

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE EVENTS IN THE
FORMER YUGOSLAVIA COVERAGE BY
THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE TIMES
OF LONDON FROM JANUARY 1990

THROUGH MAY 1994

BY

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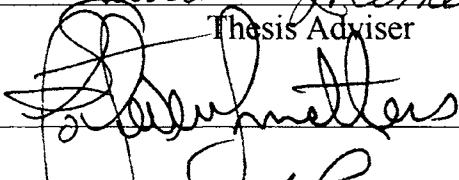
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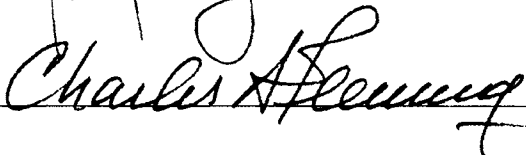
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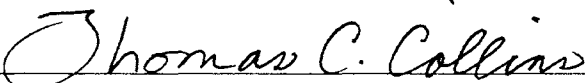
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PREFACE

This is a case study using content analysis. The primary objectives were to find out how two Western newspapers, The New York Times and The Times of London presented the general coverage about the events in the former Yugoslavia, from January 1990 through May 1994. The study focused on what types of bias both newspapers presented in their news stories.

It would be difficult to complete this study without the help of many people.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

General

Today nations have closer contact than ever, and their relationships are far more complicated than they were a century ago, due to the advanced communication and technology of the late twentieth century. Steady and continuous flow of populations from one area to the other has transformed major local problems such as political instability, wars and governments falling from power into international problems. The end of the Cold War in the early 1990s in Eastern Europe has shown that different nations are directly affected by the problems of other nations. Relationships have changed too; they have become stronger (like the one between West Germany and East Germany which merged into one country after the Cold War) and weaker (like the one in the former Yugoslavia which split into many independent small states after the Cold War). Such relationships are vivid examples of the strongest and weakest relationships among different nations in the former socialist countries.

The press, radio, television, satellite and computers have made possible the fast flow of information about the breakdown of the former communist governments in an extremely short time. This information has changed the world and has made it more dependent. Nations are no longer framed in only one source of information and their cultures interact easily toward global issues.

However, there is still disagreement when it comes to how strong the effects of mass communication are and how they affect the information receivers' perception and behavior. It has been found that the influence of mass media on people's images of reality increases when people have no direct experience with the subjects of those images.¹

In the USA and Great Britain there are only few people who have direct experience with and have some relation to information about the former Yugoslavia in

early 1990s. Because of the lack of direct experience with the country reported in the news media, not all people of these countries receive full information. The foreign correspondents who produce the news for the Western audiences (American and British) write their stories from a Western perspective. They primarily cover the most important foreign news keeping their country's national interests and policy objectives in mind.² Thus, when the audiences of the Western world receive the information about foreign countries like the former Yugoslavia, they form opinions according to the way the news is being reported by their journalists and sources.

Background on Yugoslavia in the early 1990s

Once the leading reformer in Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia was in the early 1990s a conspicuous laggard, still communist although communism was crumbling all around. After the parties of two major republics of Slovenia and Croatia searched for independence from Belgrade the Yugoslavs still had a sense of humor, "If only we had said Yes to Stalin back in 1948, instead of resisting him, we would have been free today."³

A special congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party was on the verge of a split in January 21, 1990, after a noisy debate between Serbian and Slovenian delegations over party reforms. A closed-door meeting of an irritated 150-member Slovene delegation took place toward the end of a day of attacks by Serbian delegates on any move to decentralize the party.

The country's most liberal republics, Slovenia and Croatia, were opting by January of 1990 for pluralism. The two republics were moving to multiple party politics. Their communist parties voted at congresses in Ljubljana and Zagreb in December to allow other parties to compete with them. The local party leaders argued, under the influence of the revolutions elsewhere in Eastern Europe, that sharing the power with non-communists was the only way for Communists to survive.

Slovenia led the destruction of the Communists' control, with the appearance in 1990 of the first so-called "alternative" movements. Croatia started later but it looked like it was overtaking Slovenia in the liveliness of its politics: by 1990 13 parties were founded, including a Croatian Peasant party.

The liberalism of the Slovenians and Croatians offended the Communist leaders in Serbia, the largest of Yugoslavia's six republics. Its president, Slobodan Miloshevic, "showed that it was still possible to win power in the old-fashioned way. The 82 % of the votes he won in an election in Serbia in November of 1989 showed a fair reflection of his popularity among his fellow-Serbs."⁴

Miloshevic reckoned that he could destroy most of his Serbs opponents without formally banning them. But the non-Serbs (Hungarian minority) in the north of Serbia, in the autonomous province of Vojvodina, set up a party of their own. The Hungarians living there were worried about their future under the rule of Miloshevic. In the southwest, the Albanians of Kosovo silently opposed his leadership.

Miloshevic made it clear that his nationalism would be the main feature of his party. The important question was how long could his nationalism and western-style democracy coexist in the same nation. Yugoslavia would later find that it was hard to stay united.

On March 30, 1990, the Croats and the Slovenes did not come to the Central Committee which was supposed to meet in Belgrade. The two groups attended in Ljubljana a conference of parties from the Alpen-Adria regional group (which also included parts of Italy, Austria, Germany and Hungary). The Bosnian members came, but left immediately, as did most of the Macedonians. "The Serbs were left alone with the Montenegrins and representatives from Kosovo and Vojvodina, provinces under the rule of Serbia." Yugoslavia started the process of breaking up. People hoped "everything would not end up in tears and Yugoslavia might be like a Switzerland-in-the-Balkans."⁵

Croatia and Slovenia did not have ruling communist parties, as they had elected non-communist governments. Bosnia, too, elected a non-communist government. Multi-

party politics were accepted by Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Bosnia. But the Serbs hated the idea of not having Yugoslavia together under their communist rule.

Miloshevic stretched his leadership over the two autonomous provinces: Kosovo, (with about 90 % ethnic Albanians), and Vojvodina, (with a Hungarian majority). In a free election Kosovo's leaders refused to be ruled by Belgrade. Anti-Belgrade feeling in Vojvodina, though less strong than in Kosovo, was "reinvigorated by the heavy-handed behavior of the Miloshevic carpet-baggers. Thus, an idea of a 'Swiss model' looked impossible in the Yugoslavia of 1990. It would not only be difficult to build a Balkan equivalent of Switzerland in a place torn by many national hatreds and rivalries but also it was a long way from Belgrade to Bern."⁶

On October 1, 1990 the local Serbs of Croatia proclaimed an "autonomous region," and in December 9, 1990, the Serbs (of Serbia) and the Montenegrins voted to keep the so-called Socialists in power. But ethnic Albanians from Kosovo boycotted the election because Albanian parties were not allowed to register.

On June 25, 1991, first Croatia and then Slovenia declared their independence. Both republics had held "referendums on the subject during the winter of 1990-1991. Both referendums had yielded huge majorities in favor of independence, unless it proved possible to negotiate a looser Yugoslav confederation in which the republics would be sovereign states."⁷

Soon after independence was declared, Yugoslav tanks tried to advance in Slovenia. The army managed to take most border crossings, but later many Yugoslav units found themselves cut off from their supply lines. The Slovenian minister of defense said that trapped armored columns could only retreat without their arms. The Slovenian territorials were a reserve force, created to bolster the Yugoslav army in case of an enemy invasion. They could muster 68,000 men, but had only light arms for 40,000.⁸ The territorials described themselves afterward as soldiers in the Slovenian army.

Croatia was the next target of the Yugoslav army. On October 7, 1991 the Croat presidential palace in Zagreb was hit. The pro-Serb Yugoslav army had bombarded medieval Zadar and the outskirts of Zagreb. In October 2, 1991 reserve units from the republic of Montenegro thrust across the Croatian border. As they advanced, they burnt

fields and forests, and destroyed houses, restaurants and cars, leaving villages almost entirely in ruins.⁹

The Montenegrins took in supplies by looting the duty-free shop of Dubrovnik's captured airport. In all the Balkan wars' history, "never had a Montenegrin army rolled on such expensive Swiss chocolate, Scotch whisky and fine cigars."¹⁰

The Croats' enemies (Serbs) were bitter because no one else believed they were fighting to save themselves from what they claimed to be re-emerging fascism. "They were victims of fascism, but their sufferings did not make them noble. 'I would torture the Ustashe just as they tortured my father,' a Serb said, asserting that the Ustashe ripped out his father's eyes during World War II because he was one of those who took up arms against the Ustashe with Tito's Communist partisans,"¹¹ the forerunners of the federal Yugoslav army.

Serbs claimed that the Ustashe murdered between 250,000 and one million people at Jasenovac. Croat historians, including Croatian president Franjo Tudjman, said that no more than 60,000 people died in Croatian concentration camps. Croats also stressed that Serbs and Communists butchered thousands of innocent Croats in retaliatory atrocities.

Yugoslavia's population was only put at 24 million. At the end of December 1991, local Red Cross societies had registered more than 600,000 Croat refugees (technically, they were "displaced persons," because they were still in their country of origin). The mission for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Belgrade reckoned the true number of people displaced by the war could have been as high as one million.¹²

Finally the European Community (EC) foreign ministers announced on January 15, 1992, they would give diplomatic recognition to Yugoslavia's four republics. The pair were Croatia and Slovenia (the other two republics not recognized yet were Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia).

In neighboring Bosnia and Herzegovina, there was no predominant nationality. Its 4.3 million people were divided between those describing themselves as Muslims (44%), Serbs (33%), and Croats (17%). Bosnia was an old entity which survived

different events of the Balkans' history. In 1875, when Bosnia was still Ottoman territory, trouble erupted and later provoked war across the Balkans. In 1914, when Bosnia became an Austro-Hungarian province, the assassination in Sarajevo of Archduke Franz Ferdinand by a Bosnian Serb started World War I.

In 1990, the violence between Muslims, the largest ethnic group, and Serbs, the second largest group was rising in the run-up to the republic's election on November 18th.¹³ The November 18, 1990, multi-party election showed a tilt leaning toward Yugoslavia's democratic north (Croatia and Slovenia) and not toward its authoritarian south (Serbia). The third largest group in Bosnia, the Croats, were on the Muslims' side. On March 1, 1992, the Muslims and Bosnian's Croats voted for independence in the referendum. Although the Bosnian Serbs chose to stay in Yugoslavia, more than 99% of those (Muslims and Croats) who did vote chose independence.

It was not meant to be. When the EC (April 1992) decided to recognize Bosnia, the Bosnian Serbs together with the Yugoslav army started to attack Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, with mortars. On the eve of the EC decision, Bosnian TV showed a film about Beirut. In one scene a foreigner, seeing a wrecked building, asked what it was. "Used to be Holiday Inn," grunted her Muslim militia escort.¹⁴

Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Muslims fled in terror. If the Serbs could control the eastern areas where Muslims were once in a majority, the Serbs could link "their" areas in the north and south. Then they could unite the regions with the Serb-controlled areas in Croatia and Serbia proper. The result would be to realize the old dream of "Greater Serbia." Hitler talked of "resettling" Jews in his newly conquered eastern territories. In Bosnia and Croatia the phrase was "ethnic cleansing." It meant that hundreds of thousands of people who happened to be of the wrong nationality in the wrong place (where their families had lived for centuries) should run for their lives.¹⁵ In

order to encourage the Muslim residents to leave their villages, the Serbs would ignite everything and burn their homes to the ground.

The war which started in former Yugoslavia (1991) was a war about land. To have access to the Adriatic sea and control a larger area was the Serbs' dream. They could have it only if they had the Croat and Bosnian territories under their power. War was still going on in Bosnia in the mid-1994, leaving behind thousands of homeless and dead people of all ages. The EC rule in Bosnia has been: "Improvise, compromise and cross your fingers."¹⁶ All parts involved in the war should have learned enduring lessons from the conflict when there was hope of avoiding others like it. Bosnia's problem reached the London conference of August 1992, the Geneva ministerial talks of December-January 1992-1993, the Washington agreement of May 1993, the NATO ultimatum of February 1994. But nothing avoided the war's bloodshed.

Studies on media bias

The war in the former Yugoslavia attracted journalists from all over the world. Many news stories and different opinions were written and broadcast around the world. Consequently, the articles and the opinions expressed the viewpoints and backgrounds of the journalists and reflected different theories of the press.

According to William A. Hachten's work, The World News Prism: Changing Media of International Communication, based on Siebert, Peterson and Schramm's, Four Theories of the Press there are five concepts of the press which are found in the twentieth century. They are: Authoritarian, Western (for the purposes of this transitional comparison of press systems, the Libertarian and Social Responsibility theories are both included within the Western concept), Communist, Revolutionary, and Developmental.¹⁷

The author of this research study examined three out of five concepts, the Western, Communist, and Developmental concepts of press.

According to Hachten's concepts, what one journalist considers to be truthful, objective reporting can be bent into what other journalists elsewhere in the world consider to be distortion or propaganda. Hachten said that despite the impressive technological expertise, political differences and cultural conflicts prevent the international news process from working smoothly and harmoniously.¹⁸

More and faster news communication across national borders does not automatically lead to better understanding; often it results in enmity and distrust, since the profound cultural and social differences that characterize the world community preclude agreement on what is legitimate news. One man's truth is another man's propaganda.¹⁹ The powerful ability of mass communication to expose, criticize, denigrate and mislead or propagandize is often recognized and feared.

In 1965, Dr. John C. Merrill, a professor of journalism at the University of Missouri, found that Time used six categories of bias to stereotype Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy. The author of the study investigated the techniques used by the magazine.

The six bias categories set up were: attribution bias, adjective bias, adverbial bias, contextual bias, outright opinion, and photographic bias. In considering these categories, as they related to the 30 issues of Time studied, instances of bias were noted either as *positive* (favorable) or as *negative* (unfavorable).

The categories of bias explained by John Merrill were:

Attribution Bias designates bias which stems from the magazine's means of attributing information to the President. In other words, this is bias which is contained in synonym for the word "said" used by the magazine.²⁰

Adjective Bias is a type which, like attribution bias attempts to build up an impression of the person described; this is accomplished by using adjectives, favorable or unfavorable, in connection with the person.²¹

Adverbial Bias depends on qualifiers or magnifiers-adverbs to create an impression in the reader's mind. Often this adverbial bias is a sort of reinforcing of another bias expression already present (e.g., when an adverb reinforces an attribution bias as in this case: "He barked sarcastically.")²²

Contextual Bias can not be notated in neat lists. It is the bias in whole sentences or paragraphs or in other units of meaning, even an entire story. The person is to present the person reported on in a favorable or an unfavorable light by the overall meaning of the report, not by specific words and phrases alone. The whole context must be considered.²³

Outright Opinion, is the most blatant and obvious type of bias or subjectivity in newswriting. The expression of opinion by the publication might be called "presenting a judgment," which S. I. Hayakawa says should be kept out of reports.²⁴ Hayakawa defines "judgments" as "all expressions of the writer's approval or disapproval of the occurrences, persons, or objects he is describing." Readers do not expect to find the judgments or opinions of the writer in a newspaper or a news-magazine except in a signed column or editorial.

Photographic Bias might possibly result from inability to get other photographs or from no real desire to prejudice the reader.²⁵ In other words, the bias could be unintentional, although is not considered in the treatment of this or any other category, for there is no real way to know the intention. Relevant questions may be include: What overall impression does the photograph give? How are the people presented in the picture-dignified, undignified, angry, happy, calm, sad, nervous? What does the caption imply?

In 1979, Fedler, Meeske and Hall published research which reexamined the techniques of bias that Merrill examined in 1965. The researchers found that Time used the same techniques and continued favoring the Republican presidents.²⁶ Merrill, who analyzed the stereotypes that Time presented of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower and

Kennedy, found that Time favored only the Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower and was often harshly critical of Truman.²⁷ At the same time, the attitude of the magazine toward President Kennedy appeared to be more neutral and moderate.

Since Merrill's study was published in 1965, the editors of Time had insisted that their magazine had become fairer, and the Wall Street Journal had reported that, "Even critics concede that Time's political coverage now is more balanced than in its anti-Truman and pro-Eisenhower days."²⁸ Nevertheless, other developments, including Time's coverage of the war in Vietnam, tended to contradict observations about the magazine's growing impartiality.²⁹ David Halberstam said that Time's neutrality toward President Kennedy during the 1960 election resulted from the temporary absence of managing editor Otto Fuerbringer.³⁰ When Fuerbringer returned to work after a serious illness, Kennedy himself sensed an immediate and more hostile tone in the articles published by Time.

In 1983, Fedler, Smith and Meeske compared the Time and Newsweek coverage of John F., Robert, and Edward Kennedy. The researchers found that the magazines favored the former but criticized the latter two.³¹

In her study "The image of Nicolae Ceausescu, former President of Romania, as presented by Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report during the 1989 Romanian Revolution," Keqin Jiang found that the image of Nicolae Ceausescu portrayed by the above magazines confirmed Herbert J. Altschull's market (or capitalist) model in which media support capitalist doctrine, but failed to support the idea that media in the capitalist countries inform in a non-political way and serve the people impartially in the model as well.³²

This research examined how the major representatives of print media in USA and England, The New York Times and The Times of London, covered the war in former Yugoslavia from early 1990 to May 1994.

Statement of Problem

The New York Times and The Times of London are two important print media in two of the most industrialized countries in the world. They are models of the Western concept of the media, but they have their differences as well. The author of this research hypothesized the coverage of the war in former Yugoslavia by these two newspapers would be similar.

The research examined these questions: Was there any difference between the two newspapers in the frequency of favorable/positive types of bias overall? Was there any difference between the two newspapers in the frequency of unfavorable/negative types of bias overall? Was there any difference between The New York Times and The Times of London in the overall frequency and types of bias? Did the news stories in the two newspapers reflect any political bias and opinionated reporting toward the war in the former Yugoslavia?

Purpose

The assumption of this study is that both newspapers, The New York Times and The Times of London, have presented different types of bias in their news coverage of the former Yugoslavia.

The author of this research selected these two newspapers because of their record and accessibility. Both newspapers were important representatives of the press in both countries. Since the author of this research came from a former socialist country with a communist doctrine of the press, she wanted to compare two Western newspapers on the topic of the former Yugoslavia. The purpose of this study was to examine the coverage in the light of the Western doctrine of responsibility of the press.

Research Objectives and Method

Different studies of the news media's coverage of foreign news using content analysis have been conducted to compare and examine the world's different events presented by the United States newspapers and those of other countries.

Newspapers stand among the major information channels for internationally-oriented government, diplomats, business leaders and university professors. Newspapers like other means of print media help the above deal with new political, economical and cultural events at certain times of history. The New York Times and The Times of London serve their readers with sections of foreign news in each issue. These newspapers provide information not only for the audiences in the USA and Great Britain, but also for the audiences outside these two countries.

Although newspapers and other print media are highly respected, they may still present problems when they use different techniques of bias in interpretation for their reader.

The research questions to be answered are the following:

- a. Was there any difference between the newspapers in the frequency of favorable types of bias overall?
- b. Was there any difference between the newspapers in the frequency of unfavorable of bias overall?
- c. Was there any difference between The New York Times and The Times of London in the overall frequency and types of bias?
- d. Did the news stories in the two newspapers reflect any political bias and opinionated reporting toward the war in the former Yugoslavia?

Significance of the Study

This research tries to examine possible bias of the coverage in the events of the former Yugoslavia. Since The New York Times and The Times of London are two major print media in two different Western countries, it is useful to assess the level of coverage.

Using content analysis, this research tries to help its readers discern the coverage perception of an historical event in Eastern Europe. The study tries to explain the responsibilities and objectivity of these print media.

The research uses a content analysis in looking at the war in the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

The scope of the study tries to explain if two newspapers of different countries such as The New York Times of USA and The Times of London had different types of bias while they covered the war in the former Yugoslavia.

Both newspapers did not have much coverage about the situation in the former Yugoslavia before 1990, so the author decided to begin the comparison after the coverage of the civil war began.

A limitation of the study is that it only examines the coverage of the war in former Yugoslavia in the international pages of the two newspapers. There was little coverage and sporadic news stories at the beginning of 1990 since there were no events happening in Yugoslavia.

The other limitation of the study is that it does not investigate every news story published in The New York Times and The Times of London in the time period of four and a half years (January 1990-May 1994). The explanation is that in September 1990

the situation in former Yugoslavia started to get complicated. Both newspapers started covering the event almost every month. Since there was a lot of coverage of the event, the author decided to take as a sample for this study one news story per each month. The sample of this study included 50 news stories from The New York Times and 50 news stories from The Times of London.

Organization of the Study

Chapter II is a literature review of what other research studies have said about history, politics, theory and press performance about reporting.

Chapter III is about the methodology of the research study.

Chapter IV includes the findings of the research and their discussion.

Chapter V is a summary of the research study; it includes conclusions and recommendations for future research studies.

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CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The introduction includes two parts. The first covers two topics: The Formation of the Yugoslav State, Different Republics and Religions in the Yugoslav Country. The second part gives an account of three areas: Foreign Policy of the US toward the former Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia as Part of Europe, The Media and the War, Freedom of the Press, Objectivity and Journalists. There is a Summary which follows.

The Formation of the Yugoslav State

The area bounded by the rivers Soca and Timok, by lakes Palic and Prespa is the land of the former Yugoslavia. It was only more than a scant half-century that it had been known by one name, Yugoslavia - the land of the Southern Slavs, and it has been more than a thousand years since the idea of a single land and community was made manifest by an uprising which broke out in 819 in the Croatian Sava Basin.

The Turks gave it the term "Balkan" which suggested a barren land marked mainly by high roads and oriental caravanserais and settlements.¹ C.L. Sulzberger in his book, A Long Row of Candles, wrote:

The Balkans run roughly from the Danube to the Dardanelles,....and is a term for the little lands of Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and part of Turkey,....It is, or was, a gay peninsula filled with sprightly people....who loved and murdered easily and had a splendid talent for starting wars. Less imaginative westerners looked down on them with secret envy,

sniffing at their royalty, scoffing at their pretensions, and fearing their savage terrorists. Karl Marx called them '*ethnic trash*.' I, as a footloose youngster in my twenties, adored them.²

In the region of the former Yugoslavia, there was a civilization before the Turks conquered and imposed their civilization. The great Seljuk invasion of Christendom took place in the fourteenth century, an invasion of hordes with the horses which brought in and eventually took them away again. The land of the medieval arts was turned into an Ottoman province, walled in against the world and progress, lasting for about five centuries. Europe never united enough to turn back the Turkish conquerors, even though the Turks reached Vienna's gates twice.

It was not till 1878 that the Turkish flag "ceased to fly over the principal city of the Yugoslav lands, although since 1815 the flag had been but a formality," and it was not till 1918 that the Turks invasion was over.³

According to Rebecca West in Black Lamb and Grey Falcon; A Journey through Yugoslavia, the Slavs were a people:

quarrelsome, courageous, artistic, intellectual, and profoundly perplexing to all other peoples, who came from Asia into the Balkan Peninsula early in the Christian era and were Christianized by the Byzantine influence,.... they founded kingdomsin Bulgaria, Serbia, and Bosnia, but these were overthrown when the Turks invaded Europe in the fourteenth century.⁴

The extent of the Turks invasion did not reach the Slavs on western borders of the Balkans. They were Croats, Slovenes, Slovaks, Czechs and Dalmatians under the control of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This empire subordinated them because they felt the Slavs were able to compete with their intelligence against the German and Austrian labor. In the nineteenth century, Serbia and Bulgaria threw off the Turkish control and

established their free states. Fearing that the Slav population would seek liberty under the protection of Russia, the Austro-Hungarian Empire created economic and social penalties for the Slav populations and they also tried to destroy their languages as well.

In his classic A Short History of Yugoslavia, Stephen Clissold said that to the Southern Slavs “the most important feature of the twentieth century was the change in the Serbian regime. The dynasty of Karageorgevic came once more to the throne” (1903).⁵ Thus, the contrast between the Serbians’ democracy and the rule of the Austro-Hungarian empire became more distinguishable. The Southern Slavs felt they could win and liberate themselves in the same way as the Serbs had. Yugoslav ideas were in the air, and Serbia was accused of pan-Serb aspirations in the Balkans.⁶

The interaction between the domestic policy of Austro-Hungary and the South Slavs was inevitable inside and outside the empire. Serbia was blocking the expansion to the southeast. The dream of the Germans and Austrians to penetrate economically into Turkey and beyond was prevented by the outbreak of the war in 1914.

A possibility was to maintain the status quo, which could not happen if one considered the nature of the South Slavs who resisted. Thus, it was difficult for the empire to exterminate a whole nationality.

To the “Old Radical” party of Serbia a solution was a “Greater Serbia,” including all the Southern Slavs with Orthodox religion under their rule. They wanted to include in their territories Montenegro, southern Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, eastern Croatia and southern Hungary.

- The last possibility was a union between the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in a Yugoslav "South Slav" state.⁷ This would realize the dream of the nineteenth century idealists.

The breakout of the 1914-18 wars brought out the Serbian army, which backed the Austro-Hungarians, across the frontier in 1914. The Serbian and the Montenegrin armies supplemented by volunteer Yugoslav Legions held the border of Salonica and shared in the final Allied victory over Bulgaria. During the same time a coalition was formed between the Serbs and the Croats in Zagreb.

During the meeting of the Austrian parliament in May 1917, the leaders decided to put forward an open claim for the union of the Yugoslav lands of the monarchy in a single free state under the Habsburg scepter, "surpressing any reference to the completion of that union by the addition of Serbia and Montenegro."⁸

The Yugoslav committee established its headquarters and put forward manifestos claiming independence. In the Geneva conference of November 9, 1918, a declaration was signed constituting the new Yugoslav state, which had a population of about 12 million people, four-fifths of whom were supported by agriculture.

The parts of the new state included the independent kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia-Slavonia which possessed some measure of "Home Rule" under Hungary, Dalmatia (an Austrian province), Carniola (part of Styria, a small corner of Carinthia and two small fragments of Istria-all former Austrian provinces), Baranja, Backa, and the western portion of the Banat (together with the districts of Prekomurje

and Medjumurje-all formerly integral parts of Hungary), Bosnia and Herzegovina (formerly administered jointly by Austria and Hungary).⁹

Different Republics and Religions in the Yugoslav Country

The Slavs who entered the lands of the western Balkans by about A.D. 650 included three groups. In the north there were the Slovenes, who seemed to have been the first to arrive. In the south there were the Croats and the Serbs. The differences between the last two were not very distinguishable, but with the passing of time, they became more emphasized by historical and cultural differences.

The Slovenes and the Croats came under western Roman Catholicism whereas the Serbs came under the Eastern Orthodox religion. The Slovenes spoke a different language from that of the Serbs and the Croats who spoke the same language called Serbo-Croat. However, the Serbs used a Cyrillic alphabet, and the Croats used the Latin one. Differences occurred in the Serb-Croat language in its construction and dialect according to different parts of the country.

“The Serbs and the Croats were as regards race and language, originally one people, the two names having merely geographical signification,” wrote the British expert Nevill Forbes in a classic 1915 study of the Balkans. “Were it not originally for the religion there would be little basis for Serb-Croat enmity,”¹⁰ said Robert Kaplan in his 1993 study of the region, Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History .

Kaplan also observed that the Western and Eastern Orthodox religions viewed life and people differently from each other. The first put an emphasis on the intellectual part

of life, such as writing and community work, whereas the second religions put an emphasis on beauty and magic of life. The Eastern Orthodox religion viewed work almost as a complication, since it kept people from adoring the beauty.

Kaplan in his interviews quoted a Catholic from Croatia who said:

When I entered the Yugoslav army, I met Serbs for the first time in my life. They told me that a traditional Serbian wedding lasts for four days....One day is enough. After that you should go back to work. The Serb struck me as weird, irrational, like Gypsies. They actually liked the army....Belgrade's the Third World. I feel much closer to Vienna.¹¹

The greatest incitement to anti-Serb feeling in Croatia came from the Roman Catholic Church, which favored the Catholic Croats to be under the rule of the Catholic Austrians and Hungarians. The Croats did not prefer to live in a state dominated by the Eastern Orthodox Serbs, who for "historic-religious reasons were related to the Bolshevist Russians."¹²

Bosnia, geographically, was very close to Croatia. Robert Kaplan spoke of Bosnia as a "morass of ethnically mixed villages in the mountains. Bosnia was rural, isolated and full of suspicions and hatreds to a degree that the sophisticated Croats of Zagreb could barely imagine." According to Kaplan, in Bosnia the great number of Muslims was a very complicated matter. Originally they were Slavs, either Serbs or Croats. The Turks converted them into Islam in the late Middle Ages and their Islamic religion gradually became synonymous with their ethnic identity.

"Bosnia did have one sophisticated urban center however; Sarajevo, where Croats, Serbs, Muslims and Jews had traditionally lived together in reasonable harmony.

But the villages around were full of savage hatreds, leavened by poverty and alcoholism,” said Kaplan.¹³

Kaplan also accounted for another piece of the Balkan puzzle, Macedonia. It is the inspiration for the French word for “mixed salad” (macedoine), and defined the principal illness of the Balkans: conflicting dreams of lost empires. Both Greece and Bulgaria wanted to include Macedonia in their borders. In the fourth century B.C., Philip of Macedon and his son, Alexander the Great, established a kingdom in Macedonia, and this was the reason the Greeks thought Macedonia was theirs. But because at the end of the tenth century the Bulgarians under King Samuel extended their borders to the Adriatic shores, the Bulgarians thought Macedonia was theirs. The Serbs believed Macedonia belonged to them, because one of their kings in the fourteenth century was crowned Emperor and Autocrat of the Serbs and Byzantines (in Skopje one Easter Sunday).¹⁴

Journalist John Reed wrote in 1919 about how the Greeks and the Serbs tried to wipe out Bulgarian influence in Macedonia after the First Balkan War:

A thousand Greek and Serbian publicists began to fill the world with their shouting about the essentially Greek or Serbian character of the populations of their different spheres. The Serbs gave the unhappy Macedonians twenty-four hours to renounce their nationality and proclaim themselves Serbs, and the Greeks did the same. Refusal meant murder....Bulgarian school-teachers were shot....Bulgarian priests given the choice of death or conversion....The Greek army entered villages where no one spoke their language. “What do you mean by speaking Bulgarian?” cried the officers.¹⁵

In the early 1990s Macedonia declared its independence from Yugoslavia and formally renounced all claims to Greek territory. Greece demanded that Macedonia

change its name in order to receive official recognition from Greece.¹⁶ The Greek scholar Kofos wrote that “Macedonianism was an invention of Tito to serve as a cultural buttress against Bulgaria, which coveted the area.” According to Kofos, this part of former Yugoslavia was actually southern Serbia. Probably this was true, but these Slavs considered themselves Macedonians, neither Serbs nor Greeks.¹⁷

The outcome of this confusion was that the Balkans had, in the 1990s, reverted to the same system of alliances that existed in 1913, at the time of the Second Balkan War: Greece, Serbia, and Romania (Romania shared water resources and a western border with Serbia, thus it did not like to agitate Belgrade) versus Bulgaria and the Slavs of Macedonia.¹⁸

Zlatko Blajer, the editor-in-chief of Večer (evening), Skopje’s biggest daily newspaper ..., is quoted in Balkan Ghosts:

We are a weak, new nation surrounded by old enemies. Several nations could come to war here as they did at the beginning of the century.... As Yugoslavia fell apart, Macedonia again became a power vacuum. And don’t forget that we are a quiet Kosovo: twenty-three percent of Macedonia’s population is actually Albanian, and their birth rate is much higher than ours. We face the same fate as the Serbs in their historical homeland.¹⁹

The more unclear and incomprehensible the hatred, and the smaller the national groups involved, the longer and more complicated the plot seemed to expand.²¹

Robert Kaplan recalled in his Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History:

On every trip to Belgrade, I paid a visit to Milovan Djilas....our conversations became eerie affairs, because I realized that Djilas was always

right. He was able to predict the future. His technique was a simple one for an East European, but a difficult one for an American: he seemed to ignore the daily newspapers and think purely historically. The present for him was merely a stage of the past moving quickly into the future.²⁰

Djilas was one of Tito's top wartime lieutenants in the guerrilla struggle against the Nazis and he became vice-president of post-World War II Yugoslavia. In the early 1950s, Djilas started to doubt Tito's ideas. When he demanded to democratize the system "*perestroika* three decades before its time," he was put into prison for nine years. In his prison cell, Djilas wrote The New Class and other critiques of Communism that became dissident classics.²¹ Djilas was a famous dissident intellectual in the records of post communist Eastern Europe, "the grand old man of dissent before the world had ever heard of Lech Walesa."²²

In early 1989, Europe started to worry about Yugoslavia, and especially about the new Serbian hard-liner. Djilas's mind was already in the 1990s:

Miloshevic's authoritarianism in Serbia is provoking real separation. Remember what Hegel said, that history repeats itself as tragedy and farce. What I mean to say is that when Yugoslavia disintegrates this time around, there will be national wars and rebellions. There is such strong hate here.²³

Kaplan described the Serbs pillars of fire "crowd symbols" which were linked to their national and historical attitude. The first pillar presented the medieval monasteries, safeboxes of art and magic, the second one presented Kosovo Polje, the 'Field of Black Birds,' where the Turks defeated the Serbs on June 28, 1389.²⁴

In the 1990 book of the retold story of Albania, by Elez Biberaj, Albania: A Socialist Maverick, the author explained what Kosovo really was. Kosovo had played an important role in the nationalist movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and in the struggle that led to the proclamation of Albania's independence in 1912. The Serbs were able to control Kosovo and annex it from Albania with the sanction of the Great Powers.²⁵

Kosovo has had a tormenting history under the Yugoslavs who considered Albanians to be outsiders. The Yugoslavs made great efforts to break down the history of Albanian culture and society. The Serbian and Montenegrin armies committed "large-scale atrocities against the indigenous population."²⁶

Kosovars retained a strong sense of nationalism, and armed resistance against the Serbs. Belgrade pursued a policy of colonialism,...the use of the Albanian language was prohibited, and Albanians were forced to change their names by adding the Serbian suffixes -vic and -ic.²⁷

The Serbian scholar Radosin Rajevic, described Albanians as people who "did not even enjoy the most elementary national and civic rights."²⁸ The Yugoslavs not only considered Albanians "second-class citizens," but also a separate and distinct nation from their conationals in Albania, although Albanians on both sides of the border considered themselves a single nation.²⁹

Yugoslav authorities maintained that Albanians in Yugoslavia, who were not permitted contacts with their mother country, were being socialized in the 'self-management' system and in the spirit of *bratstvo i jedinstvo* (brotherhood and unity) and would eventually develop a new

national consciousness.³⁰

In early 1980s, Belgrade refused to grant Kosove republican status with its potential of long-term stability. According to the April 1981 census, there were about 1,730,000 Albanians in Yugoslavia, of whom 1,227,424 lived in Kosove, 377,000 in Macedonia, 72,432 in Serbia proper, and 37,735 in Montenegro.³¹ On the national level, the Albanians in 1981 had already outnumbered the Macedonians (1,340,000) and the Montenegrins (577,298), and were rapidly catching up to the Slovenes (1,750,000) and ethnic Moslems (2,000,000). Proportionally, there were more Albanians in Kosove (77.5 %) than Croatians (75 %), Macedonians (67 %), and Montenegrins (68.5 %) in their respective republics.³² However, when the Albanians of Kosove requested from Yugoslav government their right to become a republic, a Belgrade sponsored-media was launched against the Albanians, with public attacks against their history, culture, and heritage.³³

Albanian nationalists were accused of attempting to create an 'ethnically pure' Kosove, which eventually would be incorporated into a 'Greater Albania,'issues as education in the Albanian language, Albanian textbooks,became subjects of dispute. The main target of criticism became.....the Albanian intelligentsia.³⁴

When Slobodan Miloshevic came to power in fall 1988, he intensified the campaign to bring Kosove under Serbia's total control. Through the manipulation of mass street gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins and various pressures, Miloshevic pushed for constitutional changes to "enable Serbia to constitute itself as a republic."³⁵

The Albanians were distinguishable...by their language,...by other social and cultural characteristics....Belgrade's reasons for denying them the status of a republic had lost whatever plausibility they may have had and boiled down to the issue of whether a non-Slav nationality could ever attain full political equality in the homeland of the South Slavs,³⁶ Biberaj said.

Foreign Policy of the U.S. toward the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s

David Gompert wrote in Foreign Affairs, 1994, that contrary to a widely held view, the Bush administration was well aware of the dangers in Yugoslavia prior to the crisis. It simply knew of no way to prevent a violent disintegration.³⁷ Serbs were in power in Belgrade, the Slovenes wanted to be free from the Serbs, the Croats were on the Slovenes' steps, and the Bosnian problem could be seen on the horizon.³⁸ In Gompert's analysis the Bush administration pressed Serbian strongman Slobodan Miloshevic to stop his oppression of Albanians in Kosovo and his illegal seizure of Yugoslav federal assets and authority, which were fueling Slovenian and Croatian sessionism.³⁹

Gompert argued that while the identity of the archvillain-Miloshevic, Inc.-was never in doubt, there was little sympathy from the Bush administration for the Slovene and Croat separatists.⁴⁰ The Slovenes seemed willing to trigger a Yugoslav war so long as they could escape both Yugoslavia and the war.⁴¹ The Croat regime raised fear of a revival of the infamous Ustashe, the Nazis secret police of World War II. Gompert concluded that:

revival of the infamous Ustashe, the Nazis secret police of World War II. Gompert concluded that:

American policymakers saw cynicism behind the declared 'right' of Slovene and Croat nationalists to be free, democratic and part of the (Roman Catholic) West, even as these same U.S. policymakers knew that Miloshevic's power-grabbing was the main force propelling Yugoslavia toward a violent end.⁴²

Baker tried to persuade Slovenes to wait, and insisted that the Serbs back off from using force to save Yugoslavia, but as Gompert said, the Slovenes' secession brought the Croats along with them so the Yugoslav National Army acted in defense of the Union.

After a year of civil war in Bosnia the "lift and strike" initiative of February 1993 raised the Muslim hopes that the West would finally intervene and "committed the United States to join in the enforcement of a dubious agreement."⁴³

These put the American foreign policy at rest, until a Serbian mortar shell hit Sarajevo's marketplace and within a few weeks, Serbs were shelling the "safe" city of Gorazde, exploding on NATO aircraft and holding back the U.N. peacekeepers.⁴⁴

The United States and its allies are right,...to use force when U.N. Security Council decisions or commitments made by the Serbs themselves are flouted,..."⁵⁸ "However, since Western governments, reflecting public sentiment, have no intention of intervening decisively in Bosnia, there is little chance that air strikes, here and there, against Bosnian Serbs tanks and artillery pieces will change the course of the war or bring about a principled and enduring peace."⁴⁵

Yugoslavia as Part of Europe

The question of armed intervention into the former Yugoslavia put countries of Western Europe in a difficult position, said Trevor C. Salmon in a 1992 article in International Affairs. Options for consideration were to provide protection for the UN monitors, by armed escort, to send a lightly armed peacekeeping force to Croatia, or to send full fledged policing force of 25,000 to 50,000 troops.⁴⁶

Although the United Kingdom was the only one opposing the four options, it was agreed that for any of them to be acceptable the cease-fire had to show some prospect of holding, and all parties involved would need to consent, said Salmon. The United Kingdom's input strongly reflected its experience in Northern Ireland. Thus it pointed out all the difficulties and warned of the dangers of being drawn into a such long-term operation.⁴⁷ The U.K. estimated that upwards of 30,000 troops would be required, and that high casualties were likely. In general, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, Germany and Italy backed some sort of intervention whereas the Greeks and the Spanish were cautious.

In Salmon's opinion, Germany was setting its own agenda over Yugoslavia, reinforced by its approval of diplomatic recognition of Croatia and Slovenia. The keen German sense for supporting Croatia was buttressed by its historical and cultural attachment to the Croats, especially in their Roman Catholicism.⁴⁸

In Salmon's analysis, the European Community (EC) states resented recognition. Even so, Bonn recognized Croatia and Slovenia on December 23, 1991.⁴⁹ Germany's EC partners were "profoundly unhappy" with the German's decision.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, the other EC states fell into line on January 15, 1992 and recognized the two breakaway republics.⁵¹

Meanwhile, as Gompert related, the United States pressured the EC to recognize Bosnia in exchange for U.S. recognition of Slovenia and Croatia.⁵² But the EC, having to prepare for the conflict in Bosnia, "seemed not to grasp the huge danger in Bosnia."⁵³ At the same time, the Bush administration was determined to keep U.S. troops out of Yugoslavia. So the West watched Bosnia slip into an indefinable violence.⁵⁴

The Media and the War

According to an article in the July 1993 issue of Index on Censorship the war in the former Yugoslavia began in the mass media: TV and radio relay stations were the first targets. The relay stations in Slovenia were bombarded and were over taken in the mountains of Croatia.⁵⁵ In Bosnia, the Yugoslav army and Serbian militia occupied and redirected virtually all relay stations and transmitters; the Hum transmitter on the edge of Sarajevo was bombarded until it was put out of action.⁵⁶

- The propaganda war was a powerful weapon in the Serbian armory. The official media drowned out the few independent voices that remained and were virtually the only influence on public opinion.⁵⁷ With the main sources of information, TV and radio, under state - more precisely, Miloshevic's party - control, independent voices such as these were the only objective reports available to the mass of the population.⁵⁸ The population in Serbia and Montenegro knew little of what was going on in their country. An example of the media manipulation of public opinion was demonstrated by the coverage of the UN humanitarian mission to Srebrenica:

Within days of the general's arrival in Srebrenica and his declaration that he would stay until the civilians had been saved, Serbian TV and radio were reporting that he was being held as a hostage by Muslim forces. Only when it was impossible to conceal the truth any longer, did the state services change their story.⁵⁹

TV could make viewers doubt the evidence of their own eyes:

commentaries frequently defied the images on screen and were designed to provoke hatred of the enemy: images of Serbian dead and dying were selected with an eye to their most gruesome, distressing impact and the savagery of the enemy. 'The enemy' embraced not only other ethnic groups but the world 'which hates because we are Serbs.'... Airtime was subservient to the whims of President Slobodan Miloshevic, whose minutes doings were given precedence in prime time, relegating the then President of rump Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic.... The least influential papers are those owned which are privately owned: the state controls the supply of newsprint and uses it to determine who prints and who does not..... Mass dismissals in the state media and constant harassment of those outside the public sector are the final way in which a totalitarian regime keeps control while retaining an illusion of free media.⁶⁰

The fate of the journalists was the same, about 2,000 journalists were “sacked” from the Serbian TV and radio in Belgrade because of the pretext of too many employees. Journalists who would find a job at a reduced wage with the independent press wrote in “fear not only of the regime but of ‘patriots’ who threatened to ‘take care of the riffraff’.”⁶¹

The seige of Sarajevo drew more media coverage and international outrage than any other incident in the Balkan war.⁶² As CNN and others “beamed the bloody aftermath around the globe,” the UN demanded that Serb forces pull back from Sarajevo or risk NATO-led air strikes,⁶³ said Sherry Ricchiardi in American Journalism Review. For the Bosnian journalists of Oslobedenje, Sarajevo’s important daily newspaper, covering the war in their city was extremely difficult. For two years (1992-1994), they had covered the deadliest European war since the Nazi era. They covered that beat, as Ricchiardi described it : “the torturous, methodical destruction of their 600-year-old city (Sarajevo) with its mixed population of Muslims, Serbs and Croats. The newspaper, and the publishing house that adjoined it, were among the first institutions targeted by Serb forces who seemed determined to drive them out of business.”⁶⁴

The newspaper was founded on August 30, 1943, and became a tool in the underground struggle against the Nazis. The broadsheet eventually passed into communist control but editors waged a battle for independence.⁶⁵ In 1989, Oslobodenje was voted the paper of the year in Yugoslavia by a nationwide poll of journalists.⁶⁶

the destruction of the Bosnian town of Zvornik; another photographer was hit by shrapnel while taking pictures of Sarajevans queuing for water; a secretary, was hit by sniper bullets as she left her office.⁶⁸

But from the first shelling of the city in April 1992, the battle cry for Oslobodenje's staff members centered on a single notion: As long as the newspaper was alive, Sarajevo was alive.... "For us, it was the ultimate sign of resistance," said Gordana Knezevic, Oslobodenje's deputy editor, "When Sarajevans could not find bread, they could find our newspaper,"⁶⁹

Sherry Ricciardi in her article "Under the Gun: Oslobodenje Survives the Siege of Sarajevo," wrote:

The daily was one of the first in Bosnia to open its pages to diverse opinion and political commentary outside party lines. When the government balked at the idea of an independent newspaper in 1991, Oslobodenje staffers orchestrated public demonstrations to demand press freedom. They took their case to the nation's highest court and won.⁷⁰

Kemal Kurspahic, editor in chief of the newspaper, a Muslim, in a World Press Review interview said:

The basic idea behind aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina is to destroy the tradition of different ethnic groups living together. On one street in Sarajevo, you have a Jewish synagogue. You have a mosque. You have an Orthodox church. You have a Roman Catholic church. The idea of building a Serbian empire, a 'Greater Serbia,' is to destroy the structure of cosmopolitan Bosnia-Herzegovina.⁷¹

Kurspahic said the Muslims shared everything with other people, without considering that they might come from different ethnic groups. He added:

Serbs in Sarajevo share with their neighbors those mortar shells from Serbian

extremists. When they shell apartment buildings in Sarajevo, they do not discriminate. A Serbian general ordered his artillery to shoot at one neighborhood in the city. He said: 'Not too many Serbs live there.' This means they can kill a few dozen Serbs, and it does not really matter.⁷²

Natka Buturovic, a war reporter from Sarajevo, was a member on the staff of Borba (a Belgrade-based daily founded in 1921 as a clandestine paper by then illegal Yugoslav Communist Party) and reported from the day the war broke out until mid-November 1992. She is quoted in Index On Censorship:

'Zeljko Vukovic, the head of Borba's bureau in Sarajevo, and I were the last editorial staff who succeeded in reporting from there. The newspaper's headquarters are in Belgrade, Serbia. All the others ...went home. Our homes were in Sarajevo. What does it feel like to be a war reporter from Sarajevo? On September 17, 1992, the Ministry of the Interior of Bosnia-Herzegovina, made a statement:...Borba's correspondents are spies for the Yugoslav Army, it claimed. The Bosnian government never forbade us to work. We still had the credentials they had issued. But all those who were fighting for the 'general cause,' who did not like the fact that Borba was published in Belgrade, who dreamed of being made national heroes for discovering the 'spies,' could do with us as they pleased....Soon afterwards, we stopped sending our reports. we had no right to jeopardize the position of our radio operator friends....Harsh words from colleagueswere bad enough.'⁷³

Buturovic left Sarajevo and returned to Belgrade, hoping her family would be safe and not at risk, because she was a Borba's reporter. When asked how it felt to leave "Sarajevo's hell and come into a normal world?" she replied: "There is no more normal world."⁷⁴

“Sarajevo’s hell and come into a normal world?” she replied: “There is no more normal world.”⁷⁴

Freedom of the Press, Objectivity and Journalists

In his history of the British press, Stephen Koss wrote that , W.T. Stead late in 1940 dignified the London daily newspapers as “His Majesty’s Public Councilors.”⁷⁵ Stead then divided them into four categories. At the top, he placed The Times and the Westminster Gazette, both political papers ‘read by men of both parties’ because their reputations were resounding.⁷⁶ After them, the Standard, the Daily News, the Morning Post, the Daily Chronicle, the Morning Leader, the St James’s Gazette, the Daily Graphic, the Star, the Globe, the Echo, and the Pall Mall Gazette, which he himself had edited.

The tradition of London being a “journalistic nerve center” as Koss said is attributed to its location and economic significance. He quoted a 1914 writer who claimed the political superiority of London papers over their US counterparts to the simple reason that Englishmen are more interested in politics than Americans”⁷⁷

British newspapers continued to advocate political causes and to attend to the needs of the electorate. In return, politicians remained strongly involved in newspaper management.⁷⁸ Carl Peters, a German visitor in 1904 wrote: “Naturally the chief weapon

of the various Parties is the press, which plays a part in Great Britain that can be linked to its mission in no other European country. Everybody reads his newspaper in England,”⁷⁹ and he found it “very amusing to watch in passing trains, how almost every passenger has his face buried in his paper.”⁸⁰

Investments by various political parties in the newspaper proved to be expensive and disappointing. In Koss’s analyses it was as much due to a sense of frustration as to a sense of propriety, that the politicians withdrew from these investments.⁸¹ The press became more politically autonomous but somewhat financially weakened.⁸²

When the Thomson Organization’s acquired The Times in 1967, Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of Great Britain “took a strictly non-interventionist view that contrasted with politicians’ frenzied responses when that paper had changed hands in 1908 and 1922.”⁸³

Eventually, the majority of newspaper readers, indifferent to political transactions demanded more reporting than the quality papers were designed to provide.⁸⁴ Radio and television gave many people all the serious news they wanted to know. A minority, retaining an acute political awareness, demanded a more objective presentation, equally incompatible with the historic functions of the political press, which had put a greater premium on views than news.⁸⁵

In 1952, in his Backbench Diaries, Richard Crossman wrote:

...Today if you want to influence politics through the press you do not do it by running campaigns against certain politicians or for certain causes. Your

- aim is to educate or to stimulate opinion to bring the pressure on the politicians.⁸⁶

But in 1962 Cecil King, chairman of the Mirror group of newspapers, thought that the press was so hedged about legal restrictions and penalties that it could no longer be called free. It was censored not directly or openly but by degree.⁸⁷ He wrote:

The Official Secrets Acts are one of the chief forms of direct censorship: a high authority has remarked that the language of the Acts is wide enough to make it a criminal offense for a messenger in the Home Office to inform a journalist that the Permanent Under-Secretary is in the habit of taking six lumps of sugar in his tea. The law of libel is a nightmare: a territory full of pitfalls even for the most cautious, and the law of defamation remains a paradise for gold diggers. In the face of restrictions and oppressive penalties the voice of the British Press has grown timid.⁸⁸

However, there were journalists who did not give up and send their cases to the European Commission of Human Rights in Strasbourg. One of them was Harold Evans, the editor of the Sunday Times. His campaign on behalf of thalidomide children developed into a fight against legal restrictions on a newspaper's right to freedom of expression. Bainbridge wrote in his book:

It began in September 1972 when the Sunday Times printed its first article about thalidomide children which it intended to follow up with a history of the tragedy and the manufacture and testing of the drug in 1958-61. The manufacturers of the drug, Distillers Co, Ltd, made formal representations to the Attorney-General claiming that the article constituted contempt of court because of litigation that was still outstanding. The Attorney-General decided to apply to the High Court for an injunction to restrain publication of the proposed article, which was granted. Times Newspapers then succeeded in getting the decision by the Attorney-General to the House of Lords, the Law Lords unanimously confirmed the original finding that the proposed article sought to interfere with pending court proceedings, including

settlement negotiations between claimants and Distillers, and therefore constituted contempt.⁸⁹

The Times editor Harold Evans claimed that the order of the court was a violation of Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights which among others stressed that: "If the public interest to clarify matters of great importance can not be satisfied by any kind of official investigation, it must, in a democratic society, at least be allowed to find expression in another way...".⁹⁰ In 1979 the Court of Human Rights found there had been violations of the Article 10, which brought a redefinition of the English law.

The social responsibility doctrine directed at American journalists stresses that "freedom of expression is grounded on the duty of the individual to his thought, to his conscience. It is a moral right....Freedom of expression is not something which one claims for selfish ends. It is so closely bound up with his mental existence that he ought to claim it."⁹¹

This doctrine falls under the "marketplace of ideas" from which the public chooses what it wants to read or believe. The American journalists' ideal is to present the facts and the reality accurately and with fairness, which means to get the right information and pursue the truth without favoritism and self-interest.

This is a very difficult task to be accomplished, since the truth may consist of facts in addition to the first information which at the same time may contradict each

other. Thus, although journalists have the right of freedom to express their ideas, they know that they can only approach objectivity. "To report the truth is the goal of journalism, but the 'true story' is a web of inaccuracies and opinions."⁹²

Journalists sometimes use their "standard technique-attributing the information or opinion to the sources who provide it. The audience can then judge the information by judging the sources"⁹³ as Rivers and Mathews said in Ethics for the Media.

The sources themselves may be biased on the information they give to the journalists; thus the duty of the journalists is to get information from all sides. "People rely on mass media for the information and use it to identify their own interests,"⁹⁴ said Doris A. Graber in Mass Media and American Politics.

The information about foreign affairs involves the structure of the foreign correspondent corps and the sociopolitical setting in which correspondents must work said Graber.⁹⁵ The American journalists write stories from an American perspective that follows the current administration's foreign policy assumptions and the American public's stereotyped views of the world.⁹⁶ They primarily cover the most important countries, keeping America's national interests and policy objectives in mind.⁹⁷

Nicholas O. Berry, in his book Foreign Policy and the Press, An Analysis of The New York Times' Coverage of U.S. Foreign Policy, said that "one school of thought portrays the press as a player or participant in the foreign policy process. For members of this school, the press plays the role of the fourth branch of government."⁹⁸ According to

his opinion, journalists can influence policy and government officials complained that their foreign policy can be sabotaged. The American President, John F. Kennedy, requested of the publisher of The New York Times, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, that one of his reporters, David Halberstam, should be reassigned. "Reporting from the battlefields, Halberstam described the failure of U.S. advisors to get the South Vietnamese to fight the Vietcong. Kennedy thought Halberstam was undermining his policy."⁹⁹

Thus, national and personal interests, the journalist's background and experience influence the news stories written in the print media.

Summary

The situation in the former Yugoslavia presents a complicated case of many small nations, different languages and traditions. Every journalist who reports on the events has the power to judge every piece of information.

Presenting reality is difficult because every journalist puts into his news story his own views as well as the information he gets from other sources. Since objectivity is a very important principle, every journalist should try to report accurately the true pieces of information.

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CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Chapter III describes the methodology of this research study. The author adapted this research from the six bias categories of John C. Merrill's study "How *Time* Stereotyped Three U.S. Presidents," (Journalism Quarterly, 1965). The author of the research used content analysis and formulated six hypotheses.

The author of this research study conducted content analysis of the news coverage of the war in the former Yugoslavia during the early 1990s in two newspapers: The Times of London, and The New York Times. The author used a random sample taken from the news stories from the two newspapers. The sample was drawn from news published from January 1990 (when former Yugoslavian republics started to separate into different countries) to May 1994. The author wanted to determine if there were significant differences or similarities in the coverage of the war by the two newspapers.

The two newspapers were selected because of their prestige and leading roles in English and American national politics. Content analysis was selected as a method of analyzing the news in this research because it "can aid in interpreting and understanding all impact studies."¹

Profile of The New York Times

The New York Times newspaper was founded in 1851. It is published seven mornings a week. In 1993, The New York Times had a circulation of 1,209,225; a Saturday circulation of 951, 419 and a Sunday circulation of 1,762,015. The pages of The New York Times “soar from metropolitan airfields to cross oceans and wide-spreading continents, and they move by train and by other common carriers to more than 12,000 towns in the United States. Kings and presidents will scan them, rich and poor will discover in their pages the freshest track made by mankind on the road to eternity,”² said Meyer Berger in his The Story of The New York Times.

The New York Times’ editors and reporters try to follow the credo set up by Adolph S. Ochs, the publisher of the newspaper from 1896 to 1935, “to give the news impartially, without fear or favor, regardless of any party, sect or interest involved.”³ The Society of the Silurians which was made up by editors and reporters who had served in various journals in New York for twenty-five years wrote a citation for the newspaper in 1951. They wrote The New York Times was learned, objective, detailed, powerful, devoted to truth, forthright in politics, world-wide in vision, but always American. Abe M. Rosenthal, The New York Times’ executive editor for about four decades (he started as a city reporter for The New York Times in 1944) helped the newspaper expand its influence from America’s premier newspaper to a world stage. The public perception of events, as reported in The New York Times, became accepted as “the official version.”⁴

The New York Times is read and respected in important places such as New York, Boston and Washington. The elite of the U.S. use the newspaper's microfilm as a source for their dissertations while they still are in graduate schools and, when they become businessmen, politicians in the government, or university academics The New York Times is often a reliable primary source for their information.

According to The New York Times readership surveys, the weekday paper reaches one-third of all professionals and managers in the Northeast with incomes of \$50,000-plus a year; The Sunday Times, forty-five percent. The New York Times is read by important people such as executives, officials and academics by eleven each morning.⁵

The New York Times' columns include International and National news, Education, Entertainment, Environmental, Financial/Business, City, Food, Fashion, Garden/Home, Lifestyle, Living, Medical, Sports, Real Estate, Travel and Television.

Profile of The Times of London

The Times of London was founded January 1, 1785. From the middle 1960's until the current year (1994) the newspaper has been published from Monday to Sunday. In 1993, The Times of London had a circulation of 375,420 and The Sunday Times of London had a circulation of 1,171,178. The paper's first publisher John Walters started it on January 1, 1785. He called it the Daily Universal Register. Three years later he abbreviated the name to The Times of London.

The great development of commerce, particularly in the City and Port of London, had established a larger pool of wealth from which both readership and advertising

revenue could be drawn. The Times' earliest issues were most appreciated for their financial and commercial news, but the section of the paper which was most destined first to mark it out from its contemporaries, and make it almost a necessity for any man in public position to read, was the foreign news.⁶

In the middle of 1960's The Times decided to change its format. Its editors thought change would be useful for the paper. Placing news in front of the paper instead of placing advertisements in the front page and news on the second page was an important change. It showed the editors had understood as change was the law of life; if they did not evolve their paper, it would die eventually. The Times' prime purpose became to give news first instead of advertisements. The Times aimed at being a paper for intelligent readers of all ages and all classes. The more it could have of them the better. To make the paper more comprehensive, more explicit, and more lucid,⁷ was the simple reason of its producers who wanted more readers.

The merger which occurred in August 1966 between The Times and the Sunday Times concluded it would no longer be the same voice or the same Times as in the past, and it should be recognized both at home and abroad.⁸ In the 19th century The Times stood alone, and even when other newspapers overtook it in popularity, it still remained a great influence. In the past, the editor of The Times allowed himself and the newspaper to be used by the government of the day as an instrument for molding public opinion.⁹ In the middle of the twentieth century The Times was valued for qualities such as the nature and range of its news reporting. The Times Publishing Company would like to widen and improve its news coverage, but it was generally accepted that in the news that

printed it set a high standard of accuracy and freedom from bias.¹⁰ The other quality was that The Times had the freedom to express opinions on great issues of the day without regard to popularity or to political or other pressures.¹¹

The columns of The Times of London include Home News, Overseas News, Education, Arts, Business, Sport, Secretarial, Books, Television and Radio.

Research Questions

The aim of this research study was to answer the following questions for the two newspapers' coverage of the war in former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s.

- a. Was there any difference between the two newspapers in the frequency of favorable/positive types of bias overall?
- b. Was there any difference between the two newspapers in the frequency of unfavorable/negative types of bias overall?
- c. Was there any difference in the frequency and types of bias between the two newspapers, The New York Times and The Times of London overall?
- d. Did the news stories in the two newspapers reflect any political bias or opinionated reporting toward the war in former Yugoslavia?

Null Hypotheses

- a. There was not any difference between the two newspapers in the frequency of favorable types of bias overall.

b. There was not any difference between the two newspapers in the frequency of unfavorable types of bias overall.

c. There was not any difference in the frequency and types of bias between the two newspapers, The New York Times and The Times of London.

d. The news stories in the two newspapers did not reflect any political bias or opinionated reporting toward the war in former Yugoslavia.

Definition of Terms

a. The term “nature of coverage of news stories” was defined as any information reported by The New York Times and The Times of London.

b. The term “sources” was defined as media that provided the stories’ information in the newspapers.

c. The term “bias” was defined as expressions which might affect perceptions of the people away from being neutral. This term was also defined as an expression which might create favorable (positive) or unfavorable (negative) attitudes.

d. The term “bias” was based on the six categories of bias written by John C. Merrill in 1965 in his study “How Time Stereotyped Three U.S. Presidents.” The six categories were called: attribution bias, adjective bias, adverbial bias, contextual bias, outright bias, and photographic bias.

e. The term “newspaper” referred to the two newspapers The New York Times and The Times of London.

Sampling

The author of this research study examined 50 news stories from The New York Times and 50 news stories from The Times of London. The coverage of the war in former Yugoslavia started in January of 1990 when Slovenia and Croatia, two powerful republics, sought independence from Serbia. The news stories selected by the author of this research included interviews, summaries, and photographs about the event in former Yugoslavia. The author selected the news stories at random, one story per month at the same date, for both newspapers. If one of the newspaper did not have a written news story at the same date that the other newspaper had, the author selected the news stories of the following day. Letters to editors and opinions about the situation in former Yugoslavia were not included in this research. The news stories of the Sunday newspapers in both newspapers were not included in the research. The time period of this research study included four and a half years, starting from January 1990 to May 1994.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis included each individual news story content in both newspapers.

Categories of Analysis

The six categories of bias written by John C. Merrill in his study “How Time Stereotyped Three U.S. Presidents,” (1965) were described in Chapter I of this research, but they are briefly described again in this chapter.

Attribution Bias is the bias that stems from the newspaper’s means of attributing information to the source. This is bias which contained in the synonym for the word “said” used by the magazine (Time).¹² The attribution verb “said” was considered neutral (which was not opinionated and did not evoke emotional response) by Merrill.

Adjective Bias is the bias which attempts to build up an impression of the person described which is accomplished by using adjectives, favorable or unfavorable, in connection with the person. An example of “favorable” bias in adjective use: “serene state of mind.” An example of “unfavorable” bias in adjective use: “flat, monotonous voice.”¹³

Adverbial Bias depends on qualifiers (adverbs) to create an impression in the reader’s mind. Often this adverbial bias is a sort of reinforcing of another bias expression already present (when an adverb reinforces an attribution bias as in the case: “He barked sarcastically.”)¹⁴

Contextual Bias is the bias in the whole sentences or paragraphs or in other (and larger) units of meaning, even an entire story. The purpose is to present the person reported on in a favorable or an unfavorable light by the overall meaning, not by specific words and phrases alone.¹⁵

Outright Opinion is the most blatant and obvious type of bias or subjectivity in newswriting. The expression of opinion by the publication might be called “presenting a judgment.”¹⁶

Photographic Bias can result from inability to get other photographs or from no real desire to prejudice the reader, which means it could be unintentional. Questions like: “What overall impression does the photograph give? What does the caption imply?”¹⁷ are common to be asked for this kind of bias.

The Quantification System

The data collected were nominal data. Items of analysis were counted and listed by newspaper. The news stories were read and the categories of bias were listed according to Merrill’s definition of the six categories of bias. They were also listed under the different categories of bias whether the items were positive (favorable) or negative (unfavorable) with respect to the coverage of the two newspapers of the war in former Yugoslavia.

Coding

Three coders were used: the author of this research study, a professor of Mass Communications, and a doctoral student of Higher Education at Oklahoma State University. The three coders worked independently, each reading every article that was selected for the sample of this research study from The New York Times and The Times

of London. The types of bias were recorded according to the six types of bias, and also whether the items were positive (favorable) or negative (unfavorable).

Intercoder Reliability

An intercoder reliability test was conducted to examine the reliability of the three coders in counting, analyzing and categorizing the types of bias. The following formulas were used for the test of intercoder reliability:

$$R=M/(N_1+ N_2)$$

$$R=M/(N_2 + N_3)$$

$$R=M/(N_3 + N_1)$$

In these three formulas, M is the number of coding decisions on which each pair of coders agreed, and N1, N2 and N3 stand for the total decisions made by coder number 1, 2 and coder number 3 respectively.

The intercoder reliability test's coefficient (R) was .99 and based on a scale of 0 to 1.0 where 1.0 is perfect reliability.

Statistical Analysis

Chi-square tests were used since the collected data were nominal. The tests were used to examine the differences and relationships in the two newspapers The New York Times and The Times of London. The level of confidence of 95% was used to determine the significant differences and relationships.

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CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

This research study used content analysis to examine the coverage of the events in former Yugoslavia. It examined the different types of bias expressed in the articles of two Western newspapers: The New York Times and The Times of London, from January 1990 through May 1994.

The author conducted statistical tests to examine the hypotheses developed for this research. The general hypothesis was that these newspapers covered the events and the war in the former Yugoslavia in a similar manner. The research questions were developed from the general hypothesis in order to find out the types of bias used by The New York Times and The Times of London articles.

1. Was there any difference between the two newspapers in the frequency of favorable/positive types of bias overall?
2. Was there any difference between the two newspapers in the frequency of unfavorable/negative types of bias overall?
3. Was there any difference between the two newspapers in the overall frequency of types of bias?
4. Did the news stories in the two newspapers reflect any political bias and opinionated reporting toward the war in former Yugoslavia?

Findings

Tables are set up as follows: The asterisk shows the frequency of occurrences of that type of bias at a given number of instances is significantly higher in one sample than the other. The first column shows the number of instances of that type of bias (favorable or unfavorable) in 100 articles from The New York Times and The Times of London. The second column shows the frequency of occurrences of that type of bias (favorable or unfavorable) in a sample of 50 articles in The New York Times. The third column shows the frequency of occurrences of that type of bias (favorable or unfavorable) in a sample of 50 articles in The Times of London. The fourth column shows the frequency of occurrences of that type of bias (favorable or unfavorable) in the two previously mentioned samples.

Table I shows how frequent the number of instances of positive attribution bias occurs in one sample compared to the other.

TABLE I
 PROPORTION OF ARTICLES CONTAINING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF
 POSITIVE ATTRIBUTION BIAS OF THE NEWSPAPERS, PRESENTED IN
 PERCENTAGES

Newspapers			
# of Instances Pos. Att. Bias	<u>The New York Times</u> Proportion of Articles	<u>The Times of London</u> Proportion of Articles	Total Proportion of Articles
0	36 %	30 %	33 %
1	24 %	36 %	30 %
2	18 %	16 %	17 %
3	16 %	8 %	12 %
4	2 %	10 %	6 %
5	2 %	0 %	1 %
11	2 %	0 %	1 %
Total	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (100 articles)

Complex chi-square = 8.583

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, DF = 6) = 12.6

The complex chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the newspapers and the frequency of occurrences of favorable attribution bias. There is not a relationship, and the null hypothesis is supported. This means neither newspaper was more apt to use positive attribution bias than the other.

Table II shows how frequent the number of instances of negative attribution bias occurs in one sample compared to the other.

TABLE II
 PROPORTION OF ARTICLES CONTAINING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF
 NEGATIVE ATTRIBUTION BIAS OF THE NEWSPAPERS, PRESENTED IN
 PERCENTAGES

Newspapers			
# of Instances Neg. Att. Bias	<u>The New York Times</u> Proportion of Articles	<u>The Times of London</u> Proportion of Articles	Total Proportion of articles
0	46 %	46 %	46 %
1	26 %	30 %	28 %
2	10 %	14 %	12 %
3	10 %	6 %	8 %
4	4 %	0 %	2 %
5	2 %	0 %	1 %
6	2 %	0 %	1 %
10	0 %	0 %	1 %
Total	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (100 articles)

Complex chi-square = 9.301

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF = 7$) = 14.1

The complex chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the newspapers and the frequency of occurrences of unfavorable attribution bias. There is not a relationship and the null hypothesis is supported. This means neither newspaper was more apt to use negative attribution bias.

Table III shows how frequent the number of instances of positive adjective bias occurs in one sample compared to the other.

TABLE III
 PROPORTION OF ARTICLES CONTAINING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF
 POSITIVE ADJECTIVE BIAS OF THE NEWSPAPERS, PRESENTED IN
 PERCENTAGES

Newspapers			
# of Instances Pos. Adj. Bias	<u>The New York Times</u> Proportion of Articles	<u>The Times of London</u> Proportion of Articles	Total Proportion of Articles
* 0	54 %	16 %	35 %
* 1	16 %	30 %	23 %
2	16 %	18 %	17 %
* 3	6 %	18 %	12 %
4	6 %	12 %	9 %
5	2 %	2 %	2 %
6	0 %	2 %	1 %
7	0 %	2 %	1 %
Total	100% (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (100 articles)

Complex chi-square = 20.047

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF = 7$) = 14.1

The complex chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the newspapers and the frequency of occurrences of favorable adjective bias. There is a weak relationship ($C = .3951$) and the null hypothesis is not supported.

The simple chi-square statistic = 20.63 (# 0 of instances at the table)

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF = 1$) = 3.8

The simple chi-square showed a significant difference. The New York Times shows a trend toward positive adjective bias at # 0 more than The Times of London, (54 % compared to 16 %).

The simple chi-square statistic = 4.26 (# 1 of instances at the table)
Table chi-square (p< .05, DF=1) = 3.8

The simple chi-square test showed a significant difference. The Times of London shows a trend toward positive adjective bias at # 1 more than The New York Times, (30 % compared to 16 %).

The simple chi-square statistic = 6.0 (# 3 of instances at the table)
Table chi-square (p< .05, DF=1) = 3.8

The test showed a significant difference. The Times of London shows a trend toward positive adjective bias at # 3 more than The New York Times, (18 % compared to 6 %).

The results of the simple chi-square tests at the other number of instances showed no significant differences. However, the frequency of occurrences counts are low, and the test results may be useless.

Table IV shows how frequent the number of instances of negative adjective bias occurs in one sample compared to the other.

TABLE IV
 PROPORTION OF ARTICLES CONTAINING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF
 NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE BIAS OF THE NEWSPAPERS, PRESENTED IN
 PERCENTAGES

Newspapers				
# of Instances	Neg. Adj. Bias	<u>The New York Times</u>	<u>The Times of London</u>	Total
		Proportion of Articles	Proportion of Articles	Proportion of Articles
*	0	42 %	12 %	27 %
	1	26 %	20 %	23 %
	2	16 %	16 %	16 %
	3	8 %	12 %	10 %
*	4	4 %	22 %	13 %
*	5	2 %	10 %	6 %
*	6	0 %	8 %	4 %
	7	2 %	0 %	1 %
Total		100 % (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (100 articles)

Complex chi-square = 26.323

Table chi-square($p < .05$, DF = 7) = 14.1

The complex chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the newspapers and the frequency of occurrences of unfavorable adjective bias. There is a weak relationship ($C = .4326$) and the null hypothesis is not supported.

Simple chi-square statistic = 16.67 (# 0 of instances at the table)

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, DF = 1) = 3.8

The simple chi-square test showed a significant difference. The New York Times showed a trend toward negative adjective bias at # 0 more than The Times of London, (42 % compared to 12 %).

Simple chi-square statistic = 12.46 (# 4 of instances at the table)
Table chi-square (p< .05, DF=1) = 3.8

The simple chi-square test showed a significant difference. The Times showed a trend toward negative adjective bias at # 4 more than The New York Times, (22 % compared to 4 %).

Simple chi-square statistic = 5.33 (# 5 of instances at the table)
Table chi-square (p< .05, DF=1) = 3.8

The simple chi-square test showed a significant difference. The Times of London showed a trend toward negative bias at # 5 more than The New York Times, (10 % compared to 2 %).

Simple chi-square statistic = 8.0 (# 6 of instances at the table)
Table chi-square (p< .05, DF=1) = 3.8

The simple chi-square test showed a significant difference. The Times of London showed a trend toward negative bias at # 6 more than The New York Times, (8 % compared to 0 %).

The results of the simple chi-square tests at the other numbers of instances showed no significant differences. However, the frequency of occurrences are low and the test results may be useless.

Table V shows how frequent the number of instances of positive adverbial adjective bias occurs in one sample compared to the other.

TABLE V

PROPORTION OF ARTICLES CONTAINING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF POSITIVE ADVERBIAL BIAS OF THE NEWSPAPERS, PRESENTED IN PERCENTAGES

Newspapers			
# of Instances Pos. Adv. Bias	<u>The New York Times</u> Proportion of articles	<u>The Times of London</u> Proportion of Articles	Total Proportion of Articles
0	78 %	68 %	73 %
1	16 %	18 %	17 %
2	2 %	10 %	6 %
3	4 %	0 %	2 %
4	0 %	2 %	1 %
5	0 %	2 %	1 %
Total	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (100 articles)

Complex chi-square = 8.858

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF = 5$) = 11.1

The complex chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the newspapers and the frequency of occurrences of favorable adverbial bias. There is not a relationship, and the null hypothesis is supported. This means neither newspaper was more apt to use favorable adverbial bias than the other.

Table VI shows how frequent the number of instances of negative adverbial adjective bias occurs in one sample compared to the other.

TABLE VI

PROPORTION OF ARTICLES CONTAINING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF
NEGATIVE ADVERBIAL BIAS OF THE NEWSPAPERS, PRESENTED IN
PERCENTAGES

Newspapers			
# of Instances Neg. Adv. Bias	<u>The New York Times</u> Proportion of Articles	<u>The Times of London</u> Proportion of Articles	Total Proportion of Articles
0	74 %	62 %	68 %
1	16 %	24 %	20 %
2	8 %	8 %	8 %
3	2 %	4 %	3 %
4	0 %	2 %	1 %
Total	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (100 articles)

Complex chi-square = 3.062

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, DF = 4) = 9.5

The complex chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the newspapers and the frequency of occurrences of unfavorable adverbial bias. There is not a relationship, and the null hypothesis is not supported. This means neither newspaper was more apt to use unfavorable adverbial bias than the other.

Table VII shows how frequent the number of instances of positive contextual bias occurs in one sample compared to the other.

TABLE VII

PROPORTION OF ARTICLES CONTAINING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF POSITIVE CONTEXTUAL BIAS OF THE NEWSPAPERS, PRESENTED IN PERCENTAGES

Newspapers			
# of Instances Pos. Con. Bias	<u>The New York Times</u> Proportion of Articles	<u>The Times of London</u> Proportion of Articles	Total Proportion of Articles
0	74 %	52 %	63 %
1	16 %	28 %	22 %
2	4 %	12 %	8 %
3	4 %	6 %	5 %
4	2 %	0 %	1 %
5	0 %	2 %	1 %
Total	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (100 articles)

Complex chi-square = 8.655

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF = 5$) = 11.1

The complex chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the newspapers and the frequency of occurrences of favorable contextual bias. There is not a relationship, and the null hypothesis is supported. This means neither newspaper was more apt to use favorable contextual bias than the other.

Table VIII shows how frequent the number of instances of negative contextual bias occurs in one sample compared to the other.

TABLE VIII

PROPORTION OF ARTICLES CONTAINING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF
NEGATIVE CONTEXTUAL BIAS OF THE NEWSPAPERS, PRESENTED IN
PERCENTAGES

Newspapers			
# of Instances Neg. Con. Bias	<u>The New York Times</u> Proportion of Articles	<u>The Times of London</u> Proportion of Articles	Total Proportion of Articles
* 0	70 %	42 %	56 %
* 1	10 %	24 %	17 %
2	14 %	16 %	15 %
3	4 %	10 %	7 %
* 4	0 %	6 %	3 %
6	2 %	0 %	1 %
7	0 %	2 %	1 %
Total	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (100 articles)

Complex chi-square = 14.834

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, DF = 6) = 12.6

The complex chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the newspapers and the frequency of occurrences of unfavorable contextual bias. There is a weak relationship ($C = .3361$) and the null hypothesis is not supported.

Simple chi-square statistic = 7.0 (# 0 of instances at the table)

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, DF = 1) = 3.8

The simple chi-square test showed a significant difference. The New York Times showed a trend at # 0 toward negative contextual bias more than The Times of London, (70 % compared to 42 %).

Simple chi-square statistic = 5.76 (# 1 of instances at the table)
Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $Df = 1$) = 3.8

The test showed a significant difference. The Times of London showed a trend at # 1 more than The New York Times, (24 % compared to 10 %).

Simple chi-square statistic = 6.0 (# 4 of instances at the table)
Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $Df = 1$) = 3.8

The test showed a significant difference. The Times of London showed a trend at # 4 more than The New York Times, (6 % compared to 0 %).

The simple chi-square tests at the other numbers of instances showed no significant differences. However, the frequency of occurrences are low and the test results may be useless.

Table IX shows how frequent the number of instances of positive outright opinion occurs in one sample compared to the other.

TABLE IX

PROPORTION OF ARTICLES CONTAINING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF POSITIVE OUTRIGHT OPINION OF THE NEWSPAPERS, PRESENTED IN PERCENTAGES

Newspapers			
# of Instances	<u>The New York Times</u>	<u>The Times of London</u>	Total
Pos. Out. Op.	Proportion of Articles	Proportion of Articles	Proportion of Articles
0	26 %	26 %	26 %
1	24 %	28 %	26 %
2	14 %	16 %	15 %
3	8 %	10 %	9 %
4	6 %	8 %	7 %
5	8 %	4 %	6 %
6	10 %	6 %	8 %
7	2 %	0 %	1 %
8	2 %	2 %	2 %
Total	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (100 articles)

Complex chi-square = 3.047

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF = 8$) = 15.5

The complex chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the newspapers and the frequency of occurrences of favorable outright opinion. There is not a relationship, and the null hypothesis is supported. This means neither newspaper was more apt to use favorable outright opinion than the other.

Table X shows how frequent the number of instances of negative outright opinion occurs in one sample compared to the other.

TABLE X
PROPORTION OF ARTICLES CONTAINING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF
NEGATIVE OUTRIGHT OPINION OF THE NEWSPAPERS, PRESENTED IN
PERCENTAGES

Newspapers			
# of Instances Neg. Out. Op.	The New York Times Proportion of Articles	The Times of London Proportion of Articles	Total Proportion of Articles
0	28 %	32 %	30 %
1	24 %	36 %	30 %
2	24 %	18 %	21 %
3	8 %	8 %	8 %
4	6 %	2 %	4 %
5	6 %	0 %	3 %
6	2 %	0 %	1 %
7	2 %	2 %	2 %
8	0 %	2 %	1 %
Total	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (100 articles)

Complex chi-square = 9.750

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF = 8$) = 15.5

The complex chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the newspapers and the frequency of occurrences of unfavorable outright opinion. There is

not a relationship, and the null hypothesis is supported. This means neither newspaper was more apt to use unfavorable outright opinion than the other.

Table XI shows how frequent the number of instances of positive photographic bias occurs in one sample compared to the other.

TABLE XI

PROPORTION OF ARTICLES CONTAINING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF POSITIVE PHOTOGRAPHIC BIAS OF THE NEWSPAPERS, PRESENTED IN PERCENTAGES

Newspapers			
# of Instances Pos. Pho. Bias	<u>The New York Times</u> Proportion of Articles	<u>The Times of London</u> Proportion of Articles	Total Proportion of Articles
0	60 %	54 %	57 %
1	32 %	34 %	33 %
2	8 %	8 %	8 %
3	0 %	2 %	1 %
6	0 %	2 %	1 %
Total	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)

Complex chi-square = 2.961

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF = 4$) = 9.5

The complex chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the newspapers and the frequency of occurrences of favorable of photographic bias. There is not a relationship, and the null hypothesis is supported. This means neither newspaper was more apt to use favorable photographic bias than the other.

Table XII shows how frequent the number of instances of negative photographic bias occurs in one sample compared to the other at.

TABLE XII

PROPORTION OF ARTICLES CONTAINING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF
NEGATIVE PHOTOGRAPHIC BIAS OF THE NEWSPAPERS, PRESENTED IN
PERCENTAGES

Newspapers			
# of Instances Neg. Pho. Bias	<u>The New York Times</u> Proportion of Articles	<u>The Times of London</u> Proportion of Articles	Total Proportion of Articles
0	82 %	80 %	81 %
1	16 %	14 %	15 %
2	2 %	6 %	4 %
Total	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (100 articles)

Complex chi-square = 1.126

Table chi-square($p < .05$, $DF = 2$) = 6.0

The complex chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the newspapers and the frequency of occurrences of unfavorable photographic bias. There is not a relationship, and the null hypothesis is supported. This means neither newspaper was more apt to use unfavorable photographic bias than the other.

Table XIII shows how frequent the number of instances of overall positive bias occurs in one sample compared to the other.

TABLE XIII

PROPORTION OF ARTICLES CONTAINING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF
OVERALL POSITIVE TYPES OF BIAS OF THE NEWSPAPERS, PRESENTED IN
PERCENTAGES

Newspapers			
# of Instances Overall P. Bias	<u>The New York Times</u> Proportion of Articles	<u>The Times of London</u> Proportion of Articles	Total Proportion of Articles
0	4 %	0 %	2 %
1	6 %	4 %	5 %
2	16 %	6 %	11 %
3	10 %	6 %	8 %
4	6 %	8 %	7 %
5	10 %	16 %	13 %
6	6 %	10 %	8 %
7	6 %	14 %	10 %
8	8 %	10 %	9 %
9	6 %	4 %	5 %
10	10 %	6 %	8 %
11	2 %	2 %	2 %
12	4 %	2 %	3 %
13	2 %	2 %	2 %
15	0 %	2 %	1 %
16	2 %	2 %	2 %
18	2 %	2 %	2 %
19	0 %	2 %	1 %
23	0 %	2 %	1 %
Total	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (100 articles)

Complex chi-square = 14.147

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF = 18$) = 28.9

The complex chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the newspapers and the frequency of occurrences of favorable types of bias overall. There is not a relationship and the null hypothesis is supported. This means neither newspaper was more apt to use favorable types of bias overall than the other.

Table XIV shows how frequent the number of instances of overall negative bias occurs in one sample compared to the other.

TABLE XIV

PROPORTION OF ARTICLES CONTAINING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF
OVERALL NEGATIVE TYPES OF BIAS OF THE NEWSPAPERS, PRESENTED IN
PERCENTAGES

Newspapers			
# of Instances Ove. Neg. Bias	The New York Times Proportion of Articles	The Times of London Proportion of Articles	Total Proportion of Articles
0	0 %	2 %	1 %
1	4 %	6 %	5 %
* 2	14 %	0 %	7 %
3	22 %	18 %	20 %
4	8 %	4 %	6 %
5	12 %	12 %	12 %
* 6	10 %	0 %	5 %
7	8 %	4 %	6 %
* 8	4 %	16 %	10 %
* 9	6 %	18 %	12 %
10	2 %	6 %	4 %
11	4 %	2 %	3 %
12	4 %	4 %	4 %
13	0 %	2 %	1 %
14	2 %	0 %	1 %
20	0 %	2 %	1 %
21	0 %	2 %	1 %
22	0 %	2 %	1 %
Total	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (100 articles)

Complex chi-square = 35.095
 Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF = 17$) = 27.6

The complex chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the newspapers and the frequency of occurrences count of unfavorable types of bias overall. There is a weak relationship ($C = .4655$) and the null hypothesis is not supported.

Simple chi-square statistic = 14.0 (# 2 of instances at the table)
 Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF=1$) = 3.8

The test showed a significant difference. The New York Times showed a trend at # 2 toward overall negative bias more The Times of London (14 % compared to 0 %).

Simple chi-square statistic = 10.0 (# 6 of instances at the table)
 Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF=1$) = 3.8

The test showed a significant difference. The New York Times showed a trend toward overall negative bias at # 6 more than The Times of London (10 % compared to 0 %).

Simple chi-square statistic = 7.2 (# 8 of instances at the table)
 Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF=1$) = 3.8

The test showed a significant difference. The Times of London showed a trend toward overall negative bias at # 8 more than The New York Times, (16 % compared to 4 %).

Simple chi-square statistic = 6.0 (# 9 of instances at the table)
 Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $Df=1$) = 3.8

The test showed a significant difference. The Times of London showed a trend toward overall negative bias at # 9 more than The New York Times (18 % compared to 6 %).

The simple chi-square tests at the other levels showed no significant differences. However, the frequency of occurrences are low and thus, the test results may be useless. Table XV shows how frequent the number of instances of overall bias occurs in one sample compared to the other.

TABLE XV

PROPORTION OF ARTICLES CONTAINING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF TYPES
OF BIAS OVERALL OF THE NEWSPAPERS, PRESENTED IN PERCENTAGES

Newspapers			
# of Instances Overall of Bias	<u>The New York Times</u> Proportion of Articles	<u>The Times of London</u> Proportion of Articles	Total Proportion of Articles
2	.0 %	2 %	1 %
* 3	4 %	.0 %	2 %
4	0 %	2 %	1 %
* 5	10 %	2 %	6 %
6	6 %	2 %	4 %
* 7	12 %	4 %	8 %
* 8	12 %	4 %	8 %
9	8 %	6 %	7 %
10	4 %	6 %	5 %
11	6 %	8 %	7 %
12	2 %	6 %	4 %
13	10 %	8 %	9 %
14	2 %	8 %	5 %
* 15	0 %	8 %	4 %
16	2 %	8 %	5 %
17	2 %	2 %	2 %
18	2 %	6 %	4 %
* 19	8 %	0 %	4 %
20	0 %	2 %	1 %
* 21	4 %	0 %	2 %
22	0 %	2 %	1 %

TABLE XV (continued)

23	2 %	2 %	2 %
24	2 %	0 %	1 %
25	0 %	2 %	1 %
26	0 %	2 %	1 %
28	0 %	2 %	1 %
32	2 %	4 %	3 %
40	0 %	2 %	1 %
Total	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (50 articles)	100 % (100 articles)

Complex chi-square = 44.143

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF = 27$) = 40.1

The complex chi-square was used to examine the relationship between the newspapers and the frequency of occurrences of types of bias overall. There is a weak relationship ($C = .5102$) and the null hypothesis is not supported.

Simple chi-square statistic = 4.0 (# 3 of instances at the table)

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF = 1$) = 3.8

The simple chi-square showed a significant difference. The New York Times showed a trend toward overall bias at # 3 more than The Times of London, (4 % compared to 0 %).

Simple chi-square statistic = 5.33 (# 5 of instances at the table)

Table chi-square ($p < .05$, $DF = 1$) = 3.8

The test showed a significant difference. The New York Times showed a trend toward overall bias at # 5 more than The Times of London, (10 % compared to 2 %).

Simple chi-square statistic = 4.0 (instances # 7 and # 8 of the table)

Table chi-square = ($p < .05$, $DF = 1$) = 3.8

The tests showed significant differences. The New York Times showed a trend toward overall bias at # 7, and # 8 more than The Times of London, (12 % compared to 4 %).

Simple chi-square statistic = 8.0 (# 15 of instance at of the table)
Table chi-square = (p<.05, DF = 1) = 3.8

The test showed a significant difference. The Times of London showed a trend toward overall bias at # 15 more than The New York Times, (8 % compared 0 %).

Simple chi-square statistic = 8.0 (# 19 of instance at the table)
Table chi-square = (p<.05, Df = 1) = 3.8

The test showed a significant difference. The New York Times showed a trend toward overall bias at # 19 more than The Times of London, (8 % compared to 0 %).

Simple chi-square statistic = 4.0 (# 21 of instance at the table)
Table chi-square = (p<.05, DF =1) = 3.8

The test showed a significant difference. The New York Times showed a trend toward overall bias at # 21 more than The Times of London, (4 % compared to 0 %).

The simple chi-square tests at other numbers of instances showed no significant differences. However, the frequency of occurrences counts are low and the test results may be useless.

Table XVI shows how frequent positive and negative bias occur in each sample.

TABLE XVI
TOTAL INSTANCES OF BIAS

NEWSPAPERS			
	<u>The New York Times</u>	<u>The Times</u> of London	Total
Positive	301	367	668
Negative	266	368	634
Total	567	735	1302

Simple chi-square between the newspapers and the positive types of bias overall. The calculated chi-square value is 6.52. Critical value at DF = 1 and 95 % confidence level is 3.8. There is a significant difference and the null hypothesis is not supported. The difference is that in the articles of The Times of London there are more positive instances of types of bias than The New York Times.

Simple chi-square between the newspapers and the negative types of bias overall. The calculated chi-square value is 16.4. Critical value at DF = 1 and 95 % confidence level is 3.8. There is a significant difference and the null hypothesis is not supported. The difference is that in the articles of The Times of London there are more negative instances of types of bias than The New York Times.

Simple chi-square between the total types of bias of The New York Times and the total types of bias of The Times of London. The calculated chi-square value is 21.68. Critical value at DF = 1 and 95 % confidence level is 3.8. There is a significant difference and the null hypothesis is not supported. The difference is that in the articles

of The Times there are more instances of types of bias overall than The New York Times.

Analysis of Data

Bias

This research found a significant difference between the total instances of types of bias of The New York Times and The Times of London. The difference was that in the articles of The Times there were more instances of types of bias overall (735) than The New York Times (567). It found a significant difference between the favorable types of bias overall and the newspapers. The difference was that The Times of London had more instances of favorable types of bias overall (367) than The New York Times (301). It also found a significant difference between unfavorable types of bias overall and the newspapers. The difference was that The Times of London had more instances of unfavorable types of bias overall (368) than The New York Times (266).

Attribution Bias

This is the bias which contains either favorable or unfavorable synonyms for the word “say.”

Examples of attribution verbs used by: a) The New York Times: “charged,” “threatened,” “suggested,” “confirmed.” b) The Times of London: “criticized,” “accused,” “denied,” “provoked,” “expressed,” “announced.”

Adjective Bias

This type of bias is used to describe people positively or negatively. The adjectives were used to describe people who were connected with the events and the war in the former Yugoslavia.

Examples of adjectives used by: a) The New York Times: “baleful,” “intense,” “most forceful,” “hardpressed,” “haunting,” “unarmed,” “full,” “minimum,” b) The Times of London: “enraged,” “stormy,” “angry,” “cautious,” “big,” “peaceful.”

The newspapers conveyed the impression of “‘hostile’ Serbs,” “‘diehard’ Serbian leaders,” “‘the accused’ communist Government,” “Serbian who took over ‘direct’ control,” “‘hard-line’ communists,” “Western governments have warned already that such a move would have ‘serious’ international repercussions,” “the Muslim protest is only a ‘distant’ point,” “the army which is continuing to wage a ‘dangerous’ war,” “a degree of ‘cautious’ optimism prevailed in Belgrade and West European capitals.”

Adverbial Bias

Adverbs create an impression in the readers’ minds. This research did not find any relationship between the newspapers and the type of adverbial bias positive/negative. The results of the complex chi-square test for positive adverbs were smaller than the table chi-square ($8.858 < 11.1$) and the complex chi-square test for negative adverbs ($3.062 < 9.5$), and they showed no relationship.

.. However the newspapers used adverbial bias. a) The New York Times: ethnically divided,” “immediately,” “possibly.” b) The Times of London: “dramatically,” “heavily,” “ostensibly,” “deliberately,” “widely.”

Contextual Bias

Contextual bias is the type of bias that includes a whole sentence, paragraph or story. The research did not find any relationships between the favorable contextual bias and the newspapers. It found a weak relationship ($C=.3361$) between the unfavorable contextual bias and the newspapers. The result of the complex chi-square was larger than the table chi-square ($14.834 > 12.6$ in Table VIII). The simple chi-square tests showed significant differences. The Times of London showed a trend at two different frequency count of unfavorable contextual bias more than The New York Times. This might have happened because the journalists of the United States present their own country’s national interests, so that they would not get involved as much in reporting of the events in the former Yugoslavia as their British counterparts.

Examples of contextual bias:

a) The New York Times:

‘The official press agency Tanyug said eight bodies had been brought out, but Mr. Vidan Krsmanovic denied that.’(August 27, 1990, A3)

‘Slobodan Miloshevic, the President of Serbia, emerged from a week of virtual seclusion to meet with an audience dominated by hand-picked professors and students at Belgrade University. The question-and-answer session lasted more than four hours.’(March 20, 1991, A3)

‘The role of the army could be crucial in Yugoslavia, where unrest has threatened to pull the federation apart along ethnic lines. By their statement, the armed

forces leaders in effect positioned themselves either to act in the event of a vacuum in executive authority is strengthened.’(March 20, 1991, A3)

‘At a time when nationalism in the rest of Yugoslavia has spawned an outpouring of flags, uniforms, and other symbols that test the nerves of opposing groups, the Muslims here have chosen not to flaunt their identity, and the green flag with the crescent moon and star of Islam is rarely seen.’(August 13, 1991, A6)

‘Historically, the natural alliance here is between Croats and Muslims, both of whom share suspicions of Serbian yearning for hegemony.’ (August 13, 1991, A6)

‘In his interview, Mr. Tudjman tried to portray himself as a man trying to resist more radical Croatian nationalists who are pressing for an all out war against Serbs.’(September 3, 1991, A17)

‘In Belgrade, the state television which is largely controlled by Mr. Miloshevic’s Socialist Party, the successor of the Serbian Communist Party launched a tirade against secessionist Slovenia, with archive films showing Hitler being greeted by applauding crowds on his entry into the Slovenian city of Maribor in April 1941.’ (July 9, 1991, A8)

‘From all appearances, the day’s events left the would-be peacemakers of the European Community no closer to a solution than when they started the formal process of a peace conference here at the beginning of September.’(October 19, 1991, A3)

b) The Times of London:

‘Mr. Slobodan Miloshevic, the Serbian President and chief proponent of what is being described as “democratic centralism,” attacked the Slovenes for wanting to ‘rule their own feudal estates.’ (January 22, 1990, 9)

‘Several party leaders expressed the view that leaving Kosovo in Serbian hands and at the mercy of militant Serbian nationalists had proved a disaster.’(January 30, 1990, 8)

‘Meanwhile, in addition to the Muslims and Croats, the Serbs are continuing to bully the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo.’(August 27, 1990, 8)

‘The events of last week, when armed Serbs put up roadblocks throughout the region, terrorizing the population, has been fueled by propaganda in the Belgrade press.’(August 27, 1990, 8)

‘The Yugoslav army has been accused of being too closely involved in

politics.’(February 6, 1991, 9)

‘The decision which reflected the style of leadership being practiced by Slobodan Miloshevic, the president of Serbia, was followed by Mr. Miloshevic’s vow that Serbia would no longer feel bound by the presidency’s decision.’(March 20, 1991, 8)

‘The weekend bombardment of the Muslim suburbs was probably among the most intense since the siege of Sarajevo began nine weeks ago.’(June 8, 1992, 10)

Outright Opinion

Outright opinion is the judgment of the author about people or events. This research found no relationship in the frequency count of positive and negative outright opinion. The results of the complex chi-square tests for both favorable and unfavorable types of this bias were smaller than the table chi-squares (positive = $3.047 < 15.5$), (negative = $9.750 < 15.5$).

Examples of outright opinion in both newspapers:

The New York Times:

‘In a tense atmosphere of a crew fighting for control of a sinking ship, Yugoslavia’s ruling Communists insulted, challenged and prodded each other on nationwide television, displaying a split in their ranks on the second day of the party’s national congress.’(January, 22, 1990, A8)

The Times of London:

‘Ante Markovic, the popular prime minister who has the reputation of being acceptable to all Yugoslavs, is to form his own party.’(July 30, 1990, 6)

Photographic Bias

Bias in photographs is determined by the caption. This research did not find any relationship between the level count of positive/ negative photographs and the newspapers. The result of the complex chi-square test was smaller than the table chi-square ($2.961 < 9.5$ positive) and ($1.126 < 6.0$ negative). Both newspapers wrote short sentences underneath each photograph explaining it.

Summary

This research found no relationships between the frequency of frequency occurrence of attribution bias, adverbial bias, contextual bias (favorable), outright opinion, photographic bias and the two Western newspapers, The New York Times and The Times of London.

The research found weak relationships between the frequency of occurrences of adjective bias (favorable and unfavorable), contextual bias (unfavorable), and the newspapers.

The research found weak relationships between the frequency of occurrences of unfavorable (negative) types of bias overall and the two newspapers. It also found weak relationships between the frequency of occurrences of types of bias overall and the two newspapers.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

Summary

The events in the former Yugoslavia attracted journalists and reporters from all over the world. The breakdown of a former socialist country into smaller countries which did not agree with the policy followed by Belgrade's former communist (so-called socialist) government, not only was a problem for the European continent since World War II, but also for many other countries around the world.

The author of this study selected two important Western newspapers to examine how they covered the events from January 1990 through May 1994.

The New York Times and The Times of London are representatives of two different countries which have democratic governments in power. The two newspapers have their own journalists who wrote about the events in the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. It was hypothesized by the author of this research that the two democratic newspapers, The New York Times and The Times of London covered the Yugoslavian events and civil war similarly. The general hypothesis was that both newspapers reflected similar attitudes in their reporting.

From the general hypothesis, four specific research questions were developed:

1. Was there any difference between the newspapers in the frequency of favorable/positive types of bias overall?

2. Was there any difference between the two newspapers in the frequency of unfavorable/negative types of bias overall?

3. Was there any difference between The New York Times and The Times of London in the overall frequency and types of bias?

4. Did the news stories in the two newspapers reflect any political bias and opinionated reporting toward the war in the former Yugoslavia?

The null hypotheses were developed based on the research questions and the general hypothesis:

1. There was not any difference between The New York Times and The Times of London in the frequency of favorable types of bias.

2. There was not any difference between The New York Times and The Times of London in the frequency of unfavorable types of bias.

3. There was not any difference in the overall frequency and types of bias overall between the two newspapers.

4. The news stories in both newspapers did not reflect any political bias or opinionated reporting toward the war in former Yugoslavia.

The findings of the research, based on the six definitions of Merrill's types of bias (1965), supported research questions # 1, # 2, and # 3. Significant differences were found between the total types of bias of The New York Times and the total types of bias of The Times of London overall. The Times of London had more occurrences of total types of bias than The New York Times. The study found that The Times had more occurrences of favorable types of bias than The New York Times. The Times of London

had also more unfavorable types of bias than The New York Times. The results of these findings were developed through simple chi-square statistical tests.

The findings supported research question # 4. The research found weak relationships between the frequency count of adjective bias (favorable and unfavorable), contextual bias (unfavorable), and The New York Times and The Times of London.

The study found weak relationships between the newspapers and the frequency count of unfavorable (negative) types of bias overall. It also found weak relationships between the newspapers and the frequency count of types of bias overall.

The news stories of both newspapers reflected opinionated reporting and political bias directed toward Serbia and support of Bosnia; this bias was recognized in terms of the adjectives the two newspapers used in their news stories to describe the Serbs (as 'hard-line communists' 'diehard leaders') and the Bosnians (as 'peaceful people' 'special Bosnian status'). Opinionated reporting and political bias were found in terms of relationships between frequency count of unfavorable contextual bias, favorable and unfavorable adjective bias, unfavorable types of bias overall, types of bias overall and the two newspapers. The simple chi-square tests showed significant differences between the unfavorable contextual bias and the newspapers. The Times of London showed a trend at two different frequencies more than The New York Times. The simple chi-square tests showed significant differences between the frequency of occurrences of the newspapers and the types of bias overall. The New York Times showed a trend at four different frequencies more than The Times of London.

However, other findings did not support research question # 4. The news stories did not reflect any political bias or opinionated reporting in terms of relationships between frequency count of favorable contextual bias, attribution bias, (favorable and unfavorable), adverbial bias (favorable and unfavorable), outright opinion (favorable and unfavorable), photographic bias (favorable and unfavorable) and The New York Times and The Times of London.

Some examples of the types of bias based on Merrill's study found in The New York Times and The Times of London were as follows:

Attribution Bias: Both newspapers frequently used other verbs instead of the verb "say." Examples in: The New York Times: "charged," "threatened." The Times of London: "accused," "provoked."

Adjective Bias: The New York Times used: "baleful," "haunting," "unarmed." The Times of London: "angry," "peaceful," "stormy."

Adverbial Bias: Neither newspaper had much adverbial bias. However, they used it in their news stories. The New York Times: "immediately," "possibly," "ethnically divided." The Times of London: "dramatically," "widely," "deliberately."

Contextual Bias: The newspapers involved opinionated reporting toward the Yugoslavian civil war by using the contextual type of bias. The New York Times: "Slobodan Miloshevic, the President of Serbia, emerged from a week of virtual seclusion to meet with an audience dominated by hand-picked professors and students at Belgrade University. The question-and-answer session lasted more than four hours." (March 20, 1991, A3) The Times of London: "Mr. Slobodan Miloshevic, the Serbian President and

chief proponent of what is being described as “democratic centralism,” attacked the Slovenes for wanting to “rule their own feudal estates.” (January 22, 1990, 9)

Outright Opinion: An example of this type of bias from The New York Times: “In a tense atmosphere of a crew fighting for control of a sinking ship, Yugoslavia’s ruling Communists insulted, challenged and prodded each other on nationwide television, displaying a split in their ranks on the second day of the party’s national congress.” (January 22, 1990, A8) The Times of London: “Ante Markovic, the popular prime minister who has the reputation of being acceptable to all Yugoslavs, is to form his own party.” (July 30, 1990, 6)

Photographic Bias: The New York Times and the Times of London presented in their coverage of international news stories both favorable and unfavorable photographs. However, the complex chi-square test showed no relationship between the frequency count of photograph bias and the two newspapers.

The results of this research supported the general hypothesis in the terms of relationship between frequency count of different types of bias and the two newspapers. Both newspapers exhibited similar attitudes toward the former Yugoslav civil war. The Times of London had more favorable/positive and unfavorable/negative types of bias overall than The New York Times.

In general, out of 15 complex chi-square tests, 10 tests showed no relationship between the type of bias and the newspaper, so that it can be concluded that there was no difference between the two newspapers and their coverage of the events in the former Yugoslavia.

However, the other five tests showed weak relationships between the type of bias and the two newspapers. The journalists who reported in the news stories of both newspapers had their biases toward the former Yugoslavia, which might have been due to their background, knowledge of the area, and its different traditions, as well as their knowledge of languages. The New York Times had fewer instances of bias overall than The Times of London. This might have been because the American foreign policy considered the situation in the former Yugoslavia a problem of Europe. The journalists present their own countries' foreign policy in their news stories. As Graber mentioned in her book Mass Media and American Politics, the journalists cover issues "keeping America's national interests and policy objectives in mind."¹

Readers on the other hand expect journalists to objectively report the news. Media sources play important roles in their perception. Although there is no absolute objectivity, in order to fulfill the doctrine of social responsibility, the journalists should be responsible in presenting the truth about certain events.

Recommendations

This research was limited to four and a half years (January 1990 - May 1994) in coverage of the events which took place in the former Yugoslavia. At present, the Yugoslavian civil war is still happening, thus this research can be extended. The study can be extended to the situation before the 1990s and after May 1994. It can also be extended in the coverage of the different emerging nations within the former Yugoslavia.

If American foreign policy changes toward the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, future research can be conducted in the coverage of the American newspapers, to see if they will follow the lead of foreign policy as Graber suggested.

The research can be extended by examining not only Western newspapers, but also newspapers from the former communist countries of Eastern Europe.

A content analysis of the Serb publications can also be conducted, to see the development of their propagandistic communication as a process within the events in the former Yugoslavia.

Conclusion

The study found that the news stories of both newspapers reflected different types of bias and opinionated reporting toward Serbia and support of Bosnia. Opinionated reporting was recognized in terms of the adjectives the two newspapers used in their news stories to describe the Serbs (as 'hard-line communists' 'diehard leaders') and the Bosnians (as 'peaceful people' 'special Bosnian status').

Opinionated reporting and political bias were found in terms of relationships between frequency count of unfavorable contextual bias, unfavorable types of bias overall, types of bias overall and the two newspapers.

Objectivity in the news stories is important, even though it is a difficult task to be accomplished since the judgments of the journalists are based on their background. Thus, the moral obligation of the journalists should make them avoid types of bias and report facts accurately.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

ARTICLES FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES
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