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**Framing the Immigration Debate**

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**Framing the Immigration Debate**

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**Report**

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## **Abstract**

### **Framing the Immigration Debate**

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A common theme in immigration studies in the United States is that the discourse around immigration has changed over time. Once a bipartisan issue where unlikely coalitions and partners were common, recent research has shown that partisanship is becoming more important in deciding immigration votes. In this paper, I set out to see if we can see evidence of this change in both congressional discourses around immigration and the legislation itself. To study the discourses around immigration, I analyze the floor debates for two immigration bills. For the legislation, I look at four immigration bills, two that passed and became law, and two that each only passed one chamber of Congress. This study is meant to explore how the framing and problem definition of immigration has changed since 1986 in the United States, and to provide the background for further study into changing discourses about immigration in the U.S. government.

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## **Section 1 Introduction**

Immigration is a recurring policy issue in the United States. An important political question that has emerged over the past 30 years has been how to deal with rising levels of both legal and unauthorized immigration. Congress has repeatedly grappled with various approaches to regulating immigration. Rather than looking at the effects of immigration policy, this paper focuses on the politics that surround the policies. Has there been a change in how the immigration “problem” has been defined in the United States since the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA)? Is this change reflected in the laws passed by Congress to deal with the immigration issue?

The literature defines immigration as a crosscutting issue that often creates “strange bedfellows” of supporters (Tichenor 2002; Calavita 1992; Martin 1994; Baker 1997). Labor, business, civil rights groups and their supporters often find themselves on the same side of this issue, pushing for expansionary immigration policies over restrictionist ones. According to Freeman’s (1995) client politics theory, immigration politics in liberal democracies has an expansionary tendency for one main reason: the benefits of expansionary immigration policy are concentrated while its costs are diffuse. While this theory has been very influential in the field of immigration studies and seems to explain the politics of the late 1980’s and early 1990’s, there are empirical works that question if this still accurately describes immigration politics in more recent years. In this work, it is not race, the level of business interests or the percentage of foreign born in



one's district that has the greatest effect on immigration policy votes; rather it is partisanship (Gimple and Edwards 1999; Leal and Casellas 2013; Andreas 2009).

The factors driving this change are still debated; however, I expect to see this change in behavior accompanied by a concurrent change in discourse. The situation around immigration has not changed substantially: there is still a large number of unauthorized immigrants living and working in the United States, they still play an economic role, and the country still has a historical legacy of being open to immigration. While September 11 did provide an exogenous shock that introduced immigration as an entry point for terrorists, the discourse around immigration has shifted beyond merely including terrorism as part of its problem definition in ways that this one event does not explain.

*Research Question 1: Has the problem definition around immigration changed over time?*

This shift in framing of the problem should also require a concurrent shift in the solutions considered acceptable to solve the problem. As such, discourses and solutions around the 1986 IRCA act should be more bi-partisan in spirit than later proposals. I also expect that earlier discourses will focus on the traditional issues immigration is expected to touch on: business, agriculture, and human rights. As time moves on, there should be a starker divide, with the discourse moving more towards restrictionist sentiment with more focus on punishment, security and control. In response, the solutions (or legislation) proposed to deal with these issues should also change.

*Research Question 2: Do the proposed legislative solutions for immigration control change over time? If so, how?*

## Section 2 Literature Review

The policy process literature allows us a way to connect solutions with issue definition and framing. In rational choice theories, it is held that solutions are suggested by cost benefit analysis. Problems are self-evident and actors will chose the solution that meets their material interest. In contrast, the policy process literature argues that policy problems are in one "stream", while possible policies and politics are in separate, unconnected "streams"(Kingdon 1995; Zahariadis 2007).

Here, where policy, politics, and problems exist independently of each other, information is not neutral; rather it can be used strategically to change meaning and context. This assumption leads researchers to focus on how issues rise to the agenda and how definitions affect information processing (Stone 1989; Kingdon 1995; Schneider and Ingram 1993; Baumgartner and Jones 1993). A situation existing is not enough for government attention to be bestowed upon it (Jones and Baumgartner 2005). When events occur, they require actors or groups to contextualize them as problems that can be solved by government intervention (Carpenter and Sin 2007; Kingdon 1995; Cohen, March and Olsen 1972). Therefore, labeling something a problem is often a political calculus based on values, not on neutral information (Stone 1989).

If problems are not self-evident, but constructed, it follows that solutions are constructed as well. Here, change is no longer driven by simple materialistic calculations. Instead, focusing policy attention on a previously neglected aspect of a problem allows for new solutions to be brought to the forefront (Jones and Baumgartner 2005, 1993; Chong and Druckman 2007; Schattschneider 1960). These changing frames and definitions can then be used by political actors to "legitimize or oppose policy change" (Bèland and Wadden 2012, 10). Across multiple policy areas, researchers have shown

that frames are not static; the multidimensional nature of policy allows for shifts and changes as some aspects become more salient than others.

For example, Rose and Baumgartner (2011) have explored this multidimensionality and frame shifting in social welfare policy in the U.S. While the original frame focused on helping the poor and structural causes of poverty, a newer frame has also emerged that focuses "on the poor as cheaters, chiselers and of welfare programs doing more harm than good" (Rose and Baumgartner 2011). As the problem definition changed, so too did possible policy solutions, regardless of the number of people living below the poverty line or growing inequality.

Immigration policy, especially as it pertains to regulation and enforcement, confirms these ideas of multiple dimensions, salience and frame shifting throughout both history and during the policy process. The story of immigration policy in the U.S. is a story of competing frames. Historically, immigration has been framed as an economic issue, a rights issue and a cultural issue, with many of these frames occurring at the same time and place (Highham 2006; Tichenor 2002). The multidimensionality of this policy area is also highlighted by the attitudinal contradictions found in research on public opinion on immigration. Respondents often report differing, and at times contradictory, opinions. When immigrants are disaggregated, we see this variation more clearly; for example, there are differences in opinion on "illegal" versus legal migrants, as well as high skilled versus low skilled migrants (Hainmueller and Hiscox 2010; Suro 2009). Others argue that outside factors can shape and determine how the public feels about immigration at any one time. Some show that economic concerns (Borjas 1999), local partisanship (Ramarishnan and Wong 2010), national salience of immigration (Hopkins

2010) or divisions between elites and the public (Freeman 1995) all can shape and change how the public sees immigration.

While many of the works mentioned above study how frames affect public opinion, very little work has been done in political science to see how policy makers contextualize the immigration “issue.” If Jones and Baumgartner’s theory of policy change is correct, those who are left out of policy making should attempt to shift the focus onto previously neglected aspects of the immigration issue as a way promotes their favored solutions.

### **Section 3 Methodology**

This paper is part of an exploratory project to study how immigration discourses and framing have changed over time using content analysis of original documents and debates. The first part of the project focuses on the debates around legislation, where policy makers attempted to frame immigrants and immigration in certain ways. In the second part of the project, I focus on four immigration bills.

To examine the discourses around immigration, I first had to choose which debates to examine. While I wanted to capture the current debates on immigration that occurred after September 11, this presented a particular problem as no immigration bill had passed both the House and the Senate since 1996. Instead, I chose to look at the debates surrounding the Immigration Control and Reform Act of 1986 (IRCA) and HR 4437 “Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005.” IRCA established the current immigration policy regime in the United States and did away with the previous quota system established in 1965. It also contained two major provisions that allowed 2.7 million immigrants to gain permanent residence in the United States through a general provision and the Special Agricultural Workers (SAW) program. HR 4437 was one of a series of bills that was introduced in the US Congress during the later years of the Bush administration. As its name implies, it directs attention towards security issues and is focused on enforcement. Unlike the 1986 IRCA, this was not an expansionary bill. While not a perfect comparison, it still allows for a study of how the debate on immigration has shifted, as both pro-expansionist and pro-restrictionist members of congress were able issue floor statements and place extensions of their remarks in the Congressional Register.

For the IRCA, I chose the debates that occurred on October 15 and 16, 1986. This captured the debate before the house voted on the final bill. For HR 4437, I analyzed the debates that occurred on December 15 and 16, 2005, which also included the debate before the votes in the House to engross the bill. While there were more debates on each bill (the debates on HR 4437 continued in 2006 and the IRCA was first introduced in 1982) these four days were chosen as samples of the debate.

After collecting the floor statements on each of these days from the Congressional Register, I discarded those that pertained only to amendments and not the bill as a whole. Each statement was then coded for two variables by hand: framing of immigrants and problem framing. Here, I define immigrant framing as dialogue that specifically pertains to immigrants themselves, such as “immigrants come here to work” or “people who cross the border without permission are breaking the law”. Problem framing is how the immigration issue is portrayed. This would include such examples as “the real problem is border control” or “until we turn off the job magnet, immigrants will keep coming here with or without authorization.” (See table 1 for a complete list of each category and the description used to code them.) I then created several categories whose development I was interested in tracing across time. When a statement included more than one of these frames, I coded it by the more prominent frame to give each statement the same impact regardless of the length. I also included two categories for other and none. The none category for immigrant framing indicates that the speaker did not categorize immigrants directly, while for problem framing it means they did not identify what the problem with unauthorized migration is. For example, if a speaker said, “This bill does not deal with the real problem” but did not continue to define the problem, their statement would be categorized as none.

Since these frames are indeed subjective, I also included a word frequency count similar to the one performed for the bill analysis. Unlike the bill analysis, this word frequency was counted by speech rather than normalized per 10,000 words. Furthermore, I excluded examples of the bill titles from appearing in the frequency count.

Table 1: Discourse Frame Definitions

<b>Immigrant Framing</b>	<b>Immigration/Problem framing</b>
<i>Humanitarian</i> - Discusses exploitation, rights, frames immigrants as refugees, or people in need of compassion	<i>Humanitarian</i> - The problem with immigration is how to deal with the rights of immigrants, prevent exploitation etc.
<i>Workers</i> - focuses on immigrants as just coming here for jobs, employees, economic refugees	<i>Economic</i> - The problem is actually dealing with those who hire unauthorized workers, guest worker programs, not enforcing sanctions or lack of economic development elsewhere
<i>Community</i> - Immigrants are a part of the community, connections made to immigrants of the past (also if immigrants are explicitly not criminals)	<i>Crime</i> - the immigration problem is that of criminal gangs, trafficking, drugs, smuggling/immigration leads to crime etc.
<i>Criminals</i> - immigrants as criminals, lawbreakers, only discusses immigrants as criminals	<i>Resources</i> - the real problem with immigration is the lack of resources available to immigration agencies on all levels of government.
<i>Legal vs. illegal</i> - frames it as two types of immigrant	<i>National Security</i> - Immigration is a problem of national security; protection of citizens (unless crime is specifically mentioned)
<i>Terrorist</i> - discusses immigrants carrying out, being the cause of terrorist actions	<i>Border control</i> - the real problem is the border is out of control, we can't stop crossing, leads to a lack of sovereignty
<i>Users of Programs</i> - frame of immigrants as using welfare, entitlement or other public resources, discussion of how they will raise costs	<i>Terrorism</i> - the problem with immigration is that it leads to terrorism
Other	Other
None	None

For the second part of the project, I chose bills that fit three eras of immigration policy in the United States. Representing the expansionist period, I have the Immigration Control and Reform Act of 1986 (IRCA). The second bill is the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996. However, I encountered the same problem mentioned above in trying to find a more recent bill to compare to these older versions. Since IRCA and IIRIRA passed both chambers of the house, I wanted to analyze bills that reflected both houses in the current era. I chose two bills: while neither passed both chambers of Congress, I was able to analyze the engrossed version that did pass one house. For the House bill, I used HR 4437 “Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005.” In the Senate, I used S. 2611, the “Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2006”. Clearly from the titles, one can see that these bills have different focuses; however, I think that by analyzing the content in both, we can still see how proposed solutions to control immigration have changed since 1986.

Once the texts were selected, I generated word counts. Using ABBYY software, I converted the bill text that was only available from the Congressional Register in image documents (.pdfs). Once all the documents were in text format, I generated a word count for each. The first count was just a basic frequency count of the most commonly used words in each document. I then combined these words into thematic categories (see table 1.2 for category list).

In order to ensure the words were accurate representations of the categories, I hand coded each category by looking at the words in context. This allowed me to make sure I was not overlooking alternative usages, or related parts of speech. For example, I removed incidences where words were a part of departmental titles, e.g. I removed



incidences where “border” was part of the “Customs and Border Patrol”. I also removed incidences where the word did not represent the concept as a whole. For example, in the category “borders” which I define as dealing with issues of the border or border control, I removed references to border patrol uniforms and border crossing cards.

Table 2: Legislation Concept Categories

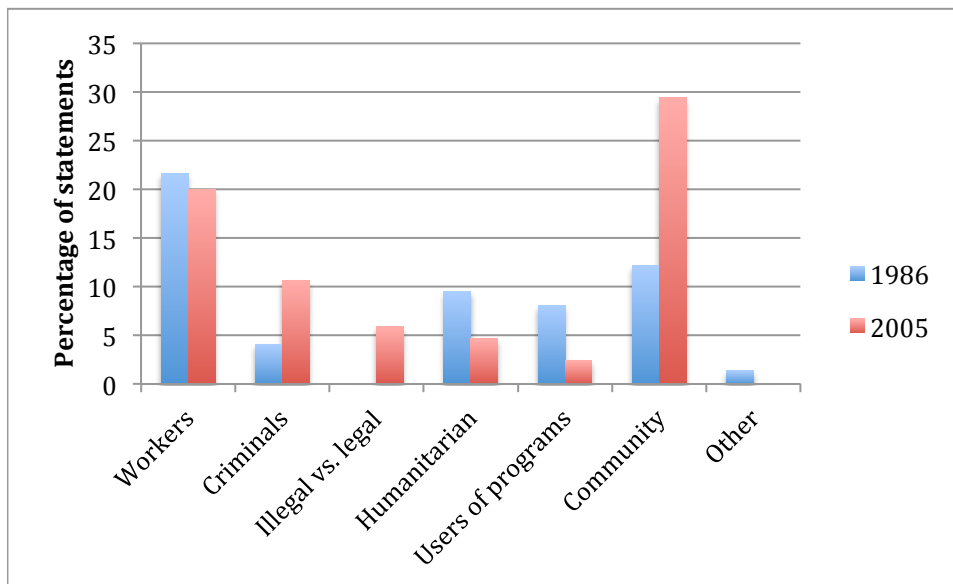
<b>Concept</b>	<b>Words Included</b>
Agricultural work	<i>Agricultural, farm</i>
Border security	<i>“Border security”</i>
Law enforcement/sheriff	<i>“Law enforcement”</i>
Crime security	<i>Crime, gang, trafficking, smuggling</i>
National security	<i>“National security”</i>
Terrorism	<i>Terrorism, anti-terrorism, terrorists</i>
Anti-discrimination	<i>Discrimination, discriminatory</i>
Penalties	<i>Sanctions, penalty</i>
Removals	<i>Removals</i>
Deportations	<i>Deportable, deported</i>
Employment	<i>Employee/er, labor, employ</i>
Border	<i>Border</i>

The final step was to analyze the data. I normalized each word count for 10,000 words, and compared how each concept varied over each bill. I tested to see if the differences observed were statistically significant using a two-sample test of proportion (see Appendix 1 and 2). Since the legislation analysis of part two compared four documents, I used an adjusted p-value to account for the increased risk of a type one error (See Appendix 3).

## Section 4 Charting Immigration Discourse

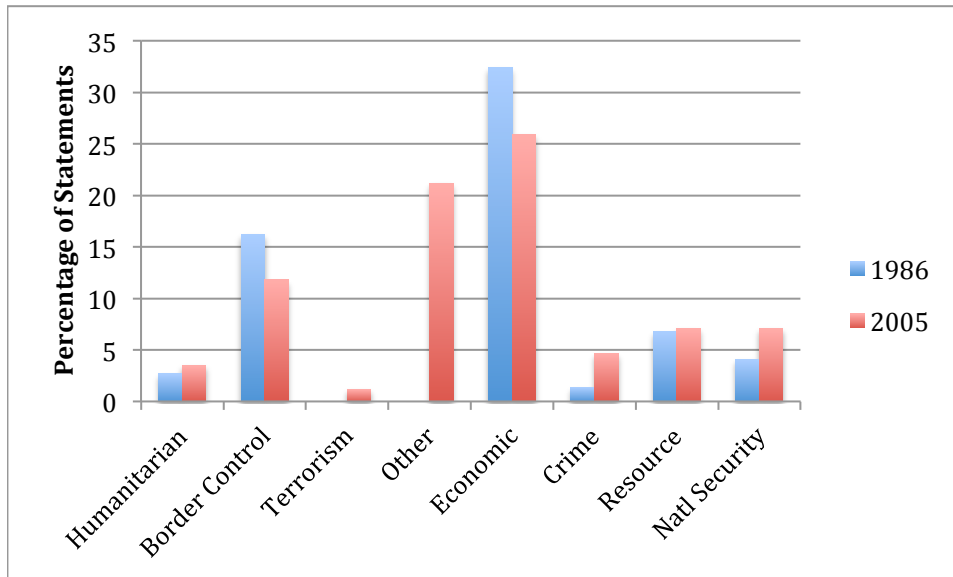
Turning first to the framing of immigrants, we see that the frame of immigrants as workers stays relatively consistent over time (See figure 1). Slightly more focus is placed on immigrants as users of social programs in 1986, while a much stronger emphasis is placed on immigrants as members of the community in 2005. I believe that these frames come from the opponents of each respective bill: while arguing against harsher measures towards unauthorized immigrants, casting them as belonging and contributing to the nation is logical. On the other hand, if one is worried about increasing the number of unauthorized migrants, pointing out the economic costs the country will incur is equally sensible. As expected, there was a change in associating unauthorized migration with criminality, and also separating “good” or “legal” immigrants from the “bad” or “illegal” immigrants.

Figure 1: Immigrant Construction



Looking at how immigration itself is framed, it is interesting that as the humanitarian framing of immigrants decreases over time, the humanitarian framing of immigration increases slightly. Unsurprisingly, the framing of immigration as a crime and national security issue goes up over time; what is more interesting is that the framing of immigration as a problem of terrorism rises so little (See figure 2). Considering the name of the bill, it seems that more would have been made of this connection. Rather, it seems that crime and general discussions of security are favored. This is clearly seen in Sensenbrenner's opening floor statements as well. I also believe that this is what accounts for the decrease in focus on border control. While mentioned, the focus in most statements tended to be on security in a general sense, or a discussion of lax border control leading to crime or terrorism. In other words, the lack of border control was not posed as the fundamental reason why immigration was a problem in many statements. Despite differences among these categories, most representatives did offer one of the categories studied here as an explanation for the underlying problem which necessitated a government response. Most of those categorized as other used a combination of one of the existing categories (e.g. border control and ending the economic pull). However, Ron Paul did stand out during coding due to his conception of the immigration problem being one of both US welfare programs and birthright citizenship.

Figure 2: Problem Construction



While only the community and illegal vs. legal immigrant frames are significant at the 95% level ( $p < 0.05$ ), I believe this lack of significance is due to the small number of observed frames. Rather, the substantive findings above are bolstered by the fact that the word frequencies results are mostly statistically significant.

Looking at Table 3, it is clear that the word frequency of borders increases over time. It is also immediately apparent how prevalent agriculture and discrimination are in 1986. Some members of congress opposed IRCA on the premise that sanctions would lead to discrimination against Hispanic and Asian workers (Gonzales) while others stressed the anti-discrimination provisions provided in the bill to counter these arguments. In 2005, the debate shifted to emphasizing the importance of establishing border control and stopping the flow of unauthorized migrants before any other immigration legislation could be considered (Smith, Cannon, Issa, McMorris). A joint test confirms that difference of frequencies between the two bills in agriculture, borders,

discrimination, employer sanctions, terrorism and welfare are significant at the  $p < 0.05$  level.

Table 3: Topic Frequency (Percentage of total statements each appears in)

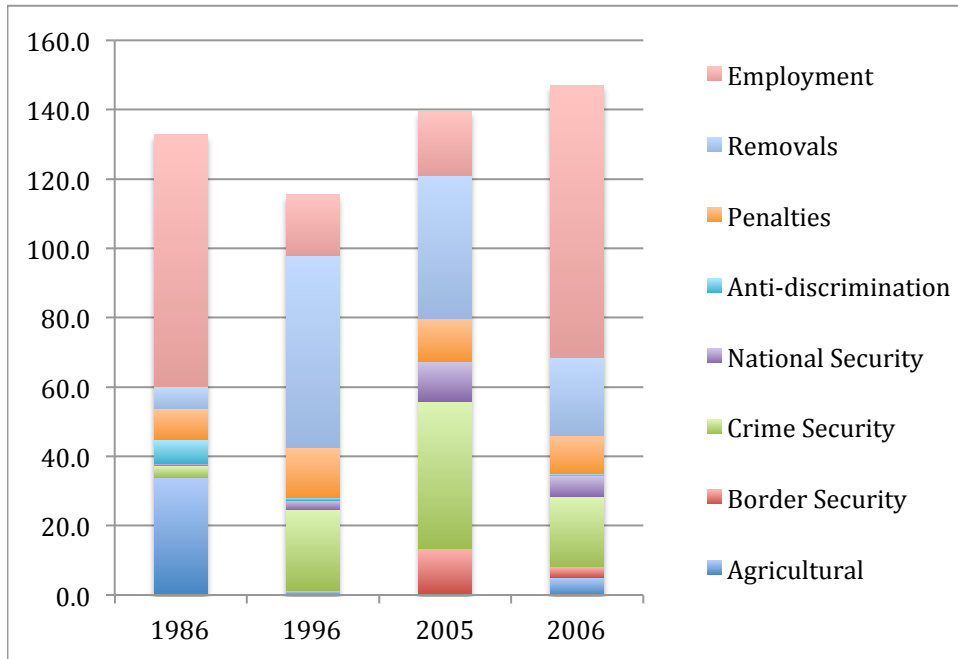
Category	1986	2005
Agriculture*	14.1	3.3
Borders*	11.1	21.4
Crime	5	9.8
Deportation	4.4	8.7
Discrimination*	8.4	2.2
Economic	21.1	27.2
Employer Sanctions*	14.8	2.2
Terrorism*	0	12.3

*\*significant at  $p < 0.001$  level*

## **Section 5 Studying Policy Solutions**

The results of the legislation analysis gives further support to shifting immigration frames. Like the problem definitions established earlier, what solutions are seen as appropriate to respond to immigration change over time. As expected, agriculture and civil rights issues were most prominent in earlier bills. Words relating to security and the border increased as time went on as shown in figure 3. Interestingly, the focus on penalties has remained constant, while employment was at almost equal occurrences in the 1986 and 2006 bills, but fell in the 1996 and 2005 bills. Taking each section individually, it is interesting to see which words do not appear in the first bill that appear in later bills. Terrorism and border security do not appear at all in the 1986 bill, but appear in the later bills. Other categories, such as border, law enforcement, and national security appear at very low levels (<1 per 10,000 words) in the 1986 bill, yet gain prominence in later bills. Only the penalties category stays relatively consistent over time, ranging from 8.8-14.2 occurrences per 10,000 words.

Figure 3: Concept Makeup of Each Bill



Per 10,000 words

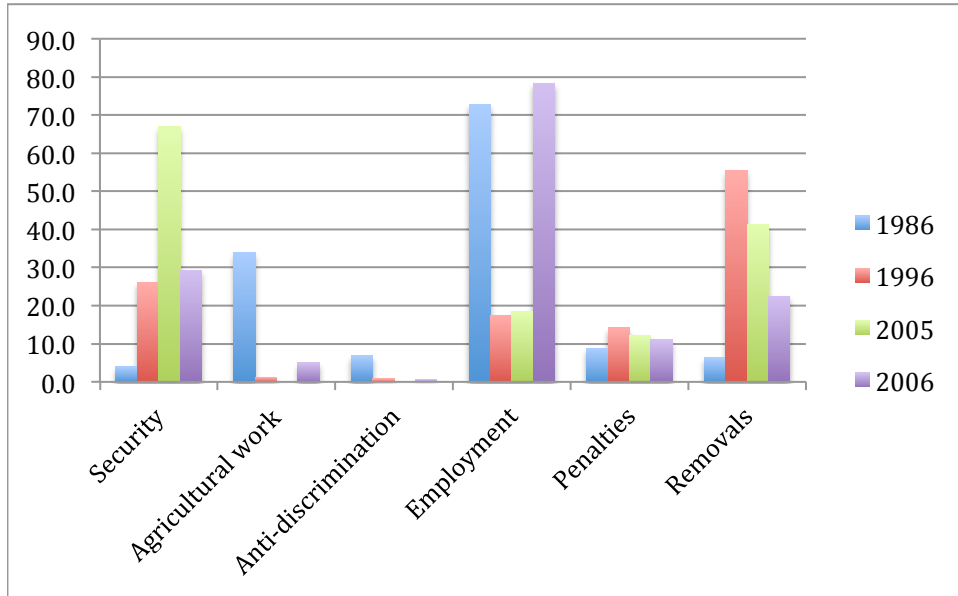
Crime Security is a combination of law enforcement and crime categories National Security is a combination of national security and terrorism categories removals is a combination of deportations and removal categories.

While figure 4 portrays security as a general concept, I also used more precise categories to track the type of security issues that were focused on. Overall, the highest use of any security category is in the 2005 bill, with the 1996 and 2006 bill having relatively similar rates of occurrences, with a slightly higher occurrence rate in 2006 (26.1 and 29.3 respectively). (See Appendix 1 for the occurrence rate for each category).

While it was not unexpected to see a large focus on the border and terrorism in a bill entitled “Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005,” the interest in crime unexpected. However, when taken with the data on problem definition, it is not surprising to see this increased focus on crime in the solutions. This also seems to reflect a move towards the criminalization of unauthorized immigration and the use of local law enforcement agencies to enforce immigration law. Proponents of state level immigration bills (such as Arizona’s HB1070) have often focused on involving state and local law enforcement agencies in the implementation of immigration laws (Kobach 2008; Rosenblum and Kandel 2011). Many of these same arguments were found in the analysis of floor statements as well. Furthermore, even proponents of expansionary immigration policies have started to emphasize the difference between “criminal” unauthorized immigrants and non-criminal unauthorized immigrants (Morton 2011; Muñoz 2011). This reflects the increased usage of the Illegal vs. Illegal immigrant construction frame in congressional discourse.



Figure 4: Comparisons of Main Categories Over Time



## **Section 6 Conclusion**

According to the analysis presented here, both the problem definition of immigration, and the policy solutions proposed to respond to it vary over time. This variation occurs in a way that challenges the client politics hypothesis that argues that expansionary forces should be able to contain the debate on immigration at the elite level and lobby for their preferred policies. The fact that neither immigration bill in 2006 and 2005 had a large focus on agriculture is especially significant in this regard. It could be argued that this lack of agricultural focus is what caused each bill to stall, but the literature seems to discount this explanation (Leal 2009). Furthermore, the fact that both the Senate and the House voted to pass a bill that lacked attention to agriculture and farming indicates that this issue was not what caused the impasse between the chambers. Nor does it seem to be that agricultural interests are no longer concerned about immigration; much of the news coverage regarding movements against state level immigration bills focuses on farmers' opposition (Reyes 2012; Chappell 2011). The question then arises- what happened to the grand coalition of yesterday?

The idea that the way immigration is framed shapes policy solutions gains further credence from the increasing focus on security. While the 9/11 hijackers did stay in the United States due to lax visa control, this does not explain the focus on the border in the proposed policy solutions. Nor does it explain the focus on crime and law enforcement.

Rather, it seems these frames are being suggested in response to ideas that pose immigration as a criminal issue rather than an economic one.

The fact that many of the opponents of the 1986 bill are using these criminalization frames also supports the idea of policy “losers” shifting the debate in order to support their preferred solution. While not yet successful, it is clear that many representatives that prefer restrictive immigration policy are focusing on previously neglected aspects of immigration. For example, in the debates in 2005, congressmen supporting the bill repeatedly emphasized that “illegal immigrants” were just that- “illegal”- and not undocumented or unauthorized. Another example of this sort of debate that was not captured in the data here is an exchange between Representatives Conyers and Sensenbrenner over the terms “earned legalization” and amnesty. Sensenbrenner, who was against the 1986 bill (especially the legalization provisions), argues that regardless of the requirements placed on the undocumented, earned legalization is the equivalent of amnesty, while Conyers promotes the idea that the two are distinct and separate events.

This study, while providing further evidence to support the theory of punctuated equilibrium, does not answer all the questions raised by this research. The next steps would be to expand the analysis over time, especially in regards to IRCA. How did this bill, introduced in the house in 1982, finally get passed? Is the discourse covered here representative of the side that “won” or something else entirely? As such, this thesis stands as the first step in a larger research project.

## Appendix 1

The tables below give the p-values to indicate whether differences observed are statistically significant during the two periods tested. This p-value was obtained through a two-sample test of proportion. Community is significant at the 99% level ( $p < 0.01$ ) and Illegal vs. Legal is significant at the 95% level ( $p < 0.05$ ).

### Immigrant Construction

Workers	0.8014
Criminals	0.1197
Illegal vs. Legal	0.0340
Humanitarian	0.2387
Users of Programs	0.0977
Community	0.0081

### Problem Construction

Humanitarian	0.7657
Border Control	0.4174
Terrorism	0.3493
Economic	0.3636
Crime	0.2267
Resources	0.9403
National Security	0.4134

## Appendix 2

The table below gives the p-values to indicate whether differences in word usage observed are statistically significant in the two time periods. This p-value was obtained through a two-sample test of proportion. As shown below, agriculture, borders, discrimination, employer sanctions, terrorism and welfare are significant at the 95% level ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Debates

Agriculture	0.0000
Borders	0.0016
Crime	0.1010
Crisis	0.0566
Deportation	0.1123
Discrimination	0.0000
Economic	0.5647
Employer Sanctions	0.0000
Fair	0.4115
Terrorism	0.0000
Welfare	0.0078

### Appendix 3

#### Category Occurrence Rate- Legislation (per 10,000 words)

	1986	1996	2005	2006
<b>Agricultural work</b>	34.0	1.3	0.2	5.1
<b>Border</b>	0.7	6.5	34.6	19.7
<b>Border Security</b>	0.0	0.1	13.2	3.1
<b>law enforcement/sheriff</b>	0.7	4.1	12.1	5.2
<b>Crime Security</b>	2.6	19.1	30.4	14.9
<b>National Security</b>	0.7	0.5	2.1	1.5
<b>Terrorism</b>	0.0	2.3	9.3	4.5
<b>Anti-discrimination</b>	6.9	0.9	0.2	0.7
<b>Penalties</b>	8.8	14.2	12.3	11.0
<b>Removals</b>	0.0	39.9	33.4	19.1
<b>Deportations</b>	6.4	15.6	7.9	3.4
<b>Employment</b>	72.7	17.5	18.6	78.3

The tables below give the p-values to indicate whether differences in word usage observed are statistically significant in the two time periods. This p-value was obtained through a two-sample test of proportion. Most of the means are different at the  $p < 0.001$  level. This adjusted confidence level was chosen by dividing the desired p-value ( $p < .05$ ) by the number of hypothesis (6 per concept) as required by the Bonferroni approach to familywise error.

#### Agriculture

	1986	1996	2005	2006
<b>1986</b>	-	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
<b>1996</b>	0.0000	-	0.0704	0.7886
<b>2005</b>	0.0000	0.0704	-	0.5044
<b>2006</b>	0.0000	0.7886	0.5044	-

#### Border Security

	1986	1996	2005	2006
<b>1986</b>	-	0.0184	0.0000	0.0000
<b>1996</b>	0.0184	-	0.0000	0.0000
<b>2005</b>	0.0000	0.0000	-	0.0000
<b>2006</b>	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	-

Law Enforcement/Sheriff

	<b>1986</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>
<b>1986</b>	-	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
<b>1996</b>	0.0000	-	0.0000	0.2661
<b>2005</b>	0.0000	0.0000	-	0.0000
<b>2006</b>	0.0000	0.2661	0.0000	-

Crime Security

	<b>1986</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>
<b>1986</b>	-	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
<b>1996</b>	0.0000	-	0.0001	0.0213
<b>2005</b>	0.0000	0.0001	-	0.0000
<b>2006</b>	0.0000	0.0213	0.0000	-

National Security

	<b>1986</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>
<b>1986</b>	-	0.6453	0.0909	0.2256
<b>1996</b>	0.6453	-	0.0100	0.0382
<b>2005</b>	0.0909	0.0100	-	0.4007
<b>2006</b>	0.2256	0.0382	0.4007	-

Terrorism

	<b>1986</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>
<b>1986</b>	-	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
<b>1996</b>	0.0000	-	0.0000	0.0083
<b>2005</b>	0.0000	0.0000	-	0.0004
<b>2006</b>	0.0000	0.0083	0.0004	-

Anti-Discrimination

	<b>1986</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>
<b>1986</b>	-	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
<b>1996</b>	0.0000	-	0.1799	0.6602
<b>2005</b>	0.0000	0.1799	-	0.2671
<b>2006</b>	0.0000	0.6602	0.2671	-

Penalties

	<b>1986</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>
<b>1986</b>	-	0.0105	0.1155	0.2153
<b>1996</b>	0.0105	-	0.3860	0.0458
<b>2005</b>	0.1155	0.3860	-	0.5053
<b>2006</b>	0.2153	0.0458	0.5053	-

Removal

	<b>1986</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>
<b>1986</b>	-	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
<b>1996</b>	0.0000	-	0.0727	0.0000
<b>2005</b>	0.0000	0.0727	-	0.0000
<b>2006</b>	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	-

Deportations

	<b>1986</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>
<b>1986</b>	-	0.0000	0.4223	0.0075
<b>1996</b>	0.0000	-	0.0003	0.0000
<b>2005</b>	0.4223	0.0003	-	0.0001
<b>2006</b>	0.0075	0.0000	0.0001	-

Employment

	<b>1986</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>
<b>1986</b>	-	0.0000	0.0000	0.1523
<b>1996</b>	0.0000	-	0.6642	0.0000
<b>2005</b>	0.0000	0.6642	-	0.0000
<b>2006</b>	0.1523	0.0000	0.0000	-

Border

	<b>1986</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>
<b>1986</b>	-	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
<b>1996</b>	0.0000	-	0.0000	0.0000
<b>2005</b>	0.0000	0.0000	-	0.0000
<b>2006</b>	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	-



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