The validity of the trait stability assumption in Leadership Trait Analysis
A case study of George W. Bush

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Emilie de Raadt
s1661868
Supervisor: dr. Femke Bakker
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September 11th, 2001. 8:46 am: an airplane hijacked by terrorists strikes the North tower of the World Trade Center.

September 11th, 2001. 8:55 am: President Bush speaks with National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice on the phone, who tells the President a small commercial plane has crashed into the WTC. The President assumes this incident is an accident and presumes his planned activity of reading to a class of elementary school children in Sarasota, Florida.

September 11th, 2001. 9:05 am: White House Chief of Staff Andrew Card hurries to the President and whispers in his ear; "A second plane hit the second tower. America is under attack."

(Kean et al., 2004)

The September 11th attacks were unprecedented in their scope and political impact. Not only on the domestic level did these attacks bring about a paradigm shift in security policy and institutional reform, they also caused a worldwide trend of policy reforms in for instance criminal law and immigration (Boin, 't Hart & McConnell, 2009). Crises such as 9/11 tend to overshadow the nations in which they have occurred for a long time, as the sense of threat and uncertainty these attacks generate have a profound impact of people's understanding of the world around them (Boin et al., 2009, p.81). In the case of 9/11, one American journalist stated that "the sense of complacency and invulnerability of the U.S. has been forever punctured" (Bligh, Kohles & Meindl, 2004, p.563). In the aftermath of the attacks most Americans thought a future attack on U.S. grounds was likely to happen and a third of Americans indicated feelings of anxiety on the current state of the world (Huddy & Feldman, 2011). Further, President Bush told newscast TODAY in an interview that his thinking of the world "changed dramatically that day" when reflecting on the attacks a few years later[1].

The impact of the attacks was long visible in foreign policy of the Bush administration, as major decisions in foreign affairs policies were dominated by the aftermath of 9/11. The decision to pursue the Iraq war could for instance be considered an effect of the 9/11 attacks

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[1] TODAY. (june 2, 2014). *How 9/11 Changed Bush's Presidency: Part One.* NBC. Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bGmQdK5onbg&t=558s

(Gershkoff & Kushner, 2005). Since the impact of the attacks had such a long lasting effect on Bush and his administration, empirically one could expect Bush to have permanently changed as a leader due to the scope and impact of the attacks.

However, from a theoretical point of view it is not as likely that a permanent change in Bush's leadership persona would occur. The theory of Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA) for example establishes that a leader has certain character traits that are generally believed to be stable across time and issues (Hermann, 1980, p.19). According to Hermann (1980) major political crises could only affect a leader's character traits temporarily, after which the character traits return to their original state. Considering the case of George W. Bush and 9/11, one could ask the empirical question of whether this idea of trait stability is unconditionally valid. Thus, this thesis serves as a test for Hermann's idea of trait stability; if the character traits of George W. Bush did not permanently change after such an unprecedented political and social crisis like 9/11, then one could argue that Hermann is proven to be correct when she argued for trait stability. Taking all of the above into consideration, this thesis aims to answer the question: "To what extent could major political events permanently change character traits of a leader?"

Literature Review

Various research has been performed on the importance of studying the individual in International Relations (IR). Kaarbo (2015) has argued that thus far, IR theory still ignores the importance of the individual choices in the field of IR even though there is a vast amount of research available on the matter. Some scholars in IR believe that the individual does not matter and is merely a pawn in the anarchic world system, or that it is just the institutional structures of states and the international balance of power that determine the flow of international politics (Byman & Pollack, 2001; Horowitz, Stam & Ellis, 2015). Others argue that individuals might have a role in IR but that role is simply "too individualistic" to be subject to an academically relevant study (Byman & Pollack, 2001, p.108). Greenstein (1967) supports this claim by stating that personality and politics should not be studied in unison, as this study is not a "thriving scholarly endeavor" (p.2).

Scholars of IR do not only tend to ignore the individual on the international level. Keller (2005) writes that it has long been assumed that domestic constraints affect all leaders in a similar vein, because of which scholars expect all leaders to respond in the same manner to domestic constraints. In contrast, some scholars argue that different decision makers might have various interpretations of the same constraints, which makes the case for the argument that it is a leader's beliefs and perceptions on said constraints that determine the choice of a leader (Keller, 2005, p.207). Accordingly, Horowitz et al., (2015) argue that a leader's preferences and attitudes towards risks determine how a leader responds to political constraints. Furthermore, Saunders (2011) states that leaders systematically vary in the way they perceive risk and threats, which leads Saunders to claim that different leaders make different choices (p.3). More scholars believe that it matters who is in charge of decision making, like Dyson (2010) who argues that it is the leader's personality and decision style -both influenced by the leader attitudes towards the world and his risk calculations- which determine policy outcomes (p.558). Thus one could argue that it is the personality of a leader that determines how a leader will behave in the field of IR.

Even though personality in politics is a rather difficult subject to study, it is not impossible. Greenstein (1992) has nuanced his previously mentioned statement that personality and politics should not be studied together by arguing for a strictly systematic analysis into the role of personality in politics (p.106). Such systematic analysis is only possible once "personality" is

narrowly conceptualized. Usually the concept of "character trait" is introduced to refer to the concept of personality (Winter, 2005, p.566). According to Winter (2005), character traits regard to the public observable behavior of leaders (p.567). One type of such a systematic analysis of a leader's traits is Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA), designed by Margaret Hermann. LTA attempts to classify the leadership style of a leader by analysing this leader's character traits (Hermann, 2005). Leadership style is here defined as the relationship between leaders and those around him or her, the way in which the leader interacts with others and the overall norms, rules and principles the leader attests to (Hermann, 2005, p.181). According to Hermann (2005), there are seven traits that are most appropriate to help assessing a leadership style: the belief that one can influence or control what happens, the need for power and influence, conceptual complexity, self-confidence, the tendency to focus on problem solving and accomplishing something (task focus), suspiciousness of others, and the level of preferred in-group bias. These seven traits help answer three main questions: how do leaders react to the political constraints, are they open to information and what is their motivation for seeking office (Hermann, 2005). The first question, how leaders respond to political constraints, is determined by the scores on the belief that one has influence or control over what happens and the need for power. How open the leaders are to information is established by the scores on the leader's self-confidence and conceptual complexity and the final question of the nature of a leader's motivation for seeking office is answered by their preferred level of in-group bias, suspiciousness of others and task focus (Hermann, 2005). This method as designed by Hermann separates itself from other personality-in-politics methods, since Hermann does not detach cognition, motivation and other personality traits from situational factors but tries to relate those to personality traits to the contextual variables a leader has to deal with (Görener & Ucal, 2011, p.363). Thus, Hermann illustrates how such traits relate to the role of the individual as a leader, not merely the individual's personality.

According to Hermann (1980, p.19), the score on the character traits and the assigned leadership style is stable and continuous over time and issues. Barber (1977) claims that the first political success of a leader is determining for the leadership style that the leader will show throughout his career, since the leader trusts the actions undertaken to bring about success during the first time around to guarantee success the second and third time around. Thus, the leadership style that the leader develops at the early ages of time in office is assumed to be stable throughout his political career. This stability over time and issues of the character traits

is referred to by Hermann (1980) as trait reliability, which is measured by the correlation of the even and odd scores of the responses of a leader in an interview.

Hermann derives her idea that traits are stable over time and issues from a psychological debate amongst personality psychologists (Hermann, 1980b, p.68). Hermann concludes from this debate that most traits lie in the middle of a "consistency continuum", which refers to the idea that the large majority of traits are consistent and only a small portion is either irrelevant or inconsistent in certain situations (Hermann, 1980b, p.68). This minor inconsistency in traits could be a result of the fact that some leaders are more easily influenced by topics, audiences and time (Hermann, 2005, pp.208-209). Research into the impact of situational variables on one's personal characteristics showed that the traits task focus and need for power are most sensitive to situational changes (Hermann, 1980c, pp.342-343). The empirical question remains why those traits in particular showed most sensitivity to situational variables.

Furthermore, Hermann (2005) acknowledges that a leaders' scores could differ in a crisis situation as opposed to a non-crisis situation, as leaders could become more extreme in their profiles due to the stress a crisis causes (p.209). Moreover, Preston and Herman (2004) argue that major political events, such as an international crisis or a domestic emergency situation, could make a leader more involved in the foreign-policy making process. However, scholars of LTA seem to agree that such a change in character traits is merely temporary, and that generally speaking the character traits of a leader are stable (Hermann, 1980). Hermann does not clearly elaborate on the idea of said temporal changes amongst character traits. The consistency continuum argument does illustrate why Hermann believes most traits are stable across time and issues, yet fails to clarify how certain traits are able to temporarily change only to fall back into their previous scores.

Many scholars have weighed into the debate surrounding trait stability, such as Rasler, Thompson and Chester (1980) who have pointed out flaws in Hermann's study of 1980. They argue that the character traits could permanently change over time due to pressure from the international environment (Rasler et al., 1980, p.49). Besides, should one accept the assumption that the character traits of the leader are constant over time and issues then one should see similarities in interview responses in the beginning and end of a leader's time in office, contrary to the large fluctuations in the interview scores that the results of analysis actually show (Rasler et al., 1980, p.55). Hermann has responded to these critiques by arguing that her method is still

the best approach to analysis-at-a-distance that is currently available, despite potential flaws in her study (Hermann, 1980b). However, this response of Hermann is not sufficient to silence the remaining critics of the trait stability assumption, as simply recognizing potential flaws is not a satisfactory answer. Hermann fails to elaborate on how such errors in the interview scores across time could be avoided with regard to her assumption of trait stability. This challenges the validity of Hermann's trait stability theorem, as Hermann cannot explain why there is an inconsistency in some of the researched trait scores over time. Perhaps this would mean that the character traits of leaders are not that consistent over time after all?

There are scholars who attest to the idea that character traits are not that stable for all leaders, like Dille and Young (2000) who find an inconsistency amongst various researched American presidents in their trait stability. Research into the conceptual complexity of President Carter and President Clinton shows that that particular character trait is stable for some, but not for others (Dille & Young, 2000, p.594). Furthermore, Cudahar, Kaarbo, Kesgin and Ozkececi-Taner (2017) argue that certain types of leaders are more prone to show a change in their character traits, especially once those leaders are subject to role change. Moreover, Cudahar et al., (2017) argue that the role of the personality of a leader should not be neglected, as a leader's personality determines the degree to which a leader is subject to change in their character traits (p.50). This is relevant to the discussion on trait stability since Roberts and Mroczek (2008) have shown that personality traits continue to change into adulthood and old age. This would lead one to assume that if personality traits continue to change throughout a person's life, then so would the character traits for a leader as established by Hermann (2005), as personality traits and the leader's character traits are intertwined.

Likewise, other streams of thought on the analysis of character traits doubt the stability of character traits of leaders as well. The Operational Code (OC) is a complementary way to analyse a leader's personality, as it measures the actor's "entire set of beliefs about political life" (George, 1969, p.197). The OC and LTA method share a number of similarities, as first and foremost, they both try to assess the leadership style at a distance, using computerized content analysis to analyse the frequency in which certain words are used by the leader in order to determine the leader's beliefs and character traits (Schafer & Walker, 2006; Hermann, 2005). A further point of comparison is that both methods assume that what is being measured -beliefs and character traits- help explain the leader's world view, their relation with others and the norms and values the leader holds dear, which ultimately determines the leader's decision-

making (George, 1969; Hermann, 2005). Thus, the OC and LTA method are quite similar in the previously mentioned respects, however when it comes to the assumption of trait stability the resemblance between the two methods becomes more ambiguous. At first glance, the OC seems to follow LTA by acknowledging the cognitive consistency model, which holds that beliefs are relatively stable over time and internally consistent (Jervis, 1976). Nevertheless, there are many scholars who believe that the OC allows for a certain amount of fluctuation within the belief systems of a leader, as a leader might be subject to a changing environment and could learn from their time in office (Schafer & Crichlow, 2000; Walker & Schafer, 2006; Renshon, 2008). Since the OC and LTA method seem to be related on so many levels, one could wonder whether the permanent variation in belief systems that the OC allows is also transmittable to the LTA method.

In light of the trait stability debate, an especially interesting case to look into is the case of George W. Bush. Renshon (2008) showed that the belief systems of George W. Bush changed significantly after the 9/11 attacks, which appeals to the idea that major political events could change the personality of a leader. Walker and Schafer (2006) also draw on the idea that 9/11 could be considered as such a traumatic event it could have influenced Bush in a more pessimistic manner and made him, for instance, more conflict-oriented (p.108). As such, Walker and Schafer (2006) also found that the belief system of George W. Bush changed significantly in the wake of 9/11. After the attacks Bush had a more negative view on the political world, his beliefs in his ability to control events changed and he became more conflict oriented than before (Walker & Schafer, 2006, pp.111-112). In addition, Saunders (2011) finds that there is significant evidence to suggest that Bush's attitudes towards foreign policy had changed since Bush had been averse to peacekeeping and nation building policies before he had taken office, whereas after 9/11 such strategies became core issues on his foreign policy agenda.

The above illustrated change in the belief systems of George W. Bush, could be an indication for a change in the character traits of Bush as well, considering the discussed similarities between the two methods. To recall; Hermann (1980) agrees that a political event such as 9/11 could temporarily change the leader's character traits, however there are some who argue that the change in leadership and character that Bush displayed after 9/11 was a permanent change throughout his presidency. For example, after 9/11 Bush persistently showed a steadily firmer grip on policy issues and an improved organizational capacity (Greenstein, 2002). Accordingly,

Hart and Childers (2005) argue that Bush became a much more policy-centered chief executive and reformed his approach to governance and politics, transforming him from a cautious and pragmatic man into an ideologue and a confident leader. Others found that Bush' rhetoric had changed after the attacks, as his speeches throughout his presidency following the attacks showed to have a more aggressive and religious undertone compared to his speeches before the attacks (Bligh et al., 2004, pp.565-568). Bligh et al., argue that such critical events as 9/11 have the ability to change a leader's rhetoric for good due to a change in the leader's openness to constraints (p.568). The longevity of the influence of the attacks is further noticeable in the 2004 Presidential campaign, where the 9/11 narrative was pushed to the limit (Hart & Childers, 2005, p.191). Bush presented himself in this campaign as a strong and charismatic leader who was determined to triumph evil and ensure safety for the American citizen (Cohen, Ogilvie, Solomon, Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 2005).

An additional argument for a permanent change in Bush's character traits is that the aftermath of 9/11 brought about a new sense of anxiety and fear into the American (political) atmosphere (Huddy & Feldman, 2011). Fear and anxiety tend to affect a leader and his administration in a very negative way, as they lead to the overestimation of risks, bring about a greater risk aversion and disturb the information processing (Huddy, Feldman, Lahav & Taber, 2003, p.258). Suedfeld and Tetlock (1977) argue that once a leader feels threatened in their important values, there is a time pressure and an information overload, a leader could change in the traits of openness to information, preferred in-group bias and a switch in task-focus (p.171). Considering the political atmosphere after 9/11, one could argue that such anxiety and fear continued to influence the character traits of George W. Bush, bringing about a constant change in his traits.

Taking all of the above into consideration, the theoretical expectations of this thesis are that there could be a potential permanent change visible in the character traits of George W. Bush after 9/11. Particular traits that are expected to change over the measured periods are belief one can control events, preferred level of ingroup bias, task focus and distrust towards others. Suedfeld and Tetlock (1977) and Huddy et al. (2003) already highlighted that belief one can control events and ingroup bias could change due to fear, anxiety and stress, but Walker and Schafer (2006) point out that besides an increase in his belief to control events, Bush also became more conflict oriented, therefore one could also expect task focus to change in this analysis. This expectation matches Hermann's (1980c) expectation as well, as she argues that

task focus and need for power are most likely to change due to situational changes. Moreover, it is expected that distrust towards others has an increasing score after 9/11, as such a time of anxiety and fear would naturally make a person more distrusting of others (Huddy & Feldman, 2011; Huddy et al., 2003; Cohen et al., 2005). To summarize, the traits belief one can control events, preferred level of in-group bias, task focus and distrust towards others are expected to increase permanently after 9/11. First, it is expected that those traits in particular change directly after the attacks, but contrary to Hermann's idea of trait stability, this thesis expects said change to be of permanent nature. The established change directly following the attacks should therefore still be visible long after the events of 9/11.

These highlighted character traits answer the questions how leaders react to political constraints and what their motivation is for taking office, which are both relevant questions to ask with regards to Bush's time in office. The political constraints changed dramatically after the 9/11 attacks and some scholars see a change in what motivated Bush during his time in office, from being more domestic policy oriented to a more foreign policy, nation building and war oriented leader (Saunders, 2011). These factors add to the expectation that the traits matching these particular questions could be subject to a permanent increasing change after the 9/11 attacks.

Methodology

One way to assess a leader's leadership style and character traits without having direct access to the leader themselves is via content analysis. Content analysis is a valuable tool for a researcher, as language is such a fundamental aspect of the leadership process and allows insight in the hidden meanings and connotations behind the words being said (Bligh et al., 2004). For research into leadership style and character traits, Hermann (2005) prefers to use the spoken interview over a speech. Speeches are often written for the leader by others, whereas an interview is done by the leader themselves and is considered to be more spontaneous and therefore more from-the-heart material (Hermann, 2005). In addition, in settings such as news conferences the leader has little time to plan their response which would also result in a more spontaneous answer (Hermann, 1980, p.15).

In order for this thesis to measure a potential permanent change in Bush's character traits, speeches and interviews performed by George W. Bush are analysed. Bush was not known to be a very comfortable public speaker (Hart & Childers, 2005) and his interviews were usually rather short, therefore a combination of interviews with transcripts of his speeches is made in order to meet the measuring criteria set up by Hermann (2005)[2]. According to Hermann (2005) one could adequately assess a leader's leadership style once at least fifty interview responses containing one hundred words or more are analysed, should a researcher decide to also use speeches, then the speech must be at least 5000 words at length (p.180). Even though Hermann considers speeches not be spontaneous material, Winter (1987) has argued that good speech writers know how to write a speech as close to the leader's heart. Besides, important speeches are always up for review by the leader, and it is assumed that any good leader would spent quite some time preparing an important speech. Hence, Winter (1987) argues that whilst the actual words of the speech may have originated from other sources, the speech is an appropriate measure for the views and beliefs of a leader.

The program Profiler Plus (version 5.8.4) is used to analyse the responses of the leader. Profiler Plus uses certain coding schemes to calculate how often a leader speaks out of certain character trait, and the frequency to which certain words are used presumably indicates how important

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[2] See chapter "Data selection" and the appendix for an elaborate illustration on the combined material.

that content is to a leader (Hermann, 2005, p.186). Since Profiler Plus employs frequency counts, the research design of this thesis is quantitative in nature.

The results from the analysis of Profiler Plus are compared to the scores of the researched leader to 284 world leaders, as this is the most recent established norming group (Cuhadar et al., 2017). According to the LTA method, one could start making claims on the strengths of particular character traits of a leader once the scores are compared to a norming group of choice (Hermann, 2005, p.186). Once a leader scores one standard deviation above the mean for the sample of leaders, the leader could be considered high on said trait, whilst a leader scoring one standard deviation below the mean would be considered low on a trait (Hermann, 2005, p.204).

The seven character traits that Hermann (2005) has constructed are conceptualized and operationalised as follows:

Trait	Conceptualization	Operationalization
Belief in one's own ability to control events	The perception of the degree of control over occurring situations.	Focus in coding is on verbs or action words. Calculated on the amount of times the leader takes responsibility for planning or initiating action.
Need for power and influence	The desire to control, influence or have an impact on other persons or groups.	Coding is focussed on verbs and actions initiated by the leader.
Self-confidence	The leader's view of their self-importance and their role in relations with others.	The pronouns "my", "myself", "I", "me" and "mine" are central in coding.
Conceptual complexity	The level of differentiation that a leader demonstrates when describing or discussing others or other things. The degree to which	Words that allow for multiple dimensions in the environment such as "approximately", and "for example" show a high conceptual complexity. Words

	a leader allows for ambiguity in their environment.	such as "absolutely, and "without a doubt" show less conceptual complexity.
Task focus	The leader's preference to either focus on maintaining a relationship with their constituency or focus on the problems that the government faces	The focus of coding is on specific words that show instrumental activity or concern for other people's feelings. For example "accomplishment", and words as "appreciation" or "disappointment".
Suspiciousness of others	Feelings of uncertainty, distrust and wariness of other actors. The distrust of a leader towards others.	Words that indicate paranoia or concern about other actors. How a leader regards to others like "enemy", or "ally".
Preferred level of in-group bias	The level of attachment to a group surrounding the leader which shares a similar worldview to him/her.	Indicators such as favorable references to their own group as "great", "successful", and references to group honor and identity such as "our policies".

Source: Hermann (2005)

In this thesis, the method of LTA is used to analyse a potential permanent change in the character traits of George W. Bush. First, it is necessary to establish that the character traits of Bush have changed after the 9/11 attacks. Then there is an examination of Bush's character traits in a period of time long after the attacks in order to assess whether the potential examined change had been a permanent change. If there is only a research into the change in character traits right after the attacks, that could still be in line with the ideas of temporal change of Hermann (1980), which is why there needs to be a third analysis of Bush's character traits after some years have passed to measure the longevity of the examined change. Thus, three periods in time are examined in this thesis:

- **Period 1: Pre-9/11 (November 1, 1999 - September 10, 2001)**

  This period should illustrate the baseline of George W. Bush's LTA. This period of time is chosen because it starts with Bush's presidential campaign in 1999 and is continuous throughout him taking office. This period stops right before the attacks occurred, as this period should indicate Bush's LTA pre-9/11.

- **Period 2: Post-9/11 (September 11, 2001 - Sep 11, 2002)**

  This period captivates the aftermath of the attacks, as Bush is analysed throughout the first year after Al Qaeda attacked American soil. This period would be determining for Bush's foreign policy in the years to come, as Bush announced the War on Terror, spoke of an "Axis of Evil" regarding Iran, Iraq and North Korea, and strongly emphasized the greatness of the United States (Cohen et al., 2005; Gershkoff & Kushner, 2005).

- **Period 3: End of presidency (January 1, 2008 - January 20th, 2009)**

  The last period serves as an illustration as to where Bush's character traits were at the end of his presidency. The results of the analysis from this data should indicate whether Bush's character traits are more similar to the period before 9/11 or after the attacks. Should the result be similar to the pre-9/11 phase, then one could see this research as a verification for Hermann's (1980) trait stability assumption. However, should the results be more similar to the post-9/11 phase, thus showing the same change in character traits as measured before, then this research could be seen as a rejection of Hermann's trait stability assumption.

In order to properly measure a potential variation of the LTA scores between these three periods, a one-way ANOVA test is performed using SPSS. According to Hermann (2005) the probability value of 0.05 or less should be used for showing a significant result in variation of traits (p.208). The significance of the variation in this analysis is established by Welch's t-test. The Welch's t-test is used as this t-test accounts for an accurate measurement of significance even when the assumption of homogeneity of variance is not met (Delacre, Lakens & Leys, 2017, p.92). Considering the fact that there is not as much homogeneity between the samples of the different groups, Welch's t-test comes in useful to accurately establish a potential significance in variation between the three periods.

Data selection

For this thesis data is retrieved from archives of the New York Times, the White House and The American Presidency Project. The American Presidency Project is an extensive database from the University of California, Santa Barbara, which aims to be the non-partisan online source for all presidential public documents[3]. Generally, the data is selected at random, generating one datapoint per month. A datapoint in this thesis is defined as a collection of speech acts, such as interviews and news conferences, performed by Bush. As mentioned earlier Bush was not as comfortable in public speaking, which in some cases leads to a combination of speech acts in order to meet the criteria by Hermann (2005) for establishing a meaningful datapoint of 5000 spoken words. In such combinations, similar topics and/or audiences are selected to form a coherent illustration of the spoken content. In addition, this thesis strives to include as much spontaneous material as possible in the analysis, but was sometimes bound to include speeches in order to meet the established criteria[4].

In period 1, the merging of material is a bit more arbitrary, as very few relevant material is available, mostly because the LTA method works primarily with materials that regard foreign policy (Hermann, 1980;2005). In his first presidential campaign, Bush was primarily concerned with domestic policy, arguing for educational- and tax reforms (Benoit, 2003, p.100). Taking Hermann's criteria into account, in a few cases a combination of speeches that were not necessarily on the same topic or from the same month had to be made, in order to establish a datapoint of 5000 spoken words. However, the datapoints of period 1 are still accurate as in the early stages of the presidential campaign and his first months in office Bush's statements on foreign policy were quite generic since his exact foreign policy at that point in time yet had to be officially drafted.

However, for a meaningful ANOVA analysis it is best to include as many datapoints possible in order to accurately establish a potential significant change. Therefore, period 2 and period 3 have a much larger *n* than the first period, as a vast larger amount of materials was available for the last two periods since Bush had been inaugurated and his administration was in full operation. Besides, since there was such a larger sample to choose materials from, there is a

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[3] The Presidency Project. Retrieved from: https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/about
[4] See Appendix for an illustration of the division between the number of speeches and interviews used.

better distribution of topics covered in the datapoints in the last period. That being said, still a majority of the data in period 2 regards the 9/11 attacks and the War on Terror. It was attempted to avoid collecting data on a sample bias, however, especially in the first few months after the attacks, foreign policy was mainly focussed on combating terrorism. Despite this, period 2 is viewed as an accurate assessment of foreign policy during that time, since besides the War on Terror, Bush's speech acts also consider Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), US-Russia relations and the Israel-Palestine conflict in this period.

The larger *n* in period 2 is also due to the fact that two datapoints stem from September 2001, as it is important to include Bush's speech acts directly after the attacks. According to some, there was a difference in Bush's rhetoric on the days directly following the attacks and later in September, since initially Bush seemed to be stunned by the attacks and unable to comprehend fully what the attacks meant for the U.S. and the world ('t Hart et al., 2009, p.9). Moreover, Bush famously addressed the police, firefighters and rescue workers on the remains of ground zero on September 14 2001 via a megaphone, which was an unplanned -and therefore a very spontaneous- delivery from Bush[5]. In order to include Bush's speech acts from when he appeared to be stunned by the attacks, and later on when he seemed better prepared for interview questions, two datapoints from September 2001 are analysed.

In period 3 there are some datapoints that stem from the same month as well. This is due to the fact that during the months of August and October domestic crises like Hurricane Ike occurred and the financial crisis of 2008 emerged during those months. By reason of those domestic crises, it was necessary to include multiple datapoints on foreign policy from one month earlier on that year in order to conduct a meaningful ANOVA analysis. The number of speech acts in period 3 is also larger compared to the two previous periods due to the fact that Bush's speeches were exceptionally short during some months towards the end of this period. The exact reasons for this are unclear but it can be speculated that it is due to the fact Bush was coming to the end of his presidency and president-elect Obama was making an entrance in American politics. Since Obama was a democrat and Bush a republican, shifts in foreign policies were underway, which is probably why Bush did not address upcoming foreign policy issues extensively. Due to Bush's short statements on foreign policy, multiple speech acts are merged into one datapoint, still taking consistency of topic and audiences into consideration.

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[5] See Appendix, Period 2 speech acts specified; Sep 14b, 2001.

Results

Table 1. Bush's LTA Scores in Comparison to World Leaders over three time periods

| | World leaders (n = 284) | Bush | | | |
		Period 1 (n = 7) (sa = 23)	Period 2 (n = 14) (sa = 33)	Period 3 (n = 15) (sa = 39)	F-values
DIS	0,13 (0,06)	0,36	0,26	0,24	1,18
TASK	0,63 (0,07)	0,52	0,49	0,54	1,68
BACE	0,35 (0,05)	0,35	0,33	0,34	0,53
IGB	0,15 (0,05)	0,22	0,17	0,19	0,82
SC	0,36 (0,10)	0,37	0,36	0,36	0,06
CC	0,59 (0,06)	0,56	0,60	0,58	0,87
PWR	0,26 (0,05)	0,28	0,31	**0,26***	**3,50****

Notes: *Sa* = Speech Acts. Values in parentheses represent the standard deviation of the mean. World leaders' means and standard deviations derived from Cuhadar et al. (2017). Data in bold represents a significant change at * $p < 0,1$ ** $p < 0,05$.

In table 1, the LTA scores of George W. Bush over the three time periods are displayed and compared to the scores of 284 world leaders. Besides the *n*, which refers to the amount of datapoints analysed, the number of speech acts (*Sa)* is listed in order for the reader to understand how many speeches, interviews and news conferences were reviewed. After running all the datapoints through Profiler Plus, SPSS was used to assess the means of Bush's LTA scores for these periods.

For a comparison of Bush's LTA scores a one-way ANOVA test is performed in order to assess a potential change in character traits. By reviewing table 1, it becomes apparent that there is a minor change visible in the results for distrust towards others (DIS), the preferred level of ingroup bias (IGB), and need for power (PWR). However, the only significant difference occurs in Bush's need for power over the years, which means that only one of the expected traits is subject to change in the researched period. When reviewing the one-way ANOVA results, a significant outcome of $p < 0,05$ becomes apparent for Bush's variation in need for power. Once the results of the Welch's t-test are analysed, the results only appear to be significant once a $p < 0,1$ is applied. As discussed earlier, the Welch's t-test is a more restrictive t-test than the Student's t-test applied in the results of the ANOVA, hence the variation in the significance level. The significant F-value in need for power shows that there is a significant variance of $p < 0,05$ between the means of the three researched periods, as the degrees of freedom (F-Values) show whether there is a difference in the means of the researched groups (Field, 2018, p.534). In order to establish where the significance lies within the variable "need for power", a Post Hoc Test was performed. The Games-Howell Post Hoc Test is used since it does not assume equal variances and sample sizes and therefore works best with this data set. Running a Games-Howell Post Hoc Test leads to the results of a significant mean difference in need for power between period 2 and period 3 of $p < 0,05$.

Bush's scores for need for power seem to peak in period 2, right after the attacks, only to decline again in period 3. The peak in period 2 makes sense, as similar studies also found a change during this time period in Bush's rhetoric since he became less ambivalent and presented himself as a strong, charismatic leader after the attacks ('t Hart, Tindall & Brown, 2009; Bligh et al., 2004; Greenstein, 2002). Since the coding of need for power is focused on the verbs and actions initiated by the leader (Hermann, 2005), it makes sense that this trait results in higher scores in a time where Bush presented himself as a strong leader who would protect the nation against evil. However, the fact that Bush's need for power declines again in period 3 is contrary to the theoretical expectations established in the beginning of this thesis, as the change that occurs in period 2 is not a permanent one since the scores return to their original state in period 1.

The fact that the score on need for power returns close to its original score in period 1 serves as a modest confirmation for Hermann's (1980) trait stability theorem, as this variation in scores shows how a crisis such as 9/11 could merely temporarily affect the leader and such a

change in character traits is not a permanent one. Further, these results show that a leader is quite stable in their character traits, and thus this implicates that the overall behavior of a leader is not as affected by major political events as was expected. Despite the fact that these findings support the trait stability assumption, the empirical question remains on how a limited variation in character traits works. Further psychological research should try to assess how it is possible that the leader's character traits are so determinate and where such a consistent state of mind stems from.

Discussion

Even though only the change in need for power resulted in a significant change, it is still interesting to look at the modest changes the other traits showed in this analysis. Most notably, Bush' distrust towards others declined over the years, from a mean score of 0,36 in period 1 to a mean score of 0,24 in period 3. This declination in distrust is the exact opposite of what was first expected in this thesis, as one of the theoretical expectations was that distrust towards others would increase after the attacks. This decline in distrust towards others is interesting from an empirical point of view, as one could expect that especially in period 2 Bush felt more distrusting towards others right after the attacks. Before 9/11, such an attack from a foreign enemy had not occurred on American soil, therefore it seems logical that Bush would show an increase in distrust towards others, especially in period 2 of this analysis. A potential reason for this outcome could be that in the data analysed of period 2, a lot of news conferences with other foreign leaders are used, as Bush did not give a lot of interviews during this period and it is preferred to use spontaneous material like news conferences over speeches. During the news conferences, Bush often used the words "friend" or "ally" to regard the other leader in the room since topic of discussion was often Bush's Coalition for Freedom in the War on Terror. This talk of a coalition between with his allies could account for the low scores in distrust towards others in the last periods. In further research one could try to examine whether there is a difference when Bush's news conferences with other leaders are analysed and when just speeches on the War on Terror are analysed. In speeches performed solely by Bush himself, perhaps the usage of the words "friends" and "allies" is reduced and Bush will speak more deliberately on his enemies.

Additionally, in period 2 the results show a drop for the preferred level of ingroup bias. Interestingly enough, this drop is again contrary to the theoretical expectations derived from Suedfeld and Tetlock (1977) and Huddy et al. (2003). One would expect the preferred level of ingroup bias to increase as the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks unfolded and Bush became preoccupied with combating terrorism and forming a Coalition for Freedom. A potential explanation for the unexpected drop in ingroup bias comes from research by Kesgin (2019), which showed that leaders could vary in their LTA scores when speaking to different audiences, as for instance Recep Erdoğan's scores for in-group bias changed dramatically when he spoke to a domestic audiences compared to an international audience (p.11). In period 1, Bush mainly spoke to a domestic audience as he was campaigning for his presidency and

shortly after his inauguration primarily gave news conferences to domestic journalists. In period 2 Bush spoke to a lot of international news outlets, since there was a lot of international coverage of the 9/11 attacks. Besides, in period 2 Bush initiated the Global War on Terrorism, hence the vast majority of international interest. In an ideal situation, both periods should consider materials spoken to similar audiences, however, fact of the matter is that reality does not always play out the way one wants it to be. Unfortunately for this research, Bush simply spoke primarily to domestic audiences in period 1 and in period 2 primarily to international audiences. Moreover, in order to conduct a meaningful ANOVA, it was necessary to include those datapoints that considered domestic audiences in period 1, as otherwise the *n* for this period would simply be too low to be of statistical relevance[6]. Further research could try to examine period 1 with only international audiences, even when that means period 1 would have an exceptionally low researched *n*.

A further point of discussion remains to be the origin of trait stability. Hermann explained in personal correspondence that some leaders are more set in their ways and are more consistent over time than others. According to Hermann, "those leaders who have a position to sell or a problem to solve" are especially likely to be inconsistent in their character traits compared to leaders who do not have a particular agenda[7]. Moreover, Hermann stresses the importance of situational variables, as "leaders can show different scores in different contexts"[8]. When asked how the assumption of trait reliability relates to the idea that some leaders are more likely to show variation in their character traits than others, Hermann stated that trait reliability illustrates "how consistent the leader's scores are across the material coded", which could hint towards the consistency in character traits overall[9]. The empirical question remains how the supposed consistency works once one researches a period of time where the political context was stressful and therefore influential on the character traits of the leader. Potentially, further research into the theoretical fundamentals of Hermann's assumption on trait stability could lead to an explanation for how such a dichotomy could occur.

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[6] Only two out of the seven datapoints in period 1 consider international audiences, the other five datapoints analysed are aimed at domestic audiences.
[7] Hermann, personal communication, May 9, 2019.
[8] Hermann, personal communication, May 10, 2019.
[9] Hermann, personal communication, May 10, 2019.

Conclusion

This thesis has aimed to shed some light on the validity of the trait stability assumption of Margaret Hermann. Using the case of George W. Bush and the 9/11 attacks, the empirical question was asked how major political events permanently change the character traits of a leader. Though Hermann (1980) has allowed some change in the character traits of a leader once a major political crisis has occurred, this change is merely temporarily. This thesis was inspired by the empirically challenged conclusion that since character traits lie within a consistency continuum, traits are stable over time and issues, despite the fact that the traits might change due to situational influences. Thus, the question was asked how such a dichotomy between these two stances could occur, but unfortunately this thesis was not able to provide a substantial answer to this question.

Moreover, this thesis has argued that there is reason to believe that traits could permanently change in LTA, since the Operational Code (OC) method does allow for a permanent change in the belief systems of a leader. The OC method and the LTA method are similar in many respects, hence there could be a possibility of a permanent variation occurring in the LTA method as well. Here, the case of George W. Bush comes into play, as scholars of OC have shown a change in Bush's belief systems after the 9/11 attacks (Renshon, 2008; Walker & Schafer, 2006). Moreover, there is empirical evidence that Bush's rhetoric and main focus of foreign policy has changed significantly after the attacks (Saunders, 2011, Greenstein, 2002; Hart & Childers, 2005; Bligh et al., 2004). In addition, the anxiety and complexity of the political atmosphere in the aftermath of the attacks could be influential on, amongst other things, the leader's risk openness to information, preferred level of ingroup bias and task focus (Suedfeld & Tetlock, 1977; Huddy et al., 2003). To test a potential change in those character traits, Bush's speech acts over three time periods were analysed; his presidential campaign and first months in office, the year following the attacks, and the final year of his presidency. Using the programs Profiler Plus and SPSS, the mean scores of all character traits were compared over the three time periods. From this analysis, the conclusion is be drawn that there is a small significant variation in Bush's need for power from period 2 to period 3. However, this results could act as a modest confirmation for Hermann's (1980) trait stability assumption, as the results for this character traits have increased from period 1 to period 2, but changed back into a score close to their original state in period 3.

Despite the fact that the results show a confirmation for Hermann's idea of trait stability, the question remains how such consistency amongst character traits could occur. A follow up study should dive deeper into the psychological aspect of this research, in order to establish why leaders are so determinant in their character traits and do not budge even when a massive political crisis such as 9/11 occurs. Moreover, in the grand scheme of things it is also interesting to look into the stability of the leadership style the leader displays. After all, the LTA method is designed to classify the leadership style of a leader, and the character traits are merely variables to help assess this leadership style (Hermann, 2005). This thesis has shown how, even when certain character traits vary slightly, a leader displays a relatively stable style of leadership, regardless of when major political events occur. A suggestion for further research could be to look into more extreme cases of threatening situations, to serve as a potential confirmation that the leadership style of a leader does not alter during or after major political crises.

Finally, a noteworthy aspect of this thesis' results is that there are contrasting results in this case when using the OC and the LTA method. Using the OC method, Renshon (2008) has found a significant change in Bush's beliefs when analysing his belief system during a similar time period. Considering the fact that the OC and the LTA method have many similarities, one could have expected a similar change in Bush's character traits. However, the results of this thesis show something else, as the only character trait that showed a minor significant variation returned to a score close to its original state. Therefore, it is argued that Bush's character traits ultimately have not changed, which leads to a discrepancy between the OC and the LTA method. Carefully, one could argue that the LTA method is a more valid instrument to assess the overall leadership style of a leader, as the results of this thesis show how stable a leader's leadership style could be. Perhaps the beliefs measured with the OC method are more sensitive to political events than the character traits measured in LTA, hence the variation in Renshon's (2008) research. This contrariety between the two methods should be up for review in further research in order to establish the exact difference between the two leadership assessment methods.

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Appendix

Data points period 1

Data point	Words	Speech Acts	Date	Sort	Topic
1	5944	3	Nov 01 1999 Jan 10 2000 Jan 27 2000	Speech and Debates	Security, Military Deployment
2	5114	1	Mar 15 2000	Interview	Kosovo, Foreign Policy
3	5214	5	Feb 20 2000 Mar 08 2000 May 17 2000 May 23 2000 May 24 2000	Speech and Interview	Israel, National Security, Campaign speech
4	5584	3	July 11 2000 Oct 03 2000 Oct 11 2000	Speech and Debate	Foreign Affairs
5	5194	5	Dec 16 2000 Dec 28 2000 Jan 14 2001 Feb 13 2001 Mar 07 2001	News conference, Interview and Speech	Military Deployment
6	6329	3	May 01 2001 July 22 2001 Aug 29 2001	Speech and News conference	Defense
7	5375	3	Apr 19 2001 Mar 29 2001 Aug 13 2001	Interview	Defense
Total	38.754	23*			

Notes: *This sample of 23 speech acts consists of 11 speeches, 5 interviews, 4 news conferences and 3 debates.

Period 1 speech acts specified

Date	Title	Words	Source	Sort
Nov 1, 1999	Speech in Texas	3747	https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/politics/camp/110199wh-gop-bush-text.html	Speech

Jan 10, 2000	Bush during Republican Dinner	134	https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/politics/camp/011000wh-gop-bush-text.html	Speech
Jan 27, 2000	Text from Five Republicans' Debate in New Hampshire	2063	https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/politics/camp/012700wh-gop-debate-text.html	Debate
Feb 20, 2000	Victory Speech in Columbia, S.C.	645	https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/politics/camp/02200wh-gop-bush-text.html	Speech
Mar 8, 2000	Campaign Speech in Austin, Texas	940	https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/politics/camp/030800wh-gop-bush-text.html	Speech
Mar 15, 2000	Interview With George W. Bush	5057	https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/politics/camp/031600wh-bush-text.html https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/politics/camp/031600wh-bush-text2.html	Interview
May 17, 2000	George W. Bush Speech in Washington State	987	https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/world/asia/051800bush-text.html	Speech
May 23, 2000	Remarks on Israel	155	https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/politics/camp/052300wh-gop-bush-text.html	Speech
May 24, 2000	George W. Bush remarks on National Security & Arms Policy, Washington	2487	https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/politics/camp/071100wh-bush-text.html	Speech
July 11, 2000	George W. Bush addressing the N.A.A.C.P. delegates in Baltimore, Md.	1927	https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/politics/camp/071100wh-bush-text.html	Speech
Oct 3, 2000	First Presidential debate in Boston	992	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/presidential-debate-boston	Debate

Oct 11, 2000	Second Presidential Debate	2663	https://www.debates.org/voter-education/debate-transcripts/october-11-2000-debate-transcript/	Debate
Dec 16, 2000	The President-Elect's News conference Announcing the Nomination of Colin L. Powell as Secretary of State	787	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-president-elects-news-conference-announcing-the-nomination-colin-l-powell-secretary	News conference
Dec 28, 2000	The President-Elect's News conference Announcing the Nomination of Donald Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense	910	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-president-elects-news-conference-announcing-the-nomination-donald-rumsfeld-secretary	News conference
Jan 14, 2001	Interview with President-Elect George W. Bush	1253	https://www.nytimes.com/2001/01/14/us/excerpts-from-the-interview-with-president-elect-george-w-bush.html	Interview
Feb 13, 2001	Remarks by the President to the Troops and Personnel	1551	https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/20010213-1.html	Speech
Mar 7, 2001	Remarks by President Bush and President Kim Dae-Jung of South Korea	693	https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/03/20010307-6.html	Interview
April 19, 2001	Remarks by President Bush and President de La Rua of Argentina in Photo Opportunity	897	https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/04/20010419-5.html	Interview

May 1, 2001	Remarks by the President to Students and Faculty at National Defense University	1947	https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/05/20010501-10.html	Speech
Mar 29, 2001	Press Conference by the President	2018	https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/03/20010329.html	News conference
July 22, 2001	Press Conference by President Bush and President Putin	1675	https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/07/20010722-3.html	News conference
Aug 13, 2001	Remarks by the President to the Traveling Press Pool	665	https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/08/20010813.html	Interview
Aug 29, 2001	President Discusses Defense Priorities at American Legion	2460	https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/08/20010829-2.html	Speech

Data points period 2

Data point	Words	Speech Acts	Date	Sort	Topic
1	5629	8	Sep 11 2001 Sep 12 2001 Sep 14 2001 Sep 14b 2001 Sep 16 2001 Sep 17 2001	Speeches and News conferences	9/11 Attacks
2	5110	3	Sep 24 2001 Sep 25 2001 Sep 26 2001	News conferences	9/11 Attacks
3	5224	1	Oct 11 2001	News conference	War on Terror
4	5157	2	Nov 13 2001 Nov 15 2001	News conference and interview	US-Russia Relations

					and War on Terror
5	5426	2	Dec 04 2001 Dec 20 2001	News conference and interview	War on Terror
6	5370	1	Jan 05 2002	Interview	War on Terror, 9/11 and US-Mexico relations
7	6499	3	Feb 13 2002 Feb 15 2002 Feb 16 2002	Speeches	War on Terror and Military Deployment
8	5023	1	Mar 19 2002	Interview	Trade, Border issues, and US-Central America Relations
9	6716	2	Apr 04 2002 Apr 08 2002	Interviews	WMD, War on Terror, Coalition for Freedom
10	5215	2	May 07 2002 May 21 2002	News conference and interview	NATO, Russia, Israel-Palestine conflict
11	5938	2	June 06 2002 June 11 2002	Speeches	Homeland security in light of War on Terror
12	6333	2	July 12 2002 July 17 2002	News conference and interview	NATO, Russia, War on Terror
13	5009	1	Aug 23 2002	Speech	War on Terror, 9/11 and US-Mexico relations

14	5834	3	Sep 05 2002 Sep 11 2002 Sep 11b 2002	Speeches	War on Terror and 9/11 attacks
Total	**78.483**	**31***			

Notes: *This sample of 33 speech acts consists of 15 speeches, 10 news conferences and 8 interviews.

Period 2 speech acts specified

Date	Title	Words	Source	Sort
Sep 11, 2001	Remarks in Sarasota, Florida, on the Terrorist Attack on New York City's World Trade Center Remarks at Barksdale Air Force Base, Louisiana, on the Terrorist Attacks Address to the Nation on the Terrorist Attacks	959	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-sarasota-florida-the-terrorist-attack-new-york-citys-world-trade-center https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-barksdale-air-force-base-louisiana-the-terrorist-attacks https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-the-nation-the-terrorist-attacks	Speeches
Sep 12, 2001	Remarks Following a Meeting With the National Security Team	379	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-following-meeting-with-the-national-security-team	Speech
Sep 14, 2001	Remarks at the National Day of Prayer and Remembrance Service	947	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-national-day-prayer-and-remembrance-service-0	Speech
Sep 14b, 2001	Remarks to Police, Firemen, and Rescue	130	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-police-firemen-and-rescueworkers-the-	Speech

	Workers at the World Trade Center Site in New York City		world-trade-center-site-new-york-city	
Sep 16, 2001	Remarks on Arrival at the White House and an Exchange With Reporters	1565	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-arrival-the-white-house-and-exchange-with-reporters	News conference
Sep 17, 2001	Remarks to Employees in the Pentagon and an Exchange With Reporters in Arlington, Virginia	1649	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-employees-the-pentagon-and-exchange-with-reporters-arlington-virginia	News conference
Sep 24, 2001	Remarks on United States Financial Sanctions Against Terrorists and Their Supporters and an Exchange With Reporters	2667	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-united-states-financial-sanctions-against-terrorists-and-their-supporters-and	News conference
Sep 25, 2001	Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan and an Exchange With Reporters	1271	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-following-discussions-with-prime-minister-junichiro-koizumi-japan-and-exchange	News conference
Sep 26, 2001	Remarks Prior to Discussions with Muslim Community Leaders and an Exchange With Reporters	1172	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-prior-discussions-with-muslim-community-leaders-and-exchange-with-reporters	News conference
Oct 11, 2001	The President's News conference	5224	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-1089	News conference

Nov 13, 2001	The President's News conference With President Vladimir Putin of Russia	2271	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-with-president-vladimir-putin-russia-0	News conference
Nov 15, 2001	Remarks With President Vladimir Putin of Russia and a Question-and-Answer Session With Crawford High School Students in Crawford	2887	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-with-president-vladimir-putin-russia-and-question-and-answer-session-with-crawford	Interview
Dec 04, 2001	Remarks at a Town hall Meeting in Orlando	4474	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-townhall-meeting-orlando	Interview
Dec 20, 2001	Remarks Announcing Action Against Terrorist Financial Support Networks	952	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-announcing-action-against-terrorist-financial-support-networks	Speech
Jan 05, 2002	Remarks at a Town hall Meeting in Ontario, California	5370	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-townhall-meeting-ontario-california	Interview
Feb 13, 2002	The President's News conference With President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan	1786	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-with-president-pervez-musharraf-pakistan-0	News conference
Feb 15, 2002	Remarks Following the Swearing-In of Gaddi H. Vasquez as Director of the Peace Corps	1416	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-following-the-swearing-gaddi-h-vasquez-director-the-peace-corps	Speech
Feb 16, 2002	Remarks to the Troops at	3297	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-	Speech

	Elmendorf Air Force Base in Anchorage, Alaska		troops-elmendorf-air-force-base-anchorage-alaska	
Mar 19, 2002	Interview With Latin American and American Spanish Language Journalists	5023	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-latin-american-and-american-spanish-language-journalists	Interview
Apr 04, 2002	Interview With the United Kingdom's ITV Television Network	2748	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-the-united-kingdoms-itv-television-network	Interview
Apr 08, 2002	Interview With the Wall Street Journal	3968	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-the-wall-street-journal	Interview
May 07, 2002	Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel and an Exchange With Reporters	1203	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-following-discussions-with-prime-minister-ariel-sharon-israel-and-exchange-with-1	News conference
May 21, 2002	Interview With European Journalists	4009	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-european-journalists-2	Interview
June 06, 2002	Address to the Nation on the Proposed Department of Homeland Security	1491	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-the-nation-the-proposed-department-homeland-security	Speech
June 11, 2002	Remarks at Oak Park High School in Kansas City, Missouri	4073	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-oak-park-high-school-kansas-city-missouri	Speech

July 12, 2002	Interview With Polish Journalists	4206	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-polish-journalists-0	Interview
July 17, 2002	The President's News conference With President Aleksander Kwasniewski of Poland	2127	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-with-president-aleksander-kwasniewski-poland	News conference
Aug 23, 2002	Remarks to the Community in Stockton, California	5009	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-community-stockton-california	Speech
Sep 05, 2002	Remarks to the Community in Louisville, Kentucky	4260	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-community-louisville-kentucky	Speech
Sep 11, 2002	Address to the Nation From Ellis Island, New York, on the Anniversary of the Terrorist Attacks of September 11	904	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-the-nation-from-ellis-island-new-york-the-anniversary-the-terrorist-attacks	Speech
Sep 11b, 2002	Remarks at the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia	670	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-pentagon-arlington-virginia-0	Speech

Data points Period 3

Data point	Words	Speech Acts	Date	Sort	Topic
1	8150	3	Jan 04 2008 Jan 09 2008 Jan 10 2008	Interview and News conference	Palestine-Israel
2	5150	2	Jan 26 2008 Jan 31 2008	Speeches	War on Terror
3	5193	2	Feb 19 2008 Feb 20 2008	News conference	US-Africa relations

4	6589	4	Mar 19 2008 Mar 19b 2008 Mar 19c 2008 Mar 19d 2008	Speech and interviews	Iran
5	5682	2	Mar 26 2008 Mar 28 2008	Interview and News conference	NATO, Russia-US
6	5495	3	Apr 01 2008 Apr 02 2008 Apr 06 2008	News conference	NATO, Russia-US, Afghanistan
7	5422	4	May 12 2008	Interviews	Middle East
8	5834	2	Jun 06 2008 Jun 10 2008	Interview and News conference	US-Europe Relations, US foreign policy, Iraq and Iran
9	5566	1	July 02 2008	Interview	G8, Global Health, War on Terror
10	7401	2	July 30 2008 Aug 07 2008	Interview	Humanitarian Crises, China-US relations, ASEAN, Trade
11	6968	3	Sep 09 2008 Sep 11 2008 Sep 23 2008	Speeches	Terrorism and 9/11
12	6257	3	Oct 11 2008 Oct 16 2008 Oct 21 2008	Speeches	Global Economy
13	5040	4	Nov 15 2008 Nov 20 2008 Nov 22 2008 Nov 28 2008	Speech and interviews	US-South-America relations, Global Economy and APEC
14	6808	2	Dec 05 2008	Speech and Interview	Middle East and US Foreign Policy

15	5211	2	Jan 07 2009 Jan 15 2009	Speech and Interview	Reflections on US presidency
Total	**90.766**	**39***			

Notes: *This sample of 39 speech acts consists of 13 speeches, 9 news conferences and 17 interviews.

Speech acts period 3 specified

Date	Title	Words	Source	Sort
Jan 04, 2008	Interview with Foreign Print	3888	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-foreign-print-media	Interview
Jan 09, 2008	The President's News conference With Prime Minister Ehud Olmert of Israel in Jarusalem	2267	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-with-prime-minister-ehud-olmert-israel-jerusalem	News conference
Jan 10, 2008	The President's News conference With President Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian Authority in Ramallah, Palestinian Terrirories	1995	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-with-president-mahmoud-abbas-the-palestinian-authority-1	News conference
Jan 26, 2008	The President's Radio Address	521	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-radio-address-489	Speech
Jan 31, 2008	Remarks on the War on Terror in Las Vegas, Nevada	4629	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-war-terror-las-vegas-nevada	Speech
Feb 19, 2008	The President's News conference with President Paul Kagame of Rwanda in Kigali	2707	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-with-president-paul-kagame-rwanda-kigali	News conference
Feb 20, 2008	The President's News conference with President John of Ghana in Accra	2486	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-with-president-john-agyekum-kufuor-ghana-accra	News conference

Mar 19, 2008	Remarks on the War on Terror in Arlington, Viriginia	3164	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-war-terror-arlington-virginia	Speech
Mar 19b, 2008	Interview with Setareh Derakshsesh of VOA Persian News Network	1125	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-setareh-derakhshesh-voa-persian-news-network	Interview
Mar 19c, 2008	Interview with Parichehr Farzam of Radio Farda	1065	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-parichehr-farzam-radio-farda	Interview
Mar 19d, 2008	Interview with Master Sergeant Erin Roberts of the Pentagon Channel	1236	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-master-sergeant-erin-roberts-the-pentagon-channel	Interview
Mar 26, 2008	Interview With Foreign Print Journalists	2518	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-foreign-print-journalists-6	Interview
Mar 28, 2008	The President's News conference With Prime Minister Kevin M. Rudd of Australia	2580	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-with-prime-minister-kevin-m-rudd-australia	News conference
Apr 01, 2008	The President's News conference With President Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine in Kiev, Ukraine	1510	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-with-president-viktor-yushchenko-ukraine-kiev-ukraine	News conference
Apr 02, 2008	The President's News conference With President Traian Basescu of Romania in Neptun, Romania	1924	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-with-president-traian-basescu-romania-neptun-romania	News conference
Apr 06, 2008	The President's News conference With President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia in Sochi	2061	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-with-president-vladimir-v-putin-russia-sochi	News conference
May 12, 2008	Interview With Middle Eastern Press	5422	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-jacob-eilon-and-gil-tamari-channel-10-tv-israel	Interview

			https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-mona-shazli-egypts-dream-tv https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-lukman-ahmed-bbc-arabic https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-nadia-bilbassy-charters-al-arabiya-television	
June 06, 2008	Interview with European press	3938	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-natasa-briski-slovenias-pop-tv https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-gianni-riotta-italys-rai-tv https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-christian-malard-france-3-tv	Interview
June 10, 2008	The President's News conference With European Union Leaders in Kranj, Slovenia	1896	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-with-european-union-leaders-kranj-slovenia	News conference
July 02, 2008	Interview With Foreign Print Journalist	5566	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-foreign-print-journalists-5	Interview
July 30, 2008	Interview With Foreign Print Journalists	4585	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-foreign-print-journalists-4	Interview
Aug 07, 2008	Interview with Foreign Radio Journalists in Bangkok	2816	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-foreign-radio-journalists-bangkok	Interview
Sep 09, 2008	Remarks at the National Defense University	3228	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-national-defense-university-2	Speech
Sep 11, 2008	Remarks at the Dedication Ceremony for the 9/11 Pentagon Memorial in Arlington, Virginia	883	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-dedication-ceremony-for-the-911-pentagon-memorial-arlington-virginia	Speech
Sep 23, 2008	Remarks to the United Nations General	2858	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-united-nations-general-assembly-new-york-city-6	Speech

	Assembly in New York City			
Oct 11, 2008	Remarks Following a Meeting With G-7 Finance Ministers and the Heads of International Finance Institutions	717	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-following-meeting-with-g-7-finance-ministers-and-the-heads-international-finance	Speech
Oct 16, 2008	Remarks on Signing the Andean Trade Preference Act Extension	749	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-signing-the-andean-trade-preference-act-extension	Speech
Oct 18, 2008	The President's Radio Address	705	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-radio-address-454	Speech
Oct 21, 2008	Remarks at the White House Summit on International Development	4791	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-white-house-summit-international-development	Speech
Nov 15, 2008	Remarks at a State Dinner With Financial Markets and World Economy Summit Participants	562	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-state-dinner-with-financial-markets-and-world-economy-summit-participants	Speech
Nov 20, 2008	Interview with Raul Tola of America TV	931	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-raul-tola-america-tv	Interview
Nov 22, 2008	Remarks at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Business Summit in Lima	2797	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-asia-pacific-economic-cooperation-business-summit-lima	Speech
Nov 28, 2008	Interview Excerpts of President Bush and First Lady Laura Bush by Doro Bush Koch for StoryCorps	750	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-excerpts-president-bush-and-first-lady-laura-bush-doro-bush-koch-for-storycorps	Interview
Dec 05, 2008	Remarks at the Saban Forum	3564	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-saban-forum	Speech

Dec 05b, 2008	Interview With Nadia Bilbassy Charters of MBC TV	3244	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-nadia-bilbassy-charters-mbc-tv	Interview
Jan 07, 2009	Interview With Brit Hume of FOX News	3260	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/interview-with-brit-hume-fox-news	Interview
Jan 15, 2009	Farewell Address to the Nation	1862	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/farewell-address-the-nation-2	Speech