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WHOSE VOICE ARE WE LISTENING TO AFTER DOMESTIC TERRORISM EVENTS? AN ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSES

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A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

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Dedication

Faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen. Hebrews 11:1. Discouragement and failure are two of the surest stepping stones to success.

This dissertation is dedicated to the one person who took a chance on me when pothers turned their back. She picked me up when I needed it, kicked my butt when deserved it and encouraged me when I doubted it! She showed me the true meaning of, "WITH GOD ALL THINGS ARE POSSIBLE!"

She is the epitome of courage, determination, patience, hope and promise, all the traits I hope to someday be able to pass on. Words will never express how truly indebted I am to **Dr. Aimee L. Franklin**. Thank you for being my hero!

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The things which are impossible with men are possible with God. Luke 18:27.

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Abstract

The research analyzed three U.S. Presidents (William Clinton, George W. Bush and Barak Obama), their respective key staffers (Official Voices) and the transcripts from four Sunday morning network news programs (ABC, CBS, NBC, and Fox) commentators following three different domestic terrorist events: 1) the 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, 2) the September 11, 2001 terrorist events and 3) the 2013 bombing at the Boston Marathon. Through secondary analysis of speech and program transcripts, the research answers four questions: 1) What characteristics of charisma exhibited by transformational leaders were evident for each President, when confronted with terrorism on U.S. soil, 2) To what extent was each president's crafted talked sourced and/or echoed by his Official Voices, 3) How did the President influence media framing by labeling the crisis event, and finally, 4) Did the media framing influence the President to change his use of language, description and label of the crisis event and his short-term response?

This research contributes to transformational and charismatic leadership, media framing and terror management theory. The diversity of the three events and the actions of the three Presidents who faced distinctly different domestic terrorism events signals the importance of situational contingencies in determining the appropriate organizational response

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

> "In a matter of moments, the United States had become a gravely disoriented country tottering on the brink of chaos. Although terrorist attacks of various sorts had occurred throughout the world for most of the 20th century, nothing like this had ever happened here before, on our home soil, in the United States" (Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Greenberg, 2003, pg. 4).

During times of crisis, such as the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, the terrorist events on 9/11, or the bombing at the Boston Marathon, the U.S. President is conceivably the most visible and influential actor in the United States. After the three domestic terrorist events in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the language used by the President, as it signals the national response, is vital in repressing fears, framing the event, answering questions and providing guidance to the nation.

This study seeks to contribute to the literatures on Transformational and Charismatic Leadership, Media Framing and Terror Management Theory through an inductive analysis of three domestic terrorist events. Presidential statements/response are analyzed to characterize the President's leadership styles in times of crisis. Comments made by the President's Official Voices who have key roles in domestic terrorism events are used to examine the extent to which the President can be a transformational leader who successfully leads his followers in the successful pursuit of his short-term agenda.

Of course, the President is not the only voice of the nation in times of crisis; the mainstream media is the often first to report such events. The type of media framing following the domestic terrorist events is analyzed to understand the degree to which these actors echo, source or attempt to challenge the Presidents' agenda. To examine media framing, I analyze the questions presented by the commentators to the guests of the Sunday morning network news programs.

Terror Management Theory seeks to understand what leads to an effective response to a terrorism event. In the event of a national crisis, an effective response will be one that recognizes the shortcomings in current policies and makes changes to avoid vulnerabilities in the future. However, when the organization is a nation, the short-term response must be proposed by the President and then supported by public sentiment. Often public sentiment is guided and/or amplified by the media "talking heads." To better understand the dynamic nature of public policy making following domestic terrorism events, I analyze the temporal ordering of language to see if there is an interactive effect that can be discerned in the comments made by the President and the media.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The President of the United States, like the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of a major company, has the opportunity to be a transformational leader when dramatic events in the organization's external environment occur. In times of crisis, organizational leaders who exhibit high levels of charisma are often

more effective in communicating to their followers how the organization and its members will respond.

Transformational leadership is said to inspire followers and enable them to enact change. Charisma is a central element of transformational leadership (Nahavandi, 2000). The way charismatic leaders frame the event and communicate planned actions the organization will take in the short term is critical for restoring a sense of calm and a rapid return to business as usual. In the first research question, I seek to determine: "*What characteristics of charisma exhibited by transformational leaders were evident for Presidents Clinton, Bush and Obama, respectively, when confronted with terrorism on U.S. soil?"* Transformational and charismatic leadership literatures are used to compare the terrorism crisis response across the three most recent Presidents.

Like a CEO, the President has a public relations team, primarily consisting of the Vice President, White House Press Secretary, Secretary of Defense, Department of Homeland Security, Chief of Staff, Department of Justice, and Attorney General who each assist the President in crafting his crisis story related to the terrorist event and who, through their public comments, can assist the President in setting the agenda for short-term and long-term responses to domestic terrorism. In this study, these people are collectively labeled as the President's Official Voices. I analyze comments made by the President's lead administrators throughout the first month following the crisis event to determine if they are sourcing and/or echoing the President's comments as well as the degree of convergence between their comments and

the President's speeches. A high degree of sourcing convergence will support findings about the transformational leadership skills of the President.

The second research question asks: "*To what extent was the crafted talk of the President sourced and echoed by the Official Voices?"* To answer this research question, I look at how the President (and his Official Voices) attempted to frame the domestic terrorism event in order to promote his preferred national response using both qualitative and quantitative evidence drawn from speeches made during the first month following the crisis.

The President is not the only actor to report on a crisis event. The mainstream media can have a profound influence on public perceptions of the event; especially since immediately following the event they have greater and unrestricted access to the public. However, there is a danger in real-time reporting – facts are limited. The real-time, on-the-ground media reporters are primarily limited to describing the event and the emergency response. Other high-profile media commentators, such as those who host the Sunday morning network news shows are in a better position to label the event and, through their selection of interviewees, to frame the event and provide an appropriate response. Generally, these media commentators must wait until Sunday for their regularly scheduled news programs. In the case of all three crisis events, the President had made his official comments before the Sunday news programs aired.

When confronted with national crises, we know that the language used to describe the event can influence public response and set the stage for the

response effort. Given this, it would be reasonable to assume that the President's language is dissected by members of the media, and through their commentary and questioning of guests on their Sunday news shows; they may support or challenge the event framing and appropriateness of the federal response. The third research question leverages qualitative case study methodology to determine: "*Did the President, as the first actor to label the crisis event, influence the way the event was framed by the media?"*

If the President is influential in labeling the event and transmitting the preferences for action, then changes in the language of description, explanation and desired response can signal changes in meaning and/or intent. To understand the changes in public response to important issues/problems, Americans pay close attention to how language and interests change in order to understand what government deems important (Baumgartner, & Jones, 2009). Of course, the re-framing of an event does not happen in a vacuum. Actors listen to each other and refine their own "story" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The fourth research question asks "*Over time, did the President (himself or through his Official Voices) change the language used to describe the event, label the event and promote his preferred short-term response in response to media framing*?"

To track variation and responsiveness in language over time, I analyze commentary in three time periods with the first starting immediately at the time of the first reporting of the event. The second time period analyzed all commentary by the end of the first week and the third time period continues to

the end of the first month. I use these three time frames to comparatively analyze the crisis framing language and the degree to which the media commentators source and/or echo the President's comments rather than attempting to frame a different crisis response agenda. In addition, I also explore any references that may be made to the efficacy of national domestic security public policy implementation suggesting attempts at future longer-term agenda setting by the President, his Official Voices, or the media.

Terrorism is a phenomenon that has been in existence for at least a century (Laqueur, 1978). The ramifications of terrorist attacks near and far appear to generate a level of cause and effect. Considering the magnitude of the terrorist attack and the intended target, changes within the national organization are created and implemented almost instantly in an effort to minimize vulnerabilities and deter future attacks. The findings of this study are intended to illuminate crisis event framing and short-term agenda setting attempts by the President, his Official Voices and high-profile media commentators, respectively following the three major terrorist attacks in the United States.

Chapter 2 reviews the scholarly literature on charismatic and transformational leadership, media framing literature and Terror Management Theory (TMT). In chapter 3, the research design for the three case studies, which incorporates both qualitative and quantitative analysis in described. Chapters 4-6 provide insight into three distinctively different terrorist events on U.S. soil while three different Presidents with carrying political affiliations were

in office. At the end of each chapter, I draw conclusions about the crisis response of the President, his Official Voices and the media and answer the four research questions. Chapter 7 presents a comparative case analysis and the empirical findings of this study. These findings are compared to the extant literature reviewed in Chapter 2 to explore the theoretical and practical contributions of this study.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The scholarship on Charismatic and Transformational Leadership, Agenda Setting and Media Framing and Terror Management Theory (TMT) can be useful for exploring the complicated nexus of the President (and through his Official Voices) speaking as a leader of the nation and setting an agenda for his short-term response and the media framing of the event. In this chapter, I review these bodies of literature to provide a foundation of theoretical expectations that can be compared against the findings of this inductive analysis of Presidential responses to domestic terrorism events and the factors that lead to effectiveness in short-term agenda setting.

PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC VIEWED THROUGH THE LENS OF CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP

Researchers have found that leadership is vital to the social, moral, economic, and political fabrics of society (Bass & Stedlmeier, 1999; May et al., 2003; Price, 2002). The nation instinctively looks to the President of the United States for a reaction, and more importantly, a response following a crisis event on U.S. soil. Initiating a crisis response is a key factor in effective leadership. According to Seeger et al., (2003) illustrations of crisis leadership include: mitigating the harm, serving as a spokesperson, expressing sympathy to the victims, and framing meaning.

The idea that charismatic leaders have a personal quality combined with a powerful vision that leads people to accept change more readily is a core element of leadership theory (Weber, 1946). According to Bass (1985)

assuredness, confidence, and vision of the leader is a source of psychological comfort for the followers along with the four factors: idealized influence or charisma, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and finally individualized consideration. The appeal made by charismatic leaders to instill particular shared values is believed to be the mechanism by which this kind of leader effectively navigates change (Shamir, Zakay, Breinin, & Popper, 1998). Seyranian and Bligh (2008) argue that charismatic leaders primarily affect social change through the rhetorical strategies they make use of in their speeches. Charismatic leaders take part in frame-moving strategies, which attempt to move people from a neutral state to support for change (Lewin, 1951). They do this by encouraging a desire for non-convention and by making people fear not changing more than change.

Fiol, Harris, and House (1999) found that charismatic leaders were distinctly different than non-charismatic leaders in their rhetorical strategies, making more use of negation, inclusion and abstract rhetoric as well as **not** statements. Over time, charismatic leaders are more likely to motivate the follower to move from personal values to an active state of support through inclusive rhetoric such as '***we'*** and '***us'*** and portraying himself as similar to his followers, thereby gaining trust and influence and to use active, tangible and inspirational language as evidenced by abstract virtue terms (Fiol, Harris, & House, 1999). Seyranian and Bligh (2008) suggest that charismatic leaders use action words and aggressive words emphasizing task completion and accomplishment, though during national crises they make use of less tangible

language. In this research, I examine the language used by all three Presidents to see the degree to which charismatic rhetorical strategies were employed immediately following the crisis event.

PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC VIEWED THROUGH THE LENS OF TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP

During crisis situations, there is an increased need for leadership because leaders provide a pivotal role (Hunt, Boal, & Dodge, 1999; Weick, 1995). “Transformational leaders guide individuals experiencing a crisis by providing structure in the form of a compelling vision” (Shadraconis, 2013, pg. 1). According to Yukl (2010) “Transformational leaders have the ability to motivate and inspire individuals to admire, respect, trust, and be loyal to them”. “Transformational leaders define the need for change, develop a vision for the future, and mobilize follower commitment to achieve results beyond what would normally be expected.” (Spreitzer, Perttula, & Xin, 2005, pg. 1).

According to Bass (2009) “Transformational leadership can have four behavioral components: idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration.” Idealized influence is defined as the level of social identification that leaders create among their followers that results in the desire to closely identify with him/her (Oke et al., 2008). Inspirational motivation is defined as the degree to which leaders are able to motivate and inspire followers (Oke et al., 2008). Intellectual stimulation refers to a leader’s ability to motivate individuals to discover new ways of accomplishing tasks (Levine, Muenchen, and Brooks, 2010). And finally, individualized consideration is defined as a leader’s ability to identify and

develop the higher order needs of individuals while providing the necessary feedback to achieve organizational goals (Levine et al., 2010).

Followership is an important ingredient of leadership. People have power when they have the ability to affect others' beliefs, attitudes, and courses of action (Northouse, 2004, pg. 6). Language becomes a source of power as the speech communities (mainstream media/politicians) contend to have their words and meanings accepted as legitimate (Huspek and Kendall, 1991). Language serves several strategic purposes, including to make claims, support a position and develop relationships between audiences and speakers (Putnam and Fairhurst, 2001). According to Bandura (2001) "accepting a leader's interpretation of events and believing in his or her ability to deal with followers' problems relieves followers of the psychological stress and loss of control created in the aftermath of a crisis" (pg. 326).

Transformational leadership moves followers to accomplish more than what is usually expected of them (Northouse, 2004, pg. 177). Numerous studies have found that transformational leaders enhance follower and organizational performance by articulating a compelling vision, by inspiring and intellectually stimulating their followers, and by building individualized relationships (Karakitapoglu-Aygun, & Gumusluoglu, 2013, pg. 108).

When the nation experiences events such as domestic terrorism, there is a catalyst for action that enables policy entrepreneurs to more feasibly sell their desired courses of action" (Masters, & Alexander, pg. 436). Studies show that citizens are easily influenced by those in leadership positions, more specifically

the President of the United States, during times of crisis and are more receptive to information provided by leaders (Driskell & Salas, 1991). The followers of the President, aka the Official Voices, can be useful in reinforcing the President's interpretation of the event as well as carrying out the short-term agenda and response. Considering the President's influential role during times of crisis, it's important that his Official Voices are supporting his short-term agenda and communicating the same response. In this research, I examine the President's transformational leadership abilities to see their degree of effectiveness as demonstrated by the actions of his followers.

PRESIDENTIAL RHETORICAL VIEWED THROUGH THE LENS OF CRISIS FRAMING

The frames used to depict an event have been found to be of critical importance for public reception of policy. For example, research found that the public was in favor of rights for HIV infected people when framed as a question of civil liberties, but when based on a matter of public health, more focus was given to mandatory HIV testing (Sniderman, Brody, & Tetlock, 1991). In this way, frames "provide interpretative cues for otherwise neutral facts" and "act to define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies to problems" (Kuypers et al., pg. 3).

The framing of an event can be established by the use of crafted talk if you are a high profile individual (Jacobs, & Shapiro, 2000). Frames of communications in turn include not only the words and images, but also the connections made between issues to promote interpretation, evaluation and solution (Entman, 2004). For example, domestic terrorism events can be linked

with the idea of a threat to world peace, which validates the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ construct (Carpentier, 2007). If this framing is successful, then it is much easier to propose a response agenda claiming that the event was an act of war requiring a military response (Moeller, 2004). In times of crisis, the President is arguably the highest-profile individual in the nation and the words, arguments and symbols he uses can be powerful for framing an event and gaining public support of their labeling of the event and short-term response agenda. In this research, I carefully examine the rhetoric of the President to see how successful his crafted talk was in framing an event and a response agenda that withstood challenges by the media.

PRESIDENTIAL RHETORICAL VIEWED THROUGH THE LENS OF MEDIA FRAMING

Using indexing theory, which argues that presence in the news usually indicated influence of the news content; Coe (2011) explored the concern that the press relies so heavily on government officials for the news. When the press directly quotes the Presidents or government officials, they are sourcing. Coe (2011) comparatively analyzed the content of Presidential communications and television news to determine the degree to which a President was sourced or indexed in the news and whether or not media coverage then used the same content. He concluded that Presidents control the message and craft speeches on talking points in order to influence journalists and public opinion. Coe admits that other findings on the extent to which Presidents control the news, however, have been mixed. Coe (2011) summarized the research by remarking “the

extant scholarship suggests that Presidents possess the potential to exert substantial control over news coverage but often fail to do so" (pg. 309).

When social order is seriously disrupted, people look to the media to provide information (Neal, 1998). Using this understanding, the importance of media coverage to a society intensifies during times of crisis and they look to the media for information, explanations, and interpretations (Graber, 1980, pg. 228). The National Research Council Committee of Disasters and the Mass Media stated that the media performs six functions during a crisis: (1) warning of predicted or impending disasters, (2) conveying information to officials, relief agencies, and the public, (3) charting the progress of relief and recovery, (4) dramatizing lessons learned for the purpose of future preparedness, and (5) taking part in long-term public education programs and (6) defining slow-onset problems as crises or disasters (1980, pg. 10).

Agenda extension research has demonstrated that the press not only provides the public with the news, but also contextual cues or frames with which to evaluate them (Johnston, 1990). Issue framing is more media-specific, focusing on how the media chooses themes to focus on (McHale, 2007). Issue framing was defined by Entman as "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation" (cited in McHale, 2007, pg. 3). When the press translates what was said and does not provide attribution, then the press is echoing. Echoing can be an effective way to frame an issue if it is

supplemented by additional evidence or analysis of a situation, but sourcing is not since it is merely repeating what has been said.

McHale (2007) found a trend in media coverage during times of national crisis. Early after the event, most papers focused on the national dimension of the story, and focused on uniting the country. At mid-week, stories began to consider, if the events could have been prevented. These stories contained more inflammatory words, linked to an overall assessment of the nation's security. Stories also began to focus more on the local impact of the attack.

Assuming that the media serves different reporting functions and that the story presented will change rapidly, I examine the degree to which the media reporting and framing of the event influences later crafted talk of the President. If the media focuses more on the functions of warning, conveying information or charting relief/recovery progress following a domestic terrorism event, then the role of the media is limited to description rather than attempts at framing. On the other hand, an emphasis on lessons learned, public preparedness and/or how the event underscores the development of a larger systemic problem will be evidence that the media is attempting to frame the event and an appropriate public response.

In the modern world, a mediating force is still required to explain how individuals formulate political views or respond to events. Agenda-setting research has established that news media attention to issues subsequently influences the public's assessment of the importance of particular issues. Research has demonstrated that agenda-setting power of the mass media; in

essence, topics given relatively more attention in the media over time come to be considered more important by the public (Dearing, 1996). According to Cappella and Jamieson (1997) the implications of agenda-setting suggest that what is covered in the news affects what the public thinks and how it judges its leaders (pg. 57).

In studying the evolution of rhetoric, Parker-Stephen and Smidt (2009) argued that the success of framing in the media is likely dependent on the level of competition in the media environment [when the Sunday news programs cover other issues in the broadcast demonstrating how fast the event gets crowded out]. The six functions of the media and the evolution of rhetoric are analyzed in the three domestic terrorism events to determine the degree to which the President's frames prevail and to which they are modified in response to attempts by the media at establishing alternate frames.

DOMESTIC TERRORISM RESPONSES VIEWED THROUGH THE LENS OF TERROR MANAGEMENT THEORY

Terror Management Theory (TMT) originally was focused on an individual's response to events that led that person to question their own mortality. The results indicated that when teleological beliefs were stronger, death thoughts declined, and believing that life has a purpose also reduced death anxiety. Scholarship on TMT has branched out to consider the impact of mortality salience as it related to public leaders providing teleological cues that reinforce shared cultural worldviews and reference to in-group and out-group difference. According to Seeger et al., (2003), illustrations of crisis leadership include: mitigating the harm, serving as a spokesperson, expressing sympathy

to the victims, and framing meaning. TMT scholarship can be used to analyze the President's framing of the crisis event.

Cultural worldviews describe the world as a safe and orderly place with the purpose of transcending death either literally or symbolically (Bassett, 2007). By seeing the world as safe, the person believes that they can postpone death. If a person has increased anxiety about death, he or she is more likely to adopt consensus-oriented options, like when some call for harsher punishment for those who violate social norms (Florian & Mikulincer, 1997). Individuals are more likely to reward heroes who uphold cultural worldview values more, and support aggression against those who express out-group values (Rosenblatt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, & Lyon, 1989). The President, as the leader of the nation, is in a prime position to leverage the hero role and reinforce an in-group worldview. However, the promotion of cultural worldview may be a balancing act for the President and his Official Voices. Too many reminders of the event can trigger death anxiety (Hayes, Schimel, Arndt & Faucher, 2010).

Crisis situations evoke feelings of distress, anxiety, and hopelessness, which tend to draw individuals to leaders who promise to deliver change (Hunt, Boal, and Dodge 1999; Shamir and Howell 1999). "A crisis includes a conflict which occurs suddenly, heightens tensions, stakes, and often times there is a threat to vital national interests" (Genovese, 1986, pg. 1).

In my analysis I examine the language of the media commentators and their guests on the Sunday network news programs to determine the extent of use of out-group rhetoric as an explanation of the crisis. When looking at the

crisis events through the lens of terror management theory, I can also use the lens of charismatic leadership to analyze the level of empathy demonstrated by each president and how that was useful for the introduction of social change each President exhibited following the terrorist events.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN METHODOLOGY

Content analysis is "… a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases, and meanings" (Berg, 2007, pg. 304). According to Krippendorff (1980, pg. 27) the term content analysis is around 50 years old but the purpose reaches far back in history. To accomplish a content analysis, the researcher makes inferences from the data. This study leverages content analysis to organize data and identify findings in order to provide a greater understanding of the impact of the crisis story and agenda setting in presidential rhetoric and media framing to crisis events.

This research inductively analyzed the narratives surrounding three national crisis events to draw conclusions about whose voices we, the American people, are listening to. I present three case studies examining how Presidents William Clinton, George Bush and Barack Obama, and other key members of their administration, set public policy following the bombing in Oklahoma City, the attacks in New York City on September 11th, and the bombing at the Boston Marathon, respectively. In addition, for each crisis event, I analyze how the media framed the terrorist attacks to determine how well aligned their crisis stories were with the President's crisis story.

DATA ANALYSIS

According to Berg (2007) case studies are defined as "systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how the subject operates or functions" (pg. 283). The analysis of the three domestic terrorism events (case studies) incorporated qualitative and quantitative analysis of the 1995 bombing in Oklahoma City Bombing, the multi-site 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001 and the 2013 bombing at the Boston Marathon. These case studies provide insight into three distinctively different terrorist attacks on U.S. soil while three different presidents with varying political affiliations were in office to gain an understanding of a number of concepts; i.e., leadership styles, issue framing through crisis stories, attempts at short-term agenda-setting, media framing and interactive effects with the President's crafted talk.

For each case study, I analyze upon archival data to answer the four research questions introduced in chapter one:

RQ1: What characteristics of the charisma exhibited by transformational leaders were evident for Presidents Clinton, Bush and Obama when confronted with terrorism on U.S. soil?

RQ2: To what extent was the crafted talk of the President sourced and echoed by the Official Voices?

RQ3: Did the President, as the first actor to label the crisis event, influence the way the event was framed by the media?

RQ4: Over time, did the President (himself or through his Official Voices) change the language used to describe the event, label the event and promote his preferred short-term response in response to media framing?

SAMPLING UNIT – THE PRESIDENTS AND THEIR OFFICIAL VOICES

I analyzed data from the President's official press releases, speeches, and interview transcripts. This data allowed me to examine the crisis story and agenda setting activities and how they changed over time. Combined with this, I looked at official commentary from the Official Voices and considered the alignment of these crisis stories with what the President is saying and tracked if the crisis stories and agenda setting language changes in parallel with the President.

The 10 Official Voices and the office holder for each President are presented in the table below. During my analysis, I discovered that only half of the selected Official Voices made comments in relation to the domestic terrorism event. In chapter 4-6, I report only those who made comments.

Table 1. The President's Lead Administrators ("Official Voices")

Vice President	***Sec of State***	***Sec of Treasury***	***Sec of Defense***	***Attorney General***
Sec of Labor	***Sec of Transportation***	***Sec of Commerce***	***Press Secretary***	***Chief of Staff***
William Clinton (OKC Federal Building Bombing)				
Al Gore	Warren M. Christopher	Robert E. Rubin	William J. Perry	Janet Reno
Robert Reich	Federico F. Pena	Ronald H. Brown	Mike McCurry	Leon Panetta
George Bush (9/11)				
Dick Cheney	Colin Powell	Paul O'Neil	Donald Rumsfeld	John Ashcroft
Elaine Chao	Norman Mineta	Donald Evans	Ari Fleischer	Andrew Card
Barack Obama (Boston Marathon Bombing)				
Joseph Biden	John Kerry	Jack Lew	Chuck Hagel	Eric Holder Jr.
Thomas Perez	Anthony Fox	Penny Pritzker	Jay Carney	Denis McDonough

SAMPLING UNIT- SUNDAY MORNING NETWORK NEWS PROGRAMS

My primary data source for the media was the transcripts from the Sunday morning news programs on the national networks including:

ABC News This Week: David Brinkley hosted ABC and covered the bombing in Oklahoma City. George Stephanopoulos covered the crisis events of 9/11and the bombing at the Boston Marathon.

NBC Meet the Press: Tim Russert hosted NBC and covered the bombing in Oklahoma City and the crisis events of 9/11. David Gregory hosted NBC during the bombing at the Boston Marathon.

CBS Face the Nation: Bob Schiffer hosted CBS and covered the bombing in Oklahoma City, the crisis events of 9/11, and the bombing at the Boston Marathon.

Fox News Sunday: Fox News Sunday did not broadcast in 1995. Tony Snow was the host during the crisis events of 9/11and the bombing at the Boston Marathon.

When analyzing these transcripts, I paid close attention to the line of questioning used by the main host commentator, the types of guests invited on the news program and the duration of coverage of the domestic terrorism event over time.

DATA ANALYSIS PROTOCOL

Using the narrative information from the speeches of the Presidents and the Official Voices as well as the Sunday morning network news program transcripts, I first qualitatively analyzed the transcripts using an inductive approach that allowed key themes and keywords to emerge. As I repeated the analysis for multiple speaking opportunities, I started to reduce the number of categories being coded and began the confirmation process to assure the

streamlined set of key themes were consistently used by actors across all three events.

For example, each of the Clinton's speeches were coded, resulting in the following: protect, justice, severe, swift, certain, solve, intimidated, children, bombing, attack, innocent, evil, cowards, murders, tragedy, reassure, protect, killers, pray. The words were selected based on the analysis of the act and how Clinton chose to verbalize his initial reaction to the bombing. The words used by the President could potentially guide how others react, as well as how they decide to move forward when coping with the crisis event(s).

Once that was completed, I turned to quantitative analysis of the actual language that was used by each speaker, differentiating between the three time periods following the events (e.g., day of, end of first week, end of first month) to analyze the evolution in the speaker's rhetoric patterns.

The analysis of language encompasses the study of verbal codes, utterances, conversations, interaction patterns, signs and is intertwined with organizational or institutional symbols such as myths, rituals, and narratives (Fairhurst & Putnam, 1998). However, literary and rhetorical perspectives share an interest with semiotics in treating language as a suggestive process. Rhetoric is often defined as using the available means of persuasion; approaches draw from classical methods of argumentation to examine corporate messages in crisis situations (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001). Selection of rhetorical strategies hinges on the goals of the institution, the type of crisis, and the prevailing attributions about the situation and the target audience (Coombs,

1995).

Language, data and crisis response strategies are just a few areas in which it could potentially be intimidating to deliver information as the actor, as well as receive information as the audience. Visualization is a key medium for communication in a data-rich world, which leads to quick “storytelling” and collective data analysis (Viegas & Wattenberg, 2010). One of the most interesting uses of text visualization is to find a new perspective on carefully selected words (Viegas & Wattenberg, 2010). For example, when Sarah Palin ran for Vice President in 2008, a word cloud was done on her speech in an effort to seek clues to her personality and current perspective (Lathrop & Ruma, 2010).

One of the more interesting elements of the word cloud depictions is the display of the larger words. This indicates the frequency of the word usage on the part of the speaker. The word clouds were constructed using the text from presidential speeches. One component of the word cloud construction is the ability to remove common use words such as ‘and’, ‘are’, and ‘but.’

The data analysis considers how the language changes as more information is obtained, an objective and/or motive, and identification of the suspects. The comparison of each actor’s rhetoric drew conclusions about the attempts each made to influence the President’s short-term response following the domestic terrorism event. I considered the message of three kinds of actors and how it evolved over the time period as more facts about the crisis event and suspect(s)/motivation was revealed. The rhetoric used by each actor was

compared to the other actors to draw conclusions about the attempts each made to influence the public policy agenda and short-term response following the event.

THREATS TO VALIDITY

The threats to validity that could potentially affect analyzing and coding responses, leadership style, and influence are selection, instrumentation and bias. Selection is only using specific news shows and only presenting Sunday broadcast. Selection was also a threat of validity for the various guest speakers on the Sunday news programs, number of news programs per crisis event and available media networks. This was controlled by documenting the expert job classification and party affiliation of each guest speaker. The number of news programs covering each event varied so 'no coverage' available was annotated to show when the Sunday new programs discontinued coverage. Only particular media networks were used in an effort to capture diversity in the philosophical and political leanings attributed to different networks, i.e., heavily liberal, conservative, Republican, and/or Democratic.

Instrumentation presents a potential problem due to controlling conditions because I had to take into consideration there is a number of word counting testing instruments available. This was controlled by the use of a fixed testing instrument used for all speeches and media transcripts- Visualthesaurus.com and Tagxedo.com.

Bias is unpremeditated and unconscious and more difficult to interpret and address in a study design (Ransohoff, 2005). I controlled the threat of

researcher bias by using both quantitative and qualitative analysis. I began the study by conducting data coding on the Presidential speeches and media transcripts. I then incorporated Visualthesaurus.com and Tagxedo.com to analyze high frequency word use leading to proposed short-term agenda(s) and responses. With these two forms of analysis, I was able to triangulate by results.

In the following three chapters, I present the results achieved from this research design and data analysis methodology. These empirical findings are then used to answer the four research questions for each of the three Presidents who have been confronted with domestic terrorism events.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE BOMBING IN OKLAHOMA CITY

As the day began for hundreds employed at and around the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, no one knew it would be a day like no other. A Ryder truck, left parked in front the building and containing ingredients specifically designed to create a bomb, exploded at 9:02 am. The building housed fourteen federal agencies including the DEA, ATF, Social Security Administration, and recruiting offices for the United States Army and Marine Corps and a day care center, all of which were the intended target. However, a number of surrounding buildings and vehicles were also destroyed upon detonation. One of the most important pieces of evidence left at the scene was the Ryder truck identification number, later traced to an individual by the name of Timothy McVeigh. The devastation from the blast claimed 168 lives including 19 children. Historically, this bombing was labeled as the deadliest domestic terrorist attack on American soil. Given the nature and callousness of the attack, it was imperative to quickly determine who was responsible and to establish why this form of domestic terrorism occurred.

Ninety minutes after the attack, Timothy McVeigh was arrested on unrelated charges (FBI, 1995). Upon further investigation, it was determined that McVeigh, prior enlisted in the United States Army, had expressed extreme negative ideologies towards the government. In fact, the attack in Oklahoma City, took place on the second anniversary of the Waco Texas siege of an anti-government activists at the Branch Davidian complex. Evidence found among

the materials used to make the bomb were linked to McVeigh. After his capture, McVeigh explained that bombing a building known to house several government agencies was a way to express his anger towards the government and their management of the Waco incident. McVeigh was convicted and sentenced to death on June 11, 2001.

The principle objective of this chapter is to assess and compare the rhetoric used by each actor, the President, his Official Voices, and the media, following the terrorist events in Oklahoma City. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first three sections describe and analyze the response to the bombing by the President of the United States, his appointed administration or Official Voices and the mainstream media, respectively, by examining variations in word usage, intent, and evolutions in language. The fourth section answers the research questions via comparison of each actor's rhetoric to draw conclusions about the attempts each made to influence the short-term response and policy agenda following the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City.

COMMENTS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM CLINTON

> *Finally, let me say that I ask all Americans tonight to pray—to pray for the people who have lost their lives, to pray for the families and the friends of the dead and the wounded, to pray for the people of Oklahoma City*. (Clinton, 1995, OKC1)

During the first 30 days following the terrorist event in Oklahoma City, President Clinton gave 29 speeches and submitted three documents which contained a reference to the bombing (see Table 2). The first column of Table 2

shows the date of the speech/document and the days it occurred following the event; tagging the day of the event as T+0. The t able also shows the title, audience and location of the speech/document. According to the official speech records for President William Clinton, on the day of the attack, he spoke in reference to the incident once and provided two response letters approving federal assistance. By the end of the first week, he spoke a total of 16 times specifically about the bombing in Oklahoma City. According to approval ratings, just before the bombing, Clinton was at 46%, however, one month following, he declined slightly to 42%.

Table 2. *President Clinton's Speeches Following the Bombing in Oklahoma City*

DATE (T + X)	TITLE OF SPEECH (CITING CODE)	AUDIENCE/LOCATION OF SPEECH
April 19 [Day of]	Remarks on the Bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (OKC1)	Briefing Room at the White House
April 19 [Day of]	Letter to Governor Frank Keating on Disaster Assistance to Oklahoma City (OKC2)	Document written and provided to the governor of Oklahoma City
April 19 [Day of]	Letter to Federal Emergency Management Agency Director James Lee Witt on Disaster Assistance (OKC3)	Document written and provided to the Federal Emergency Management Agency
April 20 [T + 1]	Welcoming President Fernando Cardoso of Brazil (OKC4)	South Lawn of the White House
April 20 [T + 1]	News Conference With President Fernando Cardoso of Brazil (OKC5)	Rose Garden of the White House
April 20 [T + 1]	Memorandum on Employees Affected by the Oklahoma City Bombing (OKC6)	Document written and provided to the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies
April 21 [T + 2]	Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters on the Oklahoma City	Briefing Room at the White House

	Bombing (OKC7)	
April 22 [T + 3]	Remarks by the President and Hillary Clinton to Children on the Oklahoma City Bombing (OKC8)	Oval Office at the White House
April 23 [T + 4]	Remarks at a Memorial Service for the Bombing Victims in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (OKC9)	Oklahoma State Fair Arena in Oklahoma City
April 23 [T + 4]	Interview on CBS ‘‘60 Minutes’’ (OKC10)	Oklahoma State Fair Arena in Oklahoma City
April 24 [T + 5]	Remarks to the American Association of Community Colleges in Minneapolis, MN (OKC11)	Grand Ballroom at the Minnesota Convention Center
April 24 [T + 5]	Remarks on Departure From Minneapolis (OKC12)	Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport
April 24 [T + 5]	Remarks on Arrival in Des Moines, Iowa (OKC13)	National Guard hangar at Des Moines International Airport
April 25 [T + 6]	Remarks to the Iowa State Legislature in Des Moines (OKC14)	Senate Chamber at the State Capital.
April 25 [T + 6]	Remarks to Students at Iowa State University in Ames (OKC15)	Hilton Coliseum
April 26 [T + 7]	Remarks on Counterterrorism Initiatives and an Exchange With Reporters (OKC16)	Cabinet Room at the White House
April 27 [T + 8]	Remarks on Presenting the President's Service Awards (OKC17)	Rose Garden at the White House
April 28 [T + 9]	Remarks on Presenting the Teacher of the Year Award (OKC18)	Rose Garden at the White House
April 29 [T + 10]	The President's Radio Address (OKC19)	Roosevelt Room at the White House
April 29 [T + 10]	Remarks at the White House Correspondents' Association Dinner (OKC20)	Washington Hilton

April 30 [T + 11]	Remarks at the World Jewish Congress Dinner in New York City (OKC21)	Grand Ballroom at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
May 01 [T + 12]	Remarks at the Women Voters Project Kickoff Luncheon (OKC22)	Grand Ballroom at the Washington Hilton
May 03 [T + 14]	Remarks to the White House Conference on Aging (OKC23)	Washington Hilton
May 03 [T + 14]	Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Legislation To Combat Terrorism (OKC24)	The White House
May 04 [T + 15]	Interview With Laurie Montgomery of the Detroit Free Press and Angie Cannon of Knight-Ridder Newspapers (OKC25)	By telephone from the Oval Office at the White House
May 05 [T + 16]	Remarks at the Michigan State University Commencement Ceremony in East Lansing, Michigan (OKC26)	Spartan Stadium
May 07 [T + 18]	Remarks to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee Policy Conference (OKC27)	Sheraton Washington
May 08 [T + 19]	Remarks on Antiterrorism Legislation (OKC28)	Andrews Air Force Base
May 13 [T + 24]	The President's Radio Address (OKC29)	Map Room at the White House
May 15 [T + 26]	Remarks at the Peace Officers Memorial Service (OKC30)	West Front of the Capitol
May 17 [T + 28]	Remarks on the First Anniversary of the School-To-Work Opportunities Act of 1994 in White Plains, Maryland (OKC31)	Automated Graphics Systems, Inc.
May 18 [T + 29]	Remarks at the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus Institute Dinner (OKC32)	Hyatt Regency

Source: *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States USGPO.*

Clinton's initial response to the bombing was that of a president dealing with a horrific, violent crime rather than a domestic terrorist event. First recognizing the death of children and labeling the attack as evil, the language President Clinton used to describe the crisis displayed characteristics of anger, protection, and reassurance. Anger was later exhibited as he informed the nation that the United States would not be intimidated by the events and protection enforced as he stated that anyone working or living near a federal building would be protected. He also attempted to reassure the nation, particularly the citizens of Oklahoma, that federal relief efforts were forthcoming. As President Clinton stated, "I have declared an emergency in Oklahoma City. And at my direction, James Lee Witt, the Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, is now on his way there to make sure we do everything we can to help the people of Oklahoma deal with the tragedy" (Clinton, 1995, OKC1).

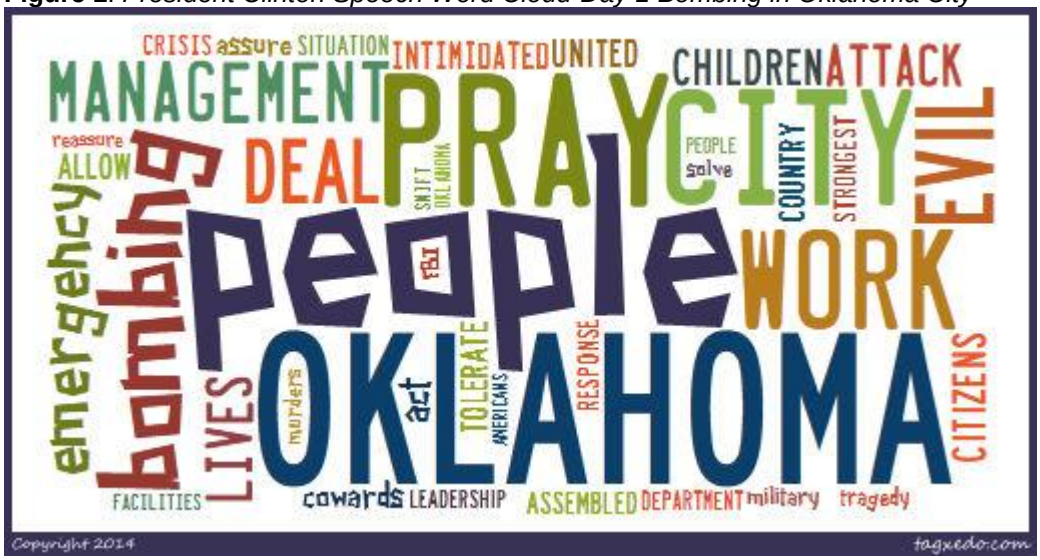
President Clinton's first address to the nation was made from the White House Briefing Room. Subsequent speeches were delivered in a variety of media forums/audiences; however, an additional twelve were delivered from within the White House.

Clinton's initial short-term agenda consisted of finding those responsible for committing the murders and holding them accountable through swift and severe justice, taking care of the victims and the people of Oklahoma, and reassuring those that lived and worked near a federal building would be

protected. In his plan of action, he focused on informing the nation that the United States would not be intimated due to the tragic events in Oklahoma City.

From the very first day, and throughout the first week and subsequent month, President Clinton was consistent when classifying the bombing of a federal building in Oklahoma City as an evil act. He made reference to those responsible as killers, those dead as being murdered, and promised that justice would be swift, certain and severe. President Clinton never referenced the event as a terrorist attack during the first few days, preferring words like cowardice and evil. “The bombing in Oklahoma City was an attack on innocent children and defenseless citizens. It was an act of cowardice, and it was evil” (Clinton, 1995, OKC1). An analysis of his initial speech revealed these five frequently used words: 1) people, 2) Oklahoma City, 3) will, 4) pray, and 5) bombing. Figure 1 provides a visual representation of the words used during his initial speech. The graphic representation matches closely with the counting of words to determine those that occurred most frequently.

Figure 1. *President Clinton Speech Word Cloud-Day 1 Bombing in Oklahoma City*



By the end of the first week, President Clinton addressed the nation a total of 13 times (including a memorandum to the heads of executive departments and agencies on employees affected by the bombing). In general, the President's speeches during the first week tended to focus on people. For example, he used words to insinuate that the person or persons responsible were killers and that justice would be sought. He was also attentive to the needs of the citizens of Oklahoma City and the nation, noting that everyone needed to exercise faith in prayer as well as tend to the city of Oklahoma. He quoted Bible scriptures and made reference to an afterlife. He spoke openly about sins, good versus bad, praying and forgiving.

His remarks focused on the actions that he and his Official Voices or key administration planned to attain. For example, President Clinton stated,

> We are taking every precaution to reassure and to protect people who work in or live near other Federal facilities. Let there be no room for doubt: we will find the people who did this. When we do, justice will be swift, certain, and severe. These people are killers, and they must be treated like killers. I say, one thing we owe those who have sacrificed is the duty to purge ourselves of the dark forces that gave rise to this evil. They are forces that threaten our common peace, our freedom, our way of life. Let us teach our children that the God of comfort is also the God of righteousness... Justice will prevail. (Clinton, 1995, OKC9, pg.1)

Figure 2 provides a visual interpretation of the words used most often during the first week: 1) people, 2) America, 3) Oklahoma, 4) freedom, and 5) country. The graphic representation matches very closely with the counting of words to determine those that occurred most frequently.

Figure 2. *President Clinton Speech Word Cloud-Week 1 Bombing in Oklahoma City*



President Clinton's first official mention of the word terrorist was on Sunday evening, April 23, 1995, the fourth day after the attack while giving an interview to CBS 60 Minutes. In his comments, he was confident about the success of the team of law enforcement selected to handle the bombing investigation. He also indicated that the Department of Justice would be the sole office to lead the communications on the attack.

As the week came to an end, his language, short-term agenda and description of the event also changed. He labeled the bombing as an act of terrorism. His agenda shifted to moving forward in the aftermath of the bombing. He began to emphasize Americans rights--freedom of speech and the right to bear arms. His plan encompassed an emotional tactic of building a better future for the children. He empowered Americans by reaffirming their power to combat future crisis events by understanding their rights came with

consequences; disagreeing with the government affords you the right to disagree, but not take violent actions.

Through the end of the month, President Clinton continued to inform citizens that the United States would not be paralyzed by the evil act and conveyed a sense of U.S. superiority using themes such as bombing, threat, freedom, spirit, and tragedy and noting that “no great country can hide” (Clinton, 1995, OKC5). Still, he never made derogatory comments against any other country, preferring the symbolism of patriotism through comments about veterans and the flag. He continued to call attention to people, the evil act and the response of the government that would assure that justice would be served.

His agenda setting strategy was to increase law enforcement and federal agents as well as urge the passage of legislation geared towards a safer and more secure United States prepared to combat terrorism on American soil and abroad. He also continued to campaign his agenda of reassuring children of their safety, but condemning the acts of those that don’t, citing the event two years prior in Waco, Texas.

> **CLINTON**: But be concerned about the political violence that makes people believe that they can literally claim to be political prisoners when they murder innocent children.

Figure 3 provides a visual interpretation of the words used the month after the event. The graphic representation matches very closely with the words determined to occur more frequently: 1) people, 2) country, 3) Oklahoma, 4) law, and 5) American. While not as prominent in terms of frequency, the word cloud provides additional evidence and visual representation of the

President's labeling of the event, i.e. an evil act by cowardly killers, proposed intentions and agendas.

***Figure 3**-President Clinton Word Cloud-Month 1 Bombing in Oklahoma City Speech*



As described in Chapter 3, in addition to identifying high frequency words, I also analyze the degree to which shifts in the crafted talk of the President are evident over three time periods through word choice changes. Again, Clinton's short-term agenda shifted. He spoke against the ideologies of the militia and continued to highlight and address freedom of speech, which allowed him to continue his campaign to combat terrorism with increased legislation.

In summary, President Clinton's speeches following the bombing in Oklahoma City exhibited various emotional responses. By analyzing the speeches discovered during the qualitative analysis of his words in context, he first appeared offended and saddened by the event. His choice of the word "cowardly" to characterize the attack combined with his description of those who

died as being innocent people who were murdered convey the visceral reaction to this unprecedented terrorist attack.

From a quantitative perspective, his use of particular words as the days and weeks went on showed a shift in emotions focusing on people--the people of Oklahoma City and the United States. Clinton showed a concern for protection, empowering his team of federal agencies investigating the attack as well as other local officials providing required support, e.g. blood drives and emergency personnel. As time went on, President Clinton continued to discuss the incident, but his emotions appeared to be more in line with reassurance. He reassured the children they would be safe, the people of Oklahoma they would have the needed support, and the citizens of the nation that terrorism would not be tolerated at home or abroad through increased anti-terrorism legislation.

COMMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICIAL VOICES

In this section, I examine the statements about the event and the federal government actions made by the Official Voices. A search was conducted for any comments made by President Clinton's Official Voices cabinet. After describing their comments, I analyze the degree of convergence between what the President said and those made by his Official Voices.

Out of the 10 Official Voices identified for this research, only four (Perry, McCurry, Reno and Panetta) made official statements regarding the bombing. As you can see in Table 3, the amount of media exposure for President Clinton's Official Voices was quite limited, with two appearances on NBC Meet the Press and a total of seven press briefings over the course of the first month.

The words each used and the embedded themes in their comments are presented next.

***Table 3**. President William Clinton's Official Voices*

Sec of Defense William J. Perry	***Press Secretary*** Mike McCurry	***Attorney General*** Janet Reno	***Chief of Staff*** Leon Panetta
Appeared on NBC Meet the Press [T+1]	Gave 6 press briefings	Gave 1 press briefing [T+0]	Appeared on NBC Meet the Press [T + 1]

<u>William Perry, Secretary of Defense</u>

Defense Secretary Perry provided an interview to NBC news, Meet the Press with Tim Russert, on the fourth day following the bombing. The interview questions began with Russert trying to gather background information on Timothy McVeigh, his military background, type of discharge as well as the military affiliations and backgrounds of his co-conspirators. However, the inquiry quickly turned to more in depth questions specifically about the military. The analysis revealed that the Secretary of Defense used these five words most frequently: nuclear, weapons (provided by insurgent groups), military, terrorist, and role.

Qualitative analysis of Perry's remarks on the NBC Meet the Press transcript suggests that Perry was placed in a position of defending the military during his interview with Tim Russert.

> The people who comprise these terrorist groups all over the world are not necessarily military. Some of them may have come from military. They are generating their own military. This militia is making their own bombs and they're developing their own techniques. So I don't think you need-

> -I don't believe it is appropriate to couple the militia groups, the terrorist groups with the U.S. military, and I very much resent any connection between the U.S. military and terrorist groups. The U.S. military and the U.S. Defense Department is playing an important role--not a primary role but an important role in trying to counter terrorism.

In this quote, we can see that Perry spoke in terms consistent with his position as Secretary of Defense. He made a point of explaining the role of the Department of Defense, but he was adamant not to provide confirmation on details outside of his role by responding with “I don’t have the background information” (Perry, 1995, pg.1). Secretary Perry did not respond to questions using the same language as the President because the questions presented were more about the duties of the Secretary of Defense rather than the Oklahoma City bombing event. For example “what role will the Department of Defense play in protecting the United States from terrorist attacks, both foreign and domestic?”

In his responses, Perry deflected numerous questions; however, he did reassure the nation that the Department of Defense had a role, but did not go into detail on the role they had in the aftermath of the bombing.

> **RUSSERT**: I am told that in Pentagon planning, we assume that, over the next decade, a terrorist group will have the capacity and will, in fact, detonate a nuclear weapon. Is that true?
>
> **PERRY**: We have contingency plans for many, many different events. That's one particular contingency plan we've studied to know what we can do, first of all, to help prevent it, what we can do to react to it if it happened.

In summary, Perry's comments were consistent with what would be expected from the Secretary of Defense. He did not provide detailed information of military capability. Perry supported and echoed the agenda set by Clinton, but of course summarized his response to align with his official position. Though consistent with the intended agenda set by the President, Secretary of Defense William Perry's efforts to mirror the rhetoric of the President was not exact due to his official position in the government.

Mike McCurry, Press Secretary

In the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing, Press Secretary Mike McCurry conducted 6 official press briefings (Table 4). In these press briefings, he appeared to provide factual information, never categorizing the incident as terrorism nor using language that was inflammatory or could appear as "leading" when discussing the bombing. For example, he never uses the words terrorism or terrorist. In addition, McCurry often referenced the federal government and the President as the sources for additional information when responding to questions by reporters. Here is an example of the press briefing interaction:

> **QUESTION**: And is it your understanding that there are only two suspects-or two people who are being sought now?
>
> **MCCURRY**: My information is exactly that information that's been provided by the Attorney General and the authorities in Oklahoma City.

***Table 4**. Press Secretary Mike McCurry Speeches Following the Bombing in Oklahoma City*

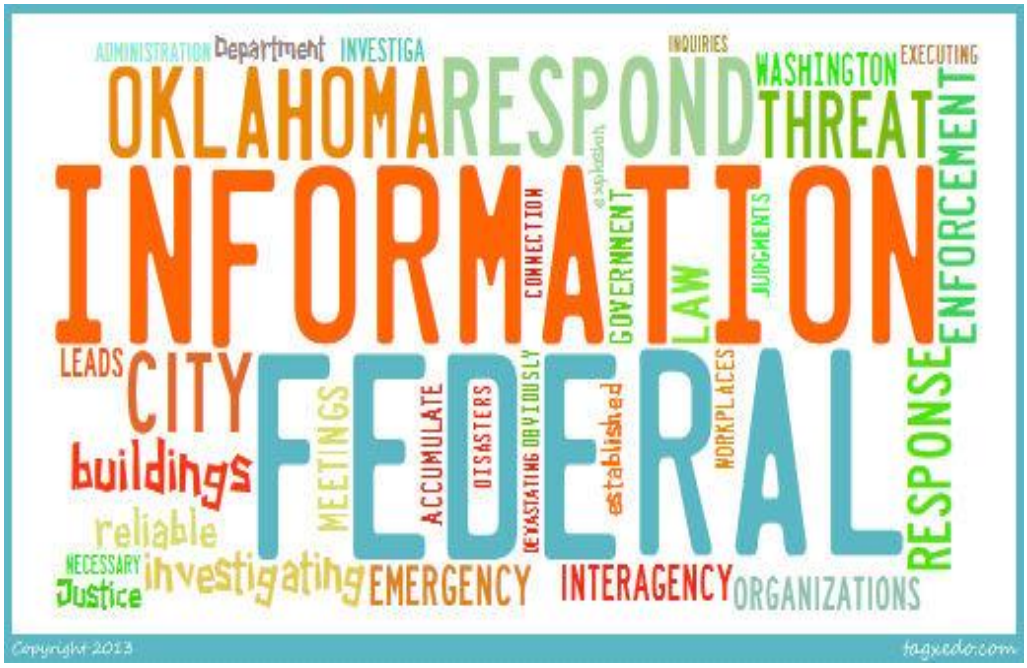
DATE (T + X)	TITLE OF SPEECH (CITING CODE)	AUDIENCE/LOCATION OF SPEECH
April 19 [Day of]	Press Briefing by Mike McCurry (OKCMCC1)	White House Briefing Room
April 20, [T + 1]	Press Briefing by Mike McCurry (OKCMCC2)	White House Briefing Room
May 2 [T + 13]	Press Briefing by Mike McCurry (OKCMCC3)	White House Briefing Room
May 4 [T + 15]	Press Briefing by Mike McCurry (OKCMCC4)	White House Briefing Room
May 10 [T + 21]	Press Briefing by Mike McCurry (OKCMCC5)	The Radisson Slavjanskaya, Moscow
May 15 [T + 26]	(Press Briefing by Mike McCurry (OKCMCC6)	White House Briefing Room

When analyzing the transcripts of comments made by Press Secretary McCurry, he provided only preliminarily information about the situation and reiterated the President's response noting that the President was staying abreast of the situation. He also indicated that the President would address the nation once more when information was available. McCurry stressed that the situation was under control because the President had tasked his best law enforcement and investigative agencies with finding those responsible.

When looking at McCurry's word choices (see Figure 4), we find high frequency words such as information, federal, respond and Oklahoma. His word choices in response to reporter's questions did not suggest to the public that he was involved in the creation of a plan of action. When choosing these words, McCurry was sure to let the public know who they could, and should, look to for

answers including the Chief of Staff Leon Panetta and, of course, the President of the United States.

Figure 4: *Press Secretary Mike McCurry High Frequency Words following the bombing in OKC*



As Press Secretary, Mike McCurry consistently supported the President's call for getting justice and the plan to work with local law enforcement and Congress. Like the President, he underscored the need for a thorough investigation to avoid a lack of justice, citing problems in the investigations of the Pan Am 103 and Libya attacks, where no suspects had been brought to justice. In fact, McCurry stated: "The President was well aware as the day went on of some of the leads that they were developing. But I think he wanted to just go through (them) one more time (to see) exactly how they were going to present the information about the two individuals they are now seeking…" (McCurry, 1995, pg.1, OKCMCC2)

Further evidence of the degree to which the Press Secretary echoed his comments to those of the President is evident when comparing the comments of Mike McCurry and President Clinton on the topic of the role of the federal government.

> **MCCURY**: I think the President feels that he certainly wants to be with the people of Oklahoma City. His heart is certainly with them, and he is conscious of the fact that **we need to make sure that federal authorities there are helping in what the most urgent tasks are, which are recovery of victims and then pursuing investigative leads**. And **he's directed all of our energies to that end**, but he will certainly consider down the road a ways any other appropriate response from the federal government or from -- indeed, from the White House itself. (McCurry, 1995, pg. 1, OKCMCC2)

> **PRESIDENT**: W**e have a shared commitment to do everything we possibly can** to stamp out the kind of **vicious behavior we saw in Oklahoma City**. I say, again**: Justice in this case must be swift, certain, and severe**. (Clinton, 1995, pg.1, OKC16)

In summary, in maintaining the nature and purpose of his position, White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry did echo Clinton's response to the bombing. Although he was consistent with echoing his response, he also provided limited information and redirected questions to the appropriate federal agencies or the President as presented by the media. An analysis of his frequently used word during his press briefings included: 1) information, 2) federal, 3) Oklahoma, 4) respond, and 5) investigation as seen in Figure 4.

Janet Reno, Attorney General

On April 19, 1995, Attorney General Janet Reno gave a press briefing at the White House to discuss the bombing. In her comments, Reno relayed to the

nation that her main goal was to investigate the event and bring those responsible to justice using words like pursuing, lead, evidence, responsible, and investigation. It is also worth mentioning that, like President Clinton and Press Secretary McCurry, Reno never used the word terrorism or terrorist to label the incident. When comparing Reno's press briefing to the comments made by the President, we can see a high level of consistency, support and echoing Clinton's language in Reno's statement.

> **RENO**: "… the **law enforcement community** will "pursue every lead and **use every possible resource** to bring the people responsible to justice." (Reno, 1995, pg.1).

> **CLINTON**: "**…**we must stand our ground, we must **ensure that law enforcement authorities have the legal tools and resources** they need to fight terrorism." (Clinton, 1995, pg.1,OKC24).

Considering the nature of her position, her response to questions appeared constant, never wavering-focused on finding evidence, gathering leads and making arrest. An analysis of her most frequently used words included, 1) pursue, 2) lead, 3) evidence, 4) responsible, and 5) investigation. Her language was non-inflammatory and non-emotional. In fact when media questions started to stray into areas calling for speculation, she often relied on "no comment" responses.

When comparing the consistency of the President's comments with those of his Official Voices, we see convergence with the remarks of Janet Reno. Clinton was explicit in how justice would be served to those found responsible; swift, certain, and severe. Not only did Reno echo Clinton's crafted

talk, she supported his agenda to seek justice based on her position as the lead law enforcement agent of the nation, which is displayed in her overly focused on the criminal investigation and pursuit of legal remedies.

Leon Panetta, Chief of Staff

The Chief of Staff appeared on NBC News Meet the Press with Tim Russert four days after the bombing. Like the President, Leon Panetta emphasized finding those responsible and caring for the people of Oklahoma. Like Reno, when speaking to Russert on NBC Meet the Press, Panetta spoke in great detail about the legal aspect of the situation especially on protecting and enforcing legal and legislative procedures. For example, in using terms suggesting rights, government, legislation and enforcement demonstrated his attempt to remain consistent with the agenda set forth by President Clinton.

Chief of Staff Panetta sourced the President during his interview with NBC. Although he did not use the same language as that of the President, his responses were consistent with the President's short-term agenda.

> **PANETTA**: The President's made clear, the Attorney General has made clear that we are going to not only charge him with an offense as has been-already happened. The malicious destruction of a federal building now involves the death penalty, and that's what the government will pursue. (Panetta, 1995, pg. 1).

Overall, for the four Official Voices who spoke in relation to the Oklahoma City bombing, there was an effort by each to make sure that it was clear they were speaking on behalf of the President. Further, it seemed that they emphasized that all officials were focused on the same "set of facts" and purposefully used language that would convey the same message and policy

agenda. My analysis found that, by and large, President Clinton's cabinet members maintained the same agenda while speaking about the bombing in Oklahoma City. When analyzing the most frequent words used by Perry, McCurry, Reno, and Panetta, they closely mirrored those of President Clinton—protect, law enforcement, investigation, explosion, and seek. Their comments are all appropriate with respect to their position within the administration.

Attorney General Reno and White House Chief of Staff Panetta's comments were very similar in that they covered areas pertaining to the legal aspect of the situation. The language was non-inflammatory and spoke to the facts of seeking and carrying out justice to those responsible. When questioned about information that fell outside their respective areas of responsibility, Reno and Panetta provided responses similar to that of McCurry—they deferred to other federal government agencies or to the President, as appropriate.

The analysis revealed that few and specific Official Voices spoke, but did not make comments as time went on, deferring to the stated preferences of President Clinton. Overall, the results of the analysis support the conclusion that the Official Voices were speaking about the same things as the President and the timing of the comments followed the President. Except for the Press Secretary and White House Chief of Staff, there was very little sourcing and a larger tendency to echo the crafted talk of the President. Overall, the results of the analysis support the conclusion that Clinton's Official Voices spoke under the same themes.

COMMENTS BY THE MEDIA

In terms of setting the public policy agenda following a crisis event such as the bombing in Oklahoma City, another important group of actors to consider is the media. Members of the media have a regularized venue to discuss events that affect the nation and can possibly use this venue to 'lead' viewers to interpret events in a manner consistent with the commentator. In addition, by looking at who the members of the media question and the nature of the line of questions, we can discern any attempts to shape perceptions of the event, why it occurred and what should be done. If successful, the commentators may then be able to influence the direction of the American public policy response. In this section, I analyze the line of questioning used in the network based weekly Sunday news programs to determine the degree to which the commentator is attempting to present an alternate framing of the event or criticize the President's public policy agenda.

For the Oklahoma City bombing, I could only analyze one month's worth of transcripts of three national news network Sunday morning programs: ABC News This Week with David Brinkley, CBS News Face the Nation, and NBC News Meet the Press. Fox News Sunday was not broadcasting during the reported time of the bombing.

The observation period begins on the first Sunday following the terrorist event and ends the month after the event. ABC News This Week was the only network to provide coverage for the duration of the observation time as CBS

News Face the Nation only provided two weeks of coverage. NBC News Meet the Press provided three weeks of coverage.

NBC News was the only network to host Official Voices, in addition to a terrorism expert, NRA Vice President, militia representative, and two Congressional members from each party. ABC hosted numerous news analysts, legal analysts, NRA Vice President, a Baptist pastor, representatives of the militia, and Congressional members representing both parties. And finally, CBS hosted several Congressional members from each party, a former FBI agent and a terrorism expert.

ABC News This Week Analysis

On the first Sunday following the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, ABC News This Week with David Brinkley coverage was on the subject of the militia and surprisingly not domestic terrorism. The segment focused on understanding the militia, particularly the militia group Timothy McVeigh was affiliated with, in addition, how the militia felt towards the government, the ingredients used to make the bomb used in the attack and finally, President Clinton's approval rating.

ABC News This Week with David Brinkley covered the events of the bombing in Oklahoma City during their April 23rd broadcast. As additional information was gathered on McVeigh's background, there was a large movement to understand the involvement of the militia. The topic of the militia became the main source of discussion with the panel and selected guest speakers. They continued to delve down into the practices and ideology of the

militia by asking Morris Dees, a militia representative, a barrage of questions. Sam Donaldson of ABC News asked:

> **DONALDSON**: Mr. Dees, in your opinion, are we talking about a few kooks? And in a nation of 260 million people, a few can be several thousand. Or are we talking about people who somehow are being misled - and, if being misled, by whom? - who are not really just kooky, but have just taken a wrong direction?

The intent of ABC News' initial program was to gain more understanding, background and history of the militia. They did provide the most up-to-date information on suspected bomber, McVeigh, and questioned several members of the militia, yet, omitted Official Voices.

On April 30, 1995, ABC This Week with David Brinkley described the event not only as a bombing but a mass murder. They sought information into the background of Timothy McVeigh, the militia, the search for additional suspects, legislation to combat terrorism, and attacked rhetoric and a stance taken by President Clinton on the assault weapon ban.

For the May 7th broadcast, David Brinkley and Sam Donaldson spoke about how the investigators were making mistakes in their efforts to find suspects. They reported on an incident that took place on an airplane where an Arab-American was detained and questioned about the bombing. According to Sam Donaldson:

> **DONALDSON:** The only evidence on the Arab-American is that he looked Arab.

> **DONALDSON**: He looked Arab to them at a time when people suspected it might be Middle East terrorists—with no evidence.

The hosts criticized the investigators for racial profiling, but praised President Clinton for the way he handled the crisis.

> **ROBERTS**: I also think the President's handling of it has been something that is-is quite interesting. He started off right, got a little bit off track and has come back around. His speech at Michigan State the other day, I think, was just something all exactly the right things.
>
> **DONDALDSON**: May I agree with you? I think you're right. I think Bill Clinton has found his voice on this. He says to the people who preach violence, if in fact they-'How dare you, in the freest country in the nation [sic], say we live under tyranny? How dare you call yourself heroes? He's exactly right, and I applaud him.

This broadcast on the second week did not highlight any new information or seek to set their own agenda, only to criticize the work of the investigators and praise the President.

For the May 14th broadcast of ABC News This Week with David Brinkley, Sam Donaldson was the substitute host. The only comment made by Donaldson on the bombing in Oklahoma City was that an individual by the name of Stephen Colbern, who admitted to knowing Timothy McVeigh, had been detained in connection with the attack on the federal building. Gun control was the main topic of discussion for this broadcast.

Overall, ABC News This Week with David Brinkley tended to fulfill the media functions of conveying information, charting response progress, and defining potential problems through criticism.

<u>NBC News Meet the Press Analysis</u>

NBC Meet the Press with Tim Russert covered in great detail questions about the militia, terrorism, legislation, bombs/weapons of mass destruction,

state-sponsored international terrorism, prevention measures and finally, the President of the United States. An attempt to make a connection between the militia and the US military was made by Russert. Through his line of questioning, Russert was trying to understand the foundation and motives of the militia members who were said to be fueled by particular events—Waco, Texas and government actions. According to Tim Russert (1995), an article on the Michigan militia in *Soldier of Fortune* suggested that the major catalyst for the growing membership in citizen militia organizations around the country is the Clinton administration's ban on assault weapons. The speculation was confirmed that the suspected motive of the bombing was in retaliation of the Waco, Texas incident.

On April 30th, NBC News prepared topic of discussion was possible legislation that would aid the government in investigating terrorist groups. Considering the prepared topic, the conversation did cover the issue of the militia and if the government would investigate the Waco and Ruby Ridge incident, both situations members of the militia believe to be the cause of the bombing. The program covered a number of major topics but didn’t go into the bombing, McVeigh or his accomplices; they dealt more with gun control.

There was very limited dialogue on the bombing during the May 7th broadcast. There were two references made to the bombing; one by guest speaker Newt Gingrich and the other by Tim Russert. Gingrich suggested that the bombing in Oklahoma strengthened the death penalty legislation and finally Russert asked the question below to Gingrich.

> **RUSSERT**: The ban on assault weapons. The--it was going to be repealed in the House. That has been delayed because of the Oklahoma bombing. When do you think it will come up?

During the three weeks of coverage of the OKC bombing event by NBC Meet the Press, there was an emphasis on what lessons have been learned about militia groups and support of the President's agenda for future public preparedness via legislative changes.

CBS News Face the Nation Analysis

During the April 23, 1995 broadcast, Bob Schieffer opened the discussion to a terrorism expert, politician and former FBI agent. Considering the attack had taken place just four days prior to this broadcast, the dialogue did not cover the bombing or McVeigh in detail. The areas of discussion were vulnerability to future attacks, homegrown versus international terrorism and is one more easily managed, tracking militia extremists, and the FBI's ability to investigate the militia.

On the April 30th broadcast, the host and guest speakers discussed perceived opposition some government officials had with comments made by President Clinton, dealing with hatred, the Waco incident, placing blame, increasing the number of FBI agents, criticism of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, ban on assault weapons, and granting FBI privileges to investigate militia groups. It appeared the bombing opened the discussion for other legal issues in the government because very little was said about the suspect, the investigation, or the victims. CBS did not cover the bombing during its May 7th nor its 14th broadcast.

Limited to two weeks of coverage, CBS News was also concerned about (the lack of) lessons learned (like NBC) and defining potential problems via criticism (like ABC).

Media Outlet Analysis

The analysis of the media is divided into two components: 1) the line of inquiry that commentators used to interview their guests and 2) the choice of guest who were invited to be on the show. The comparative analysis of the media shows some interesting differences between ABC, NBC and CBS. ABC tends to have a mix of guests representing groups and elected officials. The interviews on CBS tended to emphasize the elected officials' responses and intended actions with no inclusion of members of militia groups or government officials.

The line of questioning for the guests tends to change over time as a reflection of the expert guests who appeared on the news shows each week. In the first week, the guests were primarily representatives of the militia groups, terrorism experts, and also a religious official from Oklahoma City. The questions were intended to seek information into the militia. The second week witnessed the inclusion of the NRA, as well as elected officials (Congress, governor, mayor) in addition to Official Voices. These types of guests were prominent in the third week as well; however, they were commenting more on political actions associated with proposed legislation than the OKC bombing.

When comparing the language used by each group, we find that media is heavy into description the first week. By the second week the law enforcement

and legal responses are being vetted. The third week sees an expansion of the discussion to examine the future and how to prepare/defend against similar attacks (especially through proposed gun control legislation).

The guests, on the other hand, really emphasize the violent nature of the acts and the tension between law enforcement actions directed to specific groups and the protection of "the people" overall. Not surprisingly, the elected officials who are guests tend to emphasize the role they will play via lawmaking and, in a few cases, take a few jabs at the President and his staff.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION
PRESIDENT CLINTON'S LEADERSHIP STYLE ANALYSIS

We can leverage the literature of transformational leadership to analyze how Clinton framed the Oklahoma City bombing and communicated his agenda during his initial address to the nation. For example, he did not initially describe the bombing a terrorist attack; instead labeling the crisis a crime that showed a lack of morality--cowardice and evil. Charisma is a central element of transformational leadership. Leaders with high levels of charisma often use 'we' and 'us' jargon use in their crafted talk. The following are excerpts taken from the transcript of Clinton's first speech demonstrating characteristics of charisma throughout his rhetoric.

> **CLINTON**: I have met with our team, which **we** assembled to deal with this bombing.
>
> **CLINTON:** Third, **we** are taking every precaution to reassure and to protect people who work in or live near other Federal facilities.
>
> **CLINTON: We** will find the people who did this. When **we** do, justice will be swift, certain, and severe. These people are killers, and they must be treated like killers.

The first research question seeks to determine the level of charisma and transformational leadership exhibited by the President. In the case of the Oklahoma City Bombing, President Clinton definitely acted as a charismatic leader who was making sure his resources were deployed to assure a swift investigation of the bombing and an effective criminal justice response.

And, in his role as a leader of the largest administrative organization in the nation, he is clearly communicating the short-term response agenda. The first response was to label the event a national disaster and to deploy FEMA. When more information is revealed, then the agenda shifts to that of a criminal investigation, where investigators seek to identify and detain the murderers and secure swift justice.

The short-term agenda of the President was realized with the passage of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 (Public Law 104-132). Approved on April 24, 1996, the intent of the act was to deter terrorism, provide justice for victims, and provide for an effective death penalty along with a number of additional purposes. Another piece of location-specific legislation passed was in response to the emotional and/or behavioral effects the bombing had on the residents of Oklahoma City. Project Heartland was established to assist those coping with the aftermath of the event (Tucker, Pfefferbaum, Nixon, & Dickson, 2000).

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S OFFICIAL VOICES ANALYSIS

Followership is an important ingredient of leadership. Of Clinton's 10 recognized Official Voices, only four spoke on behalf of the President over the

course of the first month. The analysis of the Official Voices and the President determined all were consistent in labeling the crisis event as a criminal attack the first day of the bombing. They also emphasized the event as being a human tragedy and pointed out the lack of morality exhibited by the perpetrators.

> **RENO**: This has been a tragic and heartbreaking day.
>
> **MCCURRY**: A horrible incident. Clearly there's been a devastating explosion that's occurred at this federal building.

There was also consistency in terms of not classifying the incident as a terrorist attack as can be seen in these quotes by the attorney general.

> **QUESTION**: It sounds from everything you have said as if you've concluded that this was a terrorist attack of some kind. Can you confirm that?
>
> **RENO**: I would not characterize it as such until the evidence is in, but we are pursuing every piece of evidence with whatever motivation behind it.

The second research question explored the degree to which the President's comments were sourced and echoed. When viewed over time, the Official Voices tended to follow the President's lead by do not constantly refer to what the President has said. Surprising that they had such a low profile with few comments to be analyzed over the 30-day period and so many Official Voices that were "unheard." The media did hone in on a potential difference between Clinton and Reno, but the President backed up Reno. Based on the analysis of the President's and the Official Voices transcripts, it is clear that crafted talk of the President was echoed by the Official Voices, yet the degree to which the Official Voices sourced the President is low**.**

PRESIDENT CLINTON AND THE MEDIA ANALYSIS

Research question three asks did President Clinton, as the first actor to label the crisis event, influence the way the event was framed by the media? As described in chapter two, a successful short-term response agenda can be predicated on a mediating force that occurs through media coverage of the President's comments. The success can also be influenced by the degree to which other high-profile government officials, like members of Congress support or oppose the President's framing of the event and response agenda when they appear on the Sunday news programs. These predictions were tested to answer the third research question.

Just as the President has power to influence, the selected news program networks choice of special guest speakers also influences media framing. All the major Sunday national networks discussed terrorism, had terrorism experts on as guest speakers during each broadcast and consistently reported on terrorism. Over the course of the observation month, NBC News was the only network to host any Official Voices and two Congressional members from each party. ABC hosted Congressional members representing both parties. And finally, CBS hosted several Congressional members from each party. Based on the level of expertise of each guest speaker, the media inquiry was focused on understanding the militia, possible legal sanctions against the suspect(s) actions and those who provide opposing angles to any situation--Congressional government officials.

Surprisingly, it appears that media framing influenced the President. President Clinton initially avoided labeling the event as terrorism and the perpetrator(s) as terrorist; however, four days later, in a CBS 60 Minutes interview, he began to discuss the event using the terrorism label. I speculate this was in response to the fact that the initial media framing of the event as terrorism was quite different. Clinton was the only President to provide an interview to a media news outlet. Initially, in general, the media's key words were very similar to those of the President. For example, on April 23, 1995, we see the discussion in the media focusing on key words surrounding the evil act (like explosion, devastation, tragedy, blood, device), a concern with the people (children, victims, federal building) and future action (terrorism, attack, investigation). By April 30, 1995, media commentator's also added language associated with the law enforcement response (intelligence gathering, surveillance, infiltrate and counterterrorism).

From this analysis of the Oklahoma City bombing event, we see a charismatic leader attending to the emotional, spiritual and security needs of the nation. President Clinton was also a transformational leader who used his crafted talk to enable his Official Voices to use their respective positions to communicate his framing of the event and the short-term response he desired. The media framing tended to be one of conveying information and charting progress in response to a terrorist event. However in later broadcasts, there was also a tendency to critically question if historical lessons had been learned and how they could now be learned to avoid future problems. These frames

pursued by the media did influence the President, since he later adopted the terrorist frame and was successful in the passage of legislation to change the penalties for acts of domestic terror to make them harsher than those of murderers.

The next chapter examines the events of 9/11, and President Bush, to answer the research questions for a comparative analysis of the domestic terrorism responses of three Presidents.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE 9/11 ATTACKS

At approximately 0846, September 11, 2001, American Airlines Flight 11 crashed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center. Seventeen minutes later, United Airlines Flight 175 crashed into the South Tower. At 0937, American Airlines Flight 77 crashed into the side of the Pentagon. And finally, at 1003, the reign of terror ended when United Airlines Flight 93 rested in a field outside of Pennsylvania (The 9/11 Commission Report, 2004). In an hour and 17 minutes, as the death toll rose, the United States was placed in a state of emergency. After further investigation, it was determined that 19 male Arab Islamist extremists with ties to Osama bin Laden were responsible for the attacks.

With respect to acts of terrorism, the President's short-term response, along with his administrative staff-Official Voices and mainstream media, all have the ability to directly or indirectly influence agenda setting. The principle objective of this chapter is to assess and compare the language used by each actor: the President, his Official Voices and the mainstream media, under conditions of the terrorist events that took place on September 11, 2001.

The following three sections describe and analyze responses to the bombing by the President of the United States, his appointed Official Voices and the mainstream media. The analysis is broken down into three periods; 1) the day of the crisis event, 2) the first week following the event and 3) the 30 days following the initial day of the attack. From the perspective of

characterizing and comparing the responses of each actor represented, an illustration in variations of consistency of word usage, intent, and evolutions in language is captured.

The fourth section provides an analysis of how the language changes over time as more information is obtained, the perpetrators are identified and the intent and motivation is revealed. The comparison of each actors' language is made to draw conclusions about the attempts each made to influence the labeling of the event and the public policy agenda following the attacks on 9/11.

COMMENTS BY PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH

> "Terrorism against our Nation will not stand. And now if you would join me in a moment of silence." (Bush, 2001, pg.1, 911A)

During the first 30 days following the terrorist events of 9/11, President Bush gave over 54 speeches and submitted seven documents in reference to the crisis (See Table 5). The first column of Table 1 shows the date of the speech/document and the day it occurred following the event; tagging the day of the event as T+0. The table also shows the title, audience and location of the speech/document. When addressing the nation, a majority of his speeches were delivered from a location within the White House. It is interesting to note that he also delivered one official address to Congress from the House Chamber of the Capitol building. In these speeches, President Bush described the event as an act of terrorism and provided information on his planned response in reaction to the events. For example, on September 15, 2001, in his radio address to the nation he stated:

> This weekend I am engaged in extensive sessions with members of my National Security Council, as we plan a comprehensive assault on terrorism. This will be a different kind of conflict against a different kind of enemy. (Bush, 2001, 911P, pg.1)

President Bush had an average approval rating of 54% five days before the attacks on 9/11. One month following the crisis events, Bush's rating increased to 89%.

Table 5*. President Bush's Speeches Following the September 11th Attacks – 30 Days*

DATE (T + X)	TITLE OF SPEECH (CITING CODE)	SPEECH LOCATION
Sept 11 [T+0]	Remarks in Sarasota, Florida, on the Terrorist Attack on New York City's World Trade Center (911A)	Media Center at Emma Booker Elementary School
Sept 11 [T+0]	Remarks at Barksdale Air Force Base, Louisiana, on the Terrorist Attacks (911B)	Dougherty Center
Sept 11 [T+0]	Address to the Nation on the Terrorist Attacks (911C)	Oval Office at the White House
Sept 12 [T+1]	Remarks Following a Meeting With the National Security Team (911D)	Cabinet Room, White House
Sept 12 [T+1]	Remarks While Touring Damage, Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia (911E)	Site of the attack
Sept 12 [T+1]	Memorandum on Excused Absence and Assistance to Federal Employees Affected by the Attacks at the Pentagon (911F)	Document
Sept 12 [T+1]	Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives Requesting Supplemental Appropriations (911G)	Document
Sept 13 [T+2]	Remarks in a Telephone Conversation With New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and New York Governor George E. Pataki and With Reporters (911H)	Oval Office at the White House.
Sept 13 [T+2]	Memorandum on Benefits for Survivors of Public Safety Officers (911I)	Document
Sept 13 [T+2]	Remarks Following a Visit to Washington Hospital Center (91IJ)	Main entrance to Washington Hospital Center
Sept 14 [T+3]	Remarks, National Day of Prayer and Remembrance Service (911K)	National Cathedral
Sept 14 [T+3]	Message to the Congress on the Declaration of National Emergency (911L)	Document
Sept 14 [T+3]	Remarks to Police, Firemen, and Rescueworkers, World Trade Center Site in New York City (911M)	Murray and West Streets
Sept 14 [T+3]	Statement on Congressional Action on Emergency Supplemental Appropriations (911N)	Document

Sept 15 [T+4]	Remarks in a Meeting With the National Security Team and an Exchange With Reporters at Camp David. (911O)	Laurel Cabin at Camp David
Sept 15 [T+4]	The President's Radio Address (911P)	Laurel Cabin at Camp David
Sept 16 [T+5]	Remarks on Arrival, White House and an Exchange With Reporters (911Q)	South Lawn, White House
Sept 17 [T+6]	Remarks to Employees in the Dwight D. Eisenhower Executive Office Building (911R)	Outside cafeteria of Dwight D. Eisenhower Building
Sept 17 [T+6]	Remarks to Employees in the Pentagon and an Exchange With Reporters in Arlington, Virginia (911S)	Entrance to the Joint Staff corridor of the Pentagon.
Sept 17 [T+6]	Remarks, Islamic Center of Washington (911T)	The Mosque
Sept 17 [T+6]	Message on the Observance of Rosh Hashanah, (911U)	Location not reported
Sept 18 [T+7]	Remarks Honoring Charitable Organizations (911IV)	Rose Garden, White House
Sept 18 [T+7]	Statement on Signing the Authorization for Use of Military Force (911W)	The White House
Sept 18 [T+7]	Remarks Prior to Discussions With President Jacques Chirac> of France and an Exchange With Reporters (911X)	Oval Office, White House
Sept 18 [T+7]	Remarks Prior to Discussions With President Megawati Sukarnoputri of Indonesia and an Exchange With Reporters (911Y)	Oval Office, White House
Sept 19 [T+8]	Joint Statement Between the United States of America and the Republic of Indonesia (911Z)	Location not reported
Sept 19 [T+8]	Joint Statement Between the United States of America and the Republic of Indonesia on Terrorism. (911AA)	Location not reported
Sept 19 [T+8]	Remarks Following a Meeting With Congressional Leaders and an Exchange With Reporters (911BB)	Oval Office, White House
Sept 20 [T+9]	Remarks With Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom and an Exchange With Reporters (911CC)	The Grand Foyer, White House
Sept 20 [T+9]	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress (911DD)	House Chamber of the Capitol
Sept 22 [T+11]	The President’s Radio Address (911EE)	Cabinet Room, White House
Sept 22 [T+11]	Statement on Signing the Air Transportation Safety and System Stabilization Act (911FF)	Approved Sept 22, Public Law No. 107–42.
Sept 23 [T+12]	Message to the Congress on United States Financial Sanctions Against Terrorists and Their Supporters (911GG)	The White House
Sept 24 [T+13]	Remarks on United States Financial Sanctions Against Terrorists and Their	Rose Garden, White House

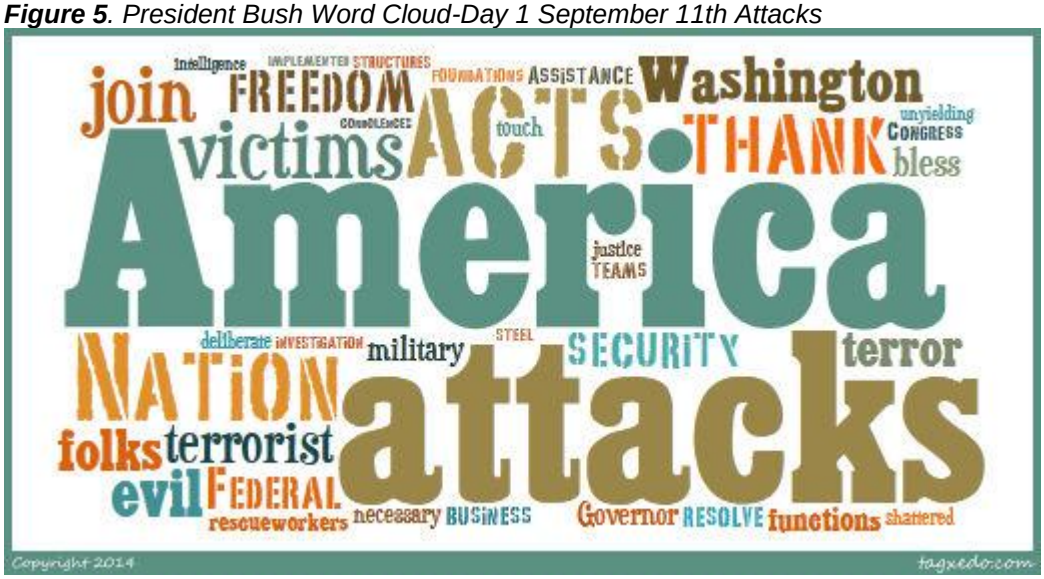
	Supporters and an Exchange With Reporters (911HH)	
Sept 24 [T+13]	Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Jean Chretien of Canada (911II)	Colonnade, White House
Sept 24 [T+13]	Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on the Deployment of Forces in Response to the Terrorist Attacks of Sept 11 (911IJJ)	Document
Sept 25 [T+14]	Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan and an Exchange With Reporters (911KK)	Colonnade, White House
Sept 25 [T+14]	Remarks to Federal Bureau of Investigation Employees (911LL)	Conference room, Operations Center, FBI headquarters
Sept 26 [T+15]	Remarks to Central Intelligence Agency Employees in Langley, Virginia (911MM)	Lobby, George Bush Center for Intelligence
Sept 26 [T+15]	Remarks Prior to Discussions With Muslim Community Leaders and an Exchange With Reporters (911NN)	Roosevelt Room, White House
Sept 27 [T+16]	Remarks to Airline Employees in Chicago, Illinois (911OO)	O'Hare International Airport
Sept 28 [T+17]	Remarks Prior to Discussions With King Abdullah II of Jordan and an Exchange With Reporters (911PP)	Oval Office, White House
Sept 29 [T+18]	The President's Radio Address (911QQ)	Cabinet Room, White House
Oct 1 [T+20]	Remarks to Federal Emergency Management Agency Employees (911RR)	Ballroom of the Holiday Inn Capitol adjacent to FEMA
Oct 2 [T+21]	Remarks Following a Meeting With Congressional Leaders and an Exchange With Reporters (911SS)	Oval Office, White House
Oct 2 [T+21]	Remarks Announcing the Reopening of Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport in Arlington, Virginia (911TT)	Terminal C, Reagan airport
Oct 3 [T+22]	Remarks Following Discussions With Business Leaders and an Exchange With Reporters in New York City (911UU)	Federal Hall National Memorial
Oct 4 [T+23]	Remarks to Department of State Employees (911VV)	Department of State headquarters building
Oct 4 [T+23]	Remarks to Department of Labor Employees (911WW)	Great Hall, Frances Perkins Department of Labor Building
Oct 6 [T+25]	The President's Radio Address (911XX)	Cabinet Room, White House
Oct 7 [T+26]	Remarks, National Fallen Firefighters Memorial in Emmitsburg, Maryland (911YY)	National Emergency Training Center Memorial
Oct 7 [T+26]	Address to the Nation Announcing Strikes Against Al Qaida Training	Treaty Room, White House

	Camps and Taliban Military Installations in Afghanistan (911ZZ)	
Oct 8 [T+27]	Remarks, Swearing-In Ceremony for Tom Ridge as Director of the Office of Homeland Security (911AAA)	East Room, White House
Oct 8 [T+27]	Remarks on Signing the Columbus Day Proclamation (911BBB)	East Room, White House
Oct 9 [T+28]	Remarks Following Discussions With Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany and an Exchange With Reporters (911CCC)	The Colonnade, White House
Oct 9 [T+28]	Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on Combat Action in Afghanistan Against Al Qaida Terrorists and Their Taliban Supporters (911DDD)	Document
Oct 10 [T+29]	Remarks Announcing the Most Wanted Terrorists List (911EEE)	The Bonaparte Auditorium, FBI headquarters
Oct 10 [T+29]	Remarks Following Discussions With Secretary General Lord Robertson of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (911FFF)	The Colonnade, White House
Oct 11 [T+30]	Remarks, Department of Defense Service of Remembrance in Arlington, Virginia (911GGG)	The Pentagon
Oct 11 [T+30]	Remarks Following a Cabinet Meeting (911HHH)	Cabinet Room, White House
Oct 11 [T+30]	The President's News Conference (911III)	East Room, White House

On the first day of the attacks, President George Bush gave three speeches at different locations. From a quantitative perspective, he spoke in great detail using terminology such as: 1) America, 2) world, 3) attack, 4) act, and 5) freedom/security. His remarks were consistent with categorizing the event as an act of terrorism against not only the United States, but also the nation. He explained in his initial speeches to the nation that the event was an act of terrorism; an attack on freedom that would be met with hunting down those responsible. Figure 5 provides a visual interpretation of the words used most often during his initial speeches. The graphic representation matches very closely with the counting of words to determine those that occurred most frequently. Interestingly, without adequate time for an in-depth discussion with

his Official Voices, he labeled the act as a terrorist attack on the first day and the word “attack” appears prominently in the word cloud.

Figure 5. *President Bush Word Cloud-Day 1 September 11th Attacks*

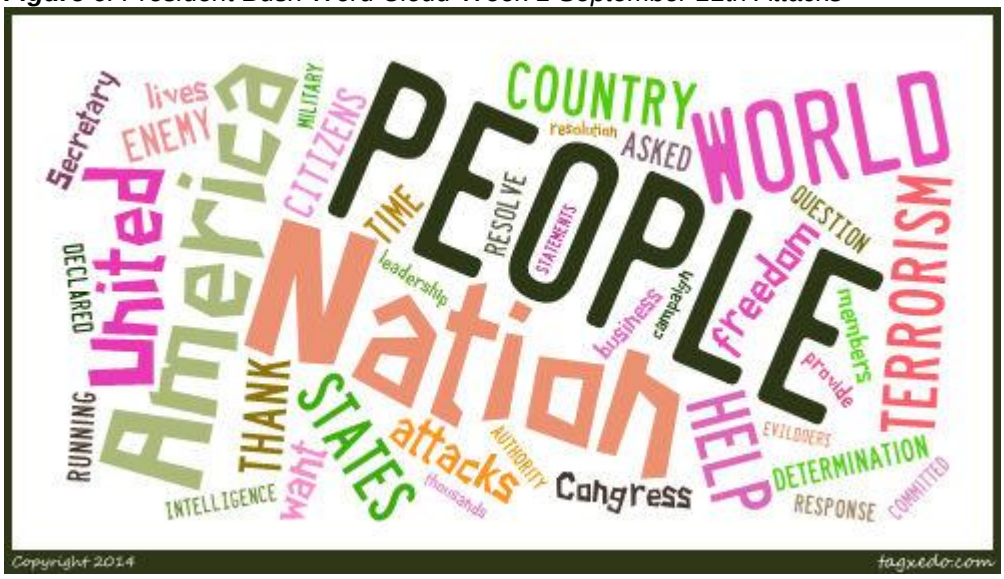


Bush’s speeches on the first day focused on four themes. His speeches, when speaking to those responsible, appeared to demean the attackers. He made reference to the terrorists as the enemy and this attack was cowardly. Number two was his various degrees of describing the act as a terrorist attack, choosing words such as deliberate and deadly attacks, and despicable act of terror**.** Three, he pointed out that the American way of life/freedom was under attack. For example, he stated that an “act of war had been committed on the country.” (Bush, 2001, 911A). Finally, he provided a reaction/response stating, **“**I implemented our Government’s emergency response plans and a full-scale investigation to hunt down and to find the folks who committed the act. Our military is powerful, and it’s prepared. Our emergency teams are working in New York City and Washington, DC, to help with local rescue efforts” (Bush, 2001, 911C, pg. 1). As society came to grips with the reality of the attack,

President Bush entered the first week informing the nation that America was now under attack and detailing his plan of action.

By the end of week one, President Bush continued to campaign for bringing justice to those responsible and to combat terrorism. “Tonight, we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done” (Bush, 2001, 911DD, pg.1). Figure 6 graphically depicts President Bush’s crafted talk during the first week following the 9/11 attacks.

Figure 6. *President Bush Word Cloud-Week 1 September 11th Attacks*

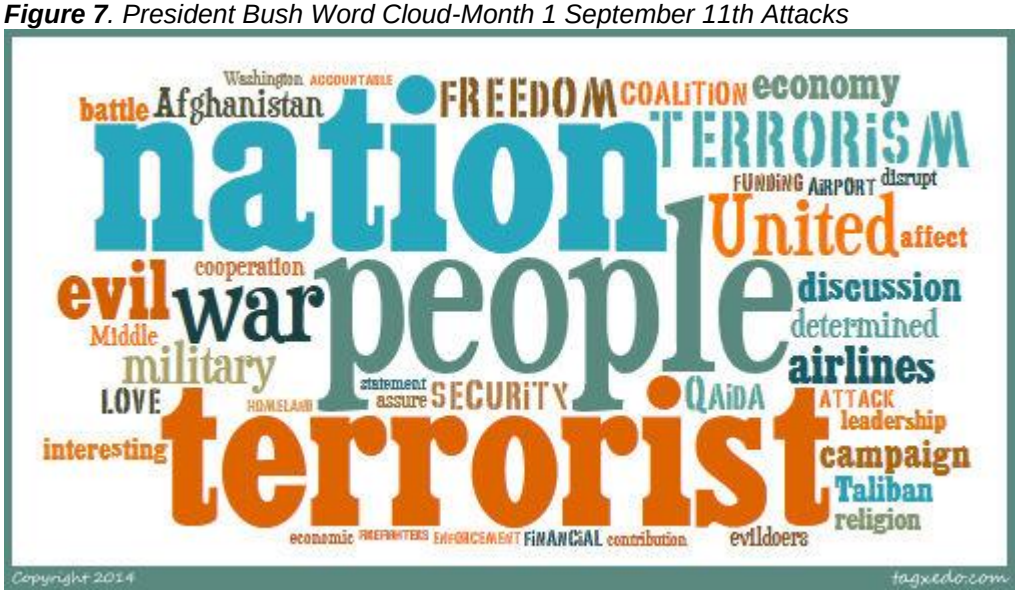


Through the end of the month, President Bush continued his campaign to combat terrorism by going to war. He provided numerous speeches and maintained his conclusion regarding the terrorists by providing updates about the investigation and his efforts to combat the war on terrorism. There were a number of words he used quite frequently when discussing the attacks. For

example, President Bush used the word terrorist/terrorism over 344 times from September 19, 2001 – October 11, 2001, in addition to the word American/nation, which he used 508 times throughout his speeches.

Figure 7 provides a visual interpretation of the words used the month after the events on 9/11. The graphic representation matches very closely with the counting of words to determine those that occurred most frequently. An analysis of his speeches for the month following the 9/11 crisis events spoken by Bush consisted of: 1) people, 2) terrorist, 3) nation, 4) war, and 5) American.

***Figure 7**. President Bush Word Cloud-Month 1 September 11th Attacks*



The themes surrounding his choice of words appeared to center on expressing his view on the act--terrorist, his plan--war, and those he considered the enemy--anyone who represented the attackers and the views they upheld. Interestingly, on October 10, 2001, the Bush administration released the most wanted terrorist list. Osama bin Laden was a name mentioned as the mastermind behind the attacks on September 11th; however, Bush mentioned

his name only 11 times during the timeframe of September 19, 2001 – October 11, 2001.

In summary, it appears President Bush's speeches maintained a constant theme of terrorism that required retaliation from the day of the attack leading up to a month after the attack-it never wavered. He spoke in great detail about the act--the attack, his plan--going to war, and those he viewed as the enemy and responsible-- al Qaeda.

COMMENTS BY PRESIDENT BUSH OFFICIAL VOICES

The President of the United States ultimately assumes the role of national spokesperson when relaying information (crisis) to the nation; still, considerable dependability is placed on his Official Voices. Out of the 10 Official Voices identified for this research, only five made official statements regarding the events of 9/11 (presented in Table 6). The amount of media exposure for President Bush's Official Voices was extremely high with several appearances on Sunday media news networks. The language used and the embedded themes of their comments are presented next.

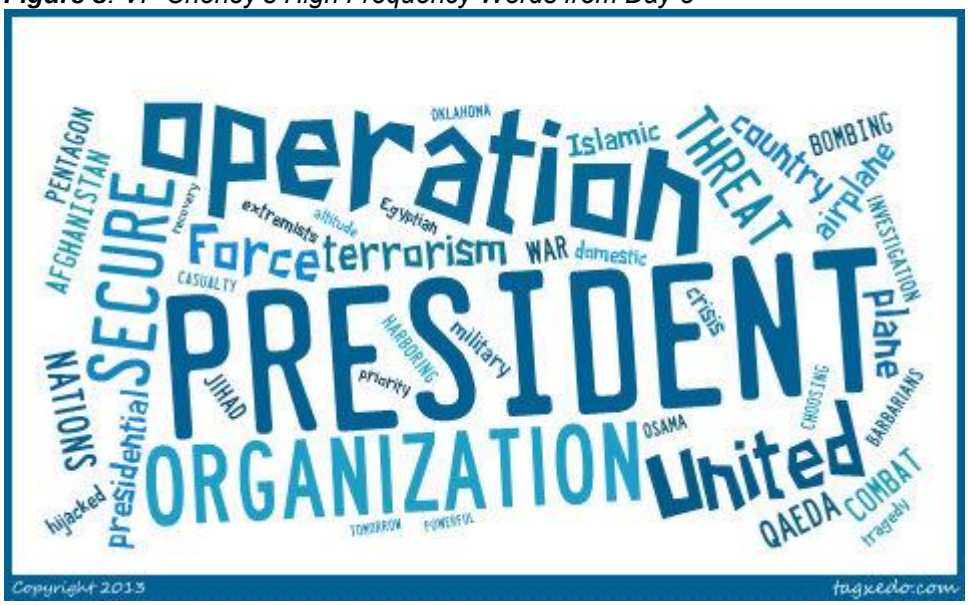
Table 6*. President Bush Official Voices*

Vice President Dick Cheney	***Sec of Defense*** Donald Rumsfeld	***Attorney General*** John Ashcroft	***Press Secretary*** Ari Fleischer	***Sec of State*** Colin Powell
Spoke 1 time Interviews: NBC1	Spoke 12 times Interviews: ABC1, Fox1, CBS2, NBC3	Spoke 17 times Interviews: ABC1, Fox1, CBS3	Spoke 18 times Interviews: Chief of Staff Fox3	Spoke 6 times Interviews: CBS1, ABC2 + Rice on Fox2

Dick Cheney, Vice President

Vice President Cheney provided an interview to NBC News Meet the Press, five days after the attack. Cheney sourced the short-term response and agenda set by President Bush during his initial interview stating “What's different here, what's changed in terms of U.S. policy is the President's determination to also go after those nations and organizations and people that lend support to these terrorist operators” (Cheney, 2001, 911A, pg. 1). Cheney spoke about the organization--al Qaida that was deemed responsible for the attacks. However, in terms of categorizing the crisis events, when he used the word “operation” throughout his speeches he was actually referring to the attacks, unlike President Bush who labeled it as a terrorist attack from day one.

Figure 8. *VP Cheney's High Frequency Words from Day 5*



In summary, in addition to Cheney's role as Vice President, which requires he be ready at a moment's notice to assume the Presidency if Bush is unable to perform his duties, he is also considered the President's top advisor (WhiteHouse.gov). The Vice President did support the agenda set forth by the President by sourcing and echoing his views of the situation though he did not use certain words such as "evildoers" to describe the terrorists as the President, he was consistent with his responses to the media, which aligned with the planned short-term response set by President Bush.

Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense

INTERVIEWER: Mr. Secretary, what goes through your mind when you commit American troops to war?

RUMSFELD: Well if you're going to put people's lives at risk you better have a damn good reason.

In a press conference on the day of the attacks (2001, 911A, pg. 1), Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld provided several portrayals of the event calling it a “tragic day for our country” and a “terrible act”. Rumsfeld conveyed his plan of action that included implementing preventive measures for further attacks and caring for the injured, but abstained from categorizing the crisis as a terrorist attack. During the question and answer phase of his news briefing, several questions were presented to Rumsfeld questioning the labeling of the event:

> 1. We are getting reports from CNN and others that there are bombs exploding in Kabul, Afghanistan. Are we, at the moment, striking back? And if so, is the target Osama bin Laden and his organization?
> 2. What about Osama bin Laden, do you suspect him as the prime suspect in this?
> 3. Do you consider what happened today, both in New York and here, an act of war?

Rumsfeld addressed those questions by responding with comments such as “this is not the appropriate time to discuss particular plans” and “the attacks were vicious;” however, he would “leave it to the lawyers to place actual labels on the attack” (Rumsfeld, 2001, 911A, pg. 3). He focused his message on the fact that an attack had occurred, there were numerous people injured and that the President of the United States, along with his government entities had control of the situation. Rumsfeld’s list of frequently used words on the first day of the attacks were, 1) United States, 2) injured/injury, 3) attack, 4) President, and 5) government. By the end of the week and leading into the first month, Rumsfeld stated that his attention and focus was like that of the President of the United States and the Secretary of State, “to focus on terrorist and those that

harbor them" (Rumsfeld, 2001, 911A, pg.1) as he outlined the military's planned response to the attacks.

When analyzing his high frequency word use for the month, Rumsfeld was consistent with his elected duties as well as supporting the agenda set forth by President Bush. For example, Rumsfeld used the word terrorist 87 times. In summary, the Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld sourced and echoed the crafted talk of Bush. He maintained the same agenda as the President throughout the first month following the attacks. However, it is also important to note that he did not echo the label of the crisis incident as a terrorist attack on the first day like the President. His comments/speeches were appropriate with his position.

John Ashcroft, Attorney General

The Attorney General represents the United States in legal matters and gives advice/opinions to the President and executive departments when requested. Attorney General Ashcroft's remarks were consistent with his position and the short-term response/agenda set by President Bush. On the day of the attack, Ashcroft provided his views of the events along using language that was consistent with that of President Bush: victim, American and crime.

> "Today America has experienced one of the greatest tragedies ever witnessed on American soil. These heinous acts of violence are an assault on the security of our nation and every American citizen. We will not tolerate such acts and we will expend every effort and devote all necessary resources to

> bring the people responsible for these crimes to justice" (Ashcroft, 2001, 911A, pg.1).

During the first week, the choices of the President were similar to those of the Attorney General, they both spoke in great detail about the United States and terrorism and terrorist. As the quotes below suggest, in keeping with their position, Attorney General Ashcroft provided more discussion on the legal and investigative topics of the crisis event.

> **ASHCROFT**: And pursuing an investigation like this is a little bit like selling insurance; it doesn't matter how many bad ones you get, it's a matter of how many times you finally find a situation where the answer is yes, and you pursue it. When we get to a good lead, then we follow it. (Ashcroft, 2001, 911A)

> **PRESIDENT**: Just like the farmers and ranchers and business owners and factory workers have a job to do, my administration has a job to do, and we're going to do it. We will rid the world of the evildoers. We will call together freedom-loving people to fight terrorism. (Bush, 2001, 911Q).

Ari Fleischer, White House Press Secretary

The Press Secretary often provides daily briefings to the media on the President's activities and agenda. During the time of the 9/11 attacks, the current White House Press Secretary was Ari Fleischer. The day after the attacks, Fleischer provided a news conference in which he was asked questions such as:

> **QUESTION:** Given the scale and the level of killing in these attacks yesterday, can the president assure the American people that the response will be commensurate?

> **QUESTION:** Is the president satisfied, and should the American people be satisfied with the performance of the intelligence community in this country given what happened yesterday?
>
> **QUESTION:** Ari, in terms of the president's statement this morning that this was an act of war, was it the realization that both the White House and Air Force One were targeted that elevated his language to talk about an act of war? Was it a threat against the head of this country that elevated it to that level?

When answering questions, Fleischer would refer back to the words provided by the President, which is reflected in his use of the word (President) over 90 times during his press conference. He did not appear to interject his personal thoughts, which could be seen in his response to one question where he stated, “I'm just not going to speculate about the response. You have what the president said about how the United States will prevail. But I'm not going to go beyond that, I'm not going to speculate. And I leave it at that (Fleischer, 2001, 911A, pg.1). These quotes reinforce the sourcing of the President.

> **QUESTION**: Ari, can you elaborate a little bit on the President's remarks today about wanted dead or alive? I mean, could you explain his intent? Is he essentially issuing an appeal for anyone to hunt down and possibly kill bin Laden?
>
> **FLEISCHER**: I don't think you can elaborate. I think they were pretty plainly spoken. [Fleischer, 2001, FLE911D]

During the speeches, Fleischer spoke only to the information he had knowledge of and referred the questions he was not qualified to answer to the appropriate agency. In keeping with the purpose of his position, he remained consistent with the agenda set forth by the President, to hunt down those responsible for the attacks and prepare the United States for a long war.

Colin Powell, Secretary of State

> **QUESTION:** Mr. Secretary, the State Department has been advocating restraint in response to terrorism with the argument that violence only provokes more violence; it's an endless cycle. I wondered if the U.S. will be guided by its own admonition now that the U.S. has been horribly attacked by terrorists?
>
> **POWELL:** I think when you are attacked by a terrorist and you know who the terrorist is and you can fingerprint back to the cause of the terror, you should respond. [Powell, 2001, 911A]

Colin Powell gave a press conference on the attacks in which he spoke in terms of various types of support necessary to respond. They included obtaining support from world leaders, foreign countries and the implementation of specific legislation. He actually used the word support 14 times within his speech. Of course, he also used the word attack 11 times and terrorist was used nine times.

> **QUESTION**: Given your very strong statements here about self-defense for America, do you agree with what the president yesterday, ``bin Laden should be brought to justice, dead or alive?" Do you much care either way?
>
> **POWELL**: Of course I agree with what the president said. (Powell, 2001, 911E)

Though he may not have used all of the exact inflammatory language as the President, Powell did source and echo his short-term response/agenda. However, in keeping with his role as Secretary of State, his comments tend to focus more on what he is doing in terms of diplomacy and generating international support for the President's short-term response agenda.

COMMENTS BY THE MEDIA

Now, considered the most deadly attack on American soil, the events of September 11, 2001 received considerable media attention that evoked language related to religion, airplanes, and racial profiling. As these emotion-laden terms suggest, members of the media have a regularized venue to discuss events that affect the nation and can use this venue to "lead" their viewers to interpret events in a manner consistent with the commentator.

In addition, by looking at who media uses as guest speakers and the line of questioning. If successful, the commentators may then be able to influence the direction of the nation's response to the crisis event. In this section, I present the line of questioning used in the network based weekly Sunday news programs and analyze the degree to which the commentator is attempting to criticize the President's short-term response/agenda and establish an alternate framing of the event.

ABC Analysis

During the September 16th broadcast, questions were asked on the sustainability of the military, the vision of the war campaign, apprehension for the ground troops preparing to go into battle, is the military ready to fight the kind of war suggested by the President, the possibility of a nuclear strike, in addition to confirmation of other specific targets intended the day of the attack. Donaldson asked probing specific probing questions on the potential for further attacks, how is the government protecting the United States, legislation and its potential impact on current civil liberties, airline security, the current

investigation, and what should Americans think following the attacks? One of the co-hosts made accusations that the FBI should have done and better job at keeping an eye on the terrorist cells, suggesting that the attack could have been prevented as well as diverting from the premise set by President Bush that Osama bin Laden was the lone instigator.

> **ROBERTS**: There are those who say that the--the--this country is falling into Saddam Hussein's trap--you might have heard George Will referencing that earlier--that Osama bin Laden takes credit for some of these things, but he is really working at Hussein's direction. Is this investigation putting too much emphasis on Osama bin Laden and not looking at other terrorists in the world?

ABC hosted two Official Voices under the Bush administration during its first broadcast following the attack. The line of questioning was looking for confirmation and acknowledgment of certain information obtained from outside sources and then other questions were looking for additional information on what had been provided leading up to the broadcast program. The host did not appear to deviate profoundly from the agenda set by the President, but there were suggestive questions which lead to criticism with the way certain situations were handled leading up to the attack.

> **ROBERTS**: Now, what about another question along those lines. Some terrorism experts say the best way to protect airlines, for instance, is through passenger profiling. You have been against racial profiling in law enforcement. What about passenger profiling for the airlines, which might have stopped some of these people?

During the September 23rd broadcast, Donaldson inquired on subjects such as if there were threats of further attacks on the U.S., the current status of the military operation-confirmation of a downed aircraft, confirm Saudi Arabia

and Pakistan cooperation, and explain what victory over Osama bin Laden would entail. His method of questioning did not appear to deviate from President Bush's agenda; however, he did appear to seek more detailed information, confirmation of information, and at times, emerge condescending from the President's Official Voices.

> **DONALDSON**: You're a general, but you don't sound very war-like compared to other voices in this town and some within the administration.

> **DONALDSON**: Let me show you something you said the other day, and just see whether you've changed your view on it, concerning proof: You said, "We are assembling evidence that will tell us, in a way the world will fully confer with us--concur with us, who is responsible for this." Are we going to present before the world evidence of Osama bin Laden's guilt?

For the September 30th broadcast, there were no Official Voices interviewed, but the discussion was on the investigation and military operations. Almost 19 days after the attack, the presence of fear and perplexed thoughts of the victory of war was apparent in the question presented to the guest speaker.

> **ROBERTS**: *Time* magazine has taken a poll that comes out tomorrow asking people if the U.S. military action against Afghanistan would make terrorist attacks on the United States more likely in the next 12 months. Almost two-thirds say yes. Is that a danger, that the American public is fearful that going after these people will bring further attacks upon us?

The final broadcast leading up to a month following the attacks did not host any of President Bush's Official Voices as guest speakers; still, the discussion was on the military and its detailed operations. The host also wanted

to confirm rumors that there were more terrorist, additional planned attacks for 9/11 and that the United States would fall again soon to another attack, yet, this time, possibly a biological attack. The remainder of the broadcast was on how to deal with life if Osama bin Laden is captured and how to go back living life ‘normal’, knowing the threat of terrorism is imminent.

> **SHIPMAN**: I think a lot's going to depend on the response we see here in terms of terrorist retaliation. And that's something the White House is trying to figure out how to prepare the American public for, as they urge us to get back to our normal lives. They're trying to explain to Americans that you may be living with some risk for some time to come.
>
> **ROBERTS**: But we're sending these mixed messages because, on the one hand--I mean, you've just heard senators Shelby and Graham say, 'It's going to happen. There's going to be some further attack. There's going to be retaliation.' But then you have Secretary Thompson saying, 'We're fully prepared for any kind of biological attack,' and...
>
> **DONALDSON**: The president says, 'Get back to your life and hug your children and go to the ball game and go to Disney World.'

The final broadcast did not appear to divert from the agenda set by the President, however, based on the panel discussion and the questions presented to the guest speakers, it was obvious that fear began to consume the thoughts of many as represented by mainstream media.

NBC Analysis

Following the attacks on 9/11, NBC News Meet the Press with Tim Russert interviewed one of the most visible Official Voices in Bush’s administration, Vice President Dick Cheney. The next Sunday, Secretary of

State Colin Powell was interviewed, followed by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld on September 30th. The questions from these interviews were specifically looking for answers to particular questions. Some questions were leading or critical of the administration based on either perceived moderator personal feelings or outside influence. Then, some questions appeared to suggest media was taking the lead on assigning an agenda when the statement was made by Russert that the government needs to revisit the visa process when discussing how the 19 terrorist managed to conduct their mission of planning and carrying out the attack. There were also questions about how American's should think and respond following the attacks.

NBC News Meet the Press with Tim Russert presented three members of Bush's Official Voices in the month following the attacks. The questions appeared to seek further details and support the agenda set by Bush.

CBS Analysis

The entire first broadcast was dedicated to trying to grapple with the aftershock of how to move forward in an economy that was already weak. Senator Lindsey Graham basically agreed that in order for the US to be successful in the war on terrorism was to cut off the money supply flowing to terrorist such as Osama bin Laden.

There was no discussion the actual terrorist attack, i.e., those identified or the current state of the American state of mind. Schieffer did inquire about how prepared the United States was to defending itself against an attack.

> **SCHIEFFER**: We had never had anything like this, so perhaps that's one of the reasons for it. But clearly, it seems that the United States was unprepared for an attack on the homeland. We're told now that even after people at the Pentagon--Defense Secretary Rumsfeld--even after it was known that there were aircraft heading toward the Pentagon, that the Secretary of Defense didn't know about it. The jets were scrambled, but everything happened too late. How prepared were they? (Schieffer, 2001)

The interview appeared to be supportive of the agenda and the answers provided. Some of the questions sought a personal emotional response to the attacks and were in harmony with the Bush administration and its plan of attack.

During the September 23rd broadcast, more questions were asked on the military movement, but there still seemed to be some doubt that Osama bin Laden was somehow the sole suspect in the 9/11 attacks.

> **BORGER**: Mr. Secretary, are you still convinced that Osama bin Laden's network acted alone? (Borger, 2001)

The questions were specifically tailored for the Official Voice and only one question seemed to question the President's agenda.

The September 30th broadcast also featured another official voice from the Bush administration. The first question presented was to confirm the information that Osama bin Laden was in protective custody and quickly moved the same line of questioning as did during the prior broadcast.

> **BORGER**: Mr. General, at the outset of this, everyone seemed to be pointing to Osama bin Laden, all roads seemed to lead to him. Have you now, however, broadened your investigation? And to whom? (Borger, 2001)

Again, the line up of questions was commensurate with the position held by the guest speaker. The final broadcast showed continued concern that Osama bin Laden was the only suspect behind the attacks on September 11th.

FOX Analysis

The first Fox News Sunday with Tony Snow after 9/11 included two Official Voices who were questioned about the impact of the attacks, how to prepare for the war President Bush proposed, and how did the attack alter the faith of the people and why didn't the US prevent the attacks, considering they had viable information on the terrorist.

In addition to attempting to gain more insight into the current response to the attack as presented by the President, some questions were presented in a manner in which to criticize or contradict his agenda and try to generate new and different ones.

> **QUESTION**: Mr. President, do you believe Osama bin Laden's denial that he had anything to do with this? (Snow, 2001)

> **BUSH***:* No question, he is the prime suspect. No question about that. (Bush, 2001, 911Q)

However, on the very same day during his interview, Tony Snow presented the following question to Attorney General Ashcroft:

> **SNOW**: Let me ask you very quickly, sir, is it conceivable to you that anyone other than Osama bin Laden would be behind it? (Snow, 2001)

> **ASHCROFT:** The kind of cooperation that has existed in recent months and years between terrorist organizations makes it possible that a variety of individuals could be involved. And we are not limiting our investigation or our effort to any particular network. (Ashcroft, 2001, ASH911D)

In his speeches, President Bush attempted to persuade the Nation that his campaign to combat terrorism would not parallel other wars. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, who was in charge of overseeing the military mission, echoed his language and agenda, which was later challenged by Snow.

> **RUMSFELD:** Therefore, the only thing we can do is what the president said: We have to wage a war, and it has to be taken to them, where they are. And it will be a broadly based sustained effort, not in a matter of days and weeks but over years. People think of the wars we have seen lately, the kind of antiseptic wars where a cruise missile is fired off, shown on television landing in some smoke and so forth. That is not what this is about. (Rumsfeld, 2001, 911C)

> **SNOW**: Mr. Speaker, the defense secretary made the point that this isn't going to be like another war. It's not one where you have strategic posts and you're trying to move two miles or three miles in a day. Instead, it's going to be almost skirmish warfare. How on Earth can you keep public opinion united and even focused on such a thing when this is a war, if you want to call it that, that's not going to appear in the headlines every day but may only appear once every two or three months? (Snow, 2001)

A number of questions were asked in an attempt to provide viewers with a sense of what others saw during and after the attack. Snow wanted to inquire on the sustainability, weaponry, and footprint of the military force in assessing the impending war the Official Voices were supporting. In general, during the September 16th broadcast, Fox News Sunday appeared to stray from the agenda set by President Bush.

During the September 23rd broadcast, Snow began with additional attempts to redirect the President's agenda during his questioning of international support to the United States in the war against terrorism.

> **SNOW**: That being the case, Egypt says it's not going to join up unless it's a U.N. effort. Egypt, I think, you would classify as a moderate Arab state. Therefore, the president said people are either with us or they're with the terrorists. (Snow, 2001)

> **SNOW**: The assistant to the Pakistani president said this today. He said, "The U.S. must come up with some evidence to prove that Osama bin Laden was involved or was behind the terrorist attacks. The public in Pakistan and the world at large will only be satisfied if evidence is produced before the public." Are we going to do that? (Snow, 2001)

After questioning Condolezza Rice, he extended his criticism in questions to other guests, trying to establish if the former Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu was on one accord with the direction of President Bush, and previously echoed by Rice on the premises of forming a coalition.

> **SNOW**: Mr. Netanyahu, would it be appropriate for the United States to strike at Hezbollah encampments in Lebanon and elsewhere?

During the September 30th and October 7th broadcasts, very little was discussed about the war or the attacks. The dialogue was instead on the impact to the economy as a result of 9/11. Snow (2001) also asked, "Is one of the lessons of 9/11 that we need to decentralize so that our banking isn't so central?" Other questions addressed to political leaders sought more information on issues with terrorist states, in particular, Palestine. Snow also

had an issue with airport security and wondered if the government should federalize security officials at the airports?

> **SNOW**: So, should they be federal employees? (Snow, 2001)
> **LOTT**: I don't think they should be, personally. (Lott, 2001)
> **SNOW**: So, the president's right on that one? (Snow, 2001)

In summary, Fox News Sunday did not support the agenda set by President Bush and only hosted one official voice representative from Bush's administrative staff. Host, Tony Snow, made several attempts to deviate from comments made by the guest speakers in order to suggest or insinuate contradictions and offer dissimilar solutions from the Bush administration.

Media Outlet Analysis

Terrorism was not new to the United States, but the attack on 9/11 left many wondering how could it happen and was it possible to have it happen again? Many Americans knew and accepted the impending war against terror, but that still did not stop the speculation that would soon consume the line of media questioning.

> I believe that we can expect the next shoes to drop, to be something different than hijacking airplanes, and the reason is because what the terrorists are trying to do is to create a pervasive sense of fear among the American people. This is not a war that we can win by playing on the defensive. There are so many vulnerabilities in a free and open society such as the United States that we cannot reasonably maintain what is essentially America and try to protect every possible source of terrorist attack (Senator Bob Graham, 2001).

The analysis of the media voices confirms that the Official Voices were in agreement with the agenda set forth by President Bush. Each representative of

the administration supported the President's choice to go to war. However, they were also not quick to point blame. It was the media that appeared to begin a line of questioning which fell in line with if the United States is equipped with such super powers such as the FBI and CIA, why was more not done to prevent such an attack and if the government is taking steps to prevent future attacks.

Very little was said but it was mentioned how some felt the intelligence community dropped the ball in maintaining awareness of the movements of the hijackers as well as how many felt it was justified to create racial profiling procedures. Of course the conversation was heavy on racial profiling in the immediate weeks following the attacks and dwindled closer to the month anniversary but it still made the roundtable discussion. As time goes by, the topic of retaliation appeared less often but it was not altogether eliminated from the media's commentary. Approval of the President and his determination to go to war continued to make the highlight but it was interesting to see how the conversation of airline security and fear appeared to fade with the passing days.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION:
PRESIDENT BUSH'S LEADERSHIP STYLE ANALYSIS

The first research question considers what characteristics of charisma exhibited through transformational leaders were evident in President Bush when confronted with terrorism on U.S. soil? President Bush demonstrated different levels of leadership following the attacks on 9/11. On the first day of the attacks, because he made a decision to label the crisis as terrorism with

what appeared as limited consultation from his administration, he demonstrated an autocratic (Lewin, 1939) style of leadership.

Bush's agenda was retaliation and combating those he claimed responsible for attacking freedom, thus creating an out-group. President Bush provided three speeches the day of the attack. He described the act as a "national tragedy" in addition to labeling it has an act of terrorism--the only President to label the crisis as terrorism on the first day.

> **BUSH**: Today our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. (Bush, 2001, 911C).

President Bush (1) ordered the full resources of the federal government to help victims and their families, (2) conduct a full-scale investigation, and (3) hunt down and find those folks who committed the act. Bush was the first President to label the act before an official investigation commenced.

The short-term agenda of President Bush was realized with the passage of the USA Patriot Act. Forty-five days after the attacks, the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act, or USA Patriot Act of 2001, was signed. The intent of this act was to deter and punish terrorist acts in the United States and around the world, to enhance law enforcement investigatory tools, and for other purposes according to Public Law 107-56, 107th Congress. By virtue of its name alone, The USA Patriot Act, the act suggests the need to unite and strengthen America, its society and allies. The Department of Homeland Defense was also created as a result of the attacks on 9/11.

PRESIDENT BUSH'S OFFICIAL VOICES ANALYSIS

The second research question explored to what extent the crafted talk of President Bush was sourced and/or echoed by his Official Voices. Based on the analysis of the comments made by the President and his Official Voices, it is clear that the Press Secretary and the Secretary of Defense sourced the crafted talk of the President. The Vice President, Secretary of State and Attorney General were echoing as appropriate to their duties. However, the degree to which the Official Voices sourced the President was high when compared to Clinton and Obama. Some of them did not use the same language, i.e. evil doers, but they maintained the same agenda when speaking.

PRESIDENT BUSH AND THE MEDIA ANALYSIS

Research question three examined if President Bush, as the first actor to label the crisis, influenced the way the event was framed by the media? The answer is yes, based on the fact that Bush labeled the incident as a terrorist attack on the initial day of the crisis. He addressed the nation a total of 53 times during the selected observation period. Though Bush was extremely influential in labeling the crisis, the media did attempt to alter the framing towards areas such as military sustainability and more details on what the war efforts would entail, concern of further attacks, security enhancements versus a decrease in civil liberties, criticism towards the FBI's efforts to thwart the attacks, and gaining support of other nations. The media commentators were also critical of the government's response, suggesting the need for revisiting the visa issuance procedures, and questioning how America should respond

emotionally to the events as well as situations happening overseas, and to the risk of future biochemical attacks on the U.S.

Most of the media guest speakers were affiliated with the military, the airline company, the economy, CIA associate, and Mayors from New York State. The guests reflected the topics that generated the most conversation, anxiety and anticipation of responses. Overall, the different news media outlets were different in what they focused on except for common coverage of the fear of future attacks. A lot of criticism was directed towards Bush, via his Official Voices who spoke more when compared to Clinton and Obama. And they presented more congressional members and relied less on guest experts.

Research question number 4 asks: over time, did President Bush, himself or through his Official Voices, change the language used to describe the event, label the event and promote his preferred short-term response in response to media framing? Bush controlled the framing based on how he initially labeled the attack. Again, with what appeared as very little consultation with his investigative staff, he labeled the event as terrorism, and effectively campaigned his agenda. This agenda was both sourced and echoed in the media framing. On the first day of the crisis, he began addressing Americans and discussing how freedom was under attack. The week following the attacks, he continued his campaign to combat terrorism by speaking directly to Americans, his language changed to prove the necessity of his agenda was to combat the world of evil--terrorism.

President Bush's language did change over time, but it did not seem to change in response to the Sunday morning news media commentary. Instead it changed to show progress in securing the President's agenda to combat terrorism. The attacks on 9/11 were the deadliest example of international terrorism that brought a level of fear to many. As pointed out frequently by the media, the public's levels of stress, fear and insecurity increased following the 9/11 terrorist attacks (Orehek et al., 2010). During this time of uncertainty, fear and anxiety, President Bush's leadership was accepted by media the first month following the attacks.

CHAPTER SIX

BOMBING AT THE BOSTON MARATHON

On April 15, 2013, at around 2:50 pm, a bomb exploded on Boylston Street near the finish line of the Boston Marathon as runners were crossing the finish line and with fans and spectators lining the raceway. Immediately after the first explosion, a second explosion occurred and chaos ensued, leaving over 260 people injured and three dead, including an 8-year old boy and a 26-year old Massachusetts Institute of Technology police officer, Sean Collier. Bystanders immediately ran to the scene of the explosions, emergency personnel cared for the wounded, and law enforcement secured the affected areas in an attempt to protect spectators and the other unsuspecting runners who were nearing the finish line.

The initial law enforcement response was designed to increase security. The investigation to determine who was responsible for the bombing would soon follow, as the initial review of the surveillance video from the day's events began. Local officials asked the public to report any suspicious activities and to remain vigilant, both tactics gleaned from investigations during and after previous domestic terrorism attacks on American soil.

After further investigation into leads from the public and from surveillance video details, two brothers, Dzhokhar and Tamerlan Tsarnaev, were identified as the initial suspects who left backpacks filled with explosives at specific locations along the route to the marathon's finish line. The brothers were students at the University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, who'd come to the United States from the former Soviet Union, and were of Chechen descent.

One function of the President of the United States is to provide information about events that have occurred within our nation. The President is also an agenda setter. One typical way that he accomplishes this is by outlining his policy and financial agenda for the coming year, which is accomplished in a joint session of Congress at a State of Union address. Similar to the President, it could be said that media's agenda is to entertain, educate, persuade and provide informative information to the nation. With respect to acts of terrorism, the President, along with his administrative staff-Official Voices and mainstream media, all have the ability to directly or indirectly influence agenda setting. The principle objective of this chapter is to assess and compare the rhetoric used by each actor, the President, his Official Voices and media, under conditions of the terrorist events at the Boston Marathon.

The following three sections describe and analyze the response to the bombing by the President of the United States, his appointed administrators (Official Voices) and the Sunday news program media. To characterize and compare the responses of each actor represented, an illustration in variations of consistency of word usage, intent, and evolutions in language is presented.

The fourth section provides an analysis of changes in language. From the day of the event, throughout the first week following the event and up to the end of the first month following the event looking for consistency in messaging as well as evolutions in the language and intent of the messaging. Also, I considered the message of three kinds of actors and how it evolved over the time period as more facts about the event and the background and motivation

of the perpetrator was revealed. The language used by each actor is then compared to the other actors in order to draw conclusions about the attempts each made to influence the public policy agenda following the event.

COMMENTS BY PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA

The American people will say a prayer for Boston.

Obama, 2013

During the first 30 days following the Boston Marathon Bombing event, President Obama made 11 speeches. The first column of Table 7 shows the date of the speech and the number of days it occurred following the event, using the day of the event as T+0. The table also shows the title, audience and location of the speech.

On the day of the bombing, the President made his first official statement from the White House. During the first week, he spoke an additional six times, primarily from the White House with prepared remarks but also in an address at an Interfaith Prayer Service as well as directly to volunteers at a local high school. The remaining four Presidential speeches occurred as part of remarks made at unrelated events across the nation.

A day before the Boston Marathon bombing events, Obama had a average approval rating of 52%, however, several days following the crisis, there was a decline approval rating to 46%.

***Table 7**. President Obama Speeches Following Boston Marathon Attack*

DATE [T+X}	TITLE OF SPEECH (CITING CODE)	AUDIENCE/LOCATION OF SPEECH
April 15 [Day of]	Statement by the President (BOSA)	White House Press Briefing Room
April 16, [T + 1]	Second Statement on the Boston Marathon Bombings (BOSB)	The White House
April 17 [T + 1]	Remarks by the President Welcoming the Wounded Warrior Project's Soldier Ride (BOSC)	South Lawn – White House
April 18 [T + 3]	Interfaith Prayer Service Address at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross (BOSD)	Boston, Massachusetts
April 18 [T + 3]	Remarks by the President to First Responders and Volunteers in Boston, MA (BOSE)	Cathedral High School Boston, Massachusetts
April 19 [T + 4]	Third Statement on the Boston Marathon Bombings (BOSF)	The White House
April 20 [T + 5]	Weekly Address: America Stands with the City of Boston (BOSG)	The White House
April 24 [T + 9]	Remarks by the President at DNC Event (BOSH)	Private Residence - Dallas, Texas
April 25 [T + 10]	Memorial Address for the Victims of the West Fertilizer Plant Explosions (BOSI)	University of Baylor, Waco, Texas
April 27 [T + 12]	White House Correspondents' Dinner Address (BOSJ)	Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C.
April 30 [T + 15]	Press Conference on Syria and Sundry Topics (BOSK)	The White House

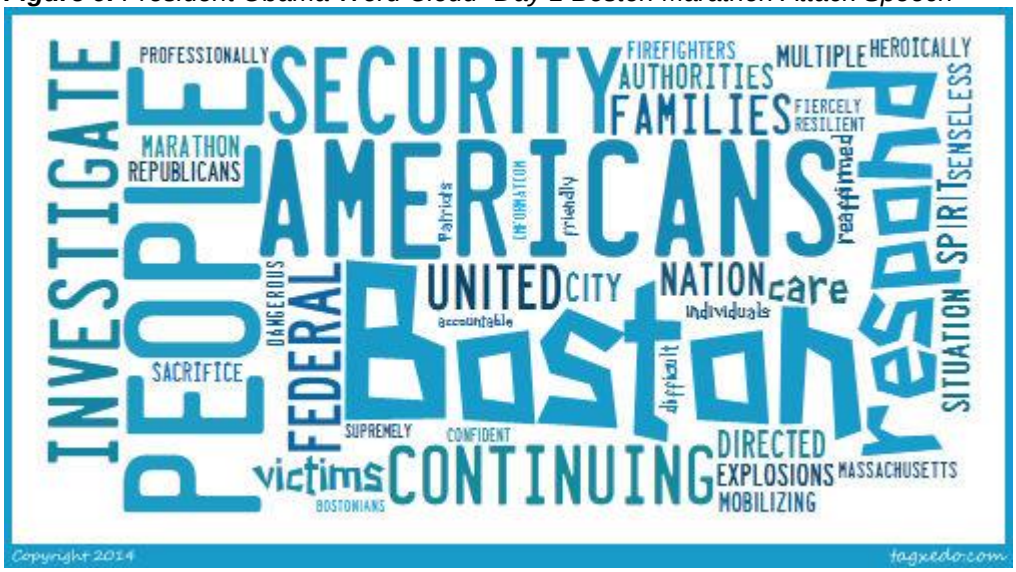
http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/barackobama/barackobamamexicopeople.htm and http://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/Speeches-and-Remarks/2013/04?page=3

On the first day of the attacks, it appeared President Obama made an effort to not classify the attack as "an act of terrorism" (Obama, 2013, BOSA). Instead, he characterized it as "the situation", "a tragedy" and "the events in Boston." Likewise, he explained in his initial speech to the nation that his team

would diligently investigate the attack, while he continuously provided reassurance of the team's abilities, the level of effort put forth and courage displayed throughout the impending investigation. In this speech, he also bestowed accolades upon several Bostonians, as well as other heroic Americans. For example, he stated, "Boston is a tough and resilient town. So are its people. I'm supremely confident that Bostonians will pull together, take care of each other, and move forward as one proud city. And as they do, the American people will be with them every single step of the way."(Obama, 2013, BOSA, pg.1).

Figure 9 provides a visual interpretation of the words used most often during his initial speech. The graphic representation matches very closely with the counting of words to determine those that occur most frequently: 1) Boston, 2) Americans, 3) people, 4) respond, and 5) security.

Figure 9. *President Obama Word Cloud- Day 1 Boston Marathon Attack Speech*



During each subsequent speech in the first week, he provided inspiration to the people of Boston. He seemed acutely aware that the public was extremely anxious to know any new details of that day's occurrences. "Obviously, tonight there are still many unanswered questions. Among them, why did young men who grew up and studied here, as part of our communities and our country, resort to such violence?" (Obama, 2013, BOSF, pg.1). The bombings were the main topic of discussion on his agenda since he provided timely updates to the American public as they became available.

The day after the bombings, President Obama described the attack as "heinous and cowardly", and a "terrorist act". (Obama, 2013, BOSB, pg.1). He acknowledged to the public, that the investigative agencies had yet to identify a suspect, nor did they know if the act was committed by someone with domestic or foreign ties. He reassured the American people that not only would Boston not fall victim to the fears of terrorism, but the American people would also continue to stand united. "So, if you want to know who we are, what America is, how we respond to evil -- that's it. Selflessly. Compassionately. Unafraid." (Obama, 2013, BOSB, pg. 2).

On April 19, 2013, four days after the attack, President Obama addressed the nation and stated that he was grateful for the bravery exemplified by law enforcement and investigative personnel in their efforts, which resulted in the identification of the two brothers responsible for the bombing. He provided recognition of those who died as well as the many injured, while commending the fortitude of the American people and of Boston. "One of the

things that makes America the greatest nation on Earth, but also, one of the things that makes Boston such a great city, is that we welcome people from all around the world -- people of every faith, every ethnicity, from every corner of the globe" (Obama, 2013, BOSF, pg. 2).

During the first week, President Obama addressed the nation a total of seven times. Ana analysis of his speeches for the first week following the bombing at the Boston Marathon identified these high frequency words: 1) Boston, 2) people, 3) city, 4) American, and 5) spirit. Figure 2 provides a visual interpretation of the words used most often during his speech. The graphic representation matches very closely with the counting of words to determine those that occurred most frequently.

Figure 10. *President Obama Word Cloud- Week 1 Boston Marathon Attack Speech*

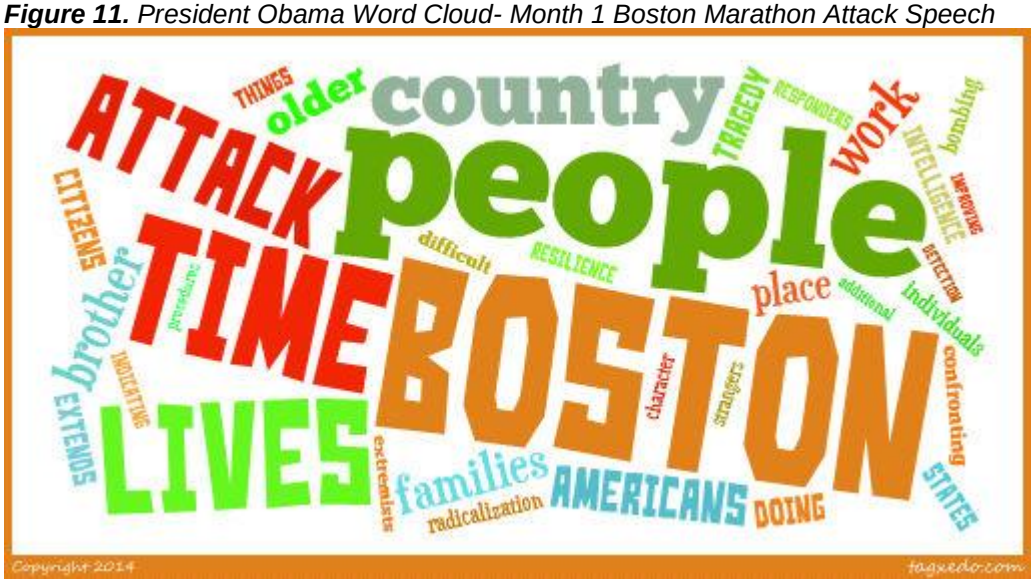


During the month following the attack, President Obama gave four additional speeches. While the bombings in Boston were not the main topic of those speeches; his prepared remarks included highlights about the attack that

included praising the people of Boston as well as Americans. He provided remarks of condolences and recognition during several speeches such as "…we pray for those in Boston who have been tested, and the wounded whose greatest tests still lie ahead" (Obama, 2013, BOSI, pg. 1).

An analysis of his speeches the month following the bombing revealed a number of frequently used words which consisted of: 1) Boston, 2) people, 3) attack, 4) country, and 5) America.

Figure 11. *President Obama Word Cloud- Month 1 Boston Marathon Attack Speech*



President Obama had a remarkably high consistency in the language he used across the three time periods studied. There are a number of words that were used the same amount of times, Boston, America, and, people. It is not surprising that respond and security are not as prominent as they were in the first day and week since the two brothers had been caught (security) and the investigation was well under way (respond) with no evidence of other terrorist involvement.

In every time period studied, the President praised the resilience of the people of Boston in their proven successful attempt to display extreme perseverance as they selflessly cared for injured strangers and complied with the lock down set in motion by local law enforcement as they aggressively sought to apprehend the indentified suspect. Obama likened the tenacity of Bostonians to all Americans, “We also know this -- the American people refuse to be terrorized, (Obama, 2013, BOSB, pg. 1), that’s why a bomb can’t beat us. That’s why we don’t hunker down. That’s why we don’t cower in fear. We carry on. We race. We strive. We build, and we work, and we love” (Obama, 2013, BOSF, pg. 3).

His response to the crisis event from the beginning was that his team of law enforcement personnel and investigators would find who was responsible and bring the full weight of justice upon the perpetrators. Considering one of the two suspects died while resisting detainment, Obama continued to update the nation on the identification and arrest of the surviving suspect as well as the impending charges. In addition to the capture of this suspect, he also stated that he had every intention to learn from the attack by looking into other processes and procedures to thwart further future attacks on American soil.

President Obama’s speeches on the bombing utilized consistently a particularized structure. He started by describing the act, informing the audience of the situation, then, moved into his action plan. Finally he outlined his short-term agenda, and provided his inspirationally motivating response.

He refrained from making negative comments about the suspected suspects/terrorist; however, he did not hesitate to label the attack as heinous and cowardly. He continued to provide the nation with updates on the impending investigation as well as his reassurance that all is well in the United States and soon, everyone would remember Boston as it once was, “and this time next year, on the third Monday in April, the world will return to this great American city to run harder than ever, and to cheer even louder, for the 118th Boston Marathon (Obama, 2013, BOS6, pg. 3).

President Obama was quite descriptive when he referencing events, places and people. Beginning with the crisis event, from the first day of the attack he refrained from using the label-terrorist attack. Terrorist threats present an apparent emotional reaction. Terrorism is a real-world threat that is often on the minds of individuals due to frequent media and political attention. (Boscarino, Adams, Figley, Galea, & Foa, 2006). Until further information was provided, he reported to the nation under the guise that it was tragedy.

Next, he depicted Boston in high regard and with high values. “Boston is the perfect state of grace that opens its heart to the world” (Obama, 2013, BOSD, pg. 1). Just as he spoke highly of Boston, his rhetoric also encompassed his attempt at capturing and exhibiting confidence in the ability of everyone involved in supporting Boston following the attack. He stated, “first responders, race volunteers, doctors and nurses, and the good people of Boston joined together to show the world how Americans respond to evil: with resilience and resolve, and without fear” (Obama, 2013, BOSG, pg. 1).

COMMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICIAL VOICES

As the symbolic leader of the nation, the President is clearly one of the persons responsible for setting the national public policy agenda following an event such as the Boston Marathon Bombing. In addition, as the Chief Executive Office of the federal government, the President signals the responses to the attack that are expected to the relevant federal agency leaders. In this section, I examine the statements about the event and the intended federal government actions that were made by key persons on the President's cabinet. After describing their comments, I analyze the degree of convergence between what the President's Official Voices said and the comments made by the President. There were three Official Voices who spoke in relation to the bombing at the Boston Marathon: Vice President Joe Biden, Attorney General Eric Holder, Jr. and Press Secretary Jay Carney. The words each used and the themes embedded in their comments are presented next.

***Table 8**. President Barack Obama's Official Voices*

Vice President Joe Biden	***Attorney General*** Eric Holder Jr	***Press Secretary*** Jay Carney
1 speech 1 Appearance	1 speech	10 speeches

<u>Joe Biden, Vice President</u>

According to ABC News, Vice President Biden was the first high-ranking official to speak to the bombing at the Boston Marathon. He was said to be participating in a previously scheduled conference call with gun control activists

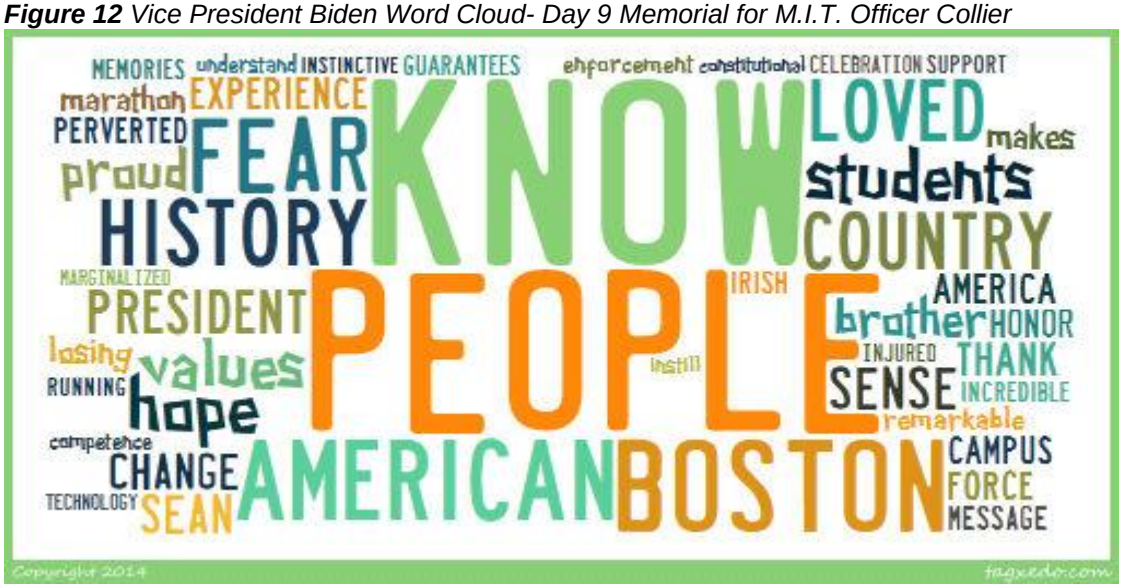
shortly before the explosion. “As I am speaking here they just turned on the television in my office, and apparently there has been a bombing, I don't know any of the details of what caused it, who did it, I don't think it exists yet. But our prayers are with those people in Boston, who have suffered injury" (Biden, 2013, BOSVP1, pg.1).

Vice President Biden made a total of two bombing-related speeches in the first 30 days following the crisis; one very general and one very specific. Three days after the bombing, it was later confirmed that the suspects shot and killed 26 year-old Massachusetts Institute of Technology officer, Sean Collier. Vice President Joe Biden spoke on April 24, 2013 at Officer Collier’s memorial service delivering a message of hope to the family and others in attendance. His rhetoric encompassed his personal acknowledgement that he would never be able to provide an answer to the Collier family’s questions ‘Why did this happen?’ “I know, I know from experience that there's not much that I'm going to be able to do to fill that void, that sense of loss, the grief or answer those nagging questions about why” (Biden, 2013, BOSVP2, pg.1). “I get asked, like my colleagues, almost every day since 911, why? Why? Why? This terrorist phenomenon of the late 20s, the 21st -- the beginning of the 21st century, Why? People say to me, for they surely know they can never defeat us. They can never overthrow us. They can never occupy us. So, why? Why?” (Biden, 2013, BOSVP2, pg. 3). Like the President, the Vice President Biden seemed to care for the emotional needs of the nation by emphasizing their shared toughness and ability to overcome events through adversity.

He thanked the citizens and government officials of Boston for their ability to move past the fears associated and perpetuated by the act of terrorism. Consistent with the short-term response, and intent set by the President, Vice President Biden echoed the crafted talk of President Obama. Though not consistent with specific language used, Biden made particularly suggestive comments when referring to the bombing suspects, “two twisted perverted cowardly knock-off Jihadists” (Biden, 2013, BOSVP2, pg. 4).

In summary, as illustrated in Figure 4, the most frequently used words throughout Biden’s speech illustrated his attempt to show a sense of empathy by reaffirming how he knew how the family felt due to the loss of their son and how he chose to acknowledge groups of individuals by using the word people. He also praised the courage of Americans and citizens of Boston. Finally, in terms of dealing with the terrorist event, he spoke of the history, spirit and journey of the country. “I think that sentiment is stamped into the DNA of Americans, regardless of where they come from. Ladies and gentlemen, it's who we are. It's who we've always been. Just look at the journey and the history of this country” (Biden, 2013, BOSVP2, pg. 5).

Figure 12 *Vice President Biden Word Cloud- Day 9 Memorial for M.I.T. Officer Collier*



Eric Holder, Jr., Attorney General

As the Attorney General, Eric Holder provided the media with updates from specific aspects of the investigation. Once the suspects were indentified, Holder quoted legal language contained within the statutory charges filed against the surviving suspect, Dzhokhar A. Tsarnaev, "… using and conspiring to use a weapon of mass destruction" (Holder, 2013, BOSHOL1, pg. 1). He maintained the same theme as that of President Obama by sending prayers to the families of both the victims and the deceased, accolades to all law enforcement involved in the investigation, and proof that once again, America prevailed against the heinous acts that occurred at the Boston Marathon.

According to the United States Department of Justice, the Attorney General represents the United States in legal matters and gives advice/opinions to the President and executive departments when requested. Attorney General Holder's remarks were consistent with his position and the short-term

response/agenda set by President Obama. Though he only provided one speech, Holder echoed the crafted talk of President Obama.

Jay Carney, Press Secretary

Press Secretary Jay Carney conducted 10 press briefings related to the bombing at the Boston Marathon, with the last one occurring on 17th day after the event, May 2nd. April 17th was the first press briefing devoted to fielding inquiries on the April 15th bombing. In keeping with the nature and purpose of his position as Press Secretary, Carney provided limited information to questions presented by the press.

According to Figure 5, Carney responded to questions by redirecting them to the appropriate agency or the President. An analysis of his top most frequently used words during the press briefing included: 1) President, 2) investigation, 3) Boston, 4) FBI, and 5) security. Due to his position, Carney sourced and echoed the crafted talk of Obama.

Figure 13 *Press Secretary Jay Carney Word Cloud- April 17, 2013, Day 2*



The themes of each of the Official Voices parallel and echo or source those of President Obama. Each expressed their condolences to the families of those injured and killed. They all spoke of the determination of the people of Boston and Americans to move past the effects of this terrorist attack.

However, according to their associated position, there was some slight variation in the manner in which they expressed their commitment to find those responsible and charge them according to the full weight of the law. Jay Carney, who speaks for the President, references what the President said and does not claim any role in the investigation. Eric Holder, serving as the nation's leading prosecutor, references how he will carry out his duties.

> **CARNEY**: As you heard from the President yesterday, that our hearts and prayers go out to the victims and to their families who were injured -- those who were injured as well as killed in this heinous and cowardly act. The full weight of the federal government is behind this investigation, which is being led by the FBI. **And as the President said**, we will find out who did this, we will find out why, and we will bring those responsible to justice. (**Emphasis added**).
>
> **HOLDER**: Our thoughts and prayers remain with each of the bombing victims and brave law enforcement professionals who lost their lives or suffered serious injuries as a result of this week's senseless violence. Thanks to the valor of state and local police, the dedication of federal law enforcement and intelligence officials, and the vigilance of members of the public, we've once again shown that those who target innocent Americans and attempt to terrorize our cities will not escape from justice. **We will hold those who are responsible for these heinous acts accountable to the fullest extent of the law**. (**Emphasis added**).

The analysis of the Official Voices revealed that few spoke and generally right after the attack but did not make comments as time went on and left all rhetoric to the President. Their language was harmonious with that of the President's agenda while maintaining allegiance to their appointed position.

Overall, the results of the analysis support the conclusion that the Official Voices echoed the same themes as the President.

COMMENTS BY THE MEDIA

In terms of setting the public policy agenda following a national emergency such as the bombing at the Boston Marathon, another important group of actors to consider is the media. Members of the media have a regularized venue to discuss events that affect the nation and can use this venue to "lead" their viewers to interpret events in a manner consistent with the commentator. In addition, by looking at who the members of the media question and the nature of the line of questioning they use, we can discern any attempts to shape perceptions of the event, why it occurred and what should be done. If successful, the commentators may then be able to influence the direction of the American public policy response. In this section, I analyze the line of questioning used in the Sunday network news programs and analyze the degree to which the commentator is attempting to criticize current policy directions or to suggest an alternate framing of the event.

ABC Analysis

ABC News This Week with George Stephanopoulos is a Sunday broadcast show. On April 21, 2013; the first Sunday following the event, some of the program guest speakers were legal analyst, a former FBI Agent and White House Counterterrorism Advisor. Initial questions presented were engrossed in learning more about the identity, motivation and rights of the surviving suspect. Later, questions explored how he would be tried in a court of

law. The host asked ABC's Senior Justice Department Correspondent, Pierre Thomas, when he expects charges to be filed against the suspect, if the suspect's medical condition is conducive to being questioned, and any evidence of accomplices. Also, the line of questioning also suggests a concern as well as criticism towards the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) that they might have missed an opportunity to stop the bombing by doing a more thorough investigation of the deceased suspect.

> **STEPHANOPOULOS**: You're already seeing some -- some -- Congressman Peter King criticizing the FBI, saying this was a missed opportunity, they let him slip through their fingers? (Stephanopoulos, 2013)

> **STEPHANOPOULOS**: Secretary of State Kerry called it a "direct confrontation with evil." Evil met by heroism and resolve. And now, so many questions about what motivated these marathon bombings? And how America should confront the changing nature of terrorism? This could set the agenda for future action. (Stephanopoulos, 2013)

In addition to attempting to place blame, it could also be interpreted that the host made an insinuation, leading into setting the agenda for how the government should take a second look at how they handle terrorism.

During the April 28, 2013 broadcast, Stephanopoulos line of questioning looked to place direct blame on the FBI.

> **STEPHANOPOULOS**: But in this case, the FBI talked to him twice before he went to Russia. I guess the big question, and congressman let me bring this question to you, is why there were not further interviews after Tamerlan came back from Russia. If there was any breakdown in the system, that was it. (Stephanopoulos, 2013)

SCHAKOWSKY: Well, I think we need to look at that. The older brother Tamerlan was on the databases, the TIDE database the TECS database. WE had information about them. Were the dots not all followed to lead to a more investigation? I think that's worth looking at. (Schakowsky, 2013)

STEPHANOPOULOS: Do you blame the FBI for dropping the ball here? (Stephanopoulos, 2013)

RADDATZ: Do you blame Hillary Clinton? (Raddatz, 2013)

MCCAIN: I think that the Secretary of State has played a role in this. (McCain, 2013)

On May 05, 2013, ABC New This Week did not discuss the bombing. Again on May 12, 2013, almost one month following the attack, ABC News This Week again did not discuss the bombing.

In summary, ABC News This Week with George Stephanopoulos attempted to set his own agenda when he referenced how the government should look at terrorism. In addition to this perceived sway in judgment, he, along with his colleagues, attempted several times to inflame the story by placing blame against the FBI for the crisis event at the Boston Marathon. The line of questions appeared to gain further details on the brother's background in an attempt to highlight a potential connection to other possible undetected terrorist. On this program, the media functions were: charting response progress and defining potential problems via criticism.

NBC Analysis

NBC Meet the Press with David Gregory covered a variety of topics on the first day of the broadcast program following the bombing. A majority of the questions posed were about the suspect, the potential impact of the bombing-

was it over, and any possible foreign connection? Though various questions leaned heavily toward gathering details about the bombing, David Gregory made several attempts to offer an agenda different from that of the President. It is also important to note that NBC Meet the Press did not have any of President Obama's Official Voices as guest speakers. For example; a question posed to Senator Dick Durbin made implications toward the military:

> **GREGORY**: I want to bring Senator Dick Durbin, the Assistant Majority Leader from Illinois. And Senator, as you think about the political impact of this, the impact of policy and debate on securing the country, the minority leader of the Senate, Mitch McConnell, said the other day that we have, because of the work of our military and our law enforcement officials, fallen into a place of complacency. Do you agree? (Gregory, 2013)

In another apparent attempt to veer off from the President, Gregory asked about the impact of the bombing.

> **GREGORY**: Did this change something? Does it change how we think about securing America? (Gregory, 2013)

In this comments, we can see that Gregory wanted to know how his guest speakers felt about particular topics such as how to charge the bombing suspect-enemy combatant to compare with the President's actions. In addition to questions about the process for how the surviving suspect would be tried in court, details surrounding his injuries, and questionable foreign travel were also asked. Yet, in another attempt to support a separate agenda about the trial process, Gregory asked Mike Rogers, Pete Williams and Governor Patrick about the legal justice system in relation to the suspect:

> **GREGORY**: Governor, as a former Justice Department official, do you have a view of whether he should be part of the criminal justice system,

> as someone who's tried in court or should he be treated as a terrorist, as an enemy combatant? As you know the debate, I think, is only beginning now here in Washington. (Gregory, 2013)
>
> **PATRICK**: Well, that's the Attorney General's call, and I have to respect it. He is an American citizen. He is responsible for a crime here in America. But I trust the Attorney General to make that call and make it wisely. (Patrick, 2013)

Just as ABC questioned the investigation by the FBI, so did NBC. The questions attempted to place blame towards the ineffective investigative procedures of the FBI, which was thought to be necessary to stop the Boston attack. Gregory wanted to know was something missed when the older brother came up on the FBI watch list two years prior. An analysis of the questions presented to the guest speakers conveyed these particular themes: suspect(s), impact of bombing, blame, threat, and immigration. Various questions were asked about the suspects to include why the FBI did not do more when the older brother was tagged and questioned by the FBI two years prior to the bombing. In relation to the impact theme, questions were asked about the bombing and certain policies, i.e. immigration, and the way of life, ideals of what normal once looked like. Many questions placed direct on the FBI and their ineffectiveness in tracking the older brother. The threat and immigration themes fall towards the bombing and what it could possibly change for Americans.

For the April 28, 2013 broadcast Gregory began by highlighting the annual White House Correspondent's Dinner and addressing the current Syrian issues. His first question about the bombing; the FBI's role, was directed at Rep Keith Ellison:

> **GREGORY**: about the aftermath of the Boston bombings and the surveillance work; the role of the FBI. But first, let me get your comments, Congressmen, on this prospect of a huge national security test now for President Obama. How do you see it? (Gregory, 2013)

He asked additional questions on the FBI and their role in looking the other way when it came to tracking/questioning suspect, Tamerlan Tsarnaev as well as his mother who was also said to be on the FBI's watch list. Gregory also implied that terrorist threats come from the Muslim community and surveillance should be increased in those areas. Gregory asked Rep Keith Ellison, "Congressman, you're a Muslim. This concerns you on a civil libertarian grounds and other areas". (Gregory, 2013, NBC Meet the Press).

On May 05, the NBC broadcast began with implications that President Obama was under attack for the job his was doing to secure the safety of the United States. Gregory questioned if the personal freedoms and national security were impacted based on the bombing. Questions were asked about the suspects to include their intended plot. In what could be viewed as another apparent attempt to veer from the President's agenda, Gregory asked Former Rep Jane Harman:

> **GREGORY**: here's the question that Time Magazine asks on its provocative cover this week: "Homeland Insecurity: is the banner headline of the edition. And the question is do we need to sacrifice privacy in order to be safer? Is that going to be the immediate lesson from the Boston bombings? (Gregory, 2013)

He [Gregory] asked Rich Lowry "if the events on 9/11, in Benghazi and that attack were a striking blow and reminder, Boston was an exclamation point

about the ongoing threat, and this new age terror, where it can be developed and grown at home?" (Gregory, 2013, NBC Meet the Press, pg. 43).

The final broadcast for the month following the bombings at the Boston Marathon; May 12, 2013, had no event coverage on NBC Meet the Press.

In the three weeks of coverage of the Boston Marathon bombing, NBC Meet the Press exhibited the following media functions: conveying information, charting response progress and defining potential problems via criticism. They also attempted to set a long-term agenda for public preparedness.

CBS Analysis

CBS Face the Nation with Bob Schieffer covered the bombings as well as a variety of other topics on April 21. Based on the line of questions, CBS wanted to gain background information on the suspects, their mother's involvement, and future attacks. Starting with the line of questions concerning the surviving suspect; considering the seriousness of the wounds sustained prior to his capture, Schieffer asked about his current health and if and when he would be able to begin answering questions about the bombing. In addition, questions were asked about possible motives and the conditions leading to the brothers radicalization, additional weapons found, and how and when the surviving brother would he be formally charged. Speculations surrounding the true safety of America were also in question. As noted, Bob Schieffer asked Tom Ridge and Former Mayor Rudy Giuliani the following questions, respectfully:

> **SCHIEFFER**: Secretary Ridge, I guess you were the first Homeland Security Secretary. The post was actually created after 9/11. You know, since then, a lot of people say maybe we've just added another level of bureaucracy. Do you think if has been effective, and are we safer now? Will we ever really feel safe again? (Schieffer, 2013)
>
> **SCHIEFFER**: You know, when Osama bin Laden was killed, we heard a lot about Osama bin Laden is dead and I think a lot of people maybe got the idea that the threat of terrorism is over. Do you think it's over? Obviously, we don't know exactly what caused all of this situation in Boston, but what's your take on that, Mayor? (Schieffer, 2013)

On the first program following the event, the CBS commentator asked a number of questions and, at times, was critical of particular actions on the part of government officials, particularly the Boston lockdown and the investigation of the brothers by the FBI.

During the April 28 broadcast, Schieffer wanted to inquiry on any additional details on if the brothers had a possible connection, where they received training, was Russia watching them, if the mother was on the FBI's watch list and finally, if the FBI was in any way to blame. According to guest speaker Senator Lindsey Graham, "Boston is becoming to me a case study in system failure". (Graham, 2013, CBS Face the Nation, pg. 1). Schieffer came back to the issue of terrorism from the April 21 broadcast. He inferred if many felt the threat of terrorism ended with the death of Osama bin Laden and if the brothers could have been stopped prior to the bombing. In this program, very few questions on Boston made the discussion; however, more questions on blaming the FBI, terrorism, future threats and details about the suspects.

There was no coverage of the bombing at the Boston Marathon during the May 05, 2013 or May 12, 2013 editions of CBS Face the Nation with Bob Schieffer.

The functions of the media performed by CBS for the Boston event includes conveying information, charting response progress and dramatizing a lack of lessons learned via criticism of the official response.

FOX Analysis

On the first Sunday of broadcasting after the Boston Marathon bombing, Fox News Sunday with Chris Wallace (2013) called it the 'first mass bombing' since 9/11. In this show, immense attention was paid to the terrorist attack. Numerous questions were asked of the guest speakers to explore the condition of the surviving suspect, possible foreign/domestic terrorists connections, the potential for additional attacks, confirmation of the motive, if the older brother served as the initiator, what was determined during the 2011 investigation by the FBI, and what was gained from the older brother's trip to Russia. As far as the younger brother and surviving suspect, the questions revolved around whether he would be treated as a criminal or enemy combatant.

During the April 21st broadcast, Wallace went into details unrelated to the brothers and sought clarification on statements made by Congressman King to increase surveillance in the Muslim community and if he thought the bombings could have been prevented? He questioned terrorist experts on the FBI and if there was lax in their effort to maintain control over someone who had previously made the watch list. He went on to insinuate that Commissioner

Ramsey held Boston ‘hostage’ when they were asked to remain inside their homes during the manhunt of the younger brother, in addition to if there would be an increase in surveillance cameras as a lesson learned from the attacks? These two ideas were not in support of the agenda set forth by President Obama during his speeches to the nation.

On April 28th, Wallace probed possible links to the bombing at the Boston Marathon which include; lapse in sharing intelligence on the brothers foreign travel, foreign connections based on the complexity of the remaining bomb components, role of the mother, possible accomplishes, and likely FBI failure. The April 28th broadcast did not highlight or interject any new information about the terrorist event, instead Wallace sought to confirm historical information previously discussed.

During the May 5th broadcast, only two questions were asked in connection with the bombing in an effort to confirm statements previously made by Senator McCain;

> **WALLACE**: I want to pick up on this question of Boston, and another issue, because as soon as Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, the younger brother was arrested in the Boston bombings, you and Lindsey Graham were very clear. You said he needs to be treated as an enemy combatant. He needs not to get his Miranda rights, because we need intelligence on him. (Wallace, 2013)
>
> **WALLACE**: You were quoted recently as saying that you called for a select committee both—I don’t know if it’s the same or separate ones—both in Benghazi, and also in the Boston bombings, and—you said, because people do not trust the president. (Wallace, 2013)

There was no coverage on the May 12, 2013 FOX News Sunday with Chris Wallace broadcast of the bombing at the Boston Marathon.

In summary, Fox News Sunday with Chris Wallace presented lines of questioning which suggested an attempt to set an agenda that was different from the President. Of the six media functions, charting response progress and defining potential problems via criticism were evident.

Media Outlet Analysis

The analysis of the media is divided into two components: 1) the questions posed by the commentators who represented a particular weekly Sunday broadcast and 2) the responses of the guests and an analysis of their comments. For this event, none of the Sunday news programs hosted Official Voices as guest speakers the first week following the bombing. In the first week, each of the commentators on the news programs wanted to gather information on the suspects, their motivation and if they had a foreign connection, and progress of the investigation.

During the first month following the Boston Marathon bombing in 2013, the media performed several different functions, at times attempting to set the agenda and then, sensationalizing the story considering they are not in the position of creating policy, implementing legislation or running for political office. They presented particular facts claimed to be from unnamed sources that is seen as an attempt to gain confirmation from guest speakers. If confirmed, then the commentators could lead to present another angle to the story-setting their own agenda. The business of the media is to look for that next big story.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION:
PRESIDENT OBAMA LEADERSHIP STYLE ANALYSIS

When exploring how President Obama framed the crisis event, and communicated his agenda during his initial address to the nation, I found that he initially refrained from labeling the crisis as a terrorist attack; instead he referred to the events in Boston as “a situation” or “a tragedy” that required a response of enhanced security. His comments tended to be very complementary toward the ability of Boston officials and the city residents to deal with the investigation and “… take care of each other and move forward as a proud city.” Later the event was described as “heinous and cowardly”, and a “terrorist act” noting that it was hard to understand why young men (not terrorists) who grew up in the United States would resort to such violence. He spoke a total of 12 times, the last one on the fifteenth day following the attack. In his last reported comments, he noted that the investigation was being finalized. His concluding comments noted how we should hold strong to our American values and retain our national unity and resolve in the face of terror those who create fear in our lives.

Research Question 1: What characteristics of the charisma exhibited by transformational leaders were evident for President Obama when confronted with terrorism on U.S. soil?

The first research question seeks to determine the level of charisma and transformational leadership exhibited by the President. President Obama’s comments really confirm that he is the emotional leader of the nation, frequently lifting up and praising those who responded. In the case of the Boston Marathon bombing, President Obama definitely acted as a charismatic leader

who made sure he inspired the people of Boston, coming to the aid of complete strangers and those leading the investigations which lead to the quick identification and capture of the suspects.

In keeping with a comment attributed to Pogo: “We have seen the enemy and it is us”, President Obama emphasized that “these are boys, who lived here and did a heinous, cowardly act.” But he also noted that we, as Americans, are resilient and reasonable people with national unity. This is evidence of a transformational leader – we each do what we do and we move forward, better as a group. And he also demonstrated charismatic leadership when he concludes that “… we can deal with this and accept it for what it is – rather than fear mongering. It is an isolated and sad incident.”

PRESIDENT OBAMA’S OFFICIAL VOICES ANALYSIS

Three of President Obama’s Official Voices spoke on behalf of the President over the course of the first month. However, the volume of public comments was quite low with a combined total of 12 speeches and the Sunday network news programs did not present any Official Voices. Considering all the comments made by President Obama’s Official Voices, the press briefings by Jay Carney account for 42% of the total with the last one occurring on May 2nd (T + 17).

The language between the President and his Official Voices tended to have high consistency. When viewed over time, the Official Voices tended to follow the President’s lead; however this conclusion should be circumspect

since they had such a low profile with few comments to be analyzed over the 30-day period and so many voices that were “unheard”. Analyzing the Official Voices as a group, they tended to offer condolences and, like the President, remark on the strength and determination of Bostonians.

Research Question 2: To what extent was the crafted talk of Obama sourced and echoed by the Official Voices?

What emerges from an analysis of the Official Voices for President Obama is that there was sourcing of the official statements of the President rather than providing additional statements or elaborating on statements. President Obama and his Official Voices stayed consistent when discussing the events using terms such as suspects and the investigation surrounding the bombing. Based on their appointed position, the only time the Official Voices made statements that differed from those of the President was when they were speaking from their official position. For example, the Attorney General spoke in terms of the legal aspect of the investigation and did not add personal inflammatory comments. Vice President Biden used his official capacity as an elected leader when he called the terrorists “… suspects, perverted.” Bottom line, with few exceptions, the Official Voices clearly stuck to the President’s script and sourced his actual words rather than echo the crafted talk.

PRESIDENT OBAMA AND THE MEDIA ANALYSIS

The Fox and NBC Sunday news programs had three weeks worth of coverage, ABC and CBS covered the Boston bombing for only two weeks. In the first week following the bombing the guests included Boston officials. Over

the course of the first month, the media did not host any Official Voices as guest speakers, interviewing instead retirees and “experts” and a lot of their own networks’ commentators. The choice of guest speakers really influenced media framing. For example, the choice of guest speakers-those who know the day to day implementation of homeland security protocols; i.e. current and former bureaucrats were in a position to label the crisis event as a failure versus thinking about how “other nation’s” training grounds and how the broken immigration system could lead to sleeper cells.

Research Question 3: Did President Obama, as the first actor to label the crisis event, influence the way event was framed by the media?

The President and the media did not use the same language to label the crisis event. There were numerous situations where the media strayed from the agenda of the President. There are also many examples of where they questioned his abilities to protect the American people and blamed the actions of the FBI in not being able to thwart the terrorist attack at the Boston Marathon. For instance, the media began questioning the circumstances surrounding the bombing and labeling the bombing as a terrorist attack. And they tended to pick up on the immigration issue – this was already an action item for the President, but partisan gridlock stopped any momentum in its track.

In general, the key words used during the media shows are very similar to those of the President. On the first week’s Sunday news programs, we see the discussion in the media focusing on key words surrounding Russia, FBI, security, and blame. The second week winnows down the list to only include FBI and blame. These keywords reflect the framing as a FBI security misstep,

where the new levels of bureaucracy are not increasing security in any tangible way. The media was definitely critical and tried to frame this really as confirmation that national security has been tested and failed. But the President did not take the bait. Instead the conversation surrounding airline security and fear appeared to fade with the passing days.

Research Question 4: Over time, did President Obama (himself or through his Official Voices) change the language used to describe the event, label the event and promote his preferred short-term response in response to media framing?

Both the President and his Official Voices appeared to be on board with his initial assessment of the event, which included labeling the act as a tragedy. It appears that media framing did not influence the President because the suspects were identified prior to the first Sunday news media broadcast. The main differences between the media and the President were found in the criticisms launched by the media commentators, specifically in their references to failures on behalf of the FBI, the ability of the Obama administration in keeping the U.S. safe, and relooking aspects of terrorism.

Having answered the research questions for each of the three domestic terrorism events in chapters four, five and six, respectively, our attention turns to a comparative analysis of the findings in chapter 7.

CHAPTER SEVEN

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND THEORETICAL CONCLUSIONS

The FBI defines domestic terrorism as “[D]angerous acts to human life that violate federal and state law and appear to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination or kidnapping.” (FBI.gov). To understand terrorism is to accept that it is a psychological weapon; so psychology is critical in the fight against terror (Schmemann, 1998). Given the psychological aspect of terrorism; an analysis of the three most recent domestic terrorism events on U.S. soil can provide a lens for understanding their impact on the people of the nation and how they look to their leaders for support and guidance. This research explored the response of three powerful national actors who influence the public’s reaction: the President of the United States, the lead federal government administrators who are responsible for the response and investigation, and the media commentators.

In recent times, the United States has experienced three domestic terrorism crisis events. The first occurred in 1995 with the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City while President Clinton was in office. The next President also experienced a domestic terrorism event, but on a much grander scale during the 9/11 attacks when President Bush was in office. President Obama was similarly challenged by domestic terrorism at the bombing of the Boston Marathon in 2013.

History has assigned the same label to each of the three events: domestic terrorism. There are differences between the three events that could provide some context for the responses of the President and the media. The Oklahoma City bombing had a federal building as the target. The events of 9/11 did target a federal building, the Pentagon, but also targeted iconic buildings in the national culture. The Boston Marathon bombing was a direct attack on an American cultural event, but no buildings were involved.

The perpetrators and their motivations were quite different as well. While there was only one bomber in Oklahoma City, he was a former military member who was dissatisfied with the government and acted with other militia conspirators. The other perpetrators had foreign heritage and maintained connections with international terrorist organizations. For 9/11, there were multiple cells that engaged in a concerted attack in a continuing campaign against Americans. However, the two brothers in the Boston bombing did not seem to have any current connections to terrorist organizations and their motivation still remains murky. The dates of all three events were important because of their symbolism – April 15th, American tax day and September 11th, or 9/11, the call of distress when an American cannot protect themselves.

Based on the location of the incident, each President frequently acknowledged the location of the attack in their speech. Clinton and Obama gave a 'prayer' service speech three and four times following the attacks, respectively. For the entire month of analysis, each President conducted almost half of their speeches from the White House. Each President also conducted a

speech from the location of the attack, i.e. Boston, Ground Zero at the World Trade Center and Oklahoma City.

Using extant literature, my research examined the responses of these three consecutive Presidents to domestic terrorism events on U.S. soil. The analysis examined how their crafted talk set the agenda for a national response and influenced and how much they influenced media framing of the same events. The following sections present the empirical findings of my research and compare them to theories of terror management, charismatic leadership, transformational leadership and media framing.

TERROR MANAGEMENT THEORY ANALYSIS

Scholars who have studied domestic terrorism suggest that the following actions are necessary to support the nation in overcoming the effects of terrorist events: 1) threat-analysis (*Presidential labeling and media framing*), 2) crisis-response strategizing and planning (*short-term agenda/response*), and 3) information gathering (*investigation*) (9/11 Public Discourse Project, 2005; Council on Foreign Relations, 2002; CSTCT, 2002; Gupta & Sharma, 2006; Jackson et al., 2004; James, 2008; Kapucu, 2006; NCOTAUUS, 2004; Taras, 2006, Torrey, Burke, Lee, Dey, Fussell, & Kiesler, 2008).

Clinton's first response was the label the crisis a national disaster and to deployed FEMA. As more information was revealed, then the agenda shifted to a criminal investigation, where investigators sought to identify and detain the murderers and secure swift justice. The short-term agenda also included the passage of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 (Public

Law 104-132). Approved on April 24, 1996, the intent of the act was to deter terrorism, provide justice for victims, and provide an effective death penalty along with a number of additional purposes. Another piece of location-specific legislation passed was Project Heartland. In response to the emotional and/or behavioral effects of the bombing on residents of Oklahoma City, the Act assisted those coping with the aftermath of the event. (Tucker, Pfefferbaum, Nixon, & Dickson, 2000).

Bush gave three speeches on the day of the crisis. Bush described the crisis as being a despicable act of terror (Bush, 911C, pg.1). He interpreted the event as an attack on freedom and that the only response was to declare war on anyone harboring or affiliated with known terrorist. As a result of the events on 9/11, President Bush emphasized that the event was terrorism from the first moment. His planned response was to wage war to combat terrorism; his short-term response. Bush's short-term agenda included the passage of antiterrorism legislation. Forty-five days after the attacks on the world Trade Centers, the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism or, USA Patriot Act of 2001, was signed.

President Obama originally avoided labeling the Boston Marathon bombing in 2013 as a terrorist incident. Instead, he described it as a tragedy that would be diligently investigated. The President also provided reassurance that he and his selected team would investigate the attack while continuously providing high praise to their ability, effort and courage. He provided inspirational motivation to the people of Boston throughout each speech he

delivered during the first week. What was surprising is that President Obama did not present a short-term response agenda and there was no attempt to change public policy in response to the Boston Marathon bombing. In fact, out of all the events, the comments by the President and his Official Voices were low in frequency and basically were made within the first 15 days.

Taxes, tax day and dissatisfaction with the amount of taxes that we pay are valued American traditions. However, when Americans are distressed, we rely on emergency responders to make the situation right and to neutralize those who placed us in the distressing situation. Taxes have low mortality salience, while emergencies have much higher mortality salience.

Likewise, attacks on our government, our iconic buildings or our cultural events can impact our cultural worldviews in different ways. President Bush made us aware that our cultural worldviews were no longer accurate; instead through comments that our freedom was under attack, he was leveraging our mortality salience. Of the three presidents studied, Bush was also the President who most emphasized the need for aggression. President Obama did not use his comments to establish any out-group. Instead the majority of his comments praised the strength, resilience, and unity of the American people. President Clinton's remarks were primarily reinforcing the notion that we can prevent this in the future. He did not see the Oklahoma City Bombing as a salient threat that would impact our mortality as a population, nor did he think it would change who we were as Americans. Instead, he emphasized that we were Americans who could tolerate different ideologies while simultaneously enhancing military

installation security and enacting legislation that would raise the penalties for future act and have a deterrent effect.

Based on TMT theory, when confronted with terrorism, individuals must cope with the awareness and fear of death. All three Presidents were definitely acting as the national spokesperson who guided the public as they coped with the crisis, as expected in terror management literature. And, as suggested by the literature, they also all exhibited crisis leadership by expressing sympathy to the victims when framing the meaning of the event. The attacks on iconic buildings and events represent an attack on American cultural worldviews. Thus it is not surprising that two of the Presidents pursued formal policy via legislation and military engagement as a response to the out-group who was challenging the security of the American people.

If, based on TMT theory, people have a primary need to reduce and eliminate thoughts of death (Pyszczynski, T., Solomon S., & Greenberg, J., 2003) as a consequence of an act of terrorism, then constant communication providing reminders of the specific crisis event should deem counterproductive. Compared to the literature, it is surprising the degree to which Bush used mortality salience as a fear agent to prompt support for his war campaign. Both Clinton and Obama did not harp on fear – their message was that death is not around the corner. However, they also noted that we need to be smart and to be prepared to avoid future crisis events. Different from President Bush, and from what TMT would predict, the framing of Presidents Clinton and Obama tended to be that we, as Americans, can protect our current worldview by

strengthening systems that already exist. Thus they did not call for a change purely in response to a changed cultural worldview.

All three leaders promised to deliver change, but the change they envisioned was quite different. TMT suggests people adhere more to their shared cultural worldviews when dealing with extreme crisis events such as terrorism. For example, Clinton used children as a motivation basis in his campaign for antiterrorism legislation. The way the event was initially framed by each leader and the degree to which they ascribe the event to an "evil out-group", seems to correlate with the degree to which they allude to the mortality salience of the event. Foreigners who are "terrorists" are more horrible than American veterans who are "murderers" or college students who acted independently. This allows the Presidents to justify the different short-term response agendas they each wish to pursue. Future research on terror management theory should explore the connection between event framing and the related comments about individual mortality and the degree to which this supports the leader's desired course of action.

In the three events studied, there were dramatic differences in the location and scale of the event: one building in the Midwest, a marathon in Boston versus four coordinated attacks on buildings at the heart of our nation's military and financial systems. Further the 9/11 attacks had a victim count that was much, much greater. The President's short-term response agenda for the management of terror in each event should be expected to be different based on differences in location and scale; however, with only three cases,

conclusions about how they were different and why need further empirical validation.

CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP THEORY APPLIED TO DOMESTIC TERRORISM EVENTS

My first research question sought to determine the relative level of charismatic leadership exhibited by each President. Charisma is intrinsically linked to follower perceptions (Conger, Kanungo, and Menon, 2000) and followers may come to perceive leaders as more charismatic during times of crisis (Cohen, 1992). According to Yukl (2010), leaders have the ability to motivate and inspire individuals to admire, respect, trust, and be loyal to them. Some particular traits of charisma include confidence, caring, goal-oriented, and inspiring (Behling and McFillen, 1996; Bryman, 1992; Conger and Kanungo, 1988; House and Howell, 1992; Madesn and Snow, 1991) in addition to motivating followers to move from personal values to an active state of support through the use of inclusive rhetoric such as ‘we’ and ‘us’, portraying oneself as similar to his followers; gaining trust and influence (Fiol, Harris, & House, 1999).

According to Bandura (2001, 326), accepting a leader’s interpretation of events and believing in his or her ability to deal with followers’ problems relives followers of the psychological stress and loss of control created in the aftermath of a crisis. Studies show citizens are easily influenced by those in leadership positions during times of crisis as well as more receptive to information provided by leaders (Driskell & Salas, 1991).

The President of the United States is conceivably the most influential person during the attacks. People have power when they have the ability to

affect others' beliefs, attitudes, and courses of action (Northouse, 2004, pg. 6). The level of charisma that a President presents through his crafted talk can soothe the psychological anxiety of the nation by attending to the emotional reactions many will experience. To test the President's leadership, the level of charisma for each President was assessed by the language that they use in their public comments on the day of the event, during the first week and by the end of the first month.

Over 30 speeches and one media interview in the first 30 days, President Clinton displayed a high level of charismatic leadership following the Oklahoma City bombing by providing the nation with emotional and spiritual reassurance. In keeping with the literature of charismatic leadership, during his initial address to the nation, Clinton never labeled the bombing as a terrorist attack but as a crime; framed in terms of a lack of morality-cowardice and evil. This event was murder and his administrators would pursue swift justice. He also explained how he was deploying necessary resources in support of the victims and citizens of Oklahoma. In addition, he placed confidence in the ability of his staff to perform their duties.

Though President Bush was not considered a charismatic leader up to this point in his term, 9/11 seemed to force him into being a charismatic leader. This is not surprising since scholars have found that crisis situations can increase the need for leadership, and leaders perform pivotal roles during a crisis by making sense of the situation (Hunt, Boal, and Dodge, 1999; Weick, 1995). In his first speeches, Bush proclaimed that America was under attack,

moving his emotional reaction from grief to anger to resolution for justice. Over more than 60 speeches in the first 30 days, President Bush talked in great deal about terrorism and terrorists, which he so often referred to as evil-doers. In addition, he was the only President of the three studied to address the House of Representatives in their chamber.

In these speeches, President Bush created an image of an out group- and proposed an agenda to take the United States to war in retaliation and to hunt the suspects down using military action to “right the evil act”. He continually made reference to the fact that our freedom itself was attacked and that it [freedom] had to be defended. Initiating a crisis response is a key factor in charismatic leadership. What was noticeably missing from the speeches of President Bush was language suggesting empathy and compassion as the spiritual leader of the nation. He made very few references to the victims and was least likely to invoke religious language.

President Obama gave a total of 11 speeches following the crisis at the Boston Marathon. This is the lowest of the three Presidents studied and the last speech occurred on the 15th day after the event. However, the crafted talk in his speeches exhibited the highest level of charismatic leadership. He provided high levels of reassurance and citied words of courage and heroism of Bostonians and Americans. On the first day of the bombing at the Boston Marathon, President Obama provided motivation, inspiration, and praise to the rescue/law enforcement/National Guard and firefighter personnel. During his speech, he pursued intellectual stimulation as he shared questions that many

families of the victims could pose; why would someone resort to such violence? He noted that we are in this together and should not jump to conclusions till we have all the facts. His rhetoric was consistent in his attempts to rally the residents of Boston by motivating them to remain strong, tough and resilient in the wake of the crisis.

To answer research question one, from a comparative perspective, we can find differences in the level of charisma exhibited by each President. Clinton was charismatic. He was reassuring during the time of the crisis, he explained how he was deploying necessary resources, and displayed confidence in the ability of people to do their jobs and for the nation to recover.

Bush comes across as an autocratic leader who emphasized retaliation for the out-group. Bush used more negative words throughout his speeches; words that incited fear, spoke of war, and fighting evil. He constantly talked about the attack; an effort to amplify his campaign to engage in war. Clinton and Obama, on the other hand, spoke in terms of moving forward, picking up and rebuilding, areas in which the government could do things better. There were also differences in the level of emotional support each provided to the nation. Bush was the only President to ask for a moment of silence rather than to say a prayer as did Clinton and Obama. Bush was the only President that did not provide a statement of reassurance to the American people and to state that security would be increased. Considering that the attacks took place in Arlington VA, New York City and Pennsylvania, Bush did not offer or suggest a special prayer for the people of those states. In contrast, both Obama and

Clinton did single out the people who were the most affected by the event and attended to their spiritual needs.

Obama is found to be the most charismatic because of the confident language that he used to assert that the response and investigation would be handled well and to reassure people that we, as a Nation, would take care of each other and be resilient. He was also extremely prayerful and many of his speeches had religious undertones. By focusing on how he would make resources available and appearing confident of a relatively smooth investigation as well as taking care of the spiritual needs of the nation, President Obama is the emotional leader of the nation.

According to Yukl (1999), the uncertainty of a crisis provides a leader the opportunity to become innovative in creating a solution for the problem. Based on this analysis, all three of the Presidents were confident and assured and used these traits to provide a powerful vision that made people willing to accept the response they proposed more readily. Clinton leveraged language that said we needed a strong response to protect our children and to make a better future for them. Obama used inspirational language to attend to the psychological comfort of Americans. Bush was charismatic in terms of establishing a sense of urgency for change, but his approach was quite different. His rhetorical strategy relied on the negation of the perpetrators and the need to exclude them by taking action that, heretofore, had not been taken in the history of American international relations. Due to crisis events they

faced, each President, along with his Official Voices, were motivated to transcend an environment altered by an act and pursue change.

Because a charismatic leader is expected to rise to the occasion, it is safe to assume that each President must possess attributes of charismatic leadership in order to effectively deal with the three domestic crisis events. In these events, we see nuanced differences between the three Presidents. Before 9/11, most commentators would not have labeled President Bush as a charismatic leader. However, as noted above, his responses were quite in line with those of a charismatic leader. Perhaps the situational contingencies of a large-scale domestic terrorism event prompted him to engage differently as a leader. The same type of change in leadership style was not recognized for Clinton or Bush.

Seeger et al (2003) proposed that in times of crisis, charismatic leaders would mitigate the harm in addition to serving as a spokesperson, expressing sympathy to the victims and framing meaning. Of this list, all the Presidents exhibited charismatic leadership as suggested by the last three characteristics. What is striking is that contrary to the findings of Seeger et al, none of them were able to mitigate the harm. However, there are differences in the degree to which each President attempted to mitigate continuous replaying of the events in the public's thoughts and to reduce the psychological trauma of the event. President Bush constantly used language that reminded people of the tragedy and how it had changed the nation. In order to go back to "life as we knew it", the harm would only end after we had hunted down the perpetrators.

One literature prescription reinforced by this study is that leadership is not just day to day, but also event driven. The leadership exhibited by these men in crisis situations suggests a more nuanced typology of charismatic leadership may be appropriate. In situations where the harm cannot be mitigated, charismatic leaders may need to be more reassuring in order to mitigate people's fear and make them return to a state of optimism about the future rather than obsessing about mortality salience. This can be done by explicitly reminding people that we, as a group with a strong leader, can respond to this crisis and that additional resources are available for short-term response and long-term protection. The charismatic leadership literature needs to focus more on leaders and the actions they take based on the type of crisis and how their language influences the ability of their followers to respond to the crisis.

TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP THEORY APPLIED TO DOMESTIC TERRORISM EVENTS

Transformational leaders are effective when they have the ability to change the beliefs and attitudes of their followers through an articulated vision (short-term response). "Transformational leaders define the need for change, develop a vision for the future, and mobilize follower commitment to achieve results beyond what would normally be expected" (Spreitzer, Perttula, and Xin, 2005, pg. 1). Followership is an important ingredient of leadership. "Followers of transformational leaders often feel trust and respect toward the leader so they are willing to perform beyond the minimum levels" (Spreitzer, Perttula, & Xin, 2005, pg. 209). Through the articulation of a vision, a transformational leader

can stimulate and inspire followers and rally them behind a collective cause (Karakitapoglu-Aygun, & Gumusluoglu, 2013, pg. 108; Purvanova, Bono, and Dzieweczynski, 2006). During times of change and uncertainty, society is more receptive to transformational leaders since it is their behaviors that alleviate follower concerns and generate confidence (Karakitapoglu-Aygun, & Gumusluoglu, 2013, pg. 108).

The President, as the administrative leader of the nation, must make sure that he has an executive team in place to immediately carry out terrorism response activities and to conduct the investigative activities necessary to bring the perpetrators to justice. In terms of the federal government agencies tasked with event response and investigation, the President relies on a group of agency heads, collectively labeled Official Voices. Normally, these federal officials interact directly with the President. As their leader, the President must establish the short-term mission and goals to direct each person as they do their tasks. A transformational leader further empowers them to do their job without micromanagement.

Research question two determined to what extent the crafted talk of the Presidents was sourced and echoed by their official voices. If the Official Voices mostly sourced the President, then, like parrots, they were not empowered to perform their jobs, but were relying heavily on the leader to give direction. Echoing the President, on the other hand, was a sign of transformational leadership since the leader had made the vision of the organization clear and

the followers used this vision to guide their actions as they carried out their duties in support of the organization's goals.

Four out of Clinton's 10 official voices spoke in reference to the bombing. Of the four, White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry gave the most speeches and were found to exhibit primarily echoing. Several of his Official Voices framed the attack in terms of its morality, as did Clinton. Attorney General Janet Reno, Secretary of Defense William Perry and Chief of Staff Leon Panetta echoed the President when stating what goal they were working toward, but the majority of their comments tended to focus more on the duties of their position and described what they planned to do in response to the 'criminal' incident. Echoing is also an important aspect of transformational leadership because it reinforces an acceptance of President Clinton's vision/ short-term response to the bombing in Oklahoma City.

When analyzing the first speech President Bush gave following the attacks on 9/11, his leadership style appeared very autocratic (Lewin, 1939). Bush made the decision to immediately label the crisis as a terrorist attack. During the attacks on September 11th, the nation looked for answers. The apparent theme of President Bush's speeches during the first week following the attacks was that he wanted to portray the terrorists as less than human, i.e., living in caves, hating freedom, evil, being cowards that strike, run and hide. According to transformational leadership theories, Bush needed to set the stage for his followers to transcend their own self-interest for the sake of the organization and in this case, the nation.

President Bush had the highest number of official voices (five) who spoke following the events on 9/11. By far, the Official Voices also talked the most about 9/11 and in the widest range of venues. They conducted 83% more speeches compared to Clinton's Official Voices and 75% more than Obama's Official Voices. For the nation to accept his campaign to go to war, it was necessary for the Official Voices to speak out to push Bush's agenda and reinforce the new vision for the war on terrorism. Vice President Cheney clearly sourced the President; Cheney's highest frequency word was "President". Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld also heavily sourced the President. White House Press Secretary Ari Fleischer gave the most speeches as an official voice and presented the highest level of sourcing. Attorney General John Ashcroft and Secretary of State Colin Powell; however, were more likely to echo the President in their public comments, preferring instead to describe the actions they and their respective agencies were taking in support of the President's short-term agenda. As a transformational leader, Bush is ranked the lowest since he seemed to favor an autocratic response that was sourced by his followers as opposed to the Official Voices speaking clearly about how they were empowered to act.

President Obama's transformation leadership techniques following the crisis at the Boston Marathon were appropriate in elevating the need for change and motivating the administrative actions of his Official Voices according to the language used throughout his speeches. He was aware that the need to know

was high on the agenda of many as he provided guidance that as more information became available; he would in turn update everyone.

Of Obama's 10 Official Voices, only three spoke in connection to the incident and were in support of President Obama's short-term response agenda. Vice President Joe Biden spoke following the crisis in which he also recognized heroes and provided reassurance to the nation-echoing the President's response. White House Press Secretary Jay Carney sourced the President with high consistency and provided the majority of the speeches for the official voices. Attorney General Eric Holder, Jr. provided legal updates and also showed concern for the people of Boston and acknowledged everyday heroes. He consistently echoed the President's short-term response. Though very few of the President's remarks were sourced, those that spoke echoed his comments based on their position, however, there was no evidence of a lack of support for President Obama's agenda.

President Bush made the most use of his official voices and their comments included a combination of sourcing and echoing giving credence to the President's structured response effectiveness and their role in achieving his vision. President Clinton's Official Voices did not speak as frequently, but they did exhibit a combination of sourcing and echoing as well. The outlier is President Obama's Official Voices. With the exception of the Press Secretary who tended to source the President, only the Attorney General spoke and described the response he was carrying out as the chief law enforcement officer of the nation.

An important function of transformational leadership is followership. According to Bass (1998), transformational leaders shift goals toward the greater good and follower's achievement. This research uncovered a lot of 'position-based' responses on the part of the Official Voices for each President and each crisis event studied. But in times of crisis, there was also a higher amount of sourcing; which demonstrated united front and was very necessary during times of heighten awareness of death and increased fear. The leaders benefitted from this since it promoted a new way of doing business after a crisis event and allowed them to push their agenda. In terms of the domestic terrorism events studied, the sourcing of the President's comments by the Official Voices constantly reinforced the vision each wanted to present with respect to the war on terrorism. All three Presidents' were effective in communicating their vision. This act is a direct link of behaviors associated with transformational leaders--inspirational motivation; the ability to develop and communicate a convincing and attractive future vision (Bass, 1998).

"Transformational leadership varies depending on individual cultural values." (Spreitzer, Perttula, & Xin, 2005, pg. 206. As time moved on, it was evident in each event that the Official Voices tended to be subjected to media criticism that was actually directed at the President. This was especially evident when the media commentators tried to use their line of questioning of a specific administration official (Official Voice) to support their alternative framing of the event's meaning and appropriate response. This is surprising because the criticisms directed at the Official Voices were about parts of the crisis event and

short-term response that they cold not control and for which their position was not well equipped to respond.

Future research could explore this phenomenon to determine if it is common in other organizations that have a transformational leader, or if it represents the media (and perhaps the publics) tendency to conflate the Official Voices with the President, treating them as a monolithic entity representing a supraorganization, the Nation. Research could examine the degree to which the leader is separately recognizable from the lead administrators and how each is characterized as “the organization” versus as a position holder in an agency within the larger federal government structure.

MEDIA FRAMING THEORY APPLIED TO DOMESTIC TERRORISM EVENTS

When a crisis occurs suddenly and unexpectedly, tensions are heightened as the public tries to determine what has happened, then to anticipate what might happen. With advances in technology, the pace at which information is transmitted in times of uncertainty has accelerated. So also has there been an increase in the amount to which the explanations become exaggerated, making reliable information extremely crucial (Genovese, 1986). Research question three evaluates how the President, as the first official actor to report and label the crisis event based on access to information that is both immediate and reliable, influences the way the event is framed by the media?

Event framing is understood as an essential feature of news media functioning because it shapes the ways issues are reported on and, in doing so, influences the audience’s perception of the event (Barker, 2005; Borah, 2011;

Shen and Edwards, 2005). Considering the Sunday network news programs, the media hosts were expected to shape the way issues were reported. They would also have influence through the choice of guest speakers they invited to the show on Sunday and in the line of questioning they presented to these guests. The selection of experts who appeared as guests on the Sunday news programs could support the media's ability to assign different labels and to explore and present alternate frames of the crisis events. Research question three explores the degree to which this occurred.

As the events surrounding the Oklahoma City bombing unfolded, Timothy McVeigh was identified as the perpetrator on the same day of the bombing, Wednesday, April 19th. The rapid identification of the perpetrator provided President Clinton with an advantage when initially labeling the crisis event. Because he treated the incident as a national disaster and deemed it a mass murder, in the beginning, President Clinton avoided attaching the label of terrorism to the bombing. As a result, there was no need to call McVeigh a terrorist. The first time President Clinton labeled the bombing in Oklahoma City as a terrorist attack was on Tuesday, April 25th, six days following the crisis.

The media did not have the same initial framing for the Oklahoma City bombing. Instead, the April 23rd Sunday network news programs initially started with a discussion on terrorism and consistently had terrorism experts as guest speakers. In addition, there were marked differences between President Clinton and the media in the language used to depict the suspects. President Clinton referred to "the people who are killers", while the media labeled it "home-grown

terrorism by an enemy." The media also had multiple references to historical events-the Branch Dravidians and the 1993 World Trade Center attack. This language was absent from President Clinton's remarks.

Without a doubt, from his very first public comment, President Bush framed the 9/11 crisis as a national tragedy and labeled it as a terrorist attack on the country. The President also benefited from strong reinforcement of his framing of the event since the media invited the most Official Voices (n=8) to appear on the Sunday News programs, starting with two on ABC News This Week program airing the first Sunday after 9/11. The questions the media initially presented to the Official Voices seemed to source the President's short-term response: military sustainability and the war campaign vision. Later Sunday news programs did, however, launch pointed questions concerning the President's agenda and the federal agency handling of the agenda. This may be due to the increase in the number of members of Congress who were appearing on the programs and the discussions surrounding the passage of the Patriot Act.

Of the three President's, President Obama was the most effective in initially framing the event without any challenges for alternate framing by the media. This occurred, in large part, because the suspects were identified and captured before the selected Sunday network news programs were broadcast. The guests on the news program tended to represent previous federal officials who were commenting on the allegedly lax FBI watch list treatment of the two brothers.

To compare the President's directly, Clinton was the least effective in framing the event in a way that could withstand the media challenge. The media was persuasive in their conclusion that this was domestic terrorism and Clinton was able to use this media framing to his advantage when he pursued legislative changes. There was no alternate media framing for the 9/11 attacks. Both the President and the media were effective in consistently labeling this a terrorist attack that required a strong military response from the United States. However the media did encourage an alliance with the international community in the military response and did wonder about the ripple effects. Finally, President Obama labeled the event, set the short-term response agenda, and completed the tasks before Sunday, leaving little opportunity for the Sunday news commentators to offer alternate framing of the event.

The answer to the third research question is clear – based on the data analyzed, each of the Presidents did enjoy a strategic advantage since they had the ability to control the dissemination of facts and prepare and make their public comments before the media could frame the situation. The President also benefitted from his legitimate role in setting the national policy agenda, the media did not enjoy the same influence.

The Influence of Media Functioning on Media Framing

There could be another way in which alternative media framing of a domestic crisis event could be achieved. Rather than directly challenging the statements made by the President and presenting an alternate framing of the event itself, the media could attempt to influence the public's perception of the

event and why it occurred by dissecting the administrative response and pointing to lessons from history that could have avoided these “security system failures”. To explore this, I analyzed the type of topics that were presented and explored by the Sunday new program hosts directly and through the questioning of their guests.

As discussed in Chapter 2, media framing theory suggests six different functions of the media (National Research Council Committee of Disasters and the Mass Media, 1980, pg. 10). Using the three cases of domestic terrorism, it appears that in times of national crisis, the media does not systematically perform the six functions. Instead the Sunday network news commentators tend to over-perform the descriptive function and tend to be highly critical of the administrative actions that lead to a lack of “learning from the past.” While not specifically predicting future disasters or taking part in public education, they did attempt to use criticism to demonstrate slow onset problems.

Confirming the findings of McHale (2007), this research did uncover the presence of a certain pattern of reporting discernible in each event. While studying the transcripts of the Sunday network news programs, there was a tendency to first describe the event and to consider the implications for the nation. Next, the commentators tended to rely on experts to explore why and how this event could have happened and what had been done wrong that created an environment where this could have happened. The local impacts were considered as well, but not to the same extent in each event. For example, the Oklahoma City bombing case had very little consideration of local

impacts despite the attendance of several guests from the area on the Sunday network news programs.

The media framing did not stop there, as McHale suggested it would (2007). While the first coverage always called for more details, the pattern was different than expected. For example, over time, there was evidence of how the media commentators made changes in the labels of perpetrators; while the perpetrators in the three events had always committed an evil act, there were differences between the events. According to the language of the media commentators, Timothy McVeigh was “one of us” originally. As time went on, he was described as an enemy combatant (even though he was an enemy within). In the media transcripts, the 9/11 terrorists were not us, but originally they were Muslims and later they were al Qaeda. The Boston Marathon bombing brothers were one of us originally, but later the comments by the Sunday morning news hosts shifted to convey that the brothers were not really one of us since their parents were foreigners and they trained at a terrorist camp internationally.

These changes in labels suggest attempts to frame a different agenda based on the analysis of the guests’ statements and the comments made by the hosts and their panel of network experts. One case demonstrates this point. The media tended to be quite strident in their language about the terrorists on 9/11, insisting that the appropriate response was aggressive military action because it was Islamic militants who were the perpetrators. The media language was not as hostile, nor as critical, of Timothy McVeigh, who was characterized instead as an honored military Veteran who was unduly

influenced when he joined the militia. These findings suggest that while the media is seldom the first to label and frame the event, there is a possibility for the media commentators to explore and develop alternate frames and influence public opinion.

The Interactive Nature of Agenda Setting versus Media Framing

When confronted with a national crisis, the President has the edge in framing the event and is undisputed as the emotional leader of the nation. The media, on the other hand, can fling barbs at the administration without a chance for rebuttal, since they are granted very limited access to the President. The literature predicts that a mediating force occurs through the media coverage of the President's comments and the alternate framing of the event that they offer to the public. For the President to successfully achieve his short-term agenda, it may be necessary for the President to modify his crafted talk based on the media framing. Research question four examined the interactive nature of Presidential agenda setting and media framing.

Clinton was the only President who directly interacted with the media when he provided a one-on-one interview to CBS 60 Minutes four days after the event. Based on this direct interaction, it would be reasonable to expect that the crafted talk of President Clinton would have changed after the interview. Evidence suggests that this is the case; after the interview, Clinton used the label of terrorism to describe the Oklahoma City bombing. This was to his advantage since it allowed him to pursue stronger penalties for domestic terrorists under a new federal law.

Comparing the Sunday network news coverage of 9/11 with the crafted talk of President Bush that followed, the data suggest only minor enhancements, mainly to demonstrate progress in his campaign starting the global war on terrorism. President Bush does seem to respond to the media for leverage rather than course corrections, making the media not very influential in framing the crisis on 9/11. As Bush continued his efforts to move forward in combating terrorism, the media's line of questioning supported these efforts by pondering thoughts of future attacks and increasing levels of insecurity and an overall national fear that reinforced the preferred actions of the President. Like Clinton's experience, the media talk was turned to Bush's advantage to support his call for a military intervention.

Neither President Obama, nor any of his Official Voices were interviewed on the first Sunday network news programs. In fact, none of them ever appeared on any of the four Sunday network news programs during the three weeks of coverage of the Boston Marathon bombing. Even though Obama stayed consistent in his use of words and themes in his speeches, the media did little sourcing of him and there were no signs of echoing. To a large extent, the references to the President by the media following the Boston Marathon bombing were critical commentary on the President's immigration policies. Thus, the conclusion is that there is no interaction between the President's crafted talk and media commentary.

From this analysis, it seems that the media was not the first to frame the three domestic terrorism events because of the time delay. However that is not

to say that the media is not able to offer alternate frames to those first established by the President. My analysis found that the media commentators can leverage their line of questioning and selection of guests to promote their framing. But at the end of the day, the Sunday news programs functions are to primarily report the news and to raise questions for public discussion. When they raise questions like “will we have similar attacks in the future?”, they start to reinforce the shift in our cultural worldview and cause the public to recall the issues of mortality salience. In these cases, this line of inquiry leads to a concern “can we really be safe?” As the media draws the conclusion that we can not be safe, then their next step seems to be to assign the blame for the changed cultural worldview to government failures in terrorist detection and prevention activities.

One of the most relevant channels through which information and perceptions are gleaned is through mass media coverage of events, which may mediate assessments of threat (Slone, 2000). Though media serves different functions, during crisis events, coverage was effective in reducing fears as suspects were identified and captured and the uncertainty of pending attacks was quelled. Using these cases, one cannot deny that media framing does occur similar to what the literature predicts.

However, this finding also offers new insights about media framing that need to be further tested. The empirical findings suggest that while the media does not directly influence the President to a large degree, the media commentators can offer alternate frames to the public. If successful, the

comments and analysis made on the Sunday network news programs could represent a proxy for public sentiment that the President can ill afford to ignore. If the President assigns credibility to what is discussed on the Sunday news programs as a measure of the mood of the nation, this may explain why he, as the nation's leader, sends out his Official Voice's more frequently to carry his short-term response agenda and to control the direction of media analysis and commentary. It may also cause the President to tinker with his crafted language at the margin, fine-tuning his comments to make sure his short-term agenda still resonate with the public by subtly addressing the prior week's media commentary and incorporating a slightly altered response into his speeches. More research to explore the validity and prevalence of this phenomenon can further our understanding of the role and influence of media framing.

To summarize, as shown in Table 9, the findings from this study have confirmed much of what has already been suggested in the four bodies of literature studies. This research has also identified areas of difference, where theoretical prescriptions do not seem to match the analytical conclusions reached in the study of three crisis events and the responses of the nation's leader. Future research is needed to extend this analysis into other organizational and leadership settings to determine the degree to which these results are generalizable.

Table 9: Theoretical Contributions

1. Alignment with Extant Literature

- TMT – Leaders serve as the spokesperson following a crisis, expresses sympathy to the victims and identifies members of the out-group who present a challenge to the shared cultural worldviews.
- Transformational Leadership – When leaders present a powerful vision, filled with inspirational language and a sense of urgency, followers are willing to accept their vision.
- Charismatic Leadership – Leaders are confident and assured and provide a powerful vision that makes followers willing to accept the response they propose more readily.
- Media Framing – Media framing suggests six different functions of the media, however, in times of a crisis, they do not systematically perform the six functions, indicating a certain pattern of reporting during times of crisis.

2. Findings that are different from the Literature

- TMT **–** When a crisis event does not call for drastic changes, a leader can protect the current cultural worldviews by strengthening systems that already exist.
- Transformational Leadership – Transformational Leadership is not a day-to-day style but presents as most effective in event-driven situations.
- Charismatic Leadership – Charismatic leadership is not day-to-day style, but is more effective in event-driven situations and requires the leader to use crafted talk to be effective.
- Media Framing – While the media is seldom the first to label and frame the event, there is a strong possibility for developing alternate frames and influencing public opinion.

3. Future Research Possibilities

- TMT = In situations where the harm cannot be mitigated, charismatic leaders may need to be more reassuring in order to mitigate people's fear and make them return to a state of optimism about the future rather than obsessing about mortality salience.
- Transformational Leadership = A transformational leader must propose bold changes that are responsive to the extreme operating environment

shock that has occurred. This must be combined with the charisma to "sell" the us-versus-them mentality in order to spur approval for a response that is different than what has been done in the past.

- Charismatic Leadership = The findings from study suggest that charisma is intrinsically linked to follower perceptions, however, the need to view followers role separately from that of the leader deserves a further look.
- Media Framing = The findings suggest that more research is needed to examine the validity and prevalence of the role and influence of media commentators' line of questioning on media framing?

PRACTICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

In this study, I was struck by the fact that each of the crisis events were uniformly labeled "evil acts". Yet it seems that the stronger the sense of an evil act that was perpetrated by an out-group with nefarious intent, then the more we, as a nation, benefitted from autocratic leadership to turn the wheels of the bureaucracy. Due to the magnitude of the event, President Bush could use "standard operating procedures" to guide the administrative response. Further, he seemed to realize that it would take a long time to restore a sense of normalcy to the public. In fact, he (and his Official Voice) conceded many times that this may not even be possible since our cultural worldwide was challenged to such a large extent by this crisis event.

In crisis situations such as this, we expect the transformational leader to propose bold changes responsive to the extreme operating environment shock that has occurred. This must be combined with the charisma to "sell" the us-versus-them mentality in order to spur approval for a response that is different than what has been done in the past.

Thinking about the response of President Bush caused me, as a leadership practitioner, to consider a more abstract questions: Did the leadership of these three men in crisis situations present a more nuanced type/style of leadership than we currently know? Was there something unique about the crisis that the current literature does not adequately capture when describing what leaders do?

One reason for a lack of robustness in the literature is that over the lifespan of an organization there are, fortunately, few uncontrollable cataclysmic events that shift the environment in such a way that a planned response is not possible. Considering what I found in these cases, is it possible that each of the Presidents, as leaders responding to a crisis event that required charisma and transformation, may represent a blueprint for future leaders who are faced with catastrophic crisis events? If successful, this blueprint could isolate important variables that a leader can leverage based on a diagnosis of the contingencies of the crisis situation. Two possible situational contingencies were identified within these cases.

One situational contingency that should be diagnosed before crafting the leader's response is who is the perpetrator and what was the intent of the crisis event. When the crisis event is disorganized and highly individualistic and the event is framed as having low magnitude and few victims, then perhaps the leader can craft a response that is like President Obama's – be charismatic in terms of the psychological support of the nation but, from an administrative perspective, strive for a fast resolution to show that the administrative

processes are appropriate. If successfully, then you can present the crisis event and response like business as usual.

When the crisis event is created by someone like us who is associated with a home-grown or perceived harmless advocacy organization like the anti-government militia groups are in the United States, then perhaps the appropriate response would be more like that of President Clinton. The Oklahoma City bombing is in the middle of the three events studied in terms of magnitude and victims. At the time, the cultural worldview could also accommodate the rights for domestic advocacy groups to criticize government (since this had already happened two years ago in Waco Texas). However, the Oklahoma City bombing was “over the top” in terms of being an acceptable form of government criticism. The victims were not law enforcement personnel with guns who directly engaged the militants. In those cases, the loss of life is normally treated like murder. In contrast this event resulted in the mass murder of innocents, so President Clinton argued that we needed to raise the punishments for murder to fit this more horrific crime.

When the crisis event is perpetrated by an out-group with an unacceptable and quite threatening mission, then the cultural worldview of Americans is threatened. President Bush responded to this as much as he did to the large magnitude and high number of collateral victims of the 9/11 attack. In his “catastrophic crisis blueprint”, he demonstrated the need for a strong and decisive leader who acted almost autocratically to deal with the aftermath of the event. He also was aware that the nation must appear strong to the world (since

the terrorists are international and are listening). He left the need to dealing with the human side of the tragedy to empathetic others who were more localized instead seeking to unite the Nation against the out group. His choice of a moment of silence rather than the intonation of religious language was effective in strengthening the Nation's resolve since it reminded us of our ephemeral mortality in the face of the out-groups actions; similar to what happens at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington Cemetery near the Pentagon.

A second situational contingency that might influence the leader's response could be based on a diagnosis of the magnitude of the event. There is a correlation between the visibility of the President and his Official Voices availability to the Sunday network news programs. President Bush was confronted with the event with the highest magnitude of shock and tragedy. In response, he and his Official Voices, far and away, had the highest level of visibility. Clinton was in the middle in terms of his own visibility as well as the appearances of his Official Voices on the Sunday network news programs. The lowest magnitude event also generated the lowest visibility of President Obama and his Official Voices.

Magnitude also influenced media coverage over time. In the first week following the event, the Sunday network news media has saturation coverage. However the visibility of the crisis event drops dramatically over time as the commentator's must also devote program time to other public policy events that occur in the interim. Like the visibility for the President, the coverage tends to veer off course more quickly for small magnitude and low victim count events.

Situational contingency cues, such as the labeling of the perpetrators and their intent as well as the relative magnitude of the event and ripple effects of damages, can provide valuable information to the leader as they prepare crafted talk and design a short-term response agenda and communication plans. The influence of these two situational contingencies and how they can suggest different “blueprints” for the leader to respond can provide a robust research agenda that can contribute both to terror management literature as well as theories of organizational leadership.

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