evacuation of all American military forces in Afghanistan commenced and ended with complications as the Taliban recontrolled the country. The withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan proves to be a cue for the four newspapers to, in sweeping fashion, connect the two events together; the impetus and the result. By coupling these two realities as a beginning and an end, 9/11 coverage moves away from the front page and into stories that communicate the two circumstances more comprehensively. Print news media asserts in this way that the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks are not an isolated incident. Further, the newspaper posits that in order to reckon with loss, a total view of 9/11's consequences is necessary.

The acknowledgment of 9/11 has moved elsewhere. Over the fifth, tenth and fifteenth anniversary of 9/11, the print news media narrated how the audience could commemorate the attacks. In doing so, the print newspaper established different avenues of such commemoration. The physical site, an element seen so consistently on the tenth anniversary, is essentially the

commemorative superblock. Ground Zero, and the National 9/11 Memorial Museum takes on the role of memorializing the attacks. In turn, front pages about 9/11 cease to be as important or essential in memory making. In New York City, acknowledgment moves elsewhere. From doorsteps and newsstands, commemoration presents itself in the form of memorabilia, plaques on essentially every FDNY station, and the hollow footprints of the Twin Towers.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

Late Edition  
Today, plenty of sunshine, seasonable, low humidity, high 70. Tonight, clear, mild, low 65. Tomorrow, mostly sunny, breezy, warmer, high 85. Weather map is on Page A2.

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After the death of U.S. troops last month, 13 new flags were added at the Global War on Terror Memorial near Shanksville, Pa.

## Biden's Orders Deepen Conflicts Over Vaccines; G.O.P. Vows Legal Fight

### 11 Times as Likely to Die Without Shots

### President Tells Rivals to 'Have at It'

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI and RONI CARYN RABIN  
Just a day after President Biden issued broad mandates aimed at encouraging American workers to get vaccinated against the coronavirus, federal health officials released new data showing that unvaccinated Americans are 11 times as likely as vaccinated people to die of Covid-19.

Three large studies, published on Friday by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, also highlighted the effectiveness of the shots at preventing infection and hospitalizations with the virus.

The research underscored a deep conviction among scientists that vaccine hesitancy and refusal have prolonged the pandemic. The administration's new plan should stem the flood of infections and return the country to some semblance of normalcy in the long term, several experts said in interviews.

"It's going to fundamentally shift the arc of the current surge," said Dr. Ashish Jha, dean of Brown University School of Public Health. "It's exactly what's needed at this moment."

The new data also may help bolster confidence in the nation's vaccines, which has eroded amid unexpected reports of breakthrough infections.

One of the studies looked at more than 600,000 virus infections in 13 states, representing about one quarter of the U.S. population, between April and July. The researchers concluded that Americans who were not fully vaccinated were far more susceptible to infections, illness and death from the virus.

Even after the Delta variant became dominant in the United States, President Biden's orders pushing millions of workers to get vaccinated were aimed at turning the tide on a pandemic that has killed 650,000 Americans. But on Friday, the mandates immediately deepened the nation's political divisions over coronavirus vaccinations and government power.

Some employers and business groups welcomed the sweeping new requirements, which affect most federal employees and contractors, health care workers, and companies with 100 or more employees. Labor unions representing millions of workers expressed a mix of support and reservations. And Republican leaders issued outright condemnations, calling the mandates a big-government attack on personal freedoms and private business.

News of the mandates prompted Gov. Henry McMaster of South Carolina to say he would fight Mr. Biden and his party "to the gates of hell."

Several Republican governors

Gov. Kristi Noem of South Dakota pledged a challenge.

Several Republican governors

## A WAR RAGES ON IN THE SHADOWS

### Afghan Exit Didn't End Fight With Extremists

By MARK LANDLER  
When President Biden told an exhausted nation on Aug. 31 that the last C-17 cargo plane had left Taliban-controlled Kabul, ending two decades of American military misadventure in Afghanistan, he defended the frantic, bloodstained exit with a simple statement: "I was not going to extend this forever war."

And yet the war grinds on. As Mr. Biden drew the curtain

## In Shanksville, a Field of Flags for All the Fallen

By CAMPBELL ROBERTSON  
SHANKSVILLE, Pa. — When the plane crashed in the empty field north of town, the schools let out early. Rafiq Rodriguez, 11 at the time, waited in a cafeteria full of crying and shocked classmates for her mother and stepfather to come and take her home. When they showed up, they had brought along a family friend. "Don't worry," said the friend, a teenager who announced he had just enlisted. "We're going to get them. We're going to get the ones who did this."

On a muggy Friday morning 20 years later, Ms. Rodriguez, now the wife of a Marine and the mother of a 6-year-old girl, was planting American flags in a small

## Where Flight 93 Went Down, Memorials Beyond 9/11

streets of downtown Manhattan were filled with dust clouds and terror, as the South Tower of the World Trade Center had just collapsed. In Washington, federal officials and city residents were bracing for more attacks as flames poured out of the western side of the Pentagon. People across the country sat in shock in front of their televisions, waiting to hear what institution might be hit next.

Unlike the Pentagon or the World Trade Center, Somerset County, Pa., was not a target on Sept. 11, only a place that Flight 93 was passing over on the way to the terrorist grip objectives in Washington. People did not live in Shopton or Friedens or Shanksville, a tiny town without a traffic light, because they wanted to be near the levers of global

went down outside Shanksville, Pa. About a dozen people were with her, each flag they planted representing one of 7,049 U.S. service members who had died in the wars that were waged since that late summer morning in 2001.

"A lot of the kids I went to school with, they enlisted," Ms. Rodriguez said, looking out across the field. "It made a lot of us feel more connected to the larger world."

By the time that the plane went down in Pennsylvania, the larger



Gov. Kristi Noem of South Dakota pledged a challenge.

Several Republican governors

Fig. 13 – *The New York Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2021<sup>41</sup>

*The New York Times* front-page on 9/11/2021 included two images, with one in reference to the commemoration of 9/11 and its victims (Fig. 13). This image is representative of a critical change of 9/11's visual presence on the front page. Taken during the day, through a frame of two trees, the central photograph captures a wide-open field, dotted with small American flags posted into the ground in rows. The headline reads, "In Shanksville, a Field of Flags for All the Fallen."

<sup>41</sup> Campbell Robertson, *The New York Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2021, A1

A note on the underside of the picture states that 13 additional flags dot the field in honor of the 13 service members that were killed in the suicide bombing at Kabul International Airport during the evacuation of Afghanistan. The field in the image is the site where the hijacked Flight 93 crashed due to heroics by passengers. *The New York Times* publish, for the first time, a photograph of Shanksville. The inclusion of the photograph is also the first time that *The New York Times* publish a 9/11-relative image not from New York City. Engaging with Flight 93 signals a conclusion to the overt presence of commemorative narratives in *The New York Times*. Even less visually present, the *Los Angeles Times*, publishes no image relating to 9/11 on the page on the twentieth anniversary.



Fig. 14 – *Los Angeles Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2021<sup>42</sup>

In 2021, the *Los Angeles Times* front page of the print edition included several images, with none relating to the September 11th attacks, perhaps the clearest indication that 9/11

<sup>42</sup> Front Page, *Los Angeles Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2021

prominent role on the front page of the other anniversaries may have reached its editorial end (Fig. 14). The paper did include, at the bottom of the page, a small article that referenced a page number where more would be covered in terms of the 20th anniversary of 9/11. The title for this section was “9/11 Still on the Minds of Many”. Below the title text reads, “Nearly Half of Californians Report Lasting Effect, Poll Finds” (in reference to 9/11). The only text on the page that directly references 9/11 is reporting that less than half report a lasting effect from 9/11, reinforcing the fading memory of 9/11 to its readers. As an example of the coupling of 9/11 and the end of the war in Afghanistan, a photograph of Taliban policemen in Kabul placed directly next to the text referencing the poll regarding 9/11, packages the beginning and ending of the post-9/11 era. With the knowledge of the chaos that marked the evacuation of Kabul, readers and viewers of this front page are poised to imagine the Taliban as a threat. Without a distinct image placing 9/11 at the forefront of the 20-year anniversary, the Taliban takes this role as the image defining the *Los Angeles Times*'s acknowledgment of the attacks. In both 20-year editions, there was not one image of New York City. After twenty years, it appears as if the papers register a turn away from the visual memory of the loss of the Twin Towers. Also reflecting on the consequences of the war in Afghanistan, the *Chicago Tribune* retains a domestic perspective.



Fig. 15 – *Chicago Tribune*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2021<sup>43</sup>

The *Chicago Tribune* addresses more generally the consequences of a changed U.S., twenty years after one morning swung the geopolitical landscape of American foreign policy, and the world, into a post-9/11 era. The articles in this edition run as follows; “REMEMBERING 9/11 TWENTY YEARS LATER”, US grief, resolve imbue 9/11 rites”, ““Did my service make a difference?””. The two photographs are attached to the first and last article, with the first being at the ‘Reflecting Absence Memorial’ where a hand hovers over the granite embankment where the

<sup>43</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2021, A1

names of the victims of the World Trade Center attacks are inscribed. From first glance, though, it is not readily apparent that the image is from ‘Reflecting Absence.’ The other photo, smaller in nature, taken in an art room at the “Road Home Program,” focuses on a man wearing an apron, sitting by an arts and crafts table. The caption below identifies the man as Jarett Langfitt. Mr. Langfitt served in the United States Army for five years. He is credited with the quote after which the article is entitled. These elements call for a much different response, emotionally, to the memory of 9/11 by tying it to the public effect, even speaking about the consequences of the attack (like the War on Terror) in the past tense. Only the *New York Post* continues in the fashion that we are familiar with in the earlier anniversaries, though even there, a sense of sacrifice rather than a graphic display takes the front-page image.



Fig. 16 – *New York Post*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2021<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> “Never Forget,” *New York Post*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2021, A1

The *New York Post*'s issue on the 20th anniversary contains a full-page picture of a firefighter kneeling with an axe on the day of the attacks (Fig. 16). The largest words on the page call upon the 9/11-linked term, "NEVER FORGET" with the subheading reading, "20 years after 9/11, a day of remembrance and an ode to the city's resilience". I argue that this publication is most "commemorative" because of its sole focus on New York City, while the other papers above appear to move in a manner of reduced visual reference. In the top right corner is an image of the two massive beams of light that rise from Ground Zero as a memorial in New York City on recent September 11th events. Superimposed on this image is the word "REMEMBER," demanding a textual and visual relation to the memory of the attacks. Invoking the photograph of the ash covered firefighter is a well-emblazoned image in the minds of New Yorkers and, Americans in general. 9/11, of course, marked the deadliest day for an emergency response organization, the FDNY, in American history. In this instance, the *New York Post*, attempts to preserve the visual narrative of tragedy within the public mind with an image of solidarity, but also of life. The use of "Never Forget" and "Remember" demand a reckoning. These words literally tell the audience not to forget; they are reminders which indicate the reduction of visual callbacks referenced above. Instead of an explicit confirmation of the front pages' change in visual narrative, the *New York Post* pushes back on this by using a hard-hitting photograph. The effect, however, confirms a reduced presence of that type of imagery in the process.

# Epilogue:



Reflecting Absence



On September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2021, I took a trip down to New York City. Given that I was in the early stages of research for this project, I thought it would be important to be in Manhattan for the twentieth anniversary. I had driven down with a friend of mine who, on the way into the city, told me about a dear friend of her father, Pat Brown. Mr. Brown, a captain of his ladder company was killed in the rescue efforts at the World Trade Center. He was very close to the family and my friend told a few stories about him over the course of the drive down. New York City had its usual cadence to it on that day, perhaps slowed a bit by the general hoopla following President Biden's arrival for a memorial service at Ground Zero. After parking we began to walk toward where I was staying for the weekend, two doors down from a fire station; FDNY Ladder 3 & Battalion 6. I had known this station for essentially my whole life, having had pictures taken of me in the engine when I was four years old. In front of the open garage door were posterboards identifying each of the members of that ladder who died on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001. People lined up to lay flowers, some just looked. When the wind blew over one of the boards, several people reacted instantly, propping the legs of the easel that held the board up again. We stopped for a moment to read the names on the boards, landing, finally, on Captain Patrick Brown's placard. By complete coincidence, we happened to be at the station that Mr. Brown had operated out of. Ladder 3 & Battalion 6 reported to the North tower on 9/11. Out of all the companies that responded to the World Trade Center, Ladder 3 suffered some of the heaviest losses out of all FDNY stations.<sup>45</sup> Twelve out of twenty-five crew members were killed. In fact, the heavily damaged fire truck that is currently on display at the 9/11 memorial museum was from Ladder 3, captained by Pat Brown on 9/11.

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<sup>45</sup> Amy Reiter and Suzy Hansen, "These are big strong guys. They ain't going down easy," Salon, last modified September 13, 2001, <https://www.salon.com/2001/09/13/firefighters/#:~:text=%2C%22%20he%20says.-,%22These%20are%20big%20strong%20guys.,re%20going%20to%20fight.%22>

The existence, now, of a full-fledged memorial park at Ground Zero operating as the central commemorative space, explains the reduction of the front page's visual reference to the attack on the Twin Towers. The matter is not that the attacks are no longer news, but that Ground Zero does what the newspaper cannot; act as a permanent physical site for commemoration. The museum raises the more personal stories, like that of the Ladder 3 fire engine and of specific victims. The new Freedom Tower delivers a sense of resolve similar to that seen in the newspaper between 2001 and 2011. The memorial itself perpetually deals with the massive loss of life in the etchings of victims' names, but simultaneously grieves the loss of the Twin Towers in two optically infinite pits of rushing water. The Ground Zero site becomes, in essence, a permanent front page. Pulling back from Ground Zero itself, the presence of visual cues to commemorate 9/11 around New York City is at times very clear and at others quite subtle, though frequently seen. For example, above the entrances to the various bridges and tunnels is a small decal of an abstracted version of the Twin Towers with an American flag layered over. When you enter New York City you are confronted with the memory of 9/11 almost immediately; a confrontation that the four newspapers, by 2021, involve themselves less with.

On a separate trip to New York City, I visited the 9/11 memorial at Ground Zero containing Walker and Arad's "Reflecting Absence" and the National 9/11 Memorial Museum. The massive area making up the memorial and museum in lower Manhattan is consistently visited by tourists and locals, making the site an active memory. The Freedom Tower is an operational office space. The relatively new Calatrava designed structure, called The World Trade Center Transportation Hub is a working travel center. Between these offices and train stations is "Reflecting Absence." Walking through the park-like space encompassing the two footprints and the museum, the sound of rushing water from the pools of water drowns out most

noise. It is even hard to overhear conversation through the hum of the waterfall. The pits, painted black, are wrapped by equally black metal where the names of victims from both Towers are engraved. The materiality that black metal, dark concrete, seemingly endless water and the sparse vegetation exude a heavy and somber tone. This weight is also so present in the memorial area because of the role it has as the primary commemorative space for 9/11. As the frontpage references to the Twin Towers begin to lose the frequency seen in the earlier anniversaries, “Reflecting Absence” takes on that role. The memorial becomes the public-facing commemorative location for 9/11’s memory. I see this as less of a passing of the torch from newspaper to memorial, but more so the natural progression of dealing with such an event. This change is not dubious, but rather necessary. As other tragedies eventually become memories, 9/11 follows suit. *The New York Times*’ front page leading image from Shanksville, Pennsylvania indicates that the commemoration of the loss faced on September 11<sup>th</sup>, belongs in New York City at Ground Zero between Fulton and Liberty Street at the very edge of Manhattan.

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