

FALLING MAN AND AMERICAN MEDIA: COVERING THE 9/11 TERROR ATTACKS

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ABSTRACT

Falling Man as any other novel has been critically studied and examined from many different angles. It is obvious that the novel is taking on the terror attacks of 9/11. However, In *After the Fall* (2011), for Richard Gray, the novel is said to be dealing with “the condition of melancholia: that condition which Freud identified as one of emotional isolation and inertia,” (28). And that it is certainly more precise to say that the novel is confined to the melancholic condition, contributing an oral correspondent of serenity, that it is an indication rather than a conclusion. It is also investigated as revolving around the image of that man falling off from one of the towers and the impact of the attacks on American people. The novel traces the lives of Keith and Lianne who have survived the attacks, but their lives “are haunted both by the literal man who fell from the towers, and by a performance artist who—in shocking acts of aesthetic terrorism—replicates the falling man in public spaces,” (Hill 12).

Situating these two images in relation to theories of trauma and spectacle, Herren argues that Don DeLillo’s *Falling Man* reconsiders local trauma by exploring how broader issues of perception, spectatorship, and artistic mediation shape our individual and collective responses to 9/11, (Miller 11). In *This is the World Now: Trauma, PTSD and 9/11* in *Don DeLillo’s Falling Man* (2010), Laura Fussel argues that although there has not been particular attention to DeLillo’s portrayal of individual victims and PTSD in his previous works, *Falling Man* is not the first time DeLillo has confronted trauma in his fiction. Before writing *Falling Man*, she continues, DeLillo wrote two specific texts that have received particular attention by scholars investigating trauma: *Libra* (1988) and *The Body Artist* (2001). *Libra*, a novel about the John F. Kennedy assassination, explores the relationship between representation and historical trauma. *The Body Artist*, on the other hand, explores the toll that a shocking loss of a loved one has on the individual psyche, but focuses primarily on the corporeality of working through trauma,(15).

Moreover, Duvall argues that *Falling Man* “examines the psychological trauma experienced by New Yorkers in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of 9/11,” (Duvall 9). It, Duvall asserts, “underscores DeLillo’s longstanding concern with the role of the artist in contemporary society,” (9). He reiterates what many others have said that DeLillo in his latest novel, *Falling Man* (2007), “examines the traumatic experience and personal restitution,” but in this instance “of one man, Keith Neudecker, a corporate lawyer working in the North Tower,” (191).

Although Don DeLillo’s *Falling Man* (2007) has been one of the most influential 9/11 novels written to this day, it did not meet the expectations of reviewers when it was first published. It is necessary to bear in mind that 9/11 can be understood both as a psychic/personal trauma and a cultural/collective one since it was a wound not only in the mind of those directly affected by the tragedy, but also in the nation’s sense of identity. Despite DeLillo’s previous interest in cultural issues, he chose to write a 9/11 psychic rather than cultural—trauma novel, (Baejo-Allué 63).

Thus far, most of the literary criticism written on *Falling Man* has approached the novel on the basis of trauma theories. It is obviously conceivable that the novel deals with the terror attacks of 9/11, and its galvanizing repercussions

on the American people portrayed through Keith and Lianne. Still, it can equally be argued that the novel has treated the topic of terrorism as well. In that regard, I argue that Falling Man is a cultural product defining the American culture and perceptions towards terrorism, the East, and Arabs in particular. The novel, it is argued, in its representations of Arabs and Muslims, celebrates the long established stereotypical conceptions of the orient in the Western popular culture, especially the American culture.

Mainstream media and some works of literature have long participated in the dissemination and perpetuation of those collectively conventional readings of the different Easterners, Arabs and Muslims in particularly. Falling Man, I argue, has embraced that Western cultural interpretation of the East, and has gone in line with the media representations. As a result, it is to be analytically examined as an ideological literary text whose purpose is, arguably, to promote power and serve its interests.

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The 9/11 terror attacks have represented a turning point in the history of imperial America and of the world, especially the Middle East. In the aftermath of the terror attacks, America has expanded and reached out to countries outside its traditional sphere of dominion. It has directly invaded and occupied two Muslim and Arab countries; Afghanistan and Iraq respectively, the two countries used to be allies of Communism and of the Soviet Union. And the media has had a lot to do with that and to make it happen.

Therefore, the question of what role the media has played or has had to play in popularizing such a tremendously galvanizing event and in what direction is precisely what this segment will be attempting to talk about. I argue that the media has been biased and has played a significantly notorious role in shaping the public's opinion, especially the American public, on the 9/11 attacks, and in framing the story of the event. The media, I claim, has embraced the official version of the story, has exerted neither time nor effort to investigate into the intriguing details of the event, and has seized the chance to rally the support of the American people and of the world to demand retaliation.

The 9/11 terror attacks on the United States are believed to have been the most dramatically galvanizing media spectacle in history and still is for years to come. It has been a global event for global media across the world. It is an unforgettable site and it is true that "no one will forget where they were when the start of today's world's mess began, when the September 11th suicide hijackings began," (Cochran 15).

How did the media cover that atrocity and what effect did that have on the public? The answer to this question will examine the media's contribution to the way the events have been received. The 9/11 terror attack has left the peoples of the world with its indelible yet bitter and agonizing memories of shock, fear, and sadness. Peoples of the world have sympathetically identified themselves with Americans and all the victims of the Twin Towers and their families. They—with no exception of race, color, or language—have empathetically received the 9/11 terror attack with mixed and conflicting feelings; feelings experienced by Americans themselves, feelings of, "fear, pain, sadness, and many other feelings unique to each American," (Cochran 15).

Such truly vibrant and natural feelings of shock and disbelief have been displayed and demonstrated by the peoples of the world in general and the American people in particular.

Those feelings should have been met immediately by true and sincere efforts by the government to look into and investigate the complex and confusingly baffling truth behind such a horrendous atrocity. On the contrary, the media has helped satisfy Americans with the official version pinpointing to Muslims in general and Arabs in particular to be the culprits and villains who have to be punished. Besides, the media has directed its attention as well to raise the President's popularity and rally the support of the American people causing them to look up to the president and demand revenge:

However, it was the way in which the media chose to cover this event that jacked up the hysteria and fear to such great heights. With such titles as 'A Day of Terror' and 'America under Terrorist Attack' it helped get to a state of fear where all they knew to do was look up to the

president for help.... Titles like, ‘America’s Heroes’ and ‘Home of the Brave’ did a great job of rallying support and patriotism for America, and respectively for Bush. Just as suspected, after the 9/11 attacks, Bush’s popularity skyrocketed to a near 90% approval rating. This was most likely directly linked to the type of reporting and coverage done for these attacks, instilling fear and patriotism in the public so that they would look to the president for what steps to take next. (Cochran 15,16)

As a result, a global alliance has been formed by America and its complying allies, on one side, against terror; and allegedly terror supporting countries, on the other side. There has been no talks in the media about peaceful resolutions or diplomatic efforts at the time and all the “coverage of terrorist activity abroad as well as the war in Iraq in *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* focused on military strategy and the implicit support of the Bush administration,” (Wiggins 5). And sadly enough, “news media did not include diplomatic options, divergent viewpoints, or critique of the Iraq War or the War on Terror,” (Wiggins 5).

Such an alliance has left no space for neutrality, non alignment or even rationale and reasoning; an alliance in which “news media coverage since 9/11 and during the subsequent War on Terror has led to a meta-frame in terms of how U.S. news media cover events. Cold War journalism, like that during the War on Terror, fell under an ‘us-versus-them’ frame,” (Wiggins 5).

According to George W. Bush in his famous speech before the Congress ‘whether to bring the enemy to justice or bring justice to the enemy, justice will be done’. The nature of this alliance has been candidly and blatantly put forward by the then American President in his same speech saying ‘you are either with us or against us’. There is no middle opinion, no room for skepticism, and no need for serious investigations and “news media in the U.S. filtered events to reflect the views of the U.S. administration since the events of 9/11 and throughout the War on Terror, (qtd. in Wiggins 5).

The nature and tactics of the American media coverage for the 9/11 attack, and its compliance and conformity with the American administration, its interpretation of the event and its agenda to follow emphatically asserts the assumption that “the mass media’s products, as part and parcel of Gramsci’s civil

society, are entrenched with relations of power and serve to perpetuate and confirm the hegemonic order,” (Yenigun 43).

The enemy has already been named, shamed, and has to be brought to justice. And naming the enemy has not taken much time or effort to specify. Thus, “even on the first night of the events, blame was laid squarely on some Muslims, mainly Osama bin Laden and his organization,” although “it was difficult to know whether this was because of the material evidence present at the time or because it was just the most likely thing,” (Yenigun 45). This spontaneous ease in naming the enemy and the readiness of the American public to accept that without questioning would not have been possible without the relentless and unapologetic efforts of the media to generically demonize the perpetrators, Muslims in this case, in advance and during the process. And after 9/11 Muslims in their totality have become victims to the degree that “profiling Muslims is more like profiling the Klan,” (Dagnes 39).

Falling Man arguably follows that line of framing. Islam has been presented in the novel as a religion of terror and death. According to Pirnajmuddin Hussein, DeLillo in this novel noticeably categorizes terrorism with Islam, (Hussein 119). Equally, Islam, according to the novel, is a weirdly different religion. It is violent and its main goal is to destroy America and the Jews, unlike Christianity which is a religion of peace. Islam is not just prayers, it is “the struggle against the enemy, near enemy and far, Jews first, for all things unjust and hateful, and then the Americans,” (DeLillo 80).

In most cases the term Muslims boils down to Arabs and the American media stereotypes of Arabs as ugly, negative, and prone to be violent “accompany a child from his early years to graduating from college, presenting them as ‘the bad guys,’” (Semaan 17). Likewise, Muslims in general are depicted by the American media as “unitary, absolutist, fatalistic, patriarchal, unreasonsing, antimodern, punitive, and synonymous with terrorism and religious hysteria,” (Robinson 11). *Falling Man*, surprisingly enough, reproduces that rhetoric. In Hussein’s words, “DeLillo introduces Muslims as violators of American style of life, a criminality rooted not in their being individually seditious but in their collective Islamicism,” (120). In the

novel, too, DeLillo introduces Muslims and Arabs in their mosaic totality as being engaged in a lifelong aggressive struggle against the West to “have their own global union” which is “an old dead war” but it “is everywhere,” (DeLillo 116). Their collective mentality is fixated on one historic eternal animosity which is for them “in blood trust, to kill Americans,” (DeLillo 171).

Many might wonder over the fact that the terrorists who have hijacked the planes and executed the 9/11 terror attacks were Muslims and were Arabs. And yes it is absolutely true, but there is a problem and it lies in the fact that Arabs are not all the same exact brand. There is very noticeable diversity among them that they naturally enjoy, like other nations and races. Arabs are estimated to be three hundred fifty million people, equaling the population of the United States; and belong to some twenty three countries and stretch over two continents. It is easily obtainable for the eye and mind of a neutral observer that “not all Arabs and not all Muslims chose to carry out the attacks, but rather a particular type of militant with specific views about a need to resort to violence,” (Habeck 2).

Muslims with Arabs amount to a billion plus people. Those people(s) belong to different races, are scattered in almost every corner of the globe, speak different languages, acquire various nationalities, and essentially adopt different life styles and traditions. In that respect, it would be a grave mistake, an awful blow to logic, and absolutely wrong and unfair to stamp them with the same title and adjective resting on an orphan reason which is embracing Islam and being Muslims. This kind of intentional and celebrated ignorance towards facts of that sort is promoted by the American media sadly even before the 9/11 attacks causing Americans to be “largely ignorant of the realities of Islam, and that, ‘politicians and other figures appearing in the media fed this ignorance by linking the attacks with the religion of Islam,’ (Robinson 11).

In *Falling Man*, Muslims are projected in their totality as evil and dangerous. And that is why it might be hard for Keith to find a taxi at a time when every cabdriver in New York was named Muhammad,” (DeLillo 28). Likewise, Western and American media has characterized Muslims and Islam “by a more highly exaggerated stereotyping and belligerent hostility,” (Said, *Covering Islam* xi). The point is that the media

campaign targets indiscriminately all Muslims and Islam as a religion and that there have been “malicious generalizations about Islam,” that “have become the last acceptable form of denigration of foreign culture,” and “cannot now be said in mainstream discussion about Africans, Jews, other Orientals or Asians,” (Said, *Covering Islam* xii). Religious fanaticism can be associated with almost all religions, Christianity included; but “the deliberately created associations between Islam and fundamentalism ensure that the average reader comes to see Islam and fundamentalism as essentially the same thing,” (Said, *Covering Islam* xvi).

Yet, the existence of a handful of fanatics in a religion does not necessarily entail calling that religion and all its followers fanatics. Therefore, within Islam as a religion there are more than a billion people with different languages and traditions, and “its millions of square miles of territory principally in Africa and Asia, its dozens of societies, states, histories, geographies,” and “cultures,” (Said, *Covering Islam* i).

Consequently, the media has remarkably helped the American administration to go ahead with its extreme agenda, in which “the Bush-Cheney Administration manipulated the fear experienced by the people of the United States to push through a rightwing agenda and to go to war in Afghanistan and Iraq with the complicity of the mainstream U.S. corporate media,” (Kellner 124). And, it can be added, that with the help of some literary works such as *Falling Man*, this assumption is being developed and solidified.

The media has exerted tremendous efforts to transform the 9/11 terror attacks from a tragedy and a tragic atrocity to a melodramatic event with its images and coverage that “highlighted the United States’ unequivocal moral positioning and signifies the images of attack and collapse through melodramatic practices,” (Anker 27). There has been a focus by the American media on America as a unique country of virtue and ideals; a construction in which “America is characterized as an abstract yet cohesive collective body, signified by the qualities of virtue and goodness implied in the ideals of freedom and democracy; the collective body is under attack from an evil ‘other,’ a villain, and this condition necessitates a retaliatory act of heroism,” (Anker 25). Much of the focus of the American media has been about

America's "heroism, about power, about the capacity to respond and overcome," (Anker 26).

That same superficial, dubious logic is obviously unmistakably reiterated by DeLillo in the novel to produce the same traumatic effects. DeLillo provides the same answer positioning his work in the same line within politics and the American government. Thus, the justification offered by DeLillo in the novel is that "one side has the capital, the labor, the technology, the armies, the agencies, the cities, the laws, the police and the prisons. And the other side has a few men willing to die," (DeLillo 47).

This kind of melodramatic coverage for the 9/11 terror attack by the American media is a plain propaganda by the media for American domination and hegemony. The result of such an effort is that "American domination of television networks is leading to the same (American) framing of recent military operations being distributed on a worldwide scale," (Archetti 472). So we can observe the influence of American media over some world media as we come to learn that there is:

A growing tendency among US-dominated global news networks [examples presented are Sky News in Europe, Star News Asia from Hong Kong, Brazil's Globo News, Al-Jazeera, CCTV in China and Doordashan in India] generally to follow Washington's foreign policy agenda, couching imperial military actions in terms of 'humanitarian interventions' undertaken to promote freedom and democracy. (Archetti 472-3)

The assumption whether or not American media has framed the 9/11 terror attacks is abundantly clear; but whether some other global media has participated in the framing of the event and "the extent to which the American framing of 9/11 is reproduced in foreign news discourses should depend,... on whether a country is more or less poor," (Archetti 473). Poor countries dependence on western news agencies for news is attributed to a number of factors among which is "the lack of economic resources for gathering news through their own structures," causing these countries to "rely on western news agencies and this," the argument goes, "leads to news that reflects the perspective of the richer countries," (Archetti 475).

Furthermore, the American media has averted from asking the 'why' question; the question of why we

have been attacked. On the contrary, the focus of the media is to promote the idea that America has been attacked because, as George W. Bush has said in his first national address following 9/11 that "America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining," (Meizel 107). A delusional statement adopted by the American administration and promoted by the media after 9/11 for these "delusions of American policy after 9/11 was to presume that if anti-Americanism was out there, it wasn't because of our policies or the Hollywood image but because we were misunderstood," (Medavoy 78).

Falling Man is critically examined to be falling within the same strategy and political guidelines:

In *Falling Man* DeLillo discusses the strategy of asymmetrical warfare practiced by terrorists through the character of Ernst Hechinger, aka Martin Ridnour, an international art dealer with a shady past [a terrorist past that has been ignored and compromised as godless Western White] Ridnour's commentary on anti-American terrorism is comparable to Jean Baudrillard's theory: 'they strike a blow to this country's dominance. They achieve this, to show how a great power can be vulnerable. A power that interferes, that occupies,' at will and refuses to digest a logic of revenge by its victims. (Duvall 192)

Such reality check questions have been—reluctantly shyly and out of the context of time and action nonetheless—approached by prominent political figures like Even Karen Hughes, George Bush's Texas confidante. Hughes as an insider knows for a fact a lot more than the media claims to know and promotes. She has been quoted while leaving her job in 2007, assaying that "it would take decades to overcome the intense hostility around the world toward the US," affirming that it would be "a long struggle if politics in the information age is about whose story wins, America has certainly been on a losing streak," (Medavoy 11).

The global media has shown unreserved solidarity, so to speak, with America and adopted the same line of reporting. In France, for example, observing one of its leading papers, the *Le Monde*, one is tempted to detect this alliance in which "*Le Monde*'s famous headline immediately after 9/11 declares that 'We are all Americans,'" (Medavoy 64).

This kind of American media influence and domination over some prominent global media might not have been forcibly instructed as some news analysts say. They argue that there is “no evidence that the American news framing of 9/11 is being imposed on news in foreign countries,” (Archetti 474). The same analysis concludes that the reason for the commonality of framing the 9/11 event among the American media and some other global media is because of “the quoting of the same *interpretations* of the events by the same sources,” (Archetti 474).

The way the American media has covered the 9/11 attacks has been very shallow and has avoided raising important questions of value and context: Mostly superficial and fails to provide any context for the attacks. Questions that need answers were rarely asked, questions such as: Why do some people hate us so much that they would sacrifice their own lives to spill blood on American soil? What are their goals? Where do they come from? Why didn’t we see this coming? Why didn’t we take action given the clear warnings we had? What would be the best way to prevent such attacks in the future?’ (Robinson 13)

There are other important questions the American media has completely neglected; questions like how those Arab Muslim terrorists could get into the United States in the first place since they are blacklisted by the CIA. And how they could stay in the United States for several months and plot against it without being discovered and arrested by the concerned authorities like the FBI. Another question is how they could manage to penetrate and conquer the most sophisticated and state of the art surveillance system of the American airports. Questions to which the response of these highly alert, equipped, and trained American security agencies is that they have lacked the spirit of coordination and collaboration as they have been busy fighting each other (Lindauer N.Pag.). A likely similar excuse is also offered in *Falling Man*. DeLillo suggests that although the system can record everything to the extent of taking the “picture of a dung beetle from one hundred kilometers up” (81), or reading “the signals of a cell phone of somebody in a car on a desert road in Yemen,” the terrorists could beat it as they only had to “encounter [each other] face to face,... in the flat or in the mosque,” (DeLillo 81,173).

There are high state officials in the United States who have openly expressed their doubts and skepticism about the official version of the 9/11 terror attacks and raised their voices demanding serious investigation and the truth. One of the claims they propose is the ties of Saudi Arabia to the 9/11 terror attacks as being ignored by the American security agencies. This claim is maintained by the fact that fifteen out of the nineteen hijackers were Saudis. And yet, American is still sustaining a friendly relation with Saudi Arabia, (Schonberg 30).

To mention a sample example of American officials raising doubts is former Senator Bob Graham of Florida saying “I think the American people deserve to know the truth of what has happened in their name,” Credit Benjamin Rusnak for The New York Times, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/14/world/middleeast/florida-ex-senator-pursues-claims-of-saudi-ties-to-sept-11-attacks.html?_r=1, retrieved on July 2, 2015.

Furthermore, it is reported that the Arab Muslim terrorists who have conducted the hijackings of the planes on September 11th, have been closely watched by FBI agents while in the United States. For instance, Nawaf Al-Hamzi and Khalid Al-Mihdhar have been under the tight security watch of the FBI agents before the events of 9/11. The problem these security agents suggest is that they have not been warned by the CIA. So, the question that imposes itself is that, since the FBI knows they are terrorists and is watching them even without being warned by the CIA of their conspiracy, why has it left them live and act freely in America without deterring them and more importantly, why has it allowed them to take a plane? (Lindauer N.pag.)

In a news release to ABCNEWS, it is said that “If San Diego FBI agent Steven Butler had known what the CIA knew about possible terror attacks, he may have had the best chance to stop the Sept. 11, 2001, hijackers,” investigators told ABCNEWS, (qtd. in Lindauer N.pag.). The FBI agency’s confession raises more questions about the agency; the least of which is whether this agency is a supervising and recording authority or a law-enforcement agency. The news release goes on saying that “Butler had two of the hijackers, Nawaf Alhamzi and Khalid Al- Midhar, under his nose for some 18 months, but neither he, nor anyone in the

FBI, was warned by the CIA," <http://abcnews.go.com/WNT/story?id=129563>, retrieved on July 2,2015.

In another press release for *The New York Times*, it claims that the 9/11 terror attack could have been thwarted if the CIA and FBI have shared intelligence and avoided communication lapses saying that 'the Sept. 11 attacks were preventable, but the plot went undetected because of communications lapses between the F.B.I. and C.I.A., which failed to share intelligence,'<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/07/24/us/9-11-congressional-report-faults-fbi-cialapses.html>, retrieved on July 2, 2015. Whether or not this justification is reasonable and accepted by Americans or other interested parties is to be left for the readers to examine and decide.

Those questions and other more daring and more sensitive questions like; what if the American security agencies have played a role, have been accomplice, have facilitated or at least have failed to fulfill their designated duty. In cases as galvanizing and shocking as the case of the 9/11 or simpler cases, there usually is a briefing and an investigation for the concerned security agencies to know why and how such agencies have fallen short of their designated duties, or have failed to stop that accident or crime from happening. Moreover, everybody who has traveled on a plane knows very well how difficult it is to pass through the security check in an airport, even of a third world country, let alone of the first, most developed and most sophisticated country in the world, while carrying or hiding anything suspicious or not allowed.

There has also been many voices that put the blame on the American administration itself believing that "the United States government was at least partially responsible for the terrible events of that day,... in terms of its involvement in these affairs," (Whelan 25). Susan Lindauer, a former CIA Asset Agent, is one of those voices and she claims to possess answers to most of these questions. In her book *Extreme Prejudice* (2010), she has openly accused the CIA and some higher state officials of having advance knowledge of the terror attack, of facilitating it, and even of complicity. She has been indicted on the Patriot Act and put in prison for going to the Congress, to the staff of Senator John McCain demanding to tell her story. Instead of allowing

her to testify, she has been taken a month later to prison without recognizing her right to stand in a court for trial, to know her crime or even to have a lawyer, and was left there for five years. In a talk in 2011 she begins by saying that in 2001 her boss and handler in the CIA Richard Fuse told her that "there really was not going to be much of 9/11 investigation". She also claims in the same talk that Fuse has received a thirteen-million-dollar check from the 9/11 investigation committee as a payoff to keep his mouth shut. She summarizes the story of the 9/11 terror attack by saying that "I believe that there was a hijacking and a controlled demolition scenario," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=68LUHa_-Ola, retrieved on July 2, 2015.

All in all, the media has simplified the event and 'President George W. Bush's claim that terrorists are 'evil' and we are 'good' provides another example of simplifying the problem of terrorism, a claim that was repeatedly echoed on television," (Robinson 13). The media has complied with the administration and hardly has it asked a single question not coming from, inner-ring or first tier media, causing it to later apologize "for not being critical enough, especially when it came to not questioning evidence about the supposed threat from Iraq presented to them from White House insiders," (Robinson 13).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Falling Man is a 9/11 novel. It has depicted the events of 9/11. The novel has also been demonstrated to have dealt with the trauma and devastating effects of the terror attacks on the people especially those who have witnessed it firsthand. *Falling Man* has traced the lives of Keith and his wife Lianne to show through them how galvanized and confused the people are after the events.

However, the main focus of the novel is Islam and Arabs who are presented as the ultimate evil. Muslims and Arabs in their entirety, according to the novel, are terrorists and killers. *Falling Man* has not made the slightest distinction between a group of Arab fanatics and terrorists and the rest of Arabs. The portrayal of Arabs and Islam in the novel corresponds to that disseminated by the media and the political circles. The novel has thus aligned itself with the ideological dominant institutions of the State and embraced their

account. There is apparently no difference between the state officials and the media on one hand, and the novel on the other, in the way the 9/11 terror attacks have been presented and dealt with. Therefore, Falling Man has arguably been examined as an ideological text that is promoting power and serving its interests.

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