FRAMING NONCITIZEN SUFFRAGE: A CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS OF MEDIA CONTENT ADDRESSING NONCITIZEN VOTING RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES

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ABSTRACT

In this study I examine media content surrounding the subject of noncitizen voting rights in the United States during the period between 1991-2017. Using a corpus linguistics approach, both a quantitative and qualitative frame analysis is conducted on a large sample of media content, consisting of 103 textual items from multiple media sources. The results show that media coverage related to noncitizen voting rights differed across the years both in terms of framing features as well as the descriptive attributes applied to noncitizen populations. For example, media coverage during the period between 2015-2017 was more likely to center around attitudes towards immigrants in political discourses, yet contrary to similar studies, was less likely to contain numerical descriptors when reporting on the size and scope of noncitizen populations. The results point to an intriguing format in which noncitizen suffrage is closely linked and framed within broader immigration policy and less so within the normative framework dedicated to preserving the relationship between citizenship and voting rights.

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"It's always good to be underestimated."

\- President Donald J. Trump

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INTRODUCTION

Voting rights are traditionally regarded as the cornerstone of political membership and democratic legitimacy. While franchise in the United States political system has overcome a history of discrimination, political struggle, and exclusion on the basis of property ownership, race, and gender - the conception of citizenship was only recently established as a necessary qualification for full political incorporation. Historically, many states and territories permitted noncitizen and immigrant suffrage as it was conducive to the nation-building process, that encouraged the immigration and assimilation of foreigners to the United States. As the relationship between national identity and suffrage grew stronger during World War I, many states began to embrace citizenship as the basis for voting rights. Most forms of noncitizen suffrage ended by 1926, and since 1996 federal law has prohibited any practice of noncitizen voting during federal elections. Today noncitizens are only permitted to vote in several municipalities in Maryland,[1] whereas San Francisco only recently passed an amendment allowing noncitizen parents and guardians to vote in school board elections.[2] Nevertheless, various proposals and bills aimed at extending voting rights to noncitizens have been offered

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[1] The Maryland State Constitution allows for municipalities and localities to set their own electoral policies. Currently there are nine municipalities in Maryland that allow noncitizens to vote within their jurisdictions. These include: Barnesville (since 1918), Chevy Chase Section Three, Garrett Park (since 1999), Glen Echo, Hyattsville (since 2016), Martin's Additions, Mount Rainier (since 2017), Somerset, and Takoma Park (since 1993).
[2] A charter amendment to allow noncitizen parents and guardians to vote in school board elections was on the ballot for voters in San Francisco County, California, during the 2016 elections. It was approved. Similar proposals were rejected in 2004 and 2010.

over the past decade across several states, including Connecticut,[3] Maine,[4] Massachusetts,[5] Minnesota,[6] New York,[7] and the District of Colombia.[8]

Prior research in the field has mostly centered around the notion of democratic self-determination and integration of noncitizens and immigrants (Lenard 2012; Munro 2008; Gilbert 2014; Yang 2006; Bueker 2009), comparisons of noncitizen voting rights across democracies (Earnest 2015; Trucious-Haynes 2004; Vernby 2013), real or perceived concerns regarding noncitizen voter fraud (Famighetti 2017; Simcox 2008; Sadiq 2005), and the traditional relationship between suffrage and citizenship (Renshon 2008; Horowitz 2012; Gimpel 2014; Glenn 2011). In terms of public and political discourses, most studies have devoted attention to various media depictions of migrants (Steinberg 2004; Trucious-Haynes 2004), policy framing surrounding migrant enfranchisement (Pedroza 2013; Levin 2013), and media portrayals of democratic citizenship (Houston 2007; Dingeman-Cerda 2016). Within the context of the United States, very little has been done to examine patterns in media coverage related to emerging proposals that would expand voting rights to include noncitizens. Despite current voting restrictions at the federal level, many scholars and advocates of noncitizen enfranchisement have

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[3] A proposal that would allow for noncitizen property owners to participate in town meetings and city referenda was submitted to the Connecticut General Assembly in 2003.

[4] LD 1195, "An Act to Allow Noncitizen Residents to Vote in Municipal Elections", was submitted to the 124th Maine Legislature in 2009 and was voted down.

[5] The municipal assemblies in the city of Newton (2004), Amherst (1998), and Cambridge (1998) introduced a bill to confer noncitizens the right to vote. The State Legislature has not approved the bills to this date. *See* Cambridge Board of Election Commissioner for more details.

[6] A "bill for an act relating to elections; proposing an amendment to the Minnesota Constitution, article VII, section 1; authorizing local units of government to permit permanent resident noncitizens to vote in local elections" was submitted on February 7, 2005 at the Minnesota House of Representatives.

[7] Bills were submitted at the New York City Council and at the New York State Assembly in 2003, 2005, 2006 and 2010. In New York City, non-citizens who have children in public schools could vote in school board elections until 2002. Since then there are no longer elected school boards.

[8] The "Local Resident Voting Rights Act of 2015" was introduced by council member David Grosso, that would allow legal residents to vote for, among other things, leaders on the education board, city council members, and the mayor. *See* Grosso for more details.

advanced arguments for the separation of formal citizenship from voting rights, encouraging states to permit noncitizen participation from school board to state and local elections.

The purpose of this study will be to examine what common frames are utilized in media content surrounding the topic of noncitizen voting rights across major news sources in the United States. Prior studies have pointed to the usage of frames in media content that provide emphasis or salience to certain aspects of a topic, thus simplifying complex issues by stressing particular features intended to stimulate the receiving audience (Touri 2015; Chong and Druckman 2007; Gross and D'Ambrossio 2004; Iyengar and Simon 1993; Matthes and Kohring 2008). Additionally, some have argued that the impact of media content is indispensable when investigating discourse in relation to particular legislations, suggesting that mass media is pivotal in terms of topic and issue selection, as well as through the process of "labelling and attributing qualities to groups and individuals, and inferring causes and meaning" (Brouwer et al. 2017, p. 102; Helbling 2013; Maneri and ter Wal 2005). In fact, recently there has been a proliferation of studies dedicated to examining the role of media content on similar topics ranging from illegal immigration to the portrayal of minority groups in news coverage (Allen and Blinder 2013; Bleich 2015; Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart 2009; Caviedes 2015; Hallin 2015; Brouwer 2017).

Nonetheless, there has been a lack of exploration on media content regarding noncitizen voting rights in one of the world's largest democracies. In this study I will perform a quantitative and qualitative frame analysis on a large sample of media content, consisting of 103 textual items from multiple media sources (i.e. newspapers, magazines, and blogs), between the years 1991-2017, with the selected items relating to noncitizen suffrage in the United States. To do this I will utilize the method of corpus linguistics that has repeatedly been shown to offer a high degree of objectivity and reliability when dealing with data-driven approaches to textual analysis (Johns

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1997; Baker 2008). Through the usage corpus linguistics methods, it should be possible to detect the most pervasive format in which noncitizen suffrage is presented to the public.

Drawing on theories of agenda-setting and framing analysis, I hypothesize that media content addressing noncitizen suffrage will far more likely center around the notions of democracy, representativeness, and civil rights to describe noncitizen voting rights. Similarly, I suspect that framing patterns will often exclude any references to immigration, in effort to avoid the assumption that noncitizen suffrage contains partisan implications. Lastly, I hypothesize that there will be little variation in terms of content during the observed time frame, as well as only minor changes relating to the descriptive attributes of key actors in noncitizen discourse. Accounting for the unpredictable nature of frame analysis I will also report on any additional findings that present a significant contribution to the literature and topic. Overall, the purpose of this study should be to depart from the aforementioned legal and ethically-oriented scholarship in this field, and instead provide an extensive quantitative and qualitative perspective into media content surrounding one of the most controversial yet inescapable issues of today.

CHAPTER 1. THE CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF NONCITIZEN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

In the following chapter I provide a brief chronological outline of noncitizen voting rights in the United States from the early colonial period until the late twentieth-century when noncitizen suffrage was finally addressed and prohibited under federal law. A historical overview as such allows for an easier and more comprehensive understanding of contemporary discourses surrounding noncitizen voting rights.

1.1 Noncitizen Voting, Early Republic – Civil War

The early history of suffrage and political membership in the United States is considerably different from contemporary practices of enfranchisement. The traditional definition of democracy in the United States has long centered around the principle of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" - as emphasized in Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address in 1863.[9] The ambiguous and at the time generous notion of "people", as noted by Raskin (1993), left may independent states and territories undecided in terms of which "people" are granted political participation and which are excluded from such rights. The overall chronological framework of voting rights in the United States is indeed marked with several periods of political struggle that eventually led to the inclusion of otherwise disenfranchised groups of people. A brief look into the historical practice of suffrage shows that

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[9] The Gettysburg Address was delivered by President Abraham Lincoln at the dedication of the Soldier's National Cemetery at the scene of the Battle of Gettysburg of the American Civil War on November 19, 1863. The final sentence states that "that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

"citizenship" in itself was seldom considered a necessary qualification for political incorporation in the early Republic.

Membership in the United States political system in terms of voting rights was exclusionary from the onset of colonial independence to the late 1960's, with little or no deviation. The right to vote was frequently based on the ownership of property, wealth, race, and gender among inhabitants (Raskin 1993). Nevertheless, the young colonial territories of the United States often diverged from common English tradition in which aliens and naturalized citizens were prohibited from political participation, both in terms of voting and holding public office (Raskin 1993; Harper-Ho 2000). To the contrary, voting rights among noncitizens in the early colonies were granted on the basis of local inhabitancy rather than citizenship. According to Raskin (1993), the absence of citizenship as a primary criterion for enfranchisement was conceived as a mostly "preventative" method in order to further exclude those without property (Raskin 1993). At the time, the majority of citizens, including men and women, were property-less and did not meet other standards required for suffrage (Raskin 1993). Nonetheless, white male aliens that owned property were both granted voting rights as well the opportunity to hold local office within the colonies (Harper-Ho 2000). For example, early South Carolina electoral laws permitted alien inhabitants to vote if they met the previously designated property, wealth, race, religious, and gender requirements for enfranchisement (Williamson 1960).

The initial idea that citizenship was unnecessary as a prerequisite for suffrage was derived from both instrumental considerations, as well as the principles of federalism and natural rights (Raskin 1993). The former suggested that immigration and the assimilation of foreigners via suffrage was fundamental to the nation-building process at the time. In effort to encourage settlement in scarcely populated territories, white male aliens were permitted to vote in as many

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as twenty-two states, and in virtually all levels of government prior to the War of 1812 (Raskin 1993; Harper-Ho 2000).[10] Additionally, the nature of American federalism itself allowed for states to act as "sovereign political entities" and thus grant state citizenship and subsequent suffrage to resident aliens (Raskin 1993). This form of federalism often reflected inconsistencies between the notions of state and federal citizenship, whereas Congress assumed the exclusive role of granting national citizenship, but allowed for states to implement citizenship of their own (Neuman 1992). Regardless of how states chose to shape their electoral policies, alien suffrage – albeit limited to white propertied males – continued to persist throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

It is worth noting that even during this period, both alien suffrage and the right to hold public office was neither universal nor equally practiced among states. For example, the *Stewart v. Foster* Pennsylvania Supreme Court case in 1809, permitted that all "male taxpaying inhabitants" are eligible to vote, but only "citizens" are authorized to run as candidates during local elections (Raskin 1993). Most other states required a minimal period of residency, typically from six months to a one year before noncitizens could be permitted to vote (Hayduk 2004). As Raskin (1993) describes, the "revolutionary period of liberal attitudes" regarding alien suffrage abruptly came to a halt during the War of 1812 as a result of increasing "militant nationalism" and public distrust towards foreigners (p. 1404). While Raskin (1993) suggests that the rise of "national consciousness" led to the retrenchment of alien suffrage, Rosberg (1977) implies that the overall shift in immigrant composition, as well as the abolishment of property requirements, persuaded many states to reform prior voting right qualifications from "inhabitants" to

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[10] At their peak white male aliens were permitted to vote in twenty-two states. However, throughout most history the number of states and territories permitting suffrage did not exceed a dozen or 1/3 of the total state and territory count.

"citizens". The elimination of property requirements following the War of 1812 contributed to the decrease in support for alien suffrage across most states (Shklar 1991). Nevertheless, certain exceptions, such as Illinois, continued to constitutionally grant alien suffrage on the grounds that it would encourage emigration to the territory, as well as promote "democratic inclusion" in an area where aliens comprised a large share of the overall adult population (Harper-Ho 2000).

While most states joining the Union between 1830-1840 restricted voting rights on the basis of citizenship, others, such as Wisconsin, extended suffrage to so-called "declarant aliens" – or more precisely defined as, "white persons of foreign birth who shall have declared their intention to become citizens, conformably to the laws of the United States on the subject of naturalization" (Raskin 1993; Harper-Ho 2000).[11] However, completing the naturalization process was neither compulsory nor did it require that declarant aliens renounce any former citizenship (Harper-Ho 2000). Declarant alien voting rights served as a "pathway" to citizenship, while at the same time encouraging rapid emigration to northwestern territories (Raskin 1993). The now areas of Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Illinois all favored the idea of declarant alien suffrage, hoping to stimulate emigration to their territories and thereby increase population size, promote economic activity, as well as provide larger representation in Congress (Porter 1971). Continuing throughout the early nineteenth century, some territories sought to constitutionally preserve declarant alien suffrage after admission into statehood, while others discontinued the practice entirely (Raskin 1993).[12] Reluctance towards alien suffrage emerged once again during the Civil War, prompted by the increasing military mobilization of aliens in

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[11] *See* Koessler (1942) for more details on the rights and duties of declarant aliens in the United States during the period between 1848-1920.
[12] The state constitutions of Minnesota (1857), Oregon (1857), Kansas (1859), Nebraska (1857), North Dakota (1889), and South Dakota (1889) all included declarant alien suffrage. The constitutions of Nevada (1864), Wyoming (1889), and Oklahoma (1907) rejected declarant alien suffrage. *See* Raskin (1993) and Neuman (1991) for more details.

the north and growing immigrant opposition to slavery in the south (Raskin 1993). Northern

states welcomed variations of alien suffrage in part due to growing military necessity, as foreign-

born men accounted for roughly twenty-five percent of the Union Army (Chambers 1987). In

1862, the Militia Act passed by Congress gave standing Presidents the permission to draft

"citizens" for military purposes in cases when voluntary draft quotas were unfulfilled (Raskin

1993).[13] At the same time, Wisconsin Governor, Edward Salomon, proposed that declarant aliens

- a sizable share of the state's able-bodied men - could perhaps become eligible for draft on the

basis of their intent to become citizens, as well as being eligible to vote (Raskin 1993). Secretary

of War, Edwin Stanton, accepted this request by approving the draft of declarant aliens who have

already voted, while exempting those who have not yet participated in elections (Raskin 1993).

Nevertheless, the following Enrolment Act of 1863 allowed for states to draft males "between

the ages of twenty and forty-five, of foreign birth, who shall have declared on oath their intention

to become citizens" (Murdock 1980, p. 308). The modification of drafting regulations led to the

desire among many declarant aliens to "renounce" their intent on becoming citizens, whereas

again, those who have already voted were exempt from such relinquishment, and therefore

subject to draft along with other citizens (Murdock 1980; Raskin 1993). Following the Civil

War, many states proceeded to allow noncitizen voting, with thirteen states embracing declarant

alien suffrage during the Reconstruction era, including Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South

Carolina, and Texas – all which legitimized this form of suffrage by ascribing it to their

Constitutions (Neuman 1992; Raskin 1993).

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[13] *See* The Legislative & Statutory Development of the Federal Concept of Conscription for Military Service, Duggan (1946) for more information on the Militia Act

1.2. World War I and the Dwindling of Noncitizen Suffrage

Noncitizen suffrage was to a certain extent permissible up until World War I for three important reasons. First, the provision of suffrage to noncitizens was seen as a crucial step for states seeking to lure immigrants to their territories and thereby increase political representation in Congress (Raskin 1993). Second, many states perceived that it was only fair to extend suffrage to white male aliens that have been drafted and fought during the prior Civil War (Raskin 1993). This form of redemption provided by military service was based on the idea that the right to vote was "the most basic and characteristic political act of the citizen-soldier" (Shklar 1991, p. 45). Last, the demand for immigrant labor, especially in the South, was instrumental in allowing alien suffrage to expand (Raskin 1993). As Hayduk (2004) notes, many states and territories, especially in the South and West, were inclined to permit alien suffrage as it would encourage settlers to take up residence in areas with a growing demand for labor. Furthermore, as the practice of slavery came to an end, many plantation owners were supportive of any measure that would increase the flow of cheap immigrant workers in the South, where insolvent agriculture industries faced significant labor and production shortages (Foner 1988; Raskin 1993). However, the spread of nationalist sentiment across many states during World War I led to a permanent decline in all systems of noncitizen voting that existed up until that point. As Raskin (1993) notes, "the hysteria attending World War I caused a sweeping retreat from the progressive alien suffrage policies of the late nineteenth century" (p. 1416). Others once again stress changes in the ethnic composition of immigrants during the early twentieth century, as this most certainly contributed to the increasingly negative attitudes towards foreign-born arrivals (Harper-Ho 2000). Prior to the 1880's, most immigrants originated from the UK, Germany, Ireland, and Scandinavia – whereas within the first decade of the twentieth century most immigrants hailed

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from the Mediterranean, Central, East, and Southern Europe with Jews, Poles, and Italians making the majority of the immigrant population (Harper-Ho 2000). These "politically suspect" immigrants led to "flourishing anti-alien passions" that slowly dismantled previous alien suffrage provisions (Hayduk 2004, p. 506).

Many states erected immigrant literacy requirements, and in 1924 the National Origins Act imposed a "permanent quantitative or numerical restriction on immigration" (Harper-Ho 2000; Hayduk 2004). Immigrant disenfranchisement was as Hayduk (2004) notes, unlikely "coincidental" with other marginalizing measures such as "literacy tests, poll taxes, and restrictive voter registration procedures" that were imposed on existing poor and minority communities (507). Finally, the last state to completely retreat from noncitizen suffrage was Arkansas in 1926, while the following elections in 1928 marked the first time in over a century in which noncitizens across every state were prohibited to cast votes (Raskin 1993; Harper-Ho 2000). In the upcoming section I will briefly examine the Constitutional and legal framework of noncitizen suffrage. As I will show, there have been several instances where noncitizen suffrage was addressed during interpretations of state and federal constitutions, as well as challenged in certain Supreme Court cases. Overall records may at a first glance suggest that noncitizen suffrage is constitutionally mandated and any attempt to challenge noncitizen suffrage on legal grounds would likely fail (Kini 2005). Others are more reserved, noting that the ambiguity of constitutional language and the sovereignty of states to determine local electoral laws presents certain legal limitations to noncitizen suffrage (Renshon 2008; Evia 2004).

1.3. The Constitutionality of Noncitizen Voting

There are several key factors one must take into account when analyzing the relationship between citizenship and political participation. First, Article II, section one of the United States Constitution explicitly states that presidents must be natural-born citizens, while senators and representatives must each be citizens for nine or seven years respectively (Kini 2005). [14] Additionally, the Constitution cedes that all federal voter qualifications are to be defined by state suffrage laws, enforcing the strong dichotomy between sovereign states and the federal government, in which courts grant power to states in determining most participatory policies - including citizenship (Raskin 1993; Kini 2005; Harper-Ho 2000). Simplified, voters that are enfranchised by the state are automatically enfranchised and permitted to vote in federal elections (Evia 2004). Some have suggested that the omission of citizenship as a qualification for federal voting in the Constitution is indicative of the Framer's intent in not limiting suffrage to U.S. citizens exclusively (Evia 2004; Raskin 1993). Justifying noncitizen suffrage by these means is problematic, for one due to the historical exclusion of both citizens and noncitizens on the basis of property ownership, race, gender, and so forth – at least prior to the establishment of certain amendments that effectively nullified these qualifications. More specifically, Evia (2004) collectively refers to the Fifteenth,[15] Nineteenth,[16] Twenty-Fourth,[17] and Twenty-Sixth[18] Amendments as "suffrage amendments" in the sense that they defined the rights of the core electorate. It is worth noting that these Amendments explicitly use the term "citizen" to describe individuals that shall not be denied the right to suffrage on the basis of discrimination. For

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[14] U.S. CONST. art. II, § I; art. I, §§ 2, 3.
[15] *See* U.S. CONST. amend. XV (prohibits race restrictions)
[16] *See* U.S. CONST. amend. XIX (prohibits gender restrictions)
[17] *See* U.S. CONST. amend. XXIV (prohibits the poll tax)
[18] *See* U.S. CONST. amend. XXVI (grants eighteen-year-olds the right to vote)

example, the Fifteenth Amendment clearly states: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous conditions of servitude." Some have challenged the overall significance and meaning of "citizen" in these Amendments, mostly on the grounds that [this] "language specifies only that states may not *exclude* any citizen from the franchise" on the basis of discriminatory features set forth, and "not that the states may not *include* noncitizens in the franchise" (Raskin 1993, p. 1425). However, those relying on the constitutionality of noncitizen suffrage admit that these suffrage amendments clearly indicate a distinction between citizens and noncitizens, albeit only to provide protections against discrimination (Raskin 1993; Kini 2005; Evia 2004; Hayduk 2004). Some have argued that "while the reasoning might imply that noncitizens are not entitled to vote; it does not suggest that noncitizens are barred from voting by the language of the constitution" (Kini 2005, p. 281). It is evident that these amendments continue to represent an enigma for those concerned with understanding the constitutional language used to discern eligible from non-eligible voters.

1.3. Supreme Court Cases Addressing Noncitizen Suffrage

The link between of citizenship and voting rights has occasionally been addressed in certain Supreme Court cases, often revealing that judges firmly favored the provisioning of suffrage to be determined by individual state constitutions. In *Dred Scott v. Sanford,* the Supreme Court ruled that states may grant rights of citizenship within their own territorial limits, maintaining that although "unable to effect naturalization which would grant national rights", states could ultimately grant aliens "the rights of a citizen" (Harper-Ho 2000, p. 286). [19] Additionally, in 1874 the *Minor v. Happersett* case upheld a state court decision in Missouri that prohibited a woman from registering to vote as state restrictions limited suffrage only to men. The court rejected the woman's claim that her Fourteenth Amendment provided equal protection rights as both a citizen of Missouri and the United States – arguing that "the Constitution has not added the right of suffrage to the privileges and immunities of citizenship as they existed at the time it was adopted."[20] Following a similar pattern, the case of *Pope v. Williams* in 1904 concluded that the "privilege to vote may not be abridged by a state on account of race, color and previous condition of servitude" as the privilege of suffrage is "not given by the federal Constitution or by any of its amendments, nor is it a privilege springing from citizenship of the United States." [21] Finally, the most recent case to address the notion of citizenship was *Sugarman v. Dougall* in 1973 in which the Supreme Court commented that "citizenship is a permissible criterion" for the restriction of suffrage, and thus, indirectly implied that it was not necessarily compulsory (Raskin 1993, p. 1419).

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[19] *See* Dred Scott v. Sanford, 60 U.S. 393 (1857).
[20] *See* Minor v. Happersett 88 U.S. 162 (1874)
[21] *See* Pope v. Williams 193 U.S. 621 (1904)

A glimpse into these cases shows that courts invariably granted power to states in terms of determining citizenship, thereby automatically and indirectly defining the federal electorate. The state-national dichotomy has enabled room for advocates of noncitizen suffrage to advance their agenda and in several instances even achieve the goal of providing voting rights to noncitizens, albeit mostly limited to local elections. The following section will offer the most recent review of noncitizen enfranchisement discourse in the United States. I will elaborate on several of the most prevailing rationales put forward by noncitizen franchise advocates, as most arguments within this field of inquiry tend to center around similar historical, moral, and political justifications.

CHAPTER 2 - CONTEMPORARY DISCOURSE ON NONCITIZEN SUFFRAGE

In the previous chapter I provided a brief insight into the historical and legal framework surrounding noncitizen voting right in the United States. The following chapter is divided into four sections, each aimed at examining contemporary public and academic discourses in relation to noncitizen suffrage in the United States. The final section delivers a concise introduction to the theoretical framework of media content analysis, including its uses and implications. A general familiarization with a variety of discourses allows for a more thorough understanding and review of related media content, thus representing a crucial step in order to identify common frames across major news sources.

2.1. Proponents of Noncitizen Enfranchisement

Most studies that advocate on behalf of noncitizen voting rights often provide legal, historical, and practical reasons for the so-called "re-enfranchisement" of legal immigrants and legal-permanent residents in the United States. For instance, a common ethical motive for extending voting rights states that suffrage is the "embodiment of individual sovereignty" - and thus the universal provision of voting rights is fundamental to the representativeness of democracy (Ruth et al. 2016). Any deliberate attempt to restrict the political participation of a particular class of people is "equivalent to social injustices and results in illegitimate democracy" (Ruth et al. 2016). Other vocal advocates for restoring noncitizen voting rights, such as Ronald Hayduk, note that the political incorporation of all individuals regardless of citizenship is both "historically required" and "constitutionally mandated" (2004). Hayduk offers three explanations

as to why noncitizen suffrage is conceivable: noncitizen voting is legal; noncitizen voting is

rational; and noncitizen voting is feasible (2004). The first premise addresses the

constitutionality of noncitizen voting, specifically in the United States, suggesting that the

Constitution does not specify citizenship as a prerequisite for voting, but rather states act

independently in shaping their electoral policies (Hayduk 2004). Many scholars agree that

noncitizen suffrage is both legal and constitutional, citing multiple examples where state

constitutions disregarded citizenship as a formal requirement, as well as citing several Supreme

Court cases that refrained from using the language of citizenship in relation to political and civil

rights (Hayduk 2004; Raskin 1993; Ruth et al. 2016; Kini 2005). The second premise, that

noncitizen voting is rational, is based on both moral and practical grounds, often reminding of

the "notions of equal rights and treatments" as articulated in the American Revolution, the

abolitionist movement, the suffrage movement, and within the civil rights tradition (Hayduk

2004). Finally, the last premise maintains that noncitizen voting is feasible, drawing support

from multiple cases where immigrants and noncitizens have been re-enfranchised in the United

States, albeit mostly confined to local elections (2004).

These premises have enabled and encouraged a new generation of noncitizen and

immigrant advocates that take issue with existing electoral policies that limit participation on the

basis of citizenship. Raskin provides three compelling and widely echoed justifications for the

political incorporation of noncitizens. First, the *fairness* argument suggests that government

legitimacy is contingent upon consent of the governed (Raskin 1993). The most important

feature of the fairness doctrine is that immigrants, including noncitizens, should be accepted as

members of the democratic community (Hayduk 2004). The principle qualification for

membership in a democratic community according to *fairness* proponents should be *residency* or

physical presence (Wilson 1998; Ruth et al. 2016; Hayduk 2004; Harper-Ho 2000; Munro 2008; Blais et al. 2001; Raskin 2004; Coll 2011). Noncitizen residents are considered a "permanent feature" within the political landscape of multicultural democracies such as the United States (Munro 2008). Therefore, residency, as the sole criterion for suffrage, would bring "voice and visibility" to millions of noncitizens, and in effect make the government more "representative, responsive, and accountable" (Ruth et al. 2016). Other such as Jones-Correa (1998) suggest that excluding a significant portion of the population from political participation is inherently undemocratic. Those favorable of the fairness argument have long demanded that residency and the adherence to civic and legal responsibilities is sufficient for granting the right to political participation. For example, residents, regardless of citizenship, are required to pay taxes,[22] they are employed in local economies, they enjoy access to public education, and they are subject to various civil and criminal laws (Munro 2008). Noncitizen residents, according to this argument, should have the opportunity to participate in the political decision-making process that precipitates and shapes the overall nature of these provisions and obligations.

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[22] Legal residents under immigration law are required to pay taxes for five years prior to naturalization. The U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) may deny the naturalization application if a resident has not fulfilled his/her tax obligations (this is based on the good moral character requirement of obtaining citizenship).

2.2. Opponents of Noncitizen Enfranchisement

The idea that residency alone is enough for noncitizens to participate in the making of local policy via voting rights is rather problematic - first due to the very fluid conception of residency, and second, due to the misleading assumption that noncitizens receive nothing in return for fulfilling their obligations as residents. The former justification based on residency is somewhat unintentionally addressed by many noncitizen suffrage advocates who are supportive of international norms such as dual citizenship - that inherently seeks to separate residency from the right to vote (Garcia 2011; Martin 1999). The notion of multiple membership, or belonging to multiple polities within or outside the context of a nation-state (i.e. dual citizenship) is often invoked by those critical of territorial restrictions on suffrage. Those in the United States that are supportive of residential status as a determinant for suffrage are unaware that this may conflict with the idea of dual citizenship, simply because residency would confine voting rights to a certain jurisdiction, while dual citizenship, or citizenship in general, permits voting rights regardless of location or residency. Some have acknowledged that so-called "fluid populations" – i.e. those "citizens who are partial residents of one or more than one community and noncitizens who are either part time or full time residents" are in both instances largely unaddressed in terms of their ability to participate in or influence local policy (Francis 2016, p. 108). Judging by the overwhelming support for international mobility and multiple political membership, it is rather troublesome to use residency alone as a qualification for suffrage. Certain advocates of noncitizen suffrage occasionally admit that the idea of a "single residency" is incompatible or even contradictory in face of the typical reality and habit of American

mobility (Francis 2016).[23] Several have warned that the inclination of people in the United States to constantly relocate and hold residency in multiple communities, often represents a challenge for scholars seeking to justify noncitizen suffrage on the basis of singular residency (Francis 2016; Garica 2011).

The second problem of suffrage based on noncitizen residency is the misleading assumption that noncitizens receive little or nothing in return for meeting certain civic or legal obligations. On one hand, Horowitz (2012) claims that regardless of whether noncitizens are allowed to vote or not, they continuously receive goods and services in exchange for paying taxes, including public transportation, police, and other valuable services. On the other hand, some have noted that "immigrants from most countries enjoy an immediate rise in their standard of living because of the [United States'] advanced infrastructure, including hospitals, electricity, communication etc." (Renshon 2008, p. 12). Additionally, if any noncitizen were to voluntarily serve in the United States armed forces, they would under presidential authority, see a reduction in the time necessary to become a citizen via the naturalization process (Renshon 2008). While many would contend that the naturalization process in itself is "unwelcoming" or difficult to complete, Renshon (2008) refutes these charges noting that neither English nor civic tests are demanding for noncitizens, especially given the abundance of resources to assist with naturalization procedures. Very few backers of noncitizen suffrage have chosen to focus their efforts to reform the naturalization process, whereas even advocates such as Francis (2016) acknowledge that tests administered by the Federal Immigration and Naturalization Service are indeed "modest" as they require the person to answer only six questions correctly (111). If anything, a variety of resources are readily available to immigrants and noncitizens that can both

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[23] *See* Lifetime Mobility in The United States: 2010 - that uses data from the American Community Survey to measure residential mobility in the United States.

simplify the naturalization process, as well as reduce the necessary waiting period (Horowitz

2012). Finally, according to Renshon (2008), the notion that resident noncitizens are civically

and politically unrepresented or dismissed is rather unsubstantiated, considering noncitizens are

lawfully permitted to participate in civic organizations and political parties, as well as the fact

that there is an overall proliferation of advocacy directed towards noncitizen issues. In the field

of educational policy some scholars have even noted that formal franchise is not a hindrance to

political participation, claiming that for example, undocumented students often organize to lobby

legislatures, they partake in public discourse related to pending legislature, and they often

effectively publicize and promote their political opinions (Glenn 2010). [24]

Based on these observations, opponents of noncitizen suffrage would argue that

dismantling citizenship from political participation is unwarranted, and even detrimental to the

traditional concept of political and community membership. Horowitz cites many examples

where the practice of voting is exclusionary or constrained, whether based on age, residency, or

criminal record – yet nevertheless, these restrictions continue to persist and are often broadly

supported by the public (2012). While immigrants and noncitizens certainly enjoy many benefits

and freedoms within their host country, Horowitz asserts that citizenship itself is "inherently

exclusionary; it requires barriers of some sort" (2012). Without the prerequisite of citizenship for

political participation, there would essentially be no reason to distinguish individuals between

citizen and noncitizen (Horowitz 2012). Finally, others have noted that there is very little

systematic evidence to support the idea that political participation in the form of voting for

noncitizens would lead to increased or better representation in the democratic sense (Junn 2007).

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[24] Specifically referring to initiatives by undocumented (i.e. noncitizen) students that are aimed at addressing in-state tuition laws in various states, including California, Texas, and Illinois. *See* Glenn (2010) for more details on this topic.

In the final section of this chapter will address a less frequent rational behind noncitizen enfranchisement, one that has attracted both approval and criticism from those devoted to the topic. Whether referred to as the "practical", "political", or "mutual benefits" motivation for noncitizen suffrage, this justification has multiple underlying implications on the electoral and subsequently political landscape of the United States.

2.3. Potential Implications of Noncitizen Voting

The *Mutual Benefits* rational developed by Hayduk (2004), suggests that extending voting rights would be beneficial to both noncitizens and other select community groups, as they likely share similar interests and concerns. Both Hayduk (2004) and Harper-Ho (2000) claim that "communities of color, working-class individuals, the poor, and urban residents" - all experience comparable difficulties related to often discriminatory policies in housing, education, and employment. Access to voting rights among noncitizens would therefore lead to the formation of "alliances" and perhaps improve "mutual understanding and cooperation" among various minority groups (Hayduk 2004, p. 511). The persuasiveness of this argument is perhaps best illustrated by Kini (2005) in which she claims that granting suffrage to noncitizens is "politically pragmatic" in the sense it may "increase the overall voting strength of progressives" (300). Hayduk (2004) has used similar language in this rationale for noncitizen suffrage:

> Making common cause among immigrants – and with other people of color, African-Americans – is crucial to forge a progressive agenda. Together they are, after all, the emerging, working-class majority. Of course, invoking the need for working-class solidarity across racial and ethnic lines will not alone overcome the multiple and significant challenges progressive face in forging and sustaining such alliances. Still, this is a start (p. 523).

Along with the residency rationale, Kini (2005) suggests that the "political pragmatism argument" is essential if advocates seek to acquire both public and legislative support for noncitizen voting rights (307). According to this frame of thought, potential noncitizen voters would likely align themselves with other working class and minority voters in policy issues related to tax cuts, public education, health-care, and anti-discrimination laws - therefore exerting significant political pressure on candidates, as well as directly influencing public policy and election outcomes (Kini 2005; Hayduk 2004). Kini (2005) cites the example when California Governor Gray Davis, in effort to appeal to immigrant voters, signed a bill into law that permitted noncitizens to obtain driver's license, despite his own previous opposition to the bill (307). Others go even further, arguing that since noncitizens are mostly concentrated in urban areas, the local legislatures within cities or larger metropolitan areas may be able to influence state and national politics regarding overall noncitizen rights (Earnest 2005). For example, sanctuary cities that grant noncitizens with specific rights typically associated with citizenship, may inevitably "erode the link between the institution of citizenship and the polity, a distinction that the nation-state itself may seek to preserve" (Earnest 2005, p. 11). For these very reasons, most scholars and advocates of noncitizen suffrage have chosen to target electoral policies at the state and local level first, hoping this may eventually prompt a national campaign aimed at revaluating the relationship between citizenship and voting rights.

However, some find that Hayduk's and Kini's arguments are in fact poorly camouflaged electoral strategies, geared towards forming progressive voter coalitions, and therefore fail to address the potentially negative consequences of noncitizen voting on American political culture, that is still largely moderate (Renshon 2008; Horowitz 2012; Gimpel 2010). It remains relatively difficult to estimate the current adult population of noncitizens residing across the United States.

The 2010-2012 Census suggests that slightly over twenty-two million people in the United States are noncitizens, accounting for roughly seven percent of the overall population (Acosta & Larsen 2014). [25] Seven states had a noncitizen population share of around or exceeding ten percent, including California, Florida, New York, New Jersey, Texas, Arizona, Nevada, as well as the District of Columbia.[26] Hayduk (2004) himself suggests that noncitizen enfranchisement in these states could "yield to decisive power in state races", as well as within a number of cities, towns, and municipalities (7). While examining the political implications of immigration in the United States, Gimpel (2014) has concluded that the flow of legal immigrants from 1980-2012 has "continued to remake the nations electorate in favor of the Democrat Party" (1). He uses aggregated data from multiple sources[27] to show that immigrants, particularly Hispanics and Asians, are more likely to align with the Democrat Party[28] in terms of policy preferences such as government size and redistributive policies,[29] as well as based on certain demographic characteristics (3-5). To further prove this point, Gimpel shows that an average of twenty-six percent of the population in the twenty-five largest counties in the United States are foreign born, noting that this has led to an overall decline in Republican presidential voting since 1980 (2014).[30] Despite different policy positions among local Republicans, the partisan impact of

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[25] The 2010–2012 American Community Survey estimated that 10.3 million noncitizens under age 35 lived in the United States. Noncitizens were counted as respondents who indicated that they were not U.S. citizens at the time of the survey.

[26] *See* Kaiser Family Foundation Population Distribution by Citizenship Status - that is based on the Census Bureau's March 2016 Current Population Survey (CPS: Annual Social and Economic Supplement). Provided is both a list and map of noncitizen population distribution in the United States.

[27] *See* Immigration's Impact On Republican Political Prospects, 1980-2012 (Gimpel 2014)

[28] The 2012 Cooperative Congressional Election Study conducted by YouGov calculated partisan preferences among 1,516 noncitizen immigrants, finding that 60.4% identify as Democrats, compared to 16.8% Republican, and 22.9% Independent. *See* Gimpel (2014) for full table and details.

[29] Gimpel applies Census Bureau data to measure the impact of immigration on income inequality within certain counties. The Pew Values Survey from April 2012 shows that counties with higher income inequality tend to be more supportive of government regulation and policies to tax and redistribute wealth. *See* page 4-5 of Gimpel (2014) for full tables and details.

[30] *See* page 7, Table 4. for a full list of the 25 largest U.S. counties with their total population percent, immigrant population percent, and total percentage of Republican presidential votes from 1980-2012.

immigration and overall Republican Party decline remains unchanged throughout the country (Gimpel 2014).

2.4. Theoretical Framework of Media Content Analysis

Notwithstanding the burgeoning literature dedicated to refining voting rights in modern societies, little has been done to examine how media content portrays the relatively new and still widely unfamiliar issue of noncitizen enfranchisement. In effort to answer the research question of what common frames are utilized in media content surrounding the topic of noncitizen voting rights across major news sources in the United States, it is first important to make use of existing theories associated with general media content analysis research. Neuendorf (2002) defines media content analysis as a "summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that rely on the scientific method [...] and is not limited to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented" (p. 5-7). She asserts that any form of media content analysis must strictly adhere to the principles of scientific methods, such as, "attention to objectivity-intersubjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability, and hypothesis testing" (Neuendorf 2002, p. 10). On the contrary, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) suggest that media content analysis is both equally quantitative and qualitative in nature, noting that the reduction of large amounts of text to quantitative data "does not provide a complete picture of meaning and contextual codes, since texts may contain many other forms of emphasis besides sheer repetition" (p. 32). Furthermore, both authors note that media content frequently consists of a variety of attributes, including "the medium, production techniques, messages, sources quoted or referred to, and context [urging the researcher to] "single out the

key features that we think are important and to which we want to pay attention" as part of the ordering process (Shoemaker and Reese 1996, p. 31). Bridging the gap between quantitative and qualitative theory in media content analysis, Neuman (1997) notes that in standard content analysis "the researcher uses objective and systematic counting and recording procedures to produce a quantitative description of the symbolic content in a text", however, he adds that "there are qualitative and interpretative versions of such analysis" (p. 273). Similarly, Newbold et al. (2002) claim that results driven by purely quantitative measures fail to capture the "context within which a media text becomes meaningful" (p. 84) – referring to factors that may impact audience interpretations such as perceptions of media credibility, context (i.e. time of publication), and audience characteristics (i.e. demographic traits).

Thus, for the purpose of this study I will be relying on the grounded theory approach as described by Glaser and Holton (1967) and Corbin and Strauss (1990). According to these authors, grounded theory is used to recognize issues and messages important for analysis by a "preliminary reading of existing research literature in the field and reading of a sub-sample of the media content to be studies (Macnamara 2005, p. 9). Prior exploratory work is usually recommended, as within certain topics it is inherently difficult to identify variables (i.e. the issues and frames) before conducting any groundwork analysis. As the following chapter will address into the further detail, the practice of "frame-building" in media content is far more important among new issues such as noncitizen voting rights (i.e. issues with no previously identified or established frames) (Scheufele 1999).

CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGY: RESEARCH DESIGN, DATA COLLECTION, & ANALYSIS

3.1. Research Design: Frame Analysis

Framing or frame analysis as a theoretical and methodological concept is often applied in research dedicated to examining media affects, the influence of mass communication, news, and journalism (Scheufele 1999). Frame analysis originated in the field of sociology during the mid-1950's and has since been utilized among several other disciplines including psychology and linguistics, as well as politics and media studies (Touri et al. 2015). Due to a variety of popular framing approaches, it is difficult to summarize framing research into one single theoretical and empirical category (Scheufele 1999). Some have suggested that the concept of frame analysis is theoretically similar to agenda-setting theory, whereas framing is referred to as *second-level agenda-setting,* that is used to estimate and describe salience within media coverage and audience perceptions and attitudes as a result of media exposure (McCombs et al. 1997). Others such as Gamson and Modigliani (1989) have described framing as "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events […] The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (p. 143). Nevertheless, most scholars have come to agree that the usage of frames in media content serves to provide emphasis or salience to certain aspects of a topic; they are implemented in order to simplify complex issues by highlighting particular features intended at stimulating the receiving audience (Touri 2015; Chong and Druckman 2007; Gross and D'Ambrossio 2004; Iyengar and Simon 1993; Matthes and Kohring 2008). Framing is therefore particularly relevant and useful when examining the

construction of social reality as influenced and supported by media representation. McQuail (1994) stated that "the entire study of mass communication is based on the premise that the media have significant effects (p. 327).

Perhaps the most fundamental link between the frame analysis and political communication research is described within the constructivist media model. Since the 1980's, the theory of social constructivism has been used to examine relationships between media and audiences, suggesting that mass media is effective at constructing social reality by "framing images of reality…in a predictable and patterned way" (McQuail 1994, p. 331). It is worth noting that these media affects are conditional and therefore limited upon the interaction between mass media and recipients, whereas "media discourse is part of the process by which individuals construct meaning, and public opinion is part of the process by which journalists develop and crystalize meaning in public discourse" (Gamson and Modigliani 1989, p. 2; Scheufele 1999). Previous research regarding the importance of media portrayals in public discourse and politics is rather extensive, yet the implementation of frame analysis as a methodological technique has only recently gained momentum within political science research. Some have argued that focusing on the impact of media is indispensable when examining discourse surrounding particular legislation, suggesting that mass media is pivotal in terms of topic and issue selection, as well as through the process of "labelling and attributing qualities to groups and individuals, and inferring causes and meaning (Brouwer et al. 2017, p. 102; Helbling 2013; Maneri and ter Wal 2005). For example, Brouwer et al. (2017) investigated media attention among recent proposals in the Netherlands that sought to criminalize illegal stays, by attempting to analyze domestic media coverage and the depiction of unauthorized migrants over a period of fifteen years. Similarly, many scholars have concluded that the media is not only able and often willing

to choose *what* selected issue people should direct their attention to, but it is also equally important to consider *how* they write about these issues (Dunaway et al. 2010; McCombs and Shaw 1972; Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart 2009; Brouwer et al. 2017). Various approaches of frame analysis have thus been applied to countless research concerned with media portrayals of certain groups in society and their real or perceived issues within the wider community. As Entman (1993) noted, the media "selects some aspects of a perceived reality and makes them more salient in a communicating context" which is further determined by "the presence or absence of certain key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (p. 53). It is precisely this reason why the usage of frame analysis is desirable in exploring media coverage surrounding noncitizen voting rights in the United States. According to Tuchman (1978), mass media is responsible for setting frames that enable the audience to "interpret and discuss public events" (p. 9), by giving the stories a "spin" while "taking into account their organization and modality constraints, professional judgments, and certain judgments about the audience" (Neuman, Just, and Crigler 1992, p. 120). In effort to continue, it is necessary to correctly define what frames are, the role of frames in a larger media analysis framework, as well as how frames can be applied to the investigation of noncitizen voting rights discourses in the United States.

Frames are identified as "schemes for both presenting and comprehending news" that can be further categorized on the basis of two distinct occurrences: media frames and individual frames (Scheufele 1999, p. 106). According to Kinder and Sanders (1990) media frames are understood as "devices embedded in political discourse" whereas individual frames are referred to as "internal structures of the mind" (p. 74). In relation to the discipline of political communication, frames are defined as "largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organizing the

world both for journalists who report it and, to some important degree, for us who rely on their reports" (Gitlin 1980, p. 7). Likewise, individual frames are viewed as "information processing schemata" and are therefore distinguished from media frames that are "attributes of the news itself" (Entman 1991, p. 7; Scheufele 1999). For the purpose of this study, I will specifically rely on examining media frames in news coverage regarding noncitizen voting rights. According to Gamson and Modigliani (1994), media frames represent the "central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events [whereas the frame itself] suggests what the controversy is about – the essence of the issue" (p. 143). Even though media coverage regarding noncitizen voting rights in the United States is often only present during times of debated legislation, frames are nevertheless frequently found among journalists seeking to inform or persuade specific audiences. As Scheufele (1999) noted, media frames also serve as "working routines for journalists" (p. 106), enabling the journalists to effectively describe and label information, as well as to "package it for efficient relay to their audiences" (Gitlin 1980, p. 7). While it is possible to identify media frames within news coverage, it is worth noting that media framing may both reflect the intent of the journalist or the motivations may be unconscious (Scheufele 1999; Gamson 1989). Media frames in the case of news coverage are often derived from the individual frames present among diverse actors that are further "shaped by their own ideological principles and institutional roles" (Touri et al. 2015). Simply put, media frames are often the direct result of the journalist's "ideological predispositions, professional practices, as well as their emphasis on casual reasoning" (Touri et al. 2015, p. 4; Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Iyengar and Simon 1993; Pan and Kosicki 2001).

Within the context of news coverage there exist three conceptual variations of media frames, including issue frames, strategic news frames, and episodic/thematic frames (Touri et al.

2015). For the purpose of this research I will focus on the usage of episodic and thematic frames introduced by Iyengar (1991). Episodic frames focus on the individual, a single event, and the overall private sphere (i.e. an individual's psychology, conditions, behaviors, family) (Iyengar 2005). Episodic framing illustrates issues in terms of "individual instances or specific events" — such as the carnage resulting from a particular terrorist bombing, for example (Iyengar 2005, p. 6). Furthermore, episodic coverage usually takes form within emotionally charged visual and printed material (Iyengar 2005). Within the context of media coverage on noncitizen voting rights in the U.S., episodic frames may be observed through various articles and editorials emphasizing a particular case or individual concerned with the advantages or disadvantages of noncitizen suffrage. Such texts will often single out individuals in effort to provide emotionally appealing stories that both broadly addresses the topic and attracts the audience's attention.[31] Similarly, episodic frames occurring in media coverage of noncitizen voting rights may follow legislative debates, reporting on current and often controversial proposals regarding local noncitizen enfranchisement. Thematic frames to the contrary focus on media coverage trends over time; they include the public (i.e. the surrounding environment and institutions) and they recognize the audience as citizens. Thematic frames are responsible for contextualizing a particular issue, typically in the form of comprehensive, "backgrounder" reports (Iyengar 2005). According to Iyengar (2005), an example of thematic framing would be a news story focused on the Iraq war in which the journalist gives attention to the historical context of the dynamics between the two countries, as well as the circumstances that lead to the current conflict (Iyengar 2005). In such examples it is apparent that thematic coverage tends to be more discussion-based, composed, and consisting primarily of "talking heads" and "pundits" (Iyengar 2005, p. 6).

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[31] For example, see article: "Noncitizens and Right to Vote; Advocates for Immigrants Explore Opening Up Balloting" – NY Times, July 31st 1992.

Thematic frames in media coverage of noncitizen voting rights in the U.S. are often manifested through lengthier texts, usually providing a comprehensive historical analysis of the issue, highlighting the opinions of its main contributors (i.e. scholars and experts), as well as addressing the normative framework of the topic (i.e. civil rights and citizenship).[32]

3.2. Analysis: Corpus Linguistics

Effective frame analysis research combines principles of both quantitative and qualitative analytical approaches. Goffman (1974) defines frames as "schemata of interpretation" that enables individuals to understand certain events and to "locate, perceive, identify, and label" occurrences (p. 21-22). He also emphasizes the empirical importance of identified schemata as they "turn what should be a meaningless aspect of a scene into something meaningful" (Goffman 1974, p. 21-22). The most reliable methodological approaches in framing research utilize computer-assisted data analysis that offers a useful instrument for a more systematic extraction of frames. With the use of software generated content as a guide for analysis interpretation, the researcher is able to effectively combine both qualitative and quantitative analytical approaches. The contribution of corpus linguistics (CL) techniques to qualitative and quantitative analysis is invaluable, as the method offers researchers a high degree of objectivity; that is, "they enable the researcher to approach the texts (or text surface) (relatively) free from any preconceived or existing notions regarding their linguistic or semantic/pragmatic content" (Baker et al. 2008). In academia, corpus linguistics has been one of the most important methods for a data-driven

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[32] For example, see article: "You soon may not need citizenship to vote in the US; just become a New Yorker" – Quartz, July 4th 2014

approach to textual analysis (Johns, 1997). Specifically, corpus linguistics centers around the study of (often very large bodies of) real-life textual data (the corpus) with the aid of computer software (Brouwer et al. 2017; Baker 2006; Mautner 2016; McEnery and Wilson 2003). The *corpora* consist of "large, representative bodies of naturally occurring language" and due to the electronic existence of these texts it becomes possible to apply statistical analysis that can uncover "possibly counter-intuitive linguistic patterns and frequency information" (Brouwer et al. 2017, p. 104; Baker 2006). The advantages of corpus linguistics have been validated time after time in various studies using discourse analysis (Allen and Blinder 2013; Baker 2012; Baker et al. 2008; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Koller and Mautner 2004; Mautner 2016). One of the most recognized conveniences of using corpus linguistics is that the researcher is able to work with a large volume of textual data, that is rather essential when seeking to study media content (Brouwer 2017). According to Fairclough (2001), "a single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency" (p. 45). Additionally, the use of computer assisted analysis within corpora linguistics vastly reduces the presence of researcher bias while simultaneously raising the internal validity of a study - as a result of engaging in comprehensive rather than selective methods of analysis (Brouwer 2017; Baker 2006; Mautner 2009). Overall, the application of software developed for corpus-discourse analysis as a methodological tool enables the researcher to resolve many of the discrepancies among interpretative and indicative-based approaches to frame classification (Brouwer et al. 2017).

A large corpora in itself is rather impractical without the application of certain computer software tools that are assigned to handle and measure textual data, as well as display results in a precise and reliable way. Two of the most widely-used software tools for analyzing corpora are

MonoConc Pro and WordSmith Tools, even though many other programs have been developed and are accessible for scientific use (Anthony 2004). Several drawbacks have prevented me from using MonoConc and WordSmith Tools, most notably, they possess a restrictive number of features readily available for unlicensed use and have been criticized for their complex graphical user interface (GUI), compared to other related programs (Anthony 2004). Instead, for the purpose of this study I will be using AntConc,[33] a freeware concordance program developed by Prof. Laurence Anthony, Director of the Centre for English Language Education in Waseda University, Japan. AntConc is both intuitive and operates on Windows, Linux/Unix, and MAC based computer systems (Anthony 2005). Despite its broad accessibility as a freeware license program, AntConc incorporates seven powerful tools, including a concordancer, a concordance plot tool, word and keyword frequency generators, tools for cluster and lexical bundle analysis, and a word distribution plot (Anthony 2005; 2006). In the following sections, I will briefly describe each of the tools that will be applied within this study.

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[33] Information and download instructions available at: (http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/)

3.3. AntConc Terminology: Frequency Lists, Concordances, Collocates, & Clusters

As previously mentioned, for the current study I will be using the software program 'AntConc' to perform four types of analysis. First, frequency lists are usually perceived as a good starting point for quantitative textual analysis and one of the most fundamental features of corpus analysis (Baker 2006; Brouwer et al. 2017). In AntConc, frequency lists are calculated by using the 'Word List' and 'Keyword List' tools that serve to generate a list of all the words used in the corpus (Anthony 2004). Word lists are not only valuable for pointing to "interesting areas in a corpus and suggesting problem areas" (Anthony 2004), but also because they enable the user to locate the lemmas of words in a corpus or families of related word forms (Bowker and Pearson 2002). Like similar corpus linguistics programs, the Word List tool offered in AntConc effectively sorts words on the basis of alphabetical and frequency order, as well as by the 'stem' form of words (Hockey 2001; Anthony 2004). Additionally, I will be utilizing the stop list feature that is used to either omit the counting of high frequency functional words or to create a list of only previously specified words that should be counted (Anthony 2004). While the word list function itself does not tell the researcher about the importance of certain words in the corpus (Anthony 2004), the 'Keyword List' tool discovers which words occur "unusually frequently" within a corpus, compared to the identical words in some other reference corpus as selected by the user (Anthony 2004, p. 10). In this sense, the "keyness" of words is defined as "a quality words may have in a given text or a set of texts, suggesting that they are important, [that] they reflect what the text is really about" (Scott and Tribble 2006, p. 73; Touri et al. 2015). Specifically, the Keyword List tool calculates the "keyness" of words by applying either chi-squared or log likelihood statistical measures (Kilgarriff 2001; Anthony 2004). These statistical measures determine the number of cases in which a word occurred in a given corpus (i.e. the

corpus used for a specific study) and compare it to the number of cases within another reference corpus that is descriptive of some language norm (i.e. the British National Corpus comprising 100 million words used in spoken and written language) (Touri et al. 2015). By performing a comparison between corpora, one is able to identify and report unusually frequent words and at the same time "enclose the unconscious and culturally-driven judgement of the communicator" (Touri et al. 2015, p. 4). Overall, frequency lists in this particular scenario are a more useful than traditional frequency occurrence measures, as they provide a useful mechanism for reporting on words that are both significant and expressive within any given text (Touri et al. 2015).

The second and arguably most important function for corpus analysis is the concordance measure, produced by the Concordancer Tool among corpus linguistic software, including AntConc.[34] Concordances primarily consist of an area of text surrounding a specified search term, permitting the researcher to move rightwards and leftwards between instances of keyword use (Touri et al. 2015). Simplified, concordances incorporate both quantitative and qualitative methods of content analysis by generating "a list of all the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the context that they occur in" (Baker 2006, p. 71; Brouwer et al. 2017). The "context" specifically refers to a number of words, determined by the researcher, to the left and right of a search term or phrase – for example, 'noncitizen' or 'voting is'. Searches can also be adjusted as either case sensitive or insensitive (default), as well as made using full regular expressions (REGEX).[35] The Concordancer tool displays search results in a 'KWIC' (KeyWord In Context) format, allowing three different levels of sorting based on how words and phrases are commonly used in the corpus (Anthony 2004). Complimentary to this method, the

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[34] *See* (Anthony 2004, p. 2) for a description and visualization of the Concordancer Tool in AntConc
[35] Information about full regular expression can be found at (http://www.regular-expressions.info/quickstart.html)

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'Concordance Plot Tool' shows search results plotted in a 'barcode' format, allowing the researcher to locate the position where search results appear in targeted texts (Anthony 2004).

The third method used in this study will be the analysis of *collocates* which allows for a more discursive examination of the way certain key words are described on a quantitative level (Brouwer et al. 2017). Previous studies have used the definition of *collocation* to refer to the "above-chance frequent co-occurrence of two words within a pre-determined span", typically five words on both sides of the search term under investigation (Sinclair 1991). Collocates in this study can be used to examine how particular terms are portrayed across a large body of different texts, thus providing "a way of understanding meanings and associations between words which are otherwise difficult to ascertain from a small-scale analysis of a single text" (Baker 2006, p. 96). For collocation analysis, AntConc uses two different statistical tests, notably Mutual Information (MI)[36] and T-Scores,[37] that demonstrate which associations occur more frequently than expected, based on the relative frequency of each word in the corpus (Blinder and Allen 2015). This type of analysis allows the researcher to quantify and report the strength of the relationship between two or more words (Hunston 2007; McEnery and Hardie 2011; Blinder and Allen 2015). Most software programs, including AntConc, will not identify common grammatical words such as articles or prepositions as collocates, since they prone to appear across the entire corpus (Blinder and Allen 2015). As (Brouwer et al. 2017) notes, the "results of collocation analysis go further than a mere content analysis" (p. 105), offering "the most salient and obvious lexical patterns surrounding a subject, from which a number of discourses can be obtained" (Baker 2006, p. 114).

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[36] Mutual Information (MI) equations are described in M. Stubbs, Collocations and Semantic Profiles, Functions of Language 2, 1 (1995)

[37] T-Score equations are described in M. Stubbs, Collocations and Semantic Profiles, Functions of Language 2, 1 (1995)

Lastly, the 'clusters' function in AntConc allows the researcher to produce a series of word clusters in attempt to identify collocates among unknown sequences of words (Weisser 2016). AntConc further enables the researcher to create two basic forms of clusters, one that provides a list of sequences of all words in the text indiscriminately, and the other that generates clusters around a given search term alphabetically or by frequency (Weisser 2016; Anthony 2004). In this sense, clusters allow the researcher to identify common expressions in a corpus. In the following section I will briefly elaborate on the data collection process used in this study, including the criteria for data selection and the preparation of chosen texts for a more thorough and accurate analysis.

3.4. Data Collection & Corpus Construction

The process of corpus construction often involves addressing questions of sampling, representativeness and organization among larger quantities of textual data. For the purpose of this study I have created a specialized corpus, consisting of 103 textual items from multiple media sources (i.e. newspapers, magazines, and blogs)[38] that covered the topic of noncitizen voting rights in the United States between 1991-2017. Although federal law has prohibited noncitizens from voting in federal election since 1996, Takoma Park in Maryland was the first municipality to grant noncitizens suffrage during local elections in 1993, hence justifying the decision to include items starting from 1991 in the search inquiry. All items were obtained from the LexisNexis digital research archive for news and the free web-based news portal Google

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[38] The corpus contains nationally distributed newspapers (34 items), local newspapers (44 items), online publications (18 items), blogs (3 items), and magazines (4 items). *See* appendix for full list of items (sorted by date of publication).

News, using the search phrases 'noncitizen voting rights', 'noncitizen suffrage', and 'noncitizen enfranchisement'.

LexisNexis is the most commonly used news archive for researchers studying media content in social sciences, offering roughly 300 newspapers, 500 general print publications, and about three-dozen broadcast outlets for the United States (Weaver and Bimber 2008; Deacon 2007). However, some have noted that traditional news archives such as LexisNexis may contain certain methodological limitations, including variations between original news content and database content due to "truncations" of articles, headline inaccuracies, changing contracts between news sources and news databases, as well as the exclusion of corrections and retractions from non-archived newspapers (Weaver and Bimber 2008; Snider and Janda 1998).[39] More importantly however, news archives such as LexisNexis exclude 'wire service stories'[40] and thus do not account for many news sources that rely on wire and syndicated material, as well as other web-based content such as blogs (Weaver and Bimber 2008). The corpus used in this study was therefore only partially constructed using the Major World Publications (MWP) feature in LexisNexis that allows searching for full-text news sources - based on geographic location (i.e. United States) and overall content reliability, including the world's major newspapers, magazines and trade publications notable for accurate and consistent reporting.

Google News, on the other hand, is a web-based "portal" to news with similar features as LexisNexis, offering a "fully automated sweep of global news, conducted roughly every fifteen minutes, and without human editorial judgments" (Weaver and Bimber 2008, p. 518; Carlson

[39] Although these methodological limitations may produce certain errors in the studies of news content, they remain relatively solvable and generally do not lead to biased or unreliable results. *See* (Weaver and Bimber 2008; Snider and Janda 1998) for more details.

[40] 'Wire service stories' are news stories that originate from services such as the Associated Press (AP), which are removed from news archives such as LexisNexis once a newspaper's content is archived in the research database. Furthermore, many local, smaller news outlets rely on wire stories and syndicated material for publication. *See* (Snider and Janda 1998; Schwarzlose 1992; Weaver and Bimber 2008) for more details.

2007).[41] Google News displays articles from over 4,500 sources around the world, ranging from major news outlets to college newspapers, while allowing users to find news stories in a similar format to the traditional Google search engine (Carlson 2007). The site also incorporates a central news page with automatically selected and arranged news topics, with each topic accompanied by links to stories from a variety of other news outlets (Carlson 2007). Google News currently ranks 11th among the top five hundred sites dedicated to news, surpassing popular sites such as CNN, NY Times, BBC, and the Washington Post by total daily page views per visitor.[42] Google News is therefore recognized as a complimentary tool for corpus construction in this study, expanding on the coverage of noncitizen voting rights in the United States by including a larger quantity of sources and item formats. In effort to prevent systematic errors and redundancy, the corpus was manually cleaned of all duplicate items, nonessential text (i.e. titles, headers, dates, authors), as well as carefully sorted to contain only items devoted to the topic of noncitizen voting rights in the United States.[43]

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[41] About Google News: Google News is a highly unusual news service in that our results are compiled solely by computer algorithms, without human intervention. As a result, news sources are selected without regard to political viewpoint or ideology, enabling you to see how different news organizations are reporting the same story. This variety of perspectives and approaches is unique among online news sites, and we consider it essential in helping you stay informed about the issues that matter most to you. *See* (Carlson 2007)

[42] *See* Alexa.com for a ranking of the top 500 sites on the web (category of news). The sites in the top sites lists are ordered by their 1 month Alexa traffic rank. The 1-month rank is calculated using a combination of average daily visitors and page views over the past month. The site with the highest combination of visitors and page views is ranked #1

[43] Both LexisNexis and Google News fetched a variety of items covering similar topics such as noncitizen voting fraud and other reported instances of illegal immigrant voting. These items were manually removed from the corpus.

CHAPTER 4 - ANALYSIS & RESULTS

4.1. Media Coverage Historically

Figure 1 illustrates the number of items on noncitizen voting rights in the corpus per annum. The timeline shows that media coverage of noncitizen voting rights in the United States first appeared in 1991, prior to an election in which Takoma Park voters in the state of Maryland narrowly approved a referendum to amend the city charter so that it "permits residents of Takoma Park who are not U.S. citizens to vote in Takoma Park elections".[44]
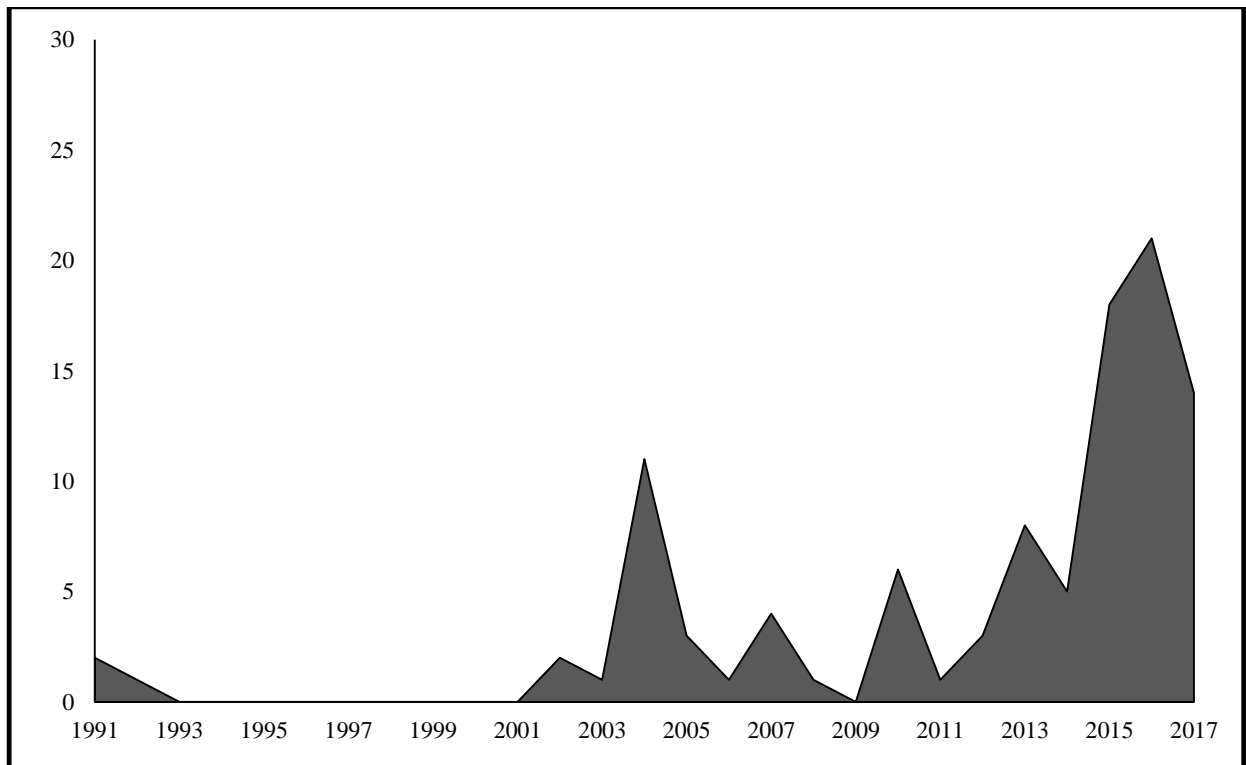
Figure 1. *Number of items related to noncitizen voting rights per year, 1991 - 2017*

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[44] The referendum was approved with 1,199 for and 1,107 against. It is worth noting that Takoma Park has a more recent history of relaxing voter requirements, becoming the first city in the U.S. since 2013 that allows sixteen and seventeen year olds, as well as convicted felons on parole and probation to participate in city-wide elections.

Because of Takoma Park's relatively tiny population and proximity to a major international city with a sizeable foreign-born population such Washington D.C., the referendum was not widely publicized nor controversial. Nevertheless, the approved amendment set a precedent for future media coverage regarding noncitizen suffrage, with Takoma Park being referenced in over a quarter of all items within the corpus.[45] Media content related to noncitizen suffrage once again emerged in the early 2000's, with a notable surge in 2004, during which cities such as New York, Washington D.C., San Francisco, and San Bernardino initiated and voted upon legislative proposals that sought to extend voting rights to local noncitizens.[46] Finally, slightly over half of all items in the corpus were published between the period of 2015 – 2017, adding to the relevance of this study, as well as requiring a comparison between these two different time periods in terms of textual content. Overall, if we observe the distribution of items per year, it is easy to assume that media coverage of noncitizen voting rights is frequently brought into and guided by reports on government proposals and bills rather than routine reporting on the issue itself over an extended period of time. Similar examples have been found among other studies that examine sudden increases or decreases in media attention regarding immigration, legal, as well as civil rights policy (Brouwer et al. 2017; Van der Heijden et al. 2011). The following sections provide a concordance and keyword list of the most frequent terms associated with discourse on noncitizen voting rights, while further allowing for a separate keyword analysis and comparison among the studied years.

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[45] According to the concordance analysis, Takoma Park was referenced in a total of 32 items within the corpus, along with 99 overall mentions.

[46] In 2004 a referendum was held and eventually rejected in San Francisco that would permit parents of children to vote in school board elections, regardless of their immigration and citizenship status. Similar bills were also introduced and rejected at the time in both Washington D.C. and New York City. The latter bill explicitly followed New York City's dissolution of school boards in 2002. It is worth noting that similar initiatives began increasingly circulating in other states such as Connecticut, New Jersey, Colorado, Wisconsin, and North Carolina during the period between 2002-2004.

4.2. Concordance & Keyness Analysis

A simple concordance analysis of selected terms reveals the total count of each word within the corpus, as well as in how many separate corpus items the word appears in. As shown in Table 1, the term 'immigrant' appeared around 40% more frequently than 'noncitizen' in terms of total occurrence and slightly over 30% among separate items. It appears that the terms 'immigrant' and 'resident' were intermittently used as replacement words for 'noncitizen' within the studied items. One possible reason for the variation in terminology used to characterize noncitizens will be examined in later sections using the collocate and cluster analysis tools. Interestingly, other terms such as 'tax' and 'history' appeared in over half of all items, while the specific phrase "taxation without representation" occurred twenty-one times in the overall corpus. Such frequencies suggest that media content was more likely than not to discuss noncitizen taxation, as well as provide a historical background on noncitizen voting rights in the United States.

The concordance analysis of selected terms was further validated by generating a keyword list using the British National Corpus (BNC) as the reference corpus. Keywords are generated to compare the relative frequency of words in a studied corpus with references to another representative corpus (Scott 1997; 2011; Touri et al. 2015). The BNC was chosen as it contains a 100+ million words collection of both written and spoken language from a wide range of sources. [47] AntConc identifies key words on a mechanical basis by comparing patterns of

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[47] The British National Corpus is a representative sample for almost all the words I want to investigate. The written part of the BNC (90%) includes, for example, extracts from regional and national newspapers, specialist periodicals and journals for all ages and interests, academic books and popular fiction, published and unpublished letters and memoranda, school and university essays, among many other kinds of text. The spoken part (10%) consists of orthographic transcriptions of unscripted informal conversations (recorded by volunteers selected from different age, region and social classes in a demographically balanced way) and spoken language collected in different contexts, ranging from formal business or government meetings to radio shows and phone-ins. *See* Leech (1992;2014) for more details.

frequency and calculating keyness using the default log-likelihood (LL) statistical measure while treating all data as lowercase.[48] Table 2 shows a condensed list of keywords ranked according to their keyness – i.e. words that occur more often than would be expected by chance in comparison to the BNC reference corpus. As noted in previous studies such as Touri (2015), the keyword analysis helps identify unusually frequent words that "characterize the text as indicators of perspectives by which issues can be discussed and interpreted" (p. 4). While the critical cutoff point for statistical significance is usually at the 95th and 99th percentile, all values in Table 2 show a highly significant distribution at the 99.9th percentile. In other words, the probability that the observed distribution was by chance is approaching zero. In terms of results, Table 2 once again reaffirmed that the terms 'immigrants' and 'residents' were unusually frequent when compared to the reference corpus, whereas terms such as 'city', 'local', and 'school', and 'state' are indicative of the overall legislative extent to which noncitizen voting rights are presented and discussed within the corpus. Overall, the use of frequency lists and concordance analyses revealed initially unknown patterns in terms of both linguistic choices and the content focus of media coverage. In the following sections, I will provide a much needed comparison between content originating in 2004, during the first increase in media attention, and coverage within the last few years. Content-wise, a keyword comparison should point to distinctions in the framing of noncitizen voting rights during different times periods.

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[48] The form of the log-likelihood calculation used in this study comes from the Read and Cressie research cited in Rayson and Garside (2000). The function is as follows: $G2 = 2*((a*\ln (a/E1)) + (b*\ln (b/E2)))$

Table 1. *Concordance analysis of targeted terms* [49]

Search Term	Concordance Hits	Total Plots
immigrant	552	93
city	499	89
school	406	71
noncitizen	385	70
local	357	91
citizenship	283	77
new york	200	52
resident	194	77
legal	184	70
citizen	174	76
san francisco	144	38
local election	138	67
tax	132	66
bill	103	41
takoma	99	32
proposal	86	44
history	85	56
illegal	75	30
hayduk	75	24
legislation	72	40
undocumented	70	31
advocate	58	38
democrat	57	26
latino	56	27
d.c.	48	20
representation	37	28
hyattsville	34	8
raskin	33	11
republican	32	22
progressive	23	14
hispanic	21	12
liberal	18	14
conservative	11	10
minority	4	4

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[49] The double asterisk symbol was used before and/or after each search term, to allow for additional letters - e.g. *tax* will find 'tax', 'taxes', 'taxing', 'taxation' etc. Results were then further cleaned to omit 'out of context' words such as 'taxable'. *See* Anthony (2014) for more details on the use of wildcards for finding and clearing desired search terms.

Table 2. *Keyword list* [50]

Keyword	Frequency	Keyness
vote	601	4618.014
voting	514	3944.996
city	363	2777.34
local	328	2506.815
new	303	2313.623
school	289	2205.454
immigrants	282	2151.374
right	236	1796.093
noncitizens	219	1696.504
people	206	1564.505
rights	204	1549.07
non-citizens	199	1541.572
board	202	1533.636
elections	197	1526.079
residents	194	1471.904
legal	184	1394.753
said	178	1378.894
state	180	1363.897
citizens	174	1317.619

* Reference corpus – BNC

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[50] All listed keywords were highly significant (p<0.0001). Certain high-frequency words
like 'should', 'our' or 'allow' were omitted along with using a manually generated stop list of 100 of the most
frequently used functional words. These words were not identified as key in this study, as they may be key
indicators more of style than of "aboutness". *See* appendix 2 for the stop list of functional words.

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4.3. Historical Comparison of Keyness in Media Coverage

A single keyword list in itself does not reveal much about the differences among texts within different times periods. To examine changes in media content over a specific time frame, the studied corpus was divided into two separate corpora – a smaller corpus containing all items from the year 2004 - as this year represents the first surge in reporting on noncitizen suffrage according to Figure 1, and another category including all items from the period between 2015 – 2017, as this time frame signifies the most recent media coverage to date on noncitizen voting rights. A separate keyword list was generated among each corpus, allowing for a comparison of keyness among words within a distinct time frame of over a decade. Table 3 contains a keyword list of all 2004 corpus items, compared to the reference corpus of all items between the period of 2015 – 2017. The results are listed according to frequency, while observing the keyness one can immediately notice the significance of common nouns, used to identify a specific person, compared to other relative terms listed. More specifically, the significance of particular surnames indicates that the 2004 corpus was likely to contain episodic frames - such as media content that follows legislative debates and news reports on current and often controversial proposals. It is evident that in 2004, media coverage of noncitizen voting rights was concentrated around a group of city officials advocating on behalf of noncitizen voting rights in New York City,[51] as well several controversies surrounding noncitizen voting eligibility during school board elections in San Bernardino. For example, NYC Mayor Bloomberg was opposed to two different proposals introduced in the State Assembly in 2003,[52] maintaining that he is "pro-immigrant" but voting is a "privilege and responsibility" for citizens only. NYC Council member Bill Perkins

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[51] Bills submitted in 2003 and 2005 were both rejected.
[52] *See* New York State Assembly Bill #9180 introduced on September 24th, 2003 by Vito Lopez and Bill #5129 introduced on February 25th, 2003 by Nick Perry.

(D-Harlem) and Bronx Borough President, Fernando Ferrer – both challenged Mayor Bloomberg, claiming that "this effort is as American and apple pie" and that the "tradition of expanding the franchise is one that has been seen over and over again in this country".

A similar conflict, albeit on a lesser scale, occurred at the time in the San Bernardino School District in California. Former school board member and Chairman of the Mexican-American Political Association (San Bernardino and Highland chapter), Gil Navarro, publically advocated for the inclusion of noncitizen parents in school board elections. City Attorney, James Penman, opposed this proposal, arguing that it violates state law and that San Bernardino does not have the legal authority to consider such matters. Even though surnames of particularly vocal figures dominated media coverage, other indicators of episodic framing include the occurrence of keywords such as 'ethiopian' and 'duarte' – both significant at the 99th percentile – and both emphasizing a particular community or individual concerned with perceived inconvenience regarding noncitizen suffrage restrictions.[53]

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[53] A concordance analysis of the keyword 'ethiopian' shows the term was associated with Ethiopian restaurateurs in Washington D.C. that advocated for the passage of the "Equitable Voting Rights Amendment Act" that was proposed, and rejected in commission, in 2004. Similarly, the term 'duarte' referred to a 39-year-old illegal immigrant from Mexico who was cited as a compelling case for expanding voting rights to include noncitizens in San Bernardino school board elections.

Table 3. *2004 corpus keyword list*

Keyword	Frequency	Keyness
school	65	23.13****
immigrants	54	3.56
right	53	9.98**
board	49	18.36****
citizenship	43	1.70
mayor	34	19.79****
issue	24	17.53****
bloomberg	19	31.10****
bernardino	17	43.90****
cities	17	3.85*
washington	15	7.61**
communities	14	3.84*
navarro	13	42.69****
constitution	13	5.98*
taxes	12	2.31
supporters	10	7.68**
california	10	1.97
perkins	8	26.27****
ferrer	7	22.98****
penman	6	19.70****
essence	6	14.39****
code	5	16.42***
miller	5	16.42***
europe	5	7.12**
duarte	4	13.13
ethiopian	4	13.13

* significant at p<0.05; ** significant at p<0.01; *** significant at p<0.001; **** significant at p<0.0001.

Table 4. *2015 -2017 corpus keyword list*

Keyword	Frequency	Keyness
local	155	8.43**
rights	109	6.49*
residents	96	8.36**
council	83	11.17***
american	82	8.31**
political	80	10.08**
francisco	67	5.69*
undocumented	51	18.95****
illegal	47	9.43**
hayduk	37	18.38****
national	31	8.23**
democratic	29	5.28*
group	28	9.31**
professor	28	4.87*
work	26	8.23**
trump	25	16.98****
hyattsville	24	16.30****
proposition	24	16.30****
d.c.	22	14.95***
america	22	9.21**
seattle	21	14.27***
parent	21	5.66*
grosso	17	11.55***
history	16	10.87***
donald	15	10.19**
city's	14	9.51**
court	14	9.51**
path	14	9.51**
sanctuary	14	9.51**
blasio	12	8.13**
progressive	12	8.13**

* significant at p<0.05; ** significant at p<0.01; *** significant at p<0.001; **** significant at p<0.0001.

In contrast, Table 4 provides a keyword list of all items within the period between 2015–2017, as referenced to the corpus containing all items from the year 2004. The results illustrate an almost entirely different set of keywords, compared to the previous corpus, with the words 'undocumented', 'hayduk', and 'trump' appearing as highly significant (p<.001) in terms of keyness. Additionally, other significant keywords, such as 'seattle', 'court', 'sanctuary', and 'illegal' were not reported as neither key nor frequent within the previous 2004 reference corpus. These results perhaps suggest a shift in overall media coverage regarding noncitizen voting rights between the periods of 2004 and 2015-2017, whereas previously infrequent terms such a 'sanctuary' (i.e. sanctuary cities),[54] and 'undocumented' appear more often within media content during the time frame between 2015-2017. In fact, a recent study has found that newspapers in the United States between 2007-2011 were less likely to use alternative terms such as 'unauthorized' and 'undocumented' to describe illegal immigrants, whereas the descriptor 'undocumented' was used in 11% of stories in the *Washington Post* and 3% of stories in the *New York Times* (Merolla et al. 2013). However, the same authors note that the "Drop the I-Word" campaign, launched in 2010 by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, has since aimed to encourage journalists to use the terms "undocumented" and "unauthorized," partially explaining the lack of these terms in news coverage prior to 2012 (Merolla et al. 2013).[55] Such

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[54] Terms such as 'sanctuary" became more frequent within the past years due to the increase of jurisdictions in the United States claiming sanctuary status. Although the first 'sanctuary' status stems back to 1971 in Berkley, California – many cities, jurisdictions, and even states have recently sought to adopt sanctuary legislation. As of May 2017, there are 37 sanctuary cities and over 170 sanctuary jurisdictions in the U.S. In addition, the California Senate passed Senate Bill 54 in April 2017, barring state and local law enforcement from using their resources to help federal immigration enforcement. *See* Dopplr (2017), ICE Report (March 20, 2017) & Ridgley (2008) for more details.

[55] Race Forward's "Drop the I-Word" campaign, launched in 2010, is dedicated to eliminating the use of the word "illegal" as an effort to address "anti-immigrant sentiment and hate crimes against communities of color had increased." *See* (droptheiword.com) and Merolla 2013 (p. 793) for more details.

recent campaigns to replace particular expressions could potentially explain the highly

significant keyness of the term 'undocumented' (*see* Table 4) in the corpus containing items

between 2015-2017, as opposed to items written prior to that time frame.

Other highly significant words in Table 4, such as 'hayduk' and 'history', imply that

media coverage between 2015 - 2017 was also likelier to offer varying degrees of historical

references to noncitizen suffrage, as the mentioning of noncitizen voting rights scholar and

advocate (Ronald Hayduk), between these years, accounts for nearly half of all total references

within the entire corpus combined. While it is difficult to infer to which extent episodic or

thematic themes occur within both corpuses from keyword lists alone, it is possible to say that

based on the differences among keywords in each corpus – the period between 2015 – 2017 was

more likely to contain thematic frames, while in 2004 media coverage was predominately

episodic in terms of media content. In summary, while media attention and frame use is typically

parallel with the provisions of particular bills and proposals, items from the previous few years

have shown that increased media coverage was more motivated by broader policy concerns such

as immigration instead of purely legislative reporting. The next section offers a qualitative

insight into the most common explanations and opinions surrounding voting rights as extracted

from the corpus. Concordances of specific phrases are particularly important as they provide a

more up-close account on often intense and controversial political debates covered within the

media.

4.4. Phrasing Voting Rights

In effort to explore the more qualitative nature of the entire corpus, a concordance analysis of the phrases 'voting is' and 'noncitizen voting is' was conducted using the Concordance Tool and Concordance Plot provided by AntConc. The term 'noncitizen' was specifically chosen to avoid the possibility of contextual confusion that may occur when using other replacement terms such 'immigrant' or 'resident'. The direct use of 'noncitizen' in conjunction with 'voting' is also more reliable and appropriate in terms of assessing the framing of this particular topic. As noted in the previous chapter, concordances incorporate both quantitative and qualitative methods of content analysis by generating "a list of all the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the context that they occur in" (Baker 2006, p. 71), allowing the researcher to explore an area of text surrounding a particular search term or phrase in this case. For example, Table 5 shows that the phrase 'voting is' is likely to be followed by the terms 'right' or 'privilege' in combination with the terms 'citizenship' and 'citizen' in virtually all examples of concordance lines. Table 6 on the other hand, shows that most concordance lines found when searching the phrase 'noncitizen voting is' reveal a different set of words compared to the previous phrase. An in-depth observation of the context surrounding 'noncitizen voting is' shows that this phrase is more likely to be used in a thematic context, addressing constitutional, historical, and ethical circumstances surrounding noncitizen voting rights in the United States. As an example, the quote "noncitizen voting is the suffrage movement of today"[56] was found among three separate items in the corpus, whereas no other quote or phrase from Table 5 and Table 6 were used more than once in the entire corpus.

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[56] As quoted by Ronald Hayduk (2003)

Indeed, reporters and authors are likely to publish the opinions of important public figures based on direct quotations of what they have said (*See* Kim et al. 2006; Flegel and Chaffee 1971; O'Keefe 2014). In essence, it is difficult to provide one clear interpretation and meaning from a concordance analysis alone. However, as others before me have noted, it is useful to examine counter-frames (i.e. frames which see citizenship as vital to voting rights or frames that are, at the very least, skeptical of the traditional link between voting and being a citizen) – as these types of frames are indicators of reasoning devices which are those "elements not explicitly included in the message, but are likely to come up in the interpretation of the message as they reflect a thought process" (Touri 2015, p. 7). Both counter-frames and reasoning devices have been shown to effect the framework of thought at the audience's cognitive level (VanGorp 2012) – thus valuable for any kind of qualitative analysis. Despite the significance of concordances in corpus linguistics and frame analysis, they tend to be more suitable for examining larger corpora, and less reliable for smaller data sets such as the one used for this study. Instead, the next two sections will focus on exploring terminology used in media content through both collocate and cluster analysis.

Table 5. *Concordance analysis of the phrase 'voting is'*

Targeted phrase	Examples of concordance lines
Voting is	• prerogative and responsibility of citizenship • a right and privilege • the essence of citizenship • exclusive to citizenship • the most important right we are granted as citizens • a privilege that should be reserved for citizens • a privilege that should be limited to citizens • a right and responsibility of citizens belonging to a nation-state • a right for American citizens only • a sacred right that really is extended to citizens • inextricably tied to U.S. citizenship

Table 6. *Concordance analysis of the phrase 'noncitizen voting is'*

Targeted phrase	Examples of concordance lines
Noncitizen voting is	• lawful at all levels under the constitution • important as it builds civic education, expands political participation, and helps incorporate immigrants • politically feasible • a fundamental political right • [consists of an] incorrect and prevailing notion that voting is inherently linked to citizenship • one of the most crucial reasons that so many immigrants seek citizenship • is as old as the united states • a pathway to citizenship, not a substitute • the ultimate recourse of the public in a democracy • no way outside the norm • next logical step toward creating a truly universal franchise • the suffrage movement of today*

* indicates that a particular phrase was used more than once in the corpus

4.5. Descriptive Attributes in Media Coverage

In effort to measure associations between actors, entities, and concepts within the corpus, a co-occurrence (or collocation) analysis was conducted on the term 'immigrant', as this word was highest in terms of total frequency in the corpus, as visible from the concordance list (*see* Table 1) and keyword analysis (*see* Table 2). Additionally, a collocate analysis of the term 'immigrant' is more likely to yield insight into how the most common replacement term for 'noncitizen' is described on a quantitative level, as well as point to which words occur on both sides of the search term under investigation. Lastly, the depiction of immigrants in media has been examined countless times, therefore providing a validity and comparison check for the purpose of this study (*See* Bleich 2015; Sciortino and Colombo 2004; Caviedes 2015; Hallin 2015; Lawlor 2015; Figenschou et al. 2015).

The collocates analysis in AntConc lists words by the frequency in which they appear in the contexts centered around a specified search term – i.e. immigrant. To account for both single and plural nouns of 'immigrant', the asterisk wildcard was applied. The list also shows the frequency with which the collocates occur to the left (L) or right (R) of the key word, while the 'Stat' column records a mutual information score, that measures the probability that the collocate and key word occur near each other, relative to how many times they each occur in total. This study used a window of two words for the analysis, one to left and one to the write, using both log-likelihood (LL, required critical value of 6.63) and mutual information (MI, required minimum score of 5.0) as suggested in similar studies (Brouwer et al. 2017; Kimura et al. 2013; Weingart and Jorgensen 2013; Pumfrey 2012). The MI and LL statistical measures are

considered reliable in cases when data is sparse and are usually deemed accurate for analysis of smaller corpus (e.g. less than 100K words) (Alrabiah and Maha, et al. 2014).[57]

Table 7 shows an overview of the statistically significant collocates of the term 'immigrant', sorted by the Freq (L) position – the position immediately before 'immigrant' - for the entire corpus, while excluding words such as 'the', 'or', 'and', 'are' etc. Among the most significant collocates are variations of adjectives preceding the targeted term, including 'undocumented', 'illegal' and 'european' which signals the most common descriptive style of referencing immigrants within the entire corpus. Perhaps even more interesting is the significance of 'anti' and 'pro' preceding the targeted term, suggesting that most media sources chose to cover and frame noncitizen voting rights within context of pro or anti-immigration sentiment. The noun 'anti' scores particularly high in terms of both frequency and significance, whereas a closer look into the context shows that opposition to noncitizen voting rights is often portrayed as being 'anti-immigrant' in media coverage. It is worth noting that the nouns 'anti' and 'pro' neither appear to be significant among corpus items prior to the year 2015.

Table 8 provides a list of statistically significant collocates, sorted by the Freq (R) position – the position immediately after the term 'immigrant' – excluding words such as 'to', 'in', 'are' etc. Studies that use the (LL) critical value of 6.635 typically require five minimum occurrences to represent a meaningful pattern (Hardy 2007), in which case the terms 'hysteria' and 'rhetoric' can be counted as significant. The term 'hysteria' is used to describe the period during the 1920's when lawmakers increasingly began to bar noncitizens from voting across most states, whereas 'rhetoric' (i.e. anti-immigrant rhetoric) is used to characterize the

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[57] The same log-likelihood calculation as stated in sec. 4.2. is used, with the critical values for each percentile listed in the appendix.

presidential campaign of Donald Trump.[58] In the final section of this study, the cluster analysis tool is utilized to provide a validity check for the previous collocates of 'immigrant', as well as examine the descriptors commonly associated with both 'immigrant' and 'resident' in media content.

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[58] *See* example items: Blommberg (7/7/16), The Guardian (7/27/16), and Portland Press Herald (1/16/17)

Table 7. *Collocates to the left of 'immigrant'*

Collocate	Freq (L)	Stat
illegal	53	7.96**
legal	49	6.72**
undocumented	41	7.61**
anti	24	8.03**
citizen	10	3.98*
restoring	6	8.62**
noncitizen	6	4.23*
european	6	6.89**
pro	5	8.14**

* significant at p<0.05; ** significant at p<0.01.

Table 8. *Collocates to the right of 'immigrant'*

Collocate	Freq (R)	Stat
voting	29	4.23*
rights	17	4.68*
parents	17	5.56*
groups	14	6.88**
populations	9	7.71**
sentiment	6	7.62**
communities	6	5.23*
suffrage	5	5.45*
rhetoric	5	7.62**
hysteria	5	7.95**
families	5	7.48**

* significant at p<0.05; ** significant at p<0.01.

4.6. Cluster analysis of 'resident' and 'immigrant'

Prior studies show that most references to 'noncitizens', 'immigrants', or 'migrants' often occur alongside numerical descriptors (i.e. thousands, millions etc.), signaling that the size and scope of a particular population is important in media coverage (Brouwer et al. 2017). For example, so-called 'number games' have been identified as central frames in numerous policy discourses surrounding unauthorized migration throughout the European Union (Vollmer 2011, p. 330). Furthermore, Vollmer (2011) finds that numerical descriptors in media content, such as 'high numbers', serve to "justify control and enforcement of policies, whereas lower numbers ease the political landscape". Similarly, Tsoukala (2005) argues that terms suggesting size are indeed commonplace in most discourses on immigration, establishing a notion of "uncontrollability and threat". The most recent content analysis of immigrants in Norwegian media coverage between 1999-2013, shows that both numerical and group descriptors are indeed frequent and important (i.e. 'thousands', 'millions', 'a lot', 'groups of' etc.) (Brouwer et al. 2017).

According to the previously generated concordance and keyword list (*see Table 1 and Table 2*), it is evident that the terms 'immigrant' and 'resident' are frequently applied as a replacement term for noncitizens in the U.S. Considering the collocate analysis of 'immigrant' did not produce any significant numerical or group descriptors, a cluster analysis was carried out to find the most common expressions associated with both 'immigrant' and 'resident'. Table 9 shows that while numerical and group descriptors are uncommon, the term 'resident' is often accompanied with other descriptors indicating origin and location (i.e. 'Burlington', 'Hyattsville', 'Portland', 'Seattle', 'Texas') or residency status (i.e. 'permanent', 'legal', 'born', 'documented', 'undocumented', 'lawful'). Results for the term 'immigrant' in Table 10 suggest a

similar pattern, whereas immigrant status (i.e. 'legal', 'illegal', 'undocumented') is vastly more represented than any other descriptor. Numerical and group descriptors are sparse in between and not significant, only seldom including absolute numbers (i.e. 'million', '54,000', '75,000') and group descriptors (i.e. 'all', 'large'). The lack of numerical and group descriptors when referring to noncitizens, immigrants, and residents is somewhat odd, especially considering there should exist at least a vague figure of how many noncitizens reside and could potentially vote if permitted.[59] Even imprecise numerical descriptions that are often found among other media analysis are excluded or remarkably rare within this study.

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[59] For example, the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation provides a table of population distribution by citizenship status, as estimated from the Census Bureau's March 2016 Current Population Survey. The table shows that states (or locations) such as California, D.C., New Jersey, Texas, Arizona, Nevada, and New York have noncitizen populations of 10% or more. Additionally, Renshon (2008) provides a detailed summary of statistics related to immigrant naturalization rates and noncitizen population estimates at the city and regional level, as cited from the Census Bureau and other studies.

Table 9. *Cluster analysis of the term 'resident'* [60]

Cluster	Frequency	Range
permanent	34	19
legal	23	20
all	21	15
citizen	20	11
born	7	4
city	6	6
noncitizen	6	5
adult	3	2
burlington	3	1
documented	3	3
hyattsville	3	2
immigrant	3	3
local	3	3
portland	3	3
undocumented	3	3
county	2	2
lawful	2	2
longtime	2	2
million	2	2
naturalized	2	1
seattle	2	2
some	2	2
texas	2	1

[60] Clusters were generated using the * asterisk (wildcard) that finds both the singular and plural forms of a noun. The clusters can be ordered by frequency, the start or end of the word, the range of the cluster (number of files in which the cluster appears), or the probability of the first word in the cluster preceding the remaining words.

Table 10. *Cluster analysis of the term 'immigrant'*

Cluster	Frequency	Range
legal	49	23
illegal	47	23
undocumented	37	24
anti	24	19
citizen	9	5
many	8	8
european	6	4
noncitizen	6	5
restoring	6	6
pro	5	4
encourage	4	4
million	3	3
most	3	2
all	2	2
among 54,000	2	2
caribbean	2	2
large	2	2
75,000	2	2

CONCLUSION & DISCUSSION

In this study I have performed a both qualitative and quantitative analysis on 103 textual items extracted from national and local newspapers, online publications, blogs, and magazines during the period between 1991-2017. Utilizing a corpus linguistics methodology and software, the study identified several patterns among word frequencies and framing elements in terms of how noncitizen voting rights are portrayed and described within media content in the United States. I explicitly tested for three separate hypotheses, namely that there will be little to none variation in terms of frequencies and content framing during the studied time period; that most coverage of noncitizen suffrage would likely center around the notions of democracy, representativeness, and civil rights instead of citizenship, and lastly; that there would be only minor differences among the descriptive attributes used to depict key actors in noncitizen discourse. All three hypotheses were rejected using standard corpus linguistics techniques, such as concordance, keyword, collocate, and cluster analysis. The concordance and keyword analyses (Figure 1 and Table 1-2) revealed that media attention regarding noncitizen voting rights was highest during periods when various bills and proposals were being introduced and debated among local and state legislatures. Media content during these peaks usually centered around the themes of immigration, city, local, and school elections. For example, a keyness analysis of the entire corpus revealed that neither representativeness, democracy, civil rights, nor citizenship were highly frequent compared to the reference corpus (BNC). Additionally, the keyword analysis of two separate corpora (2004 and 2015-2017) showed differences among frame and term usage during the two time periods. In the latter year, media coverage was heavily concentrated around a group of city officials advocating on behalf on noncitizen voting

eligibility in places such as New York City and San Bernardino. In contrast, more recent coverage stemming from 2015-2017, showed an almost entirely different set of keywords with terms such as 'undocumented', 'hayduk', and 'trump' appearing as frequent. Such results suggest that political debates and developments are expected to initiate and drive media attention on noncitizen voting rights. Other recent studies reveal similar patterns, such as Threadgold's (2009) finding that "political and policy discourse concerning immigration actually fuels media discourse, which in turn drives policy" and the study by Brouwer et al. (2017) that claims the framing of migrant issues in Norwegian media follows rather than dictates politics and policy.

Furthermore, the application of collocate and cluster techniques revealed that noncitizens were likely to be addressed and depicted in the media by the use of replacement terms such as 'immigrant' and 'resident'. For example, the term 'immigrant', whether legal or illegal, is applied in everyday public and political discourse in the United States, and is therefore more recognizable and receptive to receiving audiences than the term noncitizen. Very much alike what Merolla et al. (2013) found in their research, the results of this study also point to increasing changes in the "stylebooks" among media outlets, suggesting a rise of alternative terms when framing particular topics. However, as two recent studies in the United States have shown, the shift among terminology frames (i.e. noncitizen vs. immigrant, immigrant vs. resident, illegal vs undocumented and so forth) does not affect public opinion concerning the provision of certain rights, thereby insinuating that both proponents and opponents of noncitizen suffrage should focus their attention on framing the actual policies instead of the population of concern (Knoll et al. 2011; Merolla et al. 2013; Brouwer et al. 2017). Lastly, the results of this study reveal a stark contrast between other similar studies, in that the term noncitizen, immigrant, and resident are rarely preceded by numerical descriptors. Previous scholars such as

Vollmer (2011) and Tsoukala (2005) both claim that "number games" or numerical terms that serve to indicate the scope and size of particular groups is without doubt a central component in policy discourses and media content. A thorough observation into the previously mentioned terms by means of concordance, collocate, and cluster analysis revealed an infrequent and scattered usage of numerical descriptors, thereby deviating from prior studies on comparable topics. It is unclear whether the lack of numerical descriptors implies that there is a shortage of reliable data on the size and scope of noncitizens affected by voting rights policies, or that the media is unwilling, or finds it unnecessary, to report on such information. As noted in the previous chapter, several sources, including the U.S. Census Bureau have regularly released reports estimating the size of noncitizen populations across states and counties in the United States.[61]

Overall, this study provided a useful understanding into how various news reports frame noncitizen voting rights in the United States by including over a decade of media coverage from a variety of sources. While the use of corpus linguistics has been proven convenient and reliable in terms of examining and comparing large datasets with standard statistical measures, future studies in the field may benefit from other, more systematic approaches to media content analysis at the qualitative level. Furthermore, as other have noted, a frequent problem found in general media analysis is the often vague criteria used by the researcher to identify and interpret frames (Tankard 2001). Even though individual choices and interpretations can determine the course and outcome of such studies, these issues remain fairly mitigated when opting for computer-assisted analysis of larger amounts of distinct data, thus greatly reducing the chances for selectivity bias.

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[61] *See* Census Bureau March 2016 Current Population Survey and Renshon (2008) for more details.

Most importantly, due to the use of primarily quantitative measures, the results obtained from this study provide an appropriate foundation for future research that may seek to examine how media content surrounding noncitizen voting rights differs across other countries, as well as what kinds of media frames influence audience's perceptions regarding noncitizen suffrage, and how this particular process unfolds.

APPENDIX 1. Full List of Corpus Items by Date, 1991 - 2017

Title	Publication	Date
Their Chance to Vote	Washington Post	10/13/91
Undermining Democracy in Takoma Park	Washington Post	12/8/91
Noncitizens and Right to Vote; Advocates for Immigrants Explore Opening Up Balloting	New York Times	7/31/92
Noncitizens Should Get Vote, Too, Mayor Says; Latinos Fault Access To D.C. Services	Washington Post	10/1/02
Green Card, Green Light for Voting	Washington Post	11/10/02
Right to vote; UCLA study suggests a bizarre premise	San Bernardino Sun	12/29/03
Bloomberg Is Opposed to Noncitizen Voting	New York Times	4/10/04
MIKE: ONLY CITIZENS SHOULD GET TO VOTE	New York Post	4/10/04
Immigrants' voting rights becoming a major issue	Houston Chronicle	4/19/04
A Citizen's Right	New York Times	4/19/04
WHAT DOES CITIZENSHIP MEAN? Cities debate whether noncitizens should vote	The Atlanta Journal Constitution	7/4/04
Migrant voting proposal pushed; Activists to visit SB school board	San Bernardino Sun	7/30/04
Immigrants Raise Call for Right to Be Voters	New York Times	8/9/04
Latino advocates push voting plan	San Bernardino Sun	8/17/04
SB school board rips voting by noncitizens	San Bernardino Sun	8/18/04
Immigrant Voting Rights Receive More Attention	Migration Policy	11/1/04
Effort To Allow 'Alien Suffrage' Has Reemerged	New York Sun	11/12/04
Should Non-Citizens be Permitted to Vote?	Legal Affairs	5/13/05
'NO' VOTE FOR IMMIGRANTS. MAYOR OPPOSES COUNCIL BILL TO LET NONCITIZENS GO TO POLLS	Daily News New York	11/15/05
NONCITIZEN VOTE URGED	New York Post	11/15/05
NONCITIZEN VOTE URGED	New York Post	4/5/06
Alliance Backs Voting Rights for Noncitizens	New York Times	2/20/07
LET ALIENS VOTE: ACTIVISTS	New York Times	2/20/07
Noncitizens vote elsewhere in the U.S. — why not here?; St. Paul group wants a debate on letting legal immigrants cast ballots in local elections	St. Paul Pioneer Press	3/1/07

In some US cities, a revived push to let immigrants vote	Christian Science Monitor	6/18/07
Racism Is Charged of Opponents of Voting Rights for Noncitizens	New York Sun	9/8/08
Should Noncitizens Vote?	The Phoenix	2/17/10
Noncitizen-voting petitions turned in; Supporters want legal U.S. residents of Portland to be able to vote in elections.	Portland Press Herald	7/15/10
The debate heating up on voting by noncitizens; City councilors allow the question on this fall's ballot after hearing from both advocates and critics.	Portland Press Herald	8/24/10
Noncitizens may get some voting rights in Portland, Maine	Charleston Gazette	10/24/10
Portland, ME immigrants, noncitizens, say it's only fair they should be able to vote	Refugee Resettlement Watch	10/25/10
Proposition D - Non-Citizen Voting for School Board	SPUR.org	11/1/10
New Haven Asks State to Allow Non-Citizens to Vote	NBC Connecticut	12/14/11
Let Noncitizens Contribute to U.S. Elections	New York Times	1/4/12
Takoma Park stands by non-U.S. citizen voting law	Washington Post	3/14/12
Takoma Park stands by its voting law	Washington Post	3/15/12
Should non-citizens be allowed to vote?	Washington Post	5/10/13
Should non-citizens in the U.S. vote?	Los Angeles Times	5/21/13
Why You Have Nothing To Fear From Non-Citizen Voting	Think Progress	5/24/13
SHOULD CITIZENSHIP BE A VOTING REQUIREMENT?	Pittsburgh Post-Gazette	6/24/13
Should we allow non-citizens to vote?	The Week	11/16/13
Enfranchising the Disenfranchised -- A Case for Resident Voting Rights	Huffington Post	11/18/13
Voting is for citizens	Washington Post	12/7/13
Investing noncitizens in civic life	New York Times	12/10/13
You soon may not need citizenship to vote in the US; just become a New Yorker	Quartz	7/4/14
FREE FOR ALL - Let illegals vote, have full citizen rights: NY Dems push citizen rights for NY illegal immigrants	New York Post	9/15/14
Burlington to be polled on non-citizen voting	Burlington Free Press	10/21/14
Give noncitizens the right to vote? It's only fair	Los Angeles Times	12/22/14

NONCITIZENS VOTING? IT'S ONLY FAIR	Charleston Gazette	12/28/14
D.C. Considers Allowing Non-Citizens to Vote	Weekly Standard	1/22/15
Professor says right to vote in U.S. 'has never been intrinsically tied to citizenship'	Politi-fact	1/25/15
D.C., other cities debate whether legal immigrants should have voting rights	Washington Post	2/9/15
Another voting rights campaign	Washington Post	2/10/15
It's a no-brainer: Only citizens should vote, period	Chicago Tribune	2/24/15
Non-citizens in New York City could soon be given the right to vote	The Guardian	4/2/15
More Than A Million New Yorkers May Get The Right To Vote For The First Time	Think Progress	4/4/15
Guest Editorial: Allow Non-Citizens to Vote in Seattle Elections	The Stranger	4/8/15
5 Reasons Non-Citizens Should Not Vote In New York City	The Federalist	4/9/15
Should Non-Citizens be Allowed to Vote in New York City Municipal Elections?	Fordham Observer	4/20/15
Non-Citizens Shouldn't Vote: Why Citizenship Matters	The College Conservative	5/14/15
Most Democrats Think Illegal Immigrants Should Vote	Rasmussen	5/29/15
Should non-citizens be allowed to vote in local elections?	Fox News	7/10/15
D.C. and New York City Could be Next in Giving the Vote to Noncitizens	The Atlantic	7/15/15
What's the big deal about undocumented immigrants voting?	America Blog	8/3/15
Reviving Pre-Citizen Suffrage	Huffington Post	8/7/15
Local voting rights for noncitizens? Advocates say time has come	Seattle Times	9/17/15
Should Seattle give noncitizens the vote?	Seattle Globalist	9/18/15
Non-US citizens likely to vote in city elections soon	Hyattsville L&F	1/11/16
Immigration Reform In NYC: Voting Rights For Legal And Undocumented Immigrants Proposed For 2017	International Business Times	2/22/16
New bill could give illegal aliens voting rights in New York City	New York Post	2/22/16
Stop Obama from giving non-citizens the vote	Washington Times	2/23/16
Supreme Court rules illegal immigrants, other non-citizens can be counted for apportionment	Washington Times	4/4/16

Voting should remain a privilege for adult citizens	San Francisco Chronicle	6/7/16
San Francisco Considers Giving Noncitizens Vote in Schools	Daily Signal	6/13/16
Proposal to let noncitizens vote for SF school board resurrected	San Francisco Gate	7/7/16
Some Cities Want Their Noncitizen Immigrants to Vote	Bloomberg	7/7/16
San Francisco counters Trump rhetoric with move for non-citizen local voting	The Guardian	7/27/16
Our View: All U.S. citizens should have the right to vote	Portland Press Herald	8/2/16
This Program Is Helping Non-Citizens Have a Say at the Ballot Box	Pacific Standard	9/15/16
Non-US citizens one step closer to voting in local elections	Hyattsville L&F	10/8/16
Voting rights remain an issue for undocumented students	Golden Gate Express	10/27/16
San Francisco Could Be First in California to Give Non-Citizens School Board Vote	Mission Local	10/28/16
San Francisco measure to allow noncitizen parents to vote in school board elections leading	Los Angeles Times	11/9/16
Pasadena group pushing to give voting rights to non-citizen PUSD parents	Pasadena Star News	11/23/16
Group pushing to give voting rights to noncitizen PUSD parents	San Gabriel Valley Tribune	11/24/16
Should we let non-citizens vote? Here's the case for it: Larry Wilson	NY Daily News	11/25/16
Hyattsville will allow non-U.S. citizens to vote in city elections	Washington Post	12/7/16
Community Leaders Strategize How Noncitizens Can Vote Amid Trump Vow of Deportation	San Francisco Public Press	12/14/16
Mayor proposes letting non-citizen immigrants vote	WCSH 6	1/16/17
Idea to allow noncitizen immigrants to vote in Portland faces hurdles	Portland Press Herald	1/16/17
Burlington Residents to Decide on Noncitizen Voting	Seven Days VT	1/21/17
In Wake Of Trump, DC Councilmembers Want To Give Non-Citizens The Right To Vote	Daily Caller	1/26/17
DC Council Members Want To Give Non-Citizens The Right To Vote	Freedom Outpost	1/29/17
Want to Resist Xenophobia in 2017? Start Local	Sojourners	2/1/17
More Cities Following D.C.-Area Lead, Debating Non-Citizen Voting Rights	Breitbart	2/10/17

Lines ever blurrier between citizens, non-citizens	The Californian	2/22/17
Why shouldn't non-citizens vote, too?	Socialist Worker	2/23/17
San Francisco Gives Immigrant Parents a Voice Through Noncitizen Voting Rights	Yes Magazine	2/27/17
NYC Lawmakers Gearing Up to Give 1 Million Non-Citizens Voting Rights	Breitbart	4/6/17
San Franciscans should say no to non-citizen voting	San Francisco Examiner	4/26/17
Non-Citizens Will Soon Be Able To Vote In San Francisco — For School Board	NPR	5/2/17
Democrat-Run Cities Push Plans to Let Non-Citizens Vote	Breitbart	10/28/17
How a small Southern city could change voting rights	11 Alive	N/A

* Total word count = 75,135

APPENDIX 2. Functional Words Stop-list

the	or	out	its
of	by	them	who
and	one	then	now
a	had	she	people
to	not	many	my
in	but	some	made
is	what	so	over
you	all	these	did
that	were	would	down
it	when	other	only
he	we	into	way
for	there	has	find
was	can	more	use
on	an	her	may
are	your	two	water
as	which	like	long
with	their	him	little
his	said	see	very
they	if	time	after
at	do	could	words
be	will	no	called
this	each	make	just
from	about	than	where
i	how	first	most
have	up	been	know

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