



Research Article

Operation Distort Hope: A Content Analysis of US News Media's Political Bias and Its Positive/Negative Spin on US Military Actions in Somalia

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Abstract

Existing literature extensively debates the CNN effect and the role of the media in prompting U.S. foreign policy; however, no prior research has investigated how political orientation influenced the framing of RH at the local news level, leaving a significant gap in the political communication literature. This study addresses that gap by employing a quantitative conceptual content analysis of 50 newspaper articles drawn randomly from local news outlets all across the United States. Articles were coded using a codebook along two dimensions: outlet political affiliation (left, center, or right-leaning) and portrayal of the U.S. military (positive, factual reporting, or negative). A chi-square goodness-of-fit test was performed and returned no statistically significant relationship between political affiliation and military portrayal, $\chi^2(8) = 13.00$, $p = .112$. Descriptive statistics, however, suggest that pro-military framing nevertheless dominated coding across all ideological categories. These findings are in line with other studies that suggest that institutional factors, including military media pooling, exert greater influence over local reporting rather than political orientation. This complicates the shared understanding of ideological bias in foreign policy journalism, providing a baseline for future comparative research on conflict coverage in other time periods or geographical areas.

Keywords: Operation Restore Hope; Media Bias; Conflict Journalism; Political Affiliation; Partisanship Introduction.

Introduction

In 1992, the United States initiated Operation Restore Hope (RH) in response to the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Somalia. Specifically, the United States military, in conjunction with UN peacekeeping forces, occupied parts of Somalia, particularly its capital, Mogadishu, in order to distribute aid materials to citizens suffering through a famine. US Marines landed in Mogadishu on December 9, 1992, eventually culminating with more than 25000 American troops being transported into Somalia. Although the operation began with broad support from both political elites and the American public, that support proved fragile, dropping from 73% to 33% over the span of five months [1,2] describes the rationale and general attitude of US leadership during this time period: "On 4 December

1992, President George Bush announced that the United States was sending American troops to Mogadishu to help deliver humanitarian food assistance to the starving victims of drought and ethnic conflicts in Somalia" (p.30). Graphic television footage of starving Somali children initially generated broad sympathy; later images of US servicemembers' bodies being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu dramatically shifted public opinion, leading to a withdrawal of US forces and a general sense of skepticism about future humanitarian interventions.

Due to the limitations of the time period, establishment media (CNN, ABC, FOX, etc.) were the primary source of news on the conflict for the average United States citizen. [3] explores the impact of political biases in traditional media on American political discourse, drawing focus

primarily to the cable TV era, where a multitude of smaller, nonmainstream news sources dominate the 24-hour news cycle. However, Morris ultimately concludes “Recent work finds little evidence of bias in mainstream news” (p.708). [4] contend Morris’s analysis is not applicable to news relating to the US military due primarily to the special relationship between the mainstream media and the military. Particularly, they argue that the military values secrecy and operational security while the press values skepticism and accountability. This tension, and the practice of the embedded journalist, demonstrates the structural disconnect between how the media reports on the US military and how the media reports on the domestic issues Morris explores. Rather than being the straightforward result of television personalities manipulating foreign policy, RH must be situated in a milieu of media representation and institutional control.

The motivations of President George HW Bush are widely debated, with [5] arguing that the “CNN effect...the idea that real-time communications technology could provoke major responses from domestic audiences and political elites to global events” ([6] p.301) played a pivotal role in Bush’s decision to send troops to both Bosnia and Somalia. On the other hand, [7] challenges this interpretation by showing that network attention to Somalia increased only after US policymakers themselves had highlighted the ongoing crisis in Somalia, indicating that coverage, and the CNN effect, only reflected cues from the elite rather than demonstrating media pressure: “Journalists ultimately made the decision to cover Somalia, but the stage for this decision had been set in Washington” (p.403) [8]. corroborate this critique, noting that for more than a year after the fall of Said Barre, Somalia received almost no American media coverage. When attention did surge in 1992, it was largely to point at the violence in the region, which only served to reinforce stereotypes about Africa and limit public perceptions of what was an incredibly complex political situation. However, [6] does acknowledge that emotional images generate urgency in the media, but believes that media influence is better understood through agenda-making rather than simple causation. Other works highlight how selective coverage shapes results as much, if not more, than what is shown [9], argues that most of the world’s conflicts go unreported, creating so-called “stealth conflicts” that remain off the public’s consciousness (p.59). Further explaining Bush’s decision to commit troops to Somalia [10] state that higher levels of media exposure in legacy media outlets correlate with escalation in international disputes, which increase the political costs, in terms of votes gained and public approval, of inaction.

The shift in public opinion surrounding RH requires a clear understanding of the initial narrative that media outlets and academia pushed immediately after RH [11], writing in the wake of the total withdrawal of American forces, bitterly critiques the results of the operation, citing measurable data on civilian casualties and American failures. Understanding this early cynicism gives researchers a baseline for media analysis, indicating media hostility even in the early humanitarian phase of RH. Stevenson’s analysis demonstrates the importance of a research study, as the media was willing to discredit official US government messaging and figures during the events of RH itself. Moreover, the broader literature suggests that the media response to RH cannot be explained purely through media influence. [1], argues that media pooling, an arrangement where a limited number of handpicked journalists represent a larger press group for the US military, during interventions often gives the Pentagon significant control over how events are framed by the media, greatly shaping coverage towards favorable interpretations of events during a multitude of wars during the 1980s and 1990s, including the First Gulf War, RH, and the Invasion of Grenada [12], furthers Martin’s interpretation with her concept of the mediatization of the military, a mindset that armed forces—from a variety of different countries—internalized to manage their image and maintain domestic support.

One essential concept for categorizing the quality and intent of conflict coverage is the distinction between “War Journalism” and “Peace Journalism.” [13], in an analysis of the War in Afghanistan, detailed how War Journalism prioritizes conflict, victory, visible effects, and the actions of the “elite” actors, both military and political. Conversely, Peace Journalism focuses on providing context and exploring non-violent solutions. The application of this framework is supported by [14], Pak conducted a content analysis using a modified Glatung framework to quantify the prevalence of the different types of journalism in YouTube news coverage of the Russia-Ukraine War. Pak’s findings demonstrate that this difference in media opinion can be objectively measured using a codebook, demonstrating that this methodology is robust enough to categorize content based on its focus.

To accurately track differences in bias and reporting, Baden and [15], provide justification for a comparative, content analysis approach. Their research emphasizes that conflict news research should seek common ground by tracking narrative patterns longitudinally to understand how global and domestic media environments shape reporting. This

work validates the feasibility of quantifying political bias, which has been empirically proven in this style of political communication research. Specifically, Covert and Wasburn (2007) successfully established a content analysis framework, creating a 4-indicator index to measure the political bias of major news magazines on domestic social issues. While their study focused on domestic topics, the established principle is directly transferable to the analysis of foreign policy reporting.

Despite the depth of research on the CNN effect, important gaps remain. Much of the research on Somalia specifically addresses whether media drove US intervention or vice versa, but little to no attention has been paid to how political orientation and partisan bias of news outlets shaped coverage of RH itself. [3] observes that, while accusations of bias are common, analysis finds little evidence of slants in mainstream reporting. While this pattern may be largely true, none of the existing literature focuses on how political affiliation shapes how the media frames the events of certain military interventions like RH. Current research has not sufficiently examined whether left-leaning and right-leaning outlets framed RH differently between 1992 and 1993, or how those frames influenced public opinion. For example [1,12] focus on how the media impacts policy changes, rather than how any variable impacts the reporting itself. Research has been focused on public opinion at the macro level, examining the overall public opinion before and after events, and aggregating news coverage into one tangible story, rather than performing close inspections of sources that Americans look to for unbiased reporting. This leaves the central research question guiding this study open: How do local US news outlets' political affiliation affect their reporting of Operation Restore Hope from 1992 to 1993?

Methods and Materials

The method of my study addresses the question: How do local US news outlets' political affiliation affect their reporting of Operation Restore Hope from 1992 to 1993? I hypothesized that political affiliation played a large role in US news outlets' reporting of Operation Restore Hope. Political affiliation and impact on reporting are vague definitions; this methods section will define how the paper operationalizes those terms and how the paper will select and analyze sources.

Quantitative Conceptual Content Analysis

With these questions in mind, it is important to define the different components of the method. This study is quantitative and uses a conceptual content analysis with a

structured codebook. "Conceptual content analysis" refers to a method of identifying and measuring the presence of defined concepts in texts. In this paper, the concepts of interest are political bias and opinion toward the US military as expressed in newspaper coverage. A quantitative content analysis is appropriate for the purposes of this study primarily because content analysis is used to test whether differences across datapoints are observable and statistically describable. This choice is supported by political communication research demonstrating that bias can be measured through coding indices [16]. While Covert and Wasburn's study focused on domestic social issues, the methodology is transferable to foreign policy reporting. Biases of all types are visible through consistent patterns of evaluation, meaning these patterns can be coded and compared with empirics in a similar manner. This method also aligns with the broader conflict news research field described by [15], who conducted their research with a comparative analysis of narrative patterns to understand how media environments impact their reporting on conflicts. This study consists of newspaper articles that address RH and the US intervention in Somalia during 1992 and 1993. Articles were drawn from local newspapers in order to gather a sample with a locally oriented news environment. Local outlets were selected because they provided a broader view of the informational environment that impacted American public perception of RH, especially for readers whose primary news source was not a national paper. Local newspapers were selected using three criteria. First, the outlet must have searchable archive availability for 1992 and 1993. Second, the outlet must contain at least one eligible RH-related article during the study window to allow for comparison. Third, the set of local outlets should provide regional diversity so that results are not driven by one regional political culture.

Articles were retrieved using searchable newspaper archives and databases that provide full-text access and information like publication data and the name of the outlet. For the purposes of this study, the primary archive site was the Google Newspaper archives because it has the most robust set of newspaper archives from the research time period and has no paywall. To reduce selection bias, the study used a consistent search strategy across all searches. Queries included key terms closely associated with RH and common descriptions of the Somalia intervention, including "Operation Restore Hope" and "Somalia invasion." Additional search terms were used when necessary to identify articles that refer to the intervention without using its formal name.

Operational Definitions

To conduct a quantitative study, certain concepts must be operationally defined in order to identify measurable variables. The primary predictor variable is the outlet's political affiliation, and the primary outcome variable is opinion toward the US military's involvement in Somalia. Political affiliation was defined as an outlet-level category representing a source's ideological leaning as described in reputable media classification sources or in the reporting of the outlet. As a result of the diverse nature of news outlets, political affiliation was treated as a comparative indicator that examined whether outlets that differ ideologically also differ in measurable reporting discrepancies. This paper coded for political bias using a four-step approach, a combination and variation of the procedure used by [16,1]. First, each newspaper's political endorsement record would be found, and, focusing on the 1992 presidential election, the party of the candidate the newspaper endorsed would then be marked, with a Bill Clinton endorsement indicating left-leaning bias, a George H.W. Bush endorsement indicating right-leaning bias, and no endorsement indicating a center-leaning bias. Next, each newspaper's editorial position on hot-button political issues like abortion would be marked, with a pro-abortion slant indicating left-leaning bias, an anti-abortion slant indicating right-leaning bias, and no distinct editorial opinion indicating a center-leaning bias. If the researcher received conflicting information to this point, the newspaper's management group's historical political bias would then be checked as a tiebreaking procedure. As a final measure, the researcher would turn to using third-party bias verification sites like Snopes, MediaBiasFactCheck, or All Sides, and code based on their understanding of each newspaper's editorial bias. This method was only used twice out of necessity due to a lack of other identifiable information. This method was avoided for all other sources because these websites do not have a historical catalogue, and thus any measured bias would only be limited to recent editorial positions (2016 to present), which fails to account for changes in ownership or editorial opinion that could have changed since the 1990s. Opinion toward the US military was defined as the article's stance toward the US military both as an institution and as an actor in RH. The researcher created a codebook modeled after the codebook used by [13,14]. The original codebook was intended for use when measuring war journalism and peace journalism, but the basic structure of the codebook was conducive to this paper's interest in political affiliation and portrayal. The researcher made slight modifications,

mostly to the definitions, but kept the general structure in place, in accordance with best research practices and Martin [1]. A sample of the codebook is below.

Coding Procedures

The coding process was conducted in stages to reduce ambiguity and improve consistent, reliable results. First, a pilot coding round was completed using a section of articles drawn from multiple outlets in the 1994 to 1995 window during the US intervention in Bosnia. The purpose of this pilot study was to identify unclear code definitions and to refine rules for cases that required more analysis. After the pilot study was completed, the codebook was revised to clarify certain aspects of the definition of political bias. Specifically, during the pilot study, the researcher did not include third-party bias verification sites, but, due to a lack of archived information about local, rural newspapers, this method was included as a last resort. Second, full coding on 50 different newspaper articles was conducted using the aforementioned revised codebook. Each article was read in full and tallied according to the written instructions. After coding, the dataset was analyzed using descriptive and comparative statistics. Using Intellects Statistics, a chi goodness-of-fit test was conducted on the dataset, and a series of charts with averages and medians was synthesized. These models were then further analyzed and interpreted for statistical significance.

Limitations

Before entering a discussion of the findings, it is important to address limitations in the research process and conclusions. The first limitation involved the outlet's political bias classification. Political affiliation is an inferred category that is open to oversimplification and subjectivity on the part of the researcher. In order to mitigate this concern, this paper turned to outside, objective sources and the reporting of the outlet itself. Ultimately, however, political bias is a subjective decision made by the researcher on a case-by-case basis. Due to the nature of coding and conflicting information, it is possible that the researcher ascribed political bias incorrectly to a handful of sources. A second limitation relates to the process of retrieving archived newspaper articles. The dataset depends entirely on search terms and archive availability, which could have produced incomplete coverage. Additionally, even with a codebook, the opinion of the US military is a subjective judgment on the part of the researcher. As a result of this limitation, the researcher provided the exact terms used in the newspaper retrieval

process and invites any additional studies that may flesh out the system the researcher chose to use. Furthermore, the time period the researcher chose (1992-1993) might limit the conclusions that could be made about how political bias shapes newspaper reporting, as trends may have changed over the past thirty years. However, this avenue of research is still useful as it can situate reporting from that time period in context, and can, at the very least, inform researchers looking at more modern media of patterns in past reporting. Results could also potentially be used to inform the creation of null hypotheses present in future research. Lastly, the sample size of the researcher's cohort is a limitation. [1] most closely replicates the method used in this research study, yet coded over 10000 different newspaper articles before publishing their paper. This number was unfeasible for the researcher, given time constraints, who instead chose to code 50 newspapers instead. The number 50 was chosen by the researcher in accordance with [17], who suggested that 50 was the minimum sample size necessary for a Chi-Square Test with degrees of freedom 8 and an alpha value of .05 as prescribed by research best practices.

Results

A chi-square goodness-of-fit test was conducted to examine whether political bias and pro or anti-military sentiment were equally distributed across all categories. There were 9 levels in the data: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. These numbers correspond to positions in the codebook, with 1 representing left-leaning with pro-military sentiments, 2 representing left-leaning with factual reporting, 3

representing left-leaning with anti-military sentiments, 4 representing center-biased with pro-military sentiments, 5 representing center-biased with factual reporting, 6 representing center-biased with anti-military sentiments, 7 representing right-leaning with pro-military sentiments, 8 representing right-leaning with factual reporting, and 9 representing right-leaning with anti-military sentiments. The results of the test were not statistically significant at the $\alpha = .05$ level, $\chi^2(8) = 13.00$, $p = .112$, indicating that the null hypothesis (that the levels of political bias and pro- or anti-military sentiment are equally distributed across all categories) cannot be rejected. Since the test was not significant, the differences between observed and expected frequencies were not significantly different for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. This suggests that there is no correlation between political affiliation and reporting slant during the Somalia Intervention from 1992 to 1993. Despite this failure to reject the null hypothesis, certain trends are visible in the data. For instance, center-biased publications were overrepresented in the sample, while right-leaning publications were underrepresented. Additionally, on all sides of the political spectrum, publications were much more likely to exhibit pro-military positions or language; however, it is important to note that in many rural, small-town newspapers, articles that showcased local community members who were fighting in Somalia were quite common, and coded as pro-military due to their positive portrayal of military service and further deification of active service members. (Table 2), presents the results of the chi-square goodness-of-fit test, and (Figure 1), provides a barplot for the mean value of each category.

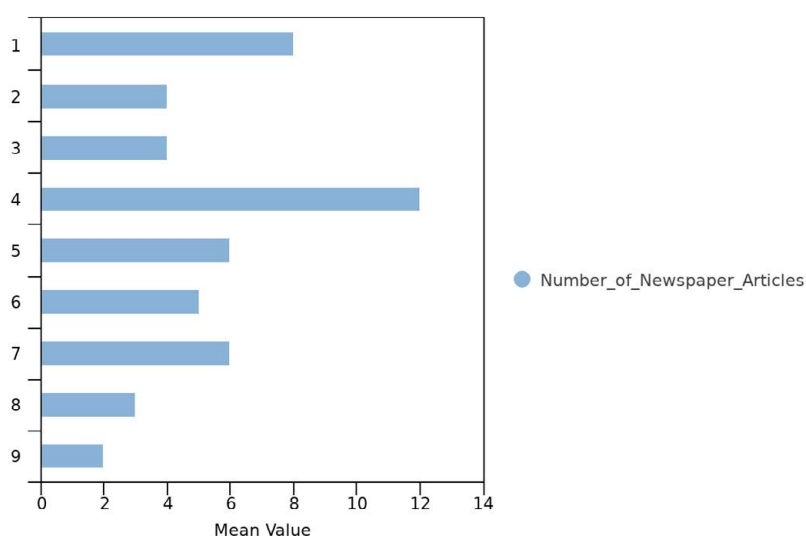


Figure 1: Barplot of Results.

Table 1: Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Test for Data.

Level	Observed Frequency	Expected Frequency
1	8	5.56
2	4	5.56
3	4	5.56
4	12	5.56
5	6	5.56
6	5	5.56
7	6	5.56
8	3	5.56
9	2	5.56

Note. $\chi^2(8) = 13.00, p = .112$.

Coding Process

To be as transparent as possible, the researcher has elected to demonstrate the coding process by providing the coding process for one newspaper (The Toledo Blade). It was found that this newspaper endorsed Republican George HW Bush in the presidential election of 1988, so the researcher coded this newspaper as right-leaning. Next, the newspaper article itself described the death of an American civilian contractor. In so doing, the article described the motivation behind Operation Restore Hope as a desire to “restore order and help ensure that food and other relief supplies reach starving Somalis there,” language that doesn’t question the legitimacy of military action and includes/prominently features heroic portrayals of US soldiers. Thus, this was coded as a right-leaning, pro-military article. This process was replicated for every newspaper article coded; the results are found in **Appendix A**.

Discussion

The null hypothesis—there will be no difference in the portrayal of the US military during Operation Restore Hope, depending on the political affiliation of local newspapers—cannot be rejected. In other words, the data does not support the conclusion that left, center, or right-leaning outlets reported on Operation Restore Hope in meaningfully different ways. While the inferential statistics did not confirm this hypothesis, the descriptive trends in the data shed doubt on the concreteness of this rejection. Across all three ideological categories, pro-military framing was still the dominant mode of coverage. This particular pattern is consistent with [1], argument that military media pooling during interventions of this era, including Operation Restore Hope, the First Gulf War, and the Invasion of Grenada, gave the Pentagon substantial control over the information available to journalists, thereby producing coverage favorable to the military regardless of a given outlet’s political orientation.

[12] concept of the mediatization of the military further supports this interpretation, suggesting that the military managed its public image in such a way that normalized pro-military framing. Ultimately, however, the inferential statistics are consistent with [3] observation that mainstream news outlets demonstrate very little measurable bias, a claim which this paper extends to the local news level during the Somalia intervention. Furthermore, the uniformity of pro-military framing across ideological categories refutes [5] argument that the CNN effect played a large role in the coverage of the Somalia intervention. Western argues that Somalia coverage followed political cues from the “elite,” but the results here suggest that structural factors exert greater influence over local reporting rather than the whims of politicians.

It is also worth noting that center-leaning and left-leaning outlets were overrepresented in the sample, while right-leaning outlets were underrepresented. This imbalance likely reflects the regional and archival availability of newspapers from this era rather than the actual ideological distribution of the local press landscape during 1992 to 1993. As such, future studies with larger and more ideologically balanced samples would be better prepared to detect differences that may have been obscured here by unequal group sizes.

Future Research

This paper makes a contribution to the political communication literature by providing a baseline analysis of how local outlets covered a specific humanitarian military intervention, and its findings point toward several productive avenues for future research. The most immediate extension of this study would be to replicate the methodology with a larger sample. For example, Martin [1] coded over 10,000 articles before publishing comparable findings, and it is well known that a larger sample size would increase statistical power. Future studies could also expand the scope of the sample to include national outlets alongside local ones, allowing researchers to directly compare the two. Beyond expanding the sample size, future research could additionally apply this methodology to more recent military interventions—the Global War on Terror, Iran, and Venezuela, to name a few—in order to assess whether the pattern observed here persists in a contemporary media environment, given that the media landscape has changed considerably since 1992 and 1993. A comparative study examining coverage of a post-2000 intervention using the same codebook would allow researchers to test whether the institutional factors

identified in this paper have weakened relative to political orientation. Longitudinal or cross-conflict comparative studies, as advocated for by [15], would be well-suited to this kind of analysis, and the results of the study could be used as a reference point for that work.

Conclusion

This study summarizes how local US news outlets portrayed the US military during Operation Restore Hope from 1992 to 1993. This cohort of newspaper articles makes apparent that political affiliation did not produce meaningfully different reporting, and to a lesser extent, that pro-military framing was more prevalent across all ideological categories. When comparing these results to the existing body of literature, a key difference emerges. While this study does confirm argument that military media pooling produced coverage favorable to the Pentagon, the results did not find that political orientation sorted reporting in any meaningful way. Rather, the data suggested that institutional control over press access flattened ideological differences that might otherwise have surfaces. This result challenges the assumption that partisan bias is the default explanation for skewed conflict coverage, addressing the gap in the literature that overgeneralizes when describing the relationship between political affiliation and conflict journalism. It is worth noting, however, that the overrepresentation of center-leaning and left-leaning outlets in the sample constrains the confidence with which this conclusion can be stated. In particular, this imbalance limits what the findings can claim because unequal group sizes may have obscured differences that a more balanced sample would have revealed. Moreover, the time of study (1992-1993), also limits the generalizability of the results.

While this study is significant in that it provides a baseline analysis of local coverage from this era, the narrative of Operation Restore Hope, arguably more significantly, serves as an early illustration of how external factors can sometimes override editorial and journalistic biases. Looking towards the future, further research should examine how coverage of post-2000 interventions compares, particularly as the dismantling of military media pooling has gradually led to further diversity of reporting in outlets. Ultimately, these findings serve as a reminder that in conflict journalism, access is everything.

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Appendix A

Full Codebook with Tallies

Left-Leaning Political Bias	Positive Portrayal of the US Military X - Lakeland Ledger X - The Victoria Advocate X - Daytona Beach News-Journal X - Ocala Star-Banner X - Herald-Journal (Spartanburg) X - Baltimore Afro-American X - St Petersburg Times X - Ellensburg Daily Record	- Includes/prominently features heroic portrayals of US soldiers - Focuses on Military success while minimizing civilian casualties - Doesn't question the legitimacy of military action - Demonizes the adversary (Somalia National Alliance)
	Factual Reporting X - The Eugene Register-Guard X - The Albany Herald X - Lodi News Sentinel X - Durant Daily Democrat	- Focuses on verifiable facts (i.e., casualty counts or locations) - Uses neutral, emotionally detached language - Avoids advancing a specific policy agenda
	Negative Portrayal of the US Military X - Oxnard Press-Courier X - Morning Star X - Bangor Daily News X - Gainesville Sun	- Coverage emphasizes negative consequences of military involvement - Frames US involvement as misguided - Uses terms like "imperialism" or "destruction" to describe US actions - Highlights operational failures while downplaying successes
Centrist Political Bias	Positive Portrayal of the US Military X - The Reading Eagle X - The Rockmart Journal X - Altus Times X - The Bulletin X - Times News (Hendersonville) X - Argus Press (Owosso) X - Catoosa County News X - Times Daily X - The Southeast Missourian X - Fredericksburg Free-Lance Star X - Prescott Valley Tribune	- Includes/prominently features heroic portrayals of US soldiers - Focuses on Military success while minimizing civilian casualties - Doesn't question the legitimacy of military action - Demonizes the adversary (Somalia National Alliance)
	Factual Reporting X - The Rome News Tribune X - The Observer-Reporter X - The Spokesman Review X - Lewiston Sun-Journal X - The Daily Gazette X - The Telegraph-Herald (Dubuque, Iowa)	- Focuses on verifiable facts (i.e., casualty counts or locations) - Uses neutral, emotionally detached language - Avoids advancing a specific policy agenda
	Negative Portrayal of the US Military X - The Hour (Norwalk) X - Kentucky New Era X - Fort Scott Tribune X - Sarasota Herald-Tribune X - Record-Journal (CT)	- Coverage emphasizes negative consequences of military involvement - Frames US involvement as misguided - Uses terms like "imperialism" or "destruction" to describe US actions - Highlights operational failures while downplaying successes

Full Codebook with Tallies		
Right-Leaning Political Bias	Positive Portrayal of the US Military X - The Robesonian X - The Vindicator X - The Toledo Blade X - The Kingman Daily Miner X - Lawrence Journal World X - Harlan Daily Enterprise	- Includes/prominently features heroic portrayals of US soldiers - Focuses on Military success while minimizing civilian casualties - Doesn't question the legitimacy of military action - Demonizes the adversary (Somalia National Alliance)
	Factual Reporting X - Times-Union Warsaw X - The News X - The Gettysburg Times	- Focuses on verifiable facts (i.e., casualty counts or locations) - Uses neutral, emotionally detached language - Avoids advancing a specific policy agenda
	Negative Portrayal of the US Military X - The Daily Times X - The Deseret News	- Coverage emphasizes negative consequences of military involvement - Frames US involvement as misguided - Uses terms like "imperialism" or "destruction" to describe US actions - Highlights operational failures while downplaying successes