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Presidential Attitudes towards the Media: The case of Donald Trump

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Dedication

I have the honor to dedicate my work:

To my family especially my Mother, and Father, for their support and precious time.

To my two little sisters, Soumia, and Rayen who did their best to make me relaxed.

To the dearest person in my life Abed el Haddi. To my best cousins, Ghania, Chourouk, and LouLou, for their support. To my grandmother and Aunties, for their prayers and generous encouragement In the process of writing this paper. Finally to my friends especially Dr. Wissem AKA Wiz. Thank You for being here for me.

Abstract

This dissertation aims to explain the Presidential Attitudes towards the Media, mainly the American presidents, with a special focus on president Trump and his controversial tweets.

There will be a historical review over this media relationship, in addition to how does presidents think about the media and how they use it to their favor, and explaining the role played by the media in America in shaping governmental policies. Some media helped Presidents to spread their agendas and win votes. The President_media relationship is complicated and in constant conflicts, but the freedom of the press will always be appreciated in the United States.

ملخص

تهدف هذه المذكرة إلى شرح المواقف الرئاسية تجاه وسائل الإعلام ، خاصة الرؤساء الأميركيين ، مع التركيز بشكل خاص على الرئيس ترامب وتويته المثيرة للجدل. حيث سيكون هناك مراجعة تاريخية لهذه العلاقة الإعلامية ، بالإضافة إلى كيف يفكر الرؤساء في وسائل الإعلام وكيف يستخدمونها لمصلحتهم و توضيح الدور الذي تلعبه وسائل الإعلام في أمريكا في تشكيل السياسات الحكومية. حيث ان وسائل الإعلام ساعدت بعض الرؤساء على نشر جداول أعمالهم وكسب الأصوات. علاقة الرئيس بلإعلام معقدة وفي صراعات مستمرة ، لكن حرية الصحافة موضع تقدير دائم في الولايات المتحدة.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

| | |
|------|-------------------------------------|
| CBS | Columbia Broadcasting System |
| CEO | Chief Executive Officer |
| CREP | Committee to Re-elect the President |
| FCC | Federal Communications Commission |
| FDA | Food and Drug Administration |
| U.S | United States |

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Introduction

The media is any medium that delivers information and news for the people. There are three main types of news media: print media, broadcast media, and the Internet. From the early ages, Presidents and the media are a match made in heaven. While Calvin Coolidge was the first President message to use the radio, President Franklin D. Roosevelt was the first politician to hold a televised conference in 1939.

Thereafter, television became the most effective tool for presidents to communicate directly with the people on regular basis, in times of emergency or during election campaigns. President Donald Trump is the president who is, well known for his excessive use of social media mainly twitter. He had been criticized for his tweets by journalists, citizens, and even his fellow politicians. "Fake News" and Dishonest, these terms were first popularized by Donald Trump, when describing the negative press coverage of himself during, and after his presidential campaigns.

The development of Social Media has contributed to the political processes in improving American democracy for the next years. Democracy and Media are bound together, through a beneficial relationship. However, the recent changes made the American democratic process feel threatened by the media. The media is known to be the "Fourth Estate," or the fourth branch of government in the US, besides the Executive, the Legislative and the Judicial branches, it is protected by the constitution.

The main questions to be raised by this dissertation are mainly the following: If there is a significant relationship between presidents and the Media in America? To what extent this relationship is accomplished? Is the use of Media by Presidents effective? Has it helped them achieve their goals? Why or why not? How often did Trump refer to Media as "Fake News" in his speeches? Although it is protected by the US constitution, how would President Donald Trump limit its power?

It is important to draw some goals behind making such investigation that demonstrates the influence of the media over the American government, and how they brainwash the audience about a given concept, idea or group. Thus, for the purpose of accomplishing the topic understudy, it was based on an extensive use of secondary sources. The work is a collection of a general introduction about the topic, three chapters, and a conclusion. Each chapter deals with a different point from the history of the president_media relationship, to the current president Trump and his love/hate relationship with the media.

In her book: “The Presidency and the Media: An Analysis of the Fundamental Role of the Traditional Press for American Democracy”, Lauren Mannerberg explicitly indicates her opinion, stating that the press in a way protected the democracy of the US. Lauren further says that any “sustained degradation of freedom of the press has the potential to diminish the quality of governance and lead to the deterioration of democratic institutions” (Kellam and Stein 39). A free press is not just a part of the Bill of Rights, it has an essential role in shaping democracy. It is widely known that a nation with a free press is more democratic and successful because “research demonstrates that greater freedom of the press is associated with less corruption and better governance” (39). President Donald Trump who is threatening the free press describing it as "the enemy of the people," and as "fake news" has a negative view of the media. Meanwhile, Trump craves a positive coverage of himself by the press, while a negative one for his opponents, what happen was against his wishes almost all the media, printed or internet talks negatively about President Trump to the extent that made him unhappy.

Chapter One

1. The Role of the Media in America

The media has various uses that are significant to the democratic process in the American political system. It works as a mediator between the government and its people. It helps in choosing the important issues that should be covered, and keeps citizens involved in society and politics. Nevertheless, the primary objective of the mass media continues to be the same, giving audiences information they demand and want to know, for both educational and entertainment goals.

Today, the media has become one of the most powerful and dominant units in politics and daily life. In America, the media presents sufficient information for people to stay notified. Also, it can control what the public should and should not see, as a result of the huge amount of information it provides. The founding fathers specifically involved freedom of speech and freedom of the press in the First Amendment, to guarantee that all opinions and views are accepted and not rejected. Paul Star said that “the Founders were concerned not just with individual rights but also with the institutional role of the press.” Their reasonable thinking guaranteed that the data remains accessible by the people, and to monitor the government's power. The media, in a way it helps in shaping the U.S. government, if it did not exist, people would be unaware of the serious issues around them on both levels national and international, in addition to stories, and the government's activities (American Political Paranoia).

1.1 Hot Spots in the History of the Media

The media performed a vital role in the birth of the First Amendment. It related and promoted the progress toward the establishment of the first freedoms. Despite its biased nature, the media is frequently seen as an important, while a rigid source for information on the daily basis. The first founders of the constitution guaranteed this right, “Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech or of the press” (U.S Constitution). When stating the law it meant

that no governmental authority can or have the right to interfere in the information or opinions the press publishes. According to Trevor Timm, “the First Amendment is the safety valve of our democracy,” and he believes that, “it has always been the bulwark against secret government, against authoritarianism and against tyranny” (Qtd. in D’Arcy).

U.S. media have traveled a long road since the first newspaper was published in Boston, Massachusetts in 1690, by Benjamin Harris. It was closed later because of its article that criticized the government and was found guilty of rebellion and treason. In 1704, *the Boston News-Letter* started by John Campbell, was "by authority" meaning that it was approved by the government, thereafter came the partisan press era where newspapers became typically operated by one of the two major political party organizations: Federalist or Republican. Later on, appeared the Penny Press, *the New York Sun* in 1833 by Benjamin Day, the paper was full of news and cost only a penny. The penny paper’s biggest influence came from Charles Knight’s *The Penny Magazine* (1832–1845). The main purpose of this magazine was to educate, it was very familiar with Americans. It became a very successful magazine as it won a circulation of more than 20,000 within a year. In the late 19th century, unethical, irresponsible type of journalism that involved screaming headlines and frauds called yellow journalism, fed people with rumors and scandals of policy makers or any celebrity (The Media in the United States).

1.1.1 The Federalist Papers

The Federalist Papers consist of 85 essays drafting how the new government would operate and why this type of government was the best choice for the United States of America. All the essays were signed Publius. Alexander Hamilton chose Publius as the pseudonym in honor of the great Roman Publius Valerius Publicola. He wrote fifty-two, whereas James Madison wrote twenty-nine. Hamilton later became President of the United States and "Father of the Constitution." The remaining five articles were contribution of John Jay during the 1780s. The Federalist Papers continue to exist today as an outstanding source for anyone who wants

to know the U.S. Constitution. Madison introduced 12 amendments during the First Congress in 1789. States approved 10 of these amendments in 1791, they are known as the Bill of Rights. The first amendments contain freedom of religion, speech, press, and petition (*The Federal Papers*).

In his letter to Colonel Edward Carrington, January 1787, Thomas Jefferson wrote “Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter”. Thomas Jefferson led the anti-federalist movement after the federalist policies started to get widespread recognition and support from the American citizens, the anti-federalist believed that the federal government under the suggested constitution would possess too much power to control the people. The public supported the anti-federalist position on the Bill of Rights to guarantee particular freedoms not declared in the Constitution (*Formation of Political Parties*).

The only newspaper that voiced the demands of the anti-federalists was Benjamin Franklin Bache’s Philadelphia General Advertiser, famously known as *the Aurora*. Bache the grandson of Benjamin Franklin who established *the Aurora* in 1790 at age 21, following the league of his grandfather became a printer. *The Aurora* usually sided with the anti-federalist. In fact, the paper became a reflection of Bache’s reckless nature and offensive opinion, publishing articles against President George Washington, Alexander Hamilton and others. Washington once commented, “if you read *the Aurora* you cannot but have perceived with what malignant industry and persevering falsehoods I am assailed in order to weaken, if not destroy, the confidence of the Public.” Historians have called the American press at that period the “dark ages of journalism” (Belt 02).

1.1.2 The Muckrakers

The Progressive Era extended from the 1890s to the 1920s. It was widely known of the extensive social activism and the political reform in the United States in this period. Its main

goals were to eliminate problems caused by industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and political corruption. This movement opened doors for the Muckrakers. A muckraker is a journalist writing, an article, a book, taking pictures, or drawing cartoons. Their main goal was to bring awareness about the political dirt and corruption, in order to get the attention of the governmental lawmakers, and the American citizens that may not know about these problems (Britannica).

Theodore Roosevelt introduced the term muckraker in his speech, titled *The Man with the Muck Rake*. He came to a comparison between muckrakers and the Man with the Muck Rake in Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress". According to Roosevelt, the authors are like the man who "could look no way but downward, with the muck rake in his hand; who was offered a celestial crown for his muck rake, but who would neither look up nor regard the crown he was offered, but continued to rake to himself the filth of the floor." Roosevelt's new term of muckraking authors was not taken negatively, which was completely the opposite of what he intended to. In fact, the authors started calling themselves muckrakers. Whereas Roosevelt thought of muckraking media as slightly shedding lights on the dirt and bringing it to the surface. However, these authors considered themselves something different. In *The Career of a Journalist*, a muckraker is described as a man with a mission (Theodore Roosevelt Center).

This type of journalism was not new but became extremely popular due to the nationwide circulation of newspapers and magazines because of urbanization. Even though muckraking media greatly expanded, most leading muckraking texts generated by a small number of authors. These authors have in common their education, work experience, and writing style, as most muckraking texts contain facts and other issues that interest the readers.

A long list of muckraking authors was introduced through history among them was, Frank Norris with his fictional book *The Octopus*, that discussed the struggle farmers were engaged with the railroads' monopoly during the industrial age, it takes place in the U.S.

supreme court 1904. Another influential muckraker, Louis Haine, a photojournalist who was able to capture child labor and children working in coal mines which helped to establish laws in favor of children all over the states (MrVEducation).

Finally yet very importantly the book *The Jungle* by Upton Sinclair in 1906, investigated the dangerous work condition of the Meat Packing Industry of Chicago, which led to the appearance of two acts; the Meat and Drug Act required all medicine and food to have labels on, with ingredients and side effects, this act is still preserved till today by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA). The second act was called the Meat Inspection Act, also in 1906, it required that all meat products should be inspected by the government before, during, and after processing (MrVEducation). Both of these 1906 laws raised the trust of the consumer in the food and drugs they obtained which helped these businesses. The laws also had an additional function which was to develop federal regulation of other industries (Sinclair).

Muckrakers also attempted to tackle issues of poverty and other social troubles connected with industrialization. Jacob Riis, a Danish immigrant, and photojournalist who published *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York*, which is an eighteen-page photo essay, its first appearance in February 1889 issue of Scribner's magazine, later published as a book. The book documented the bad living condition recent immigrants had in New York City that led to reforms the New York Tenement House Act of 1901, which required tenement housing to be cleaner, safer, and roomier (Khan Academy).

1.1.3 The Watergate Scandal

Watergate is a term that became related to any unethical political act and the attempts to hide the scandal. Before June 1972, the Watergate hotel meant nothing for the world. Today it symbolizes the massive political corruption by U.S. president Nixon. To make sure that he would win during his reelection campaign, President Richard Nixon had a bunch of people from the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREP's) broke into the Democratic National

Committee offices at the Watergate Hotel and planted a recording system to get the dirt. The burglars were caught and sent to prison, one of the five burglars sent a letter to the judge confessing that a Republican inside the white house had a hand and an idea about the act. Nixon took hostile steps to cover up the scandal and in August 1974, after revealing that he was a part of the conspiracy, Nixon resigned to avoid impeachment.

President Nixon was very hateful and distrustful of the press. He took steps to limit their access to him. In fact he said, “Watergate had become the center of the media's universe and during the remaining year of my presidency the media tried to force everything else to revolve around it” (Nixon). The media played an important role to shed the light on the scandal when the story started to get heat. At first, the scandal was believed to be a simple burglary until the Washington Post reporters specified to cover the break-in. The Washington Post is pro-Democratic party paper and the chief editor was a friend of President Kennedy. Nixon and Kennedy were opponents and political competitors, none of that corruption would have come to the surface if the Washington Post had not reported the story. The paper’s coverage of the scandal stands as one of journalism’s excellent accomplishments.

The Watergate scandal changed American politics forever, motivating many Americans to suspect their leaders and think more critically about the presidency (The Watergate Scandal). It became clear to the American citizens, that their executive branch’s checks and balances needed to be reviewed after this scandal, and that the legislative was required to play the appropriate role. In 1973, The War Powers Resolution or the War Powers Act was passed, by both houses of Congress to control a President’s power by either amending or eliminating some of the authorities granted to him (Chouinard).

1.2 Presidents’ Reliance on Up-to-date Medium

The use of social media in politics from newspapers, radio, to Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube has completely transformed the way campaigns are managed and how American

people communicate with their chosen leaders. The presence of social media in politics has made elected leaders and nominees for presidency more available for voters. Politicians interact immediately with the citizens without paying a dime. Applying those new media enables politicians to avoid the traditional method of reaching voters that requires payment.

1.2.2 F.D.R's Use of the Radio in the Fireside Chats

Roosevelt was elected governor of New York, in 1928 four years later he became president. Unlike his Republican opponent Herbert Hoover, who received only 16 million votes, Roosevelt received 23 million popular votes in the official election, and he would be the first president to be chosen to four following terms in American history. On 1933, shortly after been the president, President Franklin D. Roosevelt held his first casual radio speeches to millions of terrifying Americans who found themselves in the grip of the Great Depression. These speeches were called “fireside chats.” In 30 speeches broadcast via radio, Roosevelt addressed the American people from March 1933 to June 1944, tackling various subjects from business to unemployment to fighting fascism in Europe “I want to talk for a few minutes with the people of the United States about banking, with the comparatively few who understand the mechanics of banking but more particularly with the overwhelming majority who use banks for the making of deposits and the drawing of checks.” He added “It is possible that when the banks resume a very few people who have not recovered from their fear may again begin withdrawals,” he noted, “Let me make it clear that the banks will take care of all needs, and it is my belief that hoarding during the past week has become an exceedingly unfashionable pastime.” These “fireside chats” comforted millions of people and revived their confidence, which later became known as the (The Fireside Chats).

The Great Depression had spread across the globe, when Roosevelt took office in early March 1933. The American economy had sunk to the darkest levels, including banks failures, closing industries, and the enormous spread of unemployment within more than 13 million

people. Through this hard time, Roosevelt tried to implement a sense of trust in the desperate population, stating that “the only thing we have to fear is fear itself.” At first, it was known as “The Hundred Days,” Roosevelt’s administration introduced a wide array of projects to recover the American economy. As the president, he took the first step toward this problem by declaring a “bank holiday,” the time in which all banks would be closed until the federal examination (HISTORY, The Fireside Chats).

1.2.3 J.F.K Kennedy and the Age of Television

Television was the first source of news during the 1960s, in both the United States and the rest of the world. Unlike radio and newspapers, Television has images, videos, and voice. The first American president who understood the influence and the political significance of television was John F. Kennedy. According to Sid Davis who covered Kennedy and served as Washington bureau chief for NBC News and the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company Kennedy, “was articulate, thoughtful, handsome and hip, a man who could think on his feet” (Daily Beast).

Kennedy used the television to speak immediately to the American people through live conferences without delay or editing. In an interview with Kennedy Pierre Salinger "the fact of the matter is that the time when President Kennedy started televised press conferences there were only three or four newspapers in the entire United States that carried a full transcript of a presidential press conference. Therefore, what people read was distillation... We thought that they should have the opportunity to see it in full". John. F Kennedy, Interview oral history. Because the speeches were live, his advisors feared of mistakes that cannot be edited or cut. By November 1963, President Kennedy had held 64 broadcast interviews (Foreign Policy Journal). For the first time, television became the dominant source of information for voters. In 1960 JFK run for the presidency against Vice President Richard Nixon. John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon held the first televised debate in presidential campaign records on September 26, 1960.

The show started in Chicago, hosted by the most influential radio and TV networks. Howard K. Smith worked as the moderator, Sander Vanocur, presented the questions, NBC News, Charles Warren, Mutual News, Stuart Novins, CBS News, and Bob Fleming, ABC News. Moderator Howard K. Smith began the debate with introducing vice president Nixon from the Republican Party who had a flu at that time and refused to wear make up for being pale and senator JFK from the Democrats. After watching the debates, most of the Americans felt that Kennedy had already succeeded, by the end Kennedy won over 118,000 votes, making him the youngest president in history (Poynter).

1.2.4 Social Media and Barack Obama's Presidential Campaign

President Obama and all his predecessors have at least one thing in common: Distrust of the media. President Obama has been called the "first social-media president." It can be true, because the Obama White House was indeed the first presidency to make use of services like Twitter, Facebook, Snapchat, and Instagram. On the other hand, it can be unreal, because these services either did not exist or did not have that much of public attention before Barack Obama took office in 2009. Nonetheless, the Obama administration brags that he was the first to tweet from @POTUS on Twitter, to go live on Facebook, and to use a filter on Snapchat. However, it is not that big of a deal, any president in office during the last eight years possibly would have become the first social media president (The Atlantic).

No one can deny, that Obama was an extraordinary candidate. He is a talented speaker, a Harvard Law School graduate, an inspirational politician, eager for change, he had the support of the most powerful celebrities in America, mainly, black. Democrats and Republicans both agree that he is the most extraordinary politician since JFK (Cp Communications). Like JFK was good at TV, Obama was good at social media, it was impossible to separate Obama from his blackberry describing himself to be a "nerd" and "geek" before his presidency, being up to date with technology helped him to build a strong bond with the public for both persuasion and

communication(The Atlantic). The 2008 social campaign focused on many sides of his character as a family man, a beloved husband, and father. Using photo and video blogs, spotting Obama's relation with Michelle and both of his daughters, because of the influence Michelle played in the campaign, there were many opportunities to portray a balanced husband via sharing videos of family trips and photos on social media. He even tackled his issues with his father, and that he is doing the best he could to be the best father for his daughters, was a good strategy to get the sympathy of the audience and showing that he came from scratch (Allan Hodges). Ranjit Mathoda, a lawyer and money manager who blogs at Mathodacom says that; "Thomas Jefferson used newspapers to win the presidency, F.D.R. used radio to change the way he governed, J.F.K. was the first president to understand television, and Howard Dean saw the value of the Web for raising money," he added, "But Senator Barack Obama understood that you could use the Web to lower the cost of building a political brand, create a sense of connection and engagement, and dispense with the command and control method of governing to allow people to self-organize to do the work" (The Guardian).

1.3 The Media Monitoring the Government

Mass media development, in communication, is changing politics. Whether the media controls the government or the government controls the media (Oswald). Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky's affair, was the era when America was not great again. The media at that time saw it as an act of power abuse by President Clinton, lawyer Lindsey Barrett on Twitter stated that; "She was a 22-year-old intern and he was the President of the United States.

1.3.1 The Media Critical of Government

The media has always played an influential role in both U.S. policy and opinion, which made it not too far from criticism. Media criticism is the act of monitoring and judging the media, generally, it has been criticized lately for being too willing to publish sensitive information (Gillmor). For example, Television, is one of the essential forms in media criticism,

as it has the power to both entertain, and educate, and, most importantly, to socialize around the global. It provides a constant and regular stream of information. Furthermore, television functions as one of the most important forms of media, television are considered to be a type of power the authorities have over the citizens who avoid direct force (Morgan Mosley).

The media started to focus on politics when covering stories or issues, and ended up to criticize the government. Particularly, with the coming of President Trump, the media has firmly monitored his administration's every policy and decision. The continuous conflict between the media and the government has some outcomes for the general public. Inside the government, officials are more careful now about what to say and do not. For instance, the Trump administration members, are often unwilling to share information or answer questions that are both important and concerns the citizens. Moreover, it is impossible that the media will step out from covering and criticizing politics. It will be in the hand of the people to decide whether to trust the government or the media, whether this impact is negative or positive on the government (The Harriton Banner).

1.3.2 The Media as a Watchdog

Watchdog journalism is a nonprofit individual or a group that keeps a particular part of the government under focus to warn members of the community when a problem is detected to raise awareness between the public, just like an actual watchdogs bark when they see an intruder. The media is called the watchdog of democracy because it keeps the public involved in the government's moves (WikiVisually).

The council of newspapers publishers and editor, Poynter says that "watchdog journalism is to keep on turning over rocks. Journalism that gives power to the people". One of the famous examples of watchdog journalism is the Washington Post's coverage of the Watergate scandal of President Nixon 1970 by Bob Woodward and Robert Bernstein (Slide Share). Watchdog journalist function as both protector and guardian to provide the citizens with

the information they must know "to prevent the abuse of power" (Marden20). In addition to this, it "warns citizens about those that are doing them harm" (Coronel3). Media as a watchdog voices the voiceless people, who should feel safe that the media is looking after their interests' first, promoting communication from its audience, readers, listeners or viewers (Lister).

The media function as a motivator for democracy and improvement, encouraging to make public participation essential. If media is not biased and devoted to its job, the function of democracy would be efficient and the loopholes present in any democratic system can surely be filled to satisfy the people. On the other hand, if media took sides, corrupt and favor only a particular party or few individuals, it can confirm to be risky for the normal functioning of democracy (Role of Media in Democracy).

1.3.3 The Media and Agenda Setting

The Agenda-Setting Theory was first introduced in 1972 in public opinion quarterly by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in the academic journal *Public Opinion Quarterly*. In the Presidential election of 1968 between Democratic Lyndon. B Johnson, and the Republican Richard Nixon (*Handbook of Political Communication Research*). In addition to, Walter Lippmann also showed his concern about the media's power in influencing people's minds (Lippmann 9-16). In portraying the influence of media, Lippmann presented an example of countries in war, their people who assumed to be enemies are capable to live in harmony together in an isolated island, when the access of war information by media is impossible. Lippmann shows how mass media can produce a remarkable agenda to change the opinions of the public. However, he never mentions the term "agenda-setting theory" in his book. Although, he did produce the foundation for the agenda-setting theory (Zain).

Agenda setting theory deals with the audience's interest in particular issues over the others. This agenda building helps the media to guide the public in identifying the most important topics or issues (Weaver et.al).According to Denis Wu and Renita Coleman, agenda

setting “is the phenomenon of the mass media selecting certain issues and portraying them frequently and prominently, which leads people to perceive those issues as more important than others.” Essentially, agenda setting goes a little bit beyond shaping public awareness about a particular issue. This agenda setting designs an atmosphere for both voters and politicians to influence the way people think, act, and vote (Academia).

The agenda-setting influence the news media, which was studied in Chapel Hill, observed in 1968, a month during the U.S. presidential election. Following studies that have discovered similar proof of strong agenda-setting outcomes between the public, during the 1976 U.S. presidential election (Maxwell McCombs). The study was meant to examine a sample of voters from Chapel Hill, North Carolina what they said were "the key issues of the presidential campaign with the actual content of the news media to which they were exposed during the campaign” (Lowery; DeFleur 268). They use a measured sample if agenda-setting affected the uncertain, and “most susceptible” voters than their study would maintain more legitimacy and value (The Jouting Journal). This work set what is known as the agenda-setting theory, since more than 400 experimental studies have been conducted and printed (ScienceDirect).

Mass media analysis in general and agenda setting in particular, have the power to influence what individuals think that other people are thinking, and consequently, tend to tackle more important issues that have been widely covered by mass media (Maxwell McCombs).

1.3.4 The Media and Framing

The concept of framing is very important in the field of mass communication and journalism. McCombs found that framing is a sequence of Agenda Setting. Other scholars identified framing as another level of Agenda Setting theory.

Framing theory deals with how the data is introduced to the public, to influence the choices people make about how to process that information. It is believed to change the understanding of the news by the audience, in this way it could be constructed as a form of

second level agenda-setting they do not focus only on what to tell the audience to think about (Agenda-Setting Theory). Framing is utilized by both the media and the politicians to make remarkable points that would lead their readers to reach a desired frame of mind. The first “professional pollster to systematically use the concept of framing as a campaign tool” was Frank Luntzas shown in his 222-page record called “Language of the 21st century,” which was sent to select members of the U.S. Congress with the distinct message: “It’s not what you say, it’s how you say it” (Scheufele; Tewksbury 9). Luntz has studied Republican campaign messages and “distilled terms and phrases that resonated with specific interpretive schemas among audiences and therefore helped shift people’s attitudes” (Diatram; Tewksbury 9). The media system is responsible for spreading culture, press, and important political information, according to McChesney. Fulfilling those needs is necessary for "self-governance" (130). Writers and journalists use media frames to conduct a smooth stream of information to their readers (Cissel 9).

In many ways, framing is similar to Agenda Setting theory. Both focus on how to grab the attention of the audience to particular topics in this way they set the agenda. But Framing refers to the way media organize and present the ideas, events, and topics they broadcast (Mass Communication Theory).

Chapter Two

2. Presidential Relationship with the Media

In the past 20 years, the U.S.A media has experienced a massive change from broadcasting to narrowcasting during the 1950s and the 1960's. The relationship between America's president and the media, from the start, has never been a comfortable one. The press access to the president was merely impossible until the 20th century. Before that, journalists had to think outside the box to have the exclusives, a good example is, Anne Royall, who once chased President John Quincy Adams to a lake where he was enjoying a nude swim, she sat on his clothes refusing to stand up until she interviewed him (*The Week*).

In recent years, the relation between president and press has become more tense and shallow. In order to control the stream of information from the White House, both Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama produced their own news stories to avoid the press. Taking tough actions against "whistleblowers" and the reporters they leaked to, and managing which journalists can ask questions at interviews (*The Week*).

The president's press relationship passed through changes from friendly to an enemy, this connection, is fed through the citizen's hunger for news regarding the president and his administration. The way of perceiving information has considerably improved overtime, from the old written newspapers to the television news age. There were also changes at the level of the White House, where the press inspired to build a special room in the West Wing (The White House *Historical Association*).

2.1 The Complicated History of Presidents and the Media

U.S Presidents had a rocky relationship with the press trough history, with its ups and downs the white house had witnessed lots of strange accidents between these two for at least 100 years ago. The press interference in the president's personal lives made them uncomfortable to deal with the journalists during conferences. President Grover Cleveland, the first and only

president get married in office, he was angry with the media coverage of his honeymoon, his anger did not fade to the extent that he rejected the invitation of the annual gala of the Gridiron Club's dinner since its creation in 1885. He was the first president ditch a big event until President Obama did the same thing in 2009, and not showing at the annual gala of the Gridiron Club's dinner (*Newsday*).

Regardless, the succeeding president is expected to have an unfriendly relationship with the new media whose mission is to tell the Americans what the administration is doing or intending to do. This will make the president's and the reporters' jobs more challenging. In the end, it will not be good for anyone (*The Week*). Presidents and their administrations were constantly in conflicts with the media. During Richard Nixon presidency from 1969 to 1974, the White House executives conducted a war toward what they named the liberal media, counting the New York Times and Washington Post. Spiro Agnew, the president's vice made provocative remarks concerning the media, describing them as an "effete corps of impudent snobs" and "the nattering nabobs of negativism." President Barack Obama's administrators, thought that Fox News was against them, and for most of the times, the White House officials attempted to ban Fox from some coverage, but they retreated (U.S News).

2.1.1 Presidential Press Conferences over the History

In March 1913, Woodrow Wilson had his first presidential press conference following the league of his predecessors to promote their policies. The gatherings had remained for long because journalists, saw them helpful to obtain the information they want. While, voters saw them as opportunities to judge, and generate a full image about their president. The President and his administration saw conferences as an initial mean to define their agendas.

Citizens are expected to observe their president answer reporters' questions, so reporters serve as agents for the citizens. In a talk with journalists, President Coolidge explained why he often held conferences "I regard it as rather necessary to the carrying on of our Republican

institution that the people should have a fairly accurate report of what the president is trying to do, and it is for that purpose, of course, that those intimate conferences are held" (The New York Times). When talking about conferences, Kennedy was the "maestro" whenever he desired the Washington press to support his views, he called for a press conference. The Chicago Daily News reporter, Peter Lisigor, protested, "We were props in a show. We should have joined Actors Equity." At an important press conference (History News Network).

2.1.2 Starting with Abraham Lincoln

The 16th U.S. president, Abraham Lincoln, was the first president to include the Telegraph into White House. The Telegraph had been present for decades but the government had not employed it, till Andrew Johnson took office. According to the Pew Research Center, Lincoln used the Telegraph in the War Department's office, to transmit messages, that includes plans and orders to his officers (Showbiz). Harold Holzer, former president of the Lincoln Centennial Foundation and Lincoln Scholar, and the author of "Lincoln and the Power of the Press: The War for Public Opinion," said "No president ever cracked down on the press more than Abraham Lincoln did." He has been described as redeemer, politician, service officer, lecturer, confident man, and others, but his sly manipulation of the public press has gained modest consideration. Holzer showed, that Lincoln had kept an eye on the American newspapers, and attempted to control them whatever it takes (SJR).

2.1.3 Radio and Television

Coolidge the 30th president of the United States from 1923 to 1929, he introduced the notion of a presidential radio address. In December 1923, delivered his State of the Union address to radio audiences in six cities Washington D.C., New York, St. Louis, Kansas City, Dallas, and Providence. He proceeded to provide consistent radio addresses, his second inauguration, was aired on radio nationally in 1925. The first televised presidential inauguration was for Harry Truman's, but the Pew Research Center announced Dwight Eisenhower was the

“first real television president.” He had his first televised presidential press conference in 1955, and by 1958 he was the first president to appear on a colored TV. Eisenhower's press conferences were held to disturb the foreign governments, such as the Soviet, Chinese, etc. (Showbiz).

2.2. President and Media Cooperative Relationship

When talking about the relationship between media and presidents, the James S. Brady Press Briefing Room carries both "symbolic" and "functional" value. It is located in one of the oldest sections of the White House, which is simply a proof of the intermediary function, the media plays between the people and their U.S executive branch government. Indeed, there was an impact of technological developments on this relationship, methods of reporting news, used by both the president and the press over the twentieth century (*the White House Historical Association*).

In the old days, the relationship between presidents and media was much more cooperative than it is now, a good example is when the reporters refused to print stories about Kennedy's so-called betrayals. While in the 2016 election, that had two candidates who shared an uncommon hatred towards the media Mrs. Hillary Clinton and Mr. Donald Trump. Though they had expressed their opinions differently, neither one of them believed that they were treated reasonably by the press (*The Week*).

The relation politicians and the Mass Media share is a very valuable and collaborative one in the contemporary community. A good example is, campaigns today would be pretty hard to be held or win without the help of mass media. On the other hand, the mass media must cover campaigns for social engagement (Thomas). Today, campaigns become more interested in the individual than on the party, this lead to an enhancement of the media. To win primaries, individual candidates seek media attention to gain recognition from voters (American Government).

2.2.1 How does the Press Serve the President

Newspapers have influenced the opinion of the American people on politicians and government, before U.S independence. Radio and television were considered to be a new powerful tool in politics during the twentieth century (Academic Blog). During the 1960s and the 1990s, presidents often used television to communicate with the people and earn help for their policies. When they gave speeches, the networks and their local branches broadcasted them. With few local stations accessible, the observer had almost no choice but to watch. This period was called the “Golden Age of Presidential Television,” and presidents had gain control over the media (Lumen Learning).

This control was when presidents used television to encourage and support the citizens through a national crisis. These speeches helped in the “rally ’round the flag” circumstance, which happens when the citizens feel unsafe and band together around the president. Throughout these days, presidents may experience high approval ratings among the people, due to the press's choice about what to broadcast (Lumen Learning).

The best example is, President Ronald Reagan who used the media to his favor to promote his policies. His capacity to influence the people through the media helped him win "The Great Communicator" as his nickname whom the White House has ever had. Reagan’s talents as an actor allowed him to interact successfully with American citizens (American Government). Reagan started as a liberal Democrat and was one of F.D.R's supporters. Later shifted his loyalty to the Republican Party in 1962. Reagan declared, "I didn’t leave the Democratic Party, they left me" (Warren). As a radio broadcaster in Iowa in his old days, Reagan learnt an essential rule that he followed all his life: “Talk to your audience, not over their heads or through them. Don’t try to talk in a special language of broadcasting or even of politics, just use normal everyday words” (The Heritage Foundation).

On 1980 the day becoming the president, a journalist asked Reagan why did the Americans voted for his and what they saw in him, he answered: "Would you laugh if I told you that I think maybe, they see themselves and that I'm one of them." And he added: "I've never been able to detach myself or think that I, somehow, am apart from them" (The Heritage Foundation). During his first 100 days in office Reagan found himself with tough Congress, that's when he decided to engage immediately with the citizen about his suggested program, through a televised speech, Reagan presented his determined agenda consisting of tax welfare, budget reductions, and administrative improvement (Kiprotich²). Most of the media coverage had described Reagan as a hero stating that "he won the Cold War, he renewed patriotism, he was a lover of freedom and democracy," yet he has been portrayed as the man who defeated the Commies. Barbara Boxer Senator of California honored Reagan because America "regained respect" among other countries during his presidency (The Nation).

2.2.2 How does the President Serve the Press

Throughout the greatest governmental "shutdown" in America's records, President Donald Trump traveled in a parade into Hidalgo County, Texas, finally settling on a green cliff facing the Rio Grande. The White House wanted to overstate what Trump has defined as a national crisis, to make a wall all over the Mexican borders is a necessity. To emphasize this news, shielded cars with federal officers in flak jackets were present, in addition to the seized packages of marijuana.

But, the current overstated idea about the Administration revealed something else. When reporters got out of their caravans heading to the location where the president was about to start his speech, Sean Hannity, the Fox News host was spotted there mixing with top Administration officials, holding the Secretary of Homeland Security, Kirstjen Nielsen. Unlike reporters, Hannity was not notified by the Secret Service. He was observed "huddling" with Bill Shine, the White House communications director. Moreover, Hannity had an exclusive interview with

Trump on-air. Later *Politico* had revealed that, this was the seventh interview Hannity had with Trump and that Fox News got more seconds than any other channels, forty seconds to be precise and the main three television networks got only ten seconds combined, while boycotting CNN leaving it without any news because it is "Fake News" according to Trump (*The New Yorker*).

According to Hemmer, "Fox is not just taking the temperature of the base, it's raising the temperature, and it's a radicalization model." For both Trump and Fox, "fear is a business strategy, it keeps people watching." Because Fox is the most watched channel of the 21st century, it increases Trump's takeover of the Republican Party and its support. In other words, Fox News is President Trump's favorite channel (*The New Yorker*).

The media relationship with presidents is an essential element for the president's attempt to "lead" and gain public support. Because of the prominent value of the media to the president, the press is encouraged by the White House to draw the best picture of the president and his agenda. The Presidency is considered to be very diplomatic in handling information that will be provided to the media via, organizing the news, holding press conferences, interviews, photo shoots, and everyday press releases (*Presidents and Mass Media*).

2.3 Conflicting Presidents Media Relationship

Every President tries to restrict the access of media to what he is not willing to share with them ideas, or plans. At the same time, most Presidents have noticed that the press does not only work as a source of information and news, but in a way it substitutes the public, doubting Presidential administration, making the President responsible for his own words and actions. Even though Presidents do not trust the media, they have a regular met up with journalists to answer their questions (*The New York Times*).

In 1962, Fletcher Knebel for *Look* magazine in an article entitled "Kennedy vs. the Press," said, "Never have so few bawled out so many so often for so little, as the Kennedys battle reporters." And without doubt, reporters were added to the Nixon White House's

offensive “Enemies List” (Newsday). Recent presidents encounter difficulty when dealing with the press. This difficulty is described in *The Six O’clock Presidency* by Fredric T. Smoller as “their desire to be effective versus their presumed desire to preserve democratic values” (79).

In the United States, the freedom of the press was valued for a long time as a way to increase public understanding of matters of the country's interest. As the right of the free and uncontrolled press still exist, it has created pressure on presidents and government officers who wanted to influence the public and form political agendas (*The New York Times*).

2.3.1 F.D.R’s War against the Media

Roosevelt was a rich New Yorker who liked being the main center of attention, he was able to manipulate news professionally, and this made him enjoy a long "honeymoon" with the press when he became the President. F.D.R frequently got glamorous news report. But whenever he sensed that some journalists were unfair with him, things turned bad. And he was not that shy to stay out without a fight (*Newsday*). In the 1930s and 1940s, journalists choose to hide President Franklin Roosevelt's physical condition. Indeed, the Americans knew that he had been paralyzed by Polio. But none of the news discussed the fact that F.D.R was completely wheel chaired (Washington Examiner). At the beginning of his presidential career, Roosevelt had a stable relationship with the media. Journalists discovered that he was suitable and entertaining. By 1934 the "honeymoon" had come to its end, and everything changed a year later where the war of words took place. F.D.R criticized the press's "poisonous propaganda." With a fake sympathy, he convinced the reporters that they had nothing to be blamed for because their bosses controlled what to write (*Reason*).

In the 1936 election, Roosevelt insisted that 85 percent of the newspapers were his enemy. While according to the historian Graham J. White who made a study on this subject found that, the real percentage was much lower and newspapers gave F.D.R a fair news coverage, but most "editorialists" and "columnists" were really against the administration.

F.D.R was convinced that the media was after him. In 1938 he urged that "our newspapers cannot be edited in the interests of the general public, from the counting room. And I wish we could have a national symposium on that question, particularly in relation to the freedom of the press. How many bogies are conjured up by invoking that greatly overworked phrase?" (*Reason*).

Although Roosevelt attracted journalists hoping to win their support, serving his minions in the media crew "exclusives" and access, Raymond Clapper, one of the president's top assistants in the Washington reporter crew, in June 1934, he wrote in *Review of Reviews* which is an admired magazine, under the title "Why Reporters like Roosevelt." This love relationship did not remain forever. According to Betty Houchin Winfield in her book, *F.D.R and the News Media*, she writes that F.D.R hated "interpretive reporting," which Time and Newsweek were spreading. A reporter asked Roosevelt what sort of analytic side the president would choose to write a review about the Democratic Party's 1934 slide winning. Roosevelt said: "I think it is a mistake for newspapers to go over into that field in the news stories," he added, "Give them the facts and nothing else," clarifying what the reporter should do for the readers (Slate).

Roosevelt's greatest enemy in media was Frank Gannett; Gannett supported Franklin Delano Roosevelt during his early years of the presidency but revoked his support by the late 1930s (Wiki ;) who was considered to be an actual press "baron." Gannett spent lots of money from his own \$49,000 to establish an organization called the National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government, as a rejection to Roosevelt's administration, in White Protestant Nation, Allan J. Lichtman writes *The Rise of the American Conservative Movement*. The Roosevelt administration faced Gannett by accepting his challenge and battled back in public. In January 1939, Gannett involved in a New York debate with Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes in front of a 2,000 audience, broadcasted on NBC radio that a got wide coverage in the

New York Times. The debate was titled “Do We Have a Free Press?” Ickes answered with no, and that sponsors controlled the press. Gannett insisted that Roosevelt by the end he planned to ban or execute newspapers that opposed his administration (Slate).

Finally, F.D.R despised the media during his time in office, he started to work with the “Black Commission” to threaten the media and warned them to use reporter's personal words against them (My Northwest). Franklin Delano Roosevelt changed the media rules in fairly serious methods. Like Trump, who had "bad blood" with the media coverage, he used a new means as a "direct pipeline" to the people. In addition, using the government's devices to overcome hostile coverage (Bunk).

2.3.2 Nixon’s Beef with the Media

The American news at its beginning had been referred to as “the press,” though with the coming of President Nixon, the press started to be known as “the media,” a term Nixon felt to be more powerful and less pleasant. In 2014, Jon Marshall wrote for *The Atlantic*, that Nixon "was the first president to exclusively use this term, and while subsequent presidents were similarly at odds with those whose job it is to hold the country’s chief executive in check, none were as vitriolic as Nixon" (LongReads). Presidents such as John F. Kennedy, Franklin Roosevelt, and other former once had fascinated journalists, but manipulation was the center of attention of his administration. He chose “Bob” Haldeman as his chief of staff, a retired advertising agency executive. To polish the president’s public image, the two formed the first White House communications office. It made certain that Nixon dodged casual meetings with journalists when he is uncomfortable. Today this method is widely common, but at the time it was a radical change from presidents such as Harry Truman who constantly talked with reporters (The Atlantic).

All presidents have complications with the media, though Nixon's relationship was rough, that made it unusual for a president who enjoyed overall and proper news coverage often.

Nixon's 18 months administration received more aired conferences than what his three predecessors did through 16 years; these conferences were called by the media as "tour de force[s]." Approximately 80 percent of America's publications supported Nixon for the 1960 and 1968 presidency, and 93 percent proposed it again in 1972. In December 1972, Nixon told Kissinger to, "Never forget, the press is the enemy, the press is the enemy...write that on the blackboard 100 times." Also, he sensed the media is against him, since he was a representative and then a senator from California, and he could never change the fact that media is his enemy (LongReads).

After 40 years ago, Richard Nixon left the White House with unforgettable scandal, but the war he started against reporters has maintained with Barack Obama, George W. Bush, and other new presidents. According to the media, Nixon's departure is identified as "a great victory" (The Atlantic). As Nixon himself said on the day of his departure: "Always remember, others may hate you, but those who hate you don't win unless you hate them, and then you destroy yourself" (Daily Beast). Studies by Bob Woodward, Carl Bernstein, and other journalists helped expose the scandal that led to the president's defeat. Even though he lost his battle to remain in power, Nixon's way of handling the press has controlled American politics. Current presidential methods used now by recent presidents; avoiding white house journalists, threatening reporters were referred to as "Nixonian tactics" (*The Atlantic*).

On an interview with the New York Times, Nixon ended up his speech with: "The press is the enemy' to be hated and beaten, and in that vein of vengeance that ran through his relationship with another power center, in his indulgence of his most combative and abrasive instincts against what he saw to be an unelected and unrepresentative elite, lay Nixon's greatest personal and political weakness and the cause of his downfall" (Daily Beast). The Nixon administration's Federal Communications Commission (FCC) warned the TV stations held by The Washington Post Co. and CBS Inc. over the offensive coverage of the Watergate scandal

that drove Nixon to leave the office (*the Daily Signal*). Nixon's complex relations with the press through the Watergate scandal may be the closest, Zelizer stated that in 1973 the president told reporters that "I am not a crook" in a news conference (AP News). Reporters believe that the similarities, both Nixon and Trump share might lead to the resignation of Trump in the near future (Bunk).

2.3.2 Barack Obama's Conflict with the Media

Even though he had a good relationship with the media most of the times, Barack Obama complained of the conservative press improper treatment during his presidency, mainly Fox News Channel. The late president significantly compared himself with his successor during a 2018 speech, Obama rejected ever rebelling against the news network even though they negatively covered his administration saying that: "it shouldn't be Democratic or Republican to say that we don't threaten the freedom of the press because they say things or publish stories we don't like. I complained plenty about Fox News, but you never heard me threaten to shut them down, or call them enemies of the people" (FactCheck.org).

The Democratic president did more than complain. His administration proposed a variety of procedures against Fox News and its reporters. On September 20, 2009 Obama attended five Sunday talk shows NBC, CBS, CNN, ABC and Univision discussing health care improvement, but he did not show up on the "Fox News Sunday" program by Chris Wallace, till 2016 his last year in office. Obama's spokesperson Josh Earnest in 2009, declared that there is an intention to ban Fox News from interviewing administration officials (FactCheck.org).

This boycott came as a reaction to the incident, when instead of airing the president's speech to the Congress on health care on September 9, 2009, the FOX news channel carried the speech, but an episode of "So You Think You Can Dance," was aired that night from 8 p.m. to 9 p.m. on the FOX network. The White House's spokesman Josh Earnest answered the questions about why Obama would not appear on "Fox News Sunday" by saying: "We figured Fox would

rather show ‘So You Think You Can Dance’ than broadcast an honest discussion about health insurance reform.” Chris Wallace, anchor of “Fox News Sunday,” about the white house's boycott “They are the biggest bunch of crybabies I have dealt with in my 30 years in Washington,” Chris Wallace, anchor of “Fox News Sunday” (FactCheck.org).

The media access was limited to Obama, and the information the reporters did receive was for promoting his agenda. In one example during his administration, the “press photographers have loudly groused about a lack of access to the president the White House often prefers to send out its own official shots and reporters covering the beat say they are generally kept in the dark about what the president is actually doing” (Cherlin). Even though Obama had promised to be clear and direct, reporters were frustrated that he did not keep his word of improving access. The New York Times chief Washington correspondent, David E. Sanger said, “This is the most closed control-freak administration I’ve ever covered” (Downie). Whenever the reporters desired to report on the president, White House crew guided them to authoritative websites with an approved Whitehouse content with videos, photos, and announcements (Mannerberg 48).

On Oct. 11, 2009, Anita Dunn, the White House director of communications then, said in an interview with the New York Times, that Fox News was not a legitimate news organization. And that, “We are going to treat them the way we would treat an opponent,” she added. “As they are undertaking a war against Barack Obama and the White House, we don’t need to pretend that this is the way that legitimate news organizations behave.” When she was asked about the boycotting she said, “Fox News Sunday” with Chris Wallace, “we are not going to legitimize them as a news organization.” Obama may never have described Fox News as “enemies of the people,” but he did say that its “point of view” was “ultimately destructive” to the U.S. in a *Rolling Stone* magazine interview in 2010 (FactCheck.org).

Unlike Trump describing CNN and other popular media as “fake news,” the Obama administration tried to show Fox News as a legitimate news organization and diminish its journalists' access. Still, Obama's White House never prevented Fox News reporters from press conferences, nor did they remove any reporters' reliabilities, as the Trump White House did with CNN's James Acosta (Snopes).

Chapter Three

3. Donald Trump and the Media

Presidents have routinely interacted straight with the public, usually via the help of new technology. Equally, they have used old fashion means of communication such as the news conferences and the White House press teams to introduce policies and clarify any ambiguous points to the media, employ reporters as channels of data, and be there for the American people (*The New York Times*). Donald Trump becoming the 45th President of the United States came as a surprise to many critics, journalists and voters. *The New York Times* expected that Hillary Clinton had a chance in winning with an 85 percent (*The Mit*). During his presidency, Trump has avoided sitting alone with the White House reporters since he was interviewed by NBC's Lester Holt, except for a series of shows on Fox News (*The Hill*).

Like Nixon, Trump has succeeded to marginalize the media. But he also managed to restrict the media's powers, something which Nixon could never achieve. According to the paper, "Enemy Construction and the Press," by Ron Nell Andersen Jones' and Lisa Grow Sun stating that, " transformation from necessary evil in 1976, a study found that while Americans believed the press wasn't always "cordial," they were "crucial middlemen." and it will not chase only today's presidential administration but also all future ones (Long Read).

3.1 Trump's Friendly Media

Political experts believe that both Trump and the media, try to use each other to their own benefits. Tobe Berkovitz, specialized in political communication at Boston University said that "From the start of primaries the media has been obsessed with Trump and vice versa. Both provide oxygen to each other. Ratings gold for the media and a detested target for Trump to rev-up his base." As Trump has kept a space between him and the White House journalists, last year on Halloween he invited reporters' children to the Oval Office. And during National Take

Your Child to Work Day, he took some time to invite their children into the Oval Office for pictures (*The Hill*).

Trump likes to have a political excuse to start a war with the media. Meantime, the press sections have used this excuse of a dispute with Trump's administration as a "gimmick." However, the entire dispute holds a "kayfabe" features; forms of unreal entertainment where no one is "correct" or "wrong" using the element of suspension; to it, in which the war between these two, entertains the audience. Eventually, it's a win-win situation (Vox).

3.1.1 Trump's Love for Fox News

President Donald Trump is a faithful viewer of Fox News and the morning program "Fox & Friends;" "Trump spends more hours per day watching Fox than most air traffic controllers watch radar screens," (The Star) which contributes more positive coverage for the administration more than other news channels. Trump's affection for the network and its pioneering morning show go back, when Trump's campaign partners Paul Manafort and Rick Gates were accused as part of the investigation in the Russian interference of the 2016 election, by the special adviser Robert Mueller (*The New York Times*).

Sean Hannity of Fox News, devoted several minutes of his Friday Night show Friday to complain about the "abusively biased hate-Trump media," who defined it as "lazy" and "overpaid." Hannity blamed media channels of being "obsessed" with his relationship with President Donald Trump, stating that the media have developed "some pretty unbelievable fake news" concerning it and that Hannity was remarkably controlling Trump, over his call for a wall on the border between the United States and Mexico. Hannity claimed that, "What you have in the media right now is obsession. They've got blinders on and they've got this prism in which they see Donald Trump." He added "Nobody in the media has ever, ever come close to describing the relationship that I had with the president that goes back well over two decades. And by the way, if one exists, I wouldn't tell you anyway." (Huff Post).

Sean Hannity has admitted that he chats with the president typically each night, at 10 P.M. after his program ends (Intelligent). In particular, the two benefited greatly from each other. Hannity provided steady support for Trump when other media channels were against him, while the regular presence of Trump in the Hannity's program raised the highest cable news ratings (Business Insider).

However, this relationship hasn't continually been roses and rainbows. There were ups and downs between the president and the network. Trump congratulated Fox News for holding the most television watchers of the event over a tweet, "Congratulations to @FoxNews for being number one in inauguration ratings. They were many times higher than FAKE NEWS @CNN - public is smart!" When Kelly, the Fox News former reporter, asked Trump, on August 7, 2015, relating to his previous statements on women as "fat pigs, dogs, asses and disgusting animals," a flame of war broke out between the two for several months. Trump tweeted his opinion on Kelly after the debate: "Wow, @megynkelly really bombed tonight. People are going wild on twitter! Funny to watch." In January 2016, Trump was absent on the presidential debate that was held by Fox News and co-moderated by Kelly, and the two proceeded their fight on social media. Trump said to Kelly he considered her question to be "unfair," but he does not blame her "because you're doing your thing," on an interview aired in May. (Newsweek).

3.1.2 Other Friendly Outlets: Newsmax

Fox, today stands against its new opponent, which firmly sticks to Trump. Newsmax's CEO, Chris Ruddy; who was the first contributor to Donald Trump's presidential campaign. "The Trump Whisperer," as The Washington Post has called him; said: "Newsmax is very supportive of the president, but we also will publish things that are critical of him time to time." Ruddy announced that Fox's progress is evident that there is place in the conservative business, particularly for a network ready to give "constructive criticism" for Trump. Ruddy said "My

view is we're not challenging Fox, we're just adding to the diversity of the marketplace. Tucker, Laura, and Hannity, that's going to be a very predictable lineup, largely. My view would be more independent voices. I think in the long run this is better for conservatives, it's better for President Trump" (Politico).

On a 2018 event evening, the Newsmax CEO introduced himself as an "enemy of the people" who back President Trump. In which Trump replied, "Thank you very much, Chris" (The Hill). Ruddy shared a drink with the president at Mar-a-Lago, on the evening of Friday, February 2017. After two days, Ruddy went on CNN's show with Brian Stelter and declared, "I think Reince Priebus, good guy, well-intentioned, but he clearly doesn't know how the federal agencies work," he added. "He doesn't have a real good system. He doesn't know how the communications flow." Roddy's remarks were the media's talk, he ended up tweeting to clear things up, "Reince just briefed me on new WH plans. Impressive! CNN today my personal view. Told him I have 'open mind' based on his results." He added, "I was just giving my opinion, I've done that always." Trump enjoyed the media's work for his side, according to Ruddy. In December 2017, he appeared on CNN saying that Trump, "called me a few days later during my Christmas party and said 'Thank you, I can't always go on these shows and defend myself.'" After the Priebus dispute, Ruddy was recognized with Trump, Priebus, and Steve Bannon, the White House chief strategist, on the weekend at the Palm Beach dining (The Atlantic).

3.2 Trump Antagonism with the Media

President Donald Trump's "war on the media" has journalists weeping that freedom of the press is in danger. As politicians and intellectuals insist that Trump's unjust war on the press and sharing misleading and propaganda is "unprecedented" and the "absolute worst" in American history. Trump has made no declaration about his path with the press. He's said, "As you know, I have a running war with the media. They are among the most dishonest human

beings on the earth.” He started to threaten the press stating that, the press attacked him first and he is just trying to protect himself (*The Federalist*).

According to Trump on Twitter, media is causing ‘Division and Hatred’ in the U.S. “The Fake News is doing everything in their power to blame Republicans, Conservatives and me for the division and hatred that has been going on for so long in our Country. Actually, it is their Fake & Dishonest reporting which is causing problems far greater than they understand!” (Daily Beast). “The FAKE NEWS media (@nytimes, @NBCNews, @ABC, @CBS, @CNN) is not my enemy, it is the enemy of the American People!” (Twitter). Trump declared a "running war with the media" in January 21, when visiting C.I.A, describing journalists as the “most dishonest people on the Earth” for creating a dispute between the intelligence community and him and intentionally minimizing the quantity of his audience. Bannon, the White House chief strategist, urged the media to “shut up and listen for a while” because of the embarrassment they suffered on the election result. He went far calling media “the opposition party” (Shala).

Some assume that the trump media war is "phony," because of all presidents, somewhat dissatisfied, with the media covering their stories. However, none of Trump’s predecessors had the same hostile towards the press and its publishing companies (Vox). President Trump's ultimate goal is to crush the media, along with all his "enemies." His latest movement was when announcing that he will be absent on the White House Correspondents' Association dinner on April 2017, which appeared to be an intentional slap in the face of the Washington media. Which a strange thing for presidents to miss, but Trump was surely notified that at the dinner he would have been "roasted," so he chose not to go through what he thought to be a trial (U.S News).

President Donald Trump intensified his struggle with the news media on 2018, “The Fake News hates me saying that they are the Enemy of the People only because they know it’s TRUE,” he wrote. “I am providing a great service by explaining this to the American People.

They purposely cause great division & distrust. They can also cause War! They are very dangerous & sick!" Although the press is accused of some of the most provocative conflicts in the United States, concrete evidence showed that the capacity to arrange for war lies in the Oval Office and on Capitol Hill, and not in the newsroom. Certainly, the news media has the ability to manipulate the public's minds and to direct their focus to certain issues but does not start Wars (The Atlantic).

3.2.1 Trump's War with Cable News Network (CNN)

On December 9, 2017 Trump expressed his feelings towards CNN's credibility saying, "CNN'S slogan is CNN, THE MOST TRUSTED NAME IN NEWS. Everyone knows this is not true, that this could, in fact, be a fraud on the American Public. There are many outlets that are far more trusted, than Fake News CNN. Their slogan should be CNN, THE LEAST TRUSTED NAME IN NEWS!" (Twitter). In the Washington DC court on Wednesday 14 November, 2018, both Donald Trump, and some of his best assistants were charged with breaking one of the constitutional Amendment, Freedom of the Press over his fight with CNN's Jim Acosta. The trial was supervised by Judge Timothy Kelly, who was selected by Trump, announcing that the final decision would be on Thursday at 3 pm ET. The controversial courtroom battle was provoked, by the last decision the White House has announced, to cut media access to CNN's chief reporter, Jim Acosta (*The Guardian*).

After the news conference fight between the reporter and Trump. As a reaction, CNN sued the president and his "senior team" representatives, counting Sarah Sanders, the White House's press secretary, and Bill Shine, the head of communications, in an effort to return Acosta credentials instantly and forever defend reporters from such practices in the future. In the hearing session, the government attorney attempted to reduce the importance of the Trump incident on Acosta. The justice department lawyer, James Burnham presenting the case said to the court that: "As for CNN, I don't think there's any harm at all." He added that the reason

behind Acosta's credentials detaches, was not linked to his way of reporting news nor his beliefs, but for his offensive and disturbing reaction at the press conference. Burnham said, "Grandstanding is not a viewpoint" (*The Guardian*).

The hearing ended with the Judge's order to the Trump administration on Friday 2018, to return CNN reporter Jim Acosta his press license in the White House. Trump's chosen Judge Timothy Kelly, gave a smashing victory to CNN. Outside Washington, D.C Court Acosta stated, "I want to thank all of my colleagues in the press who supported us this week, and I want to thank the judge for the decision he made today," he added, "Let's go back to work." On the same day of the final decision, Sarah Huckabee Sanders the White House press secretary declared that "Today, the court made clear that there is no absolute First Amendment right to access the White House. In response to the court, we will temporarily reinstate the reporter's hard pass. We will also further develop rules and processes to ensure fair and orderly press conferences in the future," Sanders said. "There must be decorum at the White House" (CNBC).

Later that Friday, in an interview with Fox News' Chris Wallace, Trump said that the White House was already working on laws of conduct. The reporter asked Trump for his opinion about the judge's decision on Acosta, Trump responded, "It's not a big deal, and if he misbehaves, we will throw him out or we will stop the news conference." The president, also insisted that he is a strong believer in the First Amendments "freedom of the press," yet, he warned that, if a reporter "acting out of sorts," he would close future press communications. Trump added, "I will say this, look, nobody believes in the First Amendment more than I do, and if I think somebody is acting out of sorts I will leave. I will say thank you very much, everybody, I appreciate you coming, and I will leave." Over their official Twitter account on November 16, 2018, CNN twitted a Statement from CNN, and @Acosta on today's ruling: "We are gratified with this result, and we look forward to a full resolution in the coming days. Our

sincere thanks to all who have supported not just CNN, but a free, strong, and independent American press” (CNBC).

According to Jim Acosta in his book *"Enemy of the People: A Dangerous Time to Tell the Truth in America,"* he portrayed Trump, as a tyrant always striving to suppress the free press, which was one of the most reasons the First Amendment of the U.S constitution ban the interference of government in the performance of the media. CNN believed that Jim Acosta did nothing wrong when he asked the president, during a televised news conference last November 2018, quite logical and proper questions, but President Trump called him "a rude, terrible person," when he asked him questions about immigration and the Russia investigation and put the blame on CNN for hiring such person. This was the first time in the American history a president "lift" the White House reporter's license because he did not like the questions the reporter asked him. When President Trump attacked Acosta and CNN in November 2018, CNN administration was not afraid, and it published a declaration, stating that, "We stand behind Jim Acosta and his fellow journalists everywhere." This can be seen as if the history was repeating itself when Nixon attacked Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein for their Watergate recording. Ben Bradlee the Executive Editor of Washington said precisely, "We stand by the boys. We stand by the boys" (CNN).

Acosta was the center of attention in November 2018, after his press license was canceled by the White House. The moment Acosta gained back press credentials, on Sunday discussions with CNN about the latest event, he insisted that Trump is mentally unhealthy, Trump is “more crazy like a fox," he continued, "I tell folks, I’m not a psychiatrist, I cannot assess the president’s mental state, but I will tell you my sense of it, covering him for a pretty long period of time now, is that he is more crazy like a fox" (The Hill).

On Thursday 2018 morning, Trump called “Fox & Friends” one of his favorite programs. When talking to the three hosts Trump kept attacking the media several times,

shedding lights on his relationship with the media stating that, he is interested in cable news that tackles his stories. Trump described CNN as "fake news," he said that he does not "watch NBC anymore. They are as bad as CNN" (*The Hill*). When he was asked about his "fight" with Acosta, Trump told Fox News that he had several plans to handle Acosta's question. He said, "We'll have rules of decorum, you know, you can't keep asking questions. You have we had a lot of reporters in that room, many, many reporters in that room, and they were unable to ask questions because this guy gets up and starts doing what he's supposed to be doing for him and for CNN and, you know, just shouting out questions" (Business Insider).

Meanwhile, CNN was questioned why it appears to report only news about Trump, unexpectedly Zucker; the president of CNN, responded with, "It is all about the ratings. People say all the time, 'Oh, I don't want to talk about Trump, I've had too much Trump.' We've seen that anytime you break away from the Trump story and cover other events in this era, the audience goes away. So we know that, right now, Donald Trump dominates." Assuredly, both the president and the network need one another (*The Hill*).

3.2.2 NBC and MSNBC

On 10 January, 2019 President Trump Twitted about the cable channels saying, "The Mainstream Media has NEVER been more dishonest than it is now. NBC and MSNBC are going Crazy. They report stories, purposely, the exact opposite of the facts. They are truly the Opposition Party working with the Dems. May even be worse than Fake News CNN, if that is possible!" (Deadline).

Trump has frequently ridiculed and criticized NBC reporter Katy Tur, in front of an audience, when covering his campaign for a year and a half. The reporter wrote for *Marie Claire*, Trump's hatred for her, goes back to an unfriendly MSNBC interview she had with him in July of 2015. He claimed that the media denied publishing the extent of his gatherings, the GOP nominee appeared to direct his rage on Tur, saying that: "There's something happening. They

are not reporting it. Katy—you are not reporting it, Katy. But there is something happening, Katy. There is something happening, Katy.” After that incident, Tur was present on MSNBC Wednesday evening to talk about it, declaring: “It is a unique experience to have an entire crowd of people... booing you. And it is especially unique when they are actually saying your name and looking directly at you—and that is what happened today.” She denied the idea that the media is not reporting on the Trump mobs is “just factually incorrect.” Tur said, “This is a schtick that he does to rile up his base. It is to give them an excuse for polls that might not be in his favor...and to blame somebody for something that does not look as good as they want it to look.” In December 2015, Tur said that Trump was insulted by her tweet when she said that the candidate finished his talk “abruptly.” Trump tweeted, replied that Tur “should be fired for dishonest reporting,” and, a few days, on the stage of a South Carolina rally, Trump called her “Little Katy” and a “third-rate reporter” (Fortune).

3.2.3 Trump’s Beef with Amazon

It is really impossible for Trump to hide his hatred for Amazon. His tweets about the company go way back in time. Trump tweeted in December 2017, complaining about Amazon making the Postal Service “dumber and poorer.” “Why is the United States Post Office, which is losing many billions of dollars a year, while charging Amazon and others so little to deliver their packages, making Amazon richer and the Post Office dumber and poorer? Should be charging MUCH MORE!” Apparently, the attacks on the company seemed to elevate recently on Twitter after Axios's reporter claiming that Trump was "obsessed" with Amazon. Soon after the article was printed, once again Trump focused on the company, blaming it for not paying a fair taxes, accusing Bezos; the CEO, and president of Amazon; of using his position to maintain a lower taxes for his company. Plus, describes the company as a "delivery boy" for the mail service that wastes the country's money (The Verge).

Even though, the Postal Service cannot be authorized to transport packages for less than its transportation charges, Trump has alleged that Amazon was “costing the United States Post Office massive amounts of money for being their Delivery Boy,” a condition that makes “many thousands of retailers out of business.” Amazon uses the post service to perform the so-called “last mile” for delivery (Transport Topics). The Postal Service has some real financial difficulties, starting with the Americans sending less paper mail, even as package delivery increases, that Amazon contributes to balance some of these costs. Trump tweeted about Amazon on August 2017, “Amazon is doing great damage to tax paying retailers. Towns, cities and states throughout the U.S. are being hurt - many jobs being lost!” (Alphr). After a long conflict over how to tax online sales, Amazon began collecting tax sales in 2017, in each state following a code. So, most of Trump's claims regarding the company are somewhat real but mostly deceiving. Amazon was questioned for years about the way it receives both state and local taxes (The Verge).

Trump has repeatedly criticized the Washington Post, and its owner Bezos, from taxes and transportation expenses to publishing “fake news.” Via a tweet, Trump named the tech executive “Jeff Bozo.” The conflict between Donald Trump and Jeff Bezos took a strange turn after Bozos charged the president's partners attempting to blackmail him, with uncomfortable pictures of him and another woman, as well as sexual selfies acquisitions. Plus naming David Pecker, the Enquirer’s publisher, American Media Inc. CEO has acted on behalf of the president. Bezos stated, “Recently entered into an immunity deal with the Department of Justice related to their role in the so-called “catch and kill process” on behalf of President Trump and his election campaign.” He added, “It’s unavoidable that certain powerful people who experience Washington Post news coverage will wrongly conclude I am their enemy. President Trump is one of those people, obvious by his many tweets” Yet no one has made more money than Bezos during Trump’s era. His wealth currently is valued with \$133.9 billion, according

to the Bloomberg Billionaires Index (Bloomberg). Today Twitter often determines the agenda of the day. Ever since Trump joined Twitter, his favored tool for interacting with the people (The Atlantic).

3.3 Trump's Tweeter Strategy

Today, Twitter is the prime method the president use to interact with the Americans. Trump has the capacity to influence companies with a tweet (Inc). The first time launched to Tweeter was in 2006. On an interview with Fox Trump said “I have friends that say, ‘Oh, don’t use social media. See, I don’t call it tweets,” he added. “Tweeting is like a typewriter — when I put it out, you put it immediately on your show. I mean, the other day, I put something out, two seconds later I am watching your show, it’s up,” Trump continued “So when somebody says something about me, I am able to go bing, bing, bing, and I take care of it,” he explained. “The other way, I would never get the word out.” Trump used social media “to keep people interested” and avoid the “fake media out there,” which traits him “very unfairly” as he said (Politico).

Donald Trump believes that without the power of social media, he would not be president. In an interview with the Business Network’s, Maria Bartiromo, on a Friday, Trump declared “I doubt I would be here if it weren’t for social media, to be honest with you”(Politico). He is definitely good at tweeting, after lots of tweets, immediately every main channel network is speaking about him. He followed this strategy to maintain his picture. There was no chance to open a website or watch the news on TV without any mention of Donald Trump (Sep Logic).

Donald Trump's media coverage of the 2016 campaign has become as one of the controversial topics. The discussion revolved around how, and how much, the media coverage backed Trump to became the possible Republican nominee. Some reporters did not believe in the idea that, the media coverage helped Trump by saying that “The media didn’t create Trump.” Eugene Robinson, The Washington Post wrote, “After decades in the public eye, he

had more than 90 percent name recognition when he began his campaign.” In general, Trump had more coverage than any other nominees joined together. For example, Trump earned more coverage by, CNN from August 24, and September 4, 2015, holding 78 percent (The Washington Post).

Social media performed an enormous role during the 2016 election campaign, and how candidates interacted with voters. Trump’s social media troupe frequently overshadowed Clinton’s team during the whole presidential campaign. Whether to love him or hate him, Trump must be appreciated for how he employed social media to win the election. He applied it good and received the result he planned (Sep Logic).

3.3.1 Overcoming Critical Media

President Trump has equipped Twitter, employing it not only to interact with the people solely to manage the news agenda over confusion and "bluster." Trump's morning tweets revolve around ideas the President had last night, still, there is a shred of high evidence that after watching his favorite Fox morning show motivates him to tweet, and be angry or oppressed. His tweets swing, from the daily usual to a serious political one, Trump tweeted about Hillary Clinton 83 tweets, “fake news” 183, the promise to Make America Great Again 104. The tweets are loud, reckless, and offensive, including statements that are often incorrect. Most of the times they are mean, and they look like nothing the American people had seen before from a selected politician. For example, on 31 May 2017, the President tweeted: “Who can figure out the true meaning of "covfefe»??? Enjoy!” Though Trump’s tweets are prominently efficient, in March 2009, he subscribed in Twitter and instantly became widely known, that people can overlook if they wanted to. However, since he won the Republican nomination and the presidency, it is not that wise to ignore his tweets (Independent).

On 30 December 2017, Trump twitted "I use Social Media not because I like to, but because it is the only way to fight a VERY dishonest and unfair “press,” now often referred to

as Fake News Media. Phony and non-existent “sources” are being used more often than ever. Many stories & reports a pure fiction!" (Twitter). Trump states that it is often the most productive method to communicate with the people, without going back to the old media that he insists not worthy of the trust. The White House required clarifying that his tweets are considered to be presidential declarations, and should have the same approval as statements published by his reporters. Social media in general and Twitter in particular, for Trump is a battlefield, and he has strengthened his Twitter in several ways (Independent).

The president of the United States does not seem to quit tweeting. Notwithstanding his strict advisors and insult from the world, the POTUS cannot pass a day without expressing his tension in more than 140, 280 characters (Tech Crunch).

3.3.2. Agenda Setting and Framing

Trump's use of social media, is involved in what Gail Fairhurst, the communication scholar defines as “framing.” An example of framing is the president’s constant description of the bad media coverage as “fake news.” He has used the term repeatedly to redirect attention aside from the core of the problem being reported (Inside Higher ED).

Modern researches revealed the evolution of Twitter in setting the agenda: “Twitter has become a convenient tool for journalists to interact with possible sources and gather information from a vast pool of people without leaving the office or even picking up the phone” (Lewis, Zamith & Hermida 39). Through the 2016 campaign. Studies had found that only 4% of Tweets about Trump discussed this topic, and only 2.6% discussed immigration in the Clinton sample (O’Boyle 89). Agenda setting was linked to how a program traditionally was conveyed by old mass media and officials, though, because of the fact that the 21st century delivered social media, like Twitter and Facebook, the agenda-setting directly conveyed by influential people has completely changed (Elvström).

Trump attempts through his tweets to influence and shape the opinions not only of congressmen in both houses but the public and the media themselves. He is prepared to tweet at 5 am, and by just several words, he can create confusion and reshape the political discussion. His purpose is to have his most preferred points considered, and permit the fight to begin on a stage of his selection. Harvard University clarified that reporters mainly regarded Trump's agenda, when criticizing him, they concentrated on topics he has tackled the most like, immigration, of which he has profited from to, became the main central problem of the campaign. However, concentrating on the "fake news" that was discussed most of the times. Trump's surroundings admired him, for the capacity to control the news, and how he made the world bow for him. He is talented in using simple speeches that ordinary Americans can perceive. Unlike, Hillary Clinton's long, sophisticated speeches that only elites can understand it, in addition to, a Trump's tweet that can catch fire, making people talk for a long time (Gulf News).

Conclusion

Unlike so many of his predecessor presidents, who had an antagonistic relationship with the media, Trump did not accept to remain under their mercy. The widely spread social media and their current popular use by Americans of different ages and social categories was a godsend for a president not willing to yield to the desires of the media world. The lucky existence of the social media especially Tweeter necessitated an exceptional will and a smart mind found in president Trump and to know the secrets of the new tool in direct communication with people. Strong personality also was an advantageous trait to ignore the universal opposition to his use of Tweeter.

From the start of his presidential campaign until today, Trump has forever recognized the power that social media can offer to a person. He has been capable of gaining Americans over with his objectionable, unrepentant, and provocative views, and by posting a Tweet, he can receive immediate responses to these views. Strategically he neglected old fashioned campaign strategies of interacting with the media and holding interviews, knowing that social media would present him instant contact with those he was attempting to attract. Excluding the "Fake news" from the process as what Trump calls it. Everyone was able to express their thoughts, and repost them immediately, through digital spaces that social media has offered. Trump has been capable of obtaining and sustaining his Presidency over giving his ideas, beliefs, and campaign vows via tweets. From travel taboos to constructing a wall, whatever Trump tweets, numerous people are ready to gather behind him. Touching their sensitive side, Trump was able to gather such enthusiastic followers. Social media became to be Trump's stage where his comments and views are welcomed by many Americans, who had not the chance to express their outrage publicly and kept it to themselves. The war between Trump and the media remains. Sooner or later, Trump will leave the office, after four or eight years (Medieum).

This research has attempted to show exactly these facts in the Trump presidency. The strategy of this president enabled him to break the yoke imposed on him by an unfriendly media world. He managed through unorthodox and debased use of tweets to reach directly his audience without media control, censorship or distortion of his views, beliefs and messages. Like him Nixon faced strong rejection by the media, but unlike him, he could not fight as Trump did and was forced to step down from the presidency. Trump is still standing and looks set to be a winner in most of the battles ahead.

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