A COMPARISON STUDY OF THE PERSIAN GULF

CRISIS COVERAGE BY TIME AND TEMPO

FROM AUGUST 2, 1990 THROUGH

JANUARY 15, 1991

By

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This is a case study using content analysis. The primary objective of this study was to find out how the Persian Gulf crisis, especially Saddam Hussein's image, was presented by _Time_ and _Tempo_ during the first phase of the crisis, directly after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990 until the expiration of the United Nations' deadline on January 15, 1991.

It would be hard to complete this study without receiving any help from others.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

The involvement of the government of the United States in the Persian Gulf crisis has brought some impact on American life. The U.S. victory in the war has made Americans confident and proud of their country's role in the world democracy. On the other hand, the U.S. economy has continued to decline by its spending for military during the war. Fluctuating oil prices have affected the general economic conditions. On one side, increasing price of oil brought problems for the U.S. On the other side, increasing oil prices benefited the economy of Indonesia.

This unstable military and economic situation might have affected the media coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis. Another factor that might have affected American media coverage is the traditionally pro-Israeli policy of the U.S. government. The American media then might have reflected a negative bias in its coverage of the crisis because of Saddam Hussein's threat to Israel.

For Indonesia, an oil producer and member of OPEC, the Persian Gulf crisis has had a positive effect of increasing oil prices and benefiting the Indonesian economy (Tempo, Oct. 27, 1990).

Response to the Persian Gulf crisis might provide an opportunity to look for positive bias in news coverage of the crisis in Indonesian media. Other factors that might reflect positive bias are common religious interests and a traditional

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pro-Arab policy. Most Indonesian people are Muslim, even though Indonesia is not an Islamic country (Grant, 1966). Moreover, the Indonesian government has a pro-Arab policy. So, these two other factors might also cause positive bias in news coverage by Indonesian media.

Statement of Problem

Bias in news coverage has been a continual problem. The ground rule is that media should attempt to cover news objectively (Graber, p. 12). Since reporters are human – influenced by many factors – bias cannot be avoided in news coverage. Bias, however, is not always negative; it can also be positive.

The first of the three aspects to be studied in this thesis is the frequency of occurrences of bias in the Persian Gulf crisis news coverage in <u>Tempo</u> and <u>Time</u> magazines. The second aspect to be studied is the different types of bias reflected in the Gulf crisis news coverage by the two magazines. And the third aspect to be addressed in this thesis is the amount of space given to news related to the Persian Gulf crisis covered by <u>Tempo</u> and <u>Time</u> magazines.

Purpose

One assumption of the study is that bias in news reporting on the Persian Gulf crisis by <u>Tempo</u> and <u>Time</u> magazines is associated with the national interests of Indonesia and the United States.

This study also addresses several related factors which might be associated with the amount of coverage of the crisis in the two magazines.

The purposes of this research are:

1. To identify the bias in the Persian Gulf crisis news reporting by <u>Tempo</u> and <u>Time</u> magazines.

2. To provide data about the amount of space devoted to the Persian Gulf crisis news coverage by the two magazines from August 2, 1990 through January 15, 1991.

Research Objectives

The research method of this study is content analysis. The researcher will examine all issues of _Tempo_ and _Time_ magazines published from August 2, 1990 through January 15, 1991.

The research questions that are to be answered are as follows:

a. Do the news stories indicate political bias?

b. What images of Saddam Hussein and Israel are presented in the two magazines?

c. Are there any differences in the images of Saddam Hussein and Israel presented in the two magazines?

d. Are the economic conditions of the U.S. and Indonesia related to the bias in the two magazines?

e. Are there any differences in the degree of positive news coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis by the two magazines?

f. Do the news stories involve subjective news reporting?

Significance of the Study

The value of this study is that it examines how _Tempo_ and _Time_ magazines covered the Persian Gulf crisis in an attempt to compare possible bias in the news coverage of both magazines.

This study is based on the assumption that the media should be fair and balanced in reporting news. The two magazines have been evaluated as to how well they have achieved objectivity in reporting on the Persian Gulf crisis.

This assumption was based on the media codes of responsibility that guide journalists in reporting the news. Time magazine has the American Society of Newspaper Editors Statement of Principles as its guideline. This code covers freedom of the press, responsibility, truth and accuracy, and fair play (Rivers, 1988). On the other hand, Tempo has the Press Act of 1966 No. 11 entitled "The Basic Principles of the Press" which is the only code for printed media in Indonesia. This code only mentions the function of the press as the instrument of revolution without further guidelines for journalists (Kurian, 1982).

The result of this study may create an awareness of several factors that cause bias in news coverage. It may also warn and challenge media to report stories more objectively.

Scope and Limitation of the Study

The scope of this study is to investigate whether or not Tempo and Time magazines have different biases in reporting the Persian Gulf crisis.

Since the crisis can be divided into three phases (before the war, during the war and after the war), the selected research period is from August 2,1990 through January 15, 1991 (before the war). This allows a specific comparison to determine if those two magazines have different bias in their coverage of the crisis before the United Nation deadline for Iraq to leave Kuwait.

A limitation of this study is that it only examines the Persian Gulf crisis news coverage in international and national sections in Tempo and Time magazines.

Outline of the Remainder of the Thesis

Chapter II, Literature Review - consists of studies that have been conducted in relation to objectivity of news coverage, media responsibility, and other literature relevant to the research.

Chapter III, Methodology - consists of a description of the content analysis approach, data coding and collection, and statistical tests.

Chapter IV, Analysis of Data - presents analyses, and describes the findings.

Chapter V, Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations - summarizes the findings and the first three chapters, and makes recommendations based on findings for further study.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Objectivity

Objectivity in news reporting is difficult to achieve, although a lot of studies on objectivity have been done by many scholars. Objectivity will remain an ideal because news judgment is influenced by subjective or personal judgment of the journalists.

Previous Studies of Objectivity

John Kobler (1965) said that since _Time_ magazine's founding in 1923, its editors have insisted that objectivity in news presentation is impossible and _Time_ writers should make a judgment in their articles.

In 1965, Dr. John C. Merrill, then professor of journalism at the University of Missouri, found that _Time_ used six categories of bias to stereotype Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy. The six categories of bias follow.

1. Attribution bias is bias which is contained in the synonym for the word "said." Example: "Truman grinned."

2. Adjective bias is bias which attempt to build up an impression of the person described by using adjectives. Example: "Eisenhower, a patient and peaceful man."

3. Adverbial bias is bias which tends to create an impression in the reader's mind by using adverbs. Example: "Eisenhower said warmly."

4. Outright opinion equals to the writer's judgment or approval of the occurrences, persons, or objects he is describing.

5. Contextual bias is bias in whole sentences, whole paragraphs, or entire story.

6. Photographic bias is what overall impression the photographs give and what the captions say/imply.

Merrill also divided the bias in stereotyping the three U.S. Presidents into positive and negative bias. Merrill's findings showed that Time was neutral in reporting on Kennedy, had a strong positive bias toward Eisenhower, and a strong negative bias toward Truman.

Merrill concluded that Time editorialized its regular news columns and used a whole series of tricks to bias the stories. Therefore, Time presented the stories to the readers with highly loaded essays of a subjective type.

Fred Fedler, Ron Smith, and Mike Meeske (1983) also did research on bias in Time and Newsweek toward John, Robert, and Edward Kennedy. They found that both magazines used some of Merrill's bias techniques. The results of their study showed that Time and Newsweek had more favorable statements about John Kennedy than about either of his brothers.

The researchers also pointed out that Time tended to use more colorful phrasing.

No current study of bias in Tempo was located.

Objectivity and Power

Objectivity is an ideal and it is essential for media to pursue this ideal (Schiller, p. 87).

According to Dan Schiller (1981), objectivity is neutral or unbiased reporting of what often seem to be naturally occurring events. Objectivity

facilitates the otherwise difficult belief that the newspaper "mirrors" or "reflects" the reality.

Objectivity is difficult to achieve because, as Walter Lippmann (1965) said, "media cannot tell the truth objectively because the truth is subjective and entails more probing and explanation."

Many societal values can influence objectivity and news judgment. Bernard Roshco (1975) showed that "the content of news overall is shaped by the dominant values in American society." Gerbner theorized that "there is no fundamentally non-ideological, apolitical, non-partisan, news gathering and reporting system: all news is views."

News content to some degree reflects the views of reporters, editors, and owners or publishers who have power to make judgments upon the news contents. Therefore, as Walter Lippmann (1965) said, "the audience does not receive a complete image of the political scene: it gets a highly selective series of glimpses instead."

So media, like all social institutions, are products of their environment. And societal factors determine what is and what is not news (Graber, 1984).

Schiller (1981) argued that objective news arose in a predominantly commercial context. According to this view, objectivity is connected with the transformation of the newspaper or other kind of media into a commodity. Therefore, media attempt to be fair in serving the interests of their clients (advertisers). In response to Schiller's assumption, Phillips said that "the news media may indeed be biased, but in a direction which benefits the interests of political and economic elites" (Schiller, 1981). He wrote that objectivity as a cultural form with its own set of conventions clearly challenges the more common assumption that objectivity equals the absence or reduction of political bias.

J. Herbert Altschull, in his book <u>Agents of Power</u> (1984), pointed out that the mass media are the agents of those who hold the economic, political, and social power in any system. Altschull described three models of the press: the market (or capitalist) model, the Marxist (or socialist) model, and the advancing (or developing countries) model.

The purposes of the press in the market model are "to seek truth, to be socially responsible, to inform or educate in a non-political way, to serve the people, to support capitalist doctrine, and to serve as a watchdog of government." In the advancing model, the purposes of the press are mainly to help government to build the country and to educate the people (Altschull, 1984).

The U.S. with its capitalist system fits the market model of mass media. As Altschull explained that the purposes of media in the market model are "to seek truth, to be socially responsible, to inform in a non-political way, to serve the people impartially, to support capitalist doctrine, and to serve as a watchdog of government" (Altschull, 1984).

Even though most media in Indonesia are privately owned, the Indonesian government has a control over the media through censorship. Media are used to help the government in educating and informing the people about government plans and policies.

Indonesia as a developing country fits the advancing model of mass media. In the advancing model, media have the obligation to help the government by informing people about what the government is doing and what the government is going to do.

In sum, Walter Cronkite said that journalists' bias is not a matter of conscious bias, but rather of the necessarily partial perspective through which social reality is filtered (Graber, p. 116).

Objectivity and General Semantics

The selection of words influences the objectivity of news stories. And studying objectivity cannot avoid an examination of language.

"General Semantics deals with the relationship between language and reality and with the ways in which language influences our thinking" (Severin & Tankard, p. 65).

Wendell Johnson wrote in People in Quandaries (1946), that language is static, limited, and abstract, but reality is changing. Reality changes faster than words do. Therefore, people have to realize the change and use up-to-date language to express something. Objectivity, which is assumed to be the true picture of the real world, cannot be seen by people who are unwilling to see the changes.

S.I. Hayakawa, in his book Language in Thought and Actions, described the devices of effective communication: metaphor, simile, allusion, irony, pathos and humor.

Metaphor is a direct expression of evaluation and is bound to occur whenever we have strong feelings to express" (p. 122). Examples: "stormin' Norman" and "the Saudi Royal family talked like impatient hawks and worried doves."

Simile is something of a compromise stage between the direct, unreflecting expression of feeling and the report (p. 123). Example: "an outright horse swap."

Allusion is a kind of implied simile which is an extremely quick way of expressing and also of creating in our hearers shades of feeling (p. 125). Example: "Saddam Hussein had been compared to Hitler."

Irony, pathos, and humor can be reflected in photographs or used in news content to express the writers' obvious or implied attitudes (p. 126). Example: an angry and ugly looking Saddam Hussein was depicted by Time and Tempo to show his ominous personality.

According to Hayakawa, reports should adhere to verification, inferences, and judgments. Therefore, reports must be accurate and can be verified. Reports must also use easy-to-understand terms and language.

In sum, personal interests, background, and experience influence the selection and abstraction process of language being used in news stories.

Summary

Objectivity as a picture of reality is difficult to achieve because language and power influence objectivity in news reporting. The news magazines, Time and Tempo, both showed their bias in their coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis. Most of their bias appeared in their portrayal of Saddam Hussein.

Gerbner's formulation: "all news is views" substantiated Gaye Tuchman's (1978) comment that "the act of making news is the act of constructing reality itself rather than a picture of reality." There is no pure presentation of reality in news because news is reported from the views of the writers; therefore, objectivity will always remain an ideal for journalists.

However, objectivity is likely to remain an important guiding principle for journalists. To be objective, journalists should tell the truth about the facts in order to give fair information. Also, the balanced presentation of opposing viewpoints are the identifying mark of objective reporting (Graber, 1984).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology of this study. Content analyses of _Time_ and _Tempo_ coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis were conducted. The two magazines were chosen because of their similarities in format and news content, their prestige, and their leading roles in national and international news.

Magazine Profiles

Time Magazine

Time was founded in 1923 by Henry Luce and Briton Hadden. The founders said that _Time_ was directed to serve the modern necessity of keeping people well informed. In 1990, _Time_'s circulation was four million (Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory, 1990-1991, p. 1967). _Time_'s goal is to "better serve the needs of busy, curious, intelligent readers" (_Time_, 1988, p.4). Some of _Time_'s routine columns are Nation, Science, Music, People, Medicine, Books, and Cinema.

<u>Tempo Magazine</u>

<u>Tempo</u> was founded in March 1971. With its current circulation of 160,000 (Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory, 1990-1991, p. 1936), <u>Tempo</u> has become the largest and most prestigious news-magazine in Indonesia (The Statesmen Year Book). <u>Tempo</u>'s goal is to provide first hand reporting which is enjoyable and readable (<u>Tempo</u>, March 9, 1991). Some of <u>Tempo</u>'s routine columns are Nation, International, People, Crime, Cinema/Theater, Books and Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian Language).

Categories of Analysis

Merrill categorized media bias into six categories: attribution bias, adjective bias, adverbial bias, contextual bias, outright opinion, and photographic bias (1965, p. 564). The six categories of bias are described as follow.

<u>Attribution Bias</u>

Attribution bias is bias which originates from the magazine's means of attributing information to the source. The bias is contained in the verb. For example, the verb "said" is neutral. The attribution verb "smiled" is a positive term, but "snapped" is a negative term. Attribution bias also includes verbs that refer to favorable and unfavorable actions.

<u>Adjective Bias</u>

Adjective bias is bias that tries to develop an impression of the person described by using adjectives, favorable or unfavorable, in connection with the

person (Merrill, p. 564). For example, "He is a child-loving person" (favorable) and "He is an amoral crusader" (unfavorable). These expressions are very subjective. An example of a neutral term is "brown sugar"; it merely describes a characteristic of something.

Adverbial Bias

Adverbial bias is determined by the used of adverb to create a favorable or unfavorable impression in the reader's mind by telling how or why a person said or did something (Merrill, p.564). For instance, "He explains his goal clearly" (favorable), and "Israeli soldiers brutally killed Palestinians" (unfavorable).

Contextual Bias

Contextual bias is bias in whole sentences or paragraphs. The purpose of this bias is to present the person reported on in a favorable or an unfavorable light by the overall meaning of the report and not by specific words and phrases alone. For instance, "Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was intended to ease all of its debt to Kuwait and raise the price of oil."

Outright Opinion

Outright opinion is the most blatant and obvious type of bias or subjectivity in news writing (Merrill, p. 565). S.I. Hayakawa said that the expression of opinion by the publication might be called "presenting a judgment" (Hayakawa, p. 42). Hayakawa defined "judgment" as "all expression of the writer's approval or disapproval of the occurrences, persons or objects he is describing" (Hayakawa, p. 42). For example:

Bush has also failed so far to answer effectively the anti-war critics who are becoming more outspoken: demonstrations hoisting placards reading 'No Blood For Oil' now turn up at nearly every presidential appearance around the country" (Time, Nov.26, 1990, p.33).

Photographic Bias

Photographic bias can be identified by how a person presented in photographs -- whether he is angry or happy or calm or nervous, etc.

This study identified and counted all examples of positive and negative bias in the sample.

Unit of Analysis

1. Each individual story including its headlines and photos was the unit of analysis.
2. The length of coverage, square inches of each article related to the Persian Gulf crisis was the unit of analysis.

Sampling

In this study, the researcher conducted content analyses of the Persian Gulf crisis news coverage in two weekly newsmagazines -- Time and Tempo.

The Persian Gulf crisis can be divided into three phases: before the war, during the war and after the war. The researcher chose the first phase from the time Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990 until the expiration of UN deadline on January 15, 1991. The reason for choosing this sample period was to see how objective the two magazines were in reporting the crisis before the ground war began and casualties were inflicted, because media will tend to have greater unfairness in their news reporting after a war breaks out.

The universe was comprised of 85 news stories related to the Persian Gulf crisis in Time and Tempo. The researcher chose a 95% level of confidence to see the significant results of the statistical tests of this study.

Coding

Two coders were used in this study: the researcher and Johannes H. Tiono, M.S., an Oklahoma State University graduate. The coders worked independently. Each coder read every article about the Persian Gulf crisis from August 2, 1990 through January 15, 1991 in Time and Tempo magazines and then recorded the appearances of bias according to the Merrill's six categories of bias and categorized the bias into positive and negative. When there were disagreements or doubts about the words or statements in the articles, they discussed the articles and arrived at an agreement.

Statistical Analysis

The data collected were nominal. A chi-square analysis was used to examine the content differences and the relationship between Time and Tempo magazines in their coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis. The 95% level of confidence was used to determine the significance of this study.

Research Questions

This study attempted to answer the following questions for Time and Tempo magazines' news coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis from August 1990 through January 1991.

1. Do the news stories indicate political bias?

2. What images of Saddam Hussein and Israel are presented in the two magazines?

3. Are there any differences in the images of Saddam Hussein and Israel presented in the two magazines?

4. Are the economic conditions of the U.S. and Indonesia related to the bias in the two magazines?

5. Are there any differences in the type of bias in the Persian Gulf crisis news coverage?

6. Do the news stories involve subjective reporting?

Hypotheses

Generally, it was hypothesized that _Time_ and _Tempo_ have different biases and attitudes toward the Persian Gulf crisis because the U.S. and Indonesia, where both magazines originated, have different political policies toward Middle Eastern countries and toward Israel. Also, different religion and economic conditions might result in different biases and attitudes.

Seven specific hypotheses were developed to find out how biased _Time_ and _Tempo_ were in reporting the crisis.

1. The two magazines have different frequencies of bias.

2. The nature of news coverage of the crisis by _Time_ is different from that of _Tempo_.

3. _Time_ and _Tempo_ have different type of bias with respect to Merrill's six categories of bias.

4. The bias in the magazines is associated with the political policies of the countries (the U.S. and Indonesia) where both magazines were originated.

5. Religion is related to bias in both magazines.

6. The economic conditions of both countries (the U.S. and Indonesia) result in bias in both magazines.

7. There are significant differences between the square inches of the Persian Gulf crisis coverage by Time and Tempo during the sample period.

Definition of Terms

1. The term "Political policies" was defined as the relationship between the U.S. and Israel, and between Indonesia and Israel.

2. The term "Economic conditions" was defined as oil prices and oil production.

3. "Religion" refers to Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam.

4. "Nature of news coverage" was defined as any information about the Persian Gulf crisis reporting in Time and Tempo, except photographs and their captions.

5. "Bias" was defined as expressions that may influence people's perceptions and attitudes. Bias was categorized into:
   - "Positive bias," defined as expressions that create favorable attitudes.

   and

   - "Negative bias" defined as expressions that create unfavorable attitudes.

6. "Categories of bias" referred to Merrill's six categories of bias: attribution bias, adjective bias, adverbial bias, contextual bias, outright opinion and photographic bias.

Following Fedler's 1979 study, isolated words and phrases here were classified as one of these kinds of bias: attribution, adjective or adverb. Whole sentences were classified as outright opinion of the author. And entire paragraphs were classified as contextual bias. Photographs and their captions were also evaluated in this study.

7. "Magazine" referred to the <u>Time</u> and <u>Tempo</u> articles that were analyzed in this study.

Intercoder Reliability

An intercoder reliability test was conducted to examine coders' reliability in counting and categorizing bias. The formula for intercoder reliability test is

$$R = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}$$

where M is the number of coding decisions on which the two coders agree, and N1 and N2 represent the total decisions made by coder number 1 and coder number 2 respectively.

The intercoder reliability coefficient (R) is .89. On the scale of 0 to 1.0, where 1.0 is perfect reliability, .89 indicates a high reliability in coders' decisions.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

This study was a content analysis of articles that related to the Persian Gulf crisis coverage by _Time_ and _Tempo_ from August 2, 1990 through January 15, 1991.

By conducting statistical tests, the author tried to examine the hypotheses that had been developed for this study. Generally, it was hypothesized that _Time_ and _Tempo_ had different biases and attitudes toward the Persian Gulf crisis. From the general hypothesis, seven specific hypotheses were developed to find out how biased _Time_ and _Tempo_ were in reporting the crisis:

1. The two magazines have different frequencies of bias.
2. The nature of news coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis by _Time_ is different from that of _Tempo_.
3. _Time_ and _Tempo_ have different types of bias with respect to Merrill's six categories of bias.
4. The bias in the magazines is associated with the political policies of the countries (the U.S. and Indonesia) where both magazines originated.
5. Religion is related to bias in both magazines.
6. The economic conditions of both countries (the U.S. and Indonesia) result in bias in both magazines.

7. There are significant differences between the square inches devoted to the Persian Gulf crisis coverage by _Time_ and _Tempo_ during the sample period.

Findings

Overall, _Time_ published 45 articles concerning the Persian Gulf crisis, and _Tempo_ published 40 articles during the sample period.

Time's coverage of the crisis started on August 6, 1990 with one article of three pages. After that, _Time_ continued its coverage of the crisis with the average of three articles per issue and each article occupied three pages on average. The 45 articles in _Time_ occupied 143 pages. _Time_ had the most extensive coverage of the crisis from the second issue of August 1990 through November 1990. _Time_'s coverage of the crisis began to decrease between December 1990 and the first issue in January 1991.

Tempo started reporting the Persian Gulf crisis on August 4, 1990. The first issue had one article about the crisis which covered two pages. _Tempo_ had a total of 40 articles which occupied 102 pages. In each issue, _Tempo_ had an average of two articles of three pages each. After the first issue in August 1990, _Tempo_ continued its extensive coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis until October 1990. _Tempo_'s coverage of the crisis declined in November and December 1990, but it became extensive again in the last two issues in the sample period.

Chi-square analyses with 0.05 percent level of confidence were conducted to find the significance of this study.

<u>August 1990</u>

Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990 and stories about this invasion appeared in <u>Time</u> and <u>Tempo</u> magazines.

Both magazines portrayed Saddam Hussein as a "dictator" who was "greedy" for regional dominance. <u>Tempo</u> not only criticized Saddam Hussein, but also praised him as a "role model, hard worker, strong and child-loving person." But <u>Time</u>'s coverage was full of criticism toward Saddam Hussein. <u>Time</u> called Saddam Hussein "the crude enforcer" who is "hungry for money but greedier still for regional dominance."

<u>Tempo Magazine</u>. <u>Tempo</u> described Iraq's invasion of Kuwait as "snarled," the purpose of which was intended to ease all of its debt to Kuwait and raise the price of oil (August 4, 1990, p.34). <u>Tempo</u> reported that Iraq accused Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates of being "allied" with the United States for the purpose of decreasing the price of oil. <u>Tempo</u> also added that Iraq's economy was not running well. <u>Tempo</u> said, therefore, that Iraq's "anger" at Kuwait was "acceptable."

<u>Tempo</u> reported that after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait,the United States had been "yelling loudly" about its fear of possible Iraqi aggression toward Saudi Arabia. <u>Tempo</u> declared Saddam Hussein a "dictator" who has "strong ambition" to wield authority (August 11, 1990, p. 73).

<u>Tempo</u> further described Kuwait as a small country which tried to use its money to get the allies to support Kuwait in its conflict with Iraq (August 25, 1990, p. 31).

Generally, during August 1990, Tempo held two opposing views. On one side, Tempo negatively depicted Iraq and Saddam Hussein. But on the other side, Tempo praised Saddam Hussein's personality.

Time Magazine. Time described Saddam Hussein as an "audacious" and "ruthless" person who was "hungry for money" and "greedy for regional dominance" (August 13, 1990). Time also called Saddam Hussein the "imperious" and "amoral crusader" who was intent on making himself the "new Gamal Abdel Nasser," "master," "hero" of the entire Arab world (August 6 & 20, 1990).

Time said that the Iraqi attack on Kuwait was "brutal" and "illegal," because as a "tiny" country, Kuwait was "incapable" of defending itself against Iraq (August 6, 1990, p. 46).

Time also praised President Bush's "ability" to protect America's interest abroad (August 20, 1990), but Time also called the U.S. "imperialist" with regard to the moderate Arab leaders' views of the U.S. involvement in the Gulf crisis. Time said that moderate Arab leaders, such as Mubarak and King Hussein, will tilt toward Saddam Hussein if the showdown in Saudi Arabia begins to look like a conflict that pits the "imperialist" U.S. against Iraq. Moreover, Time also described that King Hussein of Jordan as "ambivalent" in his position in the conflict.

Overall, in August 1990, Time negatively pictured Saddam Hussein's personality and action.

September 1990

The two magazines continued their coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis, but each magazine had a different emphasis. In its coverage, Tempo emphasized

the development of economic sanctions toward Iraq. On the other hand, <u>Time</u> decreased its criticism of Saddam Hussein, but it continued to praise President Bush.

    <u>Tempo Magazine</u>. <u>Tempo</u> reported that the economic sanctions had only "slight" effects on Iraq. <u>Tempo</u> added that Iraqi people felt "comfortable" about having to be frugal and make sacrifices because the government's "effective propaganda" created "strong confidence" in the Iraqi people (Sept. 15, 1990, p. 74). Furthermore, <u>Tempo</u> described the United Nations as a "worthless" organization which is always "busy" in war and peace problems (Sept. 1, 1990, p. 71).

    <u>Tempo</u> also said that Jordan and Iran were "ambivalent" about their position; they did not know whom they were for (Sept. 22, 1990, p. 33 & Sept. 29, 1990, p. 31).

    In Sept. 1990, <u>Tempo</u> continued to praise Iraqis and to criticize other parties involved in the news.

    <u>Time Magazine</u>. <u>Time</u> continued to criticize Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait as "perfidy" and a "blatant" violation of international law (Sept. 3, 1990, p. 34).

    Saddam Hussein was also described as a "propagandist" who exhibited "truculent" behavior. But, he was praised for making it plain that Saudi Arabia was not quite the "muscular" Arab power it appeared to be (Sept. 24, 1990, p. 39).

    <u>Time</u> described Saudi Arabia as a "secretive" and "deeply conservative" country which suddenly found itself on the edge of change.

Furthermore, Time praised President Bush's skill in mobilizing the battle against Saddam Hussein, but it doubted President Bush's skill in fighting the U.S. deficit.

For the most part during September 1990, Time continued to decrease its criticism Saddam Hussein and began to cover Saudi Arabian politics, military, economic and cultural conditions.

October 1990

Time and Tempo criticized both Saddam Hussein and Israel. Time gave more room to the criticism of Saddam Hussein than did Tempo. On the other hand, Tempo heavily criticized Israel for the killings of Palestinians on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem.

Tempo Magazine. Tempo characterized Israeli soldiers as "brutal soldiers" who killed innocent people praying in the Temple Mount. Tempo also wrote that Israeli soldiers very readily jailed Palestinians and "bulldozed" their homes (Oct. 6, 1990, p. 41).

Tempo reported that Iraq "could not breathe" because of UN economic sanctions. Tempo also wrote that the U.S. had difficulties to hold together the coalition against Saddam because there were a lot of countries involved on its side (Oct. 27,1990, p. 72).

In October 1990, Tempo reported negatively on all parties involved in the conflict, especially Israel.

Time Magazine. Time called Saddam Hussein an "evil," a "dictator," a "propagandist," and "Big Charlie" who is "stubborn" and enjoys the support of the people, but "is not popular" among ordinary people. Iraqi people support

Saddam Hussein only because of their fear of his power (Oct. 8, 1990, p. 33 &
Oct. 15, 1990, p. 54).

Time satirized Saddam Hussein as having "a fresh pretext to link the
takeover of Kuwait with the frustrated Palestinian cause" when the killing in the
Temple Mount in Israel happened (Oct. 22, 1990, p. 38).

Time also criticized Israel for the killing in the Temple Mount. But Time still
praised Israel by comparing Saddam Hussein and Ariel Sharon with regard to
their actions in occupying other nations, saying that "Saddam's methods were
far more ruthless than Sharon's. . . ." (Oct. 29, 1990, p. 50).

Time praised the U.S. and its allies' "powerful" ground, naval and air forces
(Oct.1, 1990, p. 50). President Bush's speech was also admired by Time in its
ability "to strengthen the anti-Saddam alliance" (Oct. 15,1990, p. 51).

Generally, Time's coverage not only presented criticism toward Saddam
Hussein, but it also presented the views of different groups involved in the crisis,
but Time emphasized its coverage by criticizing Saddam Hussein.

November 1990

Tempo continued to criticize the U.S. and Iraq in its November editions and
Time concentrated on President Bush's inability to make clear his plans to move
Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. Saddam Hussein was not heavily criticized by
Time at this time. However, Time's critics worked on President Bush and Saudi
Arabia's royal family and armed forces.

Tempo Magazine. Tempo said that the U.S. and Iraq showed reluctance to
go to war by practicing "balanced tactic." On one side, Iraq showed "fierce"
attitude and did not want to compromise with the UN resolution. On the other

side, the U.S. tried to "threaten" Saddam Hussein in withdrawing from Kuwait by adding to the number of U.S. troops in the Middle East (Nov. 3, 1990, p. 39).

Tempo also continued to elaborate on Saddam Hussein as a "good propagandist" who tried to get the world's attention and sympathy by releasing Western hostages (Nov. 24, 1990, p.73).

In November 1990, Tempo reported Saddam Hussein's propaganda and the practice of "balanced tactic" by the U.S. and Iraq negatively.

Time Magazine. In November 1990, Time criticized President Bush for his inability to clarify his goals and plans to get Iraq out of Kuwait. Time critics said of President Bush: ". . .he has failed to explain his goal clearly," "spreading confusion about his plans, Bush escalates his verbal offensive against Saddam Hussein and then pulls back" (Nov. 12, 1990, p. 24), "the President's inability to clarify how he plans to get Saddam out of Kuwait last week did nothing to halt the confusion" (Nov. 12, 1990, p. 25), "Bush has also failed so far to answer effectively the anti-war critics who are becoming more outspoken" (Nov. 19, 1990, p. 51), "Washington also seems genuinely undecided on some points" (Nov. 19, 1990, p. 50).

Reacting to the anti-war movement, Time described "Americans are notoriously impatient with foreign adventures. . . ." (Nov. 26, 1990, p. 33).

Time reported that different members of the Saudi royal family have talked like "impatient hawks and worried doves" (Nov. 19, 1990, p. 50). Time also wrote of ". . .the traditional unwillingness of Saudi Arabia and most of the other Arab states to provide bases or facilities for American forces" (Nov. 12, 1990, p. 27), and "the Kingdom's below strength and inexperienced army" (Nov. 12, 1990, p. 34).

<u>December 1990</u>

Both magazines, <u>Time</u> and <u>Tempo</u>, increasingly criticized Saddam Hussein. But unlike <u>Tempo</u>, <u>Time</u> covered the news from a military angle with statistics, details of military options and strategies. In general, <u>Time</u> praised the U.S. armed forces and President Bush.

<u>Tempo Magazine</u>. <u>Tempo</u> put much emphasis on Saddam Hussein's "propaganda." <u>Tempo</u> said that Saddam Hussein freed Western hostages to show that he kept his promise to free the hostages before Christmas (Dec. 15, 1990, p. 70). Saddam Hussein was also accused of using "propaganda" by saying that the economic sanctions toward Iraq were inhumane because they were responsible for the death of 1,400 Iraqi children who could not get milk and medicine.

<u>Tempo</u> speculated that Israel was "the main cause" of the impending war in the Persian Gulf because Arab problems were always related to the Israeli occupation of Palestinian land (Dec. 8, 1990, p. 72). <u>Tempo</u> also compared Israel's prisons to Nazi's concentration camps in their brutality. <u>Tempo</u> said that Palestinians in Israeli prisons were brutally abused (Dec. 22, 1990, p. 30).

<u>Tempo</u> mentioned that Saddam Hussein tried to be "sweet" by releasing Western hostages. With this tactic, according to <u>Tempo</u>, Saddam Hussein tried to avoid war.

In December 1990, <u>Tempo</u> reported the Persian Gulf crisis more negatively. It also continued to criticize Saddam Hussein as a propagandist.

<u>Time Magazine</u>. In December 1990, <u>Time</u> praised and supported the U.S. government. <u>Time</u> described that "the superiority of the American aircraft in numbers and technology might be able to sweep the Iraqis from the skies in two

or three days" (Dec. 10, 1990, p. 29). Time was also confident that after Iraq released the hostages, the war against Iraq would be more "manageable" (Dec. 17, 1990, p. 28).

Time continued to criticize the Iraqi military. It said that "the Iraqi military started feeling squeezed" (Dec. 17, 1990, p.32); "the Iraqi troops at this time will be fighting virtually blind," and "the Iraqi logistical troubles would be much worse." Time also called Saddam Hussein an "unpredictable and power-mad" man (Dec. 10, 1990, p. 35).

Moreover, Time described Kuwait as an "arrogant and undemocratic handkerchief of a country. . . ." (Dec. 24, 1990, p. 27).

January 1991

While Tempo continued to criticize Saddam Hussein and to involve the Persian Gulf Crisis emotionally with all Muslims around the world, Time's coverage emphasized domestic problems related to the U.S. involvement in the Crisis.

Tempo Magazine. Tempo reported that not only Iraq used "propaganda" to get sympathy from other nations, but Arab countries also used "propaganda" to attack Saddam Hussein (Jan. 19,1991, p. 27).

Tempo called Saddam Hussein a "dictator" and a "body guard" of Arab countries who was inflexible with the peace solution (Jan. 5, 1991, p. 28). Tempo praised U.S. flexibility, but it criticized President Bush as having "personal ambition to attack Saddam Hussein (Jan. 12, 1991, p. 32).

Furthermore, Tempo predicted that the war in the Persian Gulf will engage the emotions of all Muslims around the world (Jan.12, 1991, p. 32).

In January 1991, Tempo generally presented negative coverage of Iraq, but it positive coverage of the U.S. increased.

Time Magazine. Time stood behind President Bush in criticizing the Congressional leadership's reluctance to challenge the President over going to war. Time reported that "the 535 representatives of the American people disagreed not only with the President but with their own leadership on that question" (Jan. 14, 1991, p. 12).

Meanwhile Time depicted President Bush with admiration as having "successfully" pressed the UN to adopt its January 15 ultimatum (Jan. 14, 1991, p. 12).

Time also reported that the anti-war movement so far lacked any central direction and some of its activists were having trouble in linking up (Jan. 14, 1991, p. 14).

Summary, August 2, 1990 - January 15, 1991

Overall, the Persian Gulf coverage by Time and Tempo was similar with regard to Saddam Hussein after Iraq invaded Kuwait. Both magazines continuously criticized Saddam Hussein's personality and action. From August through November 1990, Time praised and supported President Bush for his foreign policy. Then Time criticized President Bush in December 1990 for his inability to clarify his plans to remove Iraq from Kuwait. But in January 1991, Time continued to support President Bush. Besides criticizing Saddam Hussein, Tempo also heavily criticized Israel for the killings on the Temple Mount, and the West Bank and Gaza occupation.

The bias in Time and Tempo seems to be linked with anti-invasion and political attitudes. The most obvious bias techniques used by both magazines

were colorful language, satire, personal judgment, inference, and mixing facts with opinions.

Bias

In the sample, overall, Time had 376 occurrences of bias and Tempo had 256. See Table I.

TABLE I

TOTAL OCCURRENCES OF BIAS

	Magazines		
	Time	Tempo	Total
Occurrences of Bias	376	256	632

Simple chi-square statistic = 5.38
Table chi-square (p<.05, df=1) = 3.8

The simple chi-square analysis of the total occurrences of bias in Time and Tempo shows there is significant difference at the 0.05 percent level of confidence.

One hundred and ten occurrences of positive bias were found in Time and 58 occurrences of positive bias were found in Tempo. See Table II.

TABLE II

OCCURRENCES OF POSITIVE BIAS

	Magazines		
	Time	Tempo	Total
Occurrences of Positive Bias	110	58	168

Simple chi-square statistic = 0.11
Table chi-square (p<.05, df=1) = 3.8

The simple chi-square analysis of the total occurrences of positive bias between the two magazines shows there is no significant difference at the 0.05 percent level of confidence in which Time had greater amount of positive bias than Tempo.

In terms of occurrences of negative bias, Time had 266 and Tempo had 198. See Table III.

TABLE III

OCCURRENCES OF NEGATIVE BIAS

	Magazines		
	Time	Tempo	Total
Occurrences of Negative Bias	266	198	464

Simple chi-square statistic = 8.99
Table chi-square (p<.05, df=1) = 3.8

The simple chi-square analysis of the total occurrences of negative bias in the two magazines depicts significant difference at the 0.05 level of confidence. Compared to Tempo, Time had more negative bias.

Relationship Between Type of Bias and Magazine

Table IV shows the relationship among the six categories of bias and magazines. See Table IV.

TABLE IV

OCCURRENCES OF SIX CATEGORIES OF
BIAS BY MAGAZINES

Categories of Bias	Time	Tempo	Total
Attribution	14	6	20
Adjective	162	78	240
Adverbial	38	10	48
Contextual	59	67	126
Outright Opinion	60	61	121
Photographic	43	34	77
TOTAL	376	256	632

Complex chi-square statistic = 28.74
Table chi-square (p<.05, df=5) = 11.1

The complex chi-square analysis of the relationship between type of bias and magazine reveals that there is a significant difference in the occurrences of six categories of bias by Time and Tempo at 0.05 percent level of confidence in which Time had more bias than Tempo. The result shows a weak relationship between the two magazines (C=.21).

Relationship Between Bias and Foreign

Policy Toward Israel

Table V shows the occurrences of bias in the Persian Gulf crisis coverage in the relation of the foreign policy of both countries toward Israel. See Table V.

TABLE V

OCCURRENCES OF BIAS IN THE RELATIONSHIP
WITH ISRAEL

	Magazines		
	Time	Tempo	Total
Occurrences of Bias	7	30	37

Simple chi-square statistic = 34.27
Table chi-square (p<.05, df=1) = 3.8

The simple chi-square analysis shows there is a significant difference at the 0.05 percent level of confidence. From the table, it is obvious that Tempo had a much greater amount of bias toward Israel than Time.

Relationship Between Bias and Religion

One example of bias related to religion was found in Time and six

examples were found in Tempo. See Table VI.

TABLE VI

OCCURRENCES OF BIAS IN THE
RELATIONSHIP WITH RELIGION

	Magazines		
	Time	Tempo	Total
Occurrences of Bias	1	6	7

Simple chi-square statistic = 5.25
Table chi-square (p<.05, df=1) = 3.8

The simple chi-square analysis of the relationship between bias and

religion in Time and Tempo reveals that there is significant difference at 0.05

percent level of confidence, but the result is suspected because of the small

numbers.

<u>Comparison of Square Inches of the Persian Gulf</u>

<u>Crisis Coverage by the Two Magazines</u>

Table VII depicts the total of and differences in square inches of the Persian Gulf crisis coverage by <u>Time</u> and <u>Tempo</u>. See Table VII.

TABLE VII

THE SQUARE INCHES OF THE CRISIS
COVERAGE BY MAGAZINES

	Magazines		
	Time	Tempo	Total
Square Inches	4046	2252.75	6298.75

Simple chi-square statistic = 0.15
Table chi-square (p<.05, df=1) = 3.8

The simple chi-square analysis reveals insignificant difference in square inches of the Persian Gulf crisis coverage by <u>Time</u> and <u>Tempo</u> at the 0.05 level of confidence.

Analysis of Data

Besides the analysis of the quantitative findings, there are other observations that are relevant to the findings.

<u>Bias</u>

The findings show that <u>Time</u> and <u>Tempo</u> had significant differences in overall occurrences of bias. The study also found that there were no differences in the occurrences of positive bias toward Saddam Hussein. The results indicate more negative than positive bias toward Saddam Hussein in both magazines. In term of the six categories of bias, the study found significant difference between the two magazines.

<u>Attribution Bias</u>

Attribution bias is bias that contains positive or negative synonyms for the word "say." The findings show that <u>Time</u> used attribution bias twice as often as <u>Tempo</u>, but it might have been due to chance because the result of the simple chi-square statistic is smaller than the table chi-square (.22<3.8). Most attribution verbs used by <u>Time</u> and <u>Tempo</u> were negative.

Examples of attribution verbs used by <u>Time</u>: "warned," "claimed," "thwarted" and "boasted."

Examples of attribution verbs used by <u>Tempo</u>: "yelled," "snarled" and "blamed."

<u>Tempo</u> only had six examples of attribution bias because it is not a <u>Tempo</u> custom as it is culturally impolite to use attribution verbs, especially negative attribution verbs.

Adjective Bias

In this type of bias, adjectives are used to describe people. So, adjectives can be used to build a positive or negative perception or image of a person. The statistical test shows significant difference between Time and Tempo in adjective bias (1.16<3.8). In this study, most adjectives used by Time and Tempo to describe Saddam Hussein were negative. In term of positive adjectives, Tempo had more positive adjectives to describe Saddam Hussein compared to Time.

Examples of adjectives used by Time: "the imperious Iraqi President," "an extended and bloody struggle in the Gulf."

Examples of adjectives used by Tempo: "a dictator," "Saddam's inflexible attitude" and "a child-loving person."

Overall, both magazines built an impression that Saddam Hussein was "cruel, greedy and dangerous." Between the two magazines, Tempo more often described Saddam Hussein as "a dictator" than Time did.

From the total occurrences of adjective bias, Tempo had less adjective bias than Time. This might happen because Indonesian people believe that describing people by using negative adjectives is impolite and arrogant, except to describe people who break social norms or challenge prevailing ideology.

Adverbial Bias

Adverbs are used to create an impression in the readers' minds. Time used adverbs with twice the frequency of Tempo and the statistical test is larger than the table chi-square (4.46>3.8).

Examples of adverbial bias: "flatly rejected," "loudly question," "swinging wildly," "spoken sloppily" and "listened politely."

Adverbs are rarely used in Indonesian language; that might be the reason, therefore, why <u>Tempo</u> had few examples of adverbial bias in its coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis.

<u>Contextual Bias</u>

Contextual bias is bias in whole sentences or paragraphs. An example of contextual bias by <u>Time</u>:

> The "wait a minute" second thoughts echoing on Capitol Hill –
> skittishness in marked contrast to the "let's get him" talk of several
> weeks ago – reflects an increasing reluctance among the American
> public to start shooting.

An example of contextual bias by <u>Tempo</u>:

> But as his bungling of the video op demonstrated, the Iraqi leader –
> who understands little of the outside world, having traveled abroad
> only briefly on a couple of occasions – is taking no counsel.

<u>Tempo</u> had more contextual bias than <u>Time</u> and the statistical test is larger than the table chi-square (16.74>3.8). This might happen because of Indonesian culture and custom. Basically, most Indonesian people do not say or comment on something spontaneously, openly and explicitly. They often say something indirectly or they imply something in their words. As Bruce Grant (1966) pointed out, Indonesian people have a custom not to show negative feelings toward others because strong feelings which upset another person will rebound and one's own emotional equilibrium will be disturbed. Grant also said, "Bluntness is simply not a virtue, and by the time one comes to the point in a well-modelled <u>priyayi</u> (Javanese high class) conversation, everyone should know what is going to be said, and often it is not necessary to come to the point at all" (p. 105). This cultural trait could influence the type of bias in <u>Tempo</u>'s coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis.

Outright Opinion

Outright opinion is the author's personal judgment about something. Though the results of this study indicate that both magazines had outright opinion bias, Tempo had more outright opinion bias than Time. The statistical test is larger than the table chi-square (10.32>3.8); therefore, there is significant difference between the two magazines.

The following examples demonstrate outright opinion bias in the two magazines.

> A Congress that tries to thwart him now could later appear guilty of unseemly partisanship.

> But Saddam's belligerence has only driven his foes to tighten their garrote around Iraq.

In this type of bias, the basic human character of subjectivity is involved in news judgments.

Photographic Bias

Bias in photographs was determined by the overall impression of the photograph and its caption. Most photographs presented by Time and Tempo were negative. Compared to Time, Tempo had more examples of positive photographic biases than Time, but the difference is not significant because the result of the simple chi-square statistic is smaller than the table chi-square (2.02<3.8).

In this case, Time emphasized the effects of the crisis in its photographs. On the other hand, Tempo emphasized its photographs on the Middle Eastern leaders and condition/development in the Middle East countries.

Relationship Between Bias and Foreign

Policy Toward Israel

Tempo had 30 occurrences of bias toward Israel compared to Time which only had seven occurrences of bias toward Israel. Four out of seven occurrences of bias toward Israel by Time were positive in bias. On the other hand, Tempo only had two examples of positive bias toward Israel.

The Indonesian government has an anti-Israel policy and pro-Arab policy. Since the Persian Gulf crisis could not be separated from Israel, Tempo as an Indonesian news magazine held a negative bias toward Israel in its coverage of the crisis. The number of occurrences of bias toward Israel by Tempo increased after the killing of Palestinians on the Temple Mount by Israeli soldiers.

On the other hand, the U.S. government has a pro-Israel policy; therefore, Time as a U.S. magazine gave a good impression of Israel. Though Time criticized the killing on the Temple Mount and used negative bias in reporting the accident, the total amount of positive bias toward Israel by Time was still higher than its negative bias.

In this case, there is a relationship between negative bias toward Israel and the government anti-Israel policy and vice versa.

Relationship Between Bias and Religion

Time only had one example of bias related to religion. On the other hand, Tempo had six occurrences of bias related to religion and only two of them were negative. Most of these examples occurred in the coverage of the killing on the Temple Mount.

Since the majority of Indonesian people are Muslims, the killing on the Temple Mount by Israeli soldiers brought solidarity among Muslims that resulted in positive bias in favor of Islam.

Comparison of the Square Inches of the Persian Gulf Crisis Coverage by Time and Tempo

By using the simple chi-square analysis, it was found that Time devoted significantly more space to the Persian Gulf crisis news than Tempo did. Time's space for the crisis news was two times larger than that of Tempo. This might have happened because the U.S. was involved in the crisis directly.

Summary

The insignificant difference results of this study are in the occurrences of positive bias and comparison of square inches. Therefore, the difference between the two magazines might have been due to chance.

Both magazines showed negative bias in their stories of the Persian Gulf crisis. In general, Saddam Hussein was pictured as "a cruel and greedy dictator." Saddam Hussein was also compared to Hitler in his dictatorship.

Both magazines mixed opinions or subjective judgments with facts. But Time used more colorful words and other semantic distortions than Tempo did.

The findings of this study support:

Hypothesis number 1. The two magazines have different frequencies of bias.

Hypothesis number 2. The nature of Time's news coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis is different from that of Tempo in term of negative bias.

Hypothesis number 3. The two magazines have different types of bias with respect to Merrill's six categories of bias.

Hypothesis number 4. The bias in the magazines is associated with the political policies of the countries where both magazines originated.

Hypothesis number 5. Religion is related to bias in both magazines.

The findings of this study do not support:

Hypothesis number 2. The nature of _Time_'s news coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis is different from that of _Tempo_ in terms of positive bias.

Hypothesis number 7. There are significant differences between the square inches devoted to the Persian Gulf crisis coverage by _Time_ and _Tempo_ during the sample period.

Moreover, hypothesis number 6, the economic conditions of both countries result in bias in both magazines, cannot be proved because the author could not find any bias related to economic conditions in the sample period.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

Summary

Even though _Time_ and _Tempo_ are similar in appearance and style, both magazines come from two countries which have different ideology, tradition, social norms, political and economic conditions. Because of its similarity to _Time_, _Tempo_ has been criticized for translating news from _Time_ and other media (_Tempo_, March 9, 1991). But, in its special edition, _Tempo_'s editor said that by having correspondents abroad, _Tempo_'s own journalists gather information and does not merely translate news from other media (_Tempo_, March 9, 1991, p. 19).

The two magazines have their own correspondents who try to report news in the interest of their readers. It was generally hypothesized that _Time_ and _Tempo_ have different biases and attitudes toward the Persian Gulf crisis.

Hence, seven specific hypotheses were developed and examined in this study:

1. The two magazines have different frequencies of bias.

2. The nature of _Time_'s news coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis is different from that of _Tempo_.

3. _Time_ and _Tempo_ have different types of bias with respect to Merrill's six categories of bias.

4. The bias in the magazines is associated with the political policies of the countries where both magazines originate.

5. Religion is related to bias in both magazines.

6. The economic conditions of both countries (the U.S. and Indonesia) result in bias in both magazines.

7. There are significant differences between the number of square inches devoted to the Persian Gulf crisis coverage by Time and Tempo during the sample period.

This study was also intended to answer the following research questions:

1. Do the news stories indicate political bias?

2. What images of Saddam Hussein and Israel are presented in the two magazines?

3. Are there any differences in the images of Saddam Hussein and Israel presented in the two magazines?

4. Are the economic conditions of the U.S. and Indonesia related to the bias in the two magazines?

5. Are there any differences in the positiveness of the news coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis?

6. Do the news stories involve subjective news reporting?

The study found a significant difference between the two magazines with respect to the total occurrences of bias, occurrences of negative bias, six categories of bias, the relationship between bias and political policies, and the relationship between bias and religion. Therefore, the first, second (negative bias), third, fourth, and fifth hypotheses were supported.

On the other hand, the results show no significant difference between the two magazines with respect to the nature of news coverage in terms of positive

bias and the comparison of square inches. Thus, the second (positive bias) and seventh hypotheses were not supported.

However, the study could not find any bias related to economic conditions. Therefore, the study could not prove the sixth hypothesis.

The findings revealed that Time had more occurrences of bias than Tempo because the result of the statistical test is larger than the table chi-square. Concerning the occurrences of positive and negative bias, Time had more positive and negative bias than Tempo. This might also have been due to chance for positive bias because the statistical test is smaller than the table chi-square. On the other hand, the result of statistical test for negative bias is larger than table chi-square. Both magazines had more negative bias than positive bias toward the Persian Gulf crisis news.

In terms of Merrill's six categories of bias, the statistical tests show that Time had more adjective and adverb bias than Tempo. Time had a higher number of occurrences of adjective bias compared to the other types of bias. On the other hand, Tempo had more contextual and outright opinion bias than Time.

The findings showed that the articles on the Persian Gulf crisis in the two magazines depicted political bias toward Israel. Tempo had more occurrences of political bias toward Israel than Time. Most of the political bias toward Israel by Tempo were negative and most of those biases appeared in the issues after the killing of Palestinians by Israeli soldiers on the Temple Mount.

The findings also showed that the articles related to the Persian Gulf crisis in Time and Tempo revealed religious bias in their news reporting.

Moreover, Time had a larger number of square inches than Tempo in reporting the Persian Gulf crisis during the sample period. But this might have been due to chance because the statistical test is smaller than table chi-square.

Concerning the six categories of bias by Merrill, _Time_ and _Tempo_ used different types of bias:

1. Attribution Bias

   Both magazines had attribution bias, but _Tempo_ only had a few examples of attribution bias. For example, _Time_ used verbs such as "boasted and warned" and _Tempo_ used verbs such as "blamed and snarled" instead of the verb "said."

2. Adjective Bias

   Both magazines described Saddam Hussein as a "cruel, greedy and dangerous dictator." _Time_, however, had more adjective bias than did _Tempo_. An example of adjective bias used by _Time_ is the phrase "the imperious Iraqi President." _Tempo_ had more positive adjective bias than _Time_ in describing Saddam Hussein and other parties involved in the crisis; for example, "He (Saddam Hussein) is a child-loving person."

3. Adverbial Bias

   Tempo did not have a lot of adverbial bias compared to _Time_ which had adverbial bias three times more than _Tempo_. The examples of adverbial bias in the two magazines: "He flatly rejected the proposal" and "Most of its family members have spoken sloppily."

4. Contextual Bias

   Tempo had more contextual bias than _Time_. An example of contextual bias by _Time_:

   > The "wait a minute' second thought echoing on Capitol Hill -
   > a skittishness in marked contrast to the 'let's get him' talk of
   > several weeks ago - reflects an increasing reluctance among
   > the American public to start shooting.

An example of contextual bias by <u>Tempo</u>:

> It is clear that Israel is not in a good position. If the war
> breaks out, Israel can be accused easily as the trigger of the
> war.

5. Outright Opinion Bias

<u>Tempo</u> also had a large amount of outright opinion bias. An example of outright opinion bias was "But Saddam's belligerence has only driven his foes to tighten their garrote around Iraq."

6. Photographic Bias

Most photographs presented by <u>Time</u> and <u>Tempo</u> contained negative bias. Furthermore, <u>Time</u> emphasized the effects of the crisis, the U.S. troops and American leaders in its photos. On the other hand, <u>Tempo</u> emphasized the Middle Eastern leaders and developments in the Middle East in its photos.

The results of this study confirmed that media reporting is strongly influenced by the political, social and cultural, and economic system.

The political policies of both countries (the U.S. and Indonesia) influenced bias in the news coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis by <u>Time</u> and <u>Tempo</u>. <u>Time</u> reflected positive bias toward Israel and <u>Tempo</u> reflected negative bias toward Israel. Such bias might be related to their nations different political relationships to Israel. The U.S. government has a good relationship with Israel. On the other hand, Indonesian government has a pro-Arab policy, anti-Israel policy.

However, the policy makers are the people in power. These people set policies and send information about the important situations. Then, media receive and transmit the information. Thus, as Altschull pointed out, media are the agents of power.

In terms of the six categories of bias, the study found that there is a relationship between bias and social/cultural norms. As Grant said, Indonesian culture and condition form people to be polite, not spontaneous, afraid to criticize, and introverted (1966: 107). Indonesian people will criticize a person strongly and directly if the person breaks the basic values or social values that cannot be tolerated by society. Indonesian people will criticize a person if the person openly underestimates other people, especially people who are admired by society. On the other hand, American people have very different culture and tradition. Most American people are spontaneous, open, and freely criticize and express their opinions.

Then, by categorizing bias in the two magazines into the six categories of bias, the results revealed that Tempo had more contextual bias and outright opinion bias than other types of bias. But Time had more attribution bias, adjective bias, and adverbial bias than the other types of bias.

The presentation of Saddam Hussein's image by Time and Tempo seems to indicate that the both countries' anti-aggression ideology shaped their news coverage of the crisis.

Since people rely on media as their source of information, pursuing objectivity should be an essential goal for journalists. Although there is no such thing absolute objectivity, media have responsibility to present the truth, so readers may have an accurate perception about the situation in crisis.

Recommendation For Further Research

This study is limited to the period of just after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait to the expiration of the United Nation deadline. Therefore, a more comprehensive

analysis of the Persian Gulf crisis coverage by media is worth exploring. The study can be extended from before the war to during the war or after the war.

Moreover, the study can extend its limitations of examining only two magazines to examining more than two magazines from several countries. By examining the Persian Gulf crisis coverage in several countries, one can evaluate how different cultures affect the objectivity of news coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis.

Conclusion

The bias in the two magazines shows that political, social and cultural aspects, and misuse of language might affect the objectivity of news reporting.

Objectivity in news reporting is important, although it is hard to accomplish. Therefore, media need to present the truth in order to avoid distortion of information.

Objectivity is very subjective because journalists' judgments of news stories are based on their background. Therefore, to some degree, journalists have a moral obligation to report news responsibly by presenting facts and fair judgment.

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APPENDIX

ARTICLES FROM <u>TIME</u> AND <u>TEMPO</u>

INCLUDED IN THE SAMPLE

A Long Hallucination of War (1990). Time, 137(50), 40.

Ancaman Perang Belum Terasa di Dhahran (No Threat of War in Dhahran) (1990). Tempo, 20(41), 70.

Ancaman Kimia Saddam (Saddam's Chemical Threat) (1990). Tempo, 20(25), 38.

A New World (1990). Time, 136(38), 20.

A New Test of Resolve (1990). Time, 136(36), 30.

Antara Perang dan Damai (Between War and Peace) (1991). Tempo, 20(45), 29.

Antara Perang dan Damai (Between War and Peace) (1990). Tempo, 20(33), 74.

Are We Ready to Wage War? (1990). Time, 137(53), 26.

Arafat: Intifadah, Krisis Teluk, dan Janji Amerika (Arafat: Intifadah, Gulf Crisis, and the U.S.'s Promise) (1990). Tempo, 20(43), 30.

Baghdad Tak Bersiap Perang (Baghdad Is Not Prepared For War) (1990). Tempo, 20(42), 68.

Beranikah Yordania Memblokade Irak? (Will Jordan Blockade Iraq?) (1990). Tempo, 20(32), 38.

Borong Senjata Dengan Minyak (Buying Weapons With Oil) (1990). Tempo, 20(32), 40.

Bukan Sekadar Pamer Kekuatan (Not Just Armed Force Show) (1990). Tempo, 20(38), 72.

Bush's Other Summit (1990). Time, 136(38), 24.

Call to Arms (1990). Time, 136(39), 32.

Dance While You Can (1990). Time, 137(42), 53.

Deadline: January 15 (1990). Time, 137(50), 26.

Dicari: Sukarelawan Melawan Saddam (Wanted: Volunteer to fight Saddam) (1990). Tempo, 20(26), 22.

Gathering Storm (1990). Time, 136(36), 25.

Giving Peace A Chance (1990). Time, 137(48), 33.

Guncangan Lain Dari Saddam (Another Surprise From Saddam) (1991). Tempo, 20(46), 34.

Hari-Hari Perang Teluk (Days of Gulf War) (1990). Tempo, 20(40), 78.

If War Begins (1990). Time, 137(50), 28.

In the Capitol of Dread (1990). Time, 137(41), 30.

Ingin Damai Siapkan Perang (Want Peace, Prepare For War) (1990). Tempo, 20(39), 73.

Is Uncle Sam Being Suckered? (1990). Time, 137(52), 38.

It's All in the Wording (1990). Time, 137(49), 67.

Iraq's Power Grab (1990). Time, 136(33), 16.

Kami Omong Tentang Kiamat (We Talk About Death) (1990). Tempo, 20(29), 73.

Kecil Tapi Sibuk (Small But Busy) (1991). Tempo, 21(2), 19.

Keras vs. Lunak, Lunak vs. Keras (Hard vs. Soft, Soft vs. Hard) (1990). Tempo, 20(36), 39.

Ketika Gurun Mulai Turun Panasnya (When Desert Becomes Cooler) (1990). Tempo, 20(29), 72.

Ketika Para Idealis Berkuasa (When Idealists Are In Power) (1990). Tempo, 20(26), 33.

Krisis Teluk: Arus Bawah Mulai BersuaraLain (Gulf Crisis: Underground Movement Has Different Opinion) (1990). Tempo, 20(37), 36.

Krisis Teluk Masih Krisis (Gulf Crisis Is Still Critical) (1990). Tempo, 20(35), 72.

Last Chance to Talk (1991). Time, 138(02), 15.

Lifting the Veil (1990). Time, 136(39), 38.

Master of His Universe (1990). Time, 136(33), 29.

Me and My Brother Against My Cousin (1990). Time, 136(34), 33.

Membuat Saddam Bukan Lagi Ancaman (Making Saddam Unthreatening) (1990). Tempo, 20(28), 36.

Menuai Panen Minyak (Harvesting the Oil Wells) (1990). Tempo, 20(35), 87.

Mereka Berteriak 'Allahu Akbar', Untuk Siapa? (For Whom They Yell "Allahu Akbar'? (1990). Tempo, 20(27), 29.

Mixed Signals on Sanctions (1990). Time, 137(51), 32.

Negeri Yang Sakit Gigi (A Sick Country) (1990). Tempo, 20(28), 32.

Negeri Yang Membangun Dengan Marah (A Country That Is Built With Anger) (1990). Tempo, 20(24), 73.

On the Fence (1991). Time, 138(02), 12.

On the Warpath (1990). Time, 137(46), 24.

Options For Peace (1990). Time, 137(51), 28.

Pausing at the Rim of the Abyss (1990). Time, 136(37), 20.

Perang, Setelah 15 January? (War, After January 15?) (1990). Tempo, 20(41), 72.

Perang Teluk Tak Akan Meletus? (Will Gulf War Begin?) (1990). Tempo, 20(31), 30.

Perang Uang, Disamping Perang Saraf (Money War and Cool War) (1990). Tempo, 20(26), 30.

Perang Saraf Sebelum Senjata (Cool War Before Shooting the Gun) (1990). Tempo, 20(25), 32.

Perang Atau Damai Total (Total War or Peace) (1990). Tempo, 20(34), 68.

Politik Seorang Pelanduk (Donkey's Politics) (1990). Tempo, 20(43), 32.

Raising the Ante (1990). Time, 137(47), 48.

Read My Ships (1990). Time, 136(34), 18.

Ready for Action (1990). Time, 137(46), 26.

Saddam's Lucky Break (1990). Time, 137(43), 38.

Saddam Hussein as the Lesser of Two Evils (1990). Time, 137(42), 54.

Saddam's Strategies (1990). Time, 137(40), 50.

Saddam Hussein Yang Menakutkan (Frightening Saddam Hussein) (1990). Tempo, 20(24), 70.

Saddam Hussein Dipojokkan (Saddam Hussein in Black Spot) (1990). Tempo, 20(46), 32.

Seandainya Saddam Hussein Mundur (If Saddam Gives Up) (1991). Tempo, 20(45), 28.

Sebarel Darah, Sebarel Minyak (A Barrel of Blood, A Barrel of Oil) (1990). Tempo, 20(28), 36.

Sebelum Kuwait Jadi Puing (Before Kuwait Becomes Debris) (1990). Tempo, 20(30), 32.

Sebelum Menembus Tulang (Before Going to War) (1990). Tempo, 20(30), 33.

Srikandi Menantang Saddam (Heroes Challenge Saddam) (1990). Tempo, 20(29), 76.

Tawar-Menawar, Tembak-Menembak (Bargaining and Shooting) (1990). Tempo, 20(27), 71.

Teheran Plin-Plan (Teheran in Doubt) (1990). Tempo, 20(31), 31.

The Battle Beckons (1990). Time, 137(41), 26.

The Center Holds (1990). Time, 136(36), 34.

The Crude Enforcer (1990). Time, 136(32), 46.

The Need to Negotiate (1990). Time, 137(43), 43.

The Waiting Game (1990). Time, 137(42), 50.

The World Closes In (1990). Time, 136(34), 26.

They Don't Need to Fight (1990). Time, 137(46), 34.

Tick, Tick, Tick (1991). Time, 138(01), 54.

Time For Doubt (1990). Time, 137(48), 30.

Toward a New Kuwait (1990). Time, 137(52), 27.

Trip Wires to War (1990). Time, 137(44), 48.

Uang Kuwaitdan Tentara Irak (Kuwaiti Money and Iraqi Troops) (1990). Tempo, 20(23), 33.

Wait a Minute (1990). Time, 137(45)38.

When Will Saddam Get the Bomb? (1990). Time, 137(50), 38.

Why No Blue Blood Will Flow (1990). Time, 137(48), 34.

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