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Did White House reporters defer to the President after September 11?

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DID WHITE HOUSE REPORTERS DEFER TO THE PRESIDENT AFTER
SEPTEMBER 11?

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Mass Communication

in

The Manship School of Mass Communication

by
Jodi Bannerman
B.A., Auburn University, 2000
August 2004

Dedicated to limiting the sugar, spice, and everything nice in the makeup of little girls.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	ix
ABSTRACT.....	x
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
2 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	4
3 METHOD.....	17
4 RESULTS.....	23
5 DISCUSSION.....	37
6 CONCLUSION.....	40
REFERENCES.....	42
APPENDIX	
A PRESS QUESTION CODE SHEET.....	46
B CODE SHEET INSTRUCTIONS.....	47
C TOTAL NUMBER OF QUESTIONS, TOTAL NUMBER OF QUESTIONING TURNS, AND TOTAL NUMBER OF QUESTIONS WITH PREFATORY STATEMENTS.....	49
D INITIATIVE (PART I) TOTAL NUMBERS: TOTAL QUESTION COMPLEXITY (QC).....	50
E INITIATIVE (I) PERCENTS: QUESTION COMPLEXITY.....	51
F INITIATIVE (PART II) TOTAL NUMBERS: TOTAL QUESTION CASCADES AND FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS.....	52

G INITIATIVE (II) PERCENTS: QUESTION CASCADES AND FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS.....	53
H DIRECTNESS TOTAL NUMBERS: OTHER-REFERENCING FRAMES (OR) & SELF-REFERENCING FRAMES (SR).....	54
I DIRECTNESS PERCENTS: OTHER-REFERENCING FRAMES & SELF-REFERENCING FRAMES.....	55
J ASSERTIVENESS TOTAL NUMBERS: PREFACE TILTS AND NEGATIVELY FORMULATED QUESTIONS.....	56
K ASSERTIVENESS PERCENTS: PREFACE TILTS AND NEGATIVELY FORMULATED QUESTIONS.....	57
L HOSTILITY TOTAL NUMBERS: PREFACE HOSTILITY, GLOBAL HOSTILITY, AND ACCOUNTABILITY.....	58
M HOSTILITY PERCENTS: PREFACE HOSTILITY, GLOBAL HOSTILITY, AND ACCOUNTABILITY.....	59
VITA.....	60

LIST OF TABLES

1. Total Questioning Turns and Total Questions by Month.....	23
2. Total Questioning Turns and Total Questions Relative to September 11.....	23
3. Total Number of Question Complexity Features.....	25
4. Total Percentages of Question Complexity Features.....	25
5. Total Number of Question Cascades.....	26
6. Total Percentages of Question Cascades.....	26
7. Total Number of Follow-Up Questions.....	26
8. Total Percentages of Follow-Up Questions.....	27
9. Total Number of Other-Referencing Question Frames.....	27
10. Total Percentages of Other-Referencing Question Frames.....	27
11. Total Number of Self-Referencing Question Frames.....	28
12. Total Percentages of Self-Referencing Question Frames.....	28
13. Total Number of Yes-No Questions with a Preface Tilt.....	29
14. Total Percentages of Yes-No Questions with a Preface Tilt.....	29
15. Total Number of Negatively Formulated Yes-No Questions.....	29
16. Total Percentages of Negatively Formulated Yes-No Questions.....	30
17. Total Number of Preface Hostility Questions.....	30
18. Total Percentages of Preface Hostility Questions.....	30
19. Total Number of Global Hostility Questions.....	31
20. Total Percentages of Global Hostility Questions.....	31
21. Total Number of Accountability Questions.....	31
22. Total Percentages of Accountability Questions.....	31

23. Foreign Policy and Congress Question Complexity Features.....	32
24. Foreign Policy and Congress Question Cascades.....	32
25. Foreign Policy and Congress Follow-Up Questions.....	33
26. Foreign Policy and Congress Other-Referencing Question Frames.....	33
27. Foreign Policy and Congress Self-Referencing Question Frames.....	33
28. Foreign Policy and Congress Yes-No Questions with a Preface Tilt.....	33
29. Foreign Policy and Congress Negatively Formulated Yes-No Questions.....	34
30. Foreign Policy and Congress Preface Hostility Questions.....	34
31. Foreign Policy and Congress Global Hostility Questions.....	34
32. Foreign Policy and Congress Accountability Questions.....	34
33. Trends in Question Design Feature Results.....	36

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Questioning Turn Percents: Chronological Month v. Time Period Relative to September 11.....	24
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ABSTRACT

This study's primary focus is to determine if the White House press corps acted more deferential to President Bush and his agenda after September 11, 2001, and if so, to see how long the period of decreased adversarial relations lasted. This purpose is accomplished through a content analysis of 37 White House press briefings, conducted by then White House Press Secretary Ari Fleischer, examining press-briefing questions three months before, on, directly following, and three months after September 11 according to four dimensions of adversarial relations: initiative, directness, assertiveness, and hostility. Ten question design features comprise the criteria to measure each dimension, and ultimately, to measure the degree to which the press acted more deferential or adversarial toward Fleischer after the September 11 attacks.

Overall, the study's results show the White House press corps asked similar questions before and after September 11. Though deferent questions soared to the sample's highest levels on September 11, the press corps not only maintained its pre-September deferential/adversarial relations with Fleischer in the weeks following September 11, but it became even more adversarial. By December 2001, deference increased and adversarial relations decreased, but not by more than 10 percent of what they were before September 11. This group of press members, in touch with the highest-ranking political officials and newsmakers, initiated more direct, assertive, and hostile questions following the momentous domestic shakeup of September 11, 2001.

Contrary to many reports, this study found the press to be more aggressive than normal in their questioning in the two-three weeks following the attacks. This information begs bigger questions, which may serve for continuing areas of study: If members of the White House Press Corps were asking more adversarial questions following September 11, why didn't their increased adversarial tone make it into the headlines of national newspapers, broadcasts, and magazines? Is there a correlation between questions the media ask sources and what gets into the news? Does the press question's agenda have any bearing on the news agenda?

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Background Information

The events of September 11 set “an historic precedent for media cooperation with the White House to suppress information” (Lawrence, 2003) when the major news networks agreed, per President Bush’s request, to limit using footage of a tape supposedly containing hidden messages from bin Laden (Carter & Barringer, 2001, p. A1). Following an October 10, 2001, conference call from National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, executives of the five major television networks—ABC News, CBS News, NBC News, the Cable News Network, and the Fox News Channel—agreed to “broadcast only short parts of any tape issued by Al Qaeda and to eliminate any passages containing flowery rhetoric urging violence against violence. They agreed to accompany the tapes with reports providing what they called appropriate context. They also agreed to avoid repeatedly showing excerpts from the tapes” (Carter & Barringer, p. A1). Rice did not demand that the networks censor the tapes because “a demand would have sparked a backlash by journalists. A request, however, implicitly recognized that the media would make their own choices, while calling on them to use more restraint” (Elder, 2001, ¶ 4).

Does the top network’s compliance with the government’s censorship request suggest the press was susceptible to the intense emotion that shocked and temporarily united all Americans in a newfound, rallying patriotism, or was it simply responsible journalism? Is there another explanation, or does a combination of many factors best explain the media’s behavior? This study cannot prove the media’s motive for acting as they did on and after September 11; however, by testing the extent, if any, to which the White House media deviated from the norm of their relationship with White House Press Secretary Ari Fleischer following September 11, this thesis entertains and examines potential societal consequences of an overtly symbiotic press-government relationship.

An analysis of media questions from press briefings with Fleischer before, on, and after September 11 seeks to determine the extent to which the media’s agenda and the president’s agenda were the same after September 11. Scholars have different opinions regarding whether reporters or powerful political officials have more power in setting the news agenda. Measuring the changes in adversarial relations during the press briefings can empirically test whether the media behaved deferentially toward Fleischer and President Bush’s agenda following September 11. While September 11 is an extreme case in press-president symbiosis, Gaye Tuchman said in “The Exception Proves the Rule: The Study of Routine News Practices” that one may learn about the customary situation by examining the structure of an exceptional case (1977, p. 43).

Primary Research Question and Importance of Research

The primary purpose of this study is to answer the following question: Was the White House press corps more deferential to President Bush and his agenda post-September 11, and if there is evidence of the press corps becoming less adversarial, how long did it last? This research is important to journalism because it facilitates discussion

not only on a hot political topic but also on the preservation of Americans' individual freedoms. "If the media allow politicians to set the public agenda, they may unduly narrow public discussion and so diminish democracy" (Schudson, 2003, p. 5). The social importance of this study lies in its analysis of the relationship between the media and powerful political sources with the First Amendment freedoms of American citizens. The literature review examines the press's role in democratic society and explores how this role affects the news agenda and the availability of information in America's marketplace of ideas.

The exploration of this issue is a summary and a continuation of the knowledge and thoughts my professors have shared through the political communication curriculum at Louisiana State University's Manship School of Mass Communication. Of all the ideas shared, the importance and necessity of educated debate and informed discussion in the maintenance of democracy radiates. If the media comply with the government and fail to report opposing viewpoints or ask unpopular questions for fear of being labeled "unpatriotic," First Amendment freedoms are at risk without the vast public being aware of the danger. This research is one of the first studies conducted using a method developed by Clayman and Heritage (2002)¹ to measure adversarial levels of journalists' questions during interviews or press conferences. Unique political, social, and emotional circumstances surrounding the September 11 attacks present a rare environment to study the effects an imbalance in the adversarial relationship between the media and top political sources has on the news agenda, and in turn, on a democratic society.

From this study, media professionals may better understand the media's adversarial role in determining the news agenda by examining the benefits and losses incurred during power shifts between the media and powerful political officials and the effects symbiotic news and political agendas have on American democracy. Media professionals can see the effects of the lack of the adversarial relationship when complying with the government in extreme situations and have an opportunity to reflect on the long-term potential costs of those reporting decisions. A practical application of this thesis would be for the professional community to view patriotism as a potential bias in balanced reporting that could endanger the journalism profession's credibility and purpose in American society.

Definition of Terms

Adversarial Relations—"The adversarial aspect of president-press relations is an elusive quality, difficult to quantify...However, the adversarial relationship appears to be a well-established fact of life" (Kernell, 1997, p. 92). The adversarial relationship "should pivot on an assumed-to-be-abiding conflict of interest between themselves (journalists) and politicians. Journalists should never be 'in the pockets' of the latter" (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1981, p. 470). Varying degrees of symbiosis or deference balance the adversarial relationship.

¹ Two references to Clayman and Heritage works from 2002 are included in this study. Because their article, "Questioning Presidents: Journalistic Deference and Adversarialness in the Press Conferences of U.S. Presidents Eisenhower and Reagan," appears frequently throughout this thesis and is cited as "(Clayman & Heritage, 2002)." Their book, *The News Interview*, is cited as "(Clayman & Heritage, 2002, *The News Interview*)."

Agenda Setting—"The mass media attention to an issue causing that issue to be elevated in importance to the public" (Severin & Tankard, 1997, p. 219) and to political elites.

Deference—"Respect and esteem due a superior or an elder; *also*: affected or ingratiating regard for another's wishes" (Merriam-Webster Online).

Frames—Ideas supplying a suggested context for news content through the use of "selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration" (Severin & Tankard, 1997, p. 287).

Interviewee—Person being interviewed by the press, referring especially to the president or the press secretary.

Powerful Political Actors/Powerful Political Sources—"Individuals who play a role in national activities" including "political, economic, social, or cultural figures" or "holders of official positions or powers behind thrones who play no official roles" (Gans, 1979, p. 8). Political elites are those who speak on behalf of politicians, as opposed to those who speak on behalf of the public.

Press Briefing—"An act or instance of giving precise instructions or essential information" (Merriam-Webster Online). White House press briefings are conducted by the White House press secretary.

Press Conference—"An interview or announcement given by a public figure to the press by appointment" (Merriam-Webster Online).

Limitations/ Rationale of Study

This research is narrowed to focus on differences in the media's actions before September 11, 2001 compared with actions after the event. Analysis of the content of press briefing questions from three months before, on, directly following, and three months after September 11 and examining literature and events involving the media's actions prior to and following September 11 provides insights to important questions regarding the media's behavior toward the president following the terrorist attacks. Many speculations may be and have been made about post-September 11 media patriotism and its threat to democratic society and endangering of the First Amendment. This study aims to establish facts regarding behavioral changes in the White House media's relationship with Fleischer following a national crisis and to assert whether the media's behavior changed and for how long in the wake of September 11.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview of Literature Review

Understanding the process of negotiating the news establishes a basis for understanding how shifts and tensions in the press-powerful political source relationship may affect how news is made. A widely accepted theoretical framework to evaluate press-state relations is missing from research literature, (Bennett, 1990, p. 103) but the review examines philosophies, models, and methods used to understand more clearly how the media and powerful political actors interact with each other. This study specifically examines the role of the question's agenda in determining adversarial or deferential relations in the press-political source relationship. Because the method for examining the question's agenda is new, available research in this area is limited. Much information is yet to be discovered on the question's agenda; however, examining what is known on agenda setting and media framing theories helps to determine main schools of thought from which hypotheses can be made on possible changes in the relationship dynamics between the press and powerful political actors following September 11, 2001.

Agenda setting deals with who makes the news and provides a context for establishing the balance of the press-source relationship and how the news agenda is set. Framing theory in this study is used to examine how the media interact with powerful political sources in how they frame their questions during press briefings. Based on a study by Clayman and Heritage (2002), specific frames in the delivery of press questions may indicate adversarial relations and/or deference between the press and powerful political sources. While most literature deals with frames within the text of news material, this study looks at phrases within sentences to measure the effects of question frames on the press-source relationship. To understand further the media's relationship with powerful political sources, it is necessary to examine the press's role in American democratic society. If changes in media behavior occur following September 11, the meaning of these changes is not significant without knowledge of press role ideologies as well as realities about the media's purpose in the United States today. A massive national crisis like September 11 may account for unifying, patriotic rallying behavior between many groups of individuals (Mueller, 1973), and this review examines the crisis phenomenon and its potential effects on the press-source relationship after September 11.

Agenda Setting

In the process of news negotiation, sources and press members establish agendas, which are lists of items, issues, or ideas by order of importance, "with the most important at the top" (Severin & Tankard, 1997, p. 240). Agenda setting is "a casual hypothesis suggesting that media content has an influence on the public perception of the importance of issues" (Severin & Tankard, p. 229). The media-powerful political source interaction dynamic, which is thought to determine issue salience, public opinion, and the news agenda, is a popular research focus. Does the president influence the media's agenda or do the media influence the president's agenda? Where does public opinion specifying what issues Americans deem important fit into the equation?

The media are able to facilitate the agenda-setting function through repeated news coverage, which raises the issue or event's awareness and importance in the public's mind. All news events, however, are not created or reported equally, and different news events and issues affect agenda setting in different ways. Powerful executive officials have a "fundamental advantage" in dealing with the media because "their activities sit so high on the media's agenda of subjects to cover" (Grossman & Rourke, 1976, p. 457). This gives powerful political actors agenda-setting power by putting them in positions to exchange news for publicity (Grossman & Rourke). Agenda setting as an outcome of media-source interaction also raises questions about how or if public opinion and democratic values are represented in the public news agenda (Herbst, 1998).

The Media Agenda and The President's Agenda

The media's coverage of news and the questions they ask their sources during unique events like September 11 may have a greater impact on the public than in ordinary times. Agenda setting is most successful when individual audience members process and evaluate the information and are able to identify with and retain the information.

Yagade and Dozier (1990) found abstract issues like the federal budget deficit and the nuclear arms race are less likely to affect agenda setting because they are conceptually more difficult for the public to visualize than are concrete issues like drug abuse and energy. Emotion-evoking issues and issues individuals feel personally can affect their immediate environments and have a high chance of dominating the news agenda because they are easier for the public to comprehend and gain interest. If the public feels strongly about and gains interest in an issue of which the public know little, however, it will depend more on the media for information (Zucker, 1978).

When highly visible events occur and spawn issues demanding government attention, the public agenda more easily is set because the issue's salience in the news makes it a priority for both the media and the government. Because of the relevancy and the uncertainty surrounding the terrorist attacks on September 11, the public have a higher need for orientation and are more susceptible to agenda-setting effects (Weaver, 1977). With individuals at the mercy of their television sets and daily newspapers for information, the media have great power and responsibility in reporting. The media's news, however, is contingent on the information they receive from the White House and other authorized sources.

"One very likely choice for an influence on the media agenda is the president of the United States. He is the number one newsmaker in the country and has a capability of getting his message into mass communication not available to many others" (Severin & Tankard, 1997, p. 233). Even though the president's message is likely to be directly influential to a mass audience, the media play an important role in elevating the message's importance on the agenda through repetition and exposure. Wanta and Miller (1995) conducted an experiment to see if the president's or the press's agenda left a greater impression on a public audience. The team analyzed issues President Clinton stressed in one of his State of the Union addresses and also analyzed issues the media stressed about the address after it aired. Wanta and Miller asked respondents to answer a questionnaire regarding the event and the event coverage. The research team concluded combined exposure to the president's speech and the media coverage increased the

agenda-setting effect, but they speculate the president needs the media to explain his issues to the public for the issues to resonate as salient in the public's mind. They also found the public is most likely to understand and support the news agenda when it thinks the media are credible and when they believe the president is doing a good job in his leadership role. "The president actually needs the media to further highlight and explain the issues that he deems important" (Severin & Tankard, 1997, p. 235). The media, in turn, need the president to have information to report. "The news media do not just passively transmit information, reporting verbatim the words of a public official or conveying exactly the incidents at an event" (McCombs & Bell, 1996, p. 93).

The often mutual dependence between the White House and the press makes it necessary for the media and powerful political actors to form deferential relationships with each other. In the case of September 11, a small number of elite reporters comprising the White House press corps had direct access to the latest information through Fleischer's press briefings. "One of the important influences on the media agenda suggested by recent research is the content of other media" (Severin & Tankard, 1997, p. 232). Elite media, like the White House press corps, set the agenda for news outlets across the country and for many outlets worldwide. Aside from direct reports from the president, the American public was dependent on the media for information regarding terrorist threats and events, giving the media power over a public desperate for news.

Public Opinion and Indexing

To aid in building a theoretical framework in press-government relations, Bennett (1990) said it is first important to decide how the media should represent the range of public debate in news. Bennett proposed guidelines for press-state relations to establish a "generally accepted sense of how the range of public debate ought to be represented in the news" (p. 104). These guidelines include the press granting government the primary voice in the news unless a majority of the public disagrees with the voice. Bennett's "indexing theory" is the process by which credible sources are determined by journalists. "Modern public opinion can be thought of as an 'index' constructed from the distribution of dominant institutional voices as recorded in the mass media." The media have helped create an upside-down American democracy in which "governments are able to define their own publics and where 'democracy' becomes whatever the government ends up doing" (Bennett, p. 125).

The public plays a role in influencing news selection and issue salience, and it has a hand in deciphering the relative agenda-shaping authority of powerful political actors versus the media. The public's voice, when represented loudly, coherently, and in large numbers, can aid in setting the agenda. The repetitive news coverage media afford elite actors like President Bush is an alternative approach to measure issue salience, which means Bush's position as president alone has the power to push his causes to the frontlines of national news (Epstein and Segal, 2000). Another view suggests the media create public opinion more than they represent it. Herbst (1998) said the agenda-setting models in research literature are troubling because they separate the media and the public for analytical purposes, whereas in political circles, the two are thought of together. "The

phenomena of public opinion and mass media are largely conflated...and difficult to pull apart, either theoretically or practically” (Herbst, p. 5).

The dialogue the media generate depends on what the media report and reiterate through repetitive news coverage. Dialogue gives the media power in shaping the views of individuals. “There is evidence that the media are shaping people’s views of the major problems facing society and that the problems emphasized in the media may not be the ones that are dominant in reality” (Severin & Tankard, 1997, p. 239). The number of daily news events is too large for each person to follow individually, so the media’s decisions about what news to report often becomes the news that is important. “The media’s daily reports alert us to the latest events and changes in the larger world beyond our reach. Consequently, most of our world is a second-hand reality created by the news organizations” (McCombs, 1996, p. 93). Journalists limit the ranges of opinion and expression in the news for three reasons: they obtain information through their primary sources, which often are high government officials; professional journalism operating norms constrain expression; and journalists tend to be educated upper-middle class citizens with common opinions (Schudson, 2003, p. 3).

Regarding the relevancy of public opinion in the agenda-setting process, Herbst (1998) said many political actors and journalists think the public is ignorant about important political issues and events. Favorable public opinion polls support powerful political actors’ causes and reputations, but reporters and politicians rely on lobbyist groups or quantitative measures for a more accurate representation of public opinion. Walter Lippmann (1928) argued it is an “unworkable fiction” to assume the public is capable of absorbing the perplexities of world affairs. A collective public opinion is difficult to achieve because information barriers and press control of news exposure impede people from comprehending the vast amount of information needed to form an accurate public opinion. For this reason, Lippmann believes democracy is unattainable. Shaw and Martin (1992) suggested agenda setting allows the media to provide enough agreement on issues salient to the public to permit dialogue between conflicting views. “In this sense, agenda setting serves as a consensus-building device that permits democracy to work” (Severin & Tankard, 1997, p. 239).

Framing

Within the agenda setting theory, the theory of media framing plays a part in evaluating the media’s relationship with powerful political sources. Typically referring to how the media organize and supply news content to the public, framing theory may help to understand how news is processed by the public (Bleske, 1995). In most agenda-setting studies since the early 1970s, the media agenda and the public agenda consisted of public issues portrayed as set objects (McCombs & Bell, 1996). McCombs and Bell said, “Public issues are not the only set of objects. Communication is a process. It [the agenda] can be about any set of objects—or even a single object—competing for attention” (p. 105). Each of these objects has many possible attributes, or frames, varying in issue salience. The objects and the frames used “for thinking about those objects are powerful agenda setting roles” (McCombs & Bell, p. 106). Entman (2003) defined framing as the “central process by which government officials and journalists exercise political influence over each other and over the public” (p. 417). Entman said successful

political communication requires “the framing of events, issues, and actors in ways that promote perceptions and interpretations that benefit one side while hindering the other” (p. 417). Examining framing issues may lead to a better understanding of president-press relations.

The concept of media framing presents a new way to study the paradigm of media “objectivity and bias” (Hackett, 1984). Framing broadens and complicates a seemingly narrow issue. Instead of a news story having an obvious negative or positive spin, framing may “have more subtle—and powerful—influences on audiences than bias in news stories” (Severin & Tankard, 1997, p. 278). Frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies, and each of the four frame functions may be defined within text by a sentence or more (Entman, 1993). Since framing involves issue salience and selection (Entman), this study entertains frames as being powerful agenda influences in press questions as well as in news stories. Since news content and agenda forming stem from the relationships between media and powerful political actors, a more adversarial relationship between the two may lead to a shift in topic salience, which may redirect the news agenda.

The Question’s Agenda

Before the media direct news frames at an audience to further their agenda-setting influence on the public, the media have a preliminary agenda: the question’s agenda (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 750). The question’s agenda is the agenda of the interview, which may become the agenda of the news. Clayman and Heritage (2002, *The News Interview*) claim the interviewer’s, or reporter’s, questions set agendas for interviewees by three features of question design. “Questions set agendas by identifying a specific topical domain as the appropriate or relevance domain of response” (Clayman & Heritage, *The News Interview*, p. 196). They also set agendas by identifying the topic of a question’s response and indicating certain actions the interviewee should take in answering the question in relation to its topic. Third, questions facilitate the agenda-setting function involving decisions about how broad or narrow the interviewee’s response should be (p. 198). Clayman & Heritage’s (2002) study identifies 10 question design features influencing agenda setting and the question’s agenda, which are the focus of this thesis’s method and subject matter.

In interviews and press conferences, “the question’s agenda is derived straightforwardly from the President’s own previous remarks” (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 750). The question’s agenda is framed to evoke a particular response from the interviewee and may exhibit neutral, deferential, or adversarial content. Differences in press questions are often intuitively apparent but difficult to reliably measure. Clayman and Heritage devised a method to facilitate systematic comparisons of how journalists treat the president and other powerful political actors in news conferences and interviews. Measuring formal aspects of question design, the framing-defining elements of “selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration” (Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, & Ghanem, 1991) provide evidence of how the question’s agenda affects civility in the press-source relationship.

Clayman and Heritage (2002) found through measuring press-conference questions of Presidents Eisenhower and Reagan that reporters’ adversarial questions

increased with time and penetrated even the highest political office. Though little is known about what caused a decrease in deferential press questions over decades of presidential press conferences, their study shows, “the rise of adversarialness has transformed the presidential press conference into a formidable instrument of political accountability” (Clayman & Heritage, p. 772). Further research into this “domain of interaction” of the phenomenon of face-to-face adversarial interaction between journalists and powerful political actors may determine what events and issues cause adversarial relations in journalism and shifts in the press-source relationship. At the time Clayman and Heritage published their study, there were “as yet no systematic comparative or historical studies of news interviews or press conferences that bear on this [adversarial] phenomenon” (p. 752).

Clayman and Heritage (2002) said much research has been conducted on presidential press conferences and evolving president-press relations, however, “much of this research focuses less on the substance of what actually transpires within press conferences in favor of the institutional conditions under which they occur” (p. 752). The research team analyzed social norms and practices that are evident in news interviews and built journalism questioning research to form their innovative method. “The adversarial aspect of the presidential-press relations is an elusive quality, difficult to quantify, and the systematic evidence on the subject is inconclusive” (Kernell, 1997, p. 92). Smith (1990) agreed there is little methodic evidence to demonstrate the relationship between media and elite sources. Clayman and Heritage’s study is important and unique because it quantifies adversarial content as a reflection of adversarial press-president relations. Because there are no official rules and few accepted guidelines for establishing how policy makers and reporters relate to and use one another, Bennett (1990) said the best way to study press-state relations is to study their overt actions. Clayman & Heritage’s method, which guides this thesis, provides a method that may be used to construct a theory for how the press and powerful political actors relate to one another.

Cascading Activation Model in Foreign News Reporting

Entman (2003) advanced the concept of framing with a new model of the relationship between media and government in foreign policy making. The cascading activation model explains how frames activated by the White House administration either spread through the rest of the system or are contested by it. Frames begin with the White House and cascade down to link nonadministration political elites (other elites), the media, the text produced by the media (news frames), and finally the public. On the upswing, the public goes through the media to spread its ideas to the administration, and news frames capture the attention of other elites, who bring them to the administration’s attention. Entman exemplifies the remarks President Bush made after September 11, defining the attacks in “simple and emotional terms as an ‘act of war’ and identified its clear cause as an ‘enemy’ that was ‘evil’” (p. 415). The administration’s repetition of these terms was its framing strategy to “unite” the country in the wake of September 11 in the administration’s solution: a “war” against terrorism and military intervention in Afghanistan.

The success of gaining public support depended on the public’s acceptance of Bush’s emotional and compelling frames, “war,” “evil,” and “enemy,” which

“overwhelmingly dominated in the news” (Entman, 2003). These terms paired with repeated media reports and images of the World Trade Center bombing and collapse provided for high magnitude, high resonance framing (Entman, p. 417). “The atmosphere of patriotism of compassion created and/or reinforced by the repeated showing of these images may have had traumatic consequences in the media...by severely limiting, if not completely suppressing, plurality of media opinion in the weeks following the attacks. This phenomenon appears to have particularly affected mainstream American media” (Loersch, 2001, p. 32).

The elite opposition publicly supported the president’s plans in Afghanistan and joined in his fight against the “axis of evil.” According to the cascading activation model, the job of contesting the president is now left to the media. Influential foreign affairs columnist Thomas Friedman (2001a, 2001b) wrote two essays for the *New York Times*, based on a more extensive article by Hersh (2002), raising questions about Saudi Arabia’s links to terrorism to contest the administration’s stance that the Saudis are American allies. A content analysis of the Nexis domestic “Major Papers” library showed from October 1 through November 30, 2001, mentions of the terms “Saudi” and “terrorism/terrorist” within five words of each other got only 110 hits. The national media failed to pick up the story and “the counterframe did not spread across America’s news” (Entman, 2003, p. 425). Because counterframes did not “activate and diffuse on the news pages and in television news,” the vast public did not respond to the story, and elites, not feeling the pressure of a widely accepted counterframe, did not feel pressure to change their views.

“The attacks of September 11, 2001, gave the second President Bush an opportunity to propound a line designed to revive habits of patriotic deference, to dampen elite dissent, dominate the media texts, and reduce the threat of negative public reaction” (Entman, 2003, p. 424). Saudi Arabia frames do not “prove” the validity of Entman’s cascading activation model. Entman’s research findings support this thesis’s hypothesis of a majority of adversarial press questions being foreign policy questions. Because elite dissent from the president is needed to give the media a reason to be adversarial toward the president’s agenda, a majority of adversarial press questions are hypothesized to reference opinions of Congress members in opposition to the administration.

Adversarial and Deferential Relations in Press-Source Relationships

Every productive relationship between reporters and their sources is simultaneously adversarial and symbiotic, with a mixture of benefit and cost, adversary and exchange, stability and caution (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1981, p. 483). The adversarial exchange between policy makers and reporters keeps both groups alert and watchful of their interests, while maintaining a deferential-enough rapport to do their jobs productively. A mutual interest-serving press-source relationship provides a more reasonable expectation of media-political actor bond than the view of the press and president as adversaries. Grossman and Rourke’s (1976) exchange theory states, “The fundamental objective of both executive officials and the media in their exchange relationship is to establish a balance of trade that will be favorable to them” (p. 456). The exchange theory allows for more cooperation and collaboration than an adversarial relationship and accounts for fluctuation in the relationship. Kernell (1997) refers to this

exchange as bargaining. Blumler and Gurevitch built on Grossman and Rourke's findings:

When more cooperation between the two sides is observed, the reason must lie in the enlarged area of benefit that each expects to enjoy through collaboration with the other. If, on the other hand, cooperation declines and conflict increases, this is because the perceived benefits of withholding collaboration now outweigh the previous advantages of going along with what the other had proposed or was prepared to accept (p. 473).

In societies with competitive democracies, relationships between media and sources depend on a balance of power and "divergent interpretations of the media-source power balance lie at the heart of diametrically opposed views of the sociopolitical functions of mass communications" (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1981, p. 468). Like Clayman and Heritage (2002), Blumler and Gurevitch recognize that media-source relations are hard to define. Contrary schools of thought have scholars debating whether the media are subordinate to society's power holders or are themselves the power holders.

Because reporters are dependent on governmental sources for news and, the media must nurture source relationships to some extent. "(Beat reporters) must concentrate on stories that please their sources, since angering them may endanger their closeness or rapport, thus ending the reporters usefulness on the beat" (Gans, 1979, p. 133). Gans said beat reporters, like White House correspondents, must practice self-censorship to protect their relationships with needed powerful political contacts. Political sources, including the president, also work to maintain congenial relations with the press and are dependent on the press to disseminate their message. The relationship between the press and the president is complicated and often a balancing act because they are each other's best friend and worst enemy.

Policy Makers and Reporters as Top News Makers

Reporters have a considerable advantage over policy makers at shaping and packaging news once press events conclude and stories are written and broadcast; however, the media, being reliant on their official sources, are still shaping the policy makers' news agenda. Reporters may choose story angles, omit news from their lineup, and favorably or unfavorably frame political actors, and reporters do all of this story development based on the information they receive from elite sources. "News organizations are enormously reliant upon government officials and institutions to produce that product we call 'news.'...The range of views available in the news will tend to roughly reflect the range of views being advanced by politically powerful news sources" (Lawrence, 2003).

Presidential administrations and presidents as political actors become more media savvy and sophisticated as advancements in technology allow them more opportunities for public exposure. There is pressure for more publicity-oriented presidents like Bill Clinton and George W. Bush to be strategically wiser about their image than many past American presidents because they more than their predecessors routinely appeal directly to the public (Kernell, 1997, p. 3). Kernell said this lessens the need for bargaining, and it "rarely includes the kinds of exchanges necessary, in pluralist theory, for the American political system to function properly" (p. 3).

The media also are more publicity-oriented and aggressive because they are competing with hundreds of other media outlets to get the “scoop” and sell their stories. Technological and social advances in journalism and the presidency increase each one’s power to try to control the other. Kernell (1997) said, “Modern presidents are clearly opting for more controllable means to communicate their views to the American public” (p. 96), either by communicating directly to the public through television speeches or by decreasing the importance and number of White House press conferences. In turn, the press is more obtrusive and critical, making it its duty to insure that political actors justify and explain their tailored remarks about glossed-over issues. “Media scholars have consistently found that official sources dominate the news” (Schudson, 2003, p. 5). Bush’s prestigious leadership position as America’s president and prime policy maker demands him a spotlight of media coverage. According to Lance Bennett’s (1990) indexing theory, politicians’ leadership positions and pseudo-celebrity status designate them by reporters and the public as credible sources of information for news stories. Reporters vie for interviews, attend press conferences, and appear at staged political events to capture the moves and the words of powerful political actors. The more important political actors are in official circles, the more intense, frequent, and dramatic news coverage they will receive.

Other political communication critics and scholars hold different views, believing the media to be more than mere messengers of policy maker’s statements. This alternative view acknowledges the media as proactive and influential news-shaping participants with as much, if not more, policy-shaping power as the president has. In “The Fourth Branch of Government,” Douglas Cater said careers of top politicians often depend on the reporter’s willingness to cover politicians and politicians’ issues favorably. “The reporter is the recorder of government but is also a participant. He[/she] operates in a system in which power is divided. He[/She] as much as anyone, and more than a great many, helps to shape the course of government” (1959, p. 7).

The media still serve to keep powerful political actors “in check,” and are more than mere messengers of policy makers’ statements; they are proactive and influential news-shaping participants with policy-shaping power comparable to the high-ranking political officials. Careers of top politicians often depend on the politician’s ability to feed information to the press (Cater, 1959, p. 6). “The reporter is the recorder of government but is also a participant. He[/She] operates in a system in which power is divided. He[/She] as much as anyone, and more than a great many, helps to shape the course of government” (Cater, p. 7).

Relationship Changes in a National Crisis

The results of the cascading activation model from September 11 show the press allowed President Bush’s framed messages to dominate the news agenda. Understanding why the press and the public were so vulnerable to his frames may provide more insight into shifts in the press-powerful political actor relationship during times of national crises. “As Democrats are fond of pointing out, on September 10, 2001, Bush’s approval ratings were heading south. The events of September 11 gave him a stature that probably will never entirely dissipate, no matter how far down the ‘wrong track’ things get” (Halperin, Wilner, & Ambinder, 2003, ¶ 10). Mueller (1973) found Americans almost

invariably rally around their president in times of international crisis and/or threats to American interests.

A rally effect is “the sudden and substantial increase in public approval of the president that occurs in response to certain kinds of dramatic events involving the United States” (Hetherington & Nelson, 2003, ¶ 1). Rally effects are measured by changes in the president’s approval polls before the event compared to after the event. Bush’s rally effect lasted longer and was greater than former Presidents Franklin Roosevelt’s approval ratings after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, John Kennedy’s ratings after the Cuban Missile Crisis, and George Bush Sr.’s rise in public approval after the Gulf War (Gregg, 2003, ¶ 3). Bush’s “rally boost” ratings climbed an unprecedented 35 points after September 11. His approval ratings in the Gallop Poll soared to 86 percent on September 15, 2001, from 51 percent on September 10 (Hetherington & Nelson, 2003, ¶ 1). Until then, the greatest polling boost had been 18 points. Bush’s approval rating increased to 90 percent on September 22 (Hetherington & Nelson, 2003, ¶ 1), which the highest presidential rating ever recorded for a president (Morin, 2001).

When a president has a high approval rating, he gains more confidence from the American people and experiences less opposition from the press and Congress (Hager & Sullivan, 1994). “As a president’s professional reputation for competence and success as a leader improves, leadership competition within the governing coalition subsides” (Hager & Sullivan, p. 1084). The president, with less opposition from the media and other political elites, may use his visibility and reputation to generate presidential support and increase his reputation and prestige. “The public reaction to the recent terrorist attacks on U.S. soil provides a textbook example of the ‘rally around the flag’ effect. No longer was Commander in Chief George W. Bush a questionable president with anemic approval ratings; instead he has suddenly become the nation’s leader, supported by an overwhelming majority of the electorate” (Casey, 2002, ¶ 1).

September 11 was the beginning of Bush’s grace period with the media and the American public. “Conscious opinions [of newsmakers] generally change only in the wake of highly visible and traumatic events, for positions can then be altered without loss of credibility” (Gans, 1979, p. 200). September 11, for instance, left the nation vulnerable and emotionally overwhelmed. Reporters felt the shock and uncertainties of all citizens that had Americans uniting, not trying to cause even more grief. A more deferential and cooperating attitude toward the White House from the press in the wake of the event, therefore, would be understandable under the circumstances. President Bush’s sudden rise in public popularity, according to Gans’s theory, is in part because journalists changed their opinions of him, or at least curtailed them, after the attacks. If the media changed their actions after September 11, they may have been reacting to strings of positive stories written about the president and “responding to opinion change among large numbers of peers” (Gans, 1979, p. 200).

A national crisis is not the only factor that may contribute to changes in adversarial and deferential relations in press-powerful political source relations. September 11 is the focal point of this study to measure a change in press briefing questions, but the content of some questions may make them naturally more adversarial or deferential. For example, questions referencing the opinion or political stance of a Congressional member that differs from the opinion or political stance of the president

may make a question tense and may contain more adversarial qualities. Also, questions relating to foreign policy may allow for more adversarial questions.

The Reality of an Adversarial Press

A purely adversarial press role is impractical and “primarily ideological” (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1981) because the media could not get news on a routine basis if the source-press relationship was primarily adversarial. The adversary model of the press’s societal role is limited and “cannot provide a comprehensive normative guide to journalists’ behavior toward their political sources and contacts” (Blumler & Gurevitch, p.471). As discussed, long-term mutual rivalry would hinder journalists’ daily interaction with sources and sustenance of source relationships. “Perpetual war, hostility, and obstruction would only impede each side from the effective pursuit of any constructive political communication task” (Blumler & Gurevitch, p. 472).

Lawrence (2003) said two main images of the press dominate legal philosophy of First Amendment discourse rationalizing press independence: the press as ‘watchdog’ and as ‘marketplace of ideas.’ In the watchdog model, the press takes a skeptical and adversarial stance, counterbalancing government power by acting as a “fourth branch” of government free to scrutinize government on behalf of the people (Lawrence, ¶ 7). “In the marketplace of ideas model, the press must be free to offer a variety of viewpoints to the public” (¶ 3). Lawrence said neither model reflects real-world news practices, and the watchdog model even does little to encourage robust debate. While both models are valuable normative ideals, the watchdog model “looks quite unlike the symbiotic relationship of the institutional press and the institutions of government that is well established by empirical research” (Lawrence, ¶10). According to Lawrence, neither the marketplace model nor the watchdog model of press behavior account for how news filters the public’s diversity of perspectives.

The term, “adversarial,” has mixed reviews in available literature. George Stephanopoulos, former senior policy adviser to President Bill Clinton said, “The working, day-to-day political press is neither liberal nor conservative. They are adversarial” (Gardels, 1995, p. 23). Stephanopoulos indicated it is a noble American tradition for the press to show its autonomy by questioning the motives and actions of government officials. The intentions behind the tradition, however, may be more self-serving than protecting the public for democracy’s sake.

The media tend to cover conflict “as if it were a national past time. Disputes are aired not only on their merits, but also for entertainment value. Conflict is viewed as much more interesting than agreement” (Marks & Marks, 1999, p. 11). “Today it is fair to question whether the adversarial stance has gone too far in its obsession with conflict, controversy, and scandal” (Gardels, p. 23). Stephanopoulos said the adversarial press corps in Washington has a tendency, as a pack, to assume that all political actors act on political motives. This skeptical view of the government translates to the public. “The danger for society at large is that it becomes impossible to rally the nation around any great public purpose—except war” (Gardels, p. 24). The press’s absence of detachment and distance from mainstream news “has indeed transformed American journalism in ways that it, and the democracy it serves, can ill afford. Without detachment, identification with the nation’s leaders becomes the order of the day” (Insana, 2003, p. 7).

While detachment from government is desirable, “attempts to disconnect journalism and citizenship must be regarded with suspicion” (Insana, p.7).

Endangering Individual Freedoms

The Commission on Freedom of the Press (Leigh, 1947), known collegially as the Hutchins Commission, defined press freedom as freedom from coercion and freedom for the expression of opinion. Press responsibilities evolve, changing the expectations and functions of the press, and the press will always answer to someone or something to maintain its livelihood. According to the Hutchins Commission, the loss of press freedoms is a great loss for America. A free-as-possible press is imperative to protecting free speech, public debate, and democratic freedoms for all members of society. In the 1940s, the Commission announced press freedoms were in danger. Mass media limited individuals’ opportunities to express personal opinions through the press, and unethical press tactics warranted government restrictions (Leigh, 1947).

History has proven “any concept of press freedom must be grounded in the thought of its age” (Coleman, 1997, p. 61). As American society has technologically developed and changed its views on economic and political trends and moral philosophies, journalism has responded and grown with the culture. With masses of people screaming to be heard, the media represent only major points of view posed by the loudest and most powerful groups. Societal groups are becoming informed citizens of their own will and using the media as go-betweens instead of relying on them as watchdogs, as evident in the cascading activation model (Entman, 2003).

Press freedoms are diminishing because elite views dominate the news agenda, limiting balanced viewpoints, which the public needs to form its opinions and engage in the debate needed to search for truth, find common ground, and maintain a democratic state. September 11 provided the media an opportunity to open debate and lead discussion about the United States’ past support to brutal dictatorship in other countries, but the national press preferred to ignore topics opposing the patriotic wave (Konner, 2002; Entman, 2003). The immense coverage of the terrorist attacks left President Bush’s pre-September 11 debatable policies largely unattended by the media. Lack of news coverage on America’s numerous other crises may show “the news media, not less than politicians, have been swayed by the Bush Ultimatum ‘either you’re with us or for terrorism’” (Konner, 2002, ¶ 9).

Findings Summary and Hypotheses

Many studies in this literature review allude to the press’s declining role as government adversary. It is worth noting again that Clayman and Heritage’s (2002) study found increasing trends in adversarial relations over time. Increased media adversarial relations with powerful political actors send a message to the public that the press is autonomous and “willing to hold even the most elite agents of power accountable before the public, even if it fosters uneasiness among the public about the proper boundaries of journalistic professionalism” (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 772). The withdrawal of deference, however, “may be one contributing factor to rising skepticism regarding the presidency, declining social status accorded to that office, and a reduction

in the social distance separating the president from ordinary citizens” (Clayman & Heritage, p. 772).

Because of the lack of knowledge surrounding the immediate events of September 11, the press was more dependent on the president for news. The crisis gave elite political sources like the president more room to control the news agenda because such sources had a monopoly on the information. The rally effect literature suggests an elevated status of the president’s role during times of crisis. Based on this information, it may be inferred that the press may have been more deferent to the president and the president’s agenda on and directly following September 11. Though Clayman and Heritage’s (2002) study found an overall increase in adversarial relations between the press and the president from Eisenhower to Reagan’s administrations, a six-month time difference during Bush’s administration should not yield significant differences in adversarial relations from June 2001 to December 2001. If there is an increase in deferential qualities of press briefing questions directly following September 11, the change is not anticipated to be permanent.

This thesis examines whether the White House press corps was more deferential or adversarial to then Press Secretary Ari Fleischer during press briefings after the terrorist events of September 11, 2001, and thus more adversarial or deferential to the president’s agenda. Based on the studies, books, and articles in this review, a literature base has been formed to provide a base of information for its purpose. The literature base guides the study to test and address the following hypotheses:

H0: Press briefing questions from pre-September 11 and post-September 11 press briefings will contain no significant differences over time.

H1: Press briefing questions in the direct aftermath of September 11, 2001 (the latter press briefings of September) will contain more deferential press questions than questions asked before September 11.

H2: September 11 questions will be most deferential.

H3: Adversarial questions will increase from September 11 to the direct aftermath, and again from the direct aftermath to the December 2001 press briefings comprising the post-September 11 question phase.

H4: The number of questions related to foreign policy issues and questions referencing Congress or other powerful political elites will be proportional to the number of foreign policy and Congress questions demonstrating adversarial relations in press briefings.

CHAPTER 3. METHOD

Content Analysis

Clayman and Heritage (2002) developed a specific content analysis method to measure adversarial levels of questions journalists ask public figures during interviews and press conferences. The method of this thesis follows the content analysis coding method they created. Clayman and Heritage's innovative method of analyzing media questions builds on previous questioning research, but it is one of the first studies to quantify journalistic conduct during press conferences by focusing less on question content and more on formal question design features (Clayman & Heritage, p. 752-753). Clayman and Heritage's coding system measures the media's adversarial relations with the president through questions reporters asked Presidents Eisenhower and Reagan during press conferences. Clayman and Heritage analyzed four conferences per year for the four years of each president's first term in office. They compared their findings from each president's press conferences over a three-decade span to measure the differences in adversarial and deferential questions asked by journalists.

This thesis deviates from Clayman and Heritage's study by measuring press behavior during six months of a single president's term based on interaction with the president's press secretary. The Clayman and Heritage analyzing system is applied to questions asked by the media during press briefings held by White House Press Secretary Ari Fleischer before, on, and after the September 11 terrorist attacks to determine if the media behaved more or less adversarial toward Fleischer and President Bush's agenda after September 11 than before the attacks. The Clayman and Heritage analyzing system identifies four basic dimensions of adversarial relations—initiative, directness, assertiveness, and hostility—indicated by 10 distinct features of question design. Each adversarial question dimension has either two or three indicators, totaling 10. The press questions and prefatory statements are coded for each briefing according to the 10 distinct features of question design (see Appendix A and Appendix B).

Initiative is media aggression indicated by three question design features: question complexity, question cascades, and follow-up questions. Question complexity is characterized by elaborateness of the journalist's questioning turn, which is defined by simple questions, prefatory statements, multiple questions, and supercomplex statements. Simply, question complexity is measured in "units of talk," (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 754) which are the number of questions asked by a reporter in a single turn, and by prefatory statements reporters make before asking their question or questions.

Simple questions usually are one sentence and are the least elaborate type of question, lacking complexity. Prefatory statements provide background information and "can also be used to introduce information that is hostile to the president and to exert pressure for a response" (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 755). They also may make it "more difficult for the president to sidestep the question or offer, say, a simplistically rosy...response." Preface statements increase question complexity, exercising initiative. (Degrees to which a prefatory statement is hostile are examined in the adversarial quality of assertiveness). Multiple questions multiply demands on the interviewee, and

supercomplex questions combine multiple questions and prefaced statements to show initiative by increasing the complexity of the questioning turn.

Question cascades are a series of questions asking different versions of the same issue, “unlike the multipart questions...which raise separate and distinct issues for the president to address” (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 757). Cascades demonstrate initiative because the latter question or questions in the series “tightens or narrows the parameters of an acceptable response” (Clayman & Heritage, p. 757). Follow-up questions, the third initiative indicator, are additional questions asked because the reporter did not find the initial response offered to be adequate. The reporter fights for an extra turn, but because this turn is contingent on the speaker recognizing and calling on the same reporter, follow-up questions are an imperfect indicator of initiative.

Compared to Clayman and Heritage’s (2002) study, this thesis’s frequency of follow-up questions is more conservative in indicating and coding initiative. Fleischer typically allows reporters in his press briefings two questions each, compared to press conferences, where reporters “are typically restricted to just a single turn at talk” (Clayman & Heritage, p. 757). Therefore, in some cases press briefing follow-up questions do not signify as much initiative as do press conference follow-up questions. In addition, this study codes questions from transcribed briefings. Because the briefings identify a new question but do not state who is asking the question, it is not always clear whether a particular question is a follow-up. Often, however, Fleischer recognizes a reporter by name, a reporter states she or he is following-up on the previous question, or the wording of a follow-up question makes apparent that is a follow-up to the previous question.

The second adversarial dimension, *directness*, is media bluntness and straightforwardness indicated by two question design features: other-referencing questioning frames and self-referencing questioning frames. Because these frames display indirectness, mitigating the question’s forcefulness, directness is measured by questions that do not contain these frames. Other-referencing questioning frames give the president a choice in answering a question by engaging his ability or willingness, characterized by phrases like “would/will you” or “could/can you” followed by an action verb like “comment,” “explain,” or “tell.” “Although other-referencing frames generally are deferential, they are not all equally so—willingness frames are more deferential than ability frames” (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 760). Both frames, however, give the interviewee an “out.” Self-referencing question frames refer to the journalist’s intentions or motivations in asking a question, and they are characterized by phrases like “I wonder/ wondered/ was wondering,” “I want/would like to ask,” or “can/ could/ may I ask.” The “can/could/may I ask” questions are the most indirect and deferential because they ask for permission to ask a question.

Assertiveness, the third dimension, is media push for a particular response indicated by two question design features: preface tilts and negatively formulated questions. Preface tilts are prefatory statements involving either a hostile tilt or innocuous tilt on a question designed to evoke a yes/no response from the interviewee. Some prefaced statements are neutral and do not have a tilt toward a yes/no response. Hostile tilts are most adversarial and assertive, while innocuous tilts are not adversarial and actually can be favorable to the interviewee. Negatively formulated questions are highly assertive, including negativity in the actual question, not in the prefatory

statement, and evoking an unfavorable yes/no answer by the interviewee. Negatively formulated questions typically begin with phrases like "isn't it," "aren't you," or "don't you think that." "The tilt is so strong that speakers (reporters) are often treated as if they were making an assertion rather than merely asking a question" (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 765).

Hostility, the fourth and last adversarial dimension of question design, is media overt criticism of the interviewee indicated by three question design features: preface hostility, global hostility, and accountability questions. These features "reveal a substantially greater propensity for journalists to convey a critical attitude toward the president and his administration" (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 771). Preface hostility is evident in a prefatory statement directly and explicitly critical of the interviewee's policies, words, deeds, or previous statements. The hostile preface may be the focus of the question, for example, by containing critical statements in the preface and asking the interviewee to comment on the prefaced statements. The hostile preface also may presuppose the question. In this case, the question builds on the prefatory criticism but does not ask the speaker to comment on it. Presupposed prefaces are more hostile because "the prefatory criticism is treated as a given, becoming part of the presuppositional foundations of the question in such a way as to be less accessible to refutation" (Clayman & Heritage, p. 767). When the preface is the focus, the speaker has an opportunity to oppose it.

Global hostility is a combination of preface hostility and questions directly and explicitly critical of the interviewee's words, deeds, or previous statements. Follow-up questions without prefatory statements also may be globally hostile when they challenge the interviewee's remarks. Accountability questions, the third indicator of hostility, ask the speaker to provide a rationale for a given action or decision. According to Clayman and Heritage, the coding of hostility in adversarial questions requires the most judgment and interpretation compared to initiative, directness, and assertiveness because the "substantive content of the talk enters into the analysis" (2002, p. 776). "Accountability questions cast the president's conduct as at least potentially improper, while placing him in the position of having to defend himself" (Clayman & Heritage, p. 769). Accountability questions begin with the phrases "why did you?" and "how could you?" The "why" questions are more neutral, while the "how" questions are the more hostile variant.

In addition to coding questions according to the 10 question design features, press questions are categorized into foreign or domestic issues. Questions referencing differences between Congress and President Bush also are noted. Making a distinction between adversarial relations in foreign and domestic issues and in questions through which Congress objects to the president's actions may offer alternative reasons for some questions being more adversarial than other questions. If there is an increase in deference on and directly following September 11, it may be the result of factors other than the terrorist attacks. Considering outside constraints of press questions provides alternative reasons to prove why September 11 made an impact on adversarial relations between the press and the White House.

Subjects and Materials

This content analysis codes press questions from written transcripts of 37 Ari Fleischer press briefings, including eight press briefings from June 2001, 16 press briefings from September 2001, and 13 press briefings from December 2001. These briefings provide a sample of press questions asked in ordinary time, during a national crisis and its direct aftermath, and three months after a national crisis. Analyzing these three months of press questions indicates trends in increasing or decreasing adversarial relations between the media and press secretary. This study investigates whether the public mood after September 11 was such that reporters found it necessary to be more deferential and to demonstrate more patriotism than they do during normal time. As time elapsed, it could be anticipated that reporters return to their previous norms of press-source relations. This method is feasible and convenient for this project because the needed materials are readily available online at www.whitehouse.gov. The White House's website organizes press briefings by date, fully transcribed, and easy to download and print.

Time and Coder Reliability

With 370 pages of transcribed briefings and 10 variables to look for in each question, the question coding process is lengthy. Two weeks were needed to code the 37 press briefings by breaking the briefings into groups of two or three per day. Each briefing averages 10 pages and took at least two-three hours to code. Tallying, computing, charting, and converting into percents all of the coded data also take a considerable amount of time.

Clayman and Heritage's (2002) study establishes clear guidelines to enforce coder reliability, and this study strictly follows these guidelines to analyze data and produce valid information from the 2001 Ari Fleischer press briefings. A second coder ensures the primary coder's accuracy by analyzing randomly selected sequential pages of briefing questions. Of 98 question turns and features analyzed by both coders, 88 of these matched, with a coder reliability of 89.8 percent. To ensure reliability further, the primary coder reevaluated the first eight briefings coded to lessen the possibility that unfamiliarity with the methodology skewed the early briefing results.

Definition of Variables

Clayman and Heritage's (2002) study defined the following variables:

Accountability question—Indicator of media hostility; asks the interviewee to provide a rationale for a given action or decision.

Adversarial questioning—When members of the media show more initiative, directness, assertiveness, and hostility to powerful political sources through press conference questions.

Assertiveness—Dimension of adversarial relations; Media push for a particular response indicated by preface tilts and negatively formulated questions.

Deference—Members of the media showing less initiative, directness, assertiveness, and hostility and more respect and esteem to the president and powerful political sources through press conference questions.

Directness—Dimension of adversarial relations; media bluntness and straightforwardness indicated by other-referencing questioning frames and self-referencing questioning frames.

Follow-up question—Indicator of media initiative; used when journalists fail to accept a source's response as adequate, causing the reporter ask for more information to embellish on the initial question's response.

Global hostility—Indicator of media hostility; directly and explicitly critical remarks in both the journalist's prefatory statements and questions of the president's administration policies, words, deeds, or previous statements. Simple questions are globally hostile when they consist of follow-up questions challenging the president's remarks.

Hostile tilt—Preface tilt in a prefatory statement designed to be particularly damaging to the president.

Hostility—Dimension of adversarial relations requiring the most interpretation on the part of the coder; media overt criticism of source indicated by preface hostility, global hostility, and accountability questions.

Initiative—Dimension of adversarial relations; media aggression indicated by question complexity, question cascades, and follow-up questions.

Innocuous tilt—Preface tilt in a prefatory statement not designed to be damaging to the president and potentially favorably to the president.

Multiple question—Multipart question that multiplies demands on the interviewee.

Negatively formulated question—Indicator of media assertiveness; negativity in the actual question evoking an unfavorable yes/no answer by the president. Negatively formulated questions often begin with phrases like "isn't it," "aren't you," or "don't you think that."

Other-referencing questioning frame—Indicator of media directness referencing the president's ability or willingness to answer a press question often beginning with phrases like "would/will you" or "could/can you" followed by an action verb like "comment," "explain," or "tell."

Preface hostility—Indicator of media hostility; a directly and explicitly critical prefatory statements of the president's administration policies, words, deeds, or previous statements.

Preface tilt—Indicator of media assertiveness; prefatory statement involving a hostile tilt or innocuous tilt on a question designed to evoke a yes/no response from the president.

Prefatory statement—Elaborated preliminary statement preceding a question.

Question complexity—Indicator of media initiative; the elaborateness of the journalist's question turn characterized by simple questions, prefatory statements, multiple questions, and supercomplex statements.

Question cascade—Indicator of media initiative involving journalists asking the president different versions of the same question after receiving an initial answer.

Self-referencing question frame—Indicator of media directness referencing journalist's Intentions/motivations in asking a question containing the phases "I wonder/ wondered/ was wondering," "I want/would like to ask," or "can/could/may I ask."

Simple question—One-sentence question.

Supercomplex statement—Combines prefatory statements with multiple questions.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

Organization of Results

To examine the adversarial relations between the White House Press Corps and Ari Fleischer three months before, on, directly following, and three months after September 11, the data are organized by time period relative to September 11. Press briefing questions from June 2001, September 2001, and December 2001 constitute the data for this study, but because the first three briefings of September occur before September 11, these three briefings are included in the “pre 9/11” data along with the eight June briefings. The “9/11” data include the two briefings from September 11, and the “9/11 aftermath” data include the 11 remaining September briefings. “Post 9/11” data represent press briefing data from December. Because the crisis of September of 11 is hypothesized to change press-source relations, organizing the press question data by chronological order in relation to September 11 and not simply by chronological month makes the content analysis data more significant to the study’s purpose.

Organizing the data relative to September 11 instead of strictly by month also almost equally divides the questioning turns into thirds, with the exemption of the day of September 11. This makes the press briefing phases easier to compare (as demonstrated in Table 1, Table 2, and Graph 1). The press secretary answering or commenting on a reporter’s question or series of questions and/or statements distinguishes a questioning turn. Once Fleischer responds to a reporter’s inquiry, a new questioning turn begins with a new question or series of questions and/or statements by a reporter.

Table 1
Total Questioning Turns and Total Questions by Month

	Questioning Turns	%	Questions	%
June	536	25.32	642	23.31
Sept	876	41.38	1,147	41.65
Dec	705	33.30	965	35.04
Total	2,117	100	2,754	100

Table 2
Total Questioning Turns and Total Questions Relative to September 11

	Questioning Turns	%	Questions	%
Pre-9/11	691	32.6	832	30.2
9/11	31	1.5	40	1.5
9/11 Direct Aftermath	690	32.6	917	33.3
Post-9/11	705	33.3	965	35
Total	2,117	100	2,754	100

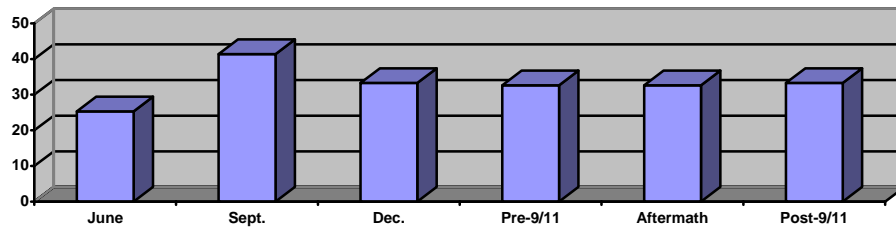


Figure 1
Questioning Turn Percentages: Chronological Month v. Time Period Relative to September

The four phases of press briefing data are categorized by each of the four basic dimensions of adversarial relations, initiative, directness, assertiveness, and hostility, to examine the effects of each of the 10 question design features that indicate adversarial relations. Within each of the 10 question design features, data pertaining to foreign policy press questions and questions referencing a Congressional member with a statement averse to the president's agenda are recorded. Numbers and percentages of foreign policy questions are represented in tables by the letter "F," and questions referencing Congress are represented by the letter "C." Each question is either a foreign policy or domestic affairs question. The number of domestic affairs questions is the difference between the total and the number of foreign policy questions. Percentages of domestic affairs questions are the difference between 100 and the percentages of foreign policy questions. A question referencing Congress may be either a domestic policy question or a foreign policy question.

Data for each of the 10 question design features are listed in three separate tables: one table of total numbers, a second table of converted percentages of those total numbers, and a third table (appearing in a separate section from the first two) detailing foreign policy questions and questions referencing Congress. Because each table contains multiple data, some columns are bold type to distinguish them as the table's primary focus. Data to the right of a bold column are components of that bold column. Bold-column data are components of the total and together equal the total, which appears in bold font at the right-hand side of each table. For example, "F" and "C" data referring to a design feature will appear to the right of the bold-columned feature they represent.

Not all data in the tables are based on the same total number of questions. Following Clayman and Heritage's (2002) study, question design features are measured out of either the total number of questioning turns, total questions, total yes-no questions, or total prefaced statements. Each table is labeled accordingly. Percentage tables are percents out of a standard 100-point scale, and they share the same data as their corresponding total number table. For example, Table 5 lists the number of question cascades of the total number of questions asked during this study's sample. Corresponding Table 6 lists the percentages of Table 5's statistics, with each percentage representing the number of cascades divided by the total number of questions. Since columns in black type are components of the bold-type columns and not the total number, black-type columns use their corresponding bold column for a total number and are divided by this number to produce an accurate percentage.

Initiative

The following statements are helpful in interpreting the results:

- Simple questions (605) + prefaced questions (472) + multiple questions (258) + supercomplex questions (204) + follow-up questions (578) = total questioning turns (2,117).
- Using the question design features to interpret the above, question complexity design feature questions (1, 539) + follow-up questions (578) = total questioning turns (2,117).
- Each questioning turn may contain any combination of the remaining eight question design features. For example, a question cascade will be counted as a cascade *within* a multiple question or a series of follow-up questions. A cascade is not able to define a questioning turn as are the above five question types.
- Within each questioning turn, there may be more than one question. Individually counting every question produces the total number of questions: 2,754.

Table 3
Total Number of Question Complexity Features

	Simple	Prefaced	Multiple	Supercomplex*	Total Complex Questions
Pre-9/11	256	156	69	50	531
9/11	20	2	7	0	29
9/11					
Aftermath	172	193	93	76	534
Post-9/11	157	121	89	78	445
Total	605	472	258	204	1,539

*Supercomplex Questions: Chi Square = 52.136, df=33, p<.05.

Table 4
Total Percentages of Question Complexity Features

	Simple%	Prefaced%	Multiple%	Supercomplex%
Pre-9/11	48.2	29.4	13	9.4
9/11	67	6.9	24.1	0
9/11				
Aftermath	32.2	36.1	17.4	14.2
Post-9/11	35.3	27.2	20	17.5
Total	39.3	30.7	16.8	13.3

Simple questions, which lack initiative and are most deferential, account for almost 40 percent of this design feature total. Simple questions increase almost 19 percent on 9/11 to 67 percent, then decrease by more than half in the aftermath, becoming more adversarial. They increase slightly post-9/11, remaining basically the same but showing a gradual increase in adversarial relations. Pre-9/11 and post-9/11 simple questions differ by more than 10 percent, with post-9/11 questions being more adversarial. Simple questions are most predominate in every September 11 stage except the aftermath, where prefaced questions are the most frequent.

Prefaced questions decrease 22.5 percent on 9/11, but they are almost 7 percent greater in the aftermath than pre-9/11. There also are more prefaced questions in the aftermath than post-9/11. Multiple questions are the only type of questioning turn to increase on 9/11, showing an increase of adversarial relations on this day. They are also the only type to decrease in the direct aftermath of 9/11. Pre- and post-9/11 multiple questions are within a 10 percent range. Supercomplex questions are the most adversarial and least frequent type of questioning turn, and there are no supercomplex questions on 9/11. There is less than a 10 percent gap between pre-9/11 and post-9/11 questions. Of all the question complexity features, supercomplex questions are the only ones that are statistically significant

Table 5
Total Number of Question Cascades

	No Cascade	Cascade	Total Questions
Pre-9/11	806	26	832
9/11	38	2	40
9/11 Aftermath	877	40	917
Post-9/11	917	48	965
Total	2,638	116	2,754

Table 6
Total Percentages of Question Cascades

	No Cascade%	Cascade%
Pre-9/11	96.9	3.1
9/11	95	5
9/11 Aftermath	95.6	4.4
Post-9/11	95	5
Total	95.8	4.2

Question cascades for all four phases are within 2 percent of each other. Cascades decrease two percent from pre-9-11 to 9-11, and then remain almost equal from 9/11-post-9/11.

Table 7
Total Number of Follow-Up Questions

	Not Follow-Up	Follow-Up	Total Questioning Turns
Pre-9/11	529	160	691
9/11	29	2	31
9/11 Aftermath	534	156	690
Post-9/11	445	260	705
Total	1,537	578	2,117

Table 8
Total Percentages of Follow-Up Questions

	Not Follow-Up%	Follow-Up%
Pre-9/11	76.8	23.2
9/11	93.5	6.5
9/11 Aftermath	77.4	22.6
Post-9/11	63.1	36.9
Total	72.7	27.3

Follow-up questions decrease from pre-9/11 to 9/11 and then gradually increase. The percents of pre-9/11 and post-9/11 questions, however, are not similar, differing by 13.5 percent with post-9/11 questions containing more of the adversarial follow-up questions.

Directness

Table 9
Total Number of Other-Referencing Question Frames

	None	OR Frames	Ability	Willingness	Total Questions
Pre-9/11	790	42	30	12	832
9/11	38	2	1	1	40
9/11 Aftermath	852	65	59	6	917
Post-9/11	895	70	67	3	965
Total	2,575	179	157	22	2,754

Table 10
Total Percentages of Other-Referencing Question Frames

	None%	OR Frames%	Ability%	Willingness%
Pre-9/11	95.1	5	71.4	28.6
9/11	95	5	50	50
9/11 Aftermath	92.9	7.1	90.8	9.2
Post-9/11	92.7	7.3	95.7	4.3
Total	93.5	6.5	87.7	12.3

Other-referencing frames are more prevalent after September 11 than on or before it, signifying an increase in deference after the attacks. Pre-9/11 and 9/11 questions tie in their high deference levels of 95 percent and then slightly increase in adversarial relations in the aftermath phase. The number of pre-9/11 and post-9/11 questions is similar, differing by only 2.1 percent. The majority of the other-referencing frames, 87.7 percent, reference Fleischer's ability to answer a question, and there are more adversarial than willingness frames. Other-referencing frames represent a small number of total press questions. Overall, the other-referencing question frames make a low deferential contribution to the sample.

Table 11**Total Number of Self-Referencing Question Frames**

	None	SR Frames	Wonder	Like/Want	Can/May	Total Questions
Pre-9/11	799	33	10	2	21	832
9/11	40	0	0	0	0	40
9/11						
Aftermath	874	43	13	2	28	917
Post-9/11	920	45	8	6	31	965
Total	2,633	121	31	10	80	2,754

Table 12**Total Percentages of Self-Referencing Question Frames**

	None%	SR Frames%	Wonder%	Like/Want%	Can/May%
Pre-9/11	96	4	30.3	6.1	63.6
9/11	100	0	0	0	0
9/11					
Aftermath	95.3	4.7	30.2	4.7	65.2
Post-9/11	95.3	4.7	17.8	13.3	68.9
Total	95.6	4.4	25.6	8.3	65.2

Like other-referencing question frames, self-referencing question frames are deferential, so larger numbers of frames signify increased deference as opposed to increased adversarial relations. Also like other-referencing question frames, self-referencing question frames represent a small portion of the brief briefing questions. Less than 5 percent of all press briefing questions contain self-referencing frames. All 9/11 phases have roughly the same percent of self-referencing frames, with the exception of 9/11, which has none.

Assertiveness

Tables under the heading of this adversarial indicator are measured out of a total number of yes-no questions. The yes-no question total (1,727) is derived by individually marking each question of every press conference. Some questions requiring a yes or no answer are non-prefaced, simple questions. These are marked “no preface.” The yes-no questions preceded by a prefatory statement are marked “no tilt” if the prefates are neutral. “Innocuous” and “hostile” prefates are marked accordingly with their tilt in favor of or against the press secretary. Negative questions are measured out of the total number of yes-no questions but do not comprise a portion of total.

Table 13**Total Number of Yes-No Questions with a Preface Tilt**

	No Preface	No Tilt	Innocuous	Hostile	Total Yes-No Questions
Pre-9/11	262	118	7	72	459
9/11	26	3	0	0	29
9/11					
Aftermath	341	213	6	74	634
Post-9/11	384	172	1	48	605
Total	1,013	506	14	194	1,727

Table 14**Total Percentages of Yes-No Questions with a Preface Tilt**

	No Preface%	No Tilt%	Innocuous%	Hostile%
Pre-9/11	57.1	25.7	1.5	15.7
9/11	89.7	10.3	0	0
9/11				
Aftermath	53.8	33.6	1	11.7
Post-9/11	63.5	28.4	.2	7.9
Total	58.7	29.3	.8	11.2

Questions with a tilt toward a yes or no answer from Fleischer comprise 62.7 percent of the total press questions asked during the sample briefings. Almost 59 percent of these questions are not prefaced. Yes-no questions with no prefatory statement increase on 9/11 by 32.6 percent to account for 89.7 percent of yes-no questions asked on 9/11. Prefaced yes-no questions with no tilt drop on 9/11 but show no major changes in the other three 9/11 phases. Questions with an innocuous tilt are uncommon and total less than 1 percent of all yes-no questions. The greatest percentage of hostile tilts is in the pre-9/11 phase, and hostile tilts account for less than 12 percent of all tilted questions. More question tilts are hostile than innocuous, but neither accounts for a large part of yes-no questions.

Table 15**Total Number of Negatively Formulated Yes-No Questions**

	Not Negative	Negative	Total Yes-No Questions
Pre-9/11	431	32	463
9/11	29	0	29
9/11 Aftermath	600	34	634
Post-9/11	584	21	605
Total	1,640	87	1,727

Table 16**Total Percentages of Negatively Formulated Yes-No Questions**

	Not Negative%	Negative%
Pre-9/11	93.1	6.9
9/11	100	0
9/11 Aftermath	94.6	5.4
Post-9/11	96.5	3.5
Total	95	5

Five percent of all prefaced tilts requiring a yes-no answer are negatively formulated questions. Few differences occur across the 9/11 phases. The most significant change is a 6.9 percent drop in negatively formulated questions on 9/11, which had no negative press questions.

Hostility

Tables 17 and 18 of hostility chart questions and percentages out of a total number of prefaced questions. Adding prefaced questions (472) and supercomplex questions (204) from Table 3 with prefaced follow-up questions (128) produces the number of total prefaced questions (804) in Table 17. Follow-up questions are coded as either prefaced or non-prefaced to get an accurate number of total questioning turns and an accurate figure of total prefaced questions. Appendix C lists the daily press briefing totals of prefaced questions, questioning turns, and press briefing questions.

Table 17**Total Number of Preface Hostility Questions**

	Nonhostile Preface	Hostile Preface	Preface Focus	Preface Presupposed	Total Prefaced Questions
Pre-9/11	232	21	12	9	253
9/11	2	0	0	0	2
9/11 Aftermath	274	38	20	18	312
Post-9/11	200	37	19	18	237
Total	708	96	51	45	804

Table 18**Total Percentages of Preface Hostility Questions**

	Nonhostile Preface%	Hostile Preface%	Preface Focus%	Preface Presupposed %
Pre-9/11	91.7	8.3	57.1	42.9
9/11	100	0	0	0
9/11 Aftermath	87.8	12.2	52.6	47.4
Post-9/11	84.4	15.6	51.4	48.7
Total	88.1	11.9	53.1	46.9

Less than 12 percent of prefaced questions contain a hostile preface. The more-hostile preface presupposed questions pre-9/11 account for 42.9 percent of preface hostility, 14.2 percent less than less-hostile preface focus questions. There are no hostile preface questions on 9/11, and the difference between the two question types narrows to a near split in the 9/11 aftermath and post-9/11, with preface focus questions remaining slightly higher.

Table 19

Total Number of Global Hostility Questions

	Nonhostile	Hostile	Total Questioning Turns
Pre-9/11	662	29	691
9/11	31	0	31
9/11			
Aftermath	636	54	690
Post-9/11	655	50	705
Total	1,984	133	2,117

Table 20

Total Percentages of Global Hostility Questions

	Nonhostile%	Hostile%
Pre-9/11	95.8	4.2
9/11	100	0
9/11 Aftermath	92.2	7.8
Post-9/11	92.9	7.1
Total	93.7	6.3

Press questions are most globally hostile in the 9/11 aftermath, although there is not much variation among the 9/11 phases.

Table 21

Total Number of Accountability Questions

	None	Acct	F	C	Ability	Willing	Total Questions
Pre-9/11	814	18	10	2	16	2	832
9/11	40	0	0	0	0	0	40
9/11 Aftermath	904	13	1	1	11	2	917
Post-9/11	955	10	1	4	9	1	965
Total	2,713	41	12	7	36	5	2,754

Table 22

Total Percentages of Accountability Questions

	None%	Accountability%	F%	C%	Ability%	Willing%
Pre-9/11	97.8	2.2	55.6	11.1	88.9	1
9/11	100	0	0	0	0	0
9/11 Aftermath	98.6	1.4	7.7	7.7	84.6	15.4
Post-9/11	99	1	10	40	90	10
Total	98.5	1.5	29.3	17.1	87.8	12.2

Questions referring to why President Bush did something (willingness) comprise 12.2 percent of accountability questions, 75.6 percent less than questions questioning how the president could have done something (ability).

Foreign Policy and Congress Questions

Table 23

Foreign Policy and Congress Question Complexity Features

	Simple	F	F%	C	C%	Pref	F	F%	C	C%
Pre-9/11	256	59	23	21	8.2	156	45	28.8	30	19.2
9/11	20	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
9/11										
Aftermath	172	28	16.3	3	1.7	193	39	20.2	15	7.7
Post-9/11	157	46	29.3	22	14	121	59	48.8	34	28.1
Total	605	133	22	46	7.6	472	143	30.3	79	16.7
	Mult	F	F%	C	C%	Super	F	F%	C	C%
Pre-9/11	69	20	29	11	15.9	50	15	30	10	20
9/11	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9/11										
Aftermath	93	17	18.3	4	4.3	76	21	27.6	7	9.2
Post-9/11	89	43	48.3	10	11.2	78	43	56.6	13	16.7
Total	258	80	31	25	9.7	204	79	38.7	30	14.7
	Total Complex Questions				F	F%	C	C%		
Pre-9/11	531				139	21.2	65	13.6		
9/11	29				0	0	0	0		
9/11										
Aftermath	534				105	19.7	29	5.43		
Post-9/11	445				191	42.9	78	17.1		
Total	1,539				435	28.3	172	11.5		

Table 24

Foreign Policy and Congress Question Cascades

	Cascade	F	F%	C	C%	Total Questions
Pre-9/11	26	7	27	2	7.7	832
9/11	2	0	0	0	0	40
9/11						
Aftermath	40	7	17.5	1	2.5	917
Post-9/11	48	25	52.1	7	14.6	965
Total	116	39	33.6	10	8.6	2,754

Chi Square significant for C, post-9/11 phase only

Table 25**Foreign Policy and Congress Follow-Up Questions**

	Follow-Up	F	F%	C	C%	Total Questioning Turns
Pre-9/11	160	31	19.4	15	9.4	691
9/11	2	0	0	0	0	31
9/11 Aftermath	156	19	12.2	3	1.9	690
Post-9/11	260	112	43.1	46	17.7	705
Total	578	162	28.2	64	11.1	2,117

Table 26**Foreign Policy and Congress Other-Referencing Question Frames**

	OR Frames	F	F%	C	C%	Total Questions
Pre-9/11	42	11	26.2	2	4.8	832
9/11	2	0	0	0	0	40
9/11 Aftermath	65	8	12.3	4	6.2	917
Post-9/11	70	27	38.6	12	17.1	965
Total	179	46	25.7	18	10	2,754

Table 27**Foreign Policy and Congress Self-Referencing Question Frames**

	SR Frames	F	C	F%	C%	Total Questions
Pre-9/11	33	10	3	30.0	9.1	832
9/11	0	0	0	0	0	40
9/11 Aftermath	43	7	2	16.3	4.7	917
Post-9/11	45	21	6	46.7	13.3	965
Total	121	61	11	50.4	9.1	2,754

Table 28**Foreign Policy and Congress Yes-No Questions with a Preface Tilt**

	Preface Tilt	F	F%	C	C%	Total Yes-No Questions
Pre-9/11	197	60	30.5	36	18.3	459
9/11	3	0	0	0	0	29
9/11 Aftermath	293	63	21.5	30	10.2	634
Post-9/11	221	121	54.6	46	20.8	605
Total	714	244	34.2	112	15.7	1,727

Table 29**Foreign Policy and Congress Negatively Formulated Yes-No Questions**

	Negative	F	F%	C	C%	Total Yes-No Questions
Pre-9/11	32	4	12.5	4	12.5	463
9/11	0	0	0	0	0	29
9/11 Aftermath	34	10	29.4	1	2.9	634
Post-9/11	21	7	33.3	6	28.6	605
Total	87	21	24.1	11	12.6	1,727

Table 30**Foreign Policy and Congress Preface Hostility Questions**

	Hostile Preface	F	F%	C	C%	Total Prefaced Questions
Pre-9/11	21	6	28.6	9	42.9	253
9/11	0	0	0	0	0	2
9/11 Aftermath	38	6	15.8	5	13.2	312
Post-9/11	37	19	51.4	16	43.2	237
Total	96	31	32.3	30	31.3	804

Table 31**Foreign Policy and Congress Global Hostility Questions**

	Hostile	F	F%	C	C%	Total Questioning Turns
Pre-9/11	29	7	24.1	7	24.1	691
9/11	0	0	0	0	0	31
9/11 Aftermath	54	5	9.3	1	1.9	690
Post-9/11	50	30	60	8	16	705
Total	133	42	31.6	16	12	2,117

Table 32**Foreign Policy and Congress Accountability Questions**

	Accountability	F	F%	C	C%	Total Questions
Pre-9/11	18	10	55.6	2	11.1	832
9/11	0	0	0	0	0	40
9/11 Aftermath	13	1	7.7	1	7.7	917
Post-9/11	10	1	10	4	40	965
Total	41	12	29.3	7	17.1	2,754

Chi Square Significant for F and C, all three phases (excluding 9/11).

Summary of Results

Tables 3-22 display press question data from specific question design features in relation to September 11 question phases, but they do not connect data across the sample. Because of the immense amount of data in this study, answers to the study's hypotheses are included in the Results chapter and are used to highlight and compare the data from

all of the 10 question design features across the four phases of September 11 press questions. Because the hypotheses make predictions about adversarial and deferential trends, they provide a foundation for spotting trends in the overall results. Tables 23-32 display foreign policy and Congress questions and percentages results for the 10 question design features.

Table 33 displays Hypotheses Null, One, Two, Three, and Four in a true/false pattern—true represented with a “T” and false represented with an “F”—results from each question design feature’s data are visually represented. True and false answers are based on changes during the September 11 time phases in each question design feature’s percentage table, starting with Table 4 and continuing with even-numbered tables through Table 22. The hypotheses in true/false statement form comprise Table 33’s legend for a brief and easy reference to the formal hypotheses on pages 16.

Overall, the data prove two of the five hypotheses correct. Contrary to speculation, reporters ask 20 percent more adversarial questions in the September 11 aftermath phase than they ask before the terrorist attacks. Questions asked on September 11 prove to be the most deferential, with 80 percent of the press questions showing more deference on the day of the attacks than in the pre-September 11 phase. Many questions increase in adversarial relations in the direct aftermath and decrease in adversarial relations in the post-September 11 phase. Post-September 11 phase questions, however, are similar in deference and adversarial relations to pre-September phase questions, but they are more adversarial than the September 11 questions.

Table 33
Trends in Question Design Feature Results

	H0	H1	H2	H3	H4
<i>Question Complexity</i>					
Simple Questions	F	F	T	F	Ø
Prefaced Questions	T	F	T	F	Ø
Multiple Questions	T	F	F	F	Ø
Supercomplex Questions	T	F	T	T	Ø
<i>Question Cascades</i>	T	F	F	F	Ø
<i>Follow-up Questions</i>	F	T	T	T	Ø
<i>Other-Referencing Questions</i>	T	T	F	F	Ø
<i>Self-Referencing Questions</i>	T	T	T	F	Ø
<i>Preface Tilt</i>					
No Tilt	T	F	T	F	Ø
Innocuous Tilt	T	F	T	T	Ø
Hostile Tilt	T	T	T	F	Ø
<i>Negatively Formulated Q</i>	T	T	T	F	Ø
<i>Preface Hostility</i>	T	F	T	T	Ø
<i>Global Hostility</i>	T	F	T	F	Ø
<i>Accountability Questions</i>	T	T	T	F	Ø
Total True T	13/ 86.7%	6/ 40%	12/ 80%	4/ 26.7%	Ø
Total False F	2/ 13.3%	9/ 60%	3/ 20%	11/ 73.3%	

H0: Press briefing questions from pre-September 11 and post-September 11 press briefings will contain no significant differences over time.

H1: Press briefing questions in the direct aftermath of September 11, 2001 (the latter press briefings of September) will contain more deferential press questions than questions asked before September 11.

H2: September 11 questions will be most deferential.

H3: Adversarial questions will increase from September 11 to the direct aftermath, and again from the direct aftermath to the December 2001 press briefings comprising the post-September 11 question phase.

H4: The number of questions related to foreign policy issues and questions referencing Congress or other powerful political elites will be proportional to the number of foreign policy and Congress questions demonstrating adversarial relations in press briefings.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

Thesis Overview

This study's primary focus is to determine if the White House press corps acted more deferential to President Bush and his agenda after September 11, 2001, and if so, to see how long the period of decreased adversarial relations lasted. This purpose is accomplished through a content analysis of 37 White House press briefings, conducted by then White House Press Secretary Ari Fleischer, examining press-briefing questions three months before, on, directly following, and three months after September 11 according to four dimensions of adversarial relations: initiative, directness, assertiveness, and hostility. Ten question design features comprise the criteria to measure each dimension, and ultimately, to measure the degree to which the press acted more deferential or adversarial toward Fleischer after the September 11 attacks.

Overall, the study's results show the White House press corps asked similar questions before and after September 11. Though deferent questions soared to the sample's highest levels on September 11, the press corps not only maintained its pre-September deferential/adversarial relations with Fleischer in the weeks following September 11, but it became even more adversarial. By December 2001, deference increased and adversarial relations decreased, but not by more than 10 percent of what they were before September 11. This group of press members, in touch with the highest-ranking political officials and newsmakers, initiated more direct, assertive, and hostile questions following the momentous domestic shakeup of September 11, 2001.

Significant Findings

A Chi Square test for the 10 question design features in all four September 11 time phases—pre-9/11, 9/11, 9/11 aftermath, and post-9/11--against time frame of analysis yielded no statistically significant results. After dropping the two briefings on September 11 and re-running the Chi Square test against time frame of analysis for the remaining more numerically equivalent phases, supercomplex questions, a sub-feature of complex questions, was the only element to achieve statistical significance. After removing the September 11 briefings from the equation, many features came close to a score of $p < .05$, but none of the 10 showed a significant relationship. Further investigation in the form of a test for intergroup correlation revealed standardized item alpha of .84. The .84 alpha suggests the similarity between the 10 design features is very high. Even though no relationship was established based on time, all 10 constructs strongly are correlated with each other. The intergroup correlation ended up being the bigger finding of this study. The high alpha of the 10 features may account for low Chi Square significance.

Explanation of Hypotheses

The Null Hypothesis, which states that pre- and post-September 11 press questions will be similar in adversarial content, is supported. Excluding only two

indicators of initiative, most initiative questions and all questions indicating adversarial relations in directness, assertiveness, and hostility in the pre-September 11 and post-September 11 phases are similar in adversarial content. The adversarial and deferential question features in these two phases are similar within a 10 percent range. This means that press questions asked between June and early September 2001 are no less or more adversarial than questions asked in December 2001, three months after September 11. Any changes in press behavior or alterations in the normal press-source relationship on and following September 11 are back to their pre-crises mode by the end of the year.

The analysis does not support Hypothesis One, which states press briefing questions in the weeks following September 11 will contain more deferential press questions than questions asked before September 11. In the direct aftermath of September 11, reporters ask more adversarial questions than in any other phase of questioning surrounding the attacks. Overall, features of initiative, directness, assertiveness, and hostility in questions increase, though negatively formulated questions, questions tilted to be potentially damaging to Bush, and questions asking for an account of Bush's actions or decisions are more deferential. This indicates the press corps asks tough questions, but it does not question the president's personal actions or agenda more in the weeks following September 11 than in any other questioning phase.

Hypothesis Two, speculating questions asked on September 11 to be most deferential, proves positive. The press shows, however, more initiative than deference in the form of multiple questions and cascades. This could be an indicator of curiosity and the desire to clarify the known facts of the morning's attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center. Other-referencing question frames, which ask the speaker if he/she can or will comment on a reporter's question, are at their most adversarial level of all the questioning phases on September 11. Though the difference is less than 3 percent, it indicates adversarial relations in the form of directness. All assertive and hostility questions are at their deferential peak, and initiative and directness questions also are highly deferential.

Hypothesis Three states adversarial relations will increase from September 11 to the direct aftermath, and will increase again from the weeks after September to December. This hypothesis is not supported. With the exceptions of supercomplex and follow-up questions exhibiting initiative, prefaced hostility questions, and assertive innocuous tilts, no other question design features follow this pattern. Almost three-fourths of all press briefing questions peak in the 9/11 aftermath and decrease in the post-September 11 questioning phase.

Hypothesis Four is inconclusive. It is not the case that most adversarial questions are foreign policy related and reference a member of Congress or another powerful political actor with contrasting views to the president. This hypothesis has a flaw because it relates to subject matter. All questions demonstrate some degree of adversarial relations according to this methodology, with the arguable exception of simple questions with self- and other-referencing frames. Therefore, the number of foreign policy and Congress questions demonstrating adversarial relations may be directly proportional to the number of foreign policy and Congress questions asked in a given press briefing. On the flip side, the opposite may be true. All questions in the sample are analyzed for adversarial content, so all questions—foreign policy, Congress, or other—have an equal shot at being more adversarial depending on how frequently they are asked. If reporters

ask more foreign affairs questions, a higher percentage of foreign affairs questions will be adversarial. But if reporters ask more domestic affairs questions, more domestic affairs questions will be adversarial. Statistically, a significant relationship between foreign policy and Congress questions was found only for accountability questions and partly for question cascades. The other eight question design features showed no significant relationship.

In the post-September 11 questioning phase, many design features are more than 50 percent comprised of foreign policy issues. Supercomplex questions and question cascades showing initiative, yes-no questions without a tilt and with a hostile tilt showing assertiveness, and global and preface hostility questions exhibiting hostility all predominately deal with foreign issues. Prefaced questions and multiple questions are within 2 percent of having foreign issues as a majority of their questions during this phase. No other question phases approach these significant results for the December press-briefing questions, which suggests reporters ask a higher percentage of foreign policy questions in December than before September 11.

To reexamine the significance of foreign policy issues and questions referencing Congress or other powerful political actors with statements in contrast to the president's deeds or views, the researcher examines the five question-type foundations: simple, prefaced, multiple, supercomplex, and follow-up questions. Each question is labeled as one of these foundations in addition to having several other adversarial design features. Comparing these qualities against each other, in general more of the complex questions—prefaced, multiple, supercomplex, and follow-ups—have higher percentages of foreign and Congress questions than do the less complex simple questions. Though no question design feature holds a majority of foreign policy and/or Congress-referencing questions, with the exception of the aforementioned cases, this finding may suggest there is a greater significance between adversarial content and foreign and Congress questions than Hypothesis Four recognizes. This suggests a possible alternative scenario to explain the study's findings, which is press questions in this sample may not increase or decrease in adversarial relations solely because of events resulting from the national crisis on September 11, 2001.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

Modern American society defines the media's role in many ways, attempting to capture the essence of what a journalist should be or do. Combined qualities of a watchdog, gatekeeper, informer, opportunist, agenda setter, entertainer, messenger, and government adversary create an ideal image ripe for keeping the government in check, telling the public what it needs to know about national and foreign affairs, and updating it on the latest celebrity gossip, traffic, and weather. The media's cooperation with the White House regarding suppression of the bin Laden tapes resurrected a new importance to the role of the press. With this renewed attention, a controversial argument is brewing: Should newscasters and reporters suppress or express their personal patriotic sentiments in news coverage? Unbiased reporting is impossible, but balanced reporting is an attainable ideal. According to Regina Lawrence in her essay, "How Does the First Amendment Matter to the Daily Construction of News?," "the main news gate remains pretty firmly shut against voices that deeply oppose basic American values related to democracy" (Lawrence, 2003).

Maintaining congenial yet skeptical relations with government officials allows the media to monitor the government's actions, protect democracy, and serve the public by protecting a balanced news agenda from which individuals may determine their political views and opinions. If the media abandon their adversarial role, ideological as it may be, an imbalance occurs in American democratic society that endangers First Amendment freedoms. Without the media actively questioning the president's motives and actions, the president's persuasion power can become overly influential. The September 11 attacks and the recent wars on terrorism raise issues of what adversarial suspension and increased deference between the president and the media can do to American news agendas, and ultimately American democracy.

The protection and maintenance of First Amendment freedoms for the press involves a delicate balancing act: The media must gain the public's confidence in their autonomy from government while maintaining amiable relations with powerful political sources to gain access to the information the public wants. With freedom comes obligations, and because the press is given a special place in society, it may be reasonable to expect the press to perform certain social responsibilities. The watchdog role isn't dead. The adversarial content in the Fleischer press briefing questions indicates the press was on its toes in the aftermath of September 11. Even if Bush was controlling the news agenda with his repeated patriotic frames (Entman, 2003), behind the scenes the media were not passively accepting the administration's views and statements without question.

This study sought to prove that the events of a national crises such as September 11 would have an effect on the press-powerful political source relationship. By analyzing questions asked during White House press briefings before and after the event, this study's findings established that relations did change following September 11. They results, however, are opposite from what was anticipated. Contrary to many reports, this study found the press to be more aggressive than normal in their questioning in the two-three weeks following the attacks. This information begs bigger questions, which may serve for continuing areas of study: If members of the White House Press Corps were

asking more adversarial questions following September 11, why didn't their increased adversarial tone make it into the headlines of national newspapers, broadcasts, and magazines? Is there a correlation between questions the media ask sources and what gets into the news? Does the press question's agenda have any bearing on the news agenda?

This study is one of the first to use Clayman and Heritage's (2002) methodology for measuring adversarial and deferential dimensions in press questions, and the results of this thesis helps to support the validity and workability of their methodology. Because the methodology is lengthy and is essentially 10 different studies under the guise of one study, it would be helpful to have an easier way to look at the 10 design features and detect commonalities. For example, if the design features were all measured out of the same total, the interpretation of the results would have a more apparently evident meaning to the reader and/or future researcher. Overall, the method has proved to be a useful and innovative tool in determining the initiative, directness, assertiveness, and hostility press members employ to obtain information from their sources through the art of the question.

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APPENDIX A: PRESS QUESTION CODE SHEET

A. Press Briefing Date _____

B. General Press Briefing Details

- | | |
|--|-------|
| 1. Total number of questions | _____ |
| 2. Total number of questioning turns | _____ |
| 3. Total number of prefaced statements | _____ |

C. Question Design Features	<u>Total</u>	<u>Foreign Q</u>	<u>Domestic Q</u>	<u>CQ</u>
1. Question Complexity	_____	_____	_____	_____
a. Simple	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Prefaced	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Multiple	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Supercomplex	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Question Cascades	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Follow-up Questions	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. OR Question Frames	_____	_____	_____	_____
a. Ability	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Willing	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. SR Question Frames	_____	_____	_____	_____
a. Wonder	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Like/want	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Can/may	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. Preface Tilt	_____	_____	_____	_____
a. Innocuous	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Hostile	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. No Tilt	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. No Preface	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. Negatively Formulated Questions	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. Preface Hostility	_____	_____	_____	_____
a. Preface Focus of Q	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Preface Presupposed by Q	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. Global Hostility	_____	_____	_____	_____
10. Accountability Questions	_____	_____	_____	_____
a. Why did he	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. How could he	_____	_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX B: CODE SHEET INSTRUCTIONS

A. Press Briefing Date

Month and day of press briefing.

B. General Press Briefing Details

1. Total number of questions: All questions asked by reporters during all questioning turns in the press briefing.
2. Total number of questioning turns: A questioning turn is defined when Ari Fleischer responds to a reporter's question, set of questions, or combination of questions and prefatory statements.
3. Total Number of prefatory statements: All statements reporters made preceding and in relation to questions asked during all questioning turns in the press briefing.

C. Question Design Features¹

1. Question Complexity: Indicated by a simple, prefaced, multiple, or supercomplex question in each questioning turn.
 - a. *Simple*: One-sentenced question
 - b. *Prefaced*: Elaborated preliminary statement to a question
 - c. *Multiple*: More than one question
 - d. *Supercomplex*: Both prefaced statements and multiple questions
2. Question Cascade: A multiple questioning turn asking virtually the same question. Question cascades are measured out of the total number of questions, not the total number of questioning turns.
3. Follow-up Question: A reporter's successive turn to talk or by a reporter declining to accept an adequate response by the interviewee. Follow-ups combined with simple, prefaced, multiple, and supercomplex questions equal the total number of questioning turns.
4. Other-Referencing Question Frames: Reference to the interviewee's ability or willingness to answer a question. Measured out of the total number of questions.
 - a. *Ability*: Can/could you + comment, explain, or tell?
 - b. *Willingness*: Will/would you + comment, explain, or tell?

¹ The 10 question design features are tallied by the total number of adversarial features represented in the press briefing. They further are grouped by total number of adversarial features represented in foreign affairs questions, in domestic affairs questions, and in questions referencing differences of opinion between the President and members of Congress.

5. Self-Referencing Question Frames: Reference to the journalist's intentions, motivations, or capacity to ask a question. Measured out of the total number of questions.
 - a. *I wonder/ I wondered/ I was wondering*: Question contains this phrase
 - b. *I would like to ask/ I want to ask*: Question contains this phrase
 - c. *Can I ask/ Could I ask/ May I ask*: Question contains this phrase
6. Preface Tilt: Yes-no question involving a prefatory statement "tilted" in favor of either a yes or no answer. Measured out of the total number of yes-no questions.
 - a. *Innocuous tilt*: Non-damaging prefatory tilt, which may be favorable to the president
 - b. *Hostile tilt*: Potentially damaging prefatory tilt against the president
 - c. *No tilt*: Neutral prefatory statement identifying an issue without favoring a yes or no answer
 - d. *No preface*: Yes-no question without a prefatory statement
7. Negatively Formulated Question: Yes-no question involving a tilt in the question itself in favor of a yes or no answer. These questions beginning with phrases like *isn't it*, *aren't you*, or *don't you think that*. Measured out of the total number of yes-no questions.
8. Preface Hostility: Overly critical remarks of the president or his administration in question prefaces. Measured out of total number of prefatory statements.
 - a. *Preface Focus of Q*: Hostile preface is the focus of the question, which invites the interviewee to comment
 - b. *Preface Presupposed by Q*: Question invites interviewee to respond to inferences made from the hostile preface, but does invite the interviewee to respond to the actual prefatory statement.
9. Global Hostility: To be globally hostile, both prefaced questions and the questions themselves must embody hostility. Follow-up questions directly challenging or plainly disagreeing with interviewee/president are can also be globally hostile. Measured out of total number of questions.
10. Accountability Questions: Ask the interviewee to explain the president has taken a certain course of action. Measured by the total number of questions.
 - a. *Why did he²*: Question contains this phrase
 - b. *How could he/ how can he/ how is it possible for him to*: Question contains this phrase

² Because the press secretary conducts the press briefings, "you" has been changed to "he" to reference President Bush.

APPENDIX C: TOTAL NUMBER OF QUESTIONS, TOTAL NUMBER OF
QUESTIONING TURNS, AND TOTAL NUMBER OF QUESTIONS WITH
PREFATORY STATEMENTS

	Total # of Questions	Total # of Questioning Turns	Total # of Prefaced Questions
6-Jun	7	6	3
13-Jun	72	67	29
19-Jun	84	65	17
20-Jun	110	88	38
26-Jun	91	79	30
27-Jun	66	54	19
28-Jun	108	90	32
29-Jun	104	87	25
4-Sep	59	50	13
6-Sep	39	28	7
7-Sep	92	77	40
Pre-9/11	832	691	253
11-a-Sep	15	14	0
11-b-Sep	25	17	2
9/11	40	31	2
12-Sep	111	82	35
13-Sep	100	68	32
15-Sep	64	54	24
17-Sep	83	62	33
18-Sep	83	59	34
19-Sep	76	60	32
21-Sep	98	73	25
24-Sep	69	53	23
25-Sep	55	43	23
26-Sep	88	62	21
28-Sep	90	74	30
9/11 Aftermath	917	690	312
3-Dec	97	60	25
4-Dec	14	10	0
5-Dec	81	60	24
6-Dec	96	73	14
10-Dec	91	65	28
12-Dec	98	63	19
13-Dec	71	55	22
14-Dec	70	51	17
17-Dec	88	60	18
18-Dec	66	53	19
19-Dec	69	60	18
20-Dec	63	48	18
21-Dec	61	47	15
Post-9/11	965	705	237
Total	2,754	2,117	804

**APPENDIX D: INITIATIVE (PART I) TOTAL NUMBERS:
TOTAL QUESTION COMPLEXITY (QC)**

	QC	F	C	Simple	F	C	Prefaced	F	C	Multiple	F	C	Super	F	C
6-Jun	6	6	0	3	3	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
13-Jun	45	10	3	21	4	2	18	4	0	2	1	0	4	2	0
19-Jun	51	17	4	26	7	4	13	4	3	9	4	3	3	2	0
20-Jun	64	34	2	25	14	0	20	10	2	8	4	0	11	6	0
26-Jun	59	30	4	27	13	0	20	11	3	6	5	1	6	1	0
27-Jun	42	8	10	20	2	3	10	2	4	6	2	2	6	2	2
28-Jun	68	11	16	33	7	5	18	2	7	8	0	3	9	2	1
29-Jun	68	6	5	33	3	1	21	4	2	11	0	0	3	0	2
4-Sep	43	7	12	25	3	6	11	3	3	6	1	2	1	0	1
6-Sep	25	8	0	11	3	0	6	3	0	7	2	0	1	0	0
7-Sep	60	1	9	32	0	0	17	0	6	6	1	0	5	0	3
Pre-9/11	531	139	65	256	59	21	156	45	30	69	20	11	50	15	10
11-a-Sep	14	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
11-b-Sep	15	0	0	7	0	0	2	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
9/11	29	0	0	20	0	0	2	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0
12-Sep	74	8	4	27	4	0	26	3	2	14	0	1	7	1	1
13-Sep	55	6	5	11	0	2	19	2	2	14	1	0	11	3	1
15-Sep	44	6	0	21	1	0	15	4	0	6	1	0	2	0	0
17-Sep	47	4	2	10	1	0	19	2	0	7	0	0	11	1	2
18-Sep	49	11	3	14	3	0	19	4	1	7	1	0	9	3	2
19-Sep	46	11	2	11	2	0	20	4	1	6	0	0	9	5	1
21-Sep	51	10	1	23	3	0	12	3	1	10	2	0	6	2	0
24-Sep	41	15	0	16	6	0	15	6	0	4	0	0	6	3	0
25-Sep	32	12	4	10	2	1	15	7	2	4	3	1	3	0	0
26-Sep	47	15	6	15	5	0	14	3	4	13	6	2	5	1	0
28-Sep	48	7	2	14	1	0	19	1	2	8	3	0	7	2	0
9/11 Aftermath	534	105	29	172	28	3	193	39	15	93	17	4	76	21	7
3-Dec	44	29	5	11	7	0	17	14	3	9	3	2	7	5	0
4-Dec	8	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
5-Dec	42	15	8	16	4	2	10	1	4	4	3	0	12	7	2
6-Dec	43	12	4	19	4	1	5	1	2	12	3	1	7	4	0
10-Dec	42	21	5	10	3	1	15	7	3	7	5	0	10	6	1
12-Dec	38	27	4	9	5	1	9	8	2	13	9	0	7	5	2
13-Dec	40	38	1	16	14	1	11	11	0	6	6	0	7	7	0
14-Dec	30	15	2	11	1	1	8	6	0	5	5	0	6	3	1
17-Dec	34	13	5	10	3	1	6	2	2	13	5	1	5	3	1
18-Dec	30	6	11	12	2	4	11	2	5	3	1	1	4	1	1
19-Dec	33	2	18	15	0	7	10	1	6	4	1	2	4	0	3
20-Dec	32	3	9	11	0	2	11	2	3	6	0	3	4	1	1
21-Dec	29	10	6	13	3	1	8	4	4	3	2	0	5	1	1
Post-9/11	445	191	78	157	46	22	121	59	34	89	43	10	78	43	13
Total	1,539	435	172	605	133	46	472	143	79	258	80	25	204	79	30

APPENDIX E: INITIATIVE (I) PERCENTS:
QUESTION COMPLEXITY

	Question Complexity	Simple%	Prefaced%	Multiple%	Super%
6-Jun	6	50	33.3	0	16.7
13-Jun	45	46.7	39.1	4.4	8.7
19-Jun	51	47.8	25.5	17.6	5.9
20-Jun	64	39.1	31.3	12.5	17.2
26-Jun	59	45.8	33.9	10.2	10.2
27-Jun	41	46.3	23.8	14.3	14.3
28-Jun	68	48.5	26.5	11.8	13.2
29-Jun	67	47.7	31.3	16.4	4.5
4-Sep	43	58.1	25.6	14	2.3
6-Sep	25	44	24	28	4
7-Sep	60	33.3	28.3	10	8.3
Pre-9/11	529	48.2	29.4	13	9.4
11-a-Sep	14	92.9	0	7.1	0
11-b-Sep	15	46.7	13.3	40	0
9/11	29	67	6.9	24.1	0
12-Sep	74	36.5	35.1	18.9	9.5
13-Sep	55	20	34.5	25.5	20
15-Sep	44	47.7	34.1	13.6	4.5
17-Sep	47	21.3	40.4	14.9	23.4
18-Sep	49	28.6	38.8	14.3	18.4
19-Sep	46	23.9	43.5	13	19.6
21-Sep	51	45.1	23.5	19.6	11.8
24-Sep	41	39	36.6	9.8	14.6
25-Sep	32	31.3	46.8	12.5	9.4
26-Sep	47	31.9	29.8	27.7	10.6
28-Sep	48	29.2	39.6	16.7	14.6
9/11 Aftermath	534	32.2	36.1	17.4	14.2
3-Dec	44	25	38.6	20.5	15.9
4-Dec	8	50	0	50	0
5-Dec	42	33.3	23.8	9.5	28.6
6-Dec	43	44.2	11.6	27.9	16.3
10-Dec	42	23.7	35.7	16.7	23.8
12-Dec	38	23.7	23.7	34.2	18.4
13-Dec	40	40	27.5	20	17.5
14-Dec	30	36.7	26.7	16.7	20
17-Dec	34	29.4	17.6	38.2	14.7
18-Dec	30	40	36.7	10	13.3
19-Dec	33	45.5	30.3	12.1	12.1
20-Dec	32	34.4	34.4	18.8	12.5
21-Dec	29	44.8	27.6	10.3	17.2
Post-9/11	445	35.3	27.2	20	17.5
Total	1,539	39.3	30.7	16.8	13.3

APPENDIX F: INITIATIVE (PART II) TOTAL NUMBERS:
TOTAL QUESTION CASCADES AND FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS

	Cascades	F	C	Follow-Up Questions	F	C
6-Jun	0	0	0	0	0	0
13-Jun	1	0	0	21	2	2
19-Jun	6	3	0	14	1	1
20-Jun	3	1	0	24	10	0
26-Jun	1	1	0	20	14	0
27-Jun	3	2	1	12	3	1
28-Jun	4	0	1	22	0	8
29-Jun	2	0	0	20	0	1
4-Sep	0	0	0	7	0	0
6-Sep	3	0	0	3	1	0
7-Sep	3	0	0	17	0	2
Pre-9/11	26	7	2	160	31	15
11-a-Sep	0	0	0	0	0	0
11-b-Sep	2	0	0	2	0	0
9/11	2	0	0	2	0	0
12-Sep	6	0	0	8	0	1
13-Sep	6	1	0	13	0	0
15-Sep	0	0	0	10	3	0
17-Sep	2	0	0	15	0	1
18-Sep	1	0	0	10	1	0
19-Sep	4	0	0	14	2	0
21-Sep	5	0	0	22	4	0
24-Sep	3	1	0	12	0	0
25-Sep	3	1	1	11	3	0
26-Sep	8	4	0	15	3	0
28-Sep	2	0	0	26	3	1
9/11 Aftermath	40	7	1	156	19	3
3-Dec	6	4	0	16	11	0
4-Dec	2	0	0	2	0	0
5-Dec	2	1	0	18	6	2
6-Dec	4	1	0	30	7	1
10-Dec	4	4	0	23	14	1
12-Dec	9	6	0	25	18	5
13-Dec	1	1	0	15	15	0
14-Dec	7	5	0	21	11	4
17-Dec	2	1	0	26	14	2
18-Dec	2	0	1	23	3	8
19-Dec	1	0	1	27	2	9
20-Dec	5	0	4	16	2	8
21-Dec	3	2	1	18	9	6
Post-9/11	48	25	7	260	112	46
Total	116	39	10	578	162	64

APPENDIX G: INITIATIVE (II) PERCENTS:
QUESTION CASCADES AND FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS

	Total Questions	Cascades%	Questioning Turns	Follow-ups%
6-Jun	7	0	6	0
13-Jun	72	1.4	67	32.8
19-Jun	84	7.1	65	21.5
20-Jun	110	2.7	88	27.3
26-Jun	91	1.1	79	25.3
27-Jun	66	4.5	54	24.1
28-Jun	108	3.7	90	24.4
29-Jun	104	1.9	87	23
4-Sep	59	0	50	14
6-Sep	39	7.7	28	10.7
7-Sep	92	3.3	77	22.1
Pre-9/11	832	3.1	691	23.2
11-a-Sep	15	0	14	0
11-b-Sep	25	8	17	11.8
9/11	40	5	31	6.5
12-Sep	111	5.4	82	9.8
13-Sep	100	6	68	19.1
15-Sep	64	0	54	18.5
17-Sep	83	2.4	62	24.2
18-Sep	83	1.2	59	16.9
19-Sep	76	5.3	60	23.3
21-Sep	98	5.1	73	30.1
24-Sep	69	4.3	53	22.6
25-Sep	55	5.5	43	25.6
26-Sep	88	9.1	62	24.2
28-Sep	90	2.2	74	35.1
9/11 Aftermath	917	4.4	690	22.6
3-Dec	97	6.2	60	26.7
4-Dec	14	14.3	10	20
5-Dec	81	2.5	60	30
6-Dec	96	4.2	73	41.1
10-Dec	91	4.4	65	35.4
12-Dec	98	9.2	63	39.7
13-Dec	71	1.4	55	27.3
14-Dec	70	10	51	41.2
17-Dec	88	2.3	60	43.3
18-Dec	66	3	53	43.4
19-Dec	69	1.4	60	45
20-Dec	63	7.9	48	33.3
21-Dec	61	4.9	47	38.3
Post-9/11	965	5	705	36.9
Total	2,754	4.2	2,117	27.3

**APPENDIX H: DIRECTNESS TOTAL NUMBERS:
OTHER-REFERENCING FRAMES (OR) & SELF-REFERENCING FRAMES (SR)**

	OR	F	C	Ability	Willing	SR	F	C	Wonder	Like/want	Can/may
6-Jun	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13-Jun	2	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	0
19-Jun	7	2	0	5	2	6	1	1	2	1	3
20-Jun	6	4	0	3	3	7	4	0	2	1	4
26-Jun	3	1	0	1	2	2	2	0	0	0	2
27-Jun	1	0	1	1	0	3	2	0	1	0	2
28-Jun	4	0	0	4	0	5	1	0	1	0	4
29-Jun	7	1	0	5	2	3	0	1	1	0	2
4-Sep	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1
6-Sep	3	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7-Sep	7	1	0	6	1	4	0	1	1	0	3
Pre-9/11	42	11	2	30	12	33	10	3	10	2	21
11-a-Sep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11-b-Sep	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
9/11	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
12-Sep	9	0	0	9	0	8	0	1	2	0	6
13-Sep	8	0	0	8	0	7	1	1	3	0	4
15-Sep	8	2	0	8	0	5	2	0	5	0	0
17-Sep	9	1	0	9	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
18-Sep	3	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	2	0	1
19-Sep	10	3	3	8	2	5	2	0	1	1	3
21-Sep	5	0	0	4	1	2	0	0	0	0	2
24-Sep	4	1	0	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
25-Sep	4	1	1	3	1	3	0	0	0	0	3
26-Sep	2	0	0	1	1	4	1	0	0	0	4
28-Sep	3	0	0	2	1	2	1	0	0	1	1
9/11 Aftermath	65	8	4	59	6	43	7	2	13	2	28
3-Dec	7	5	0	7	0	6	5	0	0	1	5
4-Dec	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5-Dec	6	1	1	6	0	2	1	0	1	0	1
6-Dec	8	0	1	8	0	2	1	0	1	0	1
10-Dec	8	7	0	8	0	7	2	1	3	0	4
12-Dec	7	5	2	7	0	7	4	3	1	1	5
13-Dec	6	0	0	6	0	5	5	0	0	1	4
14-Dec	4	4	0	2	2	4	1	0	1	0	3
17-Dec	4	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18-Dec	4	0	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
19-Dec	3	0	1	3	0	3	0	1	0	0	3
20-Dec	8	1	2	8	0	4	0	0	0	2	2
21-Dec	5	2	1	5	0	4	2	1	1	1	2
Post-9/11	70	27	12	67	3	45	21	6	8	6	31
Total	179	46	18	157	22	121	61	11	31	10	80

APPENDIX I: DIRECTNESS PERCENTS:
OTHER-REFERENCING FRAMES & SELF-REFERENCING FRAMES

	Total Questions	Other-Referencing%	Self-Referencing%
6-Jun	7	0	0
13-Jun	72	2.8	2.8
19-Jun	84	8.3	7.1
20-Jun	110	5.5	6.4
26-Jun	91	3.3	2.2
27-Jun	66	1.5	4.5
28-Jun	108	3.7	4.6
29-Jun	104	6.7	2.9
4-Sep	59	3.4	1.7
6-Sep	39	7.7	0
7-Sep	92	7.6	4.3
Pre-9/11	832	5	4
11-a-Sep	15	0	0
11-b-Sep	25	8	0
9/11	40	5	0
12-Sep	111	8.1	7.2
13-Sep	100	8	7
15-Sep	64	12.5	7.8
17-Sep	83	10.8	2.4
18-Sep	83	3.6	3.6
19-Sep	76	13.2	6.6
21-Sep	98	5.1	2
24-Sep	69	5.8	2.9
25-Sep	55	7.3	5.5
26-Sep	88	2.3	4.5
28-Sep	90	3.3	2.2
9/11 Aftermath	917	7.1	4.7
3-Dec	97	7.2	6.2
4-Dec	14	0	0
5-Dec	81	7.4	2.5
6-Dec	96	8.3	2.1
10-Dec	91	8.8	7.7
12-Dec	98	7.1	7.1
13-Dec	71	8.5	7
14-Dec	70	5.7	5.7
17-Dec	88	4.5	0
18-Dec	66	6.1	1.5
19-Dec	69	4.3	4.3
20-Dec	63	12.7	6.3
21-Dec	61	8.2	6.6
Post-9/11	965	7.3	4.7
Total	2,754	6.5	4.4

**APPENDIX J: ASSERTIVENESS TOTAL NUMBERS:
PREFACE TILTS AND NEGATIVELY FORMULATED QUESTIONS**

	Pref Tilt	F	C	Innoc	F	C	Hostile	F	C	No Tilt	F	C	No Pref	F	C	Neg. Q	F	C
6-Jun	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
13-Jun	46	9	4	0	1	0	11	2	0	11	2	2	24	4	2	7	0	0
19-Jun	56	15	4	0	1	1	9	2	1	14	5	2	33	7	0	1	0	0
20-Jun	60	26	0	2	0	0	7	3	0	14	6	0	37	17	0	0	0	0
26-Jun	54	32	4	1	0	1	11	6	1	9	7	0	33	19	2	3	2	0
27-Jun	38	12	5	2	0	0	6	1	0	10	6	1	20	5	4	4	1	2
28-Jun	26	14	13	0	0	0	6	0	1	19	7	8	1	0	0	1	0	0
29-Jun	68	4	0	1	0	0	5	1	0	15	3	4	47	0	2	4	0	0
4-Sep	38	5	11	1	0	0	2	0	0	13	3	7	22	2	4	2	0	0
6-Sep	19	7	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	4	2	0	12	3	0	1	1	0
7-Sep	52	1	8	0	0	0	12	0	7	9	0	0	31	1	1	9	0	2
Pre-9/11	459	125	49	7	2	2	72	17	10	118	41	24	262	58	15	32	4	4
11-a-Sep	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0
11-b-Sep	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
Total 9/11	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	26	0	0	0	0	0
12-Sep	81	6	8	2	1	0	9	0	3	28	3	3	42	2	2	2	0	0
13-Sep	59	5	4	0	0	0	7	0	1	20	3	2	32	2	1	1	0	0
15-Sep	42	10	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	16	7	0	25	3	0	1	0	0
17-Sep	62	3	5	0	0	0	6	0	2	26	2	2	30	1	1	1	0	0
18-Sep	52	11	4	3	1	0	3	0	1	26	8	3	20	2	0	3	2	0
19-Sep	46	12	2	0	0	0	5	1	1	24	10	1	17	1	0	1	0	0
21-Sep	68	14	0	1	1	0	10	2	0	16	4	0	41	7	0	13	3	0
24-Sep	45	12	1	0	0	0	6	0	1	14	8	0	25	4	0	0	0	0
25-Sep	42	17	5	0	0	0	10	5	1	12	2	3	20	10	1	6	3	1
26-Sep	65	28	7	0	0	0	7	2	1	11	2	3	47	24	3	5	1	0
28-Sep	72	13	2	0	0	0	10	2	2	20	2	0	42	9	0	1	1	0
Aftermath	634	131	38	6	3	0	74	12	13	213	48	17	341	65	9	34	10	1
3-Dec	59	37	5	0	0	0	5	5	0	17	12	3	37	20	2	0	0	0
4-Dec	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0
5-Dec	50	19	9	0	0	0	1	0	1	18	10	3	31	9	5	2	0	1
6-Dec	64	21	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	15	8	2	48	13	3	4	0	0
10-Dec	65	39	6	0	0	0	9	6	1	24	14	4	32	19	1	3	3	0
12-Dec	73	51	4	0	0	0	5	5	0	17	13	3	51	33	1	2	2	0
13-Dec	34	33	1	0	0	0	3	3	0	15	15	0	16	15	1	1	1	0
14-Dec	39	20	7	0	0	0	6	4	2	9	6	0	24	10	5	2	1	1
17-Dec	62	22	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	20	11	6	41	11	6	1	0	0
18-Dec	44	7	17	0	0	0	7	0	4	7	2	2	30	5	11	1	0	0
19-Dec	34	3	13	0	0	0	5	0	4	8	0	3	21	3	6	4	0	4
20-Dec	45	4	17	0	0	0	5	2	3	17	2	5	23	0	9	0	0	0
21-Dec	29	11	5	0	0	0	1	1	0	5	2	0	23	8	5	1	0	0
Post-9/11	605	267	91	1	0	0	48	26	15	172	95	31	384	46	55	21	7	6
Total	1,727	523	178	14	5	2	194	55	38	506	84	72	1,013	69	78	87	21	11

APPENDIX K: ASSERTIVENESS PERCENTS:
PREFACE TILTS AND NEGATIVELY FORMULATED QUESTIONS

	Pref Tilt	Innocuous %	Hostile%	No Tilt%	No Pref%	Negative Q%
6-Jun	2	0	0	0	100	0
13-Jun	46	0	23.9	23.9	52.2	15.2
19-Jun	56	0	16.1	25	58.9	1.8
20-Jun	60	3.3	11.7	23.3	61.7	0
26-Jun	54	1.9	20.4	16.7	61.1	5.6
27-Jun	38	5.3	15.8	26.3	52.6	10.5
28-Jun	26	00	11.5	73.1	3.8	3.8
29-Jun	68	1.5	7.4	22.1	69.1	5.9
4-Sep	38	2.6	5.3	34.2	57.9	5.3
6-Sep	19	00	15.8	21.1	63.2	5.3
7-Sep	52	00	23.1	17.3	59.6	17.3
Pre-9/11	459	1.5	15.7	25.7	57.1	6.9
11-a-Sep	11	0	0	0	100	0
11-b-Sep	18	0	0	16.7	83.3	0
Total 9/11	29	0	0	10.3	89.7	0
12-Sep	81	2.5	11.1	34.6	51.9	2.5
13-Sep	59	0	11.9	33.9	54.2	1.7
15-Sep	42	0	2.4	38.1	59.5	2.4
17-Sep	62	0	9.7	41.9	48.4	1.6
18-Sep	52	5.8	5.8	50	38.5	5.8
19-Sep	46	0	10.9	52.2	37	2.2
21-Sep	68	1.5	14.7	23.5	60.3	19.1
24-Sep	45	0	13.3	31.1	55.6	0
25-Sep	42	0	23.8	28.6	47.6	14.3
26-Sep	65	0	10.8	16.9	72.3	7.7
28-Sep	72	0	13.9	27.8	58.3	1.4
Aftermath	634	1	11.7	33.6	53.8	5.4
3-Dec	59	0	8.5	28.8	62.7	0
4-Dec	7	0	0	0	100	0
5-Dec	50	0	2	36	62	4
6-Dec	64	1.6	0	23.4	75	6.25
10-Dec	65	0	13.8	36.9	49.2	4.6
12-Dec	73	0	6.8	23.3	70	2.7
13-Dec	34	0	8.8	44.1	4.7	2.9
14-Dec	39	0	15.4	23.1	61.5	5.1
17-Dec	62	0	1.6	32.3	66.1	1.6
18-Dec	44	0	15.9	15.9	68.2	2.3
19-Dec	34	0	14.7	23.5	61.8	11.8
20-Dec	45	0	11.1	37.8	51.1	0
21-Dec	29	0	13.4	17.2	79.3	3.4
Post-9/11	605	.2	7.9	28.4	63.5	3.5
Total	1,727	.8	11.2	29.3	58.7	5

APPENDIX L: HOSTILITY TOTAL NUMBERS:
PREFACE HOSTILITY, GLOBAL HOSTILITY, AND ACCOUNTABILITY

	Preface Hostility	F	C	PF	PP	Global	F	C	Accountability	F	C	Why	How
6-Jun	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13-Jun	2	0	0	1	1	2	0	1	3	2	1	3	0
19-Jun	2	0	0	1	1	3	1	1	2	2	0	2	0
20-Jun	2	2	0	1	1	3	3	0	5	4	0	5	0
26-Jun	4	3	2	3	1	3	3	0	3	2	1	2	1
27-Jun	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28-Jun	2	0	1	1	1	4	0	2	1	0	0	1	0
29-Jun	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	2	0	0	1	1
4-Sep	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6-Sep	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7-Sep	6	0	5	4	2	7	0	3	2	0	0	2	0
Pre-9/11	21	6	9	12	9	29	7	7	18	10	2	16	2
11-a-Sep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11-b-Sep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11-Sep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12-Sep	3	0	1	3	0	2	0	0	4	0	0	3	1
13-Sep	3	0	0	2	1	5	0	0	2	0	1	2	0
15-Sep	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
17-Sep	3	0	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18-Sep	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
19-Sep	5	1	1	3	2	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21-Sep	4	0	0	2	2	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
24-Sep	3	1	1	2	1	8	1	0	3	0	0	3	0
25-Sep	2	0	0	0	2	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
26-Sep	5	1	0	3	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
28-Sep	8	3	2	3	5	10	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
Aftermath	38	6	5	20	18	54	5	1	13	1	1	11	2
3-Dec	3	3	0	1	2	5	5	0	1	0	0	1	0
4-Dec	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5-Dec	2	0	1	1	1	5	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
6-Dec	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
10-Dec	5	4	1	3	2	8	4	0	2	0	1	2	0
12-Dec	2	2	0	1	1	6	6	0	2	0	1	2	0
13-Dec	6	4	0	2	4	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
14-Dec	5	3	2	4	1	6	4	1	1	1	0	1	0
17-Dec	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
18-Dec	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19-Dec	8	0	7	4	4	4	0	2	2	0	2	1	1
20-Dec	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
21-Dec	4	2	4	2	2	3	2	3	0	0	0	0	0
Post-9/11	37	19	16	19	18	50	30	8	10	1	4	9	1
Total	96	31	30	51	45	133	42	16	41	12	7	36	5

Preface Focus of Question (PF)

Preface Presupposed by Question (PP)

APPENDIX M: HOSTILITY PERCENTS:
PREFACE HOSTILITY, GLOBAL HOSTILITY, AND ACCOUNTABILITY

	Total Prefaced Questions	Preface Hostility%	Total Questioning Turns	Global%	Total Questions	Accountability%
6-Jun	7	0	6	0	3	0
13-Jun	72	6.9	67	3	29	4.2
19-Jun	84	11.8	65	4.6	17	2.4
20-Jun	110	13.3	88	3.4	38	4.5
26-Jun	91	5.3	79	3.8	30	3.3
27-Jun	66	5.3	54	1.9	19	0
28-Jun	108	6.3	90	4.4	32	.9
29-Jun	104	0	87	5.7	25	1.9
4-Sep	59	0	50	2	13	0
6-Sep	39	28.6	28	0	7	0
7-Sep	92	15	77	9.1	40	2.2
Pre-9/11	832	8.3	691	4.2	253	2.2
11-a-Sep	15	0	14	0	0	0
11-b-Sep	25	0	17	0	2	0
11-Sep	40	0	31	0	2	0
12-Sep	111	8.6	82	2.4	35	3.6
13-Sep	100	9.4	68	7.4	32	2
15-Sep	64	0	54	5.6	24	1.6
17-Sep	83	9.1	62	4.8	33	0
18-Sep	83	5.9	59	1.7	34	1.2
19-Sep	76	15.6	60	11.7	32	0
21-Sep	98	16	73	11	25	0
24-Sep	69	13	53	15.1	23	4.3
25-Sep	55	8.7	43	9.3	23	0
26-Sep	88	23.8	62	4.8	21	1.1
28-Sep	90	26.7	74	13.5	30	1.1
Aftermath	917	12.2	690	7.8	312	1.4
3-Dec	97	12	60	8.3	25	1
4-Dec	14	0	10	0	0	0
5-Dec	81	8.3	60	8.3	24	0
6-Dec	96	0	73	8.1	14	1
10-Dec	91	17.9	65	12.3	28	2.2
12-Dec	98	10.5	63	9.5	19	2
13-Dec	71	27.3	55	7.3	22	0
14-Dec	70	29.4	51	11.8	17	1.4
17-Dec	88	0	60	5	18	0
18-Dec	66	5.3	53	3.8	19	0
19-Dec	69	44.4	60	6.7	18	2.9
20-Dec	63	5.6	48	2.1	18	1.6
21-Dec	61	26.7	47	6.4	15	0
Post-9/11	965	15.6	705	7.1	237	1
Total	2,754	11.9	2,117	6.3	804	1.5

VITA

Jodi Bannerman earned a bachelor of arts degree in corporate journalism from Auburn University in the spring of 2000. How she ended up in the flatlands of the Bible Belt is a long story. With the heart of an adventurous nomad, Miss Bannerman accepted an internship with *The CBS Saturday Early Show* in New York the semester before graduation and moved from Alabama to Manhattan to taste a sample of broadcast news. Public relations knocked next, and the author worked for a PR and communications firm and later as a cable television show publicist before returning to her home state of Louisiana. Sensing the benefits of higher than higher education, Miss Bannerman enrolled in Louisiana State University's Manship School of Mass Communication to earn the degree of Master of Mass Communication, specializing in political communication.

During the Manship program, the author spent a semester working for Pennington Biomedical Research Center, a year in the governor's office, and a final semester assisting the Manship School dean with research. Single and without pets, but with a good many dear friends and cherished family members, Miss Bannerman is waiting alongside Mary Poppins to see which way the wind blows her next. In the meantime, the author is thrilled to be receiving her master's degree from the renowned LSU Manship School, and she is grateful to her professors and peers who have made her experience not only educational, but also warm, insightful, and fulfilling. Miss Bannerman looks forward to many successes, expects a few mishaps, and hopes to repay the kindnesses of her mentors by passing on a unique combination of human compassion and functional realism in her future endeavors.