Policy and Rhetoric:

Identifying Patterns and Connections Between the State of the Union Addresses

Of Presidents Richard M. Nixon and George W. Bush

By Denise R.M. Lenz

"He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient…"

- Article II, Section 3, United States Constitution

I. Introduction

"The only effective restraint upon executive policy and power in the areas of national defense and international affairs may lie in an enlightened citizenry – in an informed and critical public opinion which alone can here protect the values of democratic government" (as quoted by Podesta and Legum 2004). These words, written by Justice Potter Stewart in a decision rejecting President Richard M. Nixon's appeal to the court for an injunction against the publication of the Pentagon Papers in 1971, express the basic premise that openness and honesty between the government and those being governed is the only way to ensure the virtues of democracy and keep in check the powers of the executive.

Three years later, President Nixon would resign from office instead of risking certain impeachment in the wake of the Watergate scandal.

Now, murmurings of impeachment loom in the shadows once again. Former Congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman (D-New York), also a former member of the House Judiciary Committee in the impeachment proceedings against President Nixon, describes her apprehension over current President George W. Bush's disdain for the U.N. and the Geneva Conventions, "concerns that have been compounded by growing evidence that the President deliberately misled the country into the war in Iraq" (Holtzman 2006). Holtzman continues:

> But it wasn't until the most recent revelations that President Bush directed the wiretapping of hundreds, possibly thousands, of Americans, in violation of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) – and argued that, as Commander-in-Chief, he had the right in the interests of national security to override our country's law – that I felt the same sinking feeling in my stomach as I did during Watergate.

It is Holtzman's stance that President Bush's transgressions encompass grounds for impeachment – an eventuality that, she says, "will not happen until the American people are

convinced of its necessity after a full and fair inquiry into the facts and law is conducted"
(Holtzman 2006). Echoing the sentiments of Justice Stewart in the Pentagon Papers case,
Holtzman concludes that, given the seriousness of the deception perpetrated, the impeachment of
President Bush is necessary to preserve both our constitution and our democracy.

Somewhere along the way, the encouragement of an "enlightened citizenry" capable of
"informed and critical" decision-making was lost. How, then, in the interests of conducting a
"full and fair inquiry into the facts and law," do we measure the words of a president whose
ethics are in question? How do their policies and their rhetoric compare to reality, and to each
other? Where do we even begin to look for these answers?

In this paper, I begin the search by conducting a quantitative time-series content analysis
on the speeches deemed by researcher Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha as "the best place to look for the
president's agenda" (Eshbaugh-Soha 2005) – the annual State of the Union address. Are there
any similarities between the policies and rhetoric of controversial United States Presidents
Richard M. Nixon and George W. Bush, as communicated through their respective State of the
Union addresses?

There has been much research conducted on who influences whom between the
president, the Congress, the public, and the media, with regard to presidential agenda setting
(Cohen 1995; Quaile Hill 1998; Edwards and Wood 1999; Eshbaugh-Soha 2005). Ultimately, a
general consensus seems to be that influence depends on the issue at hand, the social and
political climate, and the personalities, popularity, and tenacity of the players involved, but that,
in the end, all of these forces "exert mutual influence" (Edwards and Wood 1999) in a political
game that is as complex as it is massive. "Presidential agendas," states Eshbaugh-Soha, "are
functions of the president's contextual environment" (Eshbaugh-Soha 2005). How, then, do we

reconcile contextual environment with how a given president chooses to frame that which he intends to pursue? Again, we turn to the State of the Union address as the expression of a president's policy intentions, and to borrow from the research of Eshbaugh-Soha, we look at the variables of presidential popularity ratings, the amount of time a president has been in office (since, as Eshbaugh-Soha points out, there is a certain "honeymoon" period during the beginning of a president's term, first *or* second, during which he generally has more leverage to enact policy and thus may be bolder in proposing said legislation [Eshbaugh-Soha 2005]), and what policies a president may have inherited from a prior administration – since *all* of these factors may influence both what a president proposes and how he proposes it.

There are other methodologies I build on from the works of prior researchers, all of which are discussed in greater detail in the "Methodology" section of this paper. But, as a quick overview, I borrow from Eshbaugh-Soha (Eshbaugh-Soha 2005) the aforementioned variable considerations, and from Cohen (Cohen 1995), I adapt his consideration of the rhetorical arguments made, as well as his method of dividing policy issues into economic, foreign, and civil rights matters and converting the results into a comparison of how much time a given president allots to certain issues.

Says Kim Quaile Hill, after conducting research that directly picked up where Cohen's 1995 report leaves off, "Presidents have considerable discretion in the framing of their issue presentations. They may attend to some degree to public concerns, but they are not entirely the captives of the public or of political events in their agenda-setting efforts" (Quaile Hill 1998).

Indeed, given the power of the office and its ability to test the limits of democracy, it is prudent and necessary to explore the message where it begins, in the State of the Union. I hypothesize that there are, indeed, parallels between the policies and rhetoric of President

Richard M. Nixon and President George W. Bush, and that a knowledge and understanding of these similarities may possibly provide insight into how to recognize abuse of power and propaganda in the future, before it reaches the levels perpetrated by these two men.

II. Methodology

As mentioned, this study is a quantitative time-series analysis; that is to say, it is "data in the form of numbers... The numerical information is an empirical representation of the abstract ideas" (Neuman 2004, 107) in which the "researcher gathers the same type of information across two or more time periods… [observing] stability or change in the features of the units [being analyzed] or… [tracking] conditions over time" (Neuman 2004, 17). The researcher conducts document analysis of all of the State of the Union addresses of United States President George W. Bush (covering 2001-2007), and all but one of those of President Richard M. Nixon. In the case of the latter, President Nixon presented his 1973 State of the Union in the form of six separate addresses given over an extended period of weeks, covering different agenda issues in each. This break from form alters the method of information delivery to the public to such a degree that I deem it incompatible for comparison to the other eleven speeches. Thus, Nixon's Addresses from 1970, 1971, 1972, and 1974 are used for analysis, sans the six from 1973. All data in this study is collected and analyzed by the researcher. Thus, there should be no discrepancies in interpretive techniques, as there is only one researcher involved. Data will be presented in both written verbal and descriptive form.

Regarding variables, I utilize a variety of considerations in my analysis of the State of the Union addresses. Namely, Cohen (1995) contributes to categorization of the ideas expressed in these addresses in his division of policy into matters pertaining to Economics, Foreign Policy,

and Civil Rights. "Economic policy," says Cohen, "constitutes… references to economic policy and problems, such as budgets, budget deficits, overall spending levels, inflation, unemployment, regulation in general (not directed at specific industries), taxes, and monetary issues." He goes on to describe foreign policy as "references to relations with other nations, including the United Nations and other international organizations; foreign aid; and military and defense issues." Civil rights "refers to issues relating to minority groups." I add to Cohen's criteria the following: In the foreign policy category, I include matters related to terrorism and the defense against it, both domestic and foreign, as the insinuation tends to be that terror comes from outside the United States, thus wherever it is battled, it constitutes relations with a foreign entity; I also include matters of the United States military, as their primary purpose is defense in foreign policy matters. For that reason, I have expanded the name of the category from simply "foreign policy" to "foreign policy/military." There is a temptation to separate the two into different categories, but they are so tightly intertwined, particularly when addressed in State of the Union speeches, that separation seems futile. Thus, they remain combined. In the civil rights category, I clarify that "minority groups" refers to issues of race, color, *and* sexual orientation; the various civil rights of *all* United States citizens, regardless of minority status; and immigration issues, which have exploded into the forefront as a civil rights matter in the 2000s. And in the area of economic policy, I add references to the need for smaller government (an ideal to which both presidents profess allegiance), as this is frequently cited as a fiscal concern as much as a Constitutional one. In matters where budgetary concerns/proposals relate directly to any of the other categories outlined here and below (for example, specifics on how to finance education, healthcare, or energy research), I categorize those sentences under their non-Economic heading (that is, "education," "healthcare," or "energy/environment," all addressed below).

Additionally, I have included three new categories for analysis: Energy/environment (which includes references to energy concerns of gas/oil, electricity, clean energy, alternative fuels, and energy sustainability, as well as environmental issues, such as global warming, conservation, wildlife, weather, environmental clean-up, and urban sprawl); education (including all references to elementary, middle, and high school education, college tuition assistance, and reforms in all these areas); and the economic policy sub-category of healthcare (covering all issues related to the state of domestic healthcare, including Medicare, and reforms for such). Cohen did not see these as particularly pressing or dominant issues in presidential State of the Union addresses through 1989, but President Nixon does reference all three quite frequently, and President Bush goes on about each of them to some length; thus, their inclusion in this analysis.

Cohen operates under the assumption that "presidents give greater space to those policy areas that are most important to them" (Cohen, 1995). So, in categorizing the amount of time allotted to each of these three major subject areas, I can more quantitatively focus on what policy areas and issues each president in question hones in on in an attempt to shape public perception. Cohen utilizes a method of counting the number of sentences dedicated to each of categories being analyzed, "then [dividing] by the total number of sentences that refer to any policy area. The resulting percentages represent the proportion of the policy component of each Address that these… policy areas command." I adapt this method in quantifying said information in the State of the Union addresses of Nixon and Bush.

An additional distinction made by Cohen (1995) is that between rhetoric and substantive argument. Substantive arguments, which are more specific and drawn-out than their rhetorical counterparts, are, according to Cohen, frequently used in presidential speeches to press a point. "By taking positions and providing more reasons for those positions," Cohen says, "the president

spends more speech time on the topic, which reinforces the message that the policy area is important." This, in turn, focuses "an inattentive public" on a policy area of concern to the president, in the hopes of turning the public toward the president's desired outcome. Rhetoric, by contrast, utilizes less time and fewer words, is generally reserved for issues that already have public knowledge and backing, and is used as a method of reinforcing those already accepted stances. "Presidential rhetoric may itself be persuasive," says Cohen. "The position of the president and the public's reliance on him makes anything that the president says important and influential. Thus, symbolic appeals alone may influence the public's agenda." Basically, "rhetoric" is more symbol than substance, something to be brushed over instead of investigated through substantial discourse. Though I do not go into particular detail on the measure of substantiveness in the State of the Union addresses (due to constraints of time and practicality), there is an insinuation to be made that the policy issues that receive the highest allotment of speech sentences generally possess more substantive arguments than their lesser-attended counterparts. Looking into the nature and extent of those substantive arguments is to be left for another analysis, entirely. Rhetoric, however, is reviewed in quite a bit of depth.

Other procedural specifics will be provided in the Analysis section that follows.


III. Analysis

One sharp distinction between the speech-giving styles of Presidents Richard Nixon and George W. Bush is the amount of time dedicated to pure rhetoric. Nixon, in the four speeches analyzed by this researcher, dedicates between a quarter and a half of each speech to flowery discourse that is not directly linked to agenda matters; instead, much of this non-agenda speak is devoted to painting a rhetoric of "legacy" and "greatness." He speaks at great length, throughout

all of his speeches, about legacy, both presidential and Congressional, with repeated references to the terms "great Congress," greatest Congress," "great," "greatness," "historic," "revolutionary," "landmark accomplishments," "future generations," and, of course, "legacy." (Case in point: Two sentences uttered in the last third of what would be his final Address, in 1974: "Throughout the five years that I have served as your President, I have had one overriding aim, and that was to establish a new structure of peace in the world that can free future generations of the scourge of war… This has been and this will remain my first priority and the chief legacy I hope to leave from the eight years of my Presidency.") He also includes phrases such as "at peace with all the nations of the world," "peace in the world," "for the first time in a generation," "for the first time ever," "more abundantly than ever before," and "the world has changed" (all in reference to gains accomplished with himself as leader) throughout these four speeches. This repeated rhetoric appears to serve as an instrument of redirection – Nixon's attempt at drawing attention away from the war that was tearing the country apart, and instead focusing the people on the fulfillment of his hoped-for legacy of societal improvement and worldwide peacemaking.
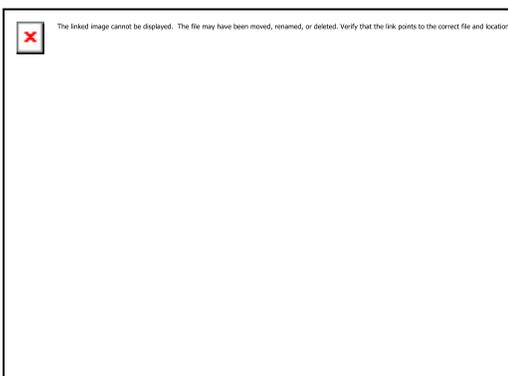

In a manner self-consciously reflective of the oratory style of John F. Kennedy, his predecessor and frequent political rival, Nixon repeatedly dodges significant discussion of Vietnam (an issue that seriously ravaged and divided the country at the time) in favour of

flowery rhetoric, allotting a mere 15.6% (31 sentences) of his 1970 speech to matters of foreign policy and military, and but one *sentence* to such in 1971. In defense of Nixon, he does state that he was to deliver a separate address to Congress on foreign policy/military matters; that said, he tended to do so *every* year, yet still managed to at least brush upon the issue of Vietnam in his other Addresses. His choice not to do so at all in the 1971 Address that was delivered to the people of America (as opposed to just the Congress) is a conscious choice; for that matter, his tendency to reserve most of his discussions of Vietnam for a later point, when not in such a focused public eye, is *also* a conscious choice, and one likely made to help detract from its importance in his overall message.
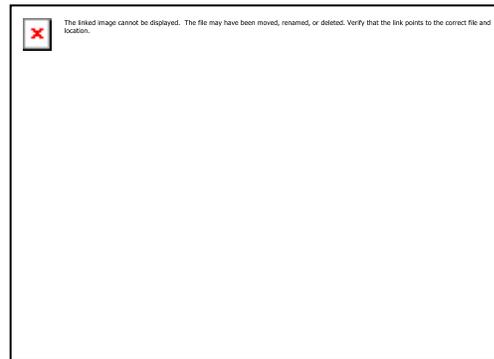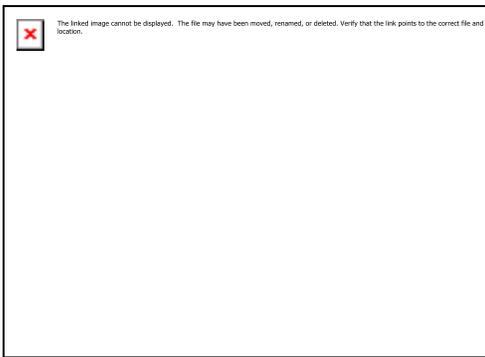

He returns to addressing foreign policy and the military in 1972 and 1974 (19.9% [37 sentences] and 15.4% [31 sentences] of those speeches, respectively), but in each of those years barely half of the content of his speeches are dedicated to his agenda at all. In 1970, with 40 sentences in which his "legacy" rhetoric occurs, it makes up 20.1% of his speech, compared to the aforementioned 15.6% (31 sentences) dedicated to foreign policy/military issues. In 1971, the year he gives one sentence to foreign policy/military, he allots 22.8% (39 sentences) of his speech to "legacy"-specific non-agenda rhetoric. In 1972, "legacy"-specific rhetoric rates 7% (12 sentences) of his overall non-agenda rambling, and in 1974, "legacy" rhetoric comes in at 22.9% (46 sentences).
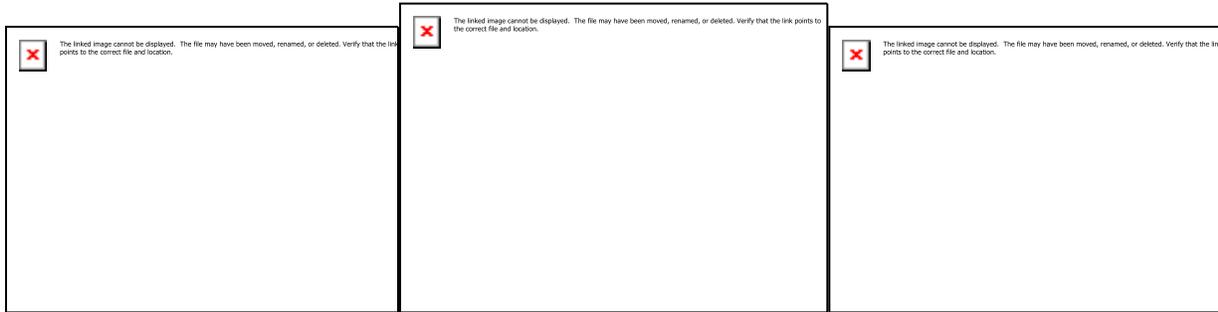
Where President Nixon skirts reference to the vastly unpopular war that plagued the majority of his time in office – a war inherited from President Johnson before him – President Bush embraces war and terror as a vehicle for the delivery of his own desired message. Bush's first Address in 2001, given just weeks after taking office and several months before the terrorist strikes of 9/11, focuses on issues of economics (37.2%, 104.16 sentences) and education (10.4%, 29.16 sentences) – issues on which he ran during the presidential race. He uses his first opportunity to speak to the people as president to push for conservative economic reforms, his No Child Left Behind Act, and tax cuts. Only 8.3% (23.16 sentences) of his speech is dedicated to foreign policy/military issues, amongst them increased defense spending, improvements in military benefits, and the ominous "[threats ranging] from terrorists who threaten with bombs to tyrants in rogue nations intent upon developing weapons of mass destruction" – a comment worthy of further exploration on any number of levels, but alas, not in this paper. From his entire 2001 Address, only three sentences featuring that which will become his post-9/11 "terror" rhetoric occur (specifically, the terms "threats," "terrorists," "tyrants," and "weapons of mass destruction"), rating 1.1% of his entire speech; five sentences with references to what will become his post-9/11 "democracy" rhetoric also occur (specifically, the term "freedom" over five closely-spaced sentences), rating 1.8% of his overall speech. Further description and analysis of Bush's two avenues of war rhetoric will be addressed in a moment.
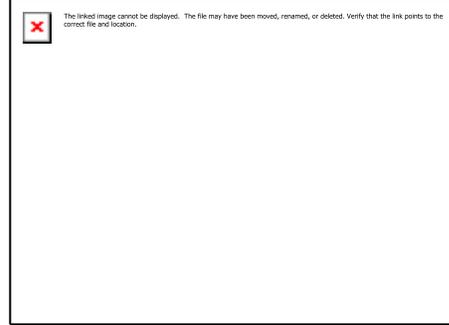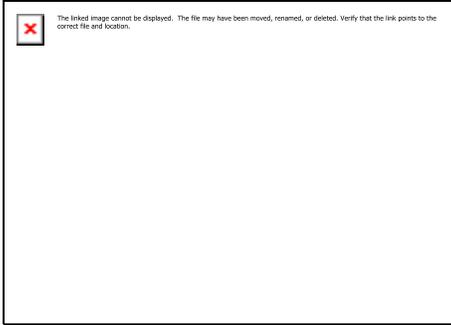
By Bush's 2002 address, more than four months after the 9/11 attacks and about two months after the United States invaded Afghanistan in pursuit of the perpetrators of said attack, economic policy has been reduced to 12% (25.75 sentences) of the speech and education to 4.2%, (9 sentences) while matters of foreign policy and the military jumped from 2001's 8.3% (23.16 sentences) to 42.8% (92 sentences). This number leapt further in 2003, in the State of the Union address preceding the U.S. invasion of Iraq by fewer than two months, to 61.3% (173 sentences), with economic policy falling to 9.2% (26 sentences) of the speech and education not rating at all. In 2004 – an election year for President Bush – matters of economic policy rebounds to 11.2% (31 sentences) and education springs up from 0% in 2003 to 17.8% (49 sentences) of speech sentence allotment, while foreign policy/military issues fall to 35.5% (98 sentences). In 2005, in the Address that follows his re-election win, economic issues are back up to pre-9/11 numbers at 35% (83 sentences), with foreign policy/military issues holding at 37.1% (88 sentences) and education falling into the cracks at 1.7% (4 sentences). In 2006, as his popularity begins to decline, economic policy takes 17.8% (48 sentences) of his speech, foreign policy/military takes 31.8% (107 sentences), and education scratches out 5.2% (14 sentences). His numbers still declining in 2007, Bush returns to what he feels he does best, with foreign policy/military issues rating 46.7% (135 sentences) of his speech, while allotting a mere 10.4% (30 sentences) and 2.8% (8 sentences), respectively, to economic and education issues.
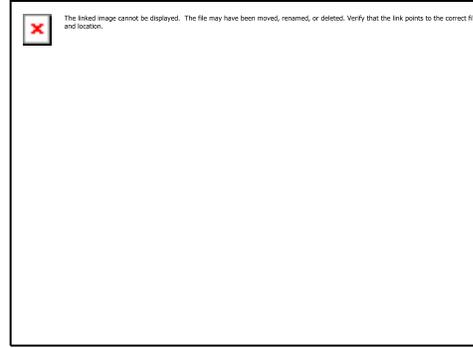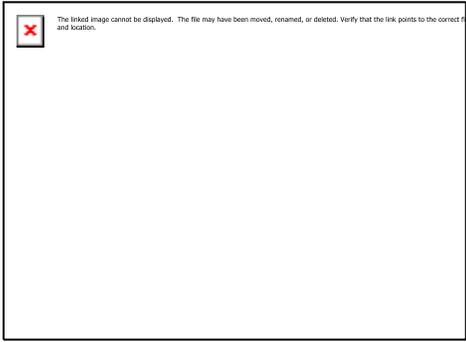
For Bush, his rhetoric – daresay, his "legacy" – comes in the form of two branches of fear: the aforementioned "terror" and "democracy" classifications. "Terror" rhetoric sets up fear of "the enemy" and reinforces a message intended to keep the American people in a state of either dread and alarm, or in a state of caution, depending on how one interprets it; the "democracy" rhetoric, meanwhile, tends to follow up the "terror" message with an injection of pro-military paternalism, to quell the dread enough to forestall panic. "Terror" rhetoric catch phrases include "September eleventh," "September the eleventh," "9/11," "that September morning," "the two Towers," and "Ground Zero" – obvious references to what is arguably the defining moment of Bush's presidency, and the jumping-off point for everything that followed – as well as "terror," "terrorists," "war on terror," "the enemy," "wicked," "evil," "evil-doers," "Axis of Evil," "al Qaeda," "killers," "murder," "tyrant," "tyranny," "threat," "dictator," "weapons," "weapons of mass destruction," "nuclear," "chemical weapons," "biological weapons," "anthrax," "danger," "attack," and "hatred." Presumably as a foil, "democracy" rhetoric includes terms like "civilized," "security," "secure," "victory," "free," "freedom," "free elections," "liberty," "liberation," and "democracy" as descriptions of the United States, the U.S. military, and the results of U.S. actions. Where Nixon is seemingly obsessed with legacy and talking up an image of America that did not necessarily reflect the reality of the harsh disjointedness of the time, Bush utilizes and encourages a sense of fear, placing himself and the

military as the paternal figures leading the nation to a sense of safety. Both Nixon and Bush

reuse these phrases, and others quite like them, in their Addresses, whether in direct relation to

their agenda issues or in non-agenda rhetoric, year after year, speech after speech.

As mentioned, Bush's 2001 Address features very little by way of what would become

his established rhetoric, but considering that 9/11 had not yet transpired and thus al Qaeda, et. al,

were not yet an ingrained part of the national consciousness, even his brief insinuations of

pending battles with "tyrants in rogue nations intent upon developing weapons of mass

destruction" is somewhat surprising. What is *not* surprising, however, is the leap from his

aforementioned 1.1% ("terror") and 1.8% ("democracy") rhetoric in 2001, to a rating of 29.3%

(63 sentences) for "terror" and 12.1% (26 sentences) for "democracy" in 2002. That year, the

total percentage of speech sentences allotted to all non-agenda speak rises from 2001's 23.8%

(66 sentences, due primarily to new-President salutations) to 31.2% (67 sentences); much of this

non-agenda time is spent issuing consoling words to a country still reeling from 9/11. In the

2003 Address, given less than two months before the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Bush spends 25.5%

of speech sentence allotment (72 sentences) on "terror" rhetoric, directed primarily at Iraq as he

attempts to build for the people his case for war; only 6% (17 sentences) goes to "democracy"

rhetoric. In 2004, as he ramps up for a challenging election year, 15.6% of his speech (43

sentences) is dedicated to "terror" rhetoric; 9.1% (25 sentences) is dedicated to "democracy"

rhetoric. In 2005, entering his second term after reelection, Bush delivers 14.3% (34 sentences)

of "terror" rhetoric, and 18.1% (43 sentences) of "democracy" rhetoric – the first time that

"democracy" outpaces "terror" in one of his speeches. In 2006, as his popularity begins to

decline, "terror" and "democracy" are almost evenly divided in his Address, coming in at 13.4%

(36 sentences) for "terror" and 14.1% (38 sentences) for "democracy." The trend of "democracy"

over "terror" is reversed, however, in 2007, as plunging popularity ratings leave Bush with an Address composed of 18% (52 sentences) "terror" and 9.3% (27 sentences) "democracy."

IV. Conclusions

What does any of this say about how the policies and rhetoric of Presidents Richard Nixon and George W. Bush compare?

From a policy standpoint, there would seem to be a division rather than a similarity in the "foreign policy/military" category. Nixon avoids the issue to a large extent, focusing instead on non-agenda proclamations of pending legacy and a glorious America. Bush, on the other hand, uses his war as a catalyst for his own legacy, a perceived legacy of "democracy" across the Middle East. There, then, is the difference between the circumstances of the two men: Nixon's war was vastly unpopular and inherited from a prior administration, whereas Bush's war was begun on his watch and has only recently become an unpopular choice amongst the public. A fairer comparison would be to look at whoever succeeds Bush in the role of President, and compare *that* person's choice of focus and rhetoric to that of Richard Nixon.

The policy issues of focus for each President change with the circumstances of each year, reflecting societal, budgetary, and Congressional make-ups. Further study of the reasoning behind each of these choices is certainly warranted, but is outside the scope and space allotment of this particular study. What *can* be said is that economic policy concerns tend to rate highly with both Presidents, due in part to the professed stance both take on the need for smaller government and related budgetary reforms. It can be assumed, however, that *every* president would rate economic policy quite highly in their issues of focus, due to the clear importance such matters hold to the citizens to whom they are speaking. Further study into the tendencies of

other presidents, from other political parties, would be in order for proper comparison of the amount of time allotted (or not allotted) to any given policy issue. That said, with rare exception, the categories of energy/environment, education, and civil rights tend to consistently rate the *lowest* percentage of all the categories studied. It would be interesting to see if this is a tendency only of these two specific presidents, of Republican presidents in particular, or of all presidents in general. Again, further, more finely detailed study is required, and it is regrettable to this researcher that time and length limitations do not allow for that level of research at this time.

As far as a comparison the rhetoric and policy, themselves, are concerned: From a policy standpoint, Nixon and Bush both tow the party line about smaller government, private healthcare, and the need for ever-stronger military defense. Nixon pays quite a bit of lip service to the need for educational reforms, but Bush draws out a fairly elaborate plan for such. Again, Nixon skirts foreign policy issues and remains quite vague about such in his Addresses – an occurrence quite consistent with State of the Union addresses as a general rule, but whittled down to near perfection by Nixon, himself. Reading Nixon's Addresses, one would be hard-pressed to imagine there is a war going on at all. Bush generally provides more detail on issues he deems important (namely foreign policy/military matters, education, and Social Security reform), while remaining predictably vague on issues of "lesser" importance (i.e., civil rights and environmentalism).

From the standpoint of rhetoric, Nixon and Bush part ways due to separate focuses. Both seem quite taken with their own legacies (again, a matter for further research: is it a preoccupation of *every* president, or of these two in particular?), but they approach them from separate directions. Nixon seems to long for a quieter presidency, in which he can hold peace summits and work on energy and healthcare revolutions without the ever-present specter of war,

whilst Bush appears quite taken with his role as "wartime president," feeding on war frenzy and allowing it to fuel a "legacy of conquest," of sorts – that is to say, a spread of "democracy" across the globe, even if it requires the overthrow of governments, an inflated deficit, ever-increasing troop deployment, and very little by way of ally support. Whereas Nixon wants desperately to rid himself of the war he didn't want, Bush relishes the wars he pursues.

What does this tell us about how to see abuses as they come? Perhaps it is, for both men, a case of "bait and switch," rendered in different ways but achieving the same results. Bush presents half-truths to the panicked populace as reasoning for war, while keeping them in the panicked state so they don't realize they have been duped. Nixon presents an optimistic front, providing much talk of an improved future and (most ironically) the need for improved privacy rights in the age of increasing technology. He states in his 1974 Address that "one measure of a truly free society is the vigor with which it protects the liberties of its individual citizens. As technology has advanced in America, it has increasingly encroached on one of those liberties… Modern information systems, data banks, credit records, mailing list abuses, **electronic snooping**, the collection of personal data for one purpose that may be used for another – all these have left millions of Americans deeply concerned by the privacy they cherish." Truly ironic words, coming from a president who would resign from office six months and one week later in the wake of the Watergate scandal.

The lesson here: Unless the vigilant citizen actually *fact checks* the claims and stances presented to them by their president during State of the Union addresses, the likelihood of being duped by flowery phrases, strategically chosen words, and information over- or under-reported is strong. "Warning signs" of misinformation and misrepresentation are there, if you know where to look – and choose to take the time to do so.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cohen, Jeffrey E. 1995. Presidential rhetoric and the public agenda. *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (February): 87-107.

C-Span. State of the Union addresses. C-Span.org.

http://www.c-span.org/executive/stateoftheunion.asp

Edwards III, George C. and B. Dan Wood. 1999. Who influences whom? The president, congress, and the media. *The American Political Science Review* 93 (June): 327-344.

Eshbaugh-Soha, Matthew. 2005. The politics of presidential agendas. *Political Research Quarterly* 58 (June): 257-268.

Gallup Poll, The. Gallup Poll presidential approval rating data preceding State of the Union addresses, 1970-74, 2001-07. The Gallup Organization. http://www.galluppoll.com

Holtzman, Elizabeth. 2006. The impeachment of George W. Bush. *The Nation* 282, no.4 (30 January): 11-18.

Neuman, W. Lawrence. 2004. *Basics of Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.* Allyn & Bacon.

Podesta, John D. and Judd C. Legum. 2004. The secret history of secrecy: The closing of the American government. *Salon.com* (22 March 2004)

http://archive.salon.com/opinion/feature/2004/03/22/secrecy/index.html

(accessed 4 March 2007).

Prothro, James W. 1956. Verbal shifts in the American presidency: A content analysis. *The American Political Science Review* 50 (September): 726-739.

Quaile Hill, Kim. 1998. The policy agendas of the president and the mass public: A research

validation and extension. *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (October): 1328

1334.

White House, The. State of the Union speech, 2007. Whitehouse.gov.

http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/01/print/20070123-2.html