

# **SPECIAL REPORT**

AN IN-DEPTH STUDY, ANALYSIS OR REVIEW EXPLORING THE MEDIA

# The Liberal Media Exposed

Surveys over the past 25 years have consistently found that journalists are much more liberal than rest of America. The Media Research Center has compiled the relevant data on journalist attitudes, as well as polling showing how the American public's recognition of the media's liberal bias has grown over the years.

**Journalists Vote for Liberals:** Between 1964 and 2004, Republicans won the White House seven times compared with four Democratic victories. But if only journalists' ballots were counted, the Democrats would have won every time.

**Journalists Say They Are Liberal:** Surveys from 1978 to 2005 show that journalists are far more likely to say they are liberal than conservative, and are far more liberal than the public at large.

• Journalists Reject Conservative Positions: None of the surveys have found that news organizations are populated by independent thinkers who mix liberal and conservative positions. Most journalists offer reflexively liberal answers to practically every question a pollster can imagine.

• The Public Recognizes the Bias: Nearly nine out of ten Americans believe journalists sometimes or often let their personal views influence the way they report the news, and most say this bias helps liberals. Even a plurality of Democrats agree the press is liberal.

• **Denials of Liberal Bias.** Many journalists continue to deny the liberal bias that taints their profession.

• Admissions of Liberal Bias. A number of journalists have admitted that the majority of their brethren approach the news from a liberal angle.

What follows are key data from nearly two dozen surveys about media bias. For additional information, including links to many of the surveys cited here, please visit **www.MRC.org** and click on "Media Bias Basics."

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# The Media Elite

In 1981, S. Robert Lichter, then with George Washington University, and Stanley Rothman of Smith College, released a groundbreaking survey of 240 journalists at top media outlets — including the *New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Time, Newsweek, U.S. News & World Report,* ABC, CBS, NBC, and PBS — on their political attitudes and voting patterns. The data showed journalists hold liberal positions on a wide range of social and political issues. Lichter and Rothman's book, *The Media Elite,* became the most widely quoted media study of the 1980s.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• More than four-fifths of the journalists interviewed voted for the Democratic presidential candidate in every election between 1964 and 1976.

■ "Fifty-four percent placed themselves to the left of center, compared to only 19 percent who chose the right side of the spectrum," Lichter and Rothman's survey of journalists discovered.

• Nearly half of the journalists surveyed agreed that "the very structure of our society causes people to feel alienated," while the authors found "five out of six believe our legal system mainly favors the wealthy."

• 30 percent disagreed that "private enterprise is fair to workers;" 28 percent agreed that "all political systems are repressive."

• "Ninety percent agree that a woman has the right to decide for herself whether to have an abortion; 79 percent agree strongly with this pro-choice position."

Majorities of journalists agreed with the statements: "U.S. exploits Third World, causes poverty" (56 percent); and "U.S. use of resources immoral" (57 percent). Three-fourths disagreed that the "West had helped Third World."



# U.S. Newspaper Journalists

In 1985, the *Los Angeles Times* conducted one of the most extensive surveys of journalists in history. Using the same questionnaire they had used to poll the public, the *Times* polled 2,700 journalists at 621 newspapers across the country. By a two-to-one margin, reporters had a negative view of then-President Ronald Reagan and voted by the same margin for Walter Mondale in 1984. The survey also asked 16 questions involving foreign affairs, social and economic issues. On 15 of 16 questions, the journalists gave answers to the left of those given by the public.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• When asked how they voted in the 1984 election, more than twice as many newspaper journalists chose liberal Walter Mondale (58 percent) over the conservative incumbent Ronald Reagan (26 percent), even as the country picked Reagan in a 59 to 41 percent landslide.

• *Times* staff writer David Shaw reported that 55 percent of journalists said they were liberal, with 12 percent saying "very liberal," and 43 percent saying "somewhat liberal."

• "Sometimes the readers and journalists take diametrically opposed positions — as on the question: 'Are you in favor of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?' Journalists say 'No' by a 2-1 margin; readers say 'Yes' by about the same margin," Shaw wrote.

■ 84 percent of reporters and editors supported the so-called "nuclear freeze" to ban all future nuclear missile deployment; 80 percent were against increased defense spending; and 76 percent opposed aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*.

■ 82 percent of reporters and editors favored allowing women to have abortions; 81 percent backed affirmative action; and 78 percent wanted stricter gun control.

Two-thirds (67 percent) of journalists opposed prayer in public schools; three-fourths of the general public (74 percent) supported prayer in public schools.



# Survey of Business Reporters

A 1988 poll by a New York-based newsletter, *Journalist and Financial Reporting*, surveyed 151 business reporters from over 30 publications ranging from the *Los Angeles Times*, *Washington Post, USA Today, New York Times* and *Chicago Tribune* to *Money, Fortune* and *Business Week*. The survey found that newspaper and magazine business reporters are just as liberal as their colleagues covering politics.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

■ 54 percent identified themselves as Democrats, just 9 percent as Republicans.

■ 76 percent reported they opposed school prayer and 75 percent were against aid to the Contras, rebels fighting the Communist-backed Nicaraguan government. An overwhelming 86 percent favored abortion.

• More than half, 52 percent, evaluated President Reagan's performance in office as "poor" or "below average." Only 17 percent gave him an "excellent" or "good," while 19 percent considered him "average."

• Asked who they wished to see elected President that year, 27 percent named liberal New York Governor Mario Cuomo (D), followed by Democratic Senators Bill Bradley (20 percent) and Paul Simon (nine percent). Senator Bob Dole was the most "popular" Republican, garnering a piddling eight percent.

■ Rev. Pat Robertson, then a GOP candidate, topped the list — at 44 percent — of those the reporters would "least like to see as President," followed by 19 percent who named the eventual winner, George H. W. Bush.



# Journalists – Who Are They, Really?

In 1992, Indiana University journalism professors David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit surveyed 1,410 journalists who "work for a wide variety of daily and weekly newspapers, radio and television stations, news services and magazines throughout the United States." Presenting the results in the Fall 1992 *Media Studies Journal*, they found journalists were more liberal, more Democratic, more in favor of legalized abortion and less religious than the public at large.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• 44 percent of journalists identified themselves as Democrats while just 16 percent tagged themselves as Republican. Thirty-four percent described themselves as independents.

• "Compared to the overall U.S. population, journalists are 3 percent to 10 percent more likely to say they are Democrats, depending on which national survey you use as a yardstick, and 10 to 17 points less likely to say they are Republicans," they wrote.

• Nearly half of the journalists surveyed (47 percent) called themselves "liberal," compared to 22 percent who described themselves as "conservative." Gallup polls taken at the same time found just 18 percent of the public considered themselves liberal, while 34 percent of the public said they were conservative.

• "The percentage of journalists rating religion or religious beliefs as 'very important' is substantially lower (38 percent) than the percentage in the overall U.S. population (61 percent).

• More than half of journalists (51%) said abortion should be "legal under any circumstances," compared to just 4 percent who thought abortion should be "illegal in all circumstances." Among the general public, 33 percent wanted abortion "legal under any circumstances," and 14 percent thought it should always be illegal.



# The White House Reporters

In 1995, Kenneth Walsh, a reporter for *U.S. News & World Report*, polled 28 of his fellow White House correspondents from ABC, CBS, CNN, NBC, the *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, *USA Today, Washington Post*, Copley, Cox, Hearst, Knight-Ridder, plus *Newsweek*, *Time* and *U.S. News & World Report*, about their presidential voting patterns for his 1996 book *Feeding the Beast: The White House versus the Press*. Walsh found that his colleagues strongly preferred Democrats, with the White House press corps admitting a total of 50 votes for Democratic candidates compared to just seven for Republicans.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

■ In 1992, nine of the White House correspondents surveyed voted for Democrat Bill Clinton, two for Republican George H. W. Bush, and one for independent Ross Perot.

In 1988, 12 voted for Democrat Michael Dukakis, one for Bush.

In 1984, 10 voted for Democrat Walter Mondale, zero for Ronald Reagan.

■ In 1980, eight voted for Democrat Jimmy Carter, four for liberal independent John Anderson, and two voted for Ronald Reagan.

■ Walsh wrote of the White House press corps members he surveyed: "Even though the survey was anonymous, many journalists declined to reveal their party affiliations, whom they voted for in recent presidential elections, and other data they regarded as too personal — even though they regularly pressure Presidents and other officials to make such disclosures."

• "Those who did reply seemed to be representative of the larger group. Seven said they were Democrats, eleven were unaffiliated with either major party, and not a single respondent said he or she was a registered Republican (although some might have been but were not willing to say so)."



# The Media Elite Revisited

In 1995, Stanley Rothman and Amy E. Black "partially replicated the earlier Rothman-Lichter" survey of the media elite. (See previous entry, *The Media Elite*.) "The sample of journalists mirrors that from the earlier study, including reporters and editors at major national newspapers, news magazines and wire services," the authors wrote in a Spring 2001 article for the journal *Public Interest*. They found the media elite held strongly liberal views on abortion, homosexuality, and a range of economic issues. "Despite the discrediting of centrally planned economies produced by the collapse of the Soviet Union and other Communist regimes, attitudes about government control of the economy have not changed very much since the 1980s," the authors marveled.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• Nearly all of the media elite (97 percent) agreed that "it is a woman's right to decide whether or not to have an abortion," and five out of six (84 percent) agreed strongly.

• Three out of four journalists (73 percent) agreed that "homosexuality is as acceptable a lifestyle as heterosexuality," and 40 percent agreed strongly.

• Seven out of ten journalists (71 percent) agreed that "government should work to ensure that everyone has a job," and 30 percent said they strongly agreed with that statement.

• Three-fourths (75 percent) agreed that "government should work to reduce the income gap between the rich and the poor," and more than a third (34 percent) strongly agreed.

■ Relatively few journalists (39 percent) agreed that "less government regulation of business would be good for the economy," and just five percent strongly agreed with this sentiment.

• More than three out of four "elite journalists," 76 percent, reported voting for Michael Dukakis in 1988; an even larger percentage, 91 percent, cast ballots for Bill Clinton in 1992.



# Washington Bureau Chiefs and Correspondents

In April 1996, the Freedom Forum published a report by *Chicago Tribune* writer Elaine Povich titled, "Partners and Adversaries: The Contentious Connection Between Congress and the Media." Buried in Appendix D was the real news for those concerned about media bias: Based on the 139 Washington bureau chiefs and congressional correspondents who returned the Freedom Forum questionnaire, the Washington-based reporters — by an incredible margin of nine-to-one — overwhelmingly cast their presidential ballots in 1992 for Democrat Bill Clinton over Republican incumbent George Bush.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

■ 89 percent of Washington-based reporters said they voted for Bill Clinton in 1992. Only seven percent voted for George Bush, with two percent choosing Ross Perot.

• Asked "How would you characterize your political orientation?" 61 percent said "liberal" or "liberal to moderate." Only nine percent labeled themselves "conservative" or "moderate to conservative."

• Fifty-nine percent dismissed the Republican's 1994 Contract with America "an election-year campaign ploy." Just three percent considered it "a serious reform proposal."



# Newspaper Journalists of the '90s

In 1996, as a follow-up to a 1988 survey, the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) surveyed 1,037 reporters at 61 newspapers of all sizes across the nation, and found that newsrooms were more ideologically unrepresentative than they had been in the late 1980s. While the percentage of journalists calling themselves "Democrat or liberal" essentially held steady (going from 62 to 61 percent of those surveyed), the percentage saying they were "Republican or conservative" dropped from 22 percent to just 15 percent of journalists. The ASNE report, *The Newspaper Journalists of the '90s*, also revealed that bigger — presumably more influential — newspapers had the most liberal staffs.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• According to ASNE: "In 1996 only 15 percent of the newsroom labeled itself conservative/ Republican or leaning in that direction, down from 22 percent in 1988. The greatest gain is in the 'independent' column, which rose from 17 percent to 24 percent. Liberal/Democrats and those leaning that way slipped only from 62 to 61 percent."

• "Political orientation does not vary across job descriptions, except that editorial writers are more likely to be independent or conservative than staffers in the newsroom."

• "On papers of at least 50,000 circulation, 65 percent of the staffs are liberal/Democrat or leaning that way, and 12 percent are conservative/Republican or leaning that way."

• Women in the newsroom were more likely than men to identify as liberal/Democratic. Only 11 percent identified themselves as conservative or leaned that way.

• Minority journalists are even more liberal/Democrat than other reporters, with a mere three percent of blacks and eight percent of Asians and Hispanics putting themselves on the right.



# The People and the Press: Whose Views Shape the News?

In the July/August 2001 edition of the Roper Center's *Public Perspective, Washington Post* national political correspondent Thomas Edsall summarized the findings of a Kaiser Family Foundation poll of 301 "media professionals," 300 "policymakers" and the 1,206 members of the public. The media professionals included "reporters and editors from top newspapers, TV and radio networks, news services and news magazines." The results showed that "only a tiny fraction of the media identifies itself as either Republican (4%), or conservative (6%)," placing reporters far to the left of media consumers.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• Four times as many "media professionals" told the pollsters they considered themselves "liberal" (25 percent) than called themselves "conservative" (6 percent). Among the general public, self-identified conservatives outnumbered liberals, 38 percent to 21 percent.

• More than six times as many media professionals called themselves Democrats (27 percent), than said they were Republicans (just 4 percent). Among the general public, Democrats slightly outnumbered Republicans, 34 percent to 28 percent.

• Policymakers were also found to be less liberal than journalists. According to Edsall, "These areas of divergence between the public and the press lend themselves to conflict, both with the consumers and the makers of news, and threaten to diminish the legitimacy of American journalism."

• Edsall: "Whether or not members of the media agree with conservative voters on any given set of questions is not at issue. The problem is the invisibility of these men and women to the national media, and, most especially, the inability of the press to represent their views in public discourse."



# How Journalists See Journalists in 2004

In May 2004, the Pew Research Center for The People and The Press (in association with the Project for Excellence in Journalism and the Committee of Concerned Journalists) surveyed 547 journalists and media executives, including 247 at national-level media outlets. The poll was similar to ones conducted by the same group (previously known as the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press) in 1995 and 1999. The actual polling was done by the Princeton Survey Research Associates.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• Five times more national journalists identify themselves as "liberal" (34 percent) than "conservative" (just 7 percent). In contrast, a survey of the public taken in May 2004 found 20 percent saying they were liberal, and 33 percent saying they were conservative.

• Most national journalists (55 percent) say the media are "not critical enough" of President Bush, compared with only eight percent who believe the press has been "too critical." In 1995, the poll found just two percent thought journalists had given "too much" coverage to then-President Clinton's accomplishments, compared to 48 percent who complained of "too little" coverage of Clinton's achievements.

• Reporters struggled to name a liberal news organization. According to Pew, "The *New York Times* was most often mentioned as the national daily news organization that takes a decidedly liberal point of view, but only by 20% of the national sample." Only two percent of reporters suggested CNN, ABC, CBS, or NPR were liberal; just one percent named NBC.

• Journalists did see ideology at one outlet: "The single news outlet that strikes most journalists as taking a particular ideological stance — either liberal or conservative — is Fox News Channel," Pew reported. More than two-thirds of national journalists (69 percent) tagged FNC as a conservative news organization, followed by *The Washington Times* (9 percent) and *The Wall Street Journal* (8 percent).



## Campaign Journalists

*New York Times* columnist John Tierney surveyed 153 campaign journalists at a press party at the 2004 Democratic National Convention in Boston, and found a huge preference for Democratic Senator John Kerry over President George W. Bush, particular among journalists based in Washington, D.C. While journalists from outside Washington preferred Kerry by a three-to-one margin, those inside the Beltway favored Kerry's election by a 12-to-1 ratio.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• Tierney found a strong preference for the liberal Kerry: "When asked who would be a better president, the journalists from outside the Beltway picked Mr. Kerry 3 to 1, and the ones from Washington favored him 12 to 1. Those results jibe with previous surveys over the past two decades showing that journalists tend to be Democrats, especially the ones based in Washington."

• To see why journalists preferred Kerry, "we asked our respondents which administration they'd prefer to cover the next four years strictly from a journalistic standpoint." More than half the journalists thought Bush was the better news subject: "The Washington respondents said they would rather cover Mr. Kerry, but by a fairly small amount, 27 to 21, and the other journalists picked Bush, 56 to 40....The overall result was 77 for Bush, 67 for Mr. Kerry."

• "We tried to test for a likeability bias. With which presidential nominee, we asked, would you rather be stranded on a desert island? Mr. Kerry was the choice of both groups: 31 to 17 among the Washington journalists, and 51 to 39 among the others. 'Bush's religious streak,' one Florida correspondent said, 'would drive me nuts on a desert island.'"



# TV and Newspaper Journalists

In March and April 2005, the University of Connecticut's Department of Public Policy surveyed 300 journalists nationwide — 120 who worked in the television industry and 180 who worked at newspapers — and asked for whom they voted in the 2004 presidential election. In a report released May 16, 2005, the researchers disclosed that the journalists they surveyed selected Democratic challenger John Kerry over incumbent Republican President George W. Bush by a wide margin, 52 percent to 19 percent (with one percent choosing far-left independent candidate Ralph Nader). One out of five journalists (21 percent) refused to disclose their vote, while another six percent either didn't vote or said they did not know for whom they voted.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• More than half of the journalists surveyed (52 percent) said they voted for Democrat John Kerry in the 2004 presidential election, while fewer than one-fifth (19 percent) said they voted for Republican George W. Bush. The public chose Bush, 51 to 48 percent.

• When asked "generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, an Independent, or something else?" more than three times as many journalists (33 percent) said they were Democrats than said they were Republicans (10 percent).

• While about half of the journalists said they were "moderate," 28 percent said they thought of themselves as liberals, compared to just 10 percent who said they were conservative.

• One out of eight journalists (13 percent) said they considered themselves "strongly liberal," compared to just three percent who reported being "strongly conservative."



# The News Media and the War, 2005

As part of a larger study of how the views of "opinion leaders" compare with those of the general public, the Pew Research Center for The People & The Press, in collaboration with the Council on Foreign relations, surveyed 72 top journalists in September and October 2005. The study, which was released on November 17, 2005, found that, compared to everyday citizens, journalists were more likely to have opposed the decision to go to war in Iraq, were more pessimistic about the chances of success in Iraq, and were far less likely to see immigration reform as a national priority. Reporters were also more disapproving of President Bush's job performance.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• The public was nearly evenly split on whether the U.S. should have invaded Iraq in 2003, with 48 percent agreeing with the decision and 45 percent disagreeing. But among journalists, 71 percent said they considered it a bad decision, compared to just 28 percent that thought it was the right move.

• Similarly, while the public is evenly split on whether the war in Iraq will help or hurt the U.S. in the overall war on terror (44 percent to 44 percent), three times as many journalists say the war in Iraq has been harmful as think it was helpful (68 percent to 22 percent).

• While 56 percent of the public said "efforts to establish a stable democracy" in Iraq will succeed, 63 percent of the news media elite think it will fail.

• Nearly half of the public (46 percent) believe torture of terrorist suspects can be "often" or "sometimes" justified, while 78 percent of the news media elite contend it is "rarely" or "never" justified.

• Just 17 percent of journalists said they thought "reducing illegal immigration" was a "top priority," compared to 51 percent of the public who rate it as a "top priority."

Just 21 percent of the media approved of President Bush's job performance in the fall of 2005, compared to 40 percent of the public.

Media Much More Anti-War Than Public		
	Media	Public
Decision to Take Military		
Action Was Right	28%	48%
Effort to Build Iraqi		
Democracy Will Succeed	. 33%	56%
War in Iraq Helpful to		
Overall War on Terrorism	. 22%	44%
<ul> <li>Based on Pew Research Center polls of top journalists and the general public, report released November 17, 2005.</li> </ul>		



# The People & The Press, 1997

One of the most comprehensive surveys of the public's general opinion of the media was done in 1997 by the Pew Research Center for The People & The Press, formerly known as the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press. This research compared poll results from the mid-1980s with the late-1990s, (using identical questions) and determined a growing percentage of the public realize the media are biased.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• Two-thirds (67%) said agreed with the statement: "In dealing with political and social issues, news organizations tend to favor one side." That was up 14 points from 53 percent who gave that answer in 1985.

Those who believed the media "deal fairly with all sides" fell from 34 percent to 27 percent.

• "In one of the most telling complaints, a majority (54%) of Americans believe the news media gets in the way of society solving its problems," Pew reported.

• Republicans "are more likely to say news organizations favor one side than are Democrats or independents (77 percent vs. 58 percent and 69 percent, respectively)."

• The percentage who felt "news organizations get the facts straight" fell from 55 percent to 37 percent.



# What the People Want from the Press

In November 1996, the Center for Media and Public Affairs (CMPA) partnered with the Lou Harris Organization to poll 3,000 people about their attitudes toward the press. According to the poll, those who saw a liberal bias outnumbered those who perceived a conservative bias by two-to-one. The results of the poll were published in the May/June 1997 *Media Monitor*, the CMPA's newsletter and later released as a 226-page report, *What the People Want from the Press*.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• CMPA reported: "Majorities of all major groups in the population, including 70 percent of self-described liberals, now see a 'fair amount' or 'great deal' of bias in the news. In general, perceptions of bias rise along with levels of education and political participation."

• "Those who see a liberal tilt outnumber those who detect a conservative bias by more than a two to one margin. Forty-three percent describe the news media's perspective on politics as liberal, compared to 33 percent who see it as a middle of the road, and 19 percent who find it to be conservative."

• "Even self-described liberals agree: 41 percent see the media as liberal, compared to only 22 percent who find the news to be conservative."

• "These findings challenge the argument of some journalists that bias is purely in the eye of the beholder. Although conservatives are three times more likely to see liberal rather than conservative bias, moderates and liberals alike see liberal bias in the media twice as often as they see conservative bias," CMPA concluded.



# ASNE Journalism Credibility Project, 1998

As part of "a \$1 million project to improve the credibility of newspapers and journalism," the American Society of Newspaper Editors commissioned a poll of 3,000 Americans in April and May of 1998. The survey found that more than three-fourths of Americans (78%) believed that the press is biased, and an equal percentage believed that reporters would "spike or spin" a story to suit powerful interests. The findings were detailed in a 1999 report, *Examining Our Credibility: Perspectives of the Public and the Press*.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• "78 percent of U.S. adults agree with the assessment that there is bias in the news media," the report found.

• "58 percent believe that the public's dissatisfaction with the media is justified — as opposed to 29 percent who say the press is 'an easy target for deeper problems in our society.'"

■ "78 percent believe that powerful people can get stories into the paper — or keep them out."

• "50 percent believe there are particular people or groups that get a 'special break' in news coverage, and 45 percent believe that others 'don't get a fair shake.'"

• "77 percent believe newspapers pay lots more attention to stories that support their own point of view."

• "Although a sizeable portion of the public (46 percent) thinks that their newspaper is more liberal than they, another significant segment (36 percent) see the newspaper as more conservative than themselves," ASNE found.



# The People & The Press, 2000

During the election year, the Pew Research Center for The People & The Press frequently polled public attitudes about the media. In an October 15, 2000 report, the group found that most voters "generally believe the media has been fair to both major presidential candidates, but more say the press has been fair to Al Gore than to George W. Bush." In fact, the vast majority of respondents (89%) agreed that reporters' political views often or sometimes influenced the coverage.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• When asked, "How often do you think members of the news media let their own political preferences influence the way they report the news?" 57 percent said "often," and another 32 percent said "sometimes." Just 8 percent said "seldom," and only one percent thought reporters' preferences "never" influenced their coverage.

• Nearly half of the public (47%) thought reporters wanted to see Democratic candidate Al Gore win the 2000 election; just 23 percent thought reporters were hoping for a victory by Republican George W. Bush.



# The Gallup Organization

Since 2001, Gallup has polled American adults on the question: "Now thinking for a moment about the news media: In general, do you think the news media is too liberal, just about right, or too conservative." For six consecutive years, the number of Americans saying the media are too liberal has outnumbered those seeing a pro-conservative bias by about a three-to-one margin. Gallup also found that while a large majority of Democrats said they had trust and confidence in the media, a similarly large percentage of Republicans expressed little or no trust in the media.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

■ In September 2006, more than twice as many Americans said that the media are too liberal (44%) than said the media are too conservative (19%).

• Since 2001, the percentage saying the media are too liberal has ranged from 44 percent to 48 percent; the percentage seeing the media as too conservative has never exceeded 19 percent.

• In 2005, only 3 in 10 Republicans (31%) told Gallup they had a great deal or fair amount of trust and confidence in the media, while the vast majority of Republicans (69%) said they had very little or no trust in the media.

• Democrats were much more trusting, with 70% expressing a great deal or fair amount confidence in the media ad 30% reporting very little or no confidence.



# The People & The Press, 2003

In the summer of 2003, Princeton Survey Research Associates conducted a poll of 1,201 American adults regarding the media for the Pew Research Center for The People & The Press. They found that a majority (53 percent) of Americans regard the press as "politically biased," and most said the media tilted to the left.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• "Most Americans (53 percent) believe that news organizations are politically biased, while just 29 percent say they are careful to remove bias from their reports," Pew reported.

"When it comes to describing the press, twice as many say news organizations are "liberal"
 (51 percent) than "conservative" (26 percent) while 14 percent say neither phrase applies."

• Even Democrats thought the press tilted left, not right. Among Democratic respondents, 41 percent thought the media are liberal, compared to 33 percent who found the media to be conservative. Among Republicans, 65 percent said the press is liberal, 22 percent find the media to be conservative.

• "Americans are divided over whether press criticism of the military serves to keep the nation militarily prepared (45 percent) or to weaken the country's defenses (43 percent)," Pew found. Republicans were especially likely (63 percent) to say that media criticism was harmful to national defense.



# Bias in the 2004 Presidential Campaign

Four different polls conducted in the last days and immediate aftermath of the 2004 presidential campaign discovered that more voters saw the media as biased in favor of Democratic candidate John Kerry than Republican George W. Bush. Polls by the Pew Research Center and Gallup in the final weeks of the campaign found twice as many thought the media had been biased in favor of Kerry than saw a pro-Bush tilt. An Election Day survey of voters in 12 battleground states also found one out of every three voters (32 percent) thought news coverage was biased in favor of Kerry and the Democrats, compared to just 14 percent who thought the media were slanted in favor of Bush and the Republicans. And a Pew Research Center poll conducted after the election found that 40 percent of voters believed that media coverage of President Bush had been unfair, compared to 31 percent who thought Senator Kerry's coverage was unfair.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• A **Gallup** poll of 1,538 registered voters conducted October 22-24, 2004 found a plurality (45 percent) thought the media coverage has not been biased toward either candidate. But of the remainder, most (35 percent) said the coverage had been biased in Kerry's favor, while fewer than half that number (16 percent) thought coverage had been biased in favor of Bush.

• The **Pew Research Center** surveyed 1,307 registered voters between October 15-19, 2004. "Half of voters (50 percent) say most newspaper and TV reporters would prefer to see John Kerry win the election, compared with just 22 percent who think that most journalists are pulling for George Bush," Pew reported.

• That pre-election poll also found that a large majority of voters thought the news media had too much clout: "Nearly six-in-ten (62 percent) say news organizations have too much influence in determining the election's outcome; only about half that number (32 percent) feel that the media's influence is appropriate."

• A poll of 1,000 voters conducted on Election Day by Fabrizio, McLaughlin & Associates of voters in 12 closely-fought "battleground" states found that more voters felt the news media's campaign coverage had been biased (46 percent) than thought the media coverage had not been skewed (42 percent). Of those who saw bias, more than twice as many (32 percent) said the news media had favored John Kerry as felt the media had favored George W. Bush (14 percent).

• A post-election survey of 1,209 voters conducted by the **Pew Research Center** (November 5-8, 2004) reported that "voters are increasingly troubled by what they see as the media's unfair treatment of the candidates. While a majority (56 percent) view press coverage of Bush's campaign as fair, four-in-ten [40 percent] think it was unfair, up from 30 percent four years ago."

■ The Pew report continued: "Significantly more voters (65 percent) believe the press was fair in its coverage of the Kerry campaign. However, a growing minority also views this coverage as unfair — 31 percent say that now, compared with 24 percent who faulted press coverage of Al Gore's campaign four years ago."

# Institute for Politics, Democracy and the Internet/Zogby Survey, 2007

In a February 20-26, 2007 survey conducted for the Politics Online Conference 2007, the George Washington University's Institute for Politics, Democracy and the Internet paired with Zogby Interactive to question 1,757 likely voters about their perceptions of media bias. The pollsters found "the vast majority of American voters believe media bias is alive and well," with only a tiny 11 percent of the public saying they don't think the media take political sides. And by a huge margin, the public suggested the media's bias tilts in favor of liberals, not conservatives.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• The vast majority of American voters detected media bias: "83 percent of likely voters said the media is biased in one direction or another, while just 11 percent believe the media doesn't take political sides," Zogby reported.

• By a huge margin, most of those who saw media bias thought it favored liberals: "Nearly two-thirds of those online respondents who detected bias in the media (64 percent) said the media leans left, while slightly more than a quarter of respondents (28 percent) said they see a conservative bias."

■ Republicans and independents both saw the media as dominated by liberals, and even some Democratic voters agreed: "While 97 percent of Republicans surveyed said the media are liberal, two-thirds of political independents feel the same....Just two-thirds of Democrats were certain the media skewed right — and 17 percent said the bias favored the left."



# Coverage of the War in Iraq, 2007

Two polls conducted in early 2007 found the public generally thought the media's coverage of the war in Iraq skewed in a negative, pessimistic direction. A March 5-11 TIPP poll of 900 adults done for *Investor's Business Daily* found the public judged the media's war coverage as "neither fair nor objective." A Pew Research Center analysis published April 5 found a huge drop from 2003 to 2007 in the percentage of Americans who said they were "confident" that they were getting an accurate picture of how the war was going, with Republicans much more trusting of statements from official military sources, and Democrats preferring the media's message.

#### **KEY FINDINGS:**

• When **TIPP/IBD** asked whether "generally speaking, [has] coverage of the war been fair and objective," only 35 percent agreed, compared to 62 percent who disagreed.

• The TIPP/IBD poll also found that most Americans thought media coverage of the war in Iraq was too negative (57 percent) and too liberal in viewpoint (55 percent).

• The **Pew Research Center** analysis found that while 81 percent of the overall public voiced confidence in the accuracy of media reports when the war began in March 2003, that had dropped to just 38 percent in March 2007.

• Pew discovered a sharp partisan divide: "The vast majority of Republicans (73 percent) remain at least somewhat confident in the military's portrayal of how the war is going, compared with just 32 percent of Democrats."

• When it came to trusting the media, "fewer than a third of Republicans (29 percent) feel confident in what they are hearing from the press, while about half of Democrats (51 percent) remain confident in the news from Iraq."



- THREE -

# WHAT JOURNALISTS SAY ABOUT MEDIA BIAS



# JOURNALISTS DENYING LIBERAL BIAS

I know that I've tried my best through my career to ask challenging questions to whomever I'm speaking, and whether it's a Republican or a Democrat, I try to raise important issues depending on their particular position.... Oftentimes people put their, they see you from their own individual prisms. And if you're not reflecting their point of view, or you're asking an antagonistic question of someone they might agree with in terms of policy, they see you as the enemy, and I think that's just a mistake."

- Incoming *CBS Evening News* anchor Katie Couric at the Aspen Ideas Festival on July 5, broadcast by C-SPAN on September 2, 2006.

• "[I am] biased — I have a very strong bias toward independent journalism....Some of what you describe as 'baggage' comes from people who have the following view: Their view is, 'You report the news the way I want it reported or I'm going to make you pay a price and hang a sign around your neck saying you're a bomb-toting Bolshevik.'"

- Dan Rather, as quoted by the *Washington Post's* Lisa de Moraes in a July 12, 2006 column.

• FNC's Bill O'Reilly: "Now the right wing thinks you're a raving liberal, you and Rather contrived to put Bush in the worst possible light....So are you a liberal?"

**Fired CBS producer Mary Mapes:** "Well, I'm not sure what a liberal is. I'm more liberal than some people. I can tell you my eight-year-old son thinks he's being raised by the most conservative parents in the world...."

O'Reilly: "Are you registered Democrat?" Mapes: "You know, I don't know....I don't know if I'm independent or Democrat. I know I'm not – in Texas, I'm not sure how I'm registered." O'Reilly: "So you would describe yourself

politically as?" **Mapes:** "Oh, my goodness. I'm liberal on some

things, I'm conservative on some things."

FNC's The O'Reilly Factor, November 10, 2005.

• Chris Wallace: "I get e-mails from time to time saying to me, 'You're just like your father,' and they don't mean it as a compliment."

**CBS's Mike Wallace:** "What does that mean?" **Chris Wallace:** "They say, 'Go to CBS. Go to one of the big networks. Go to the mainstream media' – as if that were a foreign land. Do you understand why some people feel such disaffection for the mainstream media?"

**Mike Wallace:** "Oh, yeah. They think we're wild-eyed commies. Liberals. Yes?"

**Chris Wallace:** "That's what they think. How do you plead?"

**Mike Wallace:** "I think it's damn foolishness." – *Fox News Sunday*, **November 6, 2005**.

• "I have been called a reactionary by some on the far left, a liberal by some on the far right and I'm insulted by both terms. My point of view is about delivering information and context. It has nothing to do with a political point of view."

- MSNBC's Keith Olbermann, as quoted in a June 9, 2005 *Houston Chronicle* profile.

• "I remember the first time someone accused me of being an 'N-lover.' There was a lot of that during the '60s when I covered the civil rights movement. Then you move forward from civil rights into the Vietnam War....'We're going to hang a sign around you which calls you some bad name: anti-military, anti-American, anti-war.' Then, when Watergate came into being....was the first time I began to hear this word 'liberal' as an epithet thrown my way....People who have very strong biases of their own, they come at you with a story: 'If you won't report it the way I want it reported, then you're biased.' Now, it is true about me, for better or for worse, if you want to see my neck swell, you just try to tell me where to line up or what to think and mostly what to report."

- Dan Rather near the end of his one-hour CBS News special, *Dan Rather: A Reporter Remembers,* which aired on his last night as *CBS Evening News* anchor, March 9, 2005.  Weekly Standard's Stephen Hayes: "Look, at the end of the day, if we're worried about too many conservatives in the White House press briefing room, this is a discussion that's not, that's not gonna resonate with the American public." Host Chris Matthews: "You think it's mostly packed with liberals? Are you saying most of those people who are paid to be journalists in that room are lib-labs, they're liberals?"

**Hayes:** "Yes, of course....Is there a debate about that?"

**Matthews:** "Well, there's Helen Thomas, who I would call liberal. But who else is in there? Seriously. There are a lot of straight reporters in that room."

*Time*'s Margaret Carlson: "I think they're mostly straight reporters. And I don't think you can keep your job otherwise....Elisabeth Bumiller reports for the *New York Times*, which has a liberal editorial page, but she plays it straight down the middle."

- MSNBC's Hardball, February 25, 2005.

• "[MRC President] Brent Bozell has, you know, an entire organization devoted to doing as much damage, and I choose that word carefully, as he can to the credibility of the news divisions. And now, on the Left, there are the young bloggers out there....These three aging white men are stuck somewhere in the middle trying, on a nightly basis, to give a fair and balanced picture of what's going on in the world."

 NBC Nightly News anchor Tom Brokaw, sitting alongside Dan Rather and Peter
 Jennings, at an October 2, 2004 New Yorker
 Festival forum shown on C-SPAN the next day.

• "Anybody who knows me knows that I am not politically motivated, not politically active for Democrats or Republicans, and that I'm independent. People who are so passionately partisan politically or ideologically committed basically say, 'Because he won't report it our way, we're going to hang something bad around his neck and choke him with it, check him out of existence if we can, if not make him feel great pain.' They know that I'm fiercely independent and that's what drives them up a wall."

- CBS's Dan Rather as quoted by USA Today, September 16, 2004.

• Journalism professor Jane Hall: "The Media Research Center, the conservative media watchdog group, has been getting a lot of attention for its reports alleging liberal bias in the media.... What is the impact, do you think, of a steady drumbeat of such criticism?"

NBC anchor Tom Brokaw: "It is a little wearying, but you've got to rise above it and take it case by case. Most of the cases are pretty flimsily made.... What I get tired of is [MRC President] Brent Bozell trying to make these fine legal points everywhere every day. A lot of it just doesn't hold up. So much of it is that bias — like beauty — is in the eye of the beholder."

- Interview in the January/February 2004 issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review*.

• "What troubles me is a disturbing trend of using the popular appeal of those [conservative] beliefs in some quarters as cover for a kind of commercial nihilism....They suffocate vigorous discourse, the oxygen of a system such as ours, by identifying those who refuse to conform and encouraging a kind of e-mail or telephonic jihad which is happily carried out by well-funded organizations operating under the guise of promoting fair press coverage....What is so unsettling about the current climate is the ruthless efficiency of the attacks on those who refuse to conform."

NBC's Tom Brokaw in a November 19, 2003
 speech at a National Press Club dinner where he was given the 2003 Fourth Estate Award.

"It's admirable for reporters to be skeptical, provided they're not cynical. But I'm not any more skeptical about Republican administrations than I am about Democratic administrations."

Peter Jennings, as quoted in the November
18, 2003 *St. Petersburg Times*.

• "Discussion about liberal bias has gotten altogether skewed and altogether out of proportion. There were legitimate complaints by the right a few years ago, but now the pendulum has swung wildly to the other side in terms of radio and talk shows on television."

- Ex-CNN reporter Frank Sesno, quoted in the October/November 2003 American Journalism Review.

• "I don't think anybody who looks carefully at us thinks that we are a left-wing or a right-wing organization."

- ABC's Peter Jennings, as quoted in a Sept. 9, 2003 USA Today article on his 20 years as sole anchor of *World News Tonight*.

• "I'm not going to judge anybody else in the business, but our work — I can speak for NBC News and our newsroom — it goes through, talk about checks and balances. We have an inordinate number of editors. Every word I write, before it goes on air, goes through all kinds of traps and filters, and it's read by all kinds of different people who point out bias."

# - CNBC anchor Brian Williams on Comedy Central's *The Daily Show*, July 29, 2003.

• "Our greatest accomplishment as a profession is the development since World War II of a news reporting craft that is truly non-partisan, and non-ideological....It is that legacy we must protect with our diligent stewardship. To do so means we must be aware of the energetic effort that is now underway to convince our readers that we are ideologues. It is an exercise of, in disinformation, of alarming proportions, this attempt to convince the audience of the world's most ideology-free newspapers that they're being subjected to agenda-driven news reflecting a liberal bias. I don't believe our viewers and readers will be, in the long-run, misled by those who advocate biased journalism."

- *New York Times* Executive Editor Howell Raines accepting the "George Beveridge Editor of the Year Award," February 20, 2003.

• **CBS's Lesley Stahl:** "Today you have broadcast journalists who are avowedly conservative.... The voices that are being heard in broadcast media today, are far more likely to be on the right and avowedly so, and therefore, more – almost stridently so, than what you're talking about." **Host Cal Thomas:** "Can you name a conservative journalist at CBS News?"

**Stahl:** "I don't know of anybody's political bias at CBS News....We try very hard to get any opinion that we have out of our stories, and most of our stories are balanced."

- FNC's After Hours, January 18, 2003.

"It took conservatives a lot of hard and steady work to push the media rightward. It dishonors that work to continue to presume that — except for a few liberal columnists — there is any such thing as the big liberal media. The media world now includes (1) talk radio, (2) cable television and (3) the traditional news sources (newspapers, newsmagazines and the old broadcast networks). Two of these three major institutions tilt well to the right, and the third is under constant pressure to avoid even the pale hint of liberalism....What it adds up to is a media heavily biased toward conservative politics and conservative politicians."

- Former Washington Post and New York Times reporter E.J. Dionne in a December 6, 2002 Washington Post op-ed.

• "I have yet to see a body of evidence that suggests the reporting that gets on the air reflects any political bias."

- Ex-CNN and CBS reporter Deborah Potter, as quoted in *The Boston Globe*, January 17, 2002.

• "The idea that we would set out, consciously or unconsciously, to put some kind of an ideological framework over what we're doing is nonsense."

- NBC's Tom Brokaw, C-SPAN's Washington Journal, May 24, 2001.

• "I think the tag, you know, somehow or another, 'he's a bomb-throwing Bolshevik from the left side' that's attached to me, is put there by people who, they subscribe to the idea either you report the news the way we want you to report it, or we're gonna tag some, what we think negative sign on you."

- CBS's Dan Rather, CNBC's *Rivera Live*, May 21, 2001.

• "I think there is a mainstream media. CNN is mainstream media, and the main, ABC, CBS, NBC are mainstream media. And I think it's just essentially to make the point that we are largely in the center without particular axes to grind, without ideologies which are represented in our daily coverage, at least certainly not on purpose."

– ABC's Peter Jennings, CNN's *Larry King Live*, May 15, 2001.

• "We can now safely conclude that this whole notion that the liberal media elite is coddling Bill Clinton and always plays to the Democrats is absurd. I mean the fact is who's been the undoing of Bill Clinton: *Newsweek* and the *Washington Post*, those raging conservative publications."

#### - Former New York Times and U.S. News reporter Steve Roberts on Lewinsky scandal coverage, CNN's Late Edition, February 1, 1998.

"Scholar after scholar has disputed, in studying the actual content of the press, what you've just blithely handed out that it's this left-wing media. That's a charge from the '50s. That's not the current press....The bias is a bias against politicians of all kinds, not a bias for one side or other."
 PBS's Ellen Hume reacting to Bob Novak's assertion the mainstream media are "tilted to the left." July 27, 1997 CNN's Reliable Sources.

• "There is no convincing evidence that journalists infect their stories — intentionally or otherwise — with their own political prejudices.... While a few studies suggest such a link, most are the handiwork of right-leaning groups and critics whose research methods can't withstand scrutiny....The credibility of the media is not suffering because of a liberal bias; it's suffering, in large part, because of the continuing charge of bias that has gone unanswered for too long."

- Everette Dennis, Senior VP of the Freedom Forum, in the January-February 1997 edition of ASNE's magazine, *The American Editor*.

"When you're talking about reporters, not columnists, I don't think there's any liberal bias. I don't think there really ever has been."

Los Angeles Times Senior Washington
 correspondent Jack Nelson on CNBC's Politics
 '96, March 9, 1996.

• "I'm all news, all the time. Full power, tall tower. I want to break in when news breaks out. That's my agenda. Now respectfully, when you start talking about a liberal agenda and all the, quote, liberal bias in the media, I quite frankly, and I say this respectfully but candidly to you, I don't know what you're talking about."

- Dan Rather to talk radio host Mike Rosen of KOA in Denver, November 28, 1995.

• "It's one of the great political myths, about press bias. Most reporters are interested in a story. Most reporters don't know whether they're Republican or Democrat, and vote every which way. Now, a lot of politicians would like you to believe otherwise, but that's the truth of the matter. I've worked around journalism all of my life...[and] most reporters, when you get to know them, would fall in the general category of kind of common-sense moderates."

- Dan Rather answering a caller's question about liberal bias on CBS's *Late Late Show with Tom Snyder*, February 8, 1995.

• "A liberal bias? I don't know what a liberal bias is. Do you mean we care about the poor, the sick, and the maimed? Do we care whether people are being shot every day on the streets of America? If that's liberal, so be it. I think it's everything that's good in life."

#### - UPI White House correspondent Helen Thomas on C-SPAN's *Journalists' Roundtable*, December 31, 1993.

"I watch probably as many talk shows, and as many interview shows, what George Bush calls the professional talking heads on Sundays, as anybody else. I actually think the bias, in the overall system, is from the center to the right."
 PBS's Bill Moyers on CNN's Larry King Live, November 2, 1992.

 "I don't think there is [a bias] at all. I think anyone who accuses the press of bias is acting in desperation, I think. I think the press has been much more aggressive and fair, in being, in going after both sides, and looking, than ever before."
 *New York Times* reporter Richard Berke on CNN's Larry King Live, October 16, 1992.

• "My reaction to that button ['Rather Biased'] and others, in part, is a button I bought yesterday that says 'Yeah, I'm In The Media, Screw You!'... Our role is not just to parrot what people say, it's to make people think. I think that sometimes I want to say to the electorate: 'Grow up!'"

Newsweek reporter Ginny Carroll on
 C-SPAN's Journalists' Roundtable, August 21, 1992.

# **JOURNALISTS ADMITTING LIBERAL BIAS**

• "I don't know if it's 95 percent...[but] there are enough [liberals] in the old media, not just in ABC, but in old media generally, that it tilts the coverage quite frequently, in many issues, in a liberal direction....It's an endemic problem. And again, it's the reason why for 40 years, conservatives have rightly felt that we did not give them a fair shake."

 ABC News political director Mark Halperin appearing on *The Hugh Hewitt Show*, October 30, 2006.

• "I believe it is true that a significant chunk of the press believes that Democrats are incompetent but good-hearted, and Republicans are very efficient but evil."

- Wall Street Journal political editor John Harwood on the April 23, 2005 Inside Washington.

• "Personally, I have a great affection for CBS News....But I stopped watching it some time ago. The unremitting liberal orientation finally became too much for me. I still check in, but less and less frequently. I increasingly drift to NBC News and Fox and MSNBC."

- Former CBS News President Van Gordon Sauter in an op-ed published January 13, 2005 in the *Los Angeles Times*.

• "Does anybody really think there wouldn't have been more scrutiny if this [CBS's bogus 60 *Minutes* National Guard story] had been about John Kerry?"

- Former 60 *Minutes* Executive Producer Don Hewitt at a January 10, 2005 meeting at CBS, as quoted by Chris Matthews later that day on MSNBC's *Hardball*.

 "I know a lot of you believe that most people in the news business are liberal. Let me tell you, I know a lot of them, and they were almost evenly divided this time. Half of them liked Senator Kerry; the other half hated President Bush."
 CBS's Andy Rooney on the November 7, 2004 60 Minutes. • "The media, I think, wants Kerry to win. And I think they're going to portray Kerry and Edwards ...as being young and dynamic and optimistic and all, there's going to be this glow about them that some, is going to be worth, collectively, the two of them, that's going to be worth maybe 15 points."

# - Newsweek's Evan Thomas on Inside Washington, July 10, 2004.

• "Of course it is....These are the social issues: gay rights, gun control, abortion and environmental regulation, among others. And if you think *The Times* plays it down the middle on any of them, you've been reading the paper with your eyes closed."

- New York Times Public Editor Daniel Okrent in a July 25, 2004 column asking, "Is The New York Times a Liberal Newspaper?"

■ Jack Cafferty: "The liberal talk radio station Air America debuts today....Does America need additional 'liberal' media outlet?..."

**Bill Hemmer:** "Why hasn't a liberal radio station or TV network never taken off before?" **Cafferty:** "We have them. Are you – did you just get off a vegetable truck from the South Bronx? They're everywhere.... What do they call this joint? The Clinton News Network."

- CNN's American Morning, March 31, 2004.

• "At ABC, people say 'conservative' the way people say 'child molester.'"

- ABC 20/20 co-anchor John Stossel to CNSNews.com reporter Robert Bluey, in a story posted January 28, 2004.

• "There is just no question that I, among others, have a liberal bias. I mean, I'm consistently liberal in my opinions. And I think some of the, I think Dan [Rather] is transparently liberal. Now, he may not like to hear me say that. I always agree with him, too, but I think he should be more careful."

- CBS's Andy Rooney on Bernard Goldberg's book, *Bias*, CNN's *Larry King Live*, June 5, 2002.

"Most of the time I really think responsible journalists, of which I hope I'm counted as one, leave our bias at the side of the table. Now it is true, historically in the media, it has been more of a liberal persuasion for many years. It has taken us a long time, too long in my view, to have vigorous conservative voices heard as widely in the media as they now are. And so I think yes, on occasion, there is a liberal instinct in the media which we need to keep our eye on, if you will."
 ABC anchor Peter Jennings on CNN's Larry King Live, April 10, 2002.

• "There is a liberal bias. It's demonstrable. You look at some statistics. About 85 percent of the reporters who cover the White House vote Democratic, they have for a long time. There is a, particularly at the networks, at the lower levels, among the editors and the so-called infrastructure, there is a liberal bias....[Then-ABC White House reporter] Brit Hume's bosses are liberal and they're always quietly denouncing him as being a right-wing nut."

#### – Newsweek's Evan Thomas on Inside Washington, May 12, 1996.

"Everybody knows that there's a liberal, that there's a heavy liberal persuasion among correspondents.....Anybody who has to live with the people, who covers police stations, covers county courts, brought up that way, has to have a degree of humanity that people who do not have that exposure don't have, and some people interpret that to be liberal. It's not a liberal, it's humanitarian and that's a vastly different thing."
 Former CBS Evening News anchor Walter Cronkite at the March 21, 1996 Radio & TV Correspondents Dinner.

• "The old argument that the networks and other 'media elites' have a liberal bias is so blatantly true that it's hardly worth discussing anymore. No, we don't sit around in dark corners and plan strategies on how we're going to slant the news. We don't have to. It comes naturally to most reporters."

- Then-CBS reporter Bernard Goldberg in a February 13, 1996 *Wall Street Journal* op-ed.

• "The group of people I'll call The Press — by which I mean several dozen political journalists of my acquaintance... — was of one mind as the season's first primary campaign shuddered toward its finish. I asked each of them, one after another, this question: If you were a New Hampshire Democrat, whom would you vote for? The answer was always the same; and the answer was always Clinton. In this group, in my experience, such unanimity is unprecedented..... Several told me they were convinced that Clinton is the most talented presidential candidate they have ever encountered, JFK included."

#### - New Republic Senior Editor Hendrik Hertzberg, March 9, 1992 issue.

• "Coverage of the [1992] campaign vindicated exactly what conservatives have been saying for years about liberal bias in the media. In their defense, journalists say that though they may have their personal opinions, as professionals they are able to correct for them when they write. Sounds nice, but I'm not buying any."

- Former *Newsweek* reporter Jacob Weisberg in *The New Republic*, November 23, 1992.

• "There is no such thing as objective reporting...I've become even more crafty about finding the voices to say the things I think are true. That's my subversive mission."

- Boston Globe environmental reporter Dianne Dumanoski at an Utne Reader symposium, quoted by Micah Morrison in the July 1990 American Spectator.

• "I do have an axe to grind...I want to be the little subversive person in television."

- Barbara Pyle, CNN Environmental Editor and Turner Broadcasting Vice President for Environmental Policy, as quoted by David Brooks in the July 1990 *American Spectator*.

"As the science editor at *Time* I would freely admit that on this issue we have crossed the boundary from news reporting to advocacy."
 *Time* Science Editor Charles Alexander at a September 16, 1989 global warming conference, as quoted by David Brooks in an October 5, 1989 Wall Street Journal column.