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The Role of Media in Shaping and Manipulating the American Public Opinion

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Abstract

This research paper involves a deep interpretation of media's role in constructing the American public opinion, and explains the different methods that media use to brainwash and influence people's perception of issues. The purpose of this work is to understand how the disseminated information by media control the public's reactions and interpretations of events that happen in their daily life. The study seeks to find out to what extent media influence the public's perceptions of 9/11 events and Chavez coup, as most important events that show how the media propagandists manipulate and brainwash the people in order to elicit certain attitudes or stances vis-à-vis controversial issues. This work is divided into three chapters: The first one is a representation of the historical background of public opinion in general and American public opinion in specific, in which it becomes a matter of debate in the period of the two World wars and the way it should be measured. The second chapter is an introduction of the fourth estate, which is the main source of news, and acts as a link between the government and the public, and it helps this latter to be well-informed. However, most of the information presented to the public are made by propagandists, who are manipulate people to serve the elite's desires. The last chapter is an attempt to identify the relationship between American public opinion and media and further explain the media strategies of shaping the opinions of people during major events, which include wars and foreign crises.

Key terms: Media, public opinion, constructing, manipulation, propaganda.

تتضمن هذه الأطروحة تفسيرًا عميقًا لدور وسائل الإعلام في بناء الرأي العام الأمريكي ، وتشرح الطرق المختلفة التي تستخدمها وسائل الإعلام لغسيل دماغ الشعب والتأثير على إدراكه للقضايا. الغرض من هذه الدراسة هو فهم كيف تغيرها وسائل الإعلام ردود فعل الجمهور واستيعابهم لمختلف الأحداث التي تحدث في حياتهم اليومية.

تسعى هذه الأطروحة إلى معرفة إلى أي مدى تؤثر وسائل الإعلام على تشكيل رأي الجمهور حول أحداث 11 والانقلاب الذي حدث ضد الرئيس الفنزويلي تشافيز ، باعتبارها أهم الأحداث التي تظهر كيف يتلاعب الإعلاميون من أجل اظهار مواقفهم حول مختلف القضايا . تنقسم هذه الأطروحة إلى ثلاثة فصول: الفصل الأول هو عبارة عن تقديم تاريخ الرأي العام بشكل عام والرأي العام الأمريكي بشكل خاص ، حيث أصبح موضوعا للنقاش في فترة الحربين العالميتين بالإضافة الى الطريقة التي يقاس بها. أما الفصل الثاني فهو عبارة عن مقدمة للسلطة الرابعة ، التي هي المصدر الرئيسي للأخبار ، وتعمل كحلقة وصل بين الحكومة والجمهور، وتساعد هذا الأخير ليكون على دراية بما يحدث من حوله. ومع ذلك ، فإن معظم المعلومات المقدمة للجمهور كانت من طرف محترفين الذين كانوا يتلاعبون بالناس لخدمة . أما بالنسبة للفصل الأخير فهو محاولة لتحديد العلاقة بين الرأي العام الأمريكي والإعلام ، وكذلك شرح الاستراتيجيات الإعلامية لتشكيل آراء الناس خلال الأحداث الكبرى، والتي تشمل الحروب والأزمات الأجنبية.

مفتاحية: الرأي العام، تشكيل، تلاعب، الدعاية الاعلامية.

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List of Abbreviations

9/11:	September 11th 2001.
ABC:	Australian Broadcasting Corporation.
CBS:	Columbia Broadcasting System.
CIA:	Central Intelligence Agency.
CNN:	Cable News Network.
DC:	Washington District of Columbia.
FBI:	Federal Bureau of Investigation.
FCC:	Federal Communications Commission.
NBC:	National Broadcasting Company.
PDVSA:	Petróleos de Venezuela, S.A.
US:	United States.

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Figure 1: Lasswell's 5W Model.

Figure 2: the American Political Spectrum.

General Introduction

Throughout the American history, the relationship between the media and the public opinion has been major subject of academic inquiry. A considerable number of studies found that media have an extensive influence on the public opinion because of advances in communication. One of the studies was carried by Brayant and Zillman who defined the media effects as “the social, cultural, and psychological impact of communication via mass media.” For example, in 1960, the presidential candidates: Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy had a debate, and used different media tools like radio and television respectively, which led people to have different opinions about who won the debate between the radio listeners and the television viewers. This study is carried out to investigate how the media and social media influence the public opinion and how the public opinion perceives and reacts in different kinds of impulses from the side of the media.

The role of media is to give the information as it is, and by doing that they are giving the stimuli to the public to take a stand toward the public questions, that shapes the public opinion which is an expression of general population’s thoughts on a particular issue. However, the politicians change that role of media by using them as tools for serve their own benefits, in addition to the propagandists who use biased and misleading information in order to promote or publicize a particular political perspective. Consequently, media become means to manipulate people’s perceptions.

This study is carried out in order to answer the main question which is:

To what extent do media influence the construction of American public opinion?

Through answering the following sub research questions:

- 1- What is public opinion, its history, and how it can be measured?
- 2- What is media, its types, role and impact?

3- How do media shape and manipulate public's perception of issues?

The aim of this work is to analyze and examine how the reactions of the public change by receiving the information through media, which manipulate their ways of interpreting the events that happened in their daily life. So the major purpose of this work is to discover to what extent media influence the public's perceptions of issues, by fulfilling the following objectives:

- 1- To know the public opinion, and the way to measure it.
- 2- To identify the media, its types, role and impact.
- 3- To know how the media influence the public's perception of issues.

To answer the questions of this study effectively and further explain the relationship between media and the public opinion, this study will be a social and historical research. It will be conducted through a qualitative approach in order to interpret and analyze primary and secondary sources, relevant papers, previous events and articles that had been dealt with the topic through a chronological description that is based on the beliefs, ideas, observations, and opinions of the public.

The significance of this research is based on a number of factors. The study determines the essence of the relationship between American public opinion and US media. It also focuses on the way media construct the public opinion towards wars and foreign crises.

The study of relation between media and the public opinion is a matter of debate with a very long and rich history. It became an important component of political analysis in the 19th century, with the rise of the democratic states, the role and the place of public opinion grow, because democracies were supposed to represent and be accountable to their people. The contemporary study of the public opinion is specialized and psychologically driven and is often truncated from the broad concerns of American politics and democratic theory.

The notion of public opinion is clearly presented in Walter Lippmann¹'s book, *Public Opinion*, where he explained the principal form of impact of media and public opinion. It starts with a chapter titled *The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads*. As he mentioned, media is the source of those pictures in our mind about the larger world of public issues, a world that for most citizens is "out of reach, out of sight, out of mind." (Lippmann 17). Our understanding of the world is totally based on what the media want to inform us. More notably, the outcome of this mediated view of the world is that the needs of the media firmly impact the needs of general society.

In addition, Lippmann said that we are living in a fake world, or as he named it "pseudo world", where these pictures, or stereotypes are simply not a solid base or a valid source to make the foreign policy, as what Gabriel Almond said in his book *The American People and Foreign Policy* that the public "are poorly informed, reacting to different events with indifference. Therefore, policy makers cannot depend on the public's reactions to shape foreign policy" (Almond 76).

Edward Louis Bernays was a pioneer in the fields of propaganda and public relations, who explained how corporations and politicians can manipulate public opinion, and how propaganda can be used to manage the collective mind in a variety of areas, including government, politics, art, science and education. His book *Crystallizing Public Opinion* was about how the public opinion is created and shaped. He putted principles used by corporations and government to influence public attitudes over the past century. Edward L. Bernays filtered pages of Walter Lippmann *Public Opinion*, and set off harmful analysis that had a clear impact on how Lippmann's work is perceived and interpreted today. He wrote *Crystallizing*

¹An American writer, reporter, and political commentator famous for being among the first to introduce the concept of Cold War, coining the term "stereotype" in the modern psychological meaning, and critiquing media and democracy in his newspaper column and several books.

Public Opinion as a calculated reflection of Lippmann argument, who was a severe critic of propaganda that condemned the “manufacture of consent” by public relations when that field was still in its beginning.

Bernays was the first who mold the term public relations counsel. in his *Crystallizing Public Opinion* where he talked about the public relations, problems of industry, education, the social sciences, labor and government, which considered as a practice of Lippmann’s theory. He defined the public relations counsel as the agent working with media and group of authoritarians to shape the public awareness of particular issues. He also believed that the use of propaganda by democracy is necessary to form public opinion.

Bernays also states: “Give the people what they want is only half sound. What they want and what they get are fused by some mysterious alchemy. The press, the lecturer, the screen and the public lead and are led by each other” (Bernays, *Crystallizing public opinion* 86)

Public opinion is formed according to the exposed information about a given issues but the informer for example concentrates and spreads only news that are decided to be important to society and the senior initiative to push forward a corporate objective. For Bernays, a time of violent cycle is shaped, that restricts the measure of data made as an accessible to the society. Various topics are forgotten due to the absence of conferences or political predisposition, despite the fact that the substance may somehow or another be regarded newsworthy. Positive stories in the present news are a loss of this constrictive cycle that is not considered as dreadful crime. The Internet, and particularly web-based social networking may upset that cycle, particularly in an interior business condition where workers finish access to the outside world. In this manner, Bernays claims:

The public relations counsel must be alive to the events of the day – not only the events that are printed but the events which are forming hour by hour, as

reported in the words that are spoken on the street ... or expressed in any of the other forms of thought communication that make up public opinion.” (56)

To some other scholars, advancement in information technology has equally enhanced the role of public opinion. According to Seaver, neglecting the importance of the public has become more difficult with the advent of the new technologies, and increase in the amount of information the public is exposed to and other developments in global politics. These changes have made it possible for the public to wield greater influence in foreign policy decisions, she noted. The claim is surely appealing but it might be ideal to look at the effect of the media in terms of the role they can play in focusing public attention on the most important issues.

Many schools have found that there are several ways of media's effect on policy making, among these ways, the media's agenda setting. They think that media highlight issues of concern and discussion for people because subjects that attract attention captivate public's awareness, like Lederman and Berkwitz believe that media has an important role helping to create the social and political agenda from the very beginning of the US country. They distinguished between two different types of agenda "setting" and "building". Berkowitz noted that agenda setting is the impact of media agenda on public opinion, whereas agenda building deals with an extensive picture, where media and public agendas effect public policy. This effect of the media is accepted by authoritarians because they frequently use media content as an indicator of public opinion.

Chapter one: What is Public Opinion?

Introduction

The United States of America is a country where public opinion has a great weight vis-à-vis policy making. The public opinion is a set of attitudes and views of individuals concerned with particular controversial issues, including politics and government action. Its impact is not only limited to politics and elections, but also concerned with many other spheres, such as culture, literature, the arts, public relations, so that it becomes a central part of discussions about democracy in US during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In which it emerged as a great power that deserves much attention. However, for better understanding of the American public opinion, one should know the nature of the notion, its historical background, how it could be measured, and its impact on foreign policy making.

1.1. The historical background of public opinion:

Despite that the term public opinion laid deep in history, and both of its components “public” and “opinion” are archaic as history itself, it is not used as one concept in politics until the 18th century. Phenomena like the public opinion had occurred since antiquity with the rise of Babylonia and Assyria, where the popular attitudes were of great interest, like the legend of the ruler who was caring about the opinions of his citizens concerning his tenure, the matter that led him to disguise himself and interact with them in order to know such things. One can assume that the opinion of the public has been of a great importance for a long time. In Athens, at that time, there were two different political parties, oligarchs² and democrats. While the former wanted to have a state ruled by the few rich who can vote and hold public office, the latter was claiming that all male should have equal rights. Aristotle, in his book

² From oligarchy, the government that is ruled by the few, who exercise despotic power for corrupt or selfish purposes.

Politics, gave a definition of the both forms of governments as “An oligarchy is said to be that in which the few and the wealthy, and a democracy that in which the many and the poor are the rulers.” (Aristotle 62)

Plato, who was not a Democrat, had no trust in the rule of the wealthy, who had shown that they care only about their interests and the advantages of the few against the majority of the ordinary citizens. He also distrusted the ability of ordinary people to rule a city like Athens, because they were easily manipulated by the ambitious politicians. Moreover, Plato made a difference between opinion and knowledge, he did not give an importance to the opinion, he believed that opinion is a popular belief, which is available to human cognition, and it is related to the ignorant or untutored majority. Whereas, he gave a huge importance to the knowledge of ideas that are unchangeable, which are related to only a few people like philosopher-kings, as he named them, or the lovers of wisdom, who have wisdom, knowledge and intellectual capabilities that could be given to the general population in order to create an intellectual world without hatred and bloodshed, as he mentioned in his *Republic*: “Until philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy,... cities will never have rest from their evils.” (Plato 333)

On the other hand, Aristotle in his *Politics* stated that “an element of truth. Hence, the many are better judges...For some understand one part and some another; and among them they understand the whole.” (65-66) Aristotle believed that taking the opinion of the majority is a good decision in terms of politics and election, even though he had an unfair choice of the masses, which was limited to only one-third of free adult male citizens. He also believed in the power of community, in which public’s thoughts should be accepted, by gathering people to debate in order to have a valuable collected opinion.

After that, the term was implicitly used in the Roman societies, it was so familiar to them since they were working with it in many contexts. The Roman politician, lawyer and senator, Marcus Tullius Cicero³ dealt with the concept in different issues, for example, when he tried to expose the reaction between the politicians and Roman citizens, and other cases concerned with politics and the public. He was of great importance concerning the notion of public opinion, because first; he was an active political leader, who always tried to be in touch with the people, in order to understand their opinions, and use them for his political interest, as Anthony Everitt said “Cicero (...) could swing opinion; and he was the ablest politician on the right.” (Everitt 127). Second, Cicero was against those who support the monarchy, and became an important author because of his speeches and books of his war and fight for public support. According to Cicero, the notion of public opinion and its perception differ according to the form of societies. At that time there were no mass media, the communication between the leaders or the politicians and the citizens was face-to-face interaction in which gossips and rumors are the source of the information and affect the people’s reputation. Cicero used certain terms instead of public opinion, such as opinion, estimation, and judgment of the Roman people. He was supporting the opinion of the many, as he mentioned in his treatise *Topica*:

For people think that men of talent or wealth, or those whom time has tested, are worthy of credit; perhaps this is not right, but the opinion of the many can hardly be changed, and those who judge as well as those who make assessments from all their views with reference to it. (Cicero 73)

³The greatest speaker and a productive writer of verse, letters, and works on philosophy and politics that greatly influenced European thought. His speeches and writings would become models for generations to come. He was a central political figure during the turbulent reign of Julius Caesar.

Quintilian said that Cicero was “the name, not of a man, but of eloquence itself,” because his ideas, series of daily letters, books, treatises are still of great importance till nowadays, and they inspired the Enlightenment thinkers such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, David Hume, Montesquieu and Thomas Jefferson who borrowed many ideas from Cicero.

One of the most important figures in discussing the notion of public opinion was the political philosopher Thomas Hobbes⁴. He claimed that in every state there should be a communication between the citizens and government, because he considered the people as the main part to form a state, in which there is a contract between the leaders and the citizens.

After the death of Hobbes, the British scholar John Locke⁵ composed Two Treatises of Government that were written in 1690, in which he did not accept the idea that kings and queens had a divine right to rule others, therefore he presented a theory in politics which claims that governments should be created among free people as social contracts. Moreover, he argued that the leaders got their power from the consent of the governed⁶, and held their power as a public trust, and the people can judge the performance of the government, the standard he named as public opinion.

Furthermore, he stated that the role of the state is to use its power to control people and protect their rights, including life, freedom, and property, and in return people can rebel against their government if the latter did not protect them. Locke also stated that the government should be separated into various branches and each branch should have limited

⁴ An English philosopher and founding father of modern political philosophy. He is best known for his political thought. He was concerned about the problem of social and political order, how people can live together in peace avoiding anything will lead to civil conflict

⁵ English philosopher whose works lie at the foundation of modern philosophical empiricism and political liberalism. He was an inspirer of both the European Enlightenment and the Constitution of the United States.

⁶ John Locke’s idea that is differed with Hobbes social contract. Locke believed that since people were born with natural rights, the government existed to protect the people’s natural rights, life, liberty and property. And if it failed to do so then the people would exercise their right to rebel

powers that satisfy its function, and give freedom and protection for people against any tyrannical powers as he said in his *Two Treatises on Government*:

The natural liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authority of man, but to have only the law of Nature for his rule. The liberty of man in society is to be under no other legislative power, but that established by consent in the commonwealth, nor under the dominion of any will, or restraint of any law, but what that legislative shall enact according to the trust put in it.

1.2. The American public opinion

Over eighty years after Locke introduced his political perspectives on government, the American revolutionary Thomas Paine⁷ introduced the *Common Sense*⁸ that helped to change the opinions in the 13 colonies. At that time, the patriots, who wanted to have their freedom, were afraid that most of the colonists are still loyal to the King George III, and if they declare their independence they will lose the public support. In the *Common Sense*, he addressed the people using their daily language and rallied them in favor of the revolution, Paine also exposed that the king was a tyrant who was behind the different attacks on the colonies. In addition, Thomas Jefferson was also influenced by some of Locke's ideas, and adopted them into the Declaration of Independence⁹.

⁷ English political, philosopher and writer, who helped to shape many ideas that marked the Age of Revolution.

⁸ The first pamphlet to advocate American independence. It contains ideas that would stay central to Paine's thought: the importance of republican government over a monarchical system, equality of rights among all citizens, and the world significance of the American Revolution.

⁹ The document drafted by Thomas Jefferson and adopted by the Continental Congress in revised form in 1776, which declared the independence of the thirteen colonies from Britain.

During the Enlightenment¹⁰, these ideas were spread into Europe and affect many philosophers such as: Montesquieu¹¹ who liked the idea of limited constitutional government and separated branches that will protect the rights of the public and prevent one branch to use unlimited power over the other branches (checks and balances). And Jean-Jacques Rousseau¹² who accepted the idea that people must be free and no king or queen had a complete authority over them. However, he did not agree with Locke concerning the way the state should be, he believed that the form of government that was presented by Locke did not distribute an equal sovereignty among people, and he argued for a direct government by the people.

In the late 18th century, the concept of public opinion regarded as a crucial notion in politics, this phenomenon conceptualized as the corollary of the end of the old hierarchy, and religion as sources of legitimating, where the power of public opinion was presented as a fundamental source of authority. The development of this concept, and the extent of its power was demonstrated by its ability to change the 13 North American British provinces to the USA. The ideas of both Locke and Rousseau were clearly presented in the declaration of Independence (1776) which aimed at replacing the monarch, by the head of the constitutional republic.

In the late 19th and the early 20th century, the English historian James Bryce, one of the primary authors who regard comprehensively "public opinion" as crucial notions that deserve much attention. In his *American Commonwealth* 1888, he concentrated on three main features of public opinion, the competence of the public, the constitution of public opinion, and the

¹⁰ An intellectual, philosophical, cultural, and social movement that spread through England, France, Germany, and other parts of Europe during the 1700s.

¹¹ A French judge, man of letters, and political philosopher. He articulated the theory of separation of powers, which is implemented in many constitutions throughout the world

¹² A Genevan philosopher, writer, and composer of the 18th century, mainly active in France. His political philosophy influenced the Enlightenment across Europe, as well as aspects of the French Revolution and the overall development of modern political and educational thought.

relationship of public opinion with opinion leaders (i.e. the function of public views in the political procedure).

In that research Bryce observed the insufficiency of attentiveness that is shown by public in politics, so that he did not trust that public opinion could or ought to decide the subtle elements of policy. However, he observed that this latter in America was dominated by the mass public through political parties. Studies about the public opinion that showed up in that period were comparable in focus to Bryce's work, but they did not reach the same conclusion, the two authors A. Lawrence Lowell and Walter Lippmann respectively wrote two books, *Public opinion and Popular Government* (1913) and *Public Opinion* (1922). The first book was a thoroughly investigate of public opinion and its relationship to government. Lowell tended to follow the greater part of Bryce's concerns, especially in terms of the competence of the public, he believed that public opinion's role in politics had to be severely constrained, due to his lack of competence to manage the political information and due to the negative influence on the making of policy.

Lippmann was influenced by both Plato's theory of knowledge and Aristotle's *Politics*. In his book *Public Opinion* He explained the original form of the problem facing democracy; for him the environment is complex, and man's political capacity is simple, so can a bridge be built to cover that gap? Also, he asked how people can gain information and knowledge of issues that enable them to rule popularly. This idea obliged anyone to think whether it is possible for men to use very simple means to act very well upon complex issues. This problem grows more and more in the modern era. For Lippmann the complexity of the environment; social, political, and economic life is "out of reach, out of sight, and out of mind." (Lippmann 17) He started his book with chapter titled "the world outside and the pictures in our heads" (3). He stated that human live is exposed to a wide and complex nature. Consequently, the

reality that they know, act, and behave upon it is no more than their own representation of the environment, and he named that by “pseudo-environment,” (20) where people create “most inadequate picture,” (15) or “stereotypes” (194) that misguide them in their deals with the world outside, and crystallize their opinions into “Public Opinion” and shape their political actions. However, there are many factors such as news media and propaganda¹³ that had great ability to manufacture and manipulate the public through presenting information that are chosen with special interests, and affect people’s perception of the world - that is the world “in our heads.” in such conditions, citizens are poorly informed and cannot manage political affairs and take part in government. To overcome this problem, Lippmann proposed a remedy stating that there should be an expanded role for experts and few men of action, public policy analysts and political leaders who would have a direct relation with a particular issue.

Lippmann named them as “insiders.” (120) Their main role is to disseminate the details and provide knowledge and understanding of the matter to the public, so that it would stay informed, also they might offer advice on policy affairs to political bodies such as Congress. Those “insiders” “will help to bring public opinions into grip with the environment” (215). Consequently, minimize the role of citizens. To confirm, Lippmann did not exclude entirely the public from his theory. Rather, he believed that the process of governing and decision-making must be the work of minority of elite administrators and social scientists.

Lippmann’s theory of democracy was represented by John Dewey¹⁴ in his book *The Public and its Problems* that is published in 1927. Here, Dewey’s major concern is to further Lippmann’s study of democracy in the modern era. He formulated Lippmann’s theory of

¹³Information that are biased or misleading to promote or publicize a particular political opinion.

¹⁴An American philosopher and educator who was a founder of the philosophical movement known as pragmatism. In *The Public and its Problems*, he asserts that an informed public is possible and necessary for the development and progression of a truly democratic state.

knowledge and asked how to link the gap between the capacities of the citizen which are limited, and his environment complex nature. The two authors were agreed upon the existence of that gap between the complexity of the environment, and citizen's capacities. Both of them recognized the difficulties that would result from a popular government that is run by poorly informed citizens.

However, Dewey stated that the most important thing for popular government is the behavior of its citizens, and the social knowledge; the background of built-up knowledge, and the way people collect their ideas to understand their social and political environment. He defined public opinion as a collection of individual's opinions upon certain issue, these opinions are strongly affected, and shaped by social relations. Therefore, it is a result of the interaction of individual's behaviors with different groups that were formed as a reaction of certain issues or problems. These groups share different beliefs, cultures, and institutions. This definition provides deeper understanding of the social construction of knowledge and the democratic system. For him opinions could never be understood without communicative processes that produced them, the matter that led him to state that the general public consisted of smaller and diverse publics, thus it is not correct to speak about this entity only as a collection of individual opinions. He also disagreed with Lippmann's idea of having a limited number of elite administrators, and experts because they would misuse the power and block it for their own interests, and that contradict the democratic system.

Edward. L Bernays, the first scholar to introduce the concept of Public Relations, and the first to apply the theory of public opinion into Public relations. The main source of his ideas was Lippmann's writings mainly "Public Opinion", and that was clearly stated in the second chapter of his book *Crystallizing Public opinion* that is disseminated in 1923, where he presented Lippmann's idea that regarded public as incompetent to acquire enough knowledge

to manage political affairs. Also, he used Lippmann's notion of stereotypes, but with a different interpretation. For Lippmann, stereotypes inform about the world before seeing it, but for him: stereotypes are "the basis of a large part of the work of public relations counsel," (Bernays 150) because they can be understood, and existed in "the average mind." According to Bernays, stereotypes have advantages because they can be used as a tool to reach the public. Moreover, in 1928, he wrote a book titled *Propaganda* which he tried to raise public awareness through presenting the emerging field "Public relations", and its relation with "Propaganda". It is already mentioned in Lippmann's writings as one of the factors that manipulate and shape public opinion. Conversely, Bernays claimed that "propaganda" has a positive impact on public, it provides people with a unified image during wartime, and offer an agreement on industrial issues during peacetime such as promoting clients' products or services. Also, he introduced the two phrases of Lippmann: the "invisible government"¹⁵ that is the work of public relations counsel as he said: "propaganda is the executive arm of the invisible government." and the "manufacturing consent"¹⁶ that he changed into the "engineering of consent"¹⁷. In sum, Bernays and Lippmann were used the same ideas, but they were diametrically opposed, Lippmann believed that stereotypes, propaganda, and news system were obstacles to inform public opinion. However, Bernays claimed that they have a positive influence on social values, and public perception of issues.

¹⁵A government controlled by a person (as a boss) or an agency (as a pressure group) holding no official position and usually held to be unknown to the public

¹⁶ A phrase originally coined in 1922 by Lippmann to refer to the management of public opinion, which he felt it was necessary for democracy to flourish, since he felt that public opinion was an irrational force.

¹⁷The art of manipulating people without them being aware of it.

1.3. What is public opinion: types of public in US.

Scholars have different definitions of the notion depending on how one is defining the term public and which opinions should be taken into consideration, either of groups, individuals, or elites. Public opinion is a phenomenon that is difficult to define because of both social and economic effect and the way government should be run, the matter that leads scholars to provide different interpretations, and identifications to it. Most simply, one can define the public opinion as the aggregation of the majority's opinion.

When taking policy decisions into account, the public opinion become the sum of individual, majority, group or elite opinions...

Speaking of individuals' opinions, one should know that the opinions of the different individuals deserve and should be treated equally even if those individuals have some knowledge about the issue or not. Thus, it is the collection of the different views of the different segments of the society on one particular issue. A different perspective emphasizes that the public opinion is those views of the most people about one issue. In democratic states like the USA, the government leaders count the views of the majority the most and consider them as a guider in the policy-making decisions. They also consider the opinions of the few as of less importance.

This perspective of public opinion is symmetric with the idea of an election in which every single person is entitled to an opinion on an issue, a leader, or a policy. The public rarely has one single unified opinion, there are often some disagreements about the preferences of the people. For example, in 2005, the Congress was fighting with giving funding to support stem cell research in order to have a new cure. An opinion poll has been done by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press indicates that 56% of the public were for stem cell research.

However, there are certain groups, who formed political constituencies, had different views, like the white evangelical Protestants were against stem cell research, while Protestants and Catholics favored it. Moreover, some scholars affirm that the debate among group on different issues will create what they call a public opinion. Groups like: Political parties, interest groups, associations and unions of trade, nonprofit organizations, and corporations, can discuss issues that they are interested in, and can articulate positions about them to define them as social problems. Whereas, the individuals face difficulties to make their problems known and taken seriously. These organized groups have some sources like lobbyists and funds, to make the polls and pay for the advertisements. In addition to the ability to gain the interest of policymakers and mass media. Groups made it easily due to social media that helps them to publicize their views through Facebook and other platforms.

All of the politicians, pollsters, policy specialists, activists, and journalists have agreed that the opinions of leaders and elites have a great weight on shaping, creating and interpreting the public opinion, and it can also be articulated by the pundits.¹⁸ Walter Lippmann remarked that the ordinary people cannot keep up with the numerous issues that face the government, because they have not either the time or the inclination to do so. They also have no opportunity to live the political events directly, therefore they must rely on other sources which are conveyed by the elites through the media. In Lippmann's opinion, it is important for specialists to manage the public opinion because they have knowledge and abilities to promote policies. Thus, people should count the opinions of the elites not of the ordinary citizens.

After knowing what public opinion is and its different interpretations, one can ask where does public opinion come from? Since the opinion is a judgment on something that is often based on fact or knowledge. So there are many factors that can influence the public opinion,

¹⁸People who use media to offer their opinions and comments on a political issue.

such as: Politicians: Many officials affect the public opinion by actively campaigning to generate public support for particular political issues and causes, by giving speeches and interviews, stage rallies, and listen to constituents.

Media: The news media affects it by covering all the important political events extensively (e.g. the immigration in the USA). Since people receive their information from the media, and find that the latter is shedding so much light on a particular issue. Thus, the public opinion will place more importance on that political issue. So the media have a great impact.

Socioeconomic status: It affects it according to persons' status that shapes how they perceive political and economic events like tax cut or health care benefits. There is a difference between how wealthy and poor people are affected, for example; wealthy people support a tax cut because they would have more advantages than the poor people.

Major events: For example: a war, or an economic downturn can affect the opinion of people on different matters such as in support of a president. Example: In the United States, the people support their president dramatically, whenever a foreign crisis has taken place. He will gain a popularity in a short period of time, what the political scientists named it the rally 'round the flag effect.

Opinion leaders: They are often new commentators, bloggers¹⁹, or prominent members of the community who express openly and publicly their own political opinion. They affect the public opinion by influencing others to see things the way they do.

To conclude, public opinion will change, when these factors change. Without forgetting that these factors can also affect one person's political socialization²⁰.

¹⁹A new kind of opinion leader which is created by the internet, (short for web logger). Every day people read the same political blogs. Politicians did court the bloggers, and they tried to invite them to conventions and to grant them interview to win the opinion leaders over their side.

²⁰The process by which people can shape their ideas and views about politics.

1.4. The public opinion polling:

In a democratic state, the public opinion is essential in American politics that aims to inform public policy making. The opinion polls help to briefly show the people's views to the government leaders who make decisions that affect the society. These leaders often check the opinions of the public while policy decisions are made, and when there is an election campaign. Before dealing with the public opinion polls, when should distinguish between what is a poll and what is a survey. The two terms often are used interchangeably, but still there are differences between them. A poll is typically headed by a commercial organization looking for a profit. It consists of a short questionnaire administered to a sample of between 600 and 1500 people in a short period of time. Whereas, a survey most often is conducted by academic researchers. Its questionnaires are longer and designed to check the foundations and results of opinions in details. It may be administered to thousands of subjects over an extended period of time.

The public opinion polls are surveys commissioned by different people or groups to measure people's point of view on a particular issue. A poll is generally initiated when someone need an answer for a particular political question.

However, in the United States, public opinion polling has a historical background. It is everywhere, since the opinions are polled every day about different topics such as: taxes, the federal budget, the environment and global warming. It date back to the first days of the American republic, the polls were related to the newspapers. In 1824, The Harrisburg Pennsylvanian was the first one who conducted the first informal straw poll²¹ that predicted that Andrew Jackson wins the presidential election over John Quincy Adams. Even if they

²¹ An informal poll, often used to gauge opinions about candidates, that is administered haphazardly and without attention to proper sampling methods.

were inaccurate, they became important features in magazines and newspapers. By the 1920s, scientific polls are used by market researchers that utilized samples representative of people to know their product preferences. After that, there was the emergence of the polling organizations which are businesses that gauge public opinion through strategic methods, such as the famous Gallup organization. It is an American organization that introduce public opinion research on great numbers of topics by using the Gallup poll. It is first introduced and developed by George Gallup²² in 1932, when his mother-in-law looks for an office, the majority of people thought that she would fail. His poll showed that she has an opportunity to win and he was right. Then, it went on till it was widely used in 1935. These days, it is routinely measured public opinion on different social, political, and economic issues.

Gallup poll and other similar polls aims to collect accurate statistics. The questions designed by the pollsters should be objectively worded, neutral and impartial. This means they must not reflect the opinions and the positions of both pollsters and politicians. After designing the adequate questions, the polling organizations have to select the poling sample. For example, Gallup organizations made an interview with a quota sample²³ of people who belongs to a particular demographic categories, according to the sex and age groups. Gallup had correctly predicted who will win in the 1940 and 1944 presidential elections. However, in the 1948 election, it incorrectly predicted that Thomas Dewey would defeat Harry Truman, this is called margin error²⁴. Since that time, the quota sampling method was replaced by probability sampling²⁵, in which samples are selected to be representative of a population. One

²²Pioneer of the new technology who has Ph.D. in psychology. One of the most outspoken proponents of polls as a guide to government decisions making. He believed in the collective wisdom of ordinary citizens. He also thinks that the rule of elites is incompatible

²³A method of selecting survey participants that involves choosing subjects on the basis of their fitting into particular demographic categories, such as sex and age groups.

²⁴A statistical measurement of how poll results reflect the views of the people.

²⁵A method of selecting survey participants at random.

of the common types of probability sampling is the random sampling, where samples are chosen randomly to be part of the polls. The random sampling is a good way to avoid any bias in the selection of the samples, like what happened in the 1936 presidential election, when *Literary Digest*²⁶ predicted that Alfred Landon would beat future president Franklin Roosevelt. It was one of the most famous examples of a random sample bias in American history.

However, there are different ways of measuring the public opinion. One of them is the quick poll, which is an online poll, usually consisting of one or two questions, that is administered to whoever wants to take it. Another type is the questionnaire that includes different types of questions such as: Closed-ended questions²⁷ and Open-ended questions²⁸. In addition, there is Exit poll are kind of interviews done face-to-face with voters when they leave the voting booth to know their candidate preference in the election and their positions on issues. Finally, a push poll is a marketing technique used by political campaigns to know the opinions of people about candidates and issues through leading questions.

1.5. Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Nexus

United States is a country “of the people, by the people and for the people” As Abraham Lincoln claimed. He also said: “Our government rests in public opinion. Whoever can change public opinion, can change the government, practically just so much”. Its government system would not be able to function without the influence of public opinion, because it has the authority to make policies, and pass laws. Thus, it is very important for the government to observe public opinion, measure its attitudes and hear its voices to shape policies. This can be achieved through the use of scientific polling that emerged in the period surrounding the First

²⁶ A venerable general interest magazine that was administered to an educated, well-off clientele

²⁷ Items on a questionnaire that give respondents a fixed number of options about a topic from which they can choose the one that best fits their position.

²⁸ Items on a questionnaire that allow respondents to answer the questions in their own words.

and Second World Wars, and coincided with the rise of public opinion as a great power in democracy.

It was used by many researchers who were involved in the study of the nature of public opinion, and its impact on foreign policy which is defined as collection of people's opinions on issues regarding relations with other nations. While dealing with these phenomena, scholars focused on the extent to which public opinion intervenes in the making of foreign policy. They developed three classifications and categories of that relation.

The first category is that public opinion does not play any role in the making of foreign policy and that was stated in "Almond-Lippmann consensus²⁹". According to them, public opinion on that subject is viewed as: "Volatile" or "non-stable" thus, it offers dubious foundations for the making of foreign policy. Also, it is viewed as "Incoherent", and "Irrelevant" i.e. it is subject to manipulation, and manufacture, so that it is unnecessary. In addition to that public may not be aware of particular policies or policy shifts i.e. it is uninformed. Therefore, political actors do not show responsiveness to the public, and made policy decisions without its knowledge, they generally prefer to take actions that stimulate no public attention, and that facilitates the implementation of policy, or they simply ignore the public. For instance: in November 2002, U.S. President George W. Bush declared that if Iraq does not follow the United Nations' recommendations, the United States will wage a war against it. Despite the rejection of the U S public to that war, George Bush preferred to lead rather than to follow the public opinion, and that was a common thing in U S presidents from Harry Truman (1945-1953) to Bill Clinton (1993-2001).

²⁹ A thesis about the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy that is dominated both academic and professional arenas. Their thesis is that the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy is weak and invalid.

However, another category of researchers claim that the relation between public and policy exist, and that through the manipulation of opinions by policy makers, and political elite, to bring public into line existing or proposed policy and avoid opinions that might affect the direction of policy. Thus, public opinion is known as an entity to be massaged, managed, manipulated and manufactured to support decisions made by political actors, and elected politicians, because The White House recognizes the political importance of public support but does not accept it as a given factor. Therefore, public opinion is shaped through presenting false information or controlling all the sources of information about specific issues, and that what is happened during Gulf War in 1991, in which the Secretary of defense controlled all information about the military operation in the Gulf. Another classification of that relation is that, policy responds to public, in which public opinion plays an active role in shaping foreign policy, as it is stated in Cohen's quotation of a State Department official: "To hell with public opinion....We should lead, and not follow" (Cohen 62). While emphasizing the role of public and its support for policy during Vietnam War. In addition to that, Public opinion "...is expected to be an autonomous force capable of shaping policy agendas and determining the actions of receptive policy-makers" (Petry 540) It strongly influences politicians on what and how they should support and present their platforms, also it affects political actors' actions and policy choices by judging them for the failures of foreign policy. Thus, policy-makers may contemplate the effect of their actions on future elections. Also, the impact of public opinion on policy mainly occurs at the level of the House of Representatives, where there is a direct link between the people and the elected politicians who should listen and respond to the public opinion.

Conclusion:

Public opinion, is a phenomenon that is difficult to define and interpret, has a very long and rich history. It becomes a subject of discussion in America in the period surrounding the two world wars. It attracts the attention of many scholars and thinkers such as James Bryce, A Laurence Lowell, Walter Lippmann, John Dewey and Edward L. Bernays ... who had famous writings about the nature of the concept “public opinion” as one word and its relation to government, and the way it should be measured. However, the understanding of term cannot be achieved without the reviewing of its historical background.

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Chapter two: Media; its types, role, and impact

Introduction:

Nowadays, the whole world is under a large umbrella which is called the media. When someone is reading the newspapers, watching the television, listening to the radio, holding a phone, or surfing the internet, s/he uses the media. The United States of America is a country that gave great significance to media, and press since 1789 within the writing of the Bill of Rights. Nowadays it is known as “Fourth Estate” that plays vital role in US democracy, and that was guaranteed in the First Amendment of the constitution. However, the old and new media are important to American politics and government in three points. First, they represent the people, institutions, processes, issues, and policies related to politics and government. Second, the interaction between participants in government and politics and the media and how the media depict them. Third, the effect of media’s depictions. Therefore, one should know more about the history and the types of this power in the US, and its relation to the people and government.

2.1. An overview; the Types and Regulations of Media in US:

Its historical significance did not start with the Internet age. If the media are considered as tools of communication, then they are an important component of human history because human communication had been structured through gestures, writings, and speeches. Mass media indicate multiple devices that are used by people to communicate and interact with each other. It aims to reach the general public, through using different means of communication; such as: print media, broadcast media, social media and other types of communication. The first media used in the beginning of the United States of America was the print media, including books, newspapers, booklets, brochures, house magazines, periodicals or newsletters and magazines. Print media were the dominant form of media. It is a tool of communication

which is printed on paper. In the United States, print media essentially started with The Federalist Papers to enhance the ratification of the American Constitution. Newspapers were politically run for more than 200 years, because people at that time and even nowadays still read the news, so politicians find it easy to publicize their political ideas to the public through the newspapers. Some examples of the top American newspapers are: the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Los Angeles Times, which are often setting the agenda for other media sources.

Today, the majority of the Americans gets their news and information from the electronic media³⁰, or what is known as the broadcast media. The electronic media are any kind of audio and video communication aimed to reach the general public, including the radio and the television. The Radio was the first form of broadcast media which is invented in the late 19th century, and became popular in the 1920s. Due to the Broadcast media, the public officials have a personal and direct way to reach out to citizens. President Franklin Roosevelt was the first president, who use regular radio addresses known as fireside chats. He broadcast them between 1933 and 1944 to discuss different political issues, such as the banking crisis.

Then came television. Even if it was invented in the 1920s, but television was not promoted to the public until the late 1940s. In the 1950s, television became a popular source of news and information. In 1960, the debate between the two presidents Kennedy and Nixon was the first to be televised. While Nixon did not prepare for his new television image properly, Kennedy received tough comments about being photogenic and poised on camera. The television news was of great importance, its stations aired footage from the Vietnam War in 1960. Also, it is propelled into the mainstream after coverage of the historic event of the President Kennedy's assassination in 1963.

³⁰ The kind of media which requires the user to utilize an electric connection to access it.

With the advent of technology, people now enjoy the benefits of the new-age media, which is faster than the printed media, radio, and television. It also has a widespread range, such as: Mobile phones, computers, and the Internet³¹. Internet media are a form of broadcast media that facilitates for the user to get any news or information from an Internet website immediately. Electronic journalism has been developed to include social media, by the late 2000. Social media is an Internet-based social interaction between users, in which they exchange ideas and information. It includes popular websites like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube... It is also used for political purposes. For example: In 2008 and 2016, Barack Obama and Donald Trump successfully used social media in their presidential campaigns respectively.

Regulating the media:

Although the First Amendment is guaranteeing the freedom of the press, the latter does not have absolute freedom. There are some laws and regulations that restrict the media. First, the print media is limited in the form of defamation³², which contains two types: libel³³ and slander³⁴. The person can prosecute the media outlet for the harm done, if s/he was defamed. Second, the broadcast media regulation started from its historical development, and is more highly regulated than the print ones. When radio stations were first used, the stations used the same frequencies, the matter that led them to block the signals of each other's. The Federal Radio Act of 1927 found licensing procedures to give different frequencies to different radio stations since the airwaves were considered as a public property. In 1934, Congress enacted the Federal Communications Act, which continues to make the broadcast media, and the

³¹ A tool of connecting a computer to any other computer anywhere in the world. It uses a global network made from dedicated routers and servers.

³² The case when someone prints or broadcasts information that is untrue and harmful to someone else.

³³ The defamation of character in print, audio, or video publications.

³⁴ The defamation of character through unrecorded gestures or oral remarks.

airwaves, still today. The FCC is a federal government agency that is responsible for regulating the public airwaves. FCC controls everything that utilizes the airwaves, and checks the content of the airwaves. If the channels broadcast obscene, indecent programming and profane language, this means that they violate the FCC's Public Decency Standards, which leads the FCC to fine broadcasters, or even cancel broadcasting licenses. FCC also regulates broadcasts that include political campaigns. The last and not the least, there are no regulations concerning cable and Internet broadcasts since they do not use airwaves, but there are criminal laws limiting the access, creation and sharing of certain information.

2.2. The Press and Journalism:

The press and its importance were, are and will always be an important part of American democracy. During the colonial period in America, the British monarchy puts restrictions on the press, limiting what journalists can publish and bring to the attention of the public. However, Colonial newspapers had an important effect on shaping public opinion that led to the American Revolution. John Adams, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and others had published political essays that supported the colonists to rebel and fight for independence. When the war began, newspapers helped to raise people's spirit. In the United States constitution 1787, it was recognized and agreed by its framers that the press has an important role to inform the public. The founding fathers also saw it as an important safeguard against any tyrannical governments. Therefore, they talked about the freedom of the press in which they declared "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." (The first amendment of the American Constitution.)

Today, the press exists and flourishes because the Americans cherish and respect it since it is codified in their law. The press also had a great role to play in forging the Americans great nation and give it the position of world leader in many fields such as: democracy and human

rights, as the former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter said: “Freedom of the press is not an end in itself but a means to the end of achieving a free society.” The modern journalism began to take shape in the 19th century. The American system of communication was revolutionized by speed and pictures, because of the development of the technological means of exchanging information. In addition to the development of the photography in the 1830s, which change people’s vision of the world. It quickly produced images of people and places that are not seen before.

In the 19th century, the Civil War transformed America in many ways, like the increasing demand for news. Civil War affected many people personally, in a way, letting the citizens on both sides of the war starving for information. So that, Newspapers and magazines did their best to fulfill their needs, and by doing so, they changed the operation of journalism. Later, in the twentieth century, the media and journalism had critical junctures, or what is known as the Golden age of media criticism between 1900 and 1920. In this period, many muckrakers³⁵ and social commentators wrote damning criticism about the anti-democratic nature of mainstream journalism.

Yellow journalism:

After the United States’ Civil War newspaper became the primary source of news. Due to urbanization, and the development of industry, most of the population lived in the cities, and they got the information via two types of journalism: The New York Times, and the New York World or New York Journal, and it is called yellow journalism³⁶ which emphasized reporting on crime, sensations, government corruptions, and corporate power. This term

³⁵ A group of journalists who exposed injustices and political corruption in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

³⁶ A journalism that exploits, distorts or exaggerates in order to attract readers.

“yellow journalism” derived from wildly popular comic called “Hogan’s Alley”, in which the main character called “the yellow kid” featured by the yellow-dress.

This type of press considered as the first form of “media war” between the Spanish-American in 1898. It was led by the two owners of the newspaper William Randolph Hearst and his competitor Joseph Pulitzer, who were competing and coping each other’s ideas, and styles to the extent that Pulitzer creates a second “yellow kid”. Both of them used drama, romance, and exaggeration in their writings to sell their newspapers. Soon, the sensationalist journalism of the 1890s raised as a contest among the “yellow kids” that rise the popularity of the yellow journalism. William Randolph Hearst believed that writing about Cuba’s war would sell his papers, and makes him popular. From Cuba, Hearst’s reported stories to describe the situation in Cuba, such as: female prisoners, valiant, and starvation... all of that was designed to American public to debate them.

In addition to that when the American battleship Maine exploded in Havana Harbor under mysterious circumstances, Hearst seized the moment, alleging that the Spanish had destroyed the ship. Thus, U.S. public opinion demanded intervention. Nowadays, historians refer to the war between Spain and America as the first press driven the government to launch a war.

Muckrakers:

Muckraking media is a type of journalism existed in the US during the progressive era, it became popular due to the nationwide circulation of newspapers and magazines, and the urbanization. The origin of the word Muckraker is a man’s name in John Bunyan’s allegory Pilgrim’s Progress. The term was popularized by Theodore Roosevelt in 1907, to stand as a reference to journalists who investigate wrongdoing by the rich or powerful, they also known

as “Watchdog³⁷ Journalism”, it also includes “mud-slinging” or politicians who were debating people’s physical appearance rather than their ideas and thought. The broad sense of this term indicates long-form, investigative journalism published in magazines between 1900 and World War I. The authors of this period valued accuracy and the aggressive pursuit of information through the use of documents, and conducting extensive interviews.

At that time Roosevelt spearheaded the Progressive Movement by calling attention to the government corruption, and corporate greed underlying the nation’s surface prosperity. His reform efforts received a great deal of reinforcement from the work of the muckrakers who were conducted extensive research in political and social problems, then reported their findings in compelling feature articles, they were disseminating even the information that Roosevelt did not approve to be published to the public. Unfortunately their findings shocked the American people and inspired them to ask for change. The matter that fed the fires of Roosevelt’s progressive reform efforts.

Thus, he named the investigating journalists as muckrakers, and compared them with 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) For him the dirt-digging investigative journalists are similar to the man with the Muck-rake who was too busy raking dirt that he could not look up and accept a crown of salvation. He thinks about muckraking media as shoveling dirt to the surface. Whereas journalists did not consider that as an insult rather considered themselves to be something different with a great mission, they tackled different topics in various fields politics, economic, social such as poverty in the

³⁷ The media function to protect the public from incompetent or corrupt political officials by exposing illegal or unethical practices to the public.

nation's cities their work is based on: betrayal. America's citizens had been betrayed by those who had supposedly made the country what it was, by the men who had built the great corporations and who had made the free market a national religion," John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman wrote in *The Magazine*:

In this betrayal, they had been abetted and aided by politicians at every level, but particularly those in the highest positions of power. Reading these revelations, most Americans felt both shock and outrage, and as one exposé followed another, they developed a fascination for what was being told to them and were scarcely able to wait for the next revelation. (Tebbel and Zuckerman)

In addition to that they provide public with new and wonderful truth of world-wide importance, in a manner to make the nations of the earth sit up and take notice – to cause the heart of humanity to throb and thrill, from Greenland to the Ganges – a message in words that would enthuse and enthrall, gleam and glitter, dazzle and delight. (Salisbury 150) Thus, they changed the description of Roosevelt to bright news that is of high significance to the entire civilization of the world. Despite that, Roosevelt still think of the way in which muckrakers were doing it, could result more harm than good and he claimed:

Expose the crime, and hunt down the criminal; but remember that even in the case of crime, if it is attacked in sensational, lurid, and untruthful fashion, the attack may do more damage to the public mind than the crime itself...

(Roosevelt)

However, the public's pleasure and the acceptance to that sensational writings led to the growing popularity of muckraking media, and it still common today. For example,

WikiLeaks³⁸ is a website founded in 2006 so that whistle blowers can anonymously share confidential documents. WikiLeaks does not investigate items, but provides a forum for others to publicize criminal or unethical behavior by public officials. WikiLeaks famously posted U.S. government documents exposing classified details about the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Due to media sources like WikiLeaks, public officials know that even classified information can become news.

The Watergate scandal, and the Woodward-Bernstein muckraking:

The journalists should act as watchdogs of the society, they should be alert and uncompromising when finding that politicians are crossing the limits of the law or breaking the moral code. This is exactly what The Washington Post reporters did in the 1972. Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward were muckrakers, who investigate the Watergate scandal. When President Richard Nixon was thinking that by hiding the information he can be safe from the fact that he at least knew about a break-in that is located in the Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate hotel, if he was not the responsible on the whole operation. Watergate affair eventually led the president Nixon to resign. And this is happened for the first and so far the last time in the American history.

At the first glance, the relation between media and the Watergate scandal may not be clear. However, the Watergate affair became the turning point for trust in media and government. It showed the people that they should not trust the government all the time, and the checks and balance system should be revised. The media depicted the Watergate burglary in a film titled “All the President’s Men”. Aside from primary sources, the majority of people consider the media as the only way to know what’s going on in the world. Television and newspapers played a great role in publicizing stories and news in every minute, and the investigative

³⁸ An organization that exposes the secrets of governments, corporations, and other institutions.

authorities did as well in revealing truth. To conclude, the media and journalism played a crucial role in exposing corruption and the abuse of power.

2.3.Models of Political Communication: Agenda-setting, Priming, Framing:

The media affect the politics, government and policies through several important ways, such as: agenda-setting, priming, and framing. These theories were the main focus of the political communication and public opinion researchers during the past half-century. They show how people perceive and react to the political and social world around them.

Agenda-setting:

Agenda-setting is to the power of the mass media to show the public what is important by providing different levels of coverage to specific issues. Agenda-setting, according to Lippmann, is the basic harmony between media coverage of “the world outside” and “the pictures in our heads.” People cannot understand everything in the world, without relying on the media to search reality for the events happened.

Therefore, the agenda-setting remodel the events, into a simpler sample before to handle it easily. Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw³⁹ also agreed that broadcasters play an important role in deciding and publicizing news. The impact of the agenda-setting is to effect cognitive shift among the people to structure their thinking. It is functioned as: a- Media Agenda refers to the matters discussed by the media. B- Public Agenda: concerned with the issues discussed and relevant to the public. And c- Policy Agenda: is about the issues that policy makers consider important. The other side of setting the agenda is when the media neglect particular matters, and the public does so. To conclude, the agenda affect the public’s understandings of what policymakers should do.

³⁹ They are internationally recognized for their research on the agenda-setting role of mass communication, the influence of the media on the focus of public attention. They coined the term "agenda setting" in 1968.

Framing:

Framing is the power of media in letting people think about a particular matter, influence how they also think about it. Journalists bring a view to bear on events, shed light on certain aspects on account of others, to create a consequential story. Framing is potential in the process of choosing, creating and modifying stories. The meaning of an event can change dramatically based on how it is framed by and in the media. For example, the news media framed the 9/11 events as terrorist attacks on the United States. A frame is a concept in which journalists summarize the essential characteristics of a topic. As it is stated by Robert Entman:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (Entman 52)

Framing process has two primary stages: Frame-building⁴⁰ and Frame-setting⁴¹.

Priming:

Iyengar and Kinder (1987) defined priming model as a psychological process media emphasis. The priming theory provided theoretical model of how the media affect people's perception of the importance of events and how these perceptions may influence political attitudes, opinions and behaviors. Priming is when media frames provide some criteria for public to judge different parts of the government. It also occurs when media (news stories) put the responsibility for a problem on a person or institution.

⁴⁰ The development of frames and their inclusion in news stories.

⁴¹ The description of the consumption of the framing news by audience, audience' adoption of frames as ways to understand issues and problems.

2.4. Media Bias and its Different Types:

Media bias is to understand that the media is reporting the news in a partial or one-sided manner by pushing a specific viewpoint, instead of reporting the news objectively. Media bias occurs during the process of examining and judging the media. It also occurs when the media is shedding light on particular details and neglecting the whole story. It has different types:

First, bias by omission is when the media do not mention one side or aspect of a story. It is often linked with political news stories. Sometimes the media reports a story from a liberal political views, without including facts that support a conservative point of view, and vice versa. As an example, FOX News and CNN have been reviewed for having a conservative and liberal bias respectively. Second, bias by sources selection which exists when the media neglect sources that support an opposing point of view. For example, the media might include conservative sources without adding a proportional number of liberal sources. Third, bias by placement is a type of bias that appears when a news outlet prominently places news stories that concur with a specific agenda, while the opposing opinion are receiving less time or print space. Then, bias by labeling is when the media uses critical labels to identify politicians or groups or fails to recognize biased views. E.g. during the 2012 presidential election, some media outlets picked up that some news outlets give the candidate Mitt Romney the following labels an elite, a snob or “not one of us” Common coverage mentioned his finances and lifestyle, without including the lifestyles of other candidates. Lastly, bias by spin⁴² which takes place when the media interpret a story in one way, with excluding other interpretations.

2.5. Propaganda and its Model:

The 20th century was characterized by the rise of political importance: the development of democracy, the growth of corporate power, and propaganda. This latter refers to any form of

⁴² To interpret information to support one's point of view, or at least to put the best face on events.

communication that attempts to create a response that supports and furthers the desired intent of the propagandist. Also, it is viewed as the act of disseminating or promoting particular ideas, and it has different names such as distortion, psychological warfare, manipulation, mind control, and brainwashing. This concept has a very long history, but it was mainly used during The World War of 1914-1918. When USA entered the war, Lippmann and Bernays were the two authors to advise the President Wilson to use propaganda during that time. They believed that public see vast portions of the world with their minds, and create the images in their minds, which are transmitted into a national will, that shaped the public opinion during the two world wars.

At that time propaganda was used to mold public opinion and convey the needs of the government by mass media. Thus, the President Woodrow Wilson created a committee on public information that is headed by the newspaperman George Creel with staff of scholars and journalists. Creel mobilized the committee with a comprehensive propaganda bureau, which used different types of media to reach different fields. Each field had a special group of publicity workers tending to their efforts and participation in the war.

This method helped the committee to reach a great success, because its members shaped messages that serves the desires, and the needs of the public, and effect society at a national level. That success pushed the Americans to give more importance to the nature of public opinion and its role in society. The political scientist Lasswell was a member of the Creel organization, and he believed that Propaganda is one of the main powerful tools used in modern society. He was the first to introduce a piece of writing titled "*Propaganda technique in the World War*" (1927) in which he defined propaganda as the technique to influence behavior by the manipulation of the spoken, written, pictorial or musical form. He believed that propaganda based on the idea of stimulus-response, for him propagandists use words, and

symbols to create thoughts or actions that would serve their needs as he said that it is the management of the sum of attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols, where attitude refers to a tendency to act according to certain patterns of valuation.

In addition to Lasswell, Bernays pointed out that public could be manipulated and persuaded if the message supported their needs and interests. In 1947 he published an essay titled “*Engineering of Consent*” which is a scientific technique of manipulating people, it addressed the entire public which was not disciplined or protected from any kind of influence or manipulation. Thus, they ask for things that are not necessary nor needed. These wants were associated with their unconscious desires, and that was known as the secret-self of the American consumer. All of that related to the manufacturing of the unconscious level. For example, political leaders or presidential candidates begin to manipulate the public to get their voices by focusing on things which can attract their attention. Everyone can notice that those candidates gave fake promises before the elections that they will do many things for the people, they do so in order to affect people. The main idea behind the engineering of consent is that the public should not be aware of the existence of the manipulation.

Propaganda model:

The propaganda model is a general theory of the Free Press. It aims to criticize the behavior of media in the United States in general, and explain the way of producing news that would protect and go along with the interests of political and economic elites in particular. It was a theory of both Edward Herman, and Noam Chomsky which was introduced in the book of “*Manufacturing Consent; The Political Economy of the Mass Media*” which published in 1988 in which they said:

A propaganda model focuses on this inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices. It traces the routes by

which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public (Herman et Chomsky 2)

It suggests that the consent is manipulated by manufacturers or specialized classes who controlled the media and fabricated realities, rather than disseminate to the mass news that hinder their interest. Thus, the model was an assessment of propaganda and its impact on public opinion, and evaluation of the function of media in the democratic countries where there is no state control of media coverage, the matter that pushed it to function under certain filters through which information must pass before being introduced to the public, these filters are: first, the size: wealth and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms. The second filter is the advertising which is considered as the primary source of media. The third one was about the extent of the reliance of the media on the information provided by governments, business and experts funded and approved by the primary sources of power. The fourth filter is flak, it is a tool of disciplining the media. The last one is anti-communism, which is considered as a national religion and control mechanism. These principals reinforce and interact with one another. In addition to these principals propaganda model based on other hypotheses such as the one which suggested that media coverage tended to reflect the consensus among the corporate and political elite on specific issue to exclude any rival opinion, because media serve their interest and shape public's perception of the issue.

However, when there is a disagreement between the corporate and political elite, the propaganda system failed to unify individuals' opinions, "the mass media are not a solid monolith on all issues. Where the powerful are in disagreement, there will be a certain diversity of tactical judgement on how to attain generally shared aims, reflected in media debate" (Herman et Chomsky 55) Another hypothesis related to the way public would receive

the propaganda model was presented by Herman and Chomsky they pointed out that the model allow individuals to have a prediction about the function, the performance of media, and the various levels in which support the needs of established power.

Conclusion:

The fourth estate is a real power that transmits news, connects the world, exposes scandals, reveals the truth, and manipulates people... Media lied deep in the history of the USA.

Different types of media played an important role to make America as it is now, from helping the Americans to be brave and fight for their freedom, to exposing corrupted leaders. The media is the bridge between the government and the public, it helps to keep them up with each other. Without forgetting that media is not innocent, because the information presented by the media are sometimes biased and manipulated to serve powerful people's needs.

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Chapter three: Media Role in Shaping and Manipulating the American Public Opinion

Introduction:

The American public opinion and media have a mutual influence relationship. The study of this relation was an object of debate since a long time. As it is mentioned before, there are many factors that help shaping the public opinion like major events which include wars and foreign crises (9/11 attacks). However, the elites, and political leaders exploit such events through using the different types of media that have a great power to frame, prime, and to set the agenda in order to shape and manipulate the opinions of the people to influence their political behaviors.

3.1.Lasswell “5W” Model of Communication:

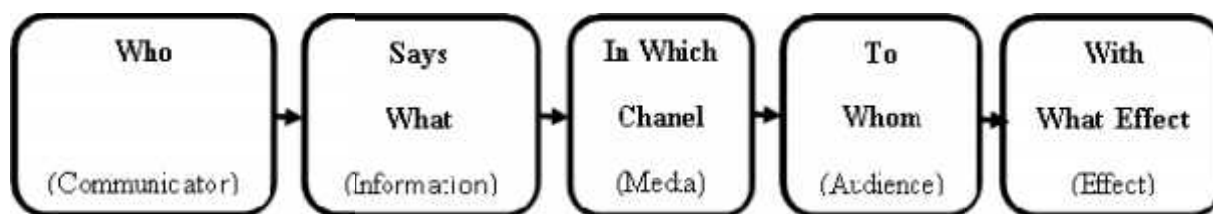


Figure 1: Lasswell's 5W

According to Harold Lasswell model, the process in which people communicate with each other, with their government and their leaders contains five parts: the communicator (Who), the information (says What), the audience (to whom), the media (in Which channel), and the effect (With what effect). Lasswell stated that the best way to represent the communication process is by answering the following questions: “Who says what to whom in which channel with what effect.” This model can summarize the mutual influence relationship between the media, public opinion, and the political leaders. First, the “Who” in Lasswell model describes the diversity of communicators, it means that the communicator can be either a person or organized institutions, anyone can send the information. Second, the information given by the

communicator differ according to the different events or the different needs of delivering news. It can be presented in different shapes such as: multimedia, text, image, audio, video, animation, etc. Third, the channel which is usually used to deliver the information is the media. The media has been changed according to the development of technology. The media help the interactivity between people and between people and the information. Especially the new media which facilitate and simplify interaction between its different users. Fourth, Lasswell asked to whom the communicators send and deliver the information. The audience or the public are becoming more personalized, they show active participation and initiation. The last but not the least, the effect of this process is to let the public aware of what is happening in the world, and know their opinion about the information presented.

Furthermore, Lasswell used the content analysis to examine the effect of propaganda and media in shaping the public opinion in democratic states and government, and how the latter can be affected by the public opinion, as he claimed: “Democratic government acts upon public opinion and public opinion acts openly upon government” (Lasswell, *Democracy Through Public Opinion* 15). He also added: “General suspiciousness is directed against all sources of information. Citizens may convince themselves that it is hopeless to get the truth about public affairs” (40), he meant that the existence of propaganda affects that relation between the government and the citizens. Therefore, he created a cycle that shows the media power, in which the public is restricted in the information given to them by the government, and in the same time, they accept that information which influence their decisions within the democratic system.

In *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, according to Lasswell the war propaganda content had to be pervasive in the different aspects of the citizen’s life to be effective.

Moreover, Lasswell showed that the war effort will have more effect, when the public is reached by this propaganda:

[T]he active propagandist is certain to have willing help from everybody, with an axe to grind in transforming the War into a march toward whatever sort of promised land happens to appeal to the group concerned. The more of these sub-groups he can fire for the War, the more powerful will be the united devotion of the people to the cause of the country, and to the humiliation of the enemy. (Propaganda Technique in the World War 76).

3.2. Constructing the Public Opinion:

The public opinion can be determined as the collection of those attitudes held by the public on government and politics matters. Scholars always find difficulties when it comes to define it because of both social and economic points of view and how the government should be run. Since Americans are grouped according to the similar viewpoints on political issues they can be either left, right or center of the political spectrum. So they can be identified as, socialists, liberals⁴³, conservatives⁴⁴ and libertarians who have different social and economic opinions. (Figure 2).

⁴³Believe that government should take action to change economic political and ideological policies and thought to be unfair.

⁴⁴Seek to keep in place the economic political and social structures of society.

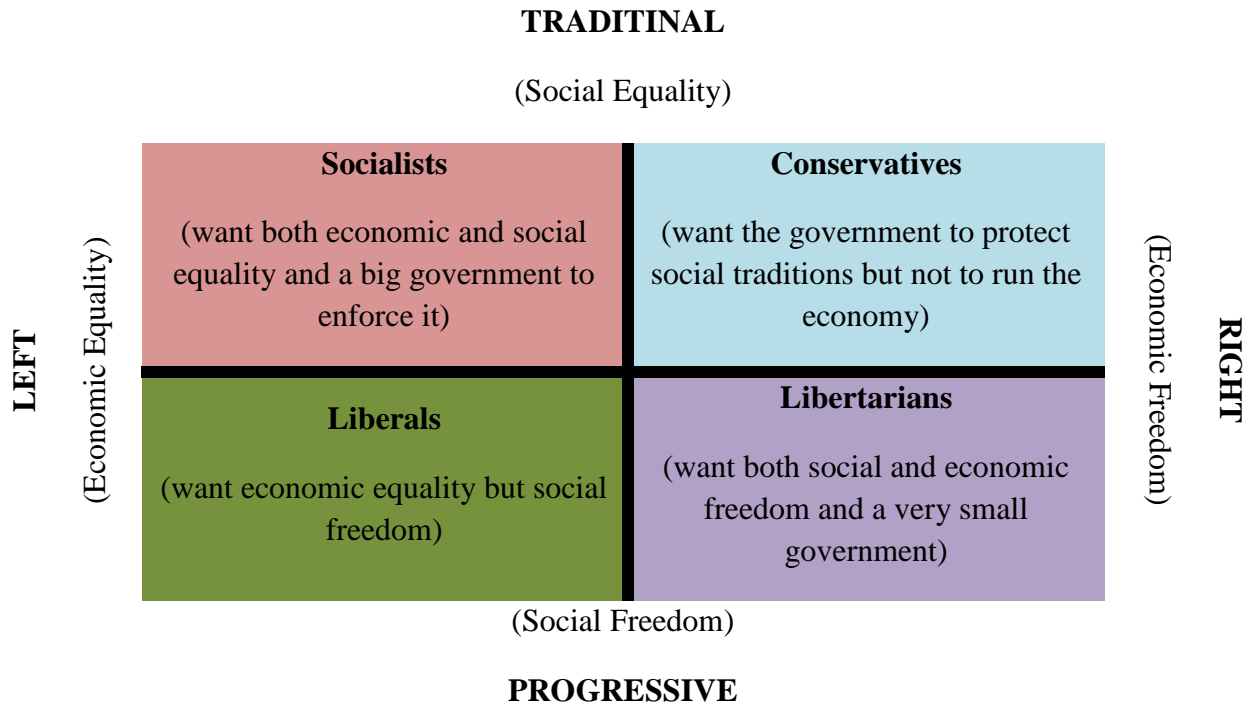


Figure 1 the American Political Spectrum

People have a belief that politicians are poll-driven and they do whatever polls told them to do, by discovering people' needs and then they try to fulfill them or at least trying to do so. This idea of the polls control politicians' actions creates an image about that the political system have many different kinds of problems but it tries to be as possible as it can to be responsive and accountable to the public. However, if people look at the public opinion in detailed manner, they will discover that this idea is just a myth, because when it comes to economic issues, politicians actually neglect public opinion.

The media have a great power to construct how people understand the public opinion, by telling a story about what it is. They also construct it by choosing what questions to ask and what not to ask. For example, in recent years, people were most concerned about education saying that government should spend more money on public education. But while the media try to let their reports focus on education, they totally ignore the issue of spending money, as

ABC networks that focused only on saying that people cared about it, and tell them that the money is not the answer. While media cover the public opinion, they do not recognize the gap between the economic issues and the public who tend to have either liberal or conservative opinions on the issues, because if people examine how the media report on public opinion, they will find that the liberal-left wing more or less disappears, the matter that makes the public shown as conservative more than it really is. The major reason behind this coverage is what is called the elites who control the reporting nature. The access to newsmakers differs between the ordinary citizens and the powerful political figures who have the most access to the media because the news media define politics according to the words and actions of politicians, not on public opinion.

In addition, there are three main factors that can affect the American political opinions such as the government, private groups (interest groups) and the media. The government can shape the public opinion by creating and doing things like raising or lowering taxes, invading other countries, so that the public got opinions about these stuff. Recently, the inactivity of the government in terms of congressional lawmaking had an effect on the opinions of the public. Regardless, doing or not doing activities, the government could shape the public opinion by engaging in the public relations, and manipulating the news. For example: the president can control the news cycle since he go on televisions whenever he wants to do so.

The efforts of government to create positive the public opinion are not successful as the citizens might think, because in 1960's and 1970's the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal led the public distrust the government, since the government officials gave lies about the war, and used the CIA to spy on the American citizens and of course the media were behind exposing these corrupted actions.

Theories through which media shape public opinion:

Many studies had been carried out to examine the impact of media on public opinion and, its role in society, concluding that media effect on public via different theories such as selective process in which it determines the issue and the information that would be presented to the public. Media can also influence it through priming: it is true that media cannot control people's thoughts, but certainly it controls what they think about, through the use of images and stereotypes. Another form of media impact on public opinion is via Agenda-setting in which it affects the process by which issues are considered important, then it publicizes them to be discussed by the public to attract the attention of officials. In addition to the Marxist approach of the media verses the Liberal-pluralist approach, this latter represents media as a watchdog of government, and it emphasizes the freedom of speech thus public can discuss issues, and express their opinions. Consequently, the media coverage reflects and represents the preferences of the public and here the role of the government is limited. Whereas the Marxist approach described media content as the needs ,and interests of the elites and the ruling class, also it reflects the social class ,and social inequality, and that was stated in Chomsky and Herman's model of Propaganda in which they talked about corporate ownership of the media in addition to the funding and advertising that media depends on.

3.3. Strategies of Manipulating the Public:

Historically, media had and still have a great effect on molding and manipulating the public opinion. The media paraphernalia and propaganda helped to create or destroy social movements, justify wars, decrease financial crisis and other ideological currents. The MIT linguist Noam Chomsky has written ten of the most effective strategies to show how the media manipulate the population. He did synthesize and expose the psychosocial practices in which people participate. Some of these practices are obvious and others are more sophisticated.

From his point of view, these psychosocial activities are equally effective and demeaning. Among these strategies: encouraging stupidity, raising sense of guilt and distraction, and creating artificial problems than trying to give magic solutions for them. The 10 strategies compiled by Chomsky are as the following:

1. The strategy of distraction: It is one of the important elements of social control. It is essential to prevent the public to be aware of the important issues and changes done by the political and economic leaders, by diverting their attention to insignificant information. “Maintaining public attention diverted away from the real social problems, captivated by matters of no real importance. Keep the public busy, busy, busy, no time to think, back to farm and other animals” (quote from text *Silent Weapons for Quiet War*)

2. Create problems, then offer solutions: This strategy is also called “problem - reaction- solution”. Here, the political or economic leaders, with the help of media, create artificial problems or fake situations to cause some reactions in the public then they would magically offer some solutions to gain the public support. For example: creating an economic crisis to be accepted as a necessary withdraw of social rights and a dissociation of public services.

3. The gradual strategy: acknowledgment to an inadmissible degree, they simply apply it step by step for continuous years. That is the means by which they forced the new financial conditions (neoliberalism) during 1980 to the 1990s: the negligible state, privatization, instability, adaptability, huge joblessness, compensation, they don't ensure a nice wage, and so many changes that have made a revolution if they had been connected once.

4. The strategy of deferring: a different way to acknowledge a disliked choice is to show it as “painful and necessary” in order to gain the acceptance of people, at the ideal opportunity for future application. It is less demanding to acknowledge that a future a sacrifice

of prompt slaughter, because the efforts will not be used quickly, and the general population is naively expecting that "everything will be better tomorrow" and that the sacrifice required might be kept away. This generally gives people more opportunity to get used to change and acknowledge it with resignation in due time.

5. Go to the public as a little kid: The majority of the advertising to the masses uses speeches, arguments, people and children's intonation, as if the ones who watch were a little kid or have mental disorder. Some would try to cheat the viewer's look by adopting a tone of infantilizing as if they will direct their advertisement to a child who his/ her response or reaction are freed from critical sense. (See *Silent Weapons for Quiet War*).

6. Use the emotional side more than the reflection: to give an importance to the emotional side was a classic strategy for causing a short swing on rational analysis, and lastly to the critical sense of the person. Moreover, the emotional register can also be used to pave the way to the unconscious to implant grafting ideas, wants, fears and tensions, impulses, or initiate practices.

7. Keep the public in ignorance and mediocrity: In order to control and enslave people, psychologists suggest that the best way of doing that is by keeping them in ignorance, making them incapable of understanding anything about the technologies and methods used. Also, by giving the poor quality of education to the lower social classes so that the gap of ignorance between the lower classes and upper classes will remain an impossible task to be attained by the lower classes, and of course the upper classes will be the rulers who control and enslave them. (See *„ Silent Weapons for Quiet War*).

8. To encourage the public to be complacent with mediocrity: this technique used to convince and support the public to believe that it would be better and fashionable to be stupid, vulgar and uneducated, and that they should be satisfied with this fact.

9. Self-blame Strengthen: the aim behind using this technique is to create an internal conflict between the persons and themselves by blaming themselves for their misfortune, because they were not intelligent enough, and had no abilities and efforts, instead of rebelling against the political and economic systems. This will create a depression that will paralyze their actions so that there will be no revolution.

10. Getting to know the individuals better than they know themselves: In the past 50 years, development of accelerated science has produced a growing gap between the knowledge of the public and knowledge of dominant elites who owned and control the world. The new sciences such as biology, neurobiology and applied psychology helped the system to understand both the physical and psychological aspects of the human being. Moreover, the system became more familiar with the common man, and it can easily control him.

3.4. Propaganda and 9/11 Events:

An overview about 9/11

In September 11th 2001, suicide attacks on the two towers of the World Trade Center, which were considered as a symbol of global capitalism, and America's economic power in New York, and on the Pentagon near Washington, D.C. which stands as a center of US military power. Media and government stated that the terrorist Islamic militant Osama Bin Laden, and a group of people named Al-Qaeda were responsible for the event. They prepared four planes, two were taken off into the Twin Towers, one flew into the Pentagon, and the last one took off into the ground in Pennsylvania. These attacks caused national and international problems and damages, there were victims, more than 3000 people died, the matter that created a great impact on the public opinion, and American foreign policy. This impact was created by the media which has a great role in controlling, and changing the opinions of the public, and that was clearly stated after 9/11 attacks. It changed the mind of the Americans and

the views of the whole world towards the Islamic world. At that time Bush administration used media to manipulate and convince people that Muslims are terrorists. In this way, the government declared war on terrorism.

Media Response during 9/11

During 9/11 the U.S. media played a great role in producing significant coverage of the attacks, terrorism, the Middle East, and the influence of the events on the Americans. The information were presented via different means of media such as radio, television, national newspapers, internet, and web sites, the matter that facilitates the manipulation of their minds and perception of issues. For instance

CNN: was the first channel to present the attacks as an act of war against America, and suggested to launch an international war against terrorism as a unique solution to protect America and its citizens. Most of the Americans were convinced about that, and minority ignored media representations of the events, and Bush administration. In addition, it presented Bin Laden as the leader of international coalition of Islamic radicals.

NBC: To give an idea about the event, this channel had covered some programs, and interviews, and it reported that the US government asked the FBI to state their claims about the relation between the attacks and the terrorists. Few days after the events, NBC News reporters claimed that there is no connection between terrorists and the attacks, and that was declared by the FBI. They also stated that the government made the attacks by itself because the US economic was collapsing before this event.

Newspapers: Many editors and journalists dealt with the event in different newspapers and articles. For example the New York Times editors dealt with the subject under the title of “War without Illusions”.

Propaganda model Applied to Media Coverage After 9/11:

Ownership and Funding:

Media motivated war on terror in order to serve the desires of economic and political elites, and that is known as the “political economy of the mass media”. The most influential media controlled by the largest profit-based companies in the world to achieve the interests of the controller. This latter was allowed to work with media and shape conglomerates that are stated in The Telecommunication Act of 1996 which came out with the new regulations of the broadcasting and telecommunications market. According to this law companies such as: Time Warner, CBS and Comcast, Rupert Murdoch’s news Corporation, Disney, and Viacom dominated media and work in the government side. They reinforced the US government ideas concerning war on terror, and Iraq war to reach their own benefits, for instance the General Electric Company owned NBC during War on Terror, and stand with US military because it had interests in the Middle East. The Bush administration visited the companies to discuss anti-terrorism strategy and to shape the same viewpoint as US government towards war on terror, and Iraq war.

Sourcing:

The main sources of information about 9/11 events in America were the corporate public relations departments, and the government which are known as free or cheaper sources that media relied on in order to lower their costs. However, these sources were working with military business and government who manipulated the media to shape the news agenda, and present war on terror as an act of protecting American’s freedom, and that was reported in CNN channel, ABC World News Tonight, and NBC Nightly News. They also manipulated the press in which journalist were allowed to report the news that the government wanted to present to the public, thus every word in their reports had to be checked before it the

dissemination, also some journalists were asked to sign a contract claimed that they would not write any information that would affect their needs, nor naming any weapon used by them, and that was a direct collaboration between government and media.

Flak: War on Terror was resulted under a flak and self-censorship, and supported by the US public after the attacks under the name of patriotism and “freedom”. It was repeated by the Bush administration that the war against terrorism was a conflict between freedom and fear stating that terrorists wanted to destroy the wealth and the freedoms of the Americans. After few days, the government declared that the America’s economic was collapsing due to the destruction of the towers during the attacks. However some media sources declared that the economics of America was collapsing before that time. Whereas other channels, like: Fox New stated that it is forbidden to criticize the US government and Bush administration because that would affect the unity of America. It claimed so since many pundits were against the war on terror, so that the commentators were afraid and lived under pressure expressed by media corporations, and Bush who said “you’re either with us, or against us”. Therefore they practice self-censorship in which editors censor their reports.

Fear:

Fear is one of the most important filters used by media in presenting the 9/11 attacks to draw attention of war. TV was one of the most important tools that were used to support bush administration and provide an interpretative image of fear, and violence that affect the feelings and emotions of the public such as the images of the planes attacking the towers, the destruction of the buildings, the representation of the dead people and civilians getting out through windows hoping to survive, the pictures of the survivors who were under the rubble, in addition to the sufferance of the people witnessed the event from psychological problems,

all of that created unforgettable images of the inferno in the mind of the public. Media and US government used the social anxiety to affect public emotions, and its supports.

Media coverage of 9/11 attacks worked according to the Marxist approach, and neglect the liberal pluralist, because it chooses to stand with the conservatives who were the most powerful side. Journalists and editors were blamed for not examine the sources of information, and were criticized for being too trustful on the Bush administration. They continue disseminating President George W. Bush's idea in which he stated that the world was divided into two parts "good and evil"

American Public Opinion towards 9/11:

The next day of the attacks, the Americans started their day thinking about the terrorist attacks, and ask themselves about the military's reaction, and behavior.

Media seized the opportunity to shape public opinion through content manipulation, and issue frames, in which it gave to the public an impression, that 9/11 events were attacks on the American way of life, values and freedom. This impression led the American people to call for punishing the terrorists, and asked the government for counter reaction. Most of them agreed with Bush administration's strategy of war against Afghanistan first, and then Iraq under the name of war on terror, because the US government stated that Al-Qaeda was not responsible for the events. Claiming that real responsible was Saddam Hussein as a revenge of what happened in the Gulf War. In fact that was just an excuse to achieve their needs in the Middle East. However, Bush administration won the supports of American public to wage the war after convincing them that there was a direct link between Saddam Hussein and both Al-Qaeda, and terrorism. Therefore he used media to frame the 9/11 events and link it to Iraq war.

3.5. Chavez Coup and the Media:

From 1998-2013, Venezuela was ruled by one of the most discussed political figures: the President Hugo Chávez. He was the responsible for the resurgence of left-wing ideology in South America. He changed many things in Venezuela during his reign. For example, he gave the country a new name: the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, he created a new constitution, he formed a civic-military action plan named Bolivar 2000, and many other things. Many people considered Chavez as dictatorial, and repressive. However, Venezuelans supported him and agreed to change their system of government. Chavez was one of the presidents, who were against war on terror, mainly war in Iraq and Afghanistan. His well-known friend was Fidel Castro and his administration was an open ally for Cuba. Despite of the request of Washington to cut his relation with it. Chavez was an anti-Americanism, he was against the intervening of the United States imperialism in the internal issues of his country. His new left-wing government was contradicting the American politics and reduced its economic control in the area, thus he was regarded by US authoritarians as an enemy.

The relation between the two sides was highly represented by media, which is used for both informing and shaping the public opinion in order to win the supports for their needs. The conflict between Chavez, and US was described by some people as media war, and by others as cold war.

US media described Venezuelan President in Fox News and CNN channels as a dictator, a threat for democracy, and Venezuela's economic prosperity. It also pointed Venezuela as an axis of evil, and source of threat, drug, and terrorism, the matter that created a negative public opinion in America towards Chavez and his country. However, some scholars noticed that the image given to Chavez and Venezuela by media was similar to that one of Saddam Hussein and Iraq framed by media, and the Bush administration. However, Media war against Chavez

was not only fought by American media, but it also done by Venezuela's media, which is extremely polarized, and considered more important than economic improvements. It was owned by large families, and groups of the wealthiest people, that tend to pursue their agendas and control the political and economic events. Most of media owners have a direct link to American companies, in which they worked together to manipulate Venezuela's public opinion, and create a negative image towards the president and his government to overthrow him.

Hugo Chavez Coup:

During the first three years of Chavez's presidency in Venezuela, new government took place, in which he wanted to put an end to poverty in his country through gaining control of oil industry. He took a very direct step in terms of transforming the state-oil company PDVSA, and fired the entire board of directors. Therefore, he would be the dominant of the national oil company which is prized and powerful asset. However, this step made people angry, and pushed them to form huge marches going on streets, claiming for PDVSA, the matter that created a struggle between Venezuela's public which was divided into two parties.

One side represented the lower class and eventually the general population, or what is known as Chaveztis, who wanted to apply Chavez law, and asked for oil-fueled modernity. The other side represented the City police, mainstream union of Venezuelan Workers business confederation, and private media who were against the new law, and wanted the company to keep its place and its control within it. These marches were addressing the presidential palace in Mira Flores. The opposed rally were on their way to the palace to ask Chavez to resign. Whereas, the other side were supporting the president's law. Consequently, the two sides entered in a clash and many of them fell dead on both sides. Most of them were killed by snipers who were not identified. However, media reported that the civilians died because of

the armed pro-Chávez militia who were firing them, the matter that led Chavez to lose his supports.

Chavez asked the army to help him and send the tanks into streets to stop the people, but his minister said that he cannot go out, and the army apologized and claimed that they cannot interfere in this political problem and stop people from going out to the street. That was the moment when the coup happened. Many authoritarian were involved in the coup. For example, the executive of PDVSA were in the coup, the church, the coordinate of Caracas, the entrepreneur, and the president of the Fedecamaras, all of them were in the coup. Even the US ambassador Charles Shapiro, who was in Venezuela, just three weeks before the coup against President Chavez was involved. Despite that there were many reports and investigations declared that Washington gave millions of dollars to the opponents of Chavez, in a month before the coup, he stated that neither he nor US were part of the coup. Shapiro said: "I didn't, the US government did not organize, plan, implement, authorize a coup, and if I had – I 'm not organized enough to organize a coup in three weeks."

Chavez was forced out by these groups, who were responsible for the coup, he had being ousted, taken into a custody and flown to an offshore military base. Venezuela's Media owners, and US media stated that Chavez was resigned and he is no more a president.

At the same time, Pedro Carmona, pointed as a new president of Venezuela. This latter, immediately changed all Venezuela's democratic institutions, including the constitution that had been just approved by the public. Pedro Carmona was pointed by US government, who had their state department in the white house saying that Chavez was resigned and they support the traditional government in Venezuela. They assumed that Chavez will not come back to power, and they started dealing with Pedro Carmona, who would get the country back on the democratic path as quickly as possible. In addition to that, the US President Bush

announced in the morning of 12 April that the US government supported the “the Carmona administration”.

Unfortunately for them, Chavez wrote a note and put it in the trash, to be sent to Fidel Castro. The note was “I’m still the president I never resigned”. Immediately, Fidel used media to declare that Chavez never resigned and that was just a coup against him. That declaration created a huge protests of Chavez supporters, reclaiming their rights asking for their president. Pro-Chavez democratization comes and essentially drive Carmona and his government out of the presidential palace, and Chavez gets back to the presidential palace.

Conclusion

The relationship between American public opinion and media is described as a kind of effect and affinity, in which media use many factors to brainwash the people, and construct public opinion. However, the public opinion can influence media as well. Therefore, the understanding of that relationship can be based on knowing the way the media do that, for which purpose, to whom, in which channel and with what effect.

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General Conclusion:

To sum up, this study is concerned with the American public opinion and the role of media in shaping and manipulating its perception of issues. It provides a historical background of public opinion starting from the early period of antiquity, and the high development of the two terms “public” and “opinion” which were of great importance. Then, the notion “public opinion” becomes a subject of debate among many scholars and philosophers such as: Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, who were the main reference for the American pioneers of public opinion such as: Bryce, Laurence Lowell, Walter Lippmann, John Dewey and Edward L. Bernays who seek to identify the concept public and opinion as one word stands for a set of attitudes and views of individuals concerned with particular controversial issues, including politics and government action. These opinions were measured through Gallup poll to be presented in government and taken into consideration while decision-making in addition to many other ways of measurement.

However, the representation of the people’s opinions towards a given issue in government depends on media which act as a bridge that links the US citizens and government together. It is known as the Fourth Estate that plays a great role in US democracy. It uses different means to keep the public well-informed and reflects their reactions. However, this power given to media is controlled by authoritarians and politicians who select the information that should be given to people, sometimes they publicize a false information that serve their purposes in order to get the supports of the public. Therefore, Noam Chomsky criticizes the behavior of media in the United

States and the way news are produced and delivered to the individuals, in his *Manufacturing Consent; the Political Economy of the Mass Media*.

Chomsky and Lasswell provide two different cycles, in which they described the work of media and its relation with public opinion. In addition to certain theories purposed by other writers to explain the way media influence people's opinions. Taking 9/11 and Chavez coup as two different cases, in which media affected the public's perception to a great extent. In 9/11 it leads the American citizens to ask the government to launch an international war. Whereas, in Venezuela it mislead the public and pushed them to ask for the resignation of the President Chavez Hugo.

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