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TRANSITION PROJECT**
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**PRESIDENTIAL INTERCHANGES WITH REPORTERS:
THE PRACTICES OF SIX PRESIDENTS IN
THEIR FIRST FULL YEAR IN OFFICE**

Martha Joynt Kumar, Director

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Presidential Interchanges with Reporters: The Practices of Six Presidents in Their First Full Year in Office

Martha Joynt Kumar
Director, White House Transition Project

What follows are some basic points about the relationship between the President and the press as seen through the interchanges presidents have with reporters who question them during their first full year in office. The figures for Presidents Reagan through Trump are included following this summary of their choices of the frequency and forums where they met reporters and answered their questions.

The Importance and the Frequency of the Three Types of Presidential – Press Exchanges

- Press interchange venues. All recent presidents met with reporters in three venues: press conferences (Joint or Solo); short question-and-answer sessions; interviews. There are significant differences among the presidents, though, over which of the three forums they favored.
- Press interchanges represent roughly one-third of events where a President speaks. As different as the last three presidents have been from the perspective of party, goals, and temperament, there is a similarity in the percentage of their spoken words that have been in sessions with reporters. Taking their speeches, addresses, remarks, and adding in the exchanges with reporters, Presidents Trump, Obama, George W. Bush, and Ronald Reagan all had approximately one-third of their public utterances as ones where these presidents responded to queries from reporters in their first full year. Their comparative figures are: Trump 41%, Obama, 33%, George W. Bush 34%, and Ronald Reagan 34%. President Clinton was an outlier with 47% of his events ones where he responded to questions while the numbers for President George H.W. Bush was on the low side at 29%.
- Why develop alternatives to Solo press conferences? While presidents following Woodrow Wilson met regularly alone with reporters in press conferences on an off-the-record basis, they developed alternative sessions once the sessions went “on the record” with Eisenhower. When the sessions were off-the-record for Presidents Wilson through Truman, the risk of presidential mistakes were minimal. That changed when those sessions went on the record and were televised. Gradually, presidents developed less risky alternative venues to meet with reporters, such as joint press conferences with foreign leaders and other officials as well as taking a couple of questions from reporters on the spur-of-the-moment.

Presidential Press Conferences and the Fading Solo Sessions

- Whether Solo or Joint sessions, recent presidents held fewer press conferences than their predecessors. The balance between the three types of press interchanges has sharply shifted since the 1950s when the only category of exchanges was Solo press conferences where President Eisenhower stood alone answering questions. Whether Joint or Solo, press conferences now make up a small percentage of the events with reporters. Except for George H. W. Bush, all recent presidents held comparatively few press conferences as a percentage of their total interchanges. The numbers for all press conferences – Joint and Solo - as a percentage of the total interchanges with the press are: Trump 9%; Obama 12%; George W. Bush 9%; Clinton 13%; Reagan 6%. For George H. W. Bush, who began the practice of regularly holding joint sessions with foreign leaders, 23% of his sessions were Solo press conferences.

- The vanishing Solo press conference. Solo press conferences where a President answers questions for usually from a half hour to an hour, represent the type of exchange least likely to occur, but most sought by reporters. President Trump had one such session out of the total number of 236 interchanges he has had with reporters. His recent predecessors also had modest numbers for Solo sessions as a part of their total numbers of press conferences, short question-and-answer sessions, and interviews. The numbers for Solo sessions and their total interchanges for the six presidents are: Trump 1/236; Obama 11/235; George W. Bush 4/217; Clinton 14/ 345; George H. W. Bush 26/142; Reagan 7/113.
- Joint press conferences. President George H. W. Bush developed the joint news conference with foreign leaders, and sometimes officials of our government, as a regular aspect of presidential exchanges with reporters. The Joint sessions with foreign leaders are important for putting visiting officials on the record discussing their meetings with the presidents with whom they met as well as provides presidents with an opportunity to call on a reduced number of reporters – usually two each for the U.S. and visiting sides - than is true in a Solo session where more than a dozen reporters pose questions. The numbers of Joint sessions as part of their overall interchanges with reporters follow with the three figures representing, first, total Joint sessions for their first full year; second, total press conferences during that time; third, all interchanges with reporters in this period. Trump 21/22/236; Obama 16/27/235; George W. Bush 15/19/217; Clinton 31/45/345; George H. W. Bush 6/32/142; Reagan 0/7/113.

Short Question-and-Answer Sessions and Interviews

- While presidents avoid Solo press conferences, some have welcomed short question-and-answer sessions where they take a question or two at the beginning / end of an Oval Office, Roosevelt Room, or Cabinet Room meeting or when they are leaving or arriving by helicopter on the South Lawn of the White House. Additionally, with the proliferation of numbers and types of media, presidents have increased the number of interviews they do with media and news organizations of their choosing.
- Personal style and short question-and-answer sessions. Recent presidents have either embraced or eschewed these sessions. President Obama did not frequently choose to respond to reporters' queries at the top of meetings or in any other circumstance where he might be put in a position of giving a response to a question when he felt he did not have sufficient information about the situation. As a result, he held only 46 such sessions in his first full year in office. By contrast, President Clinton held 255 of them in the same period. The other four presidents generally fell in between those numbers: Trump 128; George W. Bush 148; George H. W. Bush 62. Reagan, recovering from a bullet wound, held 41. These sessions are important for presidents who want to comment on unfolding events, actions, and problems. With cable news channels an important part of presidential life beginning in 1996 when Fox and MSNBC joined CNN at the White House, presidents are assured their words will have wide and immediate coverage and get to those they want to reach.
- Over time, presidents develop their practices of responding to reporters, which sometimes leads them to change their preferred venues. While President Trump did a considerable number of interviews in the spring, in recent months he has shown a taste for short question-and-answer sessions. In September, for example, President Trump had 23 short Q&As while he had only two interviews that I could find. In April, though, he had 8 exchanges with reporters while sitting for 17 interviews. President Obama, however, stayed with his preference for interviews from the

beginning to the end of his administration. Additionally, he never changed his distaste for short question-and-answer sessions.

A basic difference between the two types of sessions involves the distinction of who questions the President. While a President can choose who he wants to do interviews and where and when they will take place, the short question-and-answer sessions depend on the rotating pool of reporters to pose the questions. The White House does not control the reporters who are in the pool. The organizations in the pool is something worked out between the White House and the White House Correspondents Association. The news organizations in the pool are ones that regularly cover the President and have a daily presence in the White House as well as a demonstrated need to be there. While the White House press staff can choose whether an event will have pool coverage, staff cannot decide who is in that pool and will pose the questions.

- Interviews. Both Presidents Trump and Obama had more interviews through their first full year than did their predecessors. Their numbers: Trump 86; Obama 162; George W. Bush 50; Clinton 55; George H. W. Bush 48; Reagan 65. As with short question-and-answer sessions, interviews have the advantage for a President of his choosing the place, time, and reporters to talk to. With a growth in the numbers, platforms, and types of news organizations, presidents can use interviews to target audiences in a way they could not during the Reagan years when interviews were most often with elite national publications, specifically *Time*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*. By contrast, President Obama did interviews with online media when he wanted to reach young people to persuade them to sign up for the Affordable Care Act and with local television stations as he pushed for members of Congress to approve Trade Promotion Authority legislation.

The figures for Presidents G. H. W. Bush and Reagan come from the President's Daily Diary, which tracks phone calls as well as those persons a President sees and talks to. The Daily Diaries for all of the days of the Clinton, George W. Bush, and Obama years are not yet available. For the interview data for these three presidents I worked with White House staff on their contemporary records, which do not include all of the phone calls a President makes when he is in the White House Residence.

- When you add up the interviews and the short question-and-answer sessions for the presidents in their first full year in office, you notice that Presidents Trump, Obama, and George W. Bush had very similar numbers. They are: Trump 214; Obama 208; George W. Bush 198. What that tells us is these two venues is where you see the differences in the places presidents choose to talk with reporters. Presidents can choose which of the venues where they prefer to meet with reporters.

All presidents use press conferences, but the variation for these three presidents is in the split between the number of Solo and Joint ones they held. Similar to the totals for interviews and short question-and-answer sessions, the three presidents' numbers for total press conferences hovered around the same mark. They were: Trump 22, Obama 27, and Bush 19. Yet Trump held only one Solo session while Obama had 11 of them with four of his sessions held in the evening in the East Room. President Trump did not hold a night time session and Bush had just one.

The author writes about White House communications operations and presidential transitions. Her books include: *Managing the President's Message: The White House Communication Operation* and *Before the Oath: How George W. Bush and Barack Obama Managed a Transfer of Power*. She directs the White House Transition Project, a nonpartisan and nonprofit group of presidency scholars who study and write

Data Collected by Martha Joynt Kumar, Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science, Towson University and Director, White House Transition Project. For permission to quote information, contact me at marthakumar1600@gmail.com or 202 285-3537. 1/20/18 2:08 PM

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about White House operations. Their work on White House office operations, presidential appointments, and presidential routine can be found at: whitehousetransitionproject.org.

Six Presidents and Their Interchanges with Reporters through January 20, 2018 365 Days into the Administration ¹

Martha Joynt Kumar

President Trump: Interchanges with Reporters

- **Press conferences, January 20, 2017 – January 20, 2018: 22 [1 Solo and 21 Joint]**
- **Short question-and-answer sessions, January 20th, 2017 - January 20, 2018: 128**
- **Interviews, January 20, 2017 – January 20, 2018: 86**
- **Addresses and remarks, January 20 – January 20, 2018: 437**
- **Tweets, January 20 – January 20, 2018: 2,514**

PRESS CONFERENCES

President Donald Trump: Press Conferences

January 20, 2017 – January 20, 2018: 21 [1Solo; 20 Joint]

White House Solo: 1

Nighttime East Room: 0

Press Conferences make up 9% of President Trump's interchanges with reporters

President Barack Obama: Press Conferences

January 20, 2009 – January 20, 2010: 27 [11 Solo, 16 Joint]

White House Solo: 5

Nighttime East Room: 4 [February 9, 2009; March 24; April 29; July 22]

Press Conferences make up 12% of President Obama's interchanges with reporters

President George W. Bush: Press Conferences

January 20, 2001 – January 20, 2002: 19 [4 Solo; 15 Joint]

White House Solo: 4

Nighttime East Room: 1 [October 11]

Press Conferences make up 9% of President George W. Bush's interchanges with reporters

President Bill Clinton: Press Conferences

January 20, 1993 – January 20, 1994: 45 [14 Solo; 31 Joint]

White House Solo: 11

Nighttime East Room: 1 [June 17]

Press Conferences make up 13% of President Clinton's interchanges with reporters

President George H. W. Bush: Press Conferences

January 20, 1989 – January 20, 1990: 32 [26 Solo; 6 Joint]

White House Solo: 17

Nighttime East Room: 1 [June 8]

Press Conferences make up 23% of President George H. W. Bush's interchanges with reporters

President Ronald Reagan: Press Conferences [President Reagan is hard to compare for the early months as he was shot March 30 and had several weeks of recovery without public appearances]

January 20, 1981 – January 20, 1982: 7 [7 Solo; 0 Joint]

White House Solo: 7

Nighttime East Room: 0

Press Conferences make up 6% of President Reagan's interchanges with reporters

SHORT QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSIONS

President Donald Trump: Short question-and-answer sessions

January 20, 2017 – January 20, 2018: 128

Short Question and Answer Sessions make up 54% of President Trump's interchanges with reporters

President Barack Obama: Short question-and-answer sessions

January 20, 2009 – January 20, 2010: 46

Short Question and Answer Sessions make up 20% of President Obama's interchanges with reporters

President George W. Bush: Short question-and-answer sessions

January 20, 2001 – January 20, 2002: 148

Short Question and Answer Sessions make up 68% of President George W. Bush's interchanges with reporters

President Bill Clinton: Short question-and-answer sessions

January 20, 1993 – January 20, 1994: 255

Short Question and Answer Sessions make up 74% of President Clinton's interchanges with reporters

President George H. W. Bush: Short question-and-answer sessions

January 20, 1989 – January 20, 1990: 62

Short Question and Answer Sessions make up 44% of President George H. W. Bush's interchanges with reporters

President Ronald Reagan: Short question-and-answer sessions

January 20, 1981 – January 20, 1982: 41

Short Question and Answer Sessions make up 36% of President Reagan's interchanges with reporters

INTERVIEWS

President Donald Trump: Interviews

January 20, 2017 – January 20, 2018: 86

Interviews make up 36% of President Trump's interchanges with reporters

President Barack Obama: Interviews

January 20, 2009 – January 20, 2010: 162

Interviews make up 69% of President Obama's interchanges with reporters

President George W. Bush: Interviews

January 20, 2001 – January 20, 2002: 50

Interviews make up 23% of President George W. Bush's interchanges with reporters

President Bill Clinton: Interviews

January 20, 1993 – January 20, 1994: 55

Interviews make up 16% of President Clinton's interchanges with reporters

President George H. W. Bush: Interviews

January 20, 1989 – January 20, 1990: 48

Interviews make up 34% of President George H. W. Bush's interchanges with reporters

President Ronald Reagan: Interviews

January 20, 1981 – January 20, 1982: 65

Interviews make up 58% of President Reagan's interchanges with reporters

PERCENTAGE OF ALL PUBLIC UTTERANCES OCCURRING IN SESSIONS WITH REPORTERS

President Donald Trump: Percent of Public Utterances in Sessions with Reporters

January 20, 2017 – January 20, 2018: 41%

President Barack Obama: Percent of Public Utterances in Sessions with Reporters

January 20, 2009 – January 20, 2010: 33%

President George W. Bush: Percent of Public Utterances in Sessions with Reporters

January 20, 2001 – January 20, 2002: 34%

President Bill Clinton: Percent of Public Utterances in Sessions with Reporters

January 20, 1993 – January 20, 1994: 47%

President George H. W. Bush: Percent of Public Utterances in Sessions with Reporters

January 20, 1989 – January 20, 1990: 29%

President Ronald Reagan: Percent of Public Utterances in Sessions with Reporters

January 20, 1981 – January 20, 1982: 34%

ADDRESSES AND REMARKS

President Donald Trump: Addresses and Remarks

January 20, 2017 – January 20, 2018: 438 [3 Address Nation / Joint Session; 39 Weekly Address; 395 Remarks];
Tweets: 2,514

President Barack Obama: Addresses and Remarks

January 20, 2009 – January 20, 2010: 518 [3 Address Nation / Joint Session; 52 Weekly Address; 463 Remarks]

President George W. Bush: Addresses and Remarks

January 20, 2001 – January 20, 2002: 535 [7 Address Nation / Joint Session; 52 Weekly Address; 476 Remarks]

President Bill Clinton: Addresses and Remarks

January 20, 1993 – January 20, 1994: 488 [7 Address Nation / Joint Session; 50 Weekly Address; 431 Remarks]

President George H. W. Bush: Addresses and Remarks

January 20, 1989 – January 20, 1990: 393 [4 Address Nation / Joint Session; 0 Weekly Address; 389 Remarks]

President Ronald Reagan: Addresses and Remarks

January 20, 1981 – January 20, 1982: 229 [7 Address Nation / Joint Session; 0 Weekly Address; 222 Remarks]

¹ The January 2018 figures for President Trump for Remarks and Short Question and Answer sessions are tentative until the National Archives publishes the official ones. The figures here are based on counts of official public events as found in White House press releases and pool reports as well as cross-checked with, first, the *Daily Compilation of Presidential Documents* [earlier from the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*] published by the National Archives and Records Administration and, second, the entries of public presidential utterances included in the *Public Papers of the President* as found on The American Presidency website, www.americanpresidency.org, and third, the presidential schedule and transcripts for each day that I receive them from the Press Office. My headings are based on ones used by the National Archives though I aggregate them [Remarks and Exchanges and Exchanges without accompanying remarks] into my own categories and divide press conferences into Solo and Joint ones.

PRESS CONFERENCES. Press conferences are divided into Solo and Joint sessions. The latter are usually held together with a foreign leader where each answers questions from an equal number of reporters evenly divided between the foreign and White House press corps members present. Both leaders first make statements, usually about what was discussed in their meeting, and then take questions. There also are occasional joint sessions with U.S. government officials. Solo sessions tend to be longer ones. I have noted how many Solo sessions a President has held in the White House compound. I have also noted how many of the Solo sessions were prime time East Room press conferences. President George

H. W. Bush is the first President to use Joint press conferences on a regular basis and his successors have continued the trend he began. His predecessors did so only occasionally.

SHORT QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSIONS. “Short question-and-answer sessions” are events where only a small number of reporters representing the White House press corps – a pool - are allowed in to question the President. This category is composed of the National Archives designation of “Exchanges with Reporters” where the President may or may not make remarks at the same time. If he has a speech that is designated by the National Archives as “Remarks and Exchange with Reporters,” it is counted twice in my tabulations. His remarks are counted separately in the “Addresses and Remarks” category while the exchanges with reporters is also counted in the “Short Question and Answer Sessions.”

INTERVIEWS. Unlike the other categories, “interviews” are only occasionally publicly released. They are regarded as the property of the news organization and, with some exceptions, the individual organizations control whether and when transcripts are released. For the Obama, George W. Bush, and William Clinton administrations, my figures represent internal counts maintained by White House staff as well as additional interviews I find that may not have been listed on the White House file. For recent presidents, I comb online sources for interviews, use information from Pool Reports issued by reporters covering the President, references in reporters’ stories to their discussions with the President, and information I have obtained from reporters about their direct talks with the President either by phone or in person. I include the off-the-record luncheons, dinners, and meetings presidents sometimes have with reporters because inevitably information journalists have acquired in those sessions is shared within their news organizations and sometimes makes its way into print.

For the interview numbers for Presidents Reagan and George H. W. Bush, I have used the White House Daily Diary, which is compiled from official internal records by the Diarist, an employee of the National Archives and Records Administration. Until recently the Reagan personal and Daily Diary were online through the Reagan Foundation website at: <http://www.reaganfoundation.org/white-house-diary.aspx> and the first year and a half of the Daily Diary for President George H. W. Bush is available through the Miller Center at the University of Virginia. Their diary information only goes through October 1990. The full White House Daily Diary for President George H. W. Bush is available at the George H. W. Bush Library in College Station, Texas. That is the diary I used. The President’s Daily Diary for Reagan is now available at the Reagan Library at: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/digital-library/daily-diary>. His personal diary can be purchased online. For Presidents Reagan and George H. W. Bush, the President’s Daily Diary offers a more complete picture of the President’s interactions with those associated with news organizations because the diaries capture the phone calls they place and those they receive. Even when they are brief, I include these phone contacts in my counts because the information exchanged between the President and the journalist will be used in some way by them and / or their news organizations in their articles or planning of their news coverage. The White House Daily Diary for Presidents George W. Bush and Bill Clinton have not yet been made public so that excellent source is not yet available. When the Diaries are available, I will go back through my lists and update with phone calls with reporters and other interviews that were not included in their internal lists.

SPEECHES. Speeches to Joint Sessions of Congress, State of the Union, Inaugural Addresses, and Addresses to the Nation form my category, Addresses to the Nation. The Weekly Addresses category includes formal Radio Addresses in the Reagan, George W. Bush and Clinton administrations as well as the radio addresses in the Obama administration that are titled “Weekly Address” presented on several platforms, including YouTube and television as well as radio. Other radio addresses are included in Radio Addresses as well, such as those given by George H. W. Bush who did not regularly do weekly radio addresses as did the others. President Reagan was the first President to adopt and then maintain a practice of delivering weekly radio addresses. Except for President George H. W. Bush, all of his successors have followed his practice from the early days of their administrations. Any Radio Addresses by any of the five presidents was put into the Radio Addresses category. All other remarks and speeches publicly given by the President form my “addresses and remarks” subcategory.