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## The presidential performance of George W. Bush as a visual construct

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THE PRESIDENTIAL PERFORMANCE OF GEORGE W. BUSH  
AS A VISUAL CONSTRUCT

by

Kristen Allen Stetzenbach

Bachelor of Arts  
University of Nevada, Reno  
2003

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## ABSTRACT

### **The Presidential Performance of George W. Bush as a Visual Construct**

by

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The purpose of this study is to examine George W. Bush's performance as President of the United States through mediated visual messages. In this paper performance will be conceptualized using a content analysis method. This paper presents the notion that presidential performance and the job of being president are linked. The study is meant to watch President Bush and document his appearances as seen through mediated images. The *New York Times*' front pages from George W. Bush's first inauguration in January 2001 up to his re-election and second oath of office in 2005 were analyzed for six categories of visual depictions in the areas of speech making, commander-in-chief, official paperwork, domestic diplomacy, foreign diplomacy, and domestic luminance. These elements help define presidential performance visually. The *New York Times* newspaper was chosen for this study because it is considered the nation's paper of record. Along with national circulation, the *New York Times* also circulates throughout the world and has reporters and photographers on hand to visually document the President's activities and the persona he portrays through those official activities. As a construct, performance may be defined in many ways, but in this paper it

is defined as the things one does while in public office that help define the nature of that public office as articulated in Article II, Sections 2 and 3 of the United States Constitution.

It was observed in this study that images of Present Bush were most often located above the fold of the newspaper and in the middle of the page. President Bush was making speeches in 28% of images collected and was shown as Commander-in-Chief in 9.3% of images. Domestic Luminance is the variable with the most frequency having a total of 47.6% of the images collected and Official Paperwork was the least frequent with only five images total. Public Diplomacy comprised 13.2% of images collected and 22% of the images collected were of Foreign Diplomacy.

This study attempts to understand Bush's performance as president through pictorial representation of significant foreign and domestic events that occurred during his first term in office. This paper also exhibits the man as president through his various day-to-day activities, showing the human element of Bush as a leader. As the pictorial artifacts of the Bush presidency are analyzed, questions concerning what the image might say about the president's performance are addressed.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine George W. Bush's performance as president through mediated visual messages. In this paper, performance will be conceptualized as a visual construct and examined with analysis. The *New York Times*' front pages from George W. Bush's first inauguration in January 2001 up to his re-election and second oath of office in 2005 were analyzed for visual depictions of speech making, commander-in-chief, official paperwork, public diplomacy, foreign diplomacy, and domestic luminance. These elements help define presidential performance as a visual construct. The decision to utilize newspapers in this study is due to the fact they are still a highly affect news distribution source. Although the internet and cable television have made accessing news information extremely easy, there are still approximately 1,500 daily newspapers in the United States. In addition, the estimated circulation is approximately 55 million and 60 million on Sundays (Paletz, 2002). The *New York Times* newspaper was chosen for use in this study because it is considered the nation's paper of record. "The elite press is represented by the *New York Times*...serving as a guide, even guru, for the rest of the press" (Paletz, 2002, p.72). As one of the country's major newspapers the *New York Times* features journalists and photographers with White House credentials who not only cover domestic news that involves the President but travel with him on overseas journeys as well (Paletz, 2002). Along with

national circulation, the *New York Times* also circulates throughout the world and has reporters and photographers on hand to visually document the President's activities and the performance he is portraying through those official activities.

If a president's persona is not what makes up democratic politics then what does determine success in politics, particularly in terms of the media? The role of the president as a figurehead could play a significant role in answering this question. Performance as a politician helps the constituency form opinions, influences policymaking, and influences future elections and future leaders. A president's political style is a vital determinant of his performance (Erickson, 2000). Visuals such as gestures do not prove, but rather aesthetically illuminate appeal by miming natural performance (Stucky, 1993). As a construct, performance may be defined in many ways, but in this paper it is defined as the activities one does while in public office which help define the nature of that public office as articulated in Article II, Sections 2 and 3 of the United States Constitution.

Article II, Section 2 of the United States Constitution states, "The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and the militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with Advice and Consent of the Senate to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law; but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have power to fill all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.”

Section 3 states, He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedite; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be fairly executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

The duties as defined by Article II cover various activities ranging from commanding the armed forces, speechmaking, signing bills, and providing an articulated state of the union each year, meeting with local and national politicians, receiving foreign heads of state, and traveling abroad to perform diplomatic functions in other countries. The functions of the office of the president as I have called them form the basis of presidential power. It is important to note that there is some argument concerning the actual power that the president possesses. As the Constitution was being formulated, the founding fathers were sure to address the necessity for their government not to leave ultimate power in the hands of one man. The nature of the government of the United States provides a system of checks and balances to ensure that no one branch of the government obtains absolute power. This raises a question as to how much actual power the president retains. Some consider the president's power to be greater than others. For example, the president holds almost absolute power in foreign policy and as Commander-in-Chief of the United States armed forces. It is true that the president must ask Congress to declare war, but he may commit troops and send monetary aid without the approval from any other branch of government. This power is essential in understanding several of the foreign policy decisions in the early years of George W. Bush's first term as president. An example of this is the decision made by President Bush and his advisors to invade the country of Iraq in March, 2003. Many politicians in Washington as well as a great majority of the public disagreed with the military action; some individuals even condemned the use of military violence. No formal declaration of war was ever issued by Congress and yet the United States sent troops, planes, weapons, and other supplies to Iraq with the notion, created by President Bush and his advisors, to combat terrorism.

RQ: Does President Bush perform the duties of the office of the President as outlined in Article II of the United States Constitution as seen through mediated images?

Within this research question several other questions are used to comprise a response. Questions such as “Is there a pattern of presidential performance?” “Do the media portray the president making more speeches, meeting with foreign dignitaries, or meeting with the military during specific times?” “Are there different types of performance images portrayed in the media when national or international events occur?” “What performance aspects are more visible in the media in times of crisis?” Each of these sub questions are used for analysis of images of President Bush coded for this study. Thus, the descriptive goals of this study are established as the visual natures of Bush’s performance are more clearly defined.

Because this study is of Bush’s performance as President one must first have an understanding of the make up of his administration. That is background information of Bush as President.

### History of the Bush Presidency

George W. Bush’s presidency is an interesting presidency to study for several reasons, not the least of which is the case of the transition to the White House, the beginning of his domestic policy decisions. Other aspects of Bush’s first term are also equally interesting to study. For example, other aspects of President Bush’s domestic policy include his early cabinet appointments, the addition of cabinet offices, foreign policy and international relationships, as well as speechmaking, and official paperwork.

The Bush transition had potential for “a disaster in the making...starting with a potential crisis of political legitimacy” (Burke, 2004a, p. 5). What occurred in the 2000 transition is “the most unique transition since that of Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876, whose election was also mired in a controversy over electoral votes” (Burke, 2004a, p.1). Due to the delay in the outcome of the 2000 election, the incoming administration had five fewer weeks in which to prepare to take office. This equaled approximately half the time of other administrations, only thirty-seven days in which President-elect Bush had in official preparation to go from campaigning to governing (Pfiffner, 2004; Kumar & Sullivan, 2003).

Not only was Bush’s transition slowed by the controversial election but his attempts to participate in effective presidential leadership once governing were slowed with the loss of Republican control in the Senate in 2001 (Sabato, 2003). Furthermore, the challenges raised by the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 as well as the aftermath from the attack created a situation the U.S. was not prepared for and had not had to deal with since the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941. Essentially, Bush is among the few presidents who have had to face “such a myriad of difficulties so soon into their administrations” (Burke, 2004a, p.1). However, disaster did not occur. Bush and his advisers announced key appointments, “in many cases doing so earlier than their Clinton counterparts eight years before” (Burke, 2004b, p.22). In time for inauguration day, top levels of the White House staff were in place and the new administration’s cabinet was awaiting conformation.

## Explanation of Variables

Article II of the constitution explains specific guidelines as to the duties of the president. In this study I have divided Article II into six separate and distinct concepts which I have titled Public Diplomacy, Domestic Luminance, Foreign Diplomacy, Commander-in-Chief, Speechmaking, and Official Paperwork to better analyze and discuss Presidential visual performance. The following is a brief description and explanation of each concept.

### Domestic Luminance

Domestic Luminance is defined as the President acting presidential and conducting in-country affairs. This concept is meant to measure how President Bush conducts national politics and works with other U.S. politicians, including his cabinet, vice president, members of Congress, and state governments across the nation. An example of Public Diplomacy is an image of President Bush on October 17, 2002 surrounded by members of his cabinet including Vice-President Dick Cheney and then Secretary of State Colin Powell. (See Appendix B, Plate 1).

During Bush's campaign he set a moderate tone by asserting that he was a "compassionate conservative" and promising that he would "change the tone in Washington by taking a bipartisan approach to governing" much as he did when Governor of Texas (Pfiffner, 2004, p. 3). In order to keep his promise he began to "change the tone" with his cabinet requirement of diversity in the cabinet.

Without echoing President Clinton's promise to appoint a cabinet that looks like America, Bush recruited a cabinet equally diverse by contemporary standards. Bush appointed four women (Elaine Chao at Labor, Ann Veneman at Agriculture,

Gale Norton at Interior, and Christine Whitmen at the Environmental Protection Agency-designated as part of the cabinet), two African Americans (Colin Powell at State and Roderick Paige at Education), one Arab American (Spencer Abraham at Energy), one Hispanic (Mel Martinez at Housing and Urban Development), and two Asian Americans (Chao and Norman Mineta at Transportation, also a Democrat who has been secretary of commerce in the Clinton administration (Pffifner, 2004, pp. 3-4).

Within this gendered and ethnically diverse cabinet of only six out of fifteen being white males, Bush managed to keep his promise to his electorate and begin to change the tone in Washington during his troubling transition period. The diversity of Bush's new cabinet sent a message that his performance as president would be noticed by all groups in the United States not only those who were his ethnic mirrors. Furthermore, Bush showed through the diversity of his cabinet that he was a Republican president who understood the "increasingly qualified pool of minorities in the United States" (Pffifner, 2004, p.3-4).

The appointment of this cabinet was also intended to send the signal, to all sides of the political spectrum, that the bipartisan nature of his diverse administration would work to enhance the positives of his performance as president as well as gain trust those minority voters from the Democratic Party who were awaiting his performance (Pffifner, 2004). The appointment of his cabinet, despite the set backs of fewer weeks to prepare and the pending legality of his victory, is only one aspect that shows the transition of the Bush administration is still considered successful. During the early months of his

administration Bush and his advisor made few mistakes that could be traced to a faulty transition. In some respects, it was a smoother transition that the “friendly take over” of George H.W. Bush in 1988 (Burke, 2004b, p.22). “President George Bush’s transition into office was one of the shortest but most efficiently run in recent times” (Pfiffner, 2004, p.1).

In Burke (2004a), James P. Pfiffner explains that “a successful transition enables a new administration to “hit the ground running” (p.2). Franklin D. Roosevelt’s (FDR) successful transition to office was “a crucial time for assembling his ‘brain trust’ of close advisers and crafting a number of policy proposals that he hoped would lead the country out of the depression” (Burke, 2004, p.2). In addition, Ronald Reagan used his transition period to facilitate tax and budget cuts and to rebuild the military. Reagan’s transition has also generally been regarded as successful as well. “You really can get a lot done if you have a very clear agenda and have set priorities that are commensurate with the political capital you want spent. And for the most part Reagan did that” (Kumar & Sullivan, 2003, p. xii).

The media are largely to thank for the greater importance placed on the President and his cabinet during the early stages of the new administration. The attention brought by the media as to what is occurring or not occurring in the new administration has steadily increased. The preoccupation of who is being appointed to what cabinet position has been surpassed by a range of matters that focuses more on the ability of the president and his performance in front of and away from the media. The different media markets are no longer necessarily focusing on the appointments of cabinet positions, but rather on the performance, the image that the incoming leader of the free world will project to his

constituents through his term as president. “Journalists and political pundits now focus on a range of matters, and how well presidents-elect and their associates accomplish their tasks is often taken as a harbinger of future president competence and expertise” (Burke, 2004a, p.2). Although in the case of President Bush, journalists did follow his cabinet appointments with a great deal of regularity in that he was attempting to project an image of diversity and bipartisanship within his administration.

During the beginning days of his presidency, Bush was even able to create a new cabinet position. A position he hoped would allow him to show his want of a diverse nature of politics. Relatively early into his career as President, his eighth month in office, an attack on American soil leads to the creation of this new cabinet position and branch of the government bureaucracy, the Department of Homeland Security. In addition, faith-based initiatives, large tax cuts, education policies, health care and social security reform, and disaster relief for a summer filled with nature’s disasters make Bush’s domestic policy and domestic diplomacy a second interesting aspect of his presidency to study. We are looking to see if there are any everyday working relationships between his advisors and other politicians or does he only meet with them when there is a disaster or when he needs to. Is he an independent leader or does he look to other U.S. leaders to assist him in his knowledge of how best to govern the American people. “The best description of Bush’s approach to the presidency can be found in a document more than two hundred years old, Federalist Paper Number 70” (Podhoretz, 2004, p.2). According to Podhoretz (2004) the leading character in the definition of good government is “Energy in the Executive” (p.2). He also asserts that in particularly in a self-governing nation the president must act. “He must do things, and do them

decisively, creatively, and consistently...energy in the executive is essential to the protection of the community against foreign attacks...to the security of liberty against the enterprises and assaulted of Ambition, of faction, and of anarchy” (Podhoretz, 2004, pp. 2-3).

### Public Diplomacy

For use in this study, Public Diplomacy is defined as meeting with the American public, talking with everyday people, and generally visiting with his constituents. The study is looking to see if the president is supporting voters during elections, possibly kissing babies or meeting with children, making appearances to local organizations throughout the country that are to benefit the everyday American. The chief executive is expected to communicate with the public (Mullen, 1998). Images which portray the president shaking hands with citizens furthers his performance in a positive manner by suggesting that he cares for his constituency (Mullen, 1998). Simple gestures made by the president such as meeting with flood victims, eating at a home town barbeque, or just shaking hands with common people gives off an image that the president cares about the people. An example of President Bush participating in domestic luminance can be seen in a photograph dated November 4, 2002 and depicts the President kissing a baby, the very definition of domestic luminance. (See Appendix B, Plate 2).

Furthermore, when the president participates in ceremonies and ritualistic practices it is an illustration of domestic luminance. Prudent presidential performance at the domestic level can signal a president’s ideological dominance over state ceremonies and rituals, sites of political practice and spaces of discourse (Erickson, 2000).

“Ceremonies and rituals enacted at state-erected structures, monuments and memorials,

for example, articulate cherished principles, cultural recollection and ideological values that define, soothe, and unify witnesses in a form of primitive mystification” (Erickson, 2000, p.144). Such ceremonies symbolically create community. In addition, the political climate that the administration of the chief executive displaces throughout the country works to create a domestic policy for which he is able to visually take part in through mediated political imagery.

This concept is meant to measure how President Bush interacts with the public both politically and personally during everyday life and during times of tragedy and disaster.

Once the Bush presidency was transformed, the defining moment of George Bush as president would occur. The energy in George Bush’s executive would become clear.

At 8:48 am on September 11, 2001, American Airlines Flight 11 crashed into the north tower of the World trade Center; at 9:03 am United Airline Flight 175 slammed into the south tower; at 9:45 am American Airlines Flight 77 hit the Pentagon; by 10:30 am both towers had collapsed and the west section of the Pentagon was in flames. More than 3,000 people died in the attacks: almost all were Americans...Thus were world history, international relations, American politics, and the Bush presidency transformed within minutes (Pfiffner, 2004, p. 5).

After the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, the United States would never be the same. President Bush promised the American people nothing less than his own blood, sweat and tears. In his speech on September 20, 2001 he said, “I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not

relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people” (Podhoretz, 2004, p.3). During the same address to a joint session of Congress on September 20, 2001, Bush proclaimed that “Tonight we are a country awakened to a danger and called to defend freedom... Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done” (White House transcript, 2001).

Interestingly enough, the most devastating blow to America’s homeland since the beginning of World War II in 1941 and the first and most important political effect of the terrorist bombings of September 11<sup>th</sup> was a “huge jump in public approval of President Bush” (Pfiffner, 2004, p.5). The Gallup poll for the week before the terrorists’ attacks had the president standing at an approval rating of 51 percent. The very next poll taken, which happened to be the week following the attacks, September 14-15 showed the president with an approval rating of 86 percent. This 35 percent jump is one of the highest in recorded history. Political scientists call it a “rally event” and research explains that is common for presidents to enjoy an increase in approval ratings from the public during a time of crisis in U.S. national security (Pfiffner, 2004, p.5). However, neither the Vietnam peace agreement in 1973 which caused a sixteen-point jump in the Nixon administration nor the Truman Doctrine or the Cuban Missile Crisis which each favored the respective presidents with a twelve-point jump were anywhere close.

President Bush did an effective job in uniting the country, mobilizing the military for retaliation, and laying the ground work for organizing the government to ensure homeland security (Pfiffner, 2004).

## Foreign Diplomacy

Foreign Diplomacy as it is titled in this study are images of the U.S. President and foreign dignitaries. These images show the President as not only a national leader but a foreign diplomat as well. An example of President Bush participating in Foreign Diplomacy is an image dated October 20, 2001 on a trip to China (See Appendix B, Plate 3).

Other aspects of George W. Bush's presidency that make it an interesting candidate for study are his performances as president in relationship to foreign policy and international affairs, including the United States' relationship with the United Nations, the relationship with Afghanistan, the current war with Iraq, and international terrorism. Foreign travel and hosting foreign guests and dignitaries are part of the president's duties and so are part of the president's performance as a world leader and political dignitary. Trips abroad are typically given favorable coverage by the press. Foreign diplomats are one of several types of people that the president could be seen with in a photograph. The photographs of the president with foreign leaders or at foreign functions portray a variety of symbolic images of the president as an international leader and of the United States as a major player on the international stage. These images are largely symbolic but they do express the president as a leader.

However, the press entourages that accompany the president are not without their problems. Since the presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower in the late 1950s the photographers and journalists who travel with the president have grown (Mullen, 1998). However, the increase numbers of photographers and journalists who accompany the president has not guaranteed the presentation of a favorable image during coverage. For

example, President Nixon's 1974 visit to China is generally regarded as a less than favorable presentation of Nixon. For the most part, however the images taken by journalists and photographers of the president abroad serve to enhance his performance. For example, the photographs of President Kennedy's trip to West Berlin where he delivered his famous "Ich bin ein Berliner" speech are considered images which empower democracy over communism. (Mullen, 1998) Generally, the more images of the president engaging in foreign diplomacy the stronger he looks as a leader and therefore, the stronger the image of foreign diplomacy.

George W. Bush has a considerable amount of self-discipline in his personal life which carries over into matters of policy; in fact some biographers have stated that President Bush has the "instincts of a successful riverboat gambler. Not the kind of gambler who is so addicted to the thrill of the easy win that he inevitably loses everything, but rather the poker player who wins most of the time by exerting the kind of self-control that a compulsive gambler cannot" (Podhoretz, 2004, p. 6). One of the first major foreign policy initiatives of the Bush administration was the disarming of Iraq followed by U.S. military action against Iraq and its long time dictator Saddam Hussein. Saddam Hussein and the country of Iraq which had been consciously and consistently in defiance of its legal obligation under the terms that ended the 1991 Persian Gulf War had steadily become a threat. "A new threat required nothing less than a new doctrine" (Podhoretz, 2004, p.4). Therefore, it is important to address if the above stated "self discipline" noted in President Bush's personal life carries over to the manner he addresses in Foreign policy with new policies, actions, and use of media tactics.

## Commander in Chief

The category of commander-in-chief is defined in this study as any image where the president is photographed with members on the U.S. military. A sample image of the President Bush portray his role as commander-in-chief is dated February 7, 2002 (See Appendix B, Plate 4).

Just as the Constitution specifically states that the president will be the chief executive, it also explicitly states that the president will be the commander-in-chief of the military and armed services. The role of commander-in-chief is a very specific role that relates a great deal to performance. Upon assuming the office of President of the United States he also assumes the role of commander-in-chief during peace time as well as war time. It can be inferred that the President's role as commander-in-chief is linked with the President's role as a foreign diplomat. Most modern day presidents have had the necessity to mobilize U.S. Armed Forces for use overseas. Many times the Chief Executive can do this with no formal declaration of war from Congress. Often, military mobilization comes after lengthy diplomatic relations fail. For example, in the early to mid 1990s a situation of conflict was evolving with Bosnia. Both President Bush and President Clinton, after his election in 1992, attempted to exhaust diplomatic resolutions before consenting to military action leading to air strikes against Serbian forces (Preston, 2001). Any image in which the president is seen with members of the military whether it is addressing rank and file G.I. soldiers, interacting with the generals or other officers, or saluting the marines stationed outside of the White House or as he is boarding or leaving Air Force One, depicts the president as commander-in-chief and is associated with his performance as president.

## Speechmaking

Speechmaking is one category of performance that can be conceived as a concrete, visual indicator of the president's leadership qualities. Content analysis can identify speechmaking in a visual image if, for example, the president is seen behind a podium or with a microphone in front of him. The presence of a podium or microphone identifies a "speechmaking environment" (Mullen, 1998). Although often chastised by critics for his manner and style of speech making, President Bush is often photographed giving speeches to a wide variety of groups and in various settings. A sample image of President Bush participating in speech making is from May 18, 2002 where he is seen making a speech with a microphone present in the image (See Appendix B, Plate 5).

Press conferences, State of the Union speeches, and other forms of public address represent forms of speechmaking. Furthermore, presidential speeches are a way to get good photographs of the president being presidential and portray an image to his constituency.

As a presidential candidate, George W. Bush became famous (or notorious) for a condition some have coined "dysverbia," which is Bush's "peculiar tendency to add unnecessary syllables to multisyllabic words" (Podhoretz, 2004, p. 8). While some may still mock his mispronunciations and word additions in speeches, contemporaries still rank him as "a genuinely great speaker," according to Podhoretz (2004) a former speech writer for Ronald Reagan. Podhoretz (2004) also contends that after the "terrible evening of September 11, 2001, Bush knit America together in its grief, celebrated its determination, and concentrated its resolve" (pp. 8-9). He also contends that the speeches

given by President Bush in the months and years following September 11<sup>th</sup> helped create a “substantive frame work for a new and complex foreign policy” (p.9).

### Official Paperwork

According to Article II, the president is responsible for creating, passing or vetoing legislation. The category of Official Paperwork is based on this exact concept. Any photograph of the president signing legislation confirms that he is portraying this aspect of his office and is therefore conceptualized and categorized in this section.

The image of the president participating in official paper work is important to his image as president because it shows that he is up to date with current events and keeping promises made about producing new legislation or vetoing undesirable legislation from becoming law. An example of a president who often was seen keeping up to date with current events and possible legislative issues was President John F. Kennedy. “Kennedy was known to be a heavy reader especially of newspapers” (Mullen, 1998). President Clinton was also known to be an avid reader and spent a great deal of time keeping up to date with current events. Unlike President Kennedy or President Clinton who were often photographed reading the newspaper, white house memorandums, or a brief, President Bush is rarely photographed reading.

Throughout the analysis of this study the images collected of him participating in Official Paperwork are relatively few. However, Official Paperwork is still a category in this study because it is necessary for a leader to be up to date with current information and current issues. Furthermore, as seen with past presidents like JFK and Bill Clinton, it is a measure of presidential performance. President Reagan was also photographed in different venues reading official briefs and other documents. It is important then to see if

he is taking on the duty of Officiator of Executive and Legislative paperwork. Hopefully, images collected of Bush reading and signing legislation explain his portrayal of this aspect of the office. One of the few images collected of President Bush participating in Official Paperwork is dated March 15, 2004 (See Appendix B, Plate 6).

## CHAPTER 2

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In today's contemporary world, individuals rely heavily on media to focus their ideas, beliefs, and values particularly in the realm of news and politics. In fact media sociology has shown that news and politics are immersed in the format of entertainment. In other words, organizations that bring the public news are organizing and formatting their products (i.e., politics, weather, economics, and sports) to fit more of an entertainment oriented culture (Altheide, 2004). A new type of news has emerged labeled "infotainment." Research suggests that media outlets including electronic and print focus image making on the "infotainment" kind of format. It is this emphasis on the entertainment format that has "changed the organization as well as the working assumptions and culture of journalists and audiences" (Altheide,2004, p.293). This has brought about a change in the way people interpret information. Individuals are becoming less concerned with what they hear and read and are replacing it with what they see.

#### Media Theory

According to Altheide (2004) there are two concepts that help to clarify the changes that have occurred particularly between news and politics, these terms are media logic and entertainment formats. "Media logic refers to the assumptions and processes

for constructing messages within a particular medium” (Altheide, 2004, p.294). Format, which is a feature of media logic, is singularly important because it refers to the rules or “codes” for defining, selecting, organizing, presenting, and recognizing information as one thing rather than another (p.294). Media logic is an important part in judging presidential performance particularly when the performance is being judged based on imagery. Media logic paves the way for what Altheide calls “media culture,” which is produced when media logic is employed to present and interpret the form and content of phenomena (p.294).

Essentially, the president’s image as portrayed by the media creates a perception of his performance and the way in which the image is distributed affect the public’s judgment whether or not his performance is positive or negative. The upsurge in media culture has created a widespread commonality between associating positives or negatives with images rather than through verbalism. People are deciding whether a politician is performing his duties based on the images s/he is portraying via the media.

### Presidential Performance and Mediated Images

Research on presidential performance suggests that image making focuses on political manipulation and the conditions of the country. Economic conditions can be a measure of presidential performance and the economic conditions of the country are generally a large predictor of how the electorate may vote. If voters are unhappy with the economy the first reflex is to look to the chief executive. During President George H. W. Bush’s re-election campaign the economy faltered and although the incumbent Bush enjoyed an approval rating above 80%, he lost the 1992 election.

The ebb and flow of the economy can affect a performance rating of the president. The economic predictor contains two factors: the retrospective and the prospective (Mullen, 1998). Research shows that incumbents are primarily judged on their retrospective performance, which is their performance in the past. Non-incumbents are judged primarily on prospective performance which is their possible future performance (Miller & Wattenberg, 1985).

Although the economy contributes to the president's approval and overall performance rating, the image of the president is becoming a dominant means of assessing presidential performance. "Presidents use prudent performance imagery to honor the dominant ideology's wisdom and assert political realities" (Erickson, 2000, p.144). A reporter once asked Ronald Reagan what is it like being a former actor and being the President of the United States living in the White House. He replied: "How could you be president and not be an actor?" (Roberts, 1993, p.9). There is relatively little doubt that mediated images of the President performing his role as statesman, foreign diplomat, or commander in chief captivate American audiences (Erickson, 2000). Schmuhl (1990) explains that one legacy left to all future presidents by the Reagan administration was the lesson that acting, stagecraft, and mediated images can enhance presidential performance.

Ronald Reagan was one president extremely aware of how important media exposure was to his ability to function well as president. According to Weisman (1984), the first term of the Reagan presidency was a public relations triumph. This was due to three distinct elements. Two obvious contributions were the man as president, his policies and themes but mostly his effectiveness at manipulation the media. "Reagan was

an actor, completely at ease in front of the media's cameras and microphones." Moreover, he "brought to the presidency his movie persona of the personable, amiable, nice guy" (Paletz, 2002, p.271). It was this personality that President Reagan was sure to express through his media representation. Reagan knew that "this expression had the best effect on his audience, boosting his supporters and neutralizing his opponents" (Paletz, 2002, p.272). He wanted the public to not only see him as the president but to see him favorably as president. Reagan was favored as president. When Reagan completed his second term as president he left office with a 68% approval rating. This is one of the highest approval ratings for any modern president even though the majority of American disagreed with Reagan on many of his major policy positions (Paletz, 2002).

Dramatic appearances by Reagan at sites such as Normandy Beach, South Korea's DMZ, and the Berlin Wall grabbed the attention of American and international audiences alike. Reagan was not the only president to use photo-opportunities to visually portray his performance as president. Virtually every president in the 20<sup>th</sup> century has learned to manipulate images to their advantage (Hart, 1994; Schlesinger, 1965). For example, John F. Kennedy, "charmed the nation with engaging photographs of touch football, quiet contemplation, elegant affairs, international diplomacy, and a youthful family" (Erickson, 2000, p.138).

According to Meyrowitz (1985), "the presidency is frequently articulated in spectacle form because citizens accept the fact that chief executives perform the role of president rather than be president" (p.303). Activities ranging from official business of the office to the innocent activities by the men who hold the office are seen by citizens as presidential performance. The administration of Ronald Reagan mastered the art of

performing the presidency. “Reagan’s artful use of dramatized spectacle redefined the rhetorical presidency to the extent that the moving synoptic moment has replaced the eloquent speech” (Jamieson, 1988, p.117). Other administrations also learned to utilize mediated images. Images of activities such as George H.W. Bush playing horseshoes and Bill Clinton seen reading to minority children during the holidays are not rhetorical illusions but visual representations of the man who makes up the office of president (Erickson, 2000). “The presidential performer legitimates his claims, and authenticates his role, and captivates his audience” (Raphael, 1999, p.48). Images of President Ford celebrating the nation’s 200<sup>th</sup> birthday in New York Harbor, President Carter negotiating peace talks between Israel and Egypt, and President Nixon toasting Chairman Mao in Red China “captured the attention of witness worldwide” (Erickson, 2000, p.139).

Photographs are staged to influence, manipulate, entreat, entice, amaze, or otherwise assume power. Experts recognize that people tend to believe what they see rather than what they hear. “Words no longer hold people’s attention or their interest” (Ellul, 1985, p.131). Visual narratives save audiences the trouble of thinking and having to remember verbal rhetoric (Ellul, 1985). Recognizing this, White House photo-opportunities are “staged to simulate political interest, create social awareness, reach mass audiences, and influence the public’s psychological readiness to acquiesce” (Erickson, 1998, p.148). As a signifier of political meanings, the White House, manages and controls the citizenry’s view of reality by visually imposing staged performances. These visually staged performances achieve the effect of either altering or furthering the president’s performance because it “simultaneously blends practical utility with aesthetic pleasure” (Leff, 1984, p.124). For example, Bill Clinton’s inspired releasing of the bald

eagle named “Freedom” at a wilderness site on July 4, 1996, earned him the sobriquet: “Clinton the Environmentalist” (Turque & Rosenstiel, 1996, p.26).

Images such as President Clinton freeing an American symbol and others, though occasionally disdained by critics influence the public’s acceptance of political fantasies insofar as they “suppress reliance upon logic and collaborative evidence, and visually stress dominant and underlying ideological themes” (Erickson, 2000, p.144).

The practice of image management creates standards that have become applicable to the presidency. These standards include charisma, patriotism, sensitivity, responsiveness, and power. This is especially true of images that link a president to rituals, sites, and occasions that serve as markers of the country’s culture or the power of the office of the president along with his authority. By visually associating himself with symbols of political and social importance, a president is “able to make strategic choices about how to engage the popular imagination in any political situation” (Bennett, 1983, p.42).

The media are especially important when it comes to interpreting and understanding what is going on in the world today. All the different aspects of the media are relied on heavily by the public to receive information and news about important events and policies that are taking place in the world. Mediated images are an important part of the information distribution process. Thanks to the media such as images printed in newspapers and magazines, leaders become much more visible and their words, behaviors and actions are open to interpretation by the masses (Paletz, 2002). Pictorial representations of the president give the public a way to frame the individual as a leader. They enable the public to see exactly what he is doing and at the same time they can bring praise to accomplishments as well as legitimate skepticism. Presidents face

numerous expectations and a large number of these expectations are difficult or impossible to achieve. Therefore, presidents must rely on persuasion and at the same time maintain a favorable image in order to try and accomplish their objectives. The best way for a president to maintain a favorable image with the public is to “try to obtain favorable media coverage” (Paletz, 2002, p.281).

### Media Imagery and Politics

The uses of media by politicians continue to evolve. We can see a particular change in recent decades. Although uses of media have changed the desire to be recognized by voters as a candidate and then, if elected, recognized by your constituents still remain. Yet, the once popular speeches during a campaign stop or debate have changed to include many more types of media techniques. For example, when Bill Clinton was a presidential hopeful in the 1992 one of his distinct characteristics as a candidate was his use of “unconventional media strategies.” (Hayden, 2002, p.68). “Bill Clinton did something remarkable. He reached out to and captured a sizable part of the American electorate by using public forums that most politicians normally avoided” (Hayden, 2002, p.ix). Realizing there was a rapidly changing media market Clinton met Americans in the informal settings they were used to. Media images of Clinton in informal settings were common during his campaigning in 1992 and he was commonly seen amid talk shows and on MTV. During campaign season President Clinton was known for making appearances on MTV and various talk shows with the intent and hopes to be seen as a candidate that is up to date (Hayden, 2002).

Clinton's knowledge and use of the mass media and its coloration to affect the public's perception helped him get elected. He met his constituents where they were comfortable. The public built a perception of him through his use of media and the images he portrayed of himself.

There are a variety of forms of media that are exposed to the public. The television medium is only one of the many forms of mass media that are available in today's changing political world. Other forms of media including print media are still relevant when it comes to the public's perception of political leaders and candidates. "Researchers in the fields of political and visual communication recognize the important relationship between visual imagery, public opinion, and voting intention" (Mullen, 1997, p.819). Evidence suggests that photographs influence the public's perception of political leaders (Mullen, 1997). Visual imagery may affect the public's perception of an individual even when they are still a candidate. For example, after a presidential debate in 1992, then President George Bush was viewed as possessing a "callous and cavalier attitude" after images of him glancing at his watch during the debate were shown. Though it is argued by some, this visual image of President Bush looking at his watch proved detrimental to his bid for re-election (Mullen, 1997).

The use of visual imagery is a very powerful tool. Mediated visual images are a way to provide meaning of events and people around the world. People remember what they see. According to Mullen (1997), "mediated images convey important information that is attended to, processed, and remembered long after words are forgotten" (Mullen, 1997, p.820). A commonly known quote is "a picture is worth a thousand words." Pictures and more specifically news pictures "play an integral role in the formation of

opinions about politicians, are used to gauge credibility, attract and hold attention, and stir emotion” (Mullen, 1997, p.820). People remember what they see, sometimes for a greater length of time than what they hear.

In the field of communication and more specifically visual communication there are several studies that look at the use of photographs or printed images and the forms they take in newspapers (see Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001). One study in particular looks at spatial configuration. “Spatial configuration describes the relationship between the camera and the subject” (Mullen, 1997, p.821). More specifically the horizontal, vertical, and proximal dimensions are examined. In a study by Mullen (1997) using David Barker’s concept of “spatial configuration,” visual variables such as camera angles were analyzed to decipher their potential visual affect on people. Images were selected from print media sources. However in the spatial configuration study discussed above, magazines were utilized and they were selected randomly. This study gives justification for the further analysis of the photojournalistic influence on the public of political leaders, particularly the president.

Mullen’s (1997) study using Barker’s concept of “spatial configuration” expresses the notion that politicians today have a greater understanding of the influence technology has on people’s perception of not only political reality but expectations and performance of politicians and political candidates. For example, in 1960 a presidential debate occurred between Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy. The details concerning who was perceived as the winner of that debate had profound influence on visual journalism. According to Mullen (1997) those individuals who were listening to the debate on the radio felt that Nixon had won. Yet, those individuals who saw actual images of the

debate felt that Nixon had won. This debate was the first of many televised debates to come for various candidates for political office who would be expected to portray an image visually.

The images of the debate between Nixon and Kennedy made such an impact that some believe it was one of the major causes for Nixon to lose his bid for the White House that election. Kennedy's performance made a more positive impact on the voters. The people who viewed the debate perceived Kennedy as not only a better candidate but more trustworthy than his opponent (Mullen, 1997). The current study borrows the concept of spatial configuration in order to examine the vertical and horizontal placement of President Bush's images on the front page of *The New York Times*.

#### Performance Expectations and Patterns

"Presidents are loaded with expectations" (Paletz, 2002, p.263). They are expected to be the chief executive of the United States, the chief policy maker, the commander-in-chief of the military, as well as responsible for the nation's economy and dealing with international issues. As presidential candidates, hopefuls are constantly speaking on new policies and policy solutions as well as persuading the public to believe they will perform the best in the roll of the president. The public usually does the casting for presidential hopefuls based on media exposure of the candidates whose performance is then judged according to the presidential role assigned. Candidates who receive ample media exposure usually do well. More so in today's world than ever before, media can influence the selection of candidates and issues. "Candidates, like actors, depend for

their success as much on roles into which they are cast as on their acting ability” (Graber, 1997, 232).

Even as presidential candidates, hopefuls begin to participate in this role during campaign stops and political conventions which also present opportunities to make a speech. President Clinton was a speechmaking success even as a presidential candidate. In every opportunity Clinton would not only give a speech but add personality and conviction. For example, in his speech accepting the Democratic nomination to run for president, Clinton was sure to address each point he focused on in his campaign, most specifically “the hard working Americans who make up our forgotten middle class” as well as forecasting his theme of “putting our people first” (Jamieson, 1996, p.489). He constantly focused on why the American people should trust him. During this same speech in 1992, after 21 drafts he spoke for 54 minutes focusing mainly on why Americans should trust him in a speech that was mostly autobiographical (Jamieson, 1996). For Clinton, this served to advance his political career becoming known as a president who knew how to speak to not only the press but to everyday Americans. Clinton’s speeches like his 1992 address to the Democratic convention served a smorgasbord of photo opportunities to advance his performance image.

Once a candidate for president wins and accepts the office, he must still work to accomplish his goals. “To try to accomplish their objectives in their dealings with other power-holders, presidents often have little alternative but to rely on persuasion” (Paletz, 2002 p.265). When a president is seeking to persuade, he often first looks to the public for support. Presidents can go public for several different reasons. One reason is to place an item on the policy agenda. Another is to put direct pressure on other policy

makers hoping to gain or promote support for his views. “Presidents may also be seeking to build their public prestige overall or to appeal to the populace” (Paletz, 2002, 265). It is possible that a president will go public in the hopes of seeking support from a special segment of society or support for a specific issue. At any rate in order for a president to go public, gain support from the public, or to inform the public they must use the media.

True, presidents must utilize the media in order to further their agendas and to express their performance favorably and it is obvious that presidents use the media as a tool to show the public that they are behaving presidential. An important concern about studying pattern of presidential performance is how it relates to his use of the media. A focus of this paper is the pattern of presidential performance and whether or not other presidents are constantly conscious of performing to an audience for approval the way Ronald Reagan.

Throughout history presidents have created a pattern of performance which corresponds to several aspects of leadership originating from their office. Franklin D. Roosevelt first comes to mind when discussing patterns of performance. FDR’s “fireside chats” express a pattern of performance as a speechmaker. Rather than expressing his policies and views in formal public statements, although he did that as well, FDR chose not to react to situations but rather discuss them with the American people. President John F. Kenney is another who utilized the performance tactic of speechmaking as a way to explain and discuss rather than react. As a speechmaker he chose to explain his points of view rather than defend his positions. Kennedy was sure that he was seen making speeches and giving press conferences because it was reported that his delivery in answering questions were “witty, articulate and humorous” rather than defensive or

hostile (Mullen, 1998). It seems as though presidents to pattern their performance. Performance is tailored largely to strengths and weaknesses specific to each politician as well as tailored to the type of politician they depict or attempt to portray to the public.

Americans form and revise their collective evaluation of the president on the evidence of success and failures obtained through news reports from the mass media (Brody, 1991). “Presidents like to see media coverage conducive to their personal policy and political interests. Such content favorably communicates their beliefs, aspirations, decisions, actions; it shows them in command, thereby improving their standing with the public and their reputation with other policy makers” (Paletz, 2002 ,p.265).

Presidents and their administrations create, largely through rhetoric, world views to influence the public’s definition and perceptions of reality. The strategic use of visuals that cue the spectators’ emotive impulses, agreements, and cultural recollections emerge from the creation of political reality through visual perceptions of the leader. “Clearly, presidential rhetoric has taken a visual turn” (Erickson, 2000, p.139). This study attempts to quantify George W. Bush’s visual performance with the use of content analysis techniques using a single media outlet, *The New York Times*.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODS

For the purposes of this study, content analysis was used to examine President Bush's presidential performance, not to politicize his presidency. This paper watches President Bush conduct his presidency through mediated images. In order to conduct a content analysis study, the measurement of the President's performance must be conceptualized and operationalized. The six specific categories include public diplomacy, domestic luminance, foreign diplomacy, commander-in-chief of the military, speechmaking, and official paperwork.

The indicators of performance must be based on actual concrete visual images. Due to the nature of visually based assessment of presidential performance and the relative invisibility of it, the critic must use an "imaginative critical lens, one that captures the rhetorical, aesthetic, and ideological implications of mediated images" (Erickson, 2000, p.139). To begin, the visual performance of the president must be conceptualized through defining what visual performance actually looks like. What exactly does it mean for a president to perform? Furthermore, what does that mean visually? For this study measures of visual performance include categories of speechmaking, signing legislation and other types of duties such as official paperwork, being seen with advisors, politicians, the electorate or public, foreign dignitaries, and in

foreign lands are the concrete visual identifiers of presidential performance that can be seen and visualized through mediated images (Mullen, 1998).

The categories that will be used for this study are exploratory. However, they are based on past research that categorizes the image of the president. The present study of George W. Bush and his performance as president based on visual imagery is a replication of a study done on John F. Kennedy. The study of John F. Kennedy also attempts to understand political performance as manifested through the pictorial representations as they occurred in conjunction with historically significant foreign and domestic events (Mullen, 1998). The same six categories of presidential performance were used in the JFK study as are used in this present study. In the study of George W. Bush, all pictorial representations on the front page of *The New York Times* were collected. In the Kennedy study extraordinary events were the focus. Events like the Bay of Pigs Invasion, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the civil rights struggle were analyzed in reaction to the images portrayed in the news media surrounding the president and that event.

In the present study, key events were analyzed as well but so were everyday events. The everyday events are all of the images collected throughout the first term. Also, everyday images are representative in the images collected in a breakdown of each year. No specific events are looked at in these images it is just a method to see how often he is performing each duty each year he is in office. Some key events used in this study are the “Honeymoon Period” also known as the first 100 days of Bush’s term in office, the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, and the Invasion of Iraq in 2003.

For the purposes of this study the categories of visual presidential performance analyzed are domestic diplomacy and luminance, foreign diplomacy, commander-in-chief roles, speechmaking, and official paperwork are applied to photographic imagery. For use in this study a sample was drawn from issues of *The New York Times* newspaper. The unit of analysis in this study is the actual photograph collected. The main participant in this study is President Bush, when assessing foreign diplomacy, domestic luminance and public diplomacy other individuals are addressed simply to decide which category the image belongs in. Beginning with George W. Bush's inauguration as President of the United States in January of 2001 each image of the President located on the front page of the *Times* throughout the first term up to his reelection in November of 2004 was collected for this study. Each day's front page was scanned for photographs of George W. Bush, both above and below the fold of the newspaper. A total of 227 images were collected and analyzed for use in this study. If a photograph containing Bush was located, it was scanned and saved for use in the analysis. *The New York Times* newspaper is used in this study because the paper is considered to be the newspaper of record for the United States. It is also used in this study because the *New York Times'* circulation is not limited to just the U.S., rather it reaches an international audience as well.

Using an image coding sheet (see attached Appendix A), two content coders looked for a variety of performance-related images. First the date of the image was recorded in month, day, and year. Secondly, the location and position of the image was recorded. The vertical position of the image is defined as where on the page, above or below the fold of the newspaper, it is located (top = 1, middle = 2, bottom = 3). Thirdly, the horizontal position was assessed. The horizontal position of the image is determined

by the position on the page (left = 1, middle = 2, right = 3). Fourthly, it was determined whether or not the image was of the president participating in speechmaking. For this assessment the image was scanned for the presence of a microphone or several microphones, a podium or raised platform. However, not all speechmaking occurs with a microphone or the use of a podium. Therefore, coders noted whether or not the president looked as though he was giving a speech. Certain indicators of speechmaking included visual indicators such as large crowds that were either in the foreground or background of the president as he appeared to speak. Other visual indicators of speechmaking include whether or not the president was making hand and facial gestures as during a speech, or indicators in the text alluding to making a speech at an event (microphone = 1, podium = 2, crowd present = 3).

The fifth item of presidential performance the images were scanned for is defined as Commander-in-Chief. If the image was found to have military personnel including the common soldier and officers it was coded for performance as a Commander-in-Chief (military = 1). If he was not seen with any member of the military that item on the coding sheet was left blank. Once all images were coded for all categories the number 99 was used to indicate when the President was not portraying a category in each image

Domestic Luminance was the sixth performance item each image was scanned for. If the president was photographed with a U.S. Senator, U.S. Congressperson, a governor, cabinet member or members, any former U.S. President, a U.S. flag, or any other elite American such as the First Lady it was coded for Domestic Luminance (senator = 1, congressperson = 2, governor = 3, cabinet member/s = 4, former president = 5, U.S. flag = 6, other elite = 7).

The seventh item coded for was Public Diplomacy. If the image was found to have the President photographed with the everyday public, that is not an elite individual but a member of the mass public including children or babies, the image was coded for Public Diplomacy (male = 1, female = 2, baby = 3). Foreign Diplomacy, the eighth item the images were coded for is defined as the president photographed with any foreign head of state or dignitary.

Foreign Diplomacy was coded when the President was seen meeting with foreign politicians. Coders marked whether or not foreign politicians were in the photograph along with the president (foreign individual = 1). The ninth and final item the images were coded for was official paperwork. The president involved in official paperwork is a performance category. Images of the president signing legislation, at his desk in the Oval Office and reading newspapers or other official documents fall into the category of official paperwork (signing = 1, reading = 2).

The coding process included numerically itemizing each image on the coding sheet. The numbers are not of significant value. The numbers used in the coding identify a positive event and do not reflect the number of times that this image was published. Each number on the coding sheet is used to formulate a statistical package using SPSS to indicate the correlation or frequency of images. For each coding item that was vacant, that specific item was given the numerical content of 99 so there were no empty items (See appendix A). The number 99 is to represent missing data. Percentages in each category may not total 100% due to rounding. A second coder also coded the images to insure the data collected was reliable. Intercoder reliability was established in this study as 1 or 100%. That is, the second coder coded the images the same as the first.

At first this may seem suspicious that intercoder reliability was 100%. However, it is important to note several circumstances for this. First, there are not a lot of variances in this study. Simplicity of the design of this study and of the coding instrument makes it very easy for reliability. Second, the coding instrument only offered two or three choices. The choices are based on the major points of the image and are very broad. For example, in the speechmaking category the questions asked are very simple: Is there a microphone, a podium, or crowd in the shot? Or another example, were there military personnel present or not? The questions and choices are very simple. Finally, during and after data entry discrepancies were discussed between coders and if there happened to be a discrepancy the image was re-evaluated and more closely examined. This caused a few of the entries to be changed. Again, the images were coded on the major points, what was the major category shown in the image.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

The Research Question examines the President's performance through his activities as president as expressed by Article II of The U.S. Constitution. This study is attempting to "watch" his performance as depicted by the print media through images of him carrying out his duties as president.

#### All Variables

A series of frequencies of descriptive statistics were run using the variables outlined in this study on all 227 images. It is important to note that the percentages obtained in this study may not add up to 100%. This could be due to the fact that the president plays many roles at once. For instance, he may have been photographed giving a speech to military personnel. Therefore, the image would be coded for speechmaking as well as for commander-in-chief (See Figure 1).

#### Location Variables

The first variable addressed was the location vertically on the newspaper page. The majority of the images collected were found to be on the top of the page, that is, above the fold of the newspaper, 162 images (71.4%). The second most frequent placement was the middle of the page, 40 images (17.6%). The least amount of images

was located below the fold or at the bottom of the newspaper page, 24 images (10.6%). (See Figure 1.1). The horizontal placement of the image on the newspaper page was the next item analyzed. The majority of the images were found to be located in the middle of the newspaper page, 89 images (39.2%). The middle of the page was defined as not obviously taking up more space on the right or left hand side of the page. The second most frequent horizontal placement of images was located on the right side of the page, 78 images ( 34.4%). The least amount of images were located on the left side of the page, 59 images (26.0%). (See Figure 1.2)

#### Speechmaking Variable

The speechmaking variable was discovered to have made up 28.6% of the total images collected. In 65 of the 227 images, the president was found to have been giving a speech. In conjunction with the speech making variable, it was also found that the President was most frequently photographed with a microphone while making his speeches. Of the 65 total images coded where the president was making a speech 35 (15.4%) of those images featured the president making a speech with a microphone visible. Fifteen images, 6.6% were of the president making a speech with a podium present and 15 images, 6.6% were of the president making a speech with a crowd present. The speech making variable represent the second most frequent variable found of all six variables when the total number of images were analyzed.

#### Commander-in-Chief Variable

The president as commander-in-chief was shown as only 9.3% of the total images coded. The president was photographed performing his role as commander-in-chief in 21 of the 227 images collected.

### Domestic Luminance Variable

Domestic Luminance is the variable with the most frequency of all six variables when analyzing all 227 images. The president was photographed 108 times performing his role of domestic luminance. The president performing the role of meeting with his cabinet members or other officers of the government comprises 47.6% of the total images collected. In 42 images, 18.5%, the president was photographed meeting with his cabinet members. The president was photographed with the U.S. flag in 32 images, representing 14.1% of total images collected. The president and other elite represent 17 images (7.5%). In 10 images (4.4%) the president is shown meeting with a senator and in five images, 2.2%, the president is seen with a former U.S. President. Finally, the president is photographed one time meeting with a Congressman and one time meeting with a Governor.

### Public Diplomacy Variable

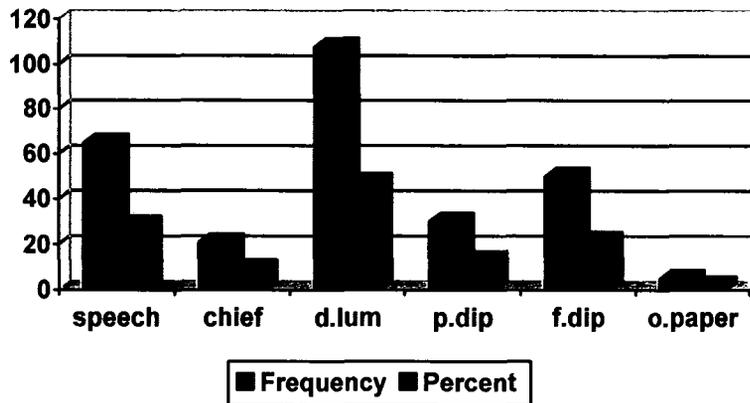
Public diplomacy or the act of the president meeting with his constituents comprised 30 images, 13.2% of the total images. Fifteen images, 6.6%, show the president meeting with men and 12 images, 5.3%, are of the president meeting with women. Three of the collected images, 1.3%, feature President Bush with children.

### Foreign Diplomacy Variable

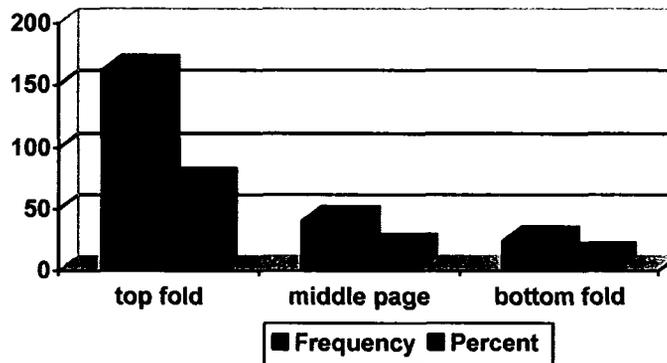
Foreign diplomacy is the third most frequent category of all 227 images found in this study. Twenty-two percent or 50 images are of the president meeting with foreign dignitaries.

## Official Paperwork Variable

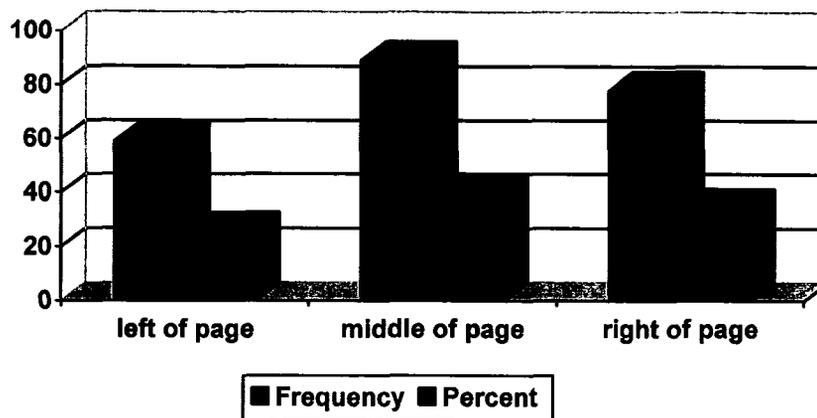
Finally, the least frequent category of images is of the president signing official paperwork. Only five images, 2.2%, feature the president performing the official duty of official paper. All five of the images in this category are of the president signing legislation none are of the president reading.



**Figure 1 – All Variables**



**Figure1.1 – All Variables (Vertical Placement on Page)**



**Figure 1.2-All Variables (Horizontal Placement on Page)**

#### President Bush's First 100 Days

After completing an analysis of the frequency of the total categorized coded images the data was analyzed for specific dates. For example, the first 100 days of a president's first term is commonly known as the "Honeymoon Period." Generally during this time the press is very lenient on the portrayal of the president. A select case frequency was used to run analysis on the 100 days worth of images of President Bush's first term (See Figure 2). The analysis consisted of images from January 21, 2001 up to and including May 2, 2001. The dates rounded out his first 100 days in office. Each variable was then analyzed during this time period to assess frequency of performance of the variables. Twenty-two total images were collected, of the 22 images 20 (90.9%) were located at the top of the newspaper page. One image was located in the middle of the page and one image was located at the bottom of the page (See Figure 2.1). The majority of the images, 10 (45%) were located at the right hand side of the page. Six images were horizontally place on the left side of the page and six images were place in the middle of the page (See Figure 2.2). The speechmaking variable was the second most frequent

performance tactic used by the president, 31.8% of the images were of the president making a speech. Of the 31.8%, 18.2 % featured the president making a speech with a microphone present. The presence of a podium and crowd were also seen but not as often as simply a microphone.

The commander-in-chief role as well as the public diplomacy role and the official paperwork role were the least frequent performance variable during the first 100 days of office. All the variable only appeared one time, each capturing 4.5% of the totally frequency of images in this select case analysis.

Domestic luminance was found to be just under the amount of images as spechmaking. The president was shown with other official governmental officials six different times, making it 27% of the total. In the case of President Bush's first 100 days, he was shown photographed with an American flag three out of the six images coded for domestic luminance, making it the most frequent element of domestic luminance for this select case analysis. Finally, the president performing his role as a foreign diplomat was the most frequent images found throughout his "Honeymoon" period. President Bush was photographed on the front page in eight different images. Therefore, 36.4% of the images collect from his first 100 days in office are of President Bush meeting with foreign dignitaries.

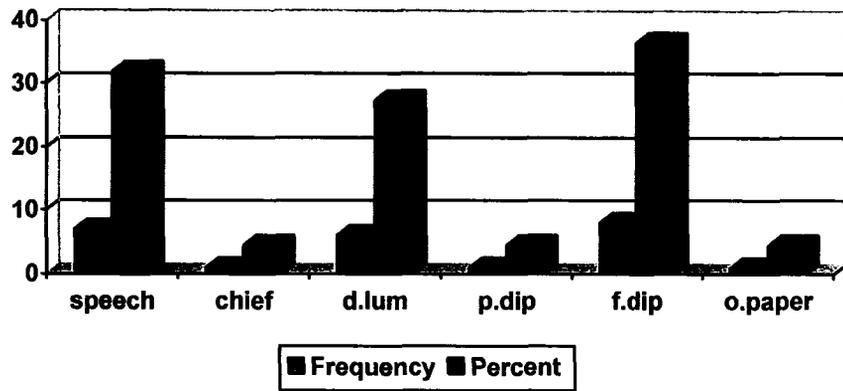


Figure 2 – First 100 Days

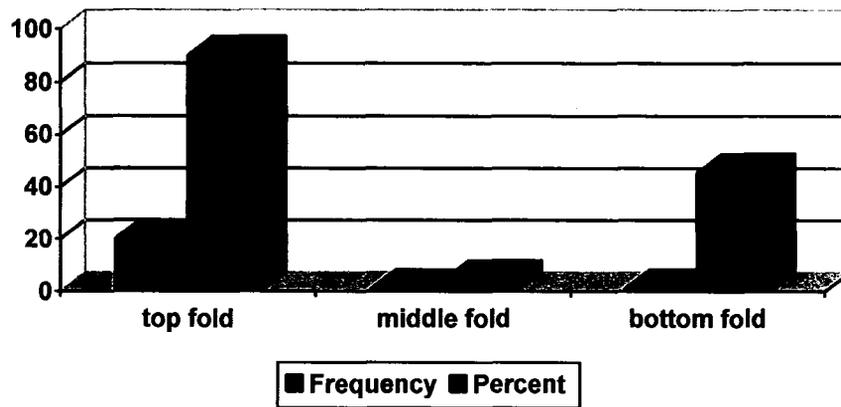
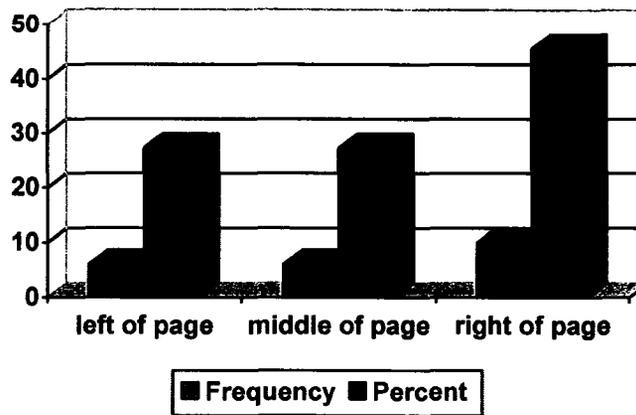


Figure 2.1 – First 100 Days (Vertical Placement on Page)



**Figure 2.2 – First 100 Days (Horizontal Placement on Page)**

### September 11, 2001 Terrorist Attacks

A second select case analysis was run to determine the frequency of performance tactics used after September 11, 2001. For this select case analysis one month of data was evaluated (See Figure 3). The dates from September 11, 2001 to October 11, 2001 were analyzed to see which performance variables the president was identified in most. Nine images were collect between these dates. Five images, 55.6% were located above the fold of the newspaper, two images, 22.2% were located in the middle and two images, 22.2% were located at the bottom (See Figure 3.1). The horizontal placement variable showed the majority, four images, 44.4% were located in the middle of the page. Three images, 33.3% were located to the left of the page and two images, 22.2 were located to the right of the page (See Figure 3.2). Neither the commander-in-chief, public diplomacy, foreign diplomacy, nor official paperwork variables were present in these nine images. The most frequent was the performance variable of domestic luminance. Eight images, 88.9%, feature the president performing this variable. More specifically within the category of domestic luminance the president was photographed three times

with the American flag present. This represents 33.3% of all categories. In addition to domestic luminance during the month following September 11, 2001, the president was found to be performing his role as a speechmaker. Four images, 44.4% of images collected after September 11, 2001 show the president making a speech. In these four images he was seen with a microphone in three images, 33.3%.

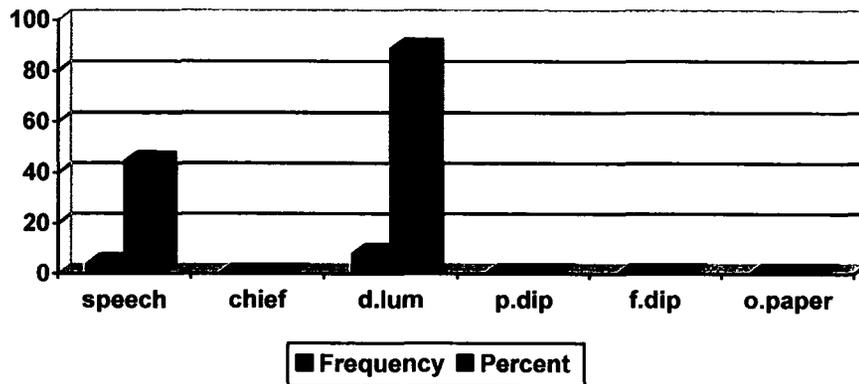


Figure 3 – Month Following September 11, 2001

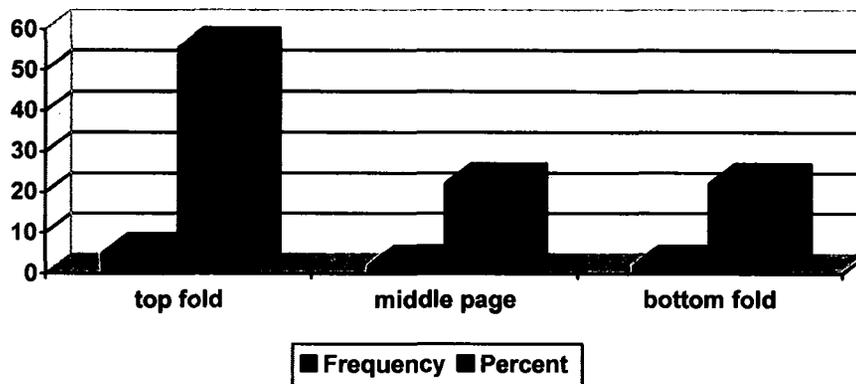
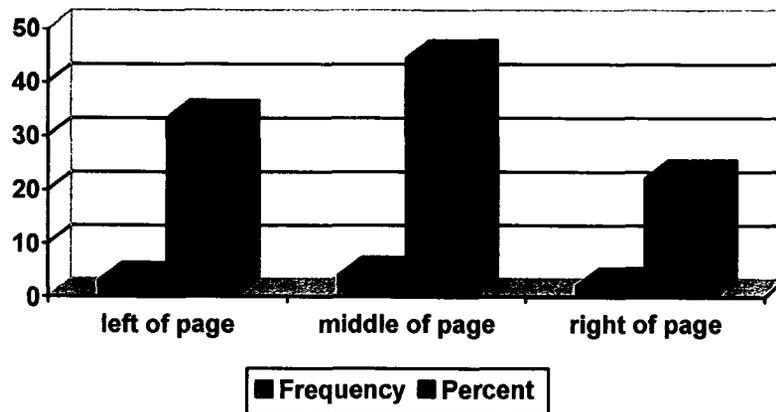


Figure 3.1 – Month Following September 11, 2001 (Vertical Placement on Page)



**Figure 3.2 – Month Following September 11, 2001 (Horizontal Placement on Page)**

### 2003 Invasion of Iraq

Another major event which occurred during President Bush's first term in office was the invasion of Iraq. Therefore, a third select case analysis was performed on the data to determine frequency of performance during this period (See Figure 4). The 2003 invasion of Iraq began in March and continues. The country of Iraq is still occupied with American troops. For use on this study, the dates March 20, 2003 until May 1, 2003 were utilized. Further occupation of the country by the American military was not discussed in this particular analysis. Instead, the imagery gathered during the dates of official invasion were analyzed to see which of performance variables were present. The dates between March 20, 2003 and May 1, 2003 a total of four images were coded and analyzed. Select case analysis for image placement determined that three images, 75% were located in the middle of the page. One image, 25% was located at the top of the page. No images were located at the bottom of the page (See Figure 4.1). All four of the images, 100%, were located horizontally in the middle of the page (See Figure 4.2). Analysis also showed that public diplomacy, foreign diplomacy and official paperwork

were not utilized during this time period. The president was seen performing the act of domestic luminance and mostly shown with his cabinet members, approximately 75% of the time, a total of three images. The president was also shown in two of the images, 50%) making speeches. One image with a crowd present and the other a podium present. The president was also photographed performing his role as commander-in-chief in two of the images with military personnel.

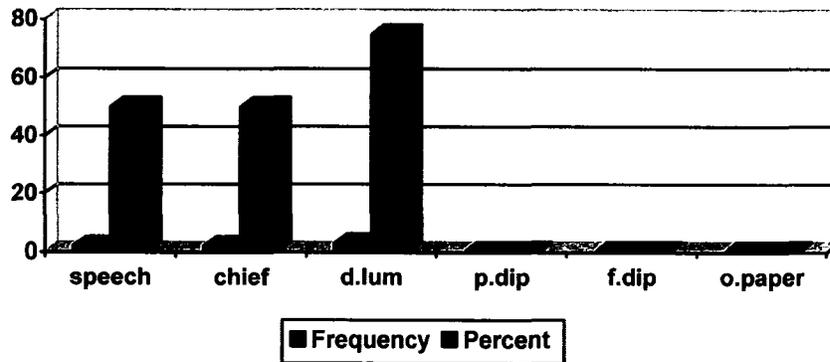


Figure 4 – Invasion of Iraq (March 20, 2003 – May 1, 2003)

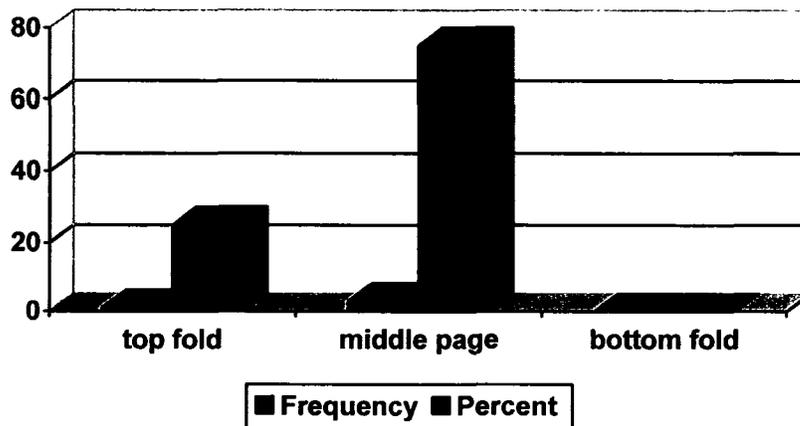
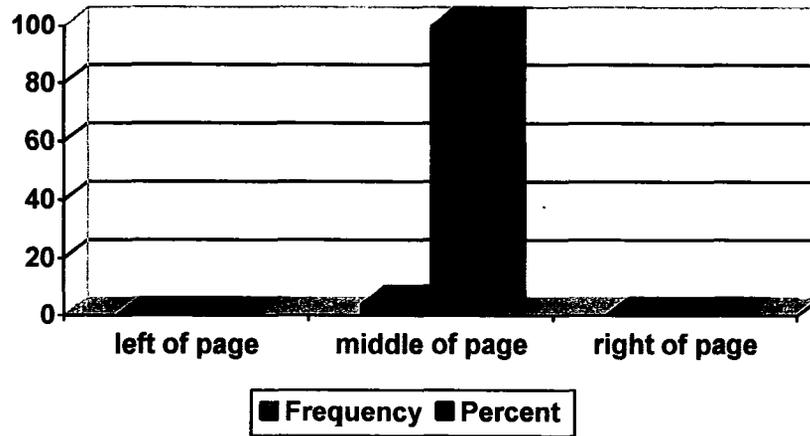


Figure 4.1 – Invasion of Iraq (Vertical Placement on Page)



**Figure 4.2 – Invasion of Iraq (Horizontal Placement of Page)**

Year by Year, 2001 - 2005

In addition to focusing on specific events through president Bush’s first term, the specific years are also important. In 2001, the president was photographed on the cover of the *New York Times* 73 times (See Figure 5). The majority of these images, 54 images (74.0%) were vertically located above the fold of the newspaper. Eleven images, 15.1% were located in the middle of the newspaper and eight images, 11.0% were located in at the bottom of the newspaper fold (See Figure 5.1). In addition, the majority of images, 28 (38.4%) were horizontally located on the right hand side of the page. Twenty-two images, 30.1% were located in the middle of the page and 22 images, 30.1% were located on the left side of the page (See Figure 5.2). The president was photographed on the front page participating in speechmaking 18. Therefore, 24.7% of the images gathered in 2001 represent the president making speeches, this is the third most frequent performance tactic used. The president is most frequently photographed with a microphone present. Further, the president is shown eight times portraying his role as commander-in-chief during 2001. The most frequently shown performance tactic represented in 2001 is the

portrayal of domestic luminance. President Bush is shown 39 times, 53.4%, participating in acts that fall under the variable of domestic luminance. The most frequent of these is the president photographed with the American flag. The performance variable of public diplomacy is located four times throughout the year. Foreign diplomacy accounts for 27.4% of the images with a total of 20 images. The president was photographed twice participating in official paperwork and only shown signing legislation.

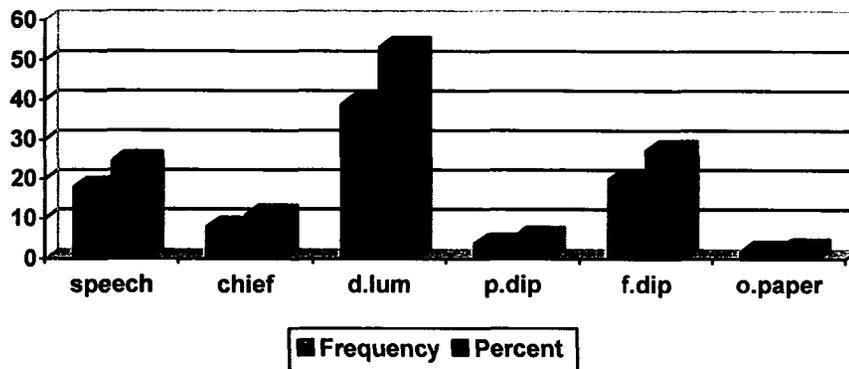


Figure 5 – Images in 2001

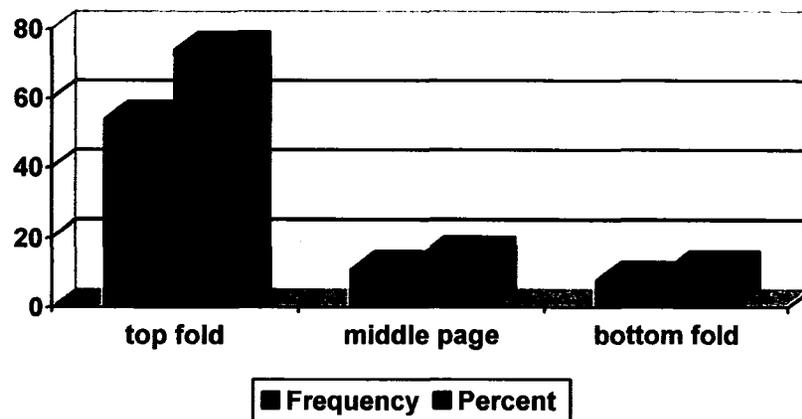
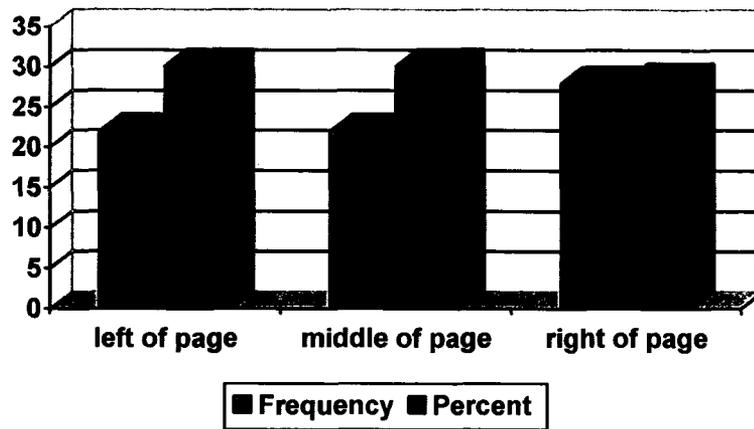


Figure 5.1 – Images in 2001 (Vertical Placement of Page)



**Figure 5.2 – Images in 2001 (Horizontal Placement on Page)**

In 2002, the president was photographed on the front page 49 times (See Figure 6). The majority of the images, 38 (77.6%), were vertically located above the fold. Six images, 12.2%, were located below the fold of the newspaper and five images, 10.2% were located in the middle of the newspaper page (See Figure 6.1). In addition the majority of the images, 23 (46.9%) were horizontally located in the middle of the page. Sixteen images, 32.7%, were located to the right of the page and ten images, 20.4% were located to the left of the page (See Figure 6.2). In 2002, 14 total images were of the president participating in speech making. Of the 14 images, eight images, the majority, were of the president speaking into a microphone. Six images were of the president performing the duty of commander-in-chief and seven images were of the president and his constituents which represents public diplomacy. The president was photographed the most participating in domestic luminance, 23 images (46.9%). The majority of the domestic luminance coded images were of the president photographed with the American flag. Images of the president meeting with foreign dignitaries represent 10 of the 43 total images thus totaling 20.4% of images collected for 2002. One image was collected

which represents the president performing the task of official paper work and it is of him signing legislation.

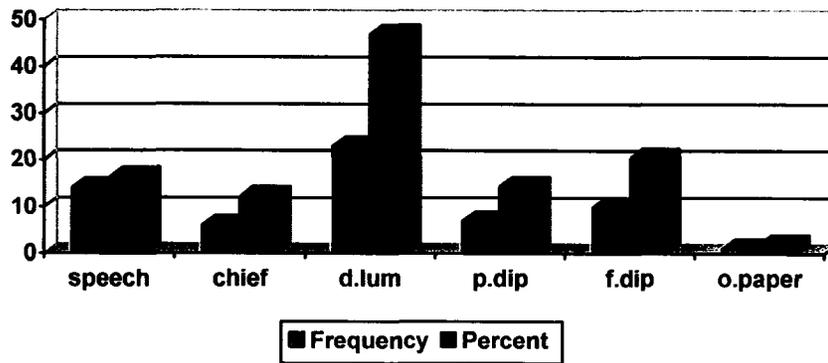


Figure 6 – Images in 2002

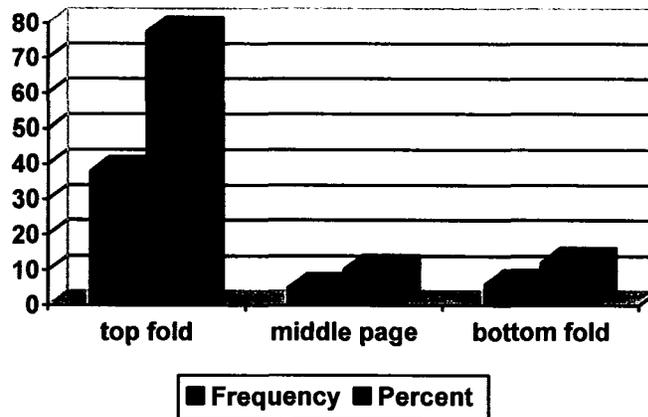
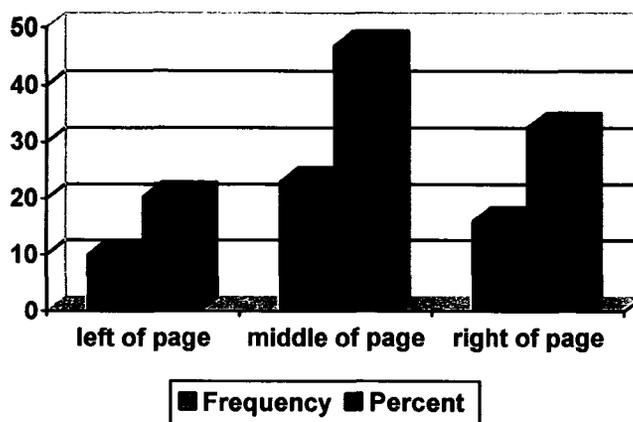


Figure 6.1 – Images in 2002 (Vertical Placement on Page)



**Figure 6.2 – Images in 2002 (Horizontal Placement on Page)**

The year 2003 yielded 45 total images (See Figure 7). The majority of images, 30 (66.7%), were vertically located above the fold. Twelve images, 26.7%, were located in the middle of the page and three images, 6.7%, were located at the bottom of the fold of the newspaper (See Figure 7.1). Twenty-two images, 48.9% the majority, were horizontally located in the middle of the page. Fifteen images, 33.3% were located to the right of the page and eight, 17.8% were located to the left of the page (See Figure 7.2).

The president was photographed on the front page 14 times participating in speechmaking. Thus, 31.1% of total images collected for 2003 were of the president making speeches. The majority of these images showed the president with a microphone. As commander-in-chief the president was photographed seven times. The president was also photographed 14 participating in domestic luminance. In this case, the president was mostly shown with his cabinet advisors. As a public diplomat, the president was photographed three times, mostly speaking with men. In 2003, the most frequent performance tactic implemented by the president as shown through mediated images is of the president as a foreign diplomat. President Bush meeting with foreign dignitaries

comprises 35.6% which includes 16 images. One image is of the president signing legislation which represents official paperwork.

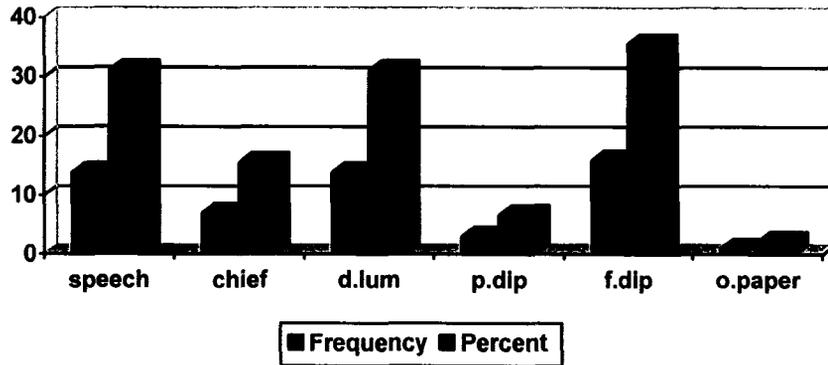


Figure 7 – Images in 2003

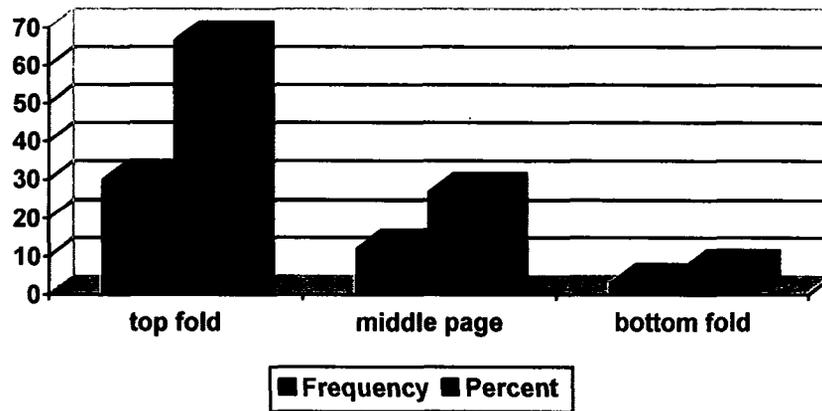
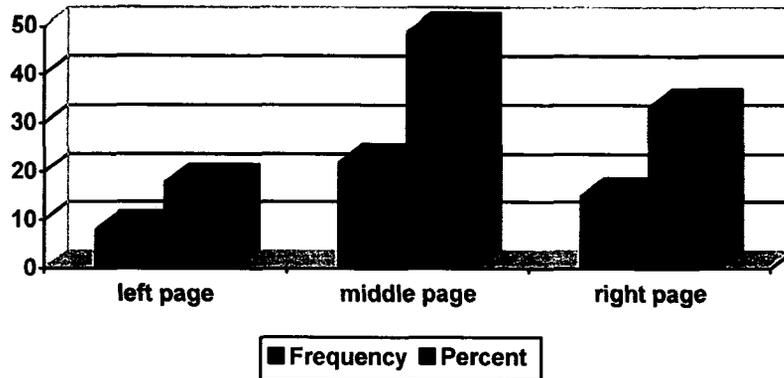


Figure 7.1 – Images in 2003 (Vertical Placement on Page)



**Figure 7.2 – Images in 2003 (Horizontal Placement on Page)**

In 2004, 60 total images were collected (See Figure 8). The majority of images, 39 (66.1%), were vertically located above the fold. Eleven images, 18.3%, were located in the middle of the page and eight images, 13.3%, were located below the fold of the newspaper page(See Figure 8.1) The majority of images, 22 (36.7%), were horizontally located in the middle of the page. Eighteen images, 30.0%, were located to the left of the page and 18 images, 30.0% were located to the right of the page (See Figure 8.2). Eighteen images, 30.0%, represent the president making speeches. The majority of these images show the president with a microphone. As commander-in-chief President Bush was photographed three times. The majority of the images collected in 2004, 27 (45.0%), are of the president performing the task of domestic luminance. Within this variable it is shown that he is most often seen with his cabinet members, 13 images are of President Bush and various members of his cabinet. The president was shown meeting with his constituents 16 times throughout the year. Public diplomacy accounts for 26.7% of images collected. Six images represent the president as foreign diplomat. Thus, 10.0% of all images recorded for 2004 show the president meeting with foreign dignitaries.

Finally, one image was collected which represents the president performing the task of official paper work and it is of him signing legislation.

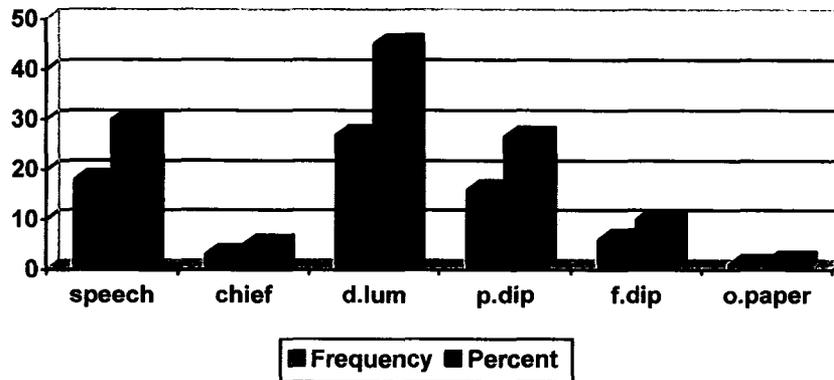


Figure 8 – Images in 2004

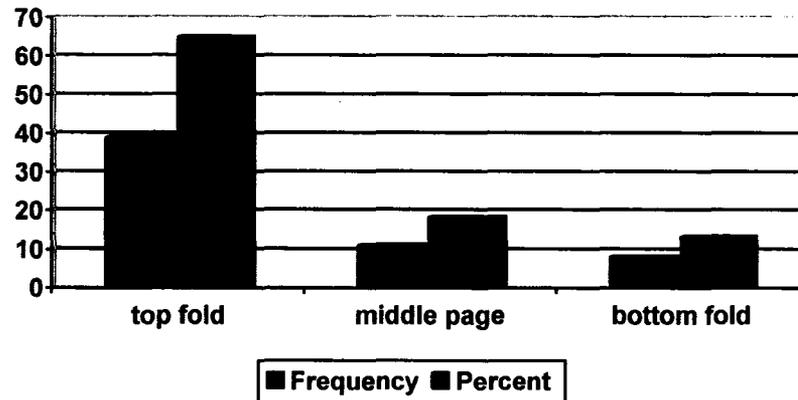
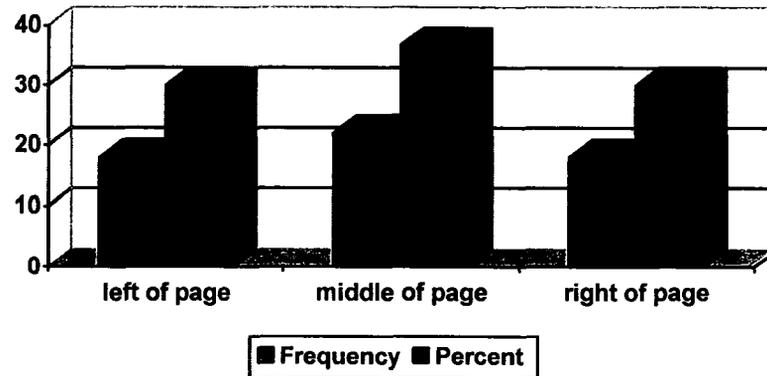


Figure 8.1 – Images in 2004 (Vertical Placement on Page)



**Figure 8.2 – Images in 2004 (Horizontal Placement on Page)**

The beginning months of 2005 represent that last of President Bush’s first term. Therefore, images obtained before President Bush’s second oath of office are used in this study and were run as a select case frequency. Two images were obtained during this time period (See Figure 9). One image was vertically located on top of the fold and one in the middle (See Figure 9.1). Both images were horizontally located on the left hand side of the page (See Figure 9.2). In neither of the images was the president representing the performance tactics of commander-in-chief, public diplomacy, foreign diplomacy, or official paperwork. Instead, one of the images featured the president giving a speech with a crowd present. Lastly, both images featured the president participating in domestic luminance with him photographed with elite members of American society.

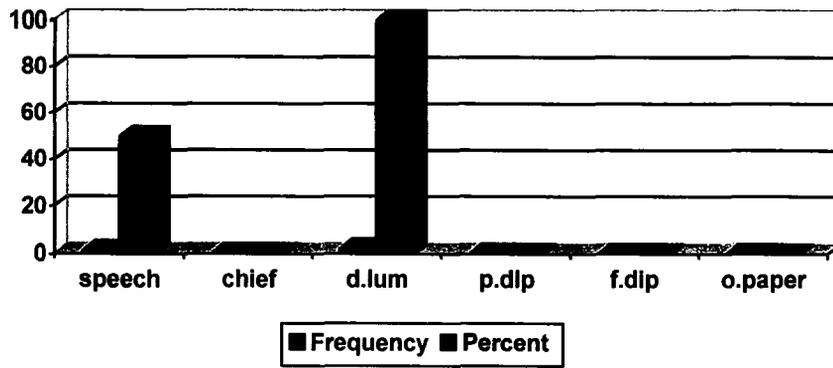


Figure 9 – Images in 2005

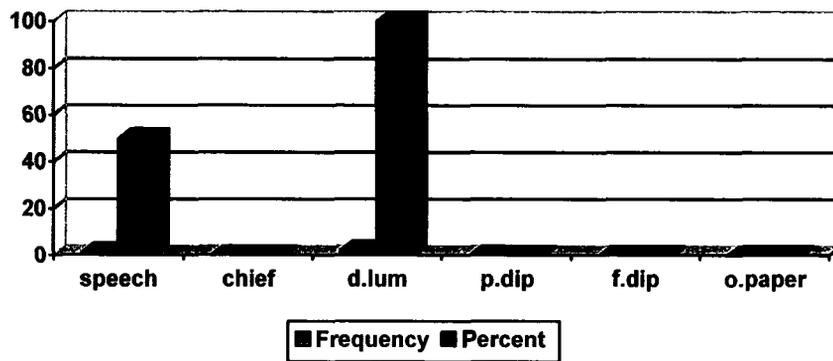


Figure 9.1 – Images in 2005 (Vertical Placement on Page)

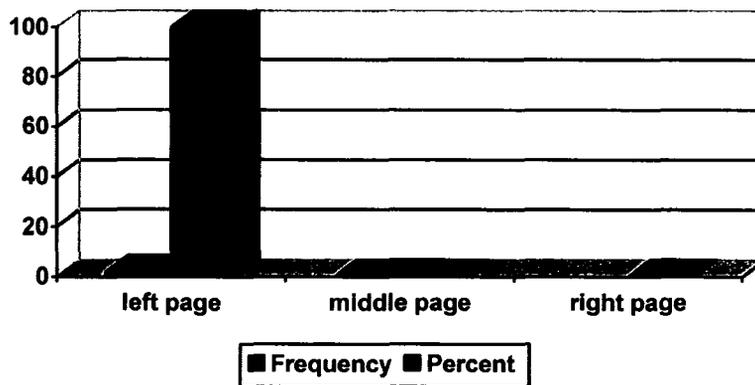


Figure 9.2 – Images in 2005 (Horizontal Placement on Page)

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION

The primary aim of this study was not to judge George W. Bush as a president. Rather, the aim was to observe his performance in office as outlined by Article II of the U.S. Constitution. Article II states specifically several of the duties that a president must perform while in office include making speeches, acting as a commander of the U.S. Armed Forces, and acting as a foreign diplomat. In this study, photographs of President George W. Bush during his first term of office as published on the front page of *The New York Times* were examined in terms of two placement variables and six content variables. Presidential performance and the job of being president are linked. This study does not judge the president's performance as good or bad, it watches the reporting and documents his appearances.

#### Discussion of Variables

The first two variables identified where on the newspaper page the image was located, vertically and horizontally. These variables of spatial configuration demonstrated that nearly every image collected was located at the top of the page and in the middle. Position above the fold in a newspaper is a preferred location as it visually draws the reader's attention. Location in the middle places his image along the fold and tends to divide the image. It also makes for an aesthetically unpleasant image because the

fold tends to distort the image. Images below the fold are more likely to be overlooked and since news concerning the president tends to be of some importance, such placement is generally undesirable. In terms of front page positioning the president's image is given a centralized place and the center of any frame connotes stability and power. It makes sense then, that the newspaper would place photographs of the president where it does. It also makes sense in terms of media theory and how news is formatted. The form and content are presented in particular ways that create particular views, or ways of understand the world and the various people who act within it.

The six content variables included domestic luminance, speechmaking, foreign diplomacy, public diplomacy, commander-in-chief, and official paperwork. In reviewing these variables a variety of case studies were assessed to see the frequency of each variable. These studies included the assessment of all 227 images published during President Bush's first term. The dates of publication were studied in total and also segregated into categories including the first 100 days President Bush was in office, the month following the September 11, 2001 attacks, the days during the Invasion of Iraq in 2003, and finally a breakdown from each year from 2001-2005. The three most frequent variables were domestic luminance, speechmaking, and foreign policy. The three least frequent variables were public diplomacy, commander-in-chief, and official paperwork.

#### Domestic Luminance

Domestic Luminance is defined in this study as meeting with any cabinet member, congressional member, past president or state political officer of the United States. Images of the president and the first lady or other family members were

representative in this section. In terms of the visual portrayal of Bush's presidential performance, domestic luminance stands out as one of his strengths.

When President Bush is portrayed visually in the media meeting with other important national decision makers he is keeping up a pattern of presidential performance. The domestic luminance of President Bush increased after times of crisis in the United States. For example, during the first month after September 11, 2001 Bush was shown in images performing his duties as president with nationally recognized officials on the front page of *The New York Times*. Bush was shown meeting with other national decision makers, particularly his vice-president and cabinet advisors. The pattern is of a shared power at the national level. The images link President Bush to his cabinet—his advisors. This furthers the image of Bush as a president who seeks advice and is willing to discuss the crisis at hand. He is visually portrayed as a president who participates in efforts to resolve problems by seemingly consulting with other powerful people who represent the American public.

Bush's performance within the realm of domestic luminance is again shown a little less than two years after the 9/11 attacks when the United States went to war. This unilateral act occurred with much hesitation and with the distaste of many national and international organizations including the United Nations. The official dates for the invasion of Iraq are March 20, 2003 to May 1, 2003. During this time period only four images were shown of Bush on the front page. Of these four images half were of him meeting with his cabinet members.

What may be more important is the sheer lack of images. One might expect that the president would have been seen more with military people during this time of war

(thus boosting his Commander-in-Chief performance), but such is not the case—at least in *The New York Times*. This may highlight one of the shortcomings of this research. One might conclude that, with only four images collected during the Invasion of Iraq, there was a lack of mediated images in this six week time period. But if we were to expand the research to include other media forms (television, magazines, the Internet) or international newspapers, the findings might have been much different.

Election years are another category in which one sees domestic luminance performance come to the fore. In 2002 and 2004 the number of images of President Bush meeting with other political officials is far greater than any other time. Congressional midterm elections occurred in 2002. During this time the Republicans had the opportunity to control Congress. Therefore, it is not surprising that the pattern of images of President Bush seen with other statesmen is almost half of all images collected throughout that year. The necessity of a political party to maintain a dominate presence in Washington results in this pattern of domestic luminance performance. The same can be inferred during 2004, when President Bush was running for re-election. The pictorial representations of him and other politicians again represent almost half of all images collected during that year.

#### Speechmaking

“He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union...” (U.S. Constitution, Article II, Section III). The Constitution specifically states that the President will make a speech on the state of affairs in the country. Everything from economics to social policies to foreign affairs is addressed in this speech. However, at no time is it ever assumed by a president or a candidate for president that the State of

the Union be the only speech made while holding the office. Press conferences, summits, charity functions, and fundraisers all represent areas to which a president can perform his role as a speechmaker. Not only can a president make speeches during these times, they also represent great opportunities to be photographed and create an image of performance. The press tends to be respectful when the president participates in a ceremony that involves his role as a symbol of the nation's identity, like giving the State of the Union address (Paletz, 2002).

According to Paletz (2002), the media serve as a transmitter of the president's addresses and press conferences. The subject of George W. Bush's presidency is no exception. Overall, speechmaking imagery is second only to portrayals of domestic luminance. In President Bush's first 100 days in office, then, images of him making speeches actually out number images of domestic luminance and are second only to images of foreign diplomacy. This is interesting for a president who has been roundly criticized for his speaking ability. In 2003 and 2004 one again sees a preponderance of speechmaking images. Whether or not this was a tactic used by The White House to boost Bush's image for being a "good" speaker is left for speculation. Surely, such a strategy could backfire if he continually performed badly as a speechmaker. Why then did the media continue to show his making speeches? One possibility is that the public demands such communication with its leader, so the media depict him doing it. Another possibility is that he was attempting to improve his speechmaking ability. In addition, by delivering speeches, the president is furthering the image that he is performing his duties.

Not only does giving speeches show the president performing his duties it also represents a pattern. The Research Question asks if President Bush is shown performing

his duties as president. However, once it has been established that he has, the question arises as to why. Obviously, the President has something to say, but what is it? Is there a pattern in his speech performance? Yes. The years 2001, 2003, and 2004 represent significant years in George W. Bush's career as president. In 2001, America was attacked. In 2003, American forces invaded Iraq, and in 2004 President Bush ran for re-election. Possibly to console and comfort or to reassure that American public in times of war and terrorism, in each of these years, President Bush participated frequently in speechmaking. In the month following the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks on the World Trade Center, the president was on the cover of *The New York Times* on nine occasions, nearly half of which were images of him making a speech. Also, during the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the president was photographed four times and exactly half of those images were of the president making a speech. During 2004, 18 of the 60 images collected of the president show him participating in speechmaking. It is possible to infer that the president shows a pattern of speech making that corresponds with crisis. Both the events in 2001 and 2003 represent U.S. involvement in crisis situations. Although re-election may not appear as a crisis, in my opinion it is, as President Bush's loss in the 2004 election would mean the loss of Republican control in the White House as well as the many legislative and policy possibilities constructed by his administration resulting in a crisis for his party.

### Foreign Diplomacy

“...[H]e [the president] shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers...” (U.S Constitution, Article II, Section III). Similar to speechmaking, the necessity of the president to act as a foreign diplomat is explicitly defined in Article II. In this study,

President Bush's performance in his role as a foreign diplomat was one of the three most frequently seen images—third overall behind domestic luminance and speechmaking.

But there were times when this sort of imagery of his performance dominated the front page of *The New York Times*. One of those times was during the first 100 days Bush was in office when we see a greater amount of foreign diplomacy imagery of him than any other sort of imagery. Is this due to issues and news of an international nature, or was the president simply seeing more dignitaries from around the world during this time who might have simply have been wishing him well in his new administration? Or was there a concerted effort to “create” this sort of imagery for the press in order to boost his weak foreign policy image? Further research will be needed to examine these questions and the issues surrounding them.

Then there was also a dramatic jump in the number of foreign diplomacy images in 2003. This finding might be attributed to the “War on Terror.” It is possible that this increase in foreign policy performance is due to turmoil and unrest in the Middle East, yet analysis from the cases studied during the dates of the invasion of Iraq or just after 9-11 show no images of the president with foreign leaders. It is possible to argue, as discussed above, that the lack of images of Bush as a foreign diplomat is the result of poor foreign diplomacy. Or it could be indicative of his administration's unilateral stance in regards to waging war on Iraq. The findings could be for any or all of these reasons.

In 2004 the percentage of foreign policy images decreased to only six images for the whole year. Meaning only 10% of all images collected of the President represented him performing his role of foreign diplomat, a 25% decrease.

## Public Diplomacy

This study defined Public Diplomacy as the president meeting with his constituents, the American people. It is further defined as talking or communing with everyday Americans, campaigning to the people during elections like kissing babies and shaking hands. Overall, this was the fourth most frequent kind of front page imagery of the president's performance. The majority of these images were collected during the campaign season of 2004, Bush's re-election year. Election years and campaigns are very important events in the life of a public politician. "More than ever before, journalists can influence the selection of candidates and issues" (Graber, 1997, 232).

According to Graber (1997), the character of a candidate has become the prime consideration when selecting a candidate at the presidential level. In the past party allegiance, social grouping allegiance, and importance of the issues were the prime considerations. However, with the influx of media into everyday life voters are bombarded with sound bites, interviews, and images of the candidates in their living rooms. Voters can see how candidates are performing and make choices based off of what they see (Graber, 1997). Images of President Bush meeting with his constituents represent a pattern of leadership. He used more media time to be seen with the American people during his re-election year than at any other time analyzed in this study.

According to Paletz (2002) "regularity enhances credibility" (p.70). Images of President Bush performing tasks of domestic policy showed an upward trend in 2002, possibly because it was a midterm election year for Congress. This pattern is one between leader, both of the party in the majority and of the country, and performance.

## Commander-in-Chief

Paletz (2002) reminds us that the public has a great many expectations of Presidents. As discussed with previous variables, Presidents have to face numerous expectations as foreign and domestic diplomats as well as appear to be sympathetic to the concerns of their constituents. The president also has several expectations within the realm of military commander-in-chief policy.

“The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and the militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States...” (U.S. Constitution, Article II, Section II). The Constitution is very clear as to the President’s role in military matters. Yes, while the power to command in some ways is limited, the President is not able to enact a formal declaration of war without the approval of Congress. However, Presidents may choose to aide other countries with U.S. military troops, weapons, and other supplies, as was seen with President Clinton during the Bosnian Conflict and again with President Bush during the Invasion of Iraq. In both instances a formal declaration of war was not evoked by Congress.

In terms of visual leadership what is the relationship between the President, the media and the military? Based on the data in this study it is noted that there is little pattern to be found. One would think that during a national or international crisis the President would choose to be photographed with military advisors and soldiers thus, offering a persuasive performance that he is completing his task as commander-in-chief. However, based on the data collected, the Commander in Chief variable was consistently one of the least frequent variables coded even after September 11, 2001, a national crisis.

During the first 100 days of President Bush's administration only one photograph was of the president with any type of military personnel. Furthermore, during the month following 9/11 Bush wasn't found to be in any photographs with military personnel. In fact throughout all images collected in this study of President Bush he was seen with military personnel on only 21 occasions, less than 10% of the time. This presents the idea that Bush may not have followed a pattern of performance in a crisis situation with regards to his role as the commander-in-chief. However, later in his term (between the dates of March 20, 2003 to May 1, 2003) an image of the president was found on the front page of the New York Times on four different occasions. Of these photographs, half were of the president and military personnel. Unlike the situation with September 11, 2001 the president may have determined that the necessity to be associated with the military within the realm of the media was positive considering this international situation was the creation of his administration. Though the invasion of Iraq is not viewed in this study as a crisis situation it is seen as a international incident and so a pattern may immerge between visual imagery and military strength when U.S. Armed Forces are mobilized for a conflict.

#### Official Paperwork

Similar to the expectations that the public has for presidents when it comes to roles such as commander-in-chief, the President is expected to be the chief legislator and work diligently to create, pass, and veto various legislation. The image of presidents signing new legislation have become a ceremony and photo opportunity for the press. However, while it may be a staged arena to performance images it projects the idea that the president is performing his duty as chief legislator. The official paperwork variable

in this paper was not limited to simply signing legislation but also to establish a pattern as to whether or not the president was seen reading newspapers or keeping up on current events.

In this study few images collected were of the president participating in official paperwork and the images were dispersed throughout the four year data collection. One image was collected within the first 100 days of Bush taking office which could depict the pattern that he started working on legislation right away. Another image was collected in 2001 outside of the first 100 days. No images were coded to the variable official paperwork were obtained in the month following September 11, 2001 or during the Invasion of Iraq. Two images were collected in 2002 and the last image was collected in 2004. This could resemble the pattern found in the domestic policy variable that the president is attempting to express a more leadership performing role during election years.

Graber (1997) explains “candidates like actors depend for their success as much on the roles into which they are cast as on their acting ability” (p.232). Unlike many of his predecessors who constantly were seen reading President Bush is rarely photographed signing legislation or reading any kind of document. Presidents such as Bill Clinton and John F. Kennedy were famous for images of them reading all kinds of material from novels, to White House briefs, to legislation itself throughout there terms of office. According to data analyzed in this study it appears that Bush’s pattern of performance was more of being visibly associated with legislation during election years than other times in his presidency.

## Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to watch President Bush as he was visually represented through photographic images presented by the media, specifically the print media of *The New York Times* newspaper. His performance in his job as president is a different question and one not addressed in this study, and this study was not to espouse a political statement other than to answer the question as to whether or not President Bush was visually seen in accordance with the guidelines set forth by the Constitution. The data documents his appearances and demonstrate that Bush's presidential performance was depicted in each of his roles as defined by the Constitution, but some roles were more often depicted by others. Due to the events of September 11, 2001 and the subsequent Invasion of Iraq, Bush's presidency changed from one of domestic focus to the international "War on Terror." This resulted in a shift in imagery from public policy to domestic luminance, commander-in-chief, and foreign policy. The frequency of his image in these roles, including the role of speechmaking was reflected *The New York Times*.

While Bill Clinton exemplified domestic luminance by making each person he spoke with feel as though they were the only one in the room, Bush only demonstrated domestic luminance during times of crisis by meeting with his advisors behind the scenes. Similarly, Clinton and Reagan were superior speechmakers while Bush struggles to speak well and convey his philosophies to the public. Reagan and Kennedy were often seen making speeches during their presidencies. Some memorable speeches made by these presidents were of Kennedy after the Bay of Pigs Invasion and Reagan at the Berlin wall. President Bush also is often seen performing his speechmaking role during and

after times of crisis. For example, the month after September 11, 2001 and the six weeks following the Invasion of Iraq. Also during this period Bush is seen meeting with foreign diplomats and seen convey messages of foreign policy. Bush's public diplomacy is greatly enhanced during election season as depicted in imagery from his election campaigns.

There are several limitations associated with this study and a few have already been discussed. One of the major shortcomings was that it was limited to only reviewing photographs published in *The New York Times*. Comparison with other news media imagery may have provided different results. Additionally a comparison of images of Bush and images of another president such as Bill Clinton may show differing presidential performances.

#### Future Research

Future research in the area of presidential performance and presidential imagery could replicate this study using another president and presidential administrations and a comparison between administrations could be assessed with this method of research. The validity of this study would be enhanced if such research was conducted.

In addition, future research may want to analyze how variables relate to each other, meaning assessing photographic imagery that contain more than one visible variable. In order to accomplish this, a future study on this subject may need to broaden the definition of the variables as well as the scope of the project and analyses the content of the images in greater detail.

Media is an extremely important mode of information transportation in today's world. This study limited its scope to watching the President perform his duties through mediated images. However, media outlets choose what stories to cover. Further, they choose which images to portray on the covers of newspapers and magazines. Future research should examine agenda setting from the media perspective. Rather than focusing on how the President uses the media as this study did. It would be interesting to study how the media uses the President.

APPENDIX A

CODING SHEET

Bush's Image of Presidential Performance

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Vertical Position:  top  middle  bottom

Horizontal Position:  left  middle  right

Speechmaking:  mic  podium  crowd present

Commander-in-Chief:  military

Domestic Luminance:  senator  congressperson  governor  Cabinet

former president  U.S. Flag

other elite \_\_\_\_\_

Public Diplomacy:  male  female  baby

Foreign Diplomacy:

Official Paperwork:  signing

reading

APPENDIX B

Sample Images

**The New York Times**

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 17, 2002

**CONGRESS PASSES BILL TO CLEAN UP ELECTION SYSTEM**

**FEDERAL ROLE EXPANDED**

**Debate After Florida Debate, S.S. Offers States Money and New Standards**

BY ROBERT FEAR

WASHINGTON, Oct. 16 — Congress passed a major reform of the federal election system today, a bill that would require states to meet new standards for their primary responsibility, but Congress is setting minimum standards that would prevent any state from falling behind.

The bill, H.R. 1, was passed by a vote of 217 to 205 in the House of Representatives. It would require states to meet new standards for their primary responsibility, but Congress is setting minimum standards that would prevent any state from falling behind.

**NORTH KOREA SAYS IT HAS A PROGRAM ON NUCLEAR ARMS**

**U.S. Not Certain It Has the Bomb — 'Belligerent' Tone Noted**

BY DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON, Oct. 16 — Confirmed by new American intelligence, North Korea has admitted that it has been conducting a major program for the past several years to build a nuclear weapons capability. Officials believe that North Korea has also admitted that it had a "breakthrough" in 1994 agreement with the United States to freeze all nuclear weapons development in 1994.

North Korea's surprise revelation which contradicted the Bush administration's claim that it had no nuclear program, was a major blow to the administration's policy of "strategic patience" with the regime. The revelation also raised the possibility that North Korea might have a nuclear weapons program, a possibility that the United States has long denied.

**Indonesia Links Muslim Group With Terrorism**

BY LAWRENCE BROWN and JANE PERLEZ

JAKARTA, Indonesia, Oct. 16 — The Indonesian government, under pressure from the United States to act decisively against terrorism, has today linked a Muslim group to a series of bombings in Jakarta, Indonesia, a terrorism hot spot.

The government said that the group, which it named "Jemaah Islamiah," was responsible for a series of bombings in Jakarta, Indonesia, a terrorism hot spot.

**Bush Garner Little Support At U.N. for an Attack on Iraq**

BY JULIA PERLEZ

UNITED NATIONS, Oct. 16 — The Bush administration's push for an attack on Iraq has found little support in the Security Council, where the United States has a veto.

The administration's push for an attack on Iraq has found little support in the Security Council, where the United States has a veto.

**INSIDE**

**Congress Puts Off Budget**

**Debate After Florida Debate, S.S. Offers States Money and New Standards**

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**Congress Puts Off Budget**

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**INSIDE**

**Congress Puts Off Budget**

**Debate After Florida Debate, S.S. Offers States Money and New Standards**

Plate 1: Domestic Luminance



What's Not to Print

# The New York Times

Late Edition  
New York: Today, partly cloudy and mild, high 61. Tonight, partly fog, low 55. Tomorrow, sunny and warm, high 70. Yesterday, high 63, low 45. Weather map and details are on Page A12.

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20, 2001

It beyond the greater New York metropolitan area

75 CENTS

## More Than 100 G.I.'s in Afghan Ground Raid

### New Anthrax Infections Found; Previous Cases Share Same Strain

By JENNIFER STEINHAUER

Two more cases of anthrax were identified in New York City and Florida yesterday in a second postal worker in Trenton hospitalized and an employee of The New York Post, who has been taking antibiotics for fever for a cut finger, learning she had been infected.

In addition, executives at The New York Times said that an envelope mailed in New York City and stored at its offices in Rio de Janeiro had shown traces of anthrax in laboratory tests, again broadening areas where contaminated letters have been sent.

Federal officials also announced today that the anthrax found at the office of NBC in Manhattan, Senator Tom Daschle in Washington and tabloid publisher American Media in Florida share the same strain as the bacteria, indicating that the virus could all have come from a single source.

At the same time, the officials took it to point out that the form of anthrax found in Mr. Daschle's office, not appear to be the extremely virulent form that is restricted to rural use in the United States and is, according to tests.

The tests to date have concluded the strains are indistinguishable, said Tom Ridge, director of Office of Homeland Security, they're very — they are similar," added. "The tests have shown

that these strains have not been quoted, unquote, weaponized."

It was unclear whether Mr. Ridge was reversing or rejecting earlier descriptions by law enforcement officials and senators that the anthrax found in Mr. Daschle's office was a very potent form that could infect many.

Investigators also continued to pursue leads in the Trenton area, where the contaminated letters were mailed to Senator Daschle and to Tom Brinkaw at NBC. Yesterday, investigators said they had processed the mailbox from where a letter faced with anthrax was sent to Mr. Brinkaw, and more than 100 agents swept around these streets looking for clues in who might have sent it.

As the number of infections grow, the weight and number of cases of anthrax spread to a fourth country, dozens of tests came back negative, findings that officials need to demonstrate that each anthrax attack, so far, has not infected many citizens or amounted to widespread exposure.

The New York State Health Department officials said yesterday that environmental and naval swab samples taken at ABC, where a television producer's baby appears to have been infected by anthrax, have

Continued on Page B7

### Drug Maker Seems Uncertain In Response to Cipro Frenzy

By EDMUND L. ANDREWS

RANKFURT, Oct. 19 — Few companies have seemed as unprepared as Bayer A.G. was when the nation to anthrax attacks transpired its antibiotic Cipro into the "I" sought-after pharmaceutical.

Cipro, the most visible drug approved to treat anthrax, has now a household name almost overnight. Distributors and pharmacies have been swamped with orders, and politicians are fretting that it cannot deliver enough.

At Manfred Schneider, the German company's chief executive, has to make any public comment on the issue. Instead, the company is using on vice presidents in the United States to announce a tripling production and issue repeated notices that the company can meet needs for the drug on its own.

Company executives say they have been reluctant to appear to be promoting a product in a time of crisis.

As a result, public relations executives say the company has appeared a detached. And that proved costly.

On Thursday, the Canadian health ministry (outside Bayer's patents) ordered security one million tablets from a manufacturer of generic Cipro to recover. Bayer offered to donate 200,000 tablets for the emergency to give to "front-line" health-care workers, officials said.

The company also offered to donate 200,000 tablets to the Canadian government, officials said. It had never been

The United States has not followed Canada's approach. But today, Tommy G. Thompson, the secretary of health and human services, said that he was negotiating with Bayer and other drug companies to buy Cipro and other antibiotics that could be used to treat anthrax. [Page B8].

Late today, Bayer decided to take out its first full-page newspaper advertisement to reassure people. "Our commitment to the American public is clear," says the advertisement, which will appear this weekend in The New York Times and be followed by advertisements in other newspapers. "We will meet this

Continued on Page B8

### BUSH MEETS JIANG

#### Citing Support for War, President Plays Down Contentious Issues

By DAVID E. SANGER

SHANGHAI, Oct. 19 — President Bush said here today that "support is near unanimous" among Pacific Rim nations for both the military strikes in Afghanistan and the broad war he has declared against terrorism. But to cement the anti-terror coalition, he spent his first day in China playing down a series of contentious issues with his hosts and with the president of South Korea.

At a joint news conference this morning with President Jiang Zemin of China, Mr. Bush made no mention of his missile defense plans, which China has opposed, and alluded only briefly to differences with Beijing over Taiwan, China's military buildup and its treatment of dissidents.

The Chinese, perhaps wary of how the first meeting with a new American president would play out, did not broadcast the news conference live, and when excerpts finally ran on local television tonight, they were edited to remove any hint of criticism of Chinese policy.

The meetings with Mr. Jiang, a prelude to the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum beginning on Saturday, included formal talks earlier today and lunch at a Communist Party guest house on the edge of Shanghai. Officials familiar with those closed sessions described the interaction between the two leaders as gracious but without much warmth. And it was unclear whether China's promise to share intelligence on terrorist groups would prove of much value.

"This wasn't like the first meeting with Putin," a senior official said tonight, referring to Mr. Bush's declaration that he had looked into the eyes of President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia and seen a man he could trust. "It was quite scripted."

Mr. Bush's declaration that Asian countries had overwhelmingly endorsed his strategy came as his aides were trying to toughen language in a statement on terrorism scheduled to be issued on Saturday.

The statement, as now drafted,

Continued on Page B4



Presidents Bush and Jiang Zemin before a news conference at a Shanghai guest house. The sign reads, "Farrington's Market."

### A Direct Engagement

#### Insertion of Ground Troops Demonstrates Willingness to Risk American Casualties

By MICHAEL R. GORDON

WASHINGTON, Oct. 19 — The United States Army raid carried out tonight in the start of a dangerous but potentially decisive stage of the war in Afghanistan.

Unlike the attacks the United States has mounted so far, this nighttime assault was not carried out from a sanctuary in the air. It involved what Pentagon officials call direct combat: the insertion of ground troops into enemy territory in Afghanistan.

The goal was not to occupy territory, but to move by helicopter into the enemy's lair, complete the mission and quickly leave. It is expected to be the first of many raids by Special Operations forces in the weeks and, perhaps, months ahead.

The Army Ranger raid, carried out on the outskirts of the southern Afghan city of Kandahar, the stronghold of the Taliban regime, is as important for its symbolism as for its tactical objectives. It shows the Taliban, al Qaeda terrorist network and the entire world that the United States is not afraid to take the fight against terrorism to the ground.

Just today, editorialists at The Times of London opined that the United States seemed too enamored of its high-tech air power and reluctant to expose its troops to close combat. Today, the military delivered a different message.

The multidimensional assault not only involves cruise missiles, laser-guided bombs, gunships and proxy forces within Afghanistan. It also includes American soldiers who are ready to spill their own blood, which the Pentagon indicated occurred tonight.

In past conflicts American casualties have often generated political opposition at home, but polls have shown the American public overwhelmingly backs not only military operations in Afghanistan but the use of ground forces, and the public seems to have shed its expectations of a casualty-free operation.

For weeks, it had been widely expected that United States Special Operations Forces would strike after American and British forces had softened up the opposition from the air. There was no possibility of a

### NIGHTTIME ASSAULT

#### 2 Die in Helicopter Accident at Pakistan Base — Taliban Site Is Hit

By ERIC SCHMITT and STEVEN LEE MYERS

WASHINGTON, Saturday, Oct. 20 — American ground forces mounted a helicopter and gunship assault into southern Afghanistan Friday night and early today in a risky nighttime raid that opened a new phase in America's war on terrorism, military officials said.

More than 100 Army Rangers and other special forces swooped down by helicopter on at least one main military target on the outskirts of Kandahar, the spiritual headquarters of the Taliban and headquarters of Mullah Muhammad Omar, the Taliban's leader.

Two American military personnel were killed in a helicopter accident related to the mission as the helicopter returned to its base in Pakistan, the Pentagon said. Two military officials said the two troops killed were crew members aboard a search-and-rescue helicopter on stand-by in support of the raid. The craft never entered Afghanistan. The United States has about 250 Marines stationed at a Pakistani base in Jacobabad, 200 miles southwest of Kandahar, for search-and-rescue missions.

There were no immediate reports of casualties from the raid in Afghanistan itself, but officials cautioned that they still did not have a complete accounting of the troops involved.

Today in Shanghai, President Bush praised the soldiers and reiterated the nation's resolve.

"The thing that's important for me to tell the American people is that these soldiers will not have died in vain," the president said during a joint appearance with the Japanese prime minister, Junichiro Koizumi. "This is a just cause."

Officials in Washington suggested that the commando raid was not the only mission conducted, and that covert operations against undisclosed targets had also taken place. AC-130 gunships typically support such raids, and the military has also mobilized MC-130 Combat Talons, a Special Operations aircraft that carries troops and is heavily armed.

The Pentagon did not disclose the precise target of the raid, but military officials said the size of the airborne assault was intended to send a psychological and political signal as well as to attack a militarily significant objective. One Pentagon official said a goal of the raid was to flush out Taliban leaders and soldiers, to gain intelligence on the enemy.

After 13 days of aerial bombardment across Afghanistan, the helicopter assault marked the first of what will likely be a series of raids aimed at demonstrating to the Taliban and Mr. bin Laden, as well as America's allies, the seriousness of Washington's resolve to combat terrorism.

The attack came as President Bush and Secretary of State Colin L. Powell were monitoring the situation from Shanghai. Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld had flown to his ranch in Texas, N.M., after spending the day visiting Whiteman



Plate 3: Foreign Diplomacy.

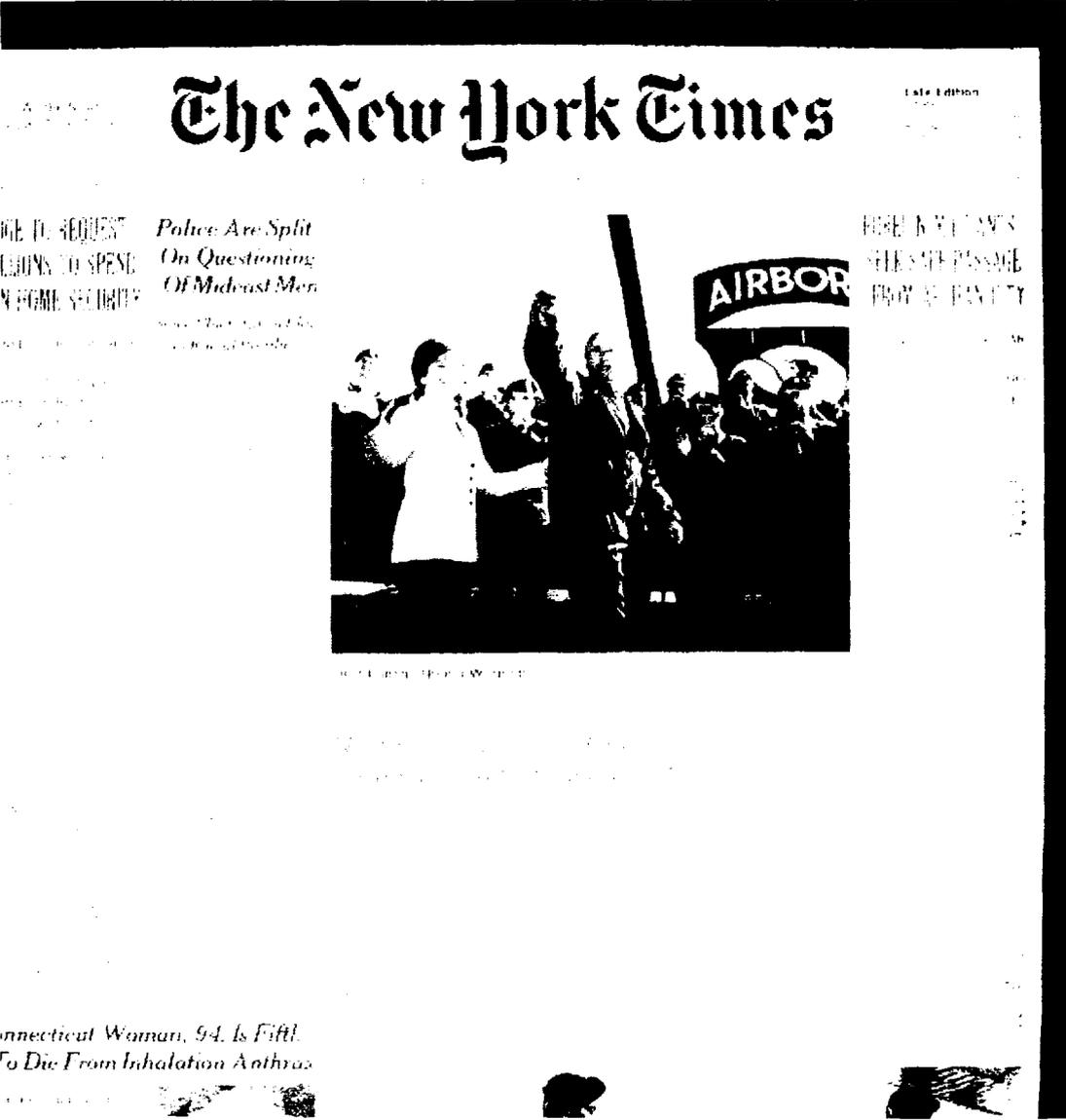


Plate 4: Commander-in-Chief.

"All the News  
That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

Late Edition  
New York Today, rain ending, cooler, high 58. Tonight, mostly clear, low 46. Tomorrow, some sunshine, breezy and cool, high 63. Yesterday, high 78, low 67. Weather map is on Page D6.

L.C.L.I. No. 52,122

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 18, 2002

11 beyond the greater New York metropolitan area

75 CENTS

## Vatican Lawyer Says Bishops Should Not Reveal Abuse Claims

### in Favor of Objection to Handling of Scandal in U.S.

By LAURIE GOODSTEIN

Influential canon lawyer at the Vatican has written an article to be published today in a Vatican-approved Jesuit journal saying that Roman Catholic bishops should not turn over allegations or records of sexual abuse by priests to the civil authorities. The article in the magazine *Civiltà* by the Rev. Gianfranco Ghirlanda, dean of the canon law faculty at Gregorian University in Rome, is the second indication in weeks that inside the Vatican, initial Church officials may disavow the response of American bishops to the abuse scandal. Last week, the head of a Vatican canonical court, Bishop Julián Herranz, also said he believed bishops should not be required to turn over records on abusive priests to prosecutors.

News Service report of the article. In the article, Father Ghirlanda also wrote that a priest who is reassigned to a new parish after being treated because of a history of sexual abuse should not have his "good reputation" ruined by having his background revealed to the new parish. It would be better simply not to place the priest in a new parish if the bishop lacks confidence about the priest, Father Ghirlanda said. Bishops have also been sued in civil court for failing to remove abusive priests, but Father Ghirlanda wrote, according to a translation from the Italian by the Catholic News Service, that from a canonical point of view, the bishop or religious superior is neither morally nor legally responsible for a criminal act committed by one of his clerics. However, he wrote, if a bishop knew of accusations and failed to investigate, or if he failed to remove a known abuser from the ministry, then under canon law he would have some legal and moral responsibility. The article takes issue with another practice that has become common for American bishops handling accusations of sexual abuse by priests. For more than 15 years, the bishops have been sending accused priests to clinics to be evaluated by therapists and to undergo treatment. Father Ghirlanda wrote that an accused priest should not be forced to take psychological tests because it is a violation of his right to privacy under canon law. The 12-page article by Father Ghirlanda was published in the journal *Civiltà* on May 17. The article is available at [www.vatican.va](http://www.vatican.va).



President Bush called Washington "the kind of place where second-guessing has become second nature."

## BUSH AND HIS AIDES ACCUSE DEMOCRATS OF SECOND-GUESSING

### MRS. CLINTON SINGLED OUT

#### New Attention on 1999 Report That Foreshadowed Terror Attacks on Sept. 11

By ELISABETH BUMILLER  
and ALISON MITCHELL

WASHINGTON, May 17 — The White House began an aggressive attack on Democrats in Congress today as President Bush tried to contain the political fury over a warning he received last August that Osama bin Laden might be planning a hijacking. On a day in which the political war over the August warning spread across the capital, Ari Fleischer, the White House spokesman, took direct aim at a favorite Democratic target of Republicans, Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton of New York, and accused her of trying to undermine the administration in a speech she made on the floor of the Senate on Thursday questioning how much the president knew before the Sept. 11 attacks.

Mr. Bush also made his first, brief public comment on the matter, saying of Washington that "unfortunately, it's the kind of place where second-guessing has become second nature." The president added, during a ceremony in the White House Rose Garden, that "had I known that the enemy was going to use airplanes to kill on that fateful morning, I would have done everything in my power to protect the American people."

Nonetheless, the White House still found itself on the defensive once again today, this time over a 1999 report commissioned by a federal intelligence agency that eerily foreshadowed the Sept. 11 attacks.

"Suicide bomber(s) belonging to Al Qaeda's Martyrdom Battalion could crash-land an aircraft packed with high explosives into the Pentagon, the headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency or the White House," the report said.

The report, titled "The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism," was prepared by the Library of Congress for the National Intelligence Council, an interagency group that oversees intelligence analysis throughout the government. The report, which has long been public, based its analysis largely on the fact that in 1995, a similar plot by a group of Islamic militants based in the Philippines who were linked to Al Qaeda was foiled.

The White House marshaled a host of resources, including Laura Bush, in its political offensive. Mrs. Bush was in Budapest this morning but issued a two-paragraph statement, an unusual action for a first lady who has largely stayed out of politics. "I think it is very sad that people would play upon the victims' families' emotions, or all Americans' emotions," Mrs. Bush said, adding that "I know

Continued on Page A10

## INSIDE

### Bias Claims at Allstate

A federal agency has concluded that Allstate Insurance discriminated against about 650 agents, requiring them to convert from employees

## F.B.I. Knew for Years About Terror Pilot Training

By PHILIP SHENON

WASHINGTON, May 17 — The F.B.I. had been aware for several years that Osama bin Laden and his terrorist network were training pilots in the United States and elsewhere around the world, according to court records and interviews at flight schools and with federal law enforcement officials. The F.B.I. knew by 1996 of a specific threat that terrorists in Al Qaeda, Mr. bin Laden's network, might use a plane in a suicide attack against the headquarters of the C.I.A. or another large federal building in the Washington area, the law enforcement officials acknowledged. But the officials said the Federal Bureau of Investigation had discounted the possibility of a suicide attack using planes, partly because it had largely failed to draw together evidence gathered piecemeal over the years that Al Qaeda pilots were training here. Last week, the F.B.I. acknowledged the existence of a memorandum written last summer in which an agent in its Phoenix office urged his superiors to investigate Middle Eastern men who had enrolled at American flight schools and who might be connected to Mr. bin Laden. However, the Phoenix memorandum was not the first warning that terrorists affiliated with Al Qaeda had interest in learning to fly. In his 1996 confession, a Pakistani terrorist, Abdul Hakim Murad, said that he planned to use the training he received at flight schools in the United States to fly a plane into C.I.A. headquarters in Langley, Va., or another federal building. Mr. Murad, who was captured in the Philippines in 1995 and convicted in New York on charges of conspiring to blow up 12 American jumbo

### Bureau Failed to Share Its Findings, and to Connect the Dots

jets over the Pacific simultaneously, received flight training at schools in New York, North Carolina, California and Texas. Information from Mr. Murad's confession formed a basis for an analysis prepared for United States intelligence agencies in 1999. The analysis warned that bin Laden terrorists could hijack a jet and fly it into government buildings like the Pentagon. Additionally, a flight school in Oklahoma that provided training last year to Zacarias Mouassoui, the so-called 20th hijacker in the Sept. 11 attacks, had been under scrutiny by the F.B.I. in 1996 after the discovery that another former student had been linked to the bombing that year of two American embassies in East Africa, attacks attributed to Al Qaeda. The school, the Airman Flight School in Norman, has cooperated with the F.B.I. Congressional investigators say they are only now compiling a detailed chronology of what was known

Continued on Page A10

## Survivor of '63 Bomb Recalls Loss of Shards and a Sister Lost

By RICK BRAGG

BINGHAM, Ala., May 17 — Collins Rudolph, even with one less, can still see the morning 15, 1963, can see it sharp and an still see four pretty girls, his sister, Addie Mae Coltrane, in the church basement minutes before they were on the stairs and sing with the ups in the choir at 16th Street Church. He can see the water running over year-old hands as she washed the ladies lounge, see a 14-d Addie Mae fusing with the Denise McNair, who was just still played with dolls. He can see them all there, framed basement window — Addie Denise, Cynthia Wesley and Robertson, just before the hook and the glass flew at her eyes like backshot. She could not see at all, he heard by the shrapnel, and she he darkness and called: "Addie? Addie?" Mrs. Rudolph's account here of the bombing of the 16th Baptist Church, prosecutors their case in the state murder Bobby Frank Cherry, the 71-d white supremacist who is d to be the last living suspect in the act of evil. She could finally see again, he operations and the band- and the loss of her right eye, Addie could see that it was

walked back to her chair, sat down and folded her arms, and began to wait — as she has waited for 39 years — for a little more justice in a case that began back when a young, wavy-haired man named Bobby Frank Cherry first became one of the F.B.I.'s prime suspects in an investigation that sputtered and stumbled across four decades. Just a few hours before, another prosecution witness had described a slightly older Mr. Cherry, a man who had left the Klan behind in Alabama in the 1970's and moved to Texas to open a carpet cleaning business — and brag to relatives about the day in Alabama that he struck a historic blow for white supremacy.

Teresa Francesca Stacy, Mr. Cherry's wife, said she had seen him in the 1970's and moved to Texas to open a carpet cleaning business — and brag to relatives about the day in Alabama that he struck a historic blow for white supremacy.

Continued on Page A9

## Drug Maker to Pay \$500 Million Fine For Factory Lapses

By MELODY PETERSEN

The Schering-Plough Corporation announced yesterday that it had agreed to pay \$500 million to the federal government because of its repeated failure over the years to fix problems in manufacturing dozens



Drug Maker to Pay \$500 Million Fine For Factory Lapses

## Plate 5: Speechmaking.

shortly before the bombings. Israeli officials reported that they had held "pleasant but serious" and productive preparatory talks with the Palestinians for the prime ministers

Continued on Page A5

crafted bombs tended to be bulky, usually made from discarded artillery shells with a detonator wired to a garage door opener or doorbell. Attackers laboriously buried or hid the homemade bombs along roadways between midnight and dawn.

ber and last week appointed a new cabinet.

It is assumed that Mr. Putin will select his successor in 2008 when he reaches the two-term limit.

Article, Page A3.

has alienated America's closest allies by pointing to Mr. Aznar as a courageous example of a leader who ignored poll numbers — upward of 90 percent of Spaniards opposed the war — and who acted in Spain's best interests.

Only last week several senior members of the administration said they fully expected that his conservatives would emerge victorious. In fact, months ago a senior advisor to Mr. Bush predicted that should a terrorist attack occur in Europe, it would probably drive the Europeans closer to the United States and its approach to the campaign against terror, not away from it.

So on Sunday evening administration officials scrambled to hide their disappointment. Secretary of State Colin L. Powell, leaving for India, declined to respond publicly to the Socialists' victory, and the White House drafted a positive-sounding

Continued on Page A13

INSI

## U.S. Videos, for TV News, Come Under Scrutiny

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON, March 14 — Federal investigators are scrutinizing television segments in which the Bush administration paid people to pose as journalists praising the benefits of the new Medicare law, which would be offered to help elderly Americans with the costs of their prescription medicines.

The videos are intended for use in local television news programs. Several include pictures of President Bush receiving a standing ovation from a crowd cheering as he signed the Medicare law on Dec. 8.

The materials were produced by the Department of Health and Human Services, which called them video news releases, but the source is not identified. Two videos end with the voice of a woman who says, "In Washington, I'm Karen Ryan reporting."

But the production company, Home Front Communications, said it had hired her to read a script prepared by the government.

Another video, intended for Hispanic audiences, shows a Bush administration official being interviewed in Spanish by a man who identifies himself as a reporter named Alberto Garcia.

Another segment shows a pharmacist talking to an elderly customer. The pharmacist says the new law "helps you better afford your medications," and the customer says, "It sounds like a good idea." Indeed, the pharmacist says, "A very good



MADE FOR TV Segments the government produced for local news programs praise the new Medicare law and feature Tommy G. Thompson, secretary of health and human services, top left, and President Bush.

istration describes as a made-for-television "story package."

In one script, the administration suggests that anchors use this language: "In December, President Bush signed into law the first-ever prescription drug benefit for people with Medicare. Since then, there have been a lot of questions about how the law will help older Americans and people with disabilities. Reporter Karen Ryan helps sort through the details."

The "reporter" then explains the

als last month when they were looking into the use of federal money to pay for certain fliers and advertisements that publicize the Medicare law.

In a report to Congress last week, the lawyers said those fliers and advertisements were legal, despite "notable omissions and other weaknesses." Administration officials said the television news segments were also a legal, effective way to educate beneficiaries.

Gary I. Kohn, senior deputy

### Kentucky and Tennessee At Top in Tournaments

Kentucky received the overall No. 1 seeding in the N.C.A.A. men's basketball tournament, while Tennessee was top-seeded over all among the women. St. Joseph's, Duke and Stanford gained No. 1 seedings in men's regional play. Penn State, Duke and Texas were No. 1 in the women's regionals. UConn, the defending women's champion, was No. 2 in the East. SPORTSMONDAY, PAGE D1

### Legal Tangle in Mississippi

A federal indictment of a Supreme Court justice, two former judges and a lawyer suggests that Mississippi justice is built on cozy relationships and fueled by bribes. PAGE A14

FOR NAME OR PHONE CALL LINDA MYRBER

### Plate 6: Official Paperwork.

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