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CONSERVATISM AND IMMIGRATION OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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This dissertation is my academic life's work, but that life has been invested in by too many people to thank properly. My committee was willing to serve and contributed numerous suggestions for the improvement of this dissertation. My parents-in-law have been a foundation of family in an unfamiliar land. My parents provided for all of my needs in a stable and loving home, encouraged me to work hard, and were there for me even when I did not do so. My children have been a constant source of joy and relationship throughout this process. Most importantly, my wife Jennifer has been my best friend and advisor throughout this process, and it is only due to her sacrifices and encouragement that this this document exists at all.

CONTENTS

List of Tables vii
List of Figures viii
Abstract ix
Chapter 1: Introduction 1
The Stereotype 1
The Objections 3
The Puzzle 9
Research Question 10
Chapter 2: Literature Review 13
Material Threat Hypothesis 13
Symbolic Threat Hypothesis 17
The American Public 21
Value Pluralism 24
Cultural Theory 25
The American Two Party System 27
Framing 29
What is a Conservative? 30
Limited Government 30
Moral Traditionalism 32
Strong National Defense 33
Immigration Frames 33
Economic Efficiency 34
Economic Costs 35
Cultural Concerns 35
Public Safety 36
Chapter 3: Theory, Hypotheses, Data and Methods 38
Theory 38
Hypotheses 42
Mass Level Hypotheses 42
Engaged Level Hypotheses 44
Elite Level Hypotheses 46
Cultural Hypotheses 49

Data and Methods 50
Mass Level 51
Engaged Level 52
Elite Level 53
Chapter 4: Immigration Opinion among the Masses 55
Introduction 55
Data 56
2012 ANES 56
21CAS 59
Methods and Measurement 60
2012 ANES Methods 60
2012 ANES Dependent Variables 61
2012 ANES Explanatory Variables 63
2012 ANES Control Variables 66
21CAS Methods 67
21CAS Dependent Variables 68
21CAS Explanatory Variables 69
21CAS Control Variables 70
Results 71
Discussion 80
Chapter 5: Immigration Opinion among the Politically Engaged 90
Data 90
Methods 98
Measurement 99
Results 103
Discussion 108
Chapter 6: Elite Conservatism and Immigration Opinion 114
Introduction 114
Data & Methods 115
Results 120
Immigration as a Diverse Issue 120
Conservatism as a Diverse Ideology 126
The Impact of Conservative Values 129
Conservatism, Liberalism, and Immigration Opinion 154

The Role of American Identity 157
The Role of Culture 162
Discussion 163
Chapter 7: Conclusions and Next Steps 167
Introduction 167
Conservative Self-Identification and Conservative Values 168
Cultural Values 171
American Identity 172
Next Steps 173
Bibliography 176
Appendix A: ANES 2012 Questions 189
Appendix B: 21CAS Questions 199
Appendix C: Engaged Level Survey 209
Appendix D: Elite Interview Guide 221
Appendix E: Elite Interview Coding Rubric 222
Appendix F: Elite Interviewee Biographies 223

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1: General Immigration Opinion (2012 ANES & 21CAS) 71
Table 4.2: Undocumented Immigration Opinion (2012 ANES) 72
Table 4.3a: ANES 2012 Regression Models (Part 1) 75
Table 4.3b: ANES 2012 Regression Tables (Part 2) 76
Table 4.3c: ANES 2012 Regression Tables (Part 3) 77
Table 4.4: 21CAS Regression Tables 78
Table 5.1: General Immigration Opinion OLS Regression Models 105
Table 5.2: Immigration Frame Opinion OLS Regression Models 106
Table 6.1: Summary of Interview Coding 119
Table 6.2: Immigration Opinion Sorted by Dominant Value 131
Table 6.3: Immigration Frame Sorted by Dominant Value 132
Table 6.4: Reasoning Styles 143

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Influence of American Identity on Support for Immigration Status Checks (Model 4) 81
Figure 4.2: Influence of Ideology on Support for Immigration Status Checks (Model 4) 81
Figure 4.3: Influence of Conservative Ideas on Support for Immigration Status Checks (Model 4) 83
Figure 4.4: Influence of Cultural Values on Support forr Increasing Legal Immigration (Model 6) 85
Figure 4.5: Influence of Cultural Values on Adherence to the Costs Frame (Model 7) 86
Figure 4.6: Diagram of Grid-Group Theory 88
Figure 5.1: Comparison of Gender of Respondents 94
Figure 5.2: Comparison of Age of Respondents 94
Figure 5.3: Comparison of Reported Income of Respondents 95
Figure 5.4: Comparison of Education Level of Respondents 95
Figure 5.5: Comparison of Partisan Leaning of Respondents 96
Figure 5.6: Comparison of Ideology of Respondents 96
Figure 5.7: Influence of Limited Government on Support for DREAM Act 109
Figure 5.8 Influence of Limited Government on Undocumented Immigration Policy (MOdel 3) 109
Figure 5.9: Influence of Limited Government on Support for Immigration Status Checks (Model 4) 110
Figure 6.1: Mentions of Immigration Frames 123
Figure 6.2: Mentions of Conservative Values 127
Figure 6.3: Distribution of Conservative Values 128
Figure 6.4: Frequency of Value Mentions 129

ABSTRACT

The popular and academic consensus on the substance of conservative opinion on immigration is that it is universally and overwhelmingly in favor of restrictive policy, but the existence of pro-immigration figures such as George W. Bush and Ronald Reagan is one reason among many to doubt the predictive accuracy of this stereotype. I argue that part of this phenomenon can be explained by understanding the diversity of thought underlying modern conservative ideology, and that by focusing more on these values and less on big tent conservatism, better predictions can be achieved. This dissertation seeks to empirically examine the substance of conservative opinion on immigration at the mass, engaged, and elite levels, and to compare these results at every stage against the popular stereotype of these opinions. The dissertation features a three-part research design including large-n regression analysis of existing survey data for the mass level, original survey research for the engaged level, and qualitative interviews at the elite level. The results of my empirical analyses suggest that while conservatism and conservative values generally do correlate with more restrictive opinions on immigration, some conservative values like limited government are frequently associated with liberalized attitudes towards immigration. This suggests that the literature's current dismissal of ideological values as an variable useful in explaining immigration opinion comes from measurement error (focusing on big tent ideologies like liberalism and conservatism rather than smaller component values like adherence to limited government and moral traditionalism) rather than a true insignificance of ideology itself as a useful explanatory variable in this context.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"I believe in the idea of amnesty for those who have put down roots and who have lived here even though sometime back they may have entered illegally." – Ronald Reagan (1984)

"We have the technology and resources to secure our borders tomorrow. It is a canard for politicians to say it's impossible. What they are really saying is: I choose not to defend and secure our borders because there are political ramifications that I fear. It is those fears that put the life of every American in mortal danger." – Tom Tancredo (2006)

"Open borders…that's a right-wing proposal, which says essentially there is no United States…What right-wing people in this country would love is an open-border policy. Bring in all kinds of people, work for $2 or $3 an hour, that would be great for them." – Bernie Sanders (Klein, 2015)

THE STEREOTYPE

The common wisdom on conservative opinion on immigration is that conservatives are opposed to increasing immigration to the United States, and like much common wisdom, that perspective is mostly accurate (Theiss-Morse, 2009). Across a wide range of measures, conservatives tend to favor more restrictive immigration policies than liberals, and more pessimistic attitudes towards immigration in general. In a Gallup poll from 2016, 60% of Republicans favored decreasing legal immigration to the U.S., while only 20% of Democrats were in favor of reductions (McCarthy, 2017). In 2017, Gallup reported that 63% of upper educated Republicans said that they were dissatisfied with immigration levels, and that it should decrease. Among average educated Republicans, 72% reported that immigration levels were unsatisfactory and should be decreased. These figures are at 18% and 32% for upper and average educated Democrats (Tarrance, 2017). Another 2017 poll reports that 79% of Republicans worry about illegal immigration, compared to 48% of Democrats (Jones, 2017). The empirical data seem, thus, to support the idea that Republicans are generally more suspicious of immigration and immigrants.

Additionally, this principle extends beyond more general opinions of immigrants and immigration to other more policy specific opinions on immigration. A CNN poll from 2014 showed that 62% of Republicans and 57% of conservatives said that the government's highest priority in fixing the undocumented immigrant problem should be on deportations and border security, rather than on facilitating legal residence. Democrats and liberals, however, were almost exactly opposite, with 69% of both groups supporting legal residence for undocumented immigrants as the highest priority in immigration policy (CNN, 2014). A 2013 Gallup poll reports that Republicans were more resistant than Democrats to support immigrant friendly policies such as allowing employers to hire immigrants if they were unsuccessful in recruiting an American to do the work, allowing engineers and scientists from other countries who earn graduate degrees to stay in the U.S. to work, and more likely to support more restrictive enforcement proposals like tightening border security, and requiring business owners to check on the immigration status of any employees they hire (Newport, 2013).

In addition to this mass level evidence, it is seemingly apparent that mass level political pressures are moving Republican political elites farther to the right on immigration. In the 2016 presidential election, Republican supporters declined to support candidates with more permissive views on immigration, or have forced those candidates to shift their positions in a more restrictive direction. Of the biggest pre-primary favorites for nomination, at least two, Jeb Bush and Marco Rubio, have faced fierce opposition from their Republican contemporaries for their more permissive views. Bush, who maintained a fairly steady permissive position on immigration, saw

extraordinarily low polling numbers, particularly in light of his gaudy fundraising (Downie, 2015; Gold, 2015).

THE OBJECTIONS

It is certainly the case, thus, that relatively speaking, conservatives are more likely to support hard line enforcement approaches to immigration reform than liberals, and that they are more likely to prefer lower immigration to higher than liberals. The case for conservative anti-immigrant sentiment appears, by the data, to be a slam dunk. However, there are three reasons to question this conclusion. First, liberals themselves are hardly a bastion of support for increased immigration. Rather, they are simply slightly more likely to support increased immigration than conservatives. A poll referenced earlier shows that in 2016 only 31% of Democrats favored increasing immigration (McCarthy, 2017). While favoring reduced immigration is more popular among conservatives, neither ideology tends to support increasing immigration at high levels.

Second, while conservatives tend to place higher priority on deportation and enforcement as the best solutions to the undocumented immigrant problem (Newport, 2013), that empirical reality does not necessarily mean that they oppose legalization and other measures associated with liberalization of immigration policy *per se*. In a 2014 Pew Hispanic Center, 66% of Republicans responded that illegal immigrants now living in the U.S. illegally be eligible for citizenship if they meet certain requirements. Fifty-nine percent of those who self-identify as “agreeing with the Tea Party” also responded in the affirmative to this question (Dimock, 2014). It should be noted that according to

this survey, a *majority* of conservatives, and even those who agree with the Tea Party, representing the conservative wing of the Republican Party, would, all things being equal, favor some path to legal citizenship for immigrants currently in the country illegally. A 2016 Pew Research Center poll puts support for legalizing immigrants in the country at 59% among Republicans, a reduction of only 3% since 2013, and still a solid majority (Pew Research Center, 2016).

Third, the U.S. has seen a general process of public opinion growing more in favor of immigration over the last twenty years, and conservatives have been part of this trend. The Pew Research Center, which has asked Americans every ten years since 1994 whether or not they feel that immigrants are generally a burden to, or a strengthening force in, America, reports that both Republicans and Democrats have grown significantly more optimistic about the benefits of immigrants to the U.S. In 1994, 62% of Democrats reported that immigrants were a "burden", along with 64% of Republicans. By 2014, those numbers had changed to 27% for Democrats and 46% for Republicans, a substantial shift towards more positive opinions regarding immigration for both parties. Admittedly, the numbers for Republicans have remained almost identical since 2004, but the nearly twenty percent change from 1994 is worth noting (Dimock, 2014).

Survey research, thus, is mixed in its support for the stereotype of the anti-immigrant conservative. While conservatives do reduced immigration more frequently than they support increased immigration, liberals do not represent a solid bloc of support for increased immigration, either. Although conservatives do support enforcement and deportation relative to legalization, they also are more likely to support

some path to legal residency than they are to oppose it. Finally, while they are more likely to support the general view of immigrants as a burden than liberals, they are less likely to do so than the conservatives of twenty years ago, and almost equally as likely to view immigrants as a strength rather than a burden.

In addition to this mixed record for the anti-immigrant conservative among the population, American history also shows a mixed record for the idea that conservative ideals necessarily equate to supporting low immigration and strict enforcement of restrictive immigration laws. Additionally, this perspective typically ignores the important role that progressive ideals played in the formation of the modern, relatively low immigration legal framework that is in place today, and the role that those ideas continue to play in perpetuating this system.

American immigration policy was very open for the first one hundred years of the American republic. This is not to say that there was no such things as nativism before the Chinese Exclusion Act, but it is to say that in terms of national policy, restrictions on immigration were the exception rather than the rule (Tichenor, 2012). In the modern context, anti-immigrant sentiments are (mostly correctly) attributed to the right wing of the political spectrum in American politics. Yet that distribution of immigration attitudes is a temporal phenomenon, as it was American progressives and labor unionists who led the first charge in the fight to restrict immigration to the U.S. Progressives were concerned about unrestricted migration to the U.S., even for European immigrants, for several reasons. First, unlimited supplies of cheap labor provided benefits for American business and consumers, but also competed with the fledgling and struggling American labor union movement. Strengthening labor unions

was a critical component of early American progressive thought, and immigrants were seen as a threat to this process, due to the fact that immigrants were regularly willing to work for less than native workers and certainly for less than the higher wages labor unionists were trying to ensure (Briggs, 2001; Ngai, 2004).

Second, early American progressivism was stricken by an acceptance and advocacy for eugenics and population control pseudoscience. Early eugenicists such as (far from conservative hero) Planned Parenthood founder Margaret Sanger were advocates for restrictive immigration laws. Sanger, for example, argued that American should "keep the doors of Immigration closed to the entrance of certain aliens whose condition is known to be detrimental to the stamina of the race, such as feeble-minded, idiots, morons, insane, syphiletic, epileptic, criminal, professional prostitutes, and others in this class barred from entrance by the Immigration Laws of 1924" (1932). Frequently, this line of argument applied to entire ethnic groups who were considered to be, on average, more "feeble-minded" or possessing worse moral character than the existing population of America.

This early relationship between progressive ideals and a preference for restrictive immigration policy isn't simply found in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, however. These attitudes have persisted until very recently, and still exist in some corners of the American progressive movement. While modern labor unions have largely abandoned the preferences of Samuel Gompers and the AFL-CIO for restrictive immigration policies (Briggs, 2001), some modern progressive environmentalists still continue to support restrictive immigration policies as one means to help suppress the continued pollution and degradation of natural resources globally. To these individuals,

allowing more humans into a modern industrial society increases the number of large polluters to a planet that is already in crisis.

John Tanton, founder of low-immigration groups the Federation for American Immigration Reform and the Center for Immigration Studies, is a former high ranking member of the Sierra Club, and created those groups for the purpose of preserving the environmental health of the planet. As Tanton himself argues, "Fundamental to the concept of national rights and responsibilities is the duty of each nation to match its population with its political, social, and environmental resources…No nation should exceed what biologists call its 'carrying capacity'" (Tanton, 2013). In addition to Tanton, Paul Ehrlich, author of *The Population Bomb* and advocate for zero population growth, argued for restrictions on immigration to forestall what he believed was an oncoming environmental catastrophe (Daily, Ehrlich & Ehrlich, 1995). In this perspective, restricting immigration to levels that will not degrade environmental resources is the responsibility of human beings around the world. In the Western context, where environmental resources can be quickly depleted due to the ability of individuals to consume energy and produce waste at levels unparalleled in human history, the decided preference of these representatives of the environmental left wing of American politics is to restrict legal immigration to a very low level.

The previously cited survey research from the Pew Hispanic Center illustrates the (very) recent trend towards progressives identifying strongly with immigration as a beneficial occurrence in American society. In 1994, 62% of Democrats stated that immigrants "are a burden" on the country, while only 32% stated that they strengthened the country. In 2004, these numbers were reduced to 41 and 49 percent, respectively. In

2014, the opinions of twenty years ago had strikingly reversed, with 68% of Democrats reporting that immigrants strengthened the country, while only 27% said that they were a burden (Dimock, 2014). The stereotypical conception of progressivism as being the pro-immigrant perspective, and conservatism serving as their anti-immigrant foil, is in fact a temporal artifact of the last ten years, rather than an enduring result of principled application of political ideals.

In addition to the historic reality that progressives have played, and continue to play, an important role in the low immigration movement, an alternative argument can be made to support the notion that key conservatives have also favored increased legal immigration, and have actually succeeded in passing policies to forward that political goal. This reality is partially due to the complex nature of conservative ideology, but is also due to the simplifying nature of the American party system, which has caused a libertarian-conservative alliance on many economic and political issues.

President Reagan, as exemplified by the quote at the beginning of the paper, was strongly pro-immigrant, and helped to push through the Immigration Reform Act of 1986 (which included an amnesty for many undocumented immigrants in the country at the time), along with the help of around a third of Congressional Republicans (Pear, 1986). President George W. Bush followed in Reagan's footsteps by attempting to pass a comprehensive immigration reform bill during his second term in office, although his attempt was not nearly as successful at obtaining congressional Republican support as was Reagan's (Weiner, 2013). The most recent attempt at immigration reform, in 2013, was led by a bipartisan group of Senators including generally conservative Jeff Flake and Marco Rubio and moderate Republicans John McCain and Lindsey Graham (Raju

& Kim, 2015). Republican support for the bill extended beyond the leadership of these four, however, and secured the votes of fourteen Republican Senators (31% of the total number of Republican Senators that year), although the bill later died in the House (Kim, 2013). In addition to conservative presidents, many American conservative opinion leaders and politicians, including Grover Norquist (Kim, 2015), Arthur Brooks (Brooks, 2013), Jeb Bush (Bush and Bolick, 2013), and the editorial board of the widely-held-to-be-conservative Wall St. Journal (Bartley, 2001) have expressed support for generally more liberalized immigration policy reforms.

THE PUZZLE

The puzzle to be solved by this research relies on six core observations. First, the common conception of conservatives is that they are strongly in favor of low immigration. Second, survey research indicates that while conservatives are more likely to have a pessimistic outlook on immigration and support enforcement and security over liberalizing immigration law, they still support liberalized immigration measures by a comfortable margin, all things being equal. There is also a sizeable enough minority of conservatives, typically around 30-40 percent, who generally support liberalized immigration reform. Third, the "liberals are pro-immigration and conservatives are against it" paradigm is a relatively recent phenomenon, with liberals and conservatives both considering immigration to be generally bad a mere twenty years ago. Fourth, while their path towards positive attitudes towards immigrants has been slower than that of liberals, the last twenty years has seen conservatives becoming more optimistic about the contributions of immigrants to the country. Fifth, many of the roots of the current low immigration legal framework in place are the result of progressive political action

and beliefs. Sixth, and finally, many attempted and successful immigration liberalization attempts have been spearheaded by conservative Republicans, while many politically important conservatives remain favorable to liberalized immigration reform. By this point, it should be clear that being in favor of or opposed to immigration in general is not primarily a function of big tent ideologies such as conservatism or liberalism, although they certainly play a role in influencing opinion.

RESEARCH QUESTION

This puzzling collection of observations leads me to a question that my dissertation seeks to answer. What is it specifically about conservatism that lends itself towards both positive and negative attitudes towards immigration? The logic of the stereotype suggests that conservative principles are tailor made for influencing immigration attitudes in a more restrictive direction. Preferring smaller government could influence conservatives to prefer low immigration, as many immigrants are poor and thus more likely to need public services. Preferences for traditional values and a stable culture can certainly lead to distrust of large increases in population from foreign nations. Valuing a strong national defense can understandably make an individual questioning the wisdom of thousands of miles of border through which people can freely walk into the U.S. These, however, are not the only conservative values, and are certainly not the only way in which to apply conservative principles to immigration as an issue.

The primary point of my dissertation is that "conservatism" is a cluster of values rather than a distinct ideology, and that different conservatives hold these values in

varying degrees of strength. Depending on the values that any one conservative holds most highly, their opinions on immigration may be substantially different than another conservative's. The second point my research seeks to make is that the two-party system in America makes for some occasionally strange bedfellows in terms of political alliances, and that observers of American politics frequently conflate regular cooperation on political issues with ideological unity, which is not necessarily the case.

Other scholars in public opinion may disagree with me on the root causes of the fact that conservatives can favor generally more liberal immigration reform, and frequently do. The first of these objections would come from more traditional work in American public opinion, which is strongly pessimistic towards the notion that the American public is capable of ideological reasoning whatsoever. According to this perspective, the fact that conservatives do not always support stereotypically conservative immigration policies is rooted in the fact that ideology, at the mass level, is a very weak predictor of opinion in any sense. Self-identifying as a conservative does not necessarily mean that an individual has an intellectually rigorous knowledge of the philosophy of Edmund Burke, free market economics, or conservative thought on national security, and it also does not mean that self-identifying conservatives process opinions through these conservative principles. While this is a reasonable critique of the idea, and one that I agree with, it ignores the reality that elite conservative opinion and behavior have varied significantly over time, and within any given period of history, as exemplified by the examples given above. As elites are the ones to whom ideology should matter the most, this suggests that there is more to conservative opinion than a simply reductive "conservatism equals restrictive" calculus. This observation lends

credence to the notion that the pro-immigration conservative is an understandable and regular phenomenon, not simply a statistical outlier or a function of political ignorance.

Second, it may be argued that while ideology may not be an important factor in determining immigration opinion at the mass level, other work in the field of opinion has identified factors that do play a role in opinion formation on this issue. Foremost among these factors that play a serious role in immigration opinion formation is the notion of symbolic threat to American national identity. While this will be discussed in a more in depth fashion in the next section, this theory essentially argues that those with a strong attachment to American national identity will be more likely to oppose increased immigration to the U.S. While this theory certainly plays a strong role in immigration opinion at the mass level, I argue that symbolic threat plays a reduced role at the elite level, where higher order ideological thinking should increase. Symbolic threat, thus, similarly fails to account for the existence of conservative icons such as Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush, which my theory does not.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review in my dissertation will focus on using the established literature in political science to answer several relevant questions to this research. Which explanatory factors currently dominate the literature on immigration opinion specifically? Does ideology play a role in the general public's political decision making? If so, under what conditions should we expect it to do so? If ideology can play a serious role in influencing immigration opinion in any groups in American politics, what can explain the observation that individual conservatives frequently adopt seemingly contradictory positions from their fellows, despite sharing a common ideological label? Are there other behavioral or elite driven factors that could influence opinion on immigration? Finally, are there any institutional factors that further cloud and perpetuate the notion of the anti-immigrant conservative? Fortunately, the opinion literature in American politics is rich in insights to all of these questions, and form the basis for the theory developed in my dissertation.

MATERIAL THREAT HYPOTHESIS

Which explanatory factors currently dominate the literature on immigration opinion specifically? The literature on how immigration opinion is formulated can be described as a dialogue between two theories, one of which has proven to be generally more effective at predicting opinion than the other. The first is the material threat hypothesis, which argues that individuals who feel that their livelihoods will be affected by increasing immigration will be more likely to oppose it. This theory goes back to the very formation of the study of American public opinion in the group-based reasoning of Campbell et al.'s *The American Voter* (1960). They argue that support for government

policy is based on "primitive self-interest". In the context of immigration, for example, a computer technician will be more likely to oppose increasing high skilled visas, but not care about increasing low skilled visas. The high-skilled immigrants represent a threat to him and his continued profitable employment, but low skilled workers do not. While this theory had been formulated early on in the American public opinion literature, and received, as Kinder (1998) argues, an "uncritical" acceptance by many scholars, it has not fared very well according to empirical evidence. Beginning with the research of Sears, empirical analysis of this theory has consistently yielded little to no results (Sears, Hensler, & Speer, 1979; Sears et al., 1980; Mueller, 1973; Mueller, 1994; Sears & Huddy, 1990; Sears & Funk, 1991). As Citrin et al. argue, empirical work in this area has been "devastating for the claim that self-interest…is the central motive underlying American public opinion" (1990).

Before entirely throwing this argument out, it should be noted that under limited conditions, material values can sway public opinion. As Kinder argues, when "material benefits or harms of a proposed policy are substantial, imminent, and well publicized" (1998), personal calculations of economic costs and benefits can play a serious role in influencing opinion. Well publicized battles over new, narrowly tailored taxes or programs can clearly split society into two groups, the payers and the benefactors. In these types of situations, public interest can play a large role in influencing opinion (Courant, Gramlich, & Rubinfield, 1980; Hawthorne & Jackson, 1987).

For the sake of this research, thus, the important question is whether or not immigration fits the necessary conditions of having substantial benefits and costs, being well publicized, and being immediate in its effects. In the context of immigration,

formal modeling has been utilized to create what is called the factor proportion model (FP), which essentially states that an influx of low skilled immigrants to the population will decrease earnings for natives with low skills, while increasing wages for natives with high skills. Alternatively, an increase in high skilled immigrants will increase earnings for natives with low skills, while decreasing high skilled native income. Under these circumstances, one can predict that low-skilled natives will support increased high-skilled immigrants, and oppose low-skilled immigration. High-skilled natives will do the opposite (Scheve & Slaughter, 2001). Empirically speaking, this model has been empirically tested and at least small effects have been found in support of the theory (Mayda, 2006; O'Rourke & Sinnott, 2006).

There are reasons, however, to be suspicious of these findings. First, the number of studies which have found effects have been extremely small, particularly in comparison to those studies which show very little or zero effect for material factors, and strong support for symbolic threat factors, as will be discussed further in this literature review. Secondly, Hainmueller and Hiscox (2007) argue that the studies cited earlier which provide support for the FP model do not directly test the FP model, as they do not differentiate between high and low-skilled immigration, a critical factor in the FP model. In the same paper, Hainmueller and Hiscox show that, across twenty-two different European nations, more educated natives are more supportive of *all* types of immigration, which undercuts the labor competition argument that the FP model makes. In addition, and importantly for this research due to its focus on American politics and public opinion, Hainmueller and Hiscox (2010) replicate this finding in the U.S.

Perhaps education, however, is not the best measure for being high or low-skilled. People can be very educated and in reality face little threat of competition from high-skilled immigrants. As Malhotra et al. (2013) argue, a large number of natives in the U.S. are not economically threatened by immigration of any kind. Immigrants tend to, on average, possess certain sets of skills rather than others. A better test of the FP model, limited as it is, would be to test whether or not natives who possess skills that are also possessed by immigrants would be more likely to oppose immigration. Malhotra et al.'s research design focuses on immigrants in counties of the U.S. which employ a large number of individuals in high-tech businesses and startups. They do find that those employed in high-tech businesses are substantially more opposed to increased immigration compared to the rest of the population. While they acknowledge that they designed the study to "stack the deck" towards positive findings for the material threat hypothesis, it does demonstrate that this theory does apply, at least in narrowly tailored populations who both face stiff competition by immigrant labor, and who are sophisticated enough to realize it.

Labor competition, however, is not the only perceived threat caused by immigration to America's continued prosperity. In addition to labor competition, a frequent theme in the public debate on immigration is the threat to state, local, and federal budgets due to immigrants. As the argument goes, immigrants are generally less well off than natives, and are thus more likely to seek to access public benefits such as free health care, welfare payments, public education and related services, and numerous other public expenses. Using this argument as its starting point, Hanson et al. (2007) formulate a theory of immigration public finance, arguing that individuals in areas that

have more generous public services will be more likely to oppose increased immigration. Empirical findings using this approach have been mixed. Hanson et al. and Facchini and Mayda (2009) do find small effects to support this theory. Crepaz and Damron (2009), however, find the opposite in the European context, arguing that individuals in nations with more generous welfare states tend to be more supportive of increased immigration. In the American context, Tingley (2013) finds that there is no evidence of fiscal opposition to immigration using a wide range of survey data. While the material threat hypothesis has yielded mixed, if mostly negative support in the literature, the symbolic threat hypothesis has received a more positive consensus among scholars studying immigration public opinion.

SYMBOLIC THREAT HYPOTHESIS

The symbolic threat hypothesis is based on Tajfel's social identity theory (1981). Tajfel, a British psychologist, argued that people's preferences are driven, in large part, by the groups to which they consider themselves members. Members of groups will wish to maximize benefits for group members while making it more difficult for those who are not members to access those benefits. In the context of immigration, Tajfel's theory has been applied by conceiving of "Americans" as a group. Individuals who identify strongly as an American are more likely to want to keep non-Americans future people from becoming Americans. In addition, they will seek to secure good benefits for those who are Americans, while making it very difficult for those who are not a member of the group to obtain them. While this description sounds like an overly negative and selfish one, national identity is not exclusively associated with restricting access to the group, however. Associating with the American national

identity could easily result in a set of positive behaviors by individuals, including obeying and respecting law and public institutions, sacrifice for the nation in military service or other areas, and being more engaged in the functioning of their communities and nations (Druckman, 1994; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Huddy & Khatib, 2007; Shayo, 2009; Theiss-Morse, 2009; Reeskens & Wright, 2012).

Historically speaking, Americanism has been thought of as a set of ideas to which a true American must assent. These ideas have traditionally included individualism, the value of hard work, equality, freedom, and the rule of law, or even religious ideas such as adherence to Christianity, and Protestantism in particular (Myrdal, 1944; Huntington, 2004). In reality, nailing down an "American" creed proves challenging. Americans are a diverse group of people in cultural, ethnic, and political values. Real groups of people identifying as Americans may object to the inclusion of one of the Myrdal/Huntington values, feel that one or more is given too much importance, or desire to include another value, such as engagement in civic life (Smith, 1993; Schildkraut, 2005). The vital question for behavioral research on American opinion is not what Gunnar Myrdal, Samuel Huntington, or other expert observers of American culture and politics feel compose American national identity. Rather, it is most important to understand what the *average person* who identifies as an American feels is critical to being an American. Until we can understand what those who identify as American feel about what it means to be an American, it is challenging to measure the impact of American national identity on immigration public opinion. What, then, does empirical research on this subject report that Americans feel about being American?

The earliest example of research into this question comes from Citrin et al. (1990). In survey research of Californians, they discovered that individuals widely agreed that it was important for Americans to vote, be fluent in written and spoken English, work hard, treat people equally regardless of race and personal background, and to defend America when it is criticized. While these findings are perhaps not surprising, it is important to note that believing in God also ranked highly across most demographics in the study, lending some support (albeit anachronistically) to Huntington's arguments regarding the importance religious beliefs play in belonging to the American national identity. Citrin et al. were certainly the first to explore this question, but their work was followed up by a host of scholars improving on and delving more deeply into the question of what it means to be an American (Citrin et al., 2001; Theiss-Morse, 2009; Wong, 2010; Schildkraut, 2011; Fraga et al., 2012; Wright et al., 2012). Importantly, though, as Schildkraut eloquently expresses, that "although such extensions of the original Citrin et al. (1990) study have resulted in some interesting and noteworthy insights, it is perhaps more important to recognize that the high degree of consensus revealed…a quarter of a century ago has been replicated across time, space, sample configurations, and measurement strategies" (2014). In an even more interesting observation, this replicated definition of Americanism has endured over that time, even while the American people themselves have grown increasingly diverse (Schildkraut, 2014), countering Huntington's argument that increased ethnic and racial diversity will cause consensus on what it means to be an American to erode, resulting in, as he calls it, two Americas (2004).

The content of American national identity, according to the American people themselves, contains basic civic elements of trust for American political institutions, engagement in political life, tolerance of others, and a few ethnic and cultural factors including language and religion. What influence does identifying as part of this group have on immigration opinion, however? Those individuals who agree with ethnocultural elements of American identity (born in the U.S., live in the U.S., be Christian) tend to support restricting immigration at higher rates than those who do not share this conception of Americanism (Schildkraut, 2005). As mentioned earlier, more people share this ethnocultural conception of American identity than the average member of the ivory tower may think (or perhaps hope). Those who set very strict limits of any kind on who may or not be Americans also tend to oppose increased immigration, and generally liberal immigration reforms (Wong, 2010). Additionally, those who strongly identify with American national identity in general, regardless of conception, tend to have more restrictive attitudes towards immigration (Schildkraut, 2005; de Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Brader et al., 2008; Theiss-Morse, 2009; Sniderman et al. 2004).

In summary, the dominant theories in immigration opinion formation in the recent literature have been the material and symbolic threat hypotheses. Generally speaking, the symbolic threat has received more widespread support in the literature, while the material threat hypothesis has seen support under certain, very limited conditions. What is interesting to note is that neither of the symbolic nor material threat hypotheses have any place for ideology or beliefs. Both are threat based, and are not based on any sense of what an individual might consider to be normatively "good". The theory which will be forwarded in this paper will attempt to partially bring back

ideology to a meaningful place in the discussion of immigration public opinion, at least in the context of the engaged and elite levels of public opinion. So, what does the literature on American public have to say about the second and third questions posed at the beginning of the literature review? Does ideology play a role in the general public's political decision making? If so, under what conditions should we expect it to do so?

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

"Bringing back" a principled notion of the American public is a tall order, and one which goes against decades of research in American politics. The most prominent and well respected works in American public opinion have tended to argue that the American public is extremely unsophisticated in their approach to politics (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954; Campbell et al., 1960; Converse, 1964; Zaller, 1992). Descriptions of the state of their political knowledge in the opinion literature have ranged from "know-nothings" (Hyman & Sheatsley, 1947) to "wretchedly informed" (Converse, 1975). While the low level of sophistication may not have surprised Anthony Downs, who predicted that the cost of obtaining political information far outstrips the benefits of having it (1957), or Walter Lippmann (1922), who argued that politics is so removed from daily life for the average citizen that they have little incentive to become well informed, this lack of information is cause for concern. A democracy is only as good as the people who make it up, and if the people are wretchedly informed, then how much hope can there be that the decisions of the nation, understood in a democracy as the expression of the collective will of the people, will be intelligent ones?

The notion of a poorly informed public has endured in the political science literature, despite efforts by Lodge & McGraw (1995) and Popkin (1991) to rescue the American public from its ignorance. While these authors have pointed out that lack of information is not as bad as one may think due to the miracle of aggregation or the use of heuristics, there still exists no sufficient substitute for an informed public. As Bartels (1996) demonstrates, even though these alternative methods of decision making are available to citizens, well-informed individuals still make substantially different decisions than do poorly informed citizens. Kinder succinctly states that, "in information processing as in other domains, there is no free lunch. Heuristics are shortcuts, remember, and when we take shortcuts, sometimes we end up in the right place and sometimes we get lost. The problem for democracy is not just that citizens don't know enough; it is that they know things, or they think they know things, that are incorrect…" (1998).

Even if citizens are poorly informed, however, can average citizens think systematically about politics through a system of political values? Converse makes it clear that the answer to this question is no. Ideology is the driving factor in decision making for roughly three percent of the population, while near ideologues make up another ten percent of the population (1964). Despite the fact that this finding was first published over fifty years ago, it still retains its power to the present day. Findings by Kinder and Sears (1985), Luskin (1987), and many others have found that ideologically ordered thinking is the exception rather than the rule for the American people. Even though Key (1966) and Achen (1975) made efforts to salvage the political

sophistication of the American public, the state of our understanding of the American people remains remarkably unchanged in the modern literature.

Zaller's work (1992) represents the most recent dominant approach to understanding the sophistication level of the American public. His "Receive-Accept-Sample" (RAS) model argues that the average American does not possess a true opinion, but rather a range of possible opinions that are driven primarily by elite communication. Individuals have a set of preconceived values, and depending on how sophisticated those values are they choose to accept or reject communications from elites regarding public matters. Those who are sophisticated have a good sense of their own values, and can evaluate new information in light of those values. Those who are not tend to repeat the loudest, most prominent, or most frequent communications and frames from elites, regardless of their personal values.

When asked about political issues on a survey, individuals tend to select the most recent "consideration" or bit of information they received and accepted from elites based on their preconceived values. As such, their opinions could cohere together well if they are sophisticated and know which information to reject and which to accept, or those opinions could be seemingly random if they are relatively unsophisticated. The average person in America, with his established lack of political sophistication, tends to reflect this more random and incoherent distribution of opinion, and those expressed opinions do not reflect any deeply held beliefs about politics (Zaller, 1992).

It is important to note, however, that political elites do not suffer from this lack of coherence about beliefs. As demonstrated first by Converse, elite opinions cohere to

their ideological values much more closely than the opinions of average Americans (1964). This observation will become critically important for the research design chosen for examining the research question described earlier. In short, the American public does not generally reason in ideological terms. Expecting ideology to play a serious role in opinion formation, thus, is doomed to failure. However, at the elite level, ideology does play a serious role in opinion formation. The big question is, however, if ideology is an important determinant of elite opinion, why is it that so much variation is seen among conservative elites on the issue of immigration?

VALUE PLURALISM

My dissertation will draw on the work of Philip Tetlock to explain this variation in elite opinion on immigration among self-identifying conservatives. Tetlock differentiates between two conceptions of ideology, pluralistic and monistic. Pluralistic ideologies (conservatism, liberalism) are composed of a loosely associated cluster of many different values, while monistic ideologies (Marxism, libertarianism) will focus primarily on one driving value (1986). The dominant ideologies in American politics are clear exemplary of the pluralistic label, as they not only are composed of multiple separable political values, but also share many of those values with each other. Few of these values present in conservatism or liberalism *must*, in order to maintain logical cohesiveness, remain together in an ideology. This is vitally important because this observation, taken to its logical conclusion, illustrates the fact that there is no single "proper" answer to many policies issue for conservatives. Consider two people for an illustration of this point. Ronnie Raygun believes very strongly in personal responsibility and free markets. Berry Gouldwater believes that Judeo-Christian cultural

values and a strong national defense are essential for a prosperous and orderly society. Both identify as conservatives. While they both may share this label, they may well take very different stances on the issues of the day. They almost certainly will disagree on which issues are the most important to address in society.

Tetlock's work, thus, is highly applicable to the research question presented above. It helps to make sense of the observation that conservatives differ in immigration opinions both across time, and in relation to their peers. In addition to being interesting and applicable to this subject matter (in theory), Tetlock's work has received considerable empirical support in the social science literature since its publication, and continues to be used to the present day in many disciplines (Sverdlik, 2012, Gromet & Darley, 2011, Nelson et al,. 2011, Malka & Soto, 2011).

CULTURAL THEORY

It could be, however, that political ideology plays little role in the formation of political opinion because cultural factors are actually more important in this process. Wildavsky and Douglas' cultural theory argues that individuals can be placed into four groups based on adherence to underlying cultural values. These values are the degree to which an individual sees strong bonds between people in society (group dimension), and the degree to which that individual sees differences between individuals (grid dimension). Thus, an individual who does not see strong bonds between people and sees significant similarities between people would be considered to be individualists. One who does see strong bonds between people, but who sees people as more varied is called a hierarchist. A person who sees both strong bonds between people and also sees

people as significantly similar would be called an egalitarian. Finally, one who sees weak bonds between people, yet al.so perceives significant differences between people is called a fatalist (Wildavsky, 1987; Douglas, 1982).

This theory has been applied to a wide range of political phenomena, including environmental policy (Schwarz & Thompson, 1990; Ellis & Thompson, 1997; Jones, 2011), economic policy (Malkin & Wildavsky, 1991), regulatory policy (Lodge, Wegrich, and McElroy, 2010), public health (Kahan et al., 2010), and national security (Jenkins-Smith and Herron, 2009; Ripberger, Jenkins-Smith, and Herron, 2011). Despite its seemingly simple applicability to public opinion, however, its use in this field has been controversial.

Michaud, Carlisle, and Smith (2009) provide the most notable critique of the use of cultural theory in opinion formation. They argue that political information largely washes out any benefit that cultural theory can provide as a useful theory in opinion formation. Their analysis suggests that for those at a low level of political information, cultural factors run together. These individuals struggle to consistently maintain hierarchical, individualistic, egalitarian, or fatalistic views on the world because that consistency, a la Converse (1964) and Zaller (1992), comes as a result of putting in the mental effort to think coherently about the world. To increase the difficulties facing cultural theory in opinion formation, they also argue that individuals at the high end of the information spectrum do not see the world through consistent cultural frames, but rather see political life as a left-right spectrum (egalitarianism to individualism), which is more consistent with the traditional public opinion perspective of elite reasoning. In

short, this critique is quite challenging for the use of cultural theory in opinion formation, as it challenges its use in both high and low information individuals.

This does not mean, however, that there has been no challenge to this critique. Ripberger et al. (2012) argue that Michaud, Carlisle, and Smith artificially limit their analysis of culture to only egalitarianism and individualism, which results in an incomplete picture of the breadth of culture's influence asserted by cultural theory. Using a slightly different research design, Ripberger et al. argue that while low skilled individuals are culturally consistent less often than high skilled individuals, their cultural consistency is still very high. This, in their argument, addresses the concerns regarding the lower ability of individuals to distinguish between these four worldviews. Additionally, they also argue that there exists a significantly separate conception in high skilled individuals between ideology and culture. Due to the disagreements in the literature regarding this issue, it makes sense to at least control for cultural factors in the research design for my dissertation, given its increasing importance in the literature across many subfields of political science.

THE AMERICAN TWO PARTY SYSTEM

To conclude, the question of whether or not there exist any institutional factors that further cloud and perpetuate the notion of the anti-immigrant conservative must be addressed. The answer to this is a resounding "yes". As noted above, the natural result of pluralistic ideologies is to muddy, rather than clarify, the "waters" of opinion in a political system. Unfortunately or not, American electoral rules are almost perfectly crafted to perpetuate the existence of pluralistic ideologies over monistic ones. The two

party system in America is the clear result of electoral rules rather than the preferences of the electorate. Duverger's Law, states that electoral systems with single member districts and plurality elections tend to produce two party systems (Duverger, 1951). Theoretically, in these kinds of systems, third parties are not likely to obtain the support necessary for electoral success, as their chances of being the "first past the post" are so slim as to be negligible. As a result, little effort will be made to build these parties into strong forces in political life. Instead, more marginalized groups will attempt to gain representation through one of the two major parties. When third parties do emerge, it will typically mean temporary chaos which resolves itself into a new, stable two party system.

In American politics, this strategic dimension has resulted in parties that contain a far wider range of political ideals than in proportional systems, where the Ron Pauls and Bernie Sanders of the world would simply find a party more closely aligned to their political values. That option, while available in American politics, is likely to result in a political life devoid of success. As a result, a diverse range of political actors are identified with the Republican Party in the U.S., though their political values may be far afield from the values of the typical Republican voter. Indeed, many of these individuals may even be considered to be conservative, despite this gap in the substance of their values.

An excellent example of this phenomenon is the media's branding of Charles and David Koch. There is hardly an article written about the Koch brothers without a mention of their ties to the conservative American Legislative Exchange Council or the right wing of the Republican Party, despite the fact that they self-identify as libertarians

rather than as conservatives. In their political calculus, if the only free market game in town lies with the Republicans, it is wise of them to support these causes, rather than marginalizing themselves through support of the Libertarian Party, with whom they would likely have a greater degree of policy agreement, yet less likelihood of political success. These strategic considerations make it even more challenging to generalize to a group of people, even if they self-identify as a member of the Republican Party, or as a conservative in the American context.

FRAMING

Finally, an important concept in my dissertation is the notion of frames. Immigration can be defined as an issue in ways seemingly limited only by your creativity. These frames will be discussed later, but a more general overview of the framing literature in public opinion will be useful to inform the predictions made between ideology, issue frame, and opinion. Rooted in the analysis of Gamson, the concept of framing suggests that politics is a marketplace of ideas. Policy advocates are always attempting to creatively frame issues in such a way as to increase the likelihood of public support for their side of an issue (Gamson, 1992; Gamson & Lasch, 1983; Gamson & Modigliani, 1987; Gamson & Modigliani; 1989). For example, the inheritance tax can be framed as a fiscal tool to encourage equality by taxing transfers of wealth to individuals who have not earned them, violating traditional norms of how markets are supposed to reward hard work and ingenuity, and thus produce societal prosperity. Alternatively, it can be framed as a "death tax" robbing the graves of the dead.

As Kinder argues (1998), frames can be thought of as "cognitive structures that help individual citizens make sense of the structures that help individual citizens make sense of the world." They can be considered to be an informational shortcut to political understanding of incredibly complex phenomena. While there certainly exists an elite driven notion to framing (elites formulate frames in the hopes to enlist the public) (Bobo & Kluegel, 1993; Iyengar, 1991; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Kinder & Sanders, 1996; Nelson & Kinder, 1996; Sniderman & Piazza, 1993; and Popkin, 1991), there is also a Zaller-like phenomena going on in which citizens "tune out" the frames that do not mesh with their worldview and instead focus on those that cohere to it, at least for sophisticated individuals (1994). Part of the focus of my dissertation is in seeing how values are used to navigate an incredibly complex political universe of ideas (immigration) and select one frame from among those many choices.

WHAT IS A CONSERVATIVE?

The main argument of my dissertation is that conservatism is a cluster of values rather than a unified ideology. Conservative ideology is, in fact, composed of several values that, depending on how strongly an individual holds each one, can result in a widely disparate worldview and set of beliefs about the utility of certain types of public policy. While numerous values can be thought of as "conservative", for the purposes of this paper these values have been limited to three. These beliefs will be specifically discussed in the following section.

LIMITED GOVERNMENT

"We who live in free market societies believe that growth, prosperity and ultimately human fulfillment, are created from the bottom up, not the government down. Only

when the human spirit is allowed to invent and create, only when individuals are given a personal stake in deciding economic policies and benefitting from their success – only then can societies remain economically alive, dynamic, progressive, and free. Trust the people."- Ronald Reagan (1981)

The general preference among conservatives for a more laissez faire approach to government spending, taxation, and regulation, is fairly common knowledge. This preference is rooted in their preference for traditional social order and away from drastic social experimentation (see below), in the economic works of free market and public choice economists such as Milton Friedman, Friedrich Hayek, James Buchanan, and Gordon Tullock, and also to a certain extent in the twentieth century American position as the opponent of communism in the Cold War. This tradition holds a great skepticism towards government involvement in organizing economies and society.

Economists like Friedman and Hayek argued that human society was simply too complex for rigid and frequently irrevocable experimentation by governments (Friedman, 1980; Hayek, 1945). In this perspective, the invisible hand of the market is capable of rewarding good choices and punishing bad choices, and using prices to efficiently allocated resources around the economy. Government, on the other hand, makes choices based on power concerns, rather than profit, and entrenches business practices through regulation, reducing the ability of individuals to freely compete in the market for the betterment of all. Tullock and Buchanan go even farther in their critique of the utility of government as a restrainer of private excess, arguing that government makes choices based on a certain set of values, but that those choices are made primarily to benefit the public servants who are making those choices, not the population at large (1962).

In addition to these theoretical concerns rooted in the economic literature, conservative figure William F. Buckley Jr. argues that the conservative is one who "stands athwart history, yelling Stop…" (1955). The resistance to change among conservatives is derived from the idea that human society has been developed gradually over time, and has been done wisely. These gradual changes foster an approach of controlled experimentation, in which the effects of these changes can be observed and measured in an ad hoc manner, and judgments derived. As fairly free markets are one of the cultural inheritances of Western culture and life, deviating too greatly from this approach, too quickly, is to be strongly discouraged. Further, these economic changes have been made primarily via voluntary choices made among many individuals, whereas choices by the government are made by a small subset of society and forced onto the rest of society using the powerful arm of the state.

MORAL TRADITIONALISM

"Out of every hundred new ideas ninety-nine or more will probably be inferior to the traditional responses which they propose to replace. No one man, however brilliant or well-informed, can come in one lifetime to such fullness of understanding as to safely judge and dismiss the customs or institutions of his society, for those are the wisdom of generations after centuries of experiment in the laboratory of history." –Will and Ariel Durant (1975)

Rooted heavily in the works of conservative forefathers such as Edmund Burke, this element of the conservative philosophy holds that existing social orders are not simply random occurrence, but reflect the inherited wisdom of generations upon generations of human experience. These social institutions, it is argued, developed gradually over time to further the quality of human life in response to changing realities. According to this value, overturning these institutions on a whim is the peak of hubris.

Conservatives argue that to suppose that "we know better" than our ancestors is to state that they, in fact, were simply creating social order randomly, rather than in a purposive and utilitarian manner. If social changes should occur, they should occur gradually, and large-scale social experimentation is to be avoided at all cost.

STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE

"A truly successful army is one that, because of its strength and ability and dedication, will not be called upon to fight, for no one will dare to provoke it". -Ronald Reagan (1981)

Conservatives generally favor a strong national defense. They see the provision of national defense as one of the enduring traditional responsibilities of government (and occasionally as one of the few things that, in their opinion, government does well). Additionally, they tend to subscribe more to realist perspectives of foreign policy, arguing that the only thing that will keep the peace is the arms to maintain it. As exemplified in the quote above, conservatives argue that America's military should be strong enough that no one will want to fight against her. Additionally, this belief in a realist world of foreign policy also extends to their opinions on alliances and reliance on other nations to maintain national security. Generally speaking, conservatives are more likely to distrust other nations' ability or willingness to serve American ends when the going gets tough, and are also tend to believe that international cooperation will tend to serve the interests of other nations rather than America.

IMMIGRATION FRAMES

The title of this section is a vital question that has dozens of potential answers. Immigration has, throughout the ages, been viewed as a cultural, fiscal, labor, economic

efficiency, human rights, public safety, government competence, or civil rights issue. Immigration as a public issue is all of these rolled up into one, but for the sake of simplicity considering it through one of these lenses is a useful heuristic. As conservatives do not usually focus on some of these frames, this paper focuses its discussion on four frames, economic efficiency, economic costs, cultural concerns, and public safety.

ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY

"Are great numbers of our unemployed really victims of the illegal alien invasion or are those illegal tourists actually doing work our own people won't do? One thing is certain in this hungry world; no regulation or law should be allowed if it results in crops rotting in the field for lack of harvesters." – Ronald Reagan (1977)

This frame of immigration looks at immigration as an issue of labor markets. Proponents of this frame see immigrants as an answer to real economic problems that the existing population of the U.S. is not capable of, or perhaps unwilling to answer. Additionally, this frame may have an anti-government, pro-market element to it. In this view, influxes of laborers to the U.S. are not a problem, they are simply a response to real market signals (in the form of wages) that are being delivered from American businesses and entrepreneurs to potential workers. According to this frame, government regulation and dictation of immigration levels should be discouraged, as government cannot always know the needs of the economy and businesses. Only the spontaneous order of markets can be trusted to ensure the proper level of supply of labor in a multi-trillion dollar economy.

ECONOMIC COSTS

"Stopping illegal immigration would mean that wages would have to rise to a level where Americans would want the jobs currently taken by illegal aliens." –Thomas Sowell (2012)

In this perspective, immigration to the U.S. increases a host of economic costs to the U.S. These costs can take a number of forms. In the case of the Sowell quote above, part of the argument is that immigration increases the amount of competition for jobs and decreases wages for American workers, particularly low wage workers. These arguments are similar to those made by American trade unionists such as Samuel Gompers, as noted earlier. Other forms that this argument can make are in regards to the cost of educating immigrant children, the challenge of crowded emergency rooms, tax revenue lost due to high numbers of immigrants being paid under the table, and immigrant access to welfare, food stamps, or other public services.

CULTURAL CONCERNS

"But then I came to the conclusion that no, while there may be an immigration problem, it isn't really a serious problem. The really serious problem is assimilation." –Samuel Huntington (2004)

This frame argues that traditional values, culture, and language are a vital glue that holds a society together, and that immigration should be allowed only to the extent that those immigrants quickly assimilate to their new culture. As quoted above, the most public and compelling academic defense of this position comes from the late Samuel Huntington (2004), who argued that western culture has made America great, and that to allow widespread immigration to the U.S. will serve to weaken the hegemony of western culture in America, and thus ultimately weaken the nation and its people. In particular, Huntington is concerned that large scale Hispanic immigration will create

"two peoples, two cultures, and two languages". In this perspective, and particularly in the context of recent Mexican and Central American immigration, huge waves of immigrants to the nation make immigration a particular problem for a few reasons. According to Huntington, recent Hispanic immigration poses a very different challenge than past generations of immigrants as Hispanics are geographically closer to their native country, have the capacity to return home more easily, are here largely illegally, are entering a nation which has a broad societal acceptance of the use of Spanish in society, and have substantial communities of Hispanics in the U.S. to which they can move. All of these circumstances have led, in Huntington's view, to a community of immigrants which lacks the compelling and urgent need to assimilate in a similar manner to past generations of immigrants.

PUBLIC SAFETY

"We have terrorists coming into the country both through our northern and southern borders. I guarantee you that is happening." –Tom Tancredo (2012)

"We're going to secure the border, and once the border is secured at a later date, we'll make a determination as to the rest. But we have some bad hombres here and we're going to get them out." –Donald Trump (2016)

The public safety frame looks at immigration as a security threat. Under this perspective, the national government is ignoring a vitally weak portion of our security, the ability of terrorists or those who wish America harm to walk across our border without our knowledge. Legal immigrants are subjected to intensive background checks, and checked for infectious diseases, yet the borders are left essentially unguarded, according to this perspective. A terrorist could simply walk across from Mexico or Canada and begin a plot to harm American citizens. Advocates of this frame claim that the fix to this problem is fairly simple, and comes at a relatively low cost,

compared to the economic and potential violent costs of unrestricted immigration. All that is needed is to increase security at the borders so that crossing becomes more challenging than following the legal route to becoming an immigrant. In addition to the concerns about terrorism, a frequent refrain in the immigration debate is regarding the criminal, yet non-terrorism related behavior of undocumented immigrants currently in the country, as exemplified by the Trump quote above.

CHAPTER 3: THEORY, HYPOTHESES, DATA AND METHODS

THEORY

The theory of my dissertation argues that conservatism is most accurately conceptualized as a cluster of values rather than as a monistic ideology. As Tetlock argues, pluralistic ideologies can justify a wide range of opinions on public policy. The environmentalist progressive may support restrictive immigration policies. The free market conservative may support liberalized immigration policies. While it is certainly true that by the averages self-identifying liberals are far more likely to support permissive immigration policies than self-identifying conservatives, this generalization takes away from the real political involvement of progressives in the low-immigration movement, and from the same involvement by conservatives in the immigration liberalization movement.

This work seeks to offer a theory which will explain the ideologically cross cutting nature of opinion on immigration. This theory draws on previous work in public opinion by positing that individuals have differing levels of political sophistication, and that those differences in sophistication change the manner in which individuals are able to use ideology to make political decisions and process communications from political elites (Zaller, 1992). For the purposes of this research, these levels will be separated out into three separate categories. The first category will be called the "mass" level, the second the "engaged" level, and the third the "elite" level. The theory will predict both what the opinion of these groups will be, and described the cause of those hypothesized opinions.

To begin with, drawing on the works of Phillip Converse (1964) and supplemented by the works of researchers in the national identity field of opinion research cited earlier, it is predicted that at the mass level, in the aggregate, expressed political ideology will have little to no effect on opinion on immigration. This is the group most likely to be measured during nationally representative sampling, and opinion research has clearly and repeatedly demonstrated that the level of political sophistication of the average American is strikingly low. This prediction is made for a few reasons. First, Converse's work makes it clear that at the level of mass public opinion, ideology does not constrain opinion terribly well. While this research is 50 years old, its core finding has remained essentially unchallenged since that time. Mass public opinion, however, is driven by *something*, but it is quite clear that its causal driver is not ideology.

At the mass level, national identity scholars have made it clear that a person's attachment to American identity will do far more to explain immigration opinions than ideology. Those with a strong attachment to American identity will be more likely to support restrictions on who can become a member of that group, and the benefits that go along with membership. As such, this theory predicts that at the mass level, an individual's attachment to their American identity will have far more impact on their immigration opinion than their professed ideology.

Secondly, my dissertation predicts that at the engaged level, ideology will have an effect on immigration opinion, and that the effect of American identity, while still present, will be less strong on immigration opinion than for the mass level. This group will be identified as those engaged and interested enough in American politics to attend

a conservative political rally, meeting, be part of a conservative organization, or donate to a conservative political campaign. Zaller (1992) argues that individuals with increasing levels of political sophistication will be able to accurately identify the source of political information and only accept information from sources that have a similar bias to their own. These moderately sophisticated individuals thus, will be able to follow a decision calculus for accepting individuals that will consistently result in conservative opinions. The theory of this paper, however, predicts that for engaged individuals, opinion will more often be in favor of restricting immigration, and that they will have little awareness of potential differing conclusions on immigration resulting from the varied nature of conservative principles. Additionally, the predominant communications regarding immigration from conservative political elites are generally in favor of low immigration, resulting in fairly one-dimensional communications from political elites to whom engaged conservatives are sophisticated enough to identify as allies, and accept that one-dimensional information.

For this group, elite signals are key. They are sophisticated enough to know what a conservative is, know which news channels, radio programs, websites, and public personalities support a conservative worldview, and to accept and seek out information from those sources. This perspective fits Zaller's elite-focused informational perspective of opinion formation, as well as acknowledging the lack of principle focused thinking among the masses derived from Converse.

Finally, it is expected that the interesting variations in the *substance* of immigration opinion will be found at the elite level. While most conservative political elites are in favor of low immigration in the modern era, it is predicted that those at the

elite level will use ideology extensively to inform their opinions of immigration. Specifically, they will cite certain elements of conservative ideology as being supportive of their opinion, whether restrictive or permissive. Depending on how strongly they adhere to the various components of conservatism, their opinions will alter.

Additionally, this variation in immigration opinion at the elite level is also driven by the two party system. There is little doubt that in a parliamentary system, Grover Norquist, the Koch brothers, Ron and Rand Paul, and numerous other political actors considered to be conservative in today's political system would be identified closely with a libertarian party rather than the Republican Party. In a two party system, however, investment in the success of parties outside of the two dominant, moderate parties is usually a waste of effort at best, and proves harmful towards election opportunities (or is perceived as being harmful) at worst, as grumblers about Ralph Nader, Ross Perot, and Jill Stein well know, or at least think that they know.

Component values of conservatism will have a more direct effect on opinion than conservatism generally for political elites. While specific hypotheses will be discussed later, a brief discussion will be conducted here to elucidate the theory. As has been stated before, the core argument of this paper is that there is really no single definition of conservatism. Conservatives can generally be divided into three groups according to their focus on certain conservative values. A conservative with a strong focus on free markets or small government, for example, can have a significantly different opinion on immigration than a traditional social values conservative. Additionally, this paper predicts that an individual's value focus will tend to focus

primarily on one of these values, and that that focus will serve both as the frame through which they view immigration, and influence their opinion on that issue.

HYPOTHESES

For this paper, four distinct sets of hypotheses have been compiled. There is one set of hypotheses for each group (mass, engaged, and elite), and a final set of hypotheses for cultural values, which should apply across all three groups. Each group is hypothesized to act in a significantly different manner, meriting the use of separate hypotheses. For each group of people involved, there will be two separate predictions made, one for the effect of conservative values on general opinion professed (in favor of or opposed to higher levels of immigration), and the second for the effect of ideology on the frame through which that individual views immigration as a policy issue. Additionally, predictions will be made for the effect of cultural values (individualism, hierarchism, and egalitarianism) on immigration opinion and frame. It is predicted that relationships between culture and opinion, and culture and frame, should remain fairly constant over all three groups of participants. This section will begin with the hypotheses concerning the mass level.

MASS LEVEL HYPOTHESES

Mass Level Hypothesis 1: As conservative self-identification increases, support for increased immigration will decrease.

Mass Level Hypothesis 2: As attachment to American identity increases, support for increased immigration will decrease.

Mass Level Hypothesis 3: Conservative self-identification's effect on immigration opinion will be significantly lower than the effect of national identity.

While it is possible that conservatism will have some effect on opinion at the mass level (in a negative direction), it is not likely that this effect will be large, nor is it likely that this effect will be larger than that for national identity. Numerous studies have demonstrated that an individual's attachment to the American national identity, particularly at the mass level, plays a large role in determining immigration opinion. Those who identify most strongly with their identity as Americans are most likely to desire to increase the difficulty of the process for others to be accepted as a part of this group, and to restrict access to the benefits of being a member of the American national identity to those who have gone through the process of becoming a member.

Mass Level Hypothesis 4: Holding individual conservative values will have no effect on choice of immigration frame.

Mass Level Hypothesis 5: Strong attachment to the American national identity will correlate with selection of the economic costs frame.

At the mass level, as Converse reminds us, ideology does not cohere well with opinions on policy issues. For example, my dissertation predicts that an individual's agreement with general free market beliefs will have no effect on choice of immigration frame. It is expected that this finding will hold true in regards to an individual's identification with strong national defense, traditional social values, or any other component of modern American conservatism. Choice of frame will be independent of ideological values, as those values do not generally correlate with any policy opinions at

all. Strong association with American national identity, however, is associated with concerns about extending the membership benefits associated with the national group to outsiders. While it is true that there exist other benefits to being an accepted member of a social group than monetary benefits, it is predicted that the focus of strong holders of national identity will be on economic costs, as they are the clearest and easiest to comprehend benefit associated with immigration.

ENGAGED LEVEL HYPOTHESES

Engaged Level Hypothesis 1: As conservative self-identification increases, support for increased immigration will decrease.

Engaged Level Hypothesis 2: As attachment to American national identity increases, support for increased immigration will decrease.

Engaged Level Hypothesis 3: The strength of conservative self-identification on immigration opinion will be about equal to that of American national identity.

The hypotheses for the engaged level are similar to those for individuals at the mass level. Both conservatism and American national identity are hypothesized to have negative relationships with support for increased immigration, but for this group, the effect of identity is hypothesized to be somewhat smaller, relative to conservative self-identification. While ideology will have little effect on immigration at the mass level, at the engaged level it should have an increased effect. The reasons for this are several. People who are politically engaged tend to be more informed, and increased information does correlate to increasing levels of coherence between ideology and

opinion (Bartels, 1996). Further, the politically engaged are better able to describe their beliefs, and are able to identify political allies based on these labels (Zaller, 1992).

Engaged Level Hypothesis 4: Adherence to individual conservative values will have little effect on the selection of immigration frames.

Engaged Level Hypothesis 5: Strong attachment to the American national identity will increase the likelihood of selecting the economic costs frame.

Zaller argues that even individuals who are fairly sophisticated and engaged in politics will still not be thinking through specific values, but are rather able to identify friendly sources of information, accept information from those sources, and to identify and reject information from unfriendly sources. An individual who identifies as a conservative, for example, will know that Rush Limbaugh is a more reliably accurate source of information for him than Rachel Maddow, but may not fully understand the difference between the ideologies of Limbaugh and Michael Savage. He does not necessarily analyze each issue through a set of orderly and coherent conservative values, but he does understand to whom he should listen. Zaller argues that people at the mass level will lack even this ability, and so receive information in a fairly random process due to their inability to select information sources with which they agree (1994). As such, conservatism, broadly defined, will have an effect on opinion, but the component parts of conservatism will have little effect for the engaged citizen. For this group, it is hypothesized that American national identity will have a negative effect on support for increased immigration for similar reasons as discussed for people at the mass level.

ELITE LEVEL HYPOTHESES

Elite Level Hypothesis 1: As attachment to American national identity increases, support for increased immigration will decrease.

Elite Level Hypothesis 2: Attachment to American national identity will affect opinion on immigration less than conservative values.

As all of the elite to be interviewed in this research will be self-identifying conservatives, and all data gathered regarding this group will be done using qualitative methods, hypotheses regarding the degree of conservatism lack practical value. For this group, it is argued that conservatism will not be a monolithic ideology. Rather, at this level, individual values will mean far more than self-identification as a conservative. American national identity, however, should still have an effect on opinion at this level. Its effect, however, will be less important for elites than for the masses or the engaged.

Elite Level Hypothesis 3: Strong adherence to limited government will have a mixed effect on support for increased levels of immigration.

Elite Level Hypothesis 4: Strong adherence to limited government/market liberalism will increase the likelihood of adopting an economic costs or economic efficiency frame.

It is hypothesized that free market beliefs can produce either a restrictive or a permissive set of opinions on immigration. An individual's concerns for limiting fiscal outlays of government could cause them to be suspicious of adding a new group of people who are mostly poor, and who already do not, compared to legal residents of the U.S., pay a high percentage of their income in taxes. Alternatively, it could also make

them suspicious of the ability of government to understand labor market needs in real time, regulate immigration in response to this understanding of the nation's needs, and dislike restricting the ability of individuals to freely contract with each other in principle. As such, it is expected that adherence to limited government is capable of causing both support for increased and decreased immigration, depending on the individual.

Elite Level Hypothesis 5: Strong adherence to moral traditionalism will decrease the likelihood of supporting increased immigration.

Elite Level Hypothesis 6: Strong adherence to moral traditionalism will increase the likelihood of adopting a cultural concerns frame of immigration.

Advocates of traditional social order will have a strong respect for existing social institutions and believe that adherence to and advocating for these institutions is a crucial part of ensuring that the quality of society remains high, or returns to a quality formerly seen during wider embrace of these traditional values. Drastic changes from the existing social order undermine the things that make society strong, in this perspective. Inviting individuals in to society is a crucially important activity, and making the decision of who should, or should not, be a part of society is one that should be taken with great care. Society is only as good as the individuals who make it up, and the degree to which they follow the established rules and norms of that society. Individuals who are invited into the group should be highly committed to assimilating into that group.

As a result of this logical progression, believers in moral traditionalism will tend to support low immigration, as low immigration ensures that immigrants lack a support structure in their new home where they can comfortably stay in the cultural practices of their home nation. Raising the bar for who can and cannot enter the nation will ensure that only those who truly want to be a part of the group will make the effort to do so. Additionally, they will be most likely to adopt a cultural concerns frame, out of concerns that immigrants may pose a threat to establish social norms and rules.

Elite Level Hypothesis 7: Belief in a strong national defense will decrease the likelihood of supporting increased immigration.

Elite Level Hypothesis 8: Belief in a strong national defense will increase the likelihood of adopting a natural security frame of immigration.

Advocates of a strong national defense will believe strongly that the U.S. needs to take threats to U.S. security seriously. The U.S. should maintain good intelligence on potential threats, and invest in the development of security and law enforcement tools to ensure that America's people are safe and secure. Having millions of people in the nation that do not have legal documentation and may be less likely to want to not cooperate with police officers and other governmental officials (for obvious reasons) may be bad enough, but many conservatives see the nation's inability to keep undocumented immigrants out as a signal to terrorists that there exists an easy way into the nation. Terrorists, so the argument goes, are aware of the nation's vulnerabilities. If there is an easy way for dangerous people to enter the nation without the awareness of the government, then they will find that entrance, and exploit it.

CULTURAL HYPOTHESES

Cultural Values Hypothesis 1: Strong adherence to individualism will increase the likelihood of supporting increased immigration.

Individualists tend to conceive of cultural and societal concerns as being of less importance than the freedom of individuals to do as they wish. As such, it is predicted that individualists will be less likely to conceive of themselves as members of the American national identity, and as such less likely to perceive new entrants into American society as being a threat to existing order, for which they have less respect than adherents to other cultural values. Additionally, individualists will most likely conceive of immigration as a matter of personal freedom, rather than a cultural, societal, or economic issue.

Cultural Values Hypothesis 3: Strong adherence to hierarchism will decrease the likelihood of supporting increased immigration.

Cultural Values Hypothesis 4: Strong adherence to hierarchism will increase the likelihood of adopting a cultural concerns frame of immigration.

Adherents to hierarchism will have a respect for rules, authority, and established norms. As such, any major changes to society, and particularly the act of routinely breaking rules, should be discouraged at all costs. To hierarchists, immigrants will be viewed as introducing new and chaotic elements to an essentially stable and comfortable existence. For this group, immigration will be viewed as a cultural concern. Issues of a stable society and obedience to authority will be of primary concern for hierarchists.

Cultural Values Hypothesis 6: Strong adherence to egalitarianism will increase the likelihood of supporting increased immigration.

Egalitarians will be much less likely to view of the world through a group lens, seeing all individuals as basically the same, and having a strong sense that individuals are bonded together in society by their united nature. Seemingly arbitrary labels of membership in groups will mean less to those who feel that everyone should be treated equally regardless of ethnicity or national origin. This belief will flow over into their opinions on immigration. Egalitarians should be more likely to believe that immigrants should be extended the same courtesies and privileges of natives, as they are all people, and deserve equal treatment.

DATA AND METHODS

Now that the theory and hypotheses for my dissertation have been described, it is necessary to discuss the means through which this theory, specifically expressed in the four sets of hypotheses above, will be empirically tested. Three methods will be chosen for the three groups described in the theoretical section, mass, engaged, and elite. The primary methods involved will be statistical analysis of surveys and content analysis of elite interviews. For the first and second groups, the mass and engaged levels, survey research will be used. At the elite level, data gathering will take place using content analysis of elite interviews. These methodological choices will be described and defended in the following section in brief, with significantly more detailed discussions included in the empirical chapters featuring these data and methods.

MASS LEVEL

The data for the mass level portion of my dissertation will come from existing data, the 2012 American National Election Study (ANES) and the 21st Century Americanism Survey (21CAS). The 2012 ANES was the most recently available iteration of the ANES at the time analysis was being completed, which was why it was selected. The ANES is a survey conducted every presidential election cycle since 1948 by researchers at Stanford University and the University of Michigan (2012 ANES Codebook), and is a prominent and well respected national sampling of public opinion.

In order to triangulate some areas which are not covered in the ANES data set, I used data from a separate, smaller, older, but more immigration focused survey, the 21st Century Americanism Survey (21CAS). While this survey lacks in many of the strengths of the ANES in terms of its size and flexibility, its more direct testing of a wider range of immigration specific opinions presents opportunities to triangulate research design goals in areas in which the ANES is lacking. The survey was conducted to study multi-dimensional senses of what it means to be an American, making it ideal for examining people's ideas on culture, assimilation, race, ethnicity, and Americanism. It also features several questions about immigration and immigrants.

Modeling on these data will be conducted with what are more or less variations on ordinary least squares regression. These models will attempt to test the hypotheses posed earlier in this chapter, and will generally fall into two types. The first type of models will be used to analyze how the values, culture, and identity of respondents impact their more general opinions on immigration. The second variety of models will

be used to examine how the values, culture, and identity of respondents impact the frame through which they view immigration as a political issue.

ENGAGED LEVEL

The design at the engaged level is similar to the design at the mass level, but using original rather than existing data. For this portion of the dissertation, the intent was to sample conservatives who were politically engaged, while also not being elites in the purest sense of the word. The idea was to attempt to measure the effects of culture, values, and ideology at a level more sophisticated than the masses, but less sophisticated than professional activists and pundits. In order to accomplish this from a sampling perspective, I needed to obtain data from individuals who were conservatives, and were passionate enough about politics to engage in it through donations or extensive personal time to get informed.

I used data from two samples, which were combined for analysis for convenience. A more detailed discussion of sampling choice will be included in the fifth chapter. The first sample was of donors to the Randy Brogdon for Senate Campaign. Randy Brogdon is an Oklahoma politician who was served in several roles in Oklahoma state politics, including as a State Senator, gubernatorial candidate, U.S. Senatorial Candidate, and state party chairman for the Oklahoma Republican Party. Brogdon is widely regarded as a very conservative candidate and officeholder, and is a favorite of tea party members in Oklahoma (Green, 2015).

The second sample is listeners to the Veritas Radio Network. The Veritas Radio Network is an internet radio network formed in 2015 by Mike Church. Church was a

nationally syndicated traditional broadcast radio conservative talk show host until 2003, when he became the first talk show host hired by Sirius Radio, a satellite radio service. He continued in that role until 2015 when he departed Sirius to found Veritas Radio Network. Veritas is a subscription-based internet radio network, meaning that only "Founders Pass" members can listen to the network without restrictions. There is a preview hour of each show that people can listen to online for free, but for the most part access to the network's content is restricted behind a paywall. Paid subscribers can also listen to archived shows using the Veritas Radio Network application on mobile phones, or through the website (Veritas Radio Network, 2017).

ELITE LEVEL

Data for the final empirical chapter of my dissertation was collected from eleven interviews conducted with self-identifying conservative elites. In order to qualify for the interview, a candidate had to meet three qualifications:

1. The individual had to self-identify as a conservative.

2. The individual has to work, or at some point have worked, professionally in a role as a political activist, commentator, or elected or appointed official.

3. The individual had to have made some sort of public comments or engagement on immigration as an issue.

The sampling began by asking Alex Nowrasteh, immigration policy analyst at the Cato Institute, for a list of people who he felt fit these three categories. From there, I attempted to contact each person on the list for an interview, with varying degrees of

success. I included a final question on the interview guide which was essentially a snowball sampling question, and obtained several additional interviews with people who were not included in the original sample via this use of question. All interviewees agreed to be quoted by name for the purposes of the project, and informed consent was specifically gathered from each individual. I completed eleven total interviews for this chapter of the dissertation, featuring a range of elected officials, professional pundits, political activists, and think tank members.

CHAPTER 4: IMMIGRATION OPINION AMONG THE MASSES

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to begin looking at immigration opinion among the masses, or the average person. The literature review established that, for the most part, awareness of political affairs among the masses is low. The public is generally poorly informed about politics, and lack the ability to think in ideological terms about political life. The public does not, according to the literature, think about political issues through a lens of their most chiefly cherished values, but rather processes issues through a more group-identity based awareness. Factors such as race, American identity, and especially partisan attachment tend to have far more impact on opinion at the mass level than more abstract psychological ideas.

As was established in the literature review on immigration opinion, however, the literature has preferred to look at the impact of ideological self-identification rather than a more direct look at the values that undergird those ideologies. For example, the vast majority of research projects in this area control for adherence to "conservatism" or "liberalism", with little concern for how fluid, complex, and amorphous those concepts can be, even for those who are intimately familiar with the labels. This project will seek to rectify this weakness by looking not simply at ideological self-identification, but also at adherence to what I identify as the three core values of conservatism (limited government, moral traditionalism, and national security).

In addition to this wrinkle on the existing literature, I also choose to include measures of cultural attachment in addition to ideology and group attachment. As a

burgeoning literature is beginning to use cultural theory to explain a wide range of political outcomes, its inclusion here represents another attempt to empirically test its validity in public opinion. Measures of culture are included alongside of measures of ideology, conservative values, and group identity in order to bring this concept into the literature, or perhaps to suggest that its utility in this area is lacking.

DATA

How, then, should these new elements be empirically tested? Obviously testing requires data, which will be the first topic of discussion, with a discussion on research design and methods to follow. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the data for the mass level portion of my dissertation come from two sources, the 2012 ANES and the 21CAS. While these data sources were briefly described earlier, a more in depth discussion of why the sources were chosen bears some discussion here, beginning with the ANES.

2012 ANES

The 2012 ANES has many advantages that recommend it over using original data for a project like this one. The first of these advantages is that the 2012 ANES has a superb random sample with such a high number of respondents that matching its quality would be impossible for any researcher with average or even a large amount of resources. For the 2012 ANES, there are a total of 5916 respondents. The 2012 ANES is particularly novel in that it featured an internet sample in addition to its traditional face to face sample, increasing the N by a substantial amount (face to face respondents=2054, internet respondents=3860). Almost all questions were asked in both

the face to face and internet version, and three separate weights are given for analysis using only the face to face data, only the internet data, or both.

The internet sample is composed of members of the GfK KnowledgePanel. The KnowledgePanel is, according to the 2012 ANES codebook, "a large online panel of survey respondents who are invited to complete surveys several times each month on a variety of topics…Panelists are recruited using two probability sampling methods: address-based sampling…and random-digit dialing…Prospective panelists who do not have Internet access at the time of recruitment are furnished with free Internet service and free hardware to connect to the Internet." Additionally, survey weights are included for all respondents to correct for over and under sampling of certain groups. While these measures do not fully correct the problems inherent in sampling, and in internet sampling in particular (oversampling richer and better educated people), they do at least ameliorate some of their effects by reducing the financial "floor" to participate, and by statistically correcting for over and under sampling where those problems exist (2012 ANES Codebook).

Second, the ANES has a wide selection of questions, enabling the researcher to measure opinion on a vast array of political, social, cultural, and religious issues. If the ANES does not directly measure the concept in which you are interested, there probably exists a close proxy measure. This allows for flexible empirical testing of a wide variety of issues, and differing shades of issues. For example, the ANES, despite being a general survey, still manages to ask five separate questions about immigration and immigration policy, giving the researcher several angles to pursue in research design.

Third, and finally, the ANES provides an excellent floor of credibility to which I can compare other results later in the dissertation. While original data collection and sampling offer tremendous advantages, primarily in the ability of the researcher to customize data collection instruments to provide more precise measurements for specific concepts, opinions, and ideas, the ANES has an immediately recognizable reputation in the political science community that will provide credibility to the rest of my results in the dissertation. In one key area, however, ANES fall notably short, requiring the use of additional data to triangulate the research design.

While ANES has a broad set of immigration opinion questions, it has few that focus on the frame through which people look at immigration as a political issue. This is understandable, as ANES is a general political survey, but it is a weakness that will have to be overcome in order to produce empirical models that test enough of my hypothesized relationships between a person's demographics, partisan attachment, and general cultural and political opinions on the one hand, and their specific opinions about both immigration *and* the frame through which they view immigration to function as an effective component of my dissertation. After looking through the data, it was concluded that only one question in the ANES could be reasonably considered a measure of immigration frame. This was a question about whether or not immigrants are taking jobs from Americans, which serves as an acceptable substitute for a direct measure of the economic costs frame, as it does not directly ask about policy. There were, however, no questions that could have been responsibly used to measure the other frames for which I have hypothesized relationships, reducing the utility of relying solely on ANES data. As a result, five models will be run using these data, with four using

more general opinion towards immigration issues as the dependent variable, and the fifth using the economic costs frame as the dependent variable.

21CAS

In order to redress this weakness in the ANES data set, I used data from a separate, smaller, older, but more immigration focused survey, the 21st Century Americanism Survey (21CAS). While this survey lacks in many of the strengths of the ANES in terms of its size and flexibility, its more direct testing of a wider range of immigration specific opinions presents opportunities to triangulate research design goals in areas in which the ANES is lacking. The survey was conducted to study multi-dimensional senses of what it means to be an American, making it ideal for examining people's ideas on culture, assimilation, race, ethnicity, and Americanism. It also features several questions about immigration and immigrants. The survey had 2800 respondents, including an oversample of Blacks, Asians, and Latinos. It was conducted via telephone (21st Century Americanism User Guide, 2004).

While 21CAS is an excellent data source, it, like ANES, is far from perfect. As the survey is a more specialized one focused on identity rather than values, it is somewhat lacking in more general political opinions. For the purpose of this experiment, a few measures were completely missing. Most notable among the missing elements are measures of limited government, moral traditionalism, and strong national defense. Measures for cultural-political values like individualism, hierarchism, and egalitarianism, however, are present, or at least there are questions which are close enough to warrant use as proxy measures for these concepts.

As such, the 21CAS dataset is better used for supplementary data analysis, rather than primary. Three secondary models will be run using 21CAS data to supplement the main work being done using ANES data, one using a general measure of immigration opinion as a dependent variable, one using a measure of the economic costs frame as a dependent variable, and the last using the cultural concerns frame. It should be noted that the economic costs model and more general immigration opinion model will be run using both data sets, increasing the reliability of similar findings despite the weaknesses of the datasets. Both the 21CAS and ANES data were obtained from the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research's (ICPSR) "Find Data" service.

METHODS AND MEASUREMENT[12]

2012 ANES METHODS

All five models produced from the ANES data feature dependent variables at the ordinal level, as will be discussed during the measurement section. As such, and as weighted data is being used, the use of survey weighted generalized linear models is the most appropriate choice of method. This method is more appropriate than ordinary least squares regression because it has been specifically developed for use in modeling using large-n weighted survey data, making it slightly more accurate for the models used in my dissertation (Lumley, 2010). All five models use this method, given the identical source of data and the similar nature of the dependent variables. Each of the five models are produced in two versions, one including the ideological components of conservatism

[1] Many thanks to Joe Ripberger for his help in this section.
[2] All full questions used as measures in this section are included in Appendix A.

along with the more general ideological self-identification measure, while the other version includes only the more general measure of ideology. Models were produced using the "survey" package in R, and regression tables were produced using the "stargazer" package (Hlavac, 2015). In addition to the regression modeling techniques discussed above, simple summary statistics will be used to show Americans' general opinion on immigration, and also to test the idea that there are two American opinions on immigration, one for legal immigration, and one for undocumented immigration.

2012 ANES DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The dependent variables in the ANES models are five separate questions that all measure a different aspect of immigration opinion. All responses have been recoded so that the most liberalized answer is the highest value, and the most restrictive the lowest value. The first is a standard, general question about immigration, and specifically legal immigration. The question asks by how great a degree legal immigration to the U.S. should be changed, with responses ranging from increased greatly to decreased greatly. In the tables, this dependent variable is referred to as "level". The second dependent variable is a question asking whether or not a person opposes, supports, or neither opposes nor supports a measure to allow citizenship to some unauthorized immigrants. This dependent variable is referred to as "citizen". The third question asks individuals to select an ideal policy for dealing with unauthorized immigrants from a list of four. This dependent variable is referred to as "policy". The policies range from very restrictive (deport all unauthorized immigrants as felons) to very liberalized (allow all to stay without penalties). The fourth question asks about whether or not people would support, oppose, or neither support nor oppose laws requiring state and local police to do

immigration status checks on people if they have a reasonable suspicion that the individual in question is an undocumented immigrant, and is referred to as "checks". The fifth, and final question, is the costs frame question referenced earlier, referred to as "costs frame". This question asks how likely the respondent thinks it is that immigration takes away jobs from Americans, with responses ranging from extremely likely to extremely unlikely.

The dependent variables here, while far from perfect, measure a wide range of various policies having to do with immigration, as well as more general attitudes towards immigrants. As argued in the introduction, immigration is such a multifaceted issue that measuring one aspect of immigration opinion is a bit like the proverbial blind man feeling the elephant. One model, thus, may capture the "tail", while another captures the trunk, and so on. The use of several models presents a unique opportunity to see the whole picture, or at least as much of the picture as can be seen with the data limitations discussed above. The first and fifth models are the most general measures of feelings towards immigrants of all types, but that does little to address the often-heard argument that opposition to immigration in the conservative context is opposition to illegal immigration, not immigration as a whole. The second, third, and fourth models look more closely at attitudes towards undocumented immigrants specifically, allowing for interesting conclusions to be drawn regarding the differences in American opinion regarding both legal and undocumented immigration.

While measurement choices for the dependent variables was simple and fairly non-controversial, measuring the independent variables presented more of a challenge, although the wide range of measures available in the ANES ameliorated some of the

difficulty. The large sample size of the survey also enabled the use of a large number of explanatory and control variables in the models. For ease of consumption, and clarity of presentation, the discussion of measurement of these variables will be separated out into explanatory and control variable groups.

2012 ANES EXPLANATORY VARIABLES

The ideology measure is a standard one, asked year after year, which asks individuals to place themselves on a seven point scale, ranging from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. This scale was reversed so that the most conservative response was the maximum value. The American identity question is also a standard one, asking how important being American is to the respondent's identity. The responses for this were also reversed, so that responding that being an American was "extremely important" to their identity was coded as the maximum value.

Next are the political values questions, featuring the three components of conservatism discussed earlier, limited government, strong national defense, and moral traditionalism. All three are measured through the creation of indices. To create the indices, the scores on these items were first transformed so that the highest score represented the greatest degree of adherence to the principle. For example, a high score on a limited government item equates to strong support for limited government. These scores were then standardized on a scale of zero to one (the lowest score would become zero, and the highest score would become one). These standardized scores were then averaged to create final scores for the indices. Indices were selected for three reasons. First, averaging the scores into indices reduces the amount of user error in response, relative to using a single measure. If a respondent misunderstands a question, and

responds in such a way that does not reflect her "true" preferences, then having more responses included in the measures reduces the influence of that one error. Second, averaging the scores reduces the influence of any measurement error. If a given question is not actually measuring the concept that it is supposed to measure, then including several measures in the index reduces the influence of the measurement error, assuming that the other measures do a better job of measuring the concept. Third, using averages reduces the number of missing observations in the dataset, as an individual who only answered a few of the moral traditionalism questions, but not the rest, would still have an average score. Simple additive indices would not accomplish this, as those who answered all of the questions would by definition have higher scores on the measures, even if those who answered some answered higher on the questions that they did answer.

The ANES has specific sections intended to measure limited government and moral traditionalism, making both of these indices easy to compile. Questions for support for limited government ranged from asking if the government should fix complex problems, or if it is better for the free market to do so, to asking whether or not more or less regulation of business is better. These questions are particularly well suited for measuring the limited government espoused by conservatives, as conservatives tend to be most vocal about limiting government in the economic sphere, as any casual read through the editorials of *The Wall Street Journal* or the most recent edition of *National Review* would clearly demonstrate. Moral traditionalism also had a separate section, including a wide battery of questions about different or new lifestyles, personal tolerance of alternative moral standards, the value of traditional moral standards, and

other similar measures. National defense did not have a dedicated set of questions, and is thus more lacking in variety. There were two questions for national defense, both of which were questions about how much the government should spend in this area. While it would have been better to have slightly different questions for this section, these were the only ones included in the dataset, and two questions is likely better than one.

The cultural values were a bit more challenging to measure, as there are not dedicated sections for each set of cultural values included in Douglas and Wildavsky's grid-group theory (1982). However, there was an excellent selection of questions on egalitarianism, and there was a section on authoritarianism that had a few questions close enough to measuring the concept of hierarchism to use as proxy measures. Additionally, as individualism is the polar opposite of hierarchism, according to Douglas and Wildavsky, I chose to use the hierarchism measure as a continuum, with low scores indicating more adherence to individualism, while higher scores indicated higher adherence to hierarchism. These scores were calculated using the order, standardize, and average approach described above for the political values.

The questions for egalitarianism are standard questions for the ANES, asking about how important it is to treat all citizens equally, whether or not society has gone too far in pushing equal rights, and other similar questions. The hierarchism scores, as mentioned earlier, are derived from the section in the ANES on authoritarianism. As Clawson and Oxley (2016) detail in a useful summary, authoritarianism, in the context of the literatures on public opinion and political psychology, does not refer to a system of government, but rather an inclination towards certain personal values over others. Specifically, people who would be described as authoritarian value submissiveness to

authority, have a desire for a strong leader, are generally suspicious of people, adherent to convention, and favor strong punishments for those who violate convention. While hierarchism is not identical to authoritarianism, one component is present in both concepts, submissiveness to authority.

Authoritarianism is usually measured by asking questions about the proper relationship between children and adults (Clawson and Oxley, 2016), and the ANES measures the concept in this way. Two of the authoritarianism questions in particular seemed to be good measures of hierarchism, and these two questions were used to develop the hierarchism/individualism score discussed earlier. These two questions had to do with whether or not it was more important for children to have independence, or respect for their elders, and whether or not obedience or self-reliance is a more important trait for children to have.

2012 ANES CONTROL VARIABLES

A large number of these variables are derived from single questions on the ANES, and do not merit lengthy discussion (the questions will be included in Appendix A, however). The selection of control variables was in accordance with standard practice in public opinion research on immigration (Schildkraut, 2005, Theiss-Morse, 2009). There were several measures that do merit discussion, however. The ANES does not have a straightforward measure of whether or not an individual self-identifies as a Christian, so a measure for Christianity had to be cobbled together from several questions about religious attendance and beliefs. The party ID measure includes leaners to account for the fact that while many people self-identify as independents, they psychologically lean towards one party over the other, and the behavior and opinions of

leaning independents are fairly consistent with the behavior of those who identify with the party (Kinder, 1998). The political knowledge scale was created by assigning a score of one to those who answered the questions correctly, and zero to those who answered incorrectly, or did not answer. The resulting scores were then added together and divided by five (the total number of factual questions), resulting in a maximum score of one, and a minimum score of zero. Tendency to identify with groups was derived from a question asking how many groups of which the respondent is a member. Tea Party attachment was taken from a standard feeling thermometer question about the Tea Party, with a maximum score of one hundred and a minimum score of zero.

21CAS METHODS

The data analysis methods were largely identical to those used for the 2012 ANES, largely due to the similarity of data used. All dependent variables from the models using these data were measured at the ordinal level, and all of the measures include weights, making survey weighted generalized linear models again the most appropriate choice of method both for the data and for the research questions asked. All data analysis was complete using R, with models computed using the "survey" package, and tables produced using the "stargazer" package.

Three models were run using these data, with one model using a more neutral evaluation of immigration policy as a dependent variable, while the second and third used measures of immigration frames for the dependent variables. While the 21CAS was lacking in several independent variables, notably the specific ideological components of conservatism, having these immigration frame dependent variables

allows some testing of the hypotheses presented for mass level public opinion, meriting its inclusion in this project. As with the 2012 ANES, all questions used will be included verbatim in Appendix B.

21CAS DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The first dependent variable was a standard question regarding a person's opinion of what legal immigration levels to the U.S. should be. Unlike the 2012 ANES, which asked the question with answers ranging from greatly increase to greatly decrease, this survey only asked whether the number should be increased, decreased, or remain the same. The variable is named "level" in the models presented below. This variable can be safely compared to the variable from the ANES, despite this difference in response options. The second dependent variable was a question which asked whether the respondent felt that immigrants take advantage of jobs and opportunities in the United States without doing enough to give back to the community, a fairly close proxy measure of the costs frame. This variable is titled "costs frame" in the models for this dissertation. The third variable was an index of various measures asking about whether or not immigrants are doing enough to assimilate and contribute to American culture, and is called "culture frame" in the models. As the primary aim of the 21CAS was to obtain people's opinions on what it means to be an American, these questions unique to this survey, and serve as an excellent measure for the cultural frame of how Americans view immigrants.

21CAS EXPLANATORY VARIABLES

The explanatory variables for the models using 21CAS data are identical in concept to those for the 2012 ANES, but in some cases are measured in a very different fashion. This is particularly true for the cultural variables, where similar questions between the two data sets simply did not exist. Nearly identical measures were used for ideology (conservative or liberal) and strength of identification as an American. More general principle-based questions asking about ones support for traditional cultural institutions, limited government, and national defense policy did not exist for the 21CAS, obviously necessitating their removal from the models.

The cultural variables required a more creative approach to measurement, as indices had to be cobbled together from questions which were not necessarily originally intended as measurements of cultural values. These questions were taken from a section asking about the things that make people a "true American". For example, one question asks if "being born in America" would be very important to making someone a true American. Other examples include having European ancestors, being a Christian, volunteering, being informed about politics, and many others. While many of the questions did not fit neatly into the cultural values described by Douglas and Wildavsky (1982), enough were close enough to be able to create reasonable measures for individualism, hierarchism, and egalitarianism. An individualism score for each respondent was created by averaging respondents' answers to questions asking about the value of pursuing economic success through hard work and letting others speak freely regardless of disagreement. A hierarchism score for each respondent was created by averaging respondents' answers to a question asking about the value of respecting

American laws and political institutions, and another which asked about the value of being an American citizen. For the egalitarianism score I used respondents' answer to a question about how important it is to see people of all backgrounds as American. These measures were all recoded so that answers corresponding with a particular culture were numerically greater.

21CAS CONTROL VARIABLES

A standard set of control variables were used for models from the 21CAS, including race, gender, whether or not an individual is a Hispanic, income, religious views, partisan attachment, age, whether or not the respondent was born in the United States, education, political knowledge, social trust, and social involvement. Unfortunately, as the dataset was created before the Tea Party movement existed, its inclusion in these models is impossible. A complete set of questions used to derive these control variables is included in Appendix B, although a few brief notes on calculation of these variables are also included here. For partisan attachment, the question used asked whether or not an individual leaned more towards one party or other, so it is not strictly a measure of party membership, similar to the measure used in the ANES. The religion measure was derived from a large number of questions (eighteen), and merely measures whether or not an individual identifies as a Christian, or not. Other than these measures, no transformations other than occasionally reversing response order were used, and almost all of the measures used standard GSS/ANES wording, meaning that these will likely be the least controversial measures used in this portion of the project.

RESULTS

A cursory look at some summary statistics shows clearly that opinion on immigration in the population as a whole does not seem to bear out the notion that people's opinions towards undocumented immigration is substantively different from their opinions on immigration more generally speaking (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2)

TABLE 4.1: GENERAL IMMIGRATION OPINION (2012 ANES & 21CAS)

Variable	% Restrictive (2012 ANES)	% Restrictive (21CAS)
Increase or decrease legal immigration?	43%	34%
Immigrants bring more costs than benefits?	38%	45%
Immigrants do a good job of assimilating?	-	46%

TABLE 4.2: UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRATION OPINION (2012 ANES)

Variable	Percent Reporting Restrictive Answers
Should there be a path to citizenship?	17%
What should undocumented immigrant policy be?	34%
Support immigration status checks?	49%

In the population at large, these data suggest that opposition to immigration does not stem primarily (or at least largely) from the legal status of immigrants. Most immigration measures included in the ANES have a neutral or moderate response for the mode, save for the question on citizenship, where a sizeable majority (57%) support legalization of at least some undocumented immigrants. This finding is replicated in the 21CAS data. To play devil's advocate, however, this could be part of a broader phenomenon in public opinion, in which people are extraordinarily more likely to support the idea of something in principle than in practice.

For example, an overwhelming majority of people support the idea of programs to address disparities in education outcomes for African Americans, yet when asked questions about specific programs including bussing public school students to schools outside of their normal school district and affirmative action to increase the presence of African Americans at state universities, support is significantly lower (Clawson and Oxley, 2016). In any case, what can be definitively be said is that these data do not support the notion that American opposition to immigration is strictly tied to legal status, although more and better data could change this conclusion.

Regression analyses on immigration issues yields some remarkably surprising results, relative to the normal results in the literature (see Tables 4.3a, 4.3b, and 4.3c). As expected, conservatism, generally speaking, had little effect on immigration opinion, except for in regards to the issue of checks on immigration status. This is in keeping with a long line of research dating back to Converse (1964) arguing that the American people are not primarily motivated by ideology in their political thinking. Additionally, it is far less likely that ideology would have any impact on immigration given the measurement tactic taken in this paper. Separating out the component parts of conservatism will naturally statistically "water down" any effects that self-reporting as conservative would have on immigration opinion. American identity, on the other hand, performs quite well, as predicted in the literature. In four out of the five cases, identity is both statistically significant, and is effective the predicted direction, meeting the prediction that American identity would be a far more powerful predictive variable than would conservatism.

While those variables influence opinion largely in the expected manner, the power of political values on the masses is quite surprising, given the dismissive nature of the discipline's opinions about the public's ability to use abstract political ideas to produce specific opinions. Limited government was statistically significant in two out of five models, although it was associated with restrictive attitudes in both. Moral traditionalism, however, was a very powerful shaper of immigration opinion, being significant and as predicted (negative) in all five models. Belief in a strong national defense was also statistically significant in four models, and negative in all four, as predicted. As shown in the alternate versions of the five models, removing the political values (moral traditionalism, national security, and limited government) increases the significance and effect of ideological self-identification, although not beyond the effect of American identity.

The cultural variables mostly behaved as predicted. Hierarchism/individualism was less important than egalitarianism, generally speaking. Hierarchism/individualism was significant in two of the five models, while egalitarianism was significant in four. Where significant, both variables were effective in the predicted direction. This lends credence to the notion that culture is a separate concept than ideology, or even political values, as these variables behaved in a remarkably consistent manner across all of the models.

TABLE 4.3A: ANES 2012 REGRESSION MODELS (PART 1)

	Level		Citizen	
	(1)	**(1a)**	**(2)**	**(2a)**
Conservatism	0.006	-0.034*	-0.012	-0.040***
	(0.021)	(0.019)	(0.014)	(0.014)
American Identity	-0.084***	-0.105***	0.016	0.013
	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Limited Government	-0.137		-0.268***	
	(0.088)		(0.060)	
Moral Traditionalism	-0.887***		-0.461***	
	(0.160)		(0.111)	
National Security	-0.300**		0.019	
	(0.133)		(0.098)	
Hierarchism	-0.210***	-0.312***	-0.076	-0.118***
	(0.066)	(0.064)	(0.046)	(0.045)
Egalitarianism	0.367**	0.698***	0.604***	0.868***
	(0.181)	(0.170)	(0.133)	(0.126)
Female	-0.062	-0.072*	0.057*	0.058*
	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Age	-0.001	-0.003**	0.001	-0.0002
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Native-Born	-0.118	-0.123	0.040	0.043
	(0.078)	(0.079)	(0.062)	(0.063)
Hispanic	0.360***	0.377***	0.245***	0.267***
	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.047)	(0.047)
White	-0.272***	-0.272***	0.018	-0.005
	(0.059)	(0.058)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Christian	-0.064	-0.051	0.008	0.011
	(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.030)	(0.031)
Education	0.036***	0.038***	0.027***	0.026***
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Republican	0.069	0.079*	-0.099***	-0.096***
	(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Political Knowledge	0.425***	0.434***	0.115	0.074
	(0.117)	(0.117)	(0.078)	(0.080)
Social Trust	0.122***	0.128***	0.079***	0.081***
	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Group Involvement	0.029***	0.027***	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Tea Party	-0.001	-0.003***	-0.002***	-0.004***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	2.839***	2.396***	1.871***	1.639***
	(0.243)	(0.231)	(0.177)	(0.175)
Observations	3,859	3,862	3,895	3,902

Note: *p**p***p<0.01

TABLE 4.3B: ANES 2012 REGRESSION TABLES (PART 2)

	Policy		Checks	
	(3)	**(3a)**	**(4)**	**(4a)**
Conservatism	0.001	-0.026	-0.039***	-0.073***
	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.014)
American Identity	-0.035*	-0.051***	-0.053***	-0.070***
	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Limited Government	-0.096		-0.253***	
	(0.074)		(0.066)	
Moral Traditionalism	-0.586***		-0.506***	
	(0.125)		(0.111)	
National Security	-0.225**		-0.376***	
	(0.113)		(0.086)	
Hierarchism	-0.037	-0.107**	-0.102**	-0.160***
	(0.052)	(0.050)	(0.045)	(0.044)
Egalitarianism	0.674***	0.893***	0.689***	1.003***
	(0.148)	(0.140)	(0.125)	(0.113)
Female	0.120***	0.113***	0.029	0.030
	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Age	0.003**	0.001	-0.0002	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Native-Born	0.083	0.082	-0.090	-0.092
	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.063)	(0.062)
Hispanic	0.396***	0.409***	0.502***	0.522***
	(0.060)	(0.061)	(0.054)	(0.053)
White	-0.085*	-0.087*	-0.178***	-0.199***
	(0.048)	(0.049)	(0.046)	(0.045)
Christian	-0.051	-0.042	0.008	0.018
	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Education	0.017**	0.017**	0.025***	0.026***
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Republican	-0.037	-0.035	-0.016	-0.011
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Political Knowledge	0.107	0.099	0.049	0.053
	(0.094)	(0.094)	(0.080)	(0.079)
Social Trust	0.073***	0.078***	0.056***	0.062***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Social Trust	0.017**	0.017**	0.013*	0.011*
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.007)
Tea Part	-0.003***	-0.005***	-0.005***	-0.007***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	2.287***	2.017***	2.300***	1.909***
	(0.201)	(0.193)	(0.175)	(0.160)
Observations	3,889	3,896	3,890	3,896

Note: *p**p***p<0.01

TABLE 4.3C: ANES 2012 REGRESSION TABLES (PART 3)

	Costs Frame	
	(5)	**(5a)**
Conservatism	0.006	-0.020
	(0.019)	(0.017)
American Identity	-0.103***	-0.122***
	(0.020)	(0.020)
Limited Government	-0.024	
	(0.078)	
Moral Traditionalism	-0.660***	
	(0.144)	
National Security	-0.305***	
	(0.118)	
Hierarchism	-0.077	-0.157***
	(0.057)	(0.055)
Egalitarianism	0.236	0.441***
	(0.166)	(0.155)
Female	0.013	0.002
	(0.039)	(0.039)
Age	0.004***	0.002*
	(0.001)	(0.001)
Native-Born	-0.281***	-0.287***
	(0.079)	(0.078)
Hispanic	0.355***	0.362***
	(0.066)	(0.066)
White	-0.147***	-0.139**
	(0.054)	(0.055)
Christian	-0.015	-0.005
	(0.038)	(0.038)
Education	0.058***	0.060***
	(0.009)	(0.009)
Republican	-0.036	-0.028
	(0.038)	(0.038)
Political Knowledge	0.240**	0.262**
	(0.102)	(0.103)
Social Trust	0.129***	0.135***
	(0.023)	(0.023)
Group Involvement	0.010	0.008
	(0.012)	(0.013)
Tea Party	-0.004***	-0.006***
	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	2.642***	2.318***
	(0.224)	(0.222)
Observations	3,887	3,891

Note: *p **p ***p<0.01

TABLE 4.4: 21CAS REGRESSION TABLES

	Level	Costs Frame	Culture Frame
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Ideology	0.017	-0.004	0.003
	(0.023)	(0.034)	(0.017)
American Identity	-0.042*	-0.116***	-0.042**
	(0.023)	(0.037)	(0.017)
Individualism	0.085**	0.145***	0.034
	(0.035)	(0.051)	(0.024)
Hierarchism	-0.131***	-0.161***	-0.079***
	(0.035)	(0.051)	(0.025)
Egalitarianism	0.110***	0.144***	0.037
	(0.030)	(0.042)	(0.023)
Female	-0.013	0.052	0.102***
	(0.038)	(0.059)	(0.029)
Age	-0.004***	0.0004	-0.002**
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Native-Born	-0.297***	-0.206**	0.168***
	(0.076)	(0.104)	(0.047)
Latino	0.065	0.243**	0.045
	(0.065)	(0.094)	(0.044)
White	-0.102**	0.171**	-0.064*
	(0.051)	(0.073)	(0.034)
Christian	-0.031	-0.109*	-0.073**
	(0.042)	(0.064)	(0.033)
Education	0.035***	0.077***	0.025***
	(0.013)	(0.020)	(0.010)
Income	-0.005	0.007	-0.002
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.004)
Republican	-0.037***	-0.059***	-0.006
	(0.009)	(0.014)	(0.007)
Knowledge	0.068***	0.137***	0.024*
	(0.018)	(0.026)	(0.013)
Social Trust	0.196***	0.264***	0.051*
	(0.039)	(0.060)	(0.029)
Group Involvement	0.003	0.018	0.007
	(0.009)	(0.014)	(0.006)
Constant	2.182***	2.317***	2.668***
	(0.214)	(0.315)	(0.143)
Observations	1,178	1,240	1,279

Note: *p **p ***p<0.01

Compared to the 2012 ANES models, the results for the 21st Century Americanism survey (displayed in Table 4.4) were somewhat more in keeping with the established findings of the literature in the field, likely due to a lack of political principle measures. In all three models, ideological self-identification was insignificant, as predicted in my hypotheses, and as typically seen in the literature. Identifying strongly as an American was significant in all three models, and tends to produce more restrictive attitudes towards immigration. This effect was most strongly demonstrated in the second model, which used a measure of the economic costs frame as a dependent variable. This is in keeping with the theoretical relationship between American identity and immigration opinion, namely, that membership in the American group is seen as having certain benefits, and that allowing newcomers into the group will result in reducing those benefits for existing members. Of the two factors, there can be little doubt that American identity plays a much larger role in determining immigration opinion than ideological self-identification.

The cultural values proved to be significantly important in most of the models, and hierarchism was particularly important. As predicted, individualism and egalitarianism both encouraged more liberalized immigration opinion in both the first and second models, although it was not significant in the third. Hierarchism had a restrictive effect, as predicted, and this effect was significant in all three models.

The control variables all behave in the expected way, and similarly to the results found in the 2012 ANES, with one notable exception. While partisan attachment showed little effect in the 2012 ANES models, partisanship is actually quite important in the 21CAS models, and behaves as one might expect. In the first two models, those

who lean more strongly towards the Republican Party are more likely to hold more restrictive attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policy, although partisanship is insignificant in the third model.

DISCUSSION

First, these results support the existing consensus in the literature that American identity is far more important in explaining immigration opinion than ideological self-identification. Self-identifying as conservative clearly means less in determining immigration opinion than the degree of importance that an individual attaches to being an American. When ideology, matters, however, it matters in a slightly more powerful manner than identity. As shown in Figures 4.1 and 4.2, which displays data from an OLS version of Model four (to account for the fact that survey generalized linear models are MLE models) in which both ideology and identity were significant, an individual responding that being an American is "extremely important" to their identity is predicted to have a response of 2.035, while an individual responding "very conservative" is predicted to have a response of 2.027 on their support for immigration status checks. The minimal scores on those dependent variables, however, yield predicted values of 2.261 ("very liberal") and 2.247 ("not at all important"). While the differences are numerically slight, in the context of a multivariate regression model, these small numerical differences are actually fairly important. The fact that identity is significant so much more often than ideology, however, means that this finding should be taken with a grain of salt.

FIGURE 4.1: INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN IDENTITY ON SUPPORT FOR IMMIGRATION STATUS CHECKS (MODEL 4)

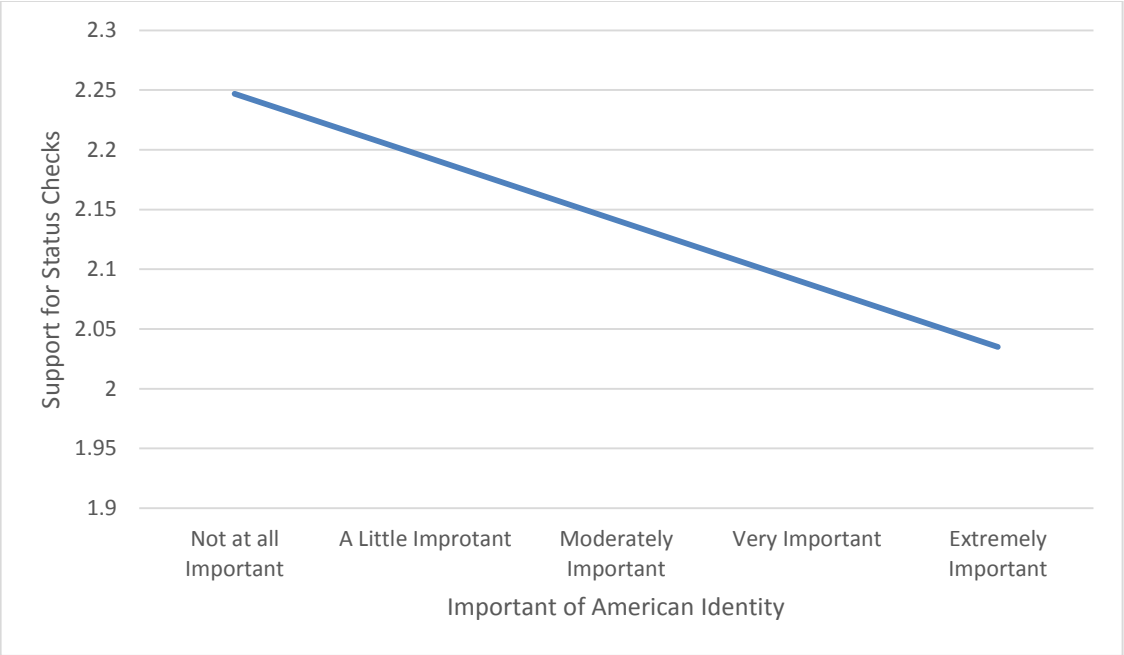
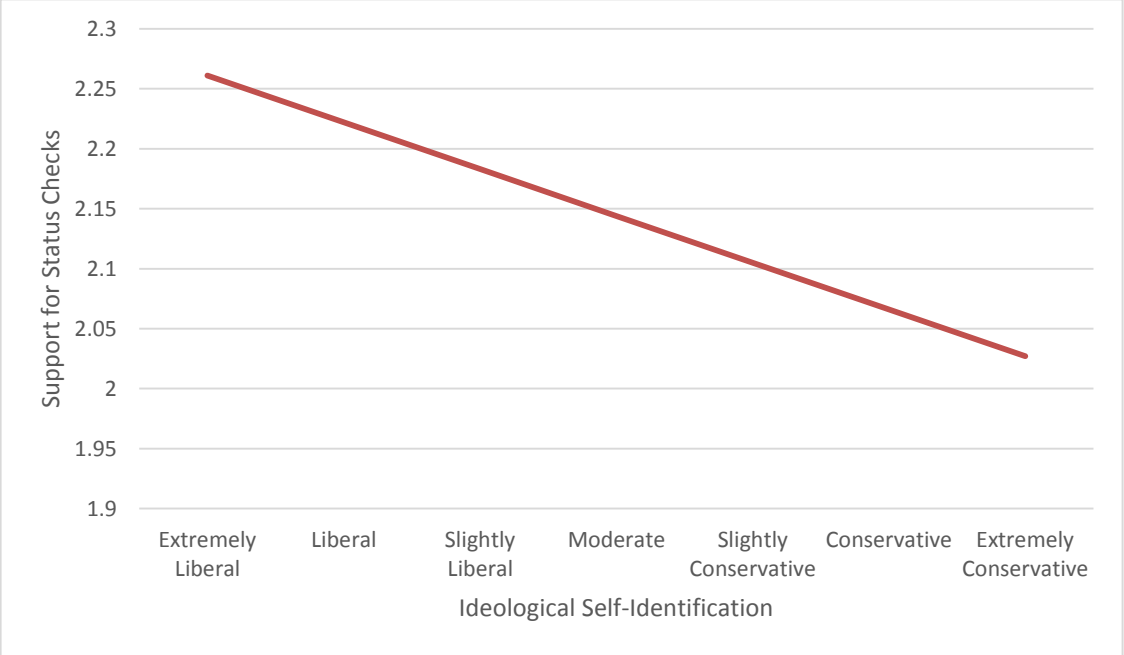


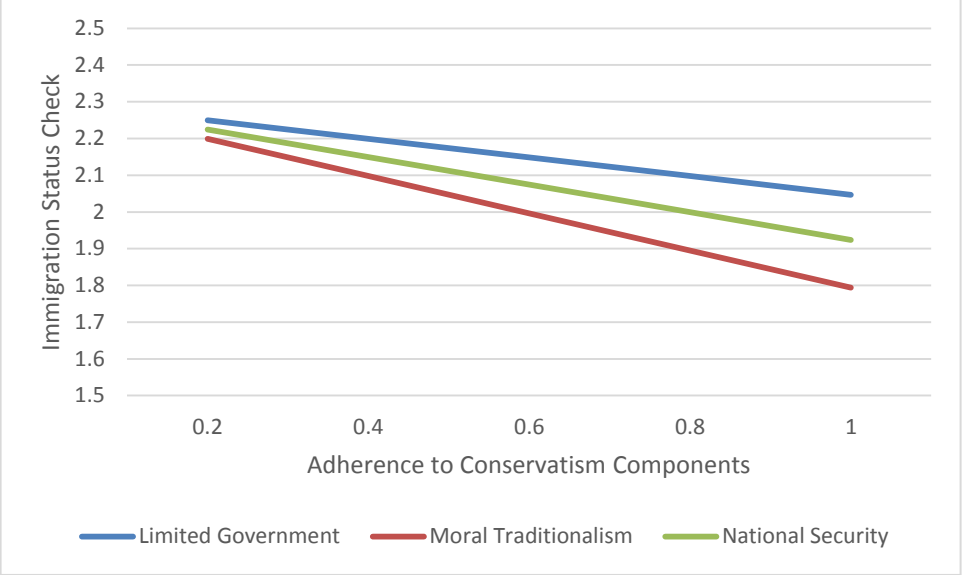
FIGURE 4.2: INFLUENCE OF IDEOLOGY ON SUPPORT FOR IMMIGRATION STATUS CHECKS (MODEL 4)



I argue that these regression models provide some limited support for the historical-political narrative presented in the introduction to explain the change in public opinion on immigration. If it is true that the addition of political motivated evangelical Christians (as exemplified by the rise of the Moral Majority) to the Republican Party's base of more libertarian-leaning, market oriented voters and politicians (i.e. Barry Goldwater) in the 1980s caused the shift in the Republican party towards an anti-immigration position, then we would also likely see that moral traditionalist positions would not only be consistently important and restrictive in their influence, but also significantly more important and restrictive than the influence of beliefs in limited government and strong national defense.

That expectation is supported by the models presented here. Moral traditionalism was significant in all five models, while the other two components of conservatism were significant in two (limited government) and four (national security) models. The effects of those variables also strongly support this assertion. In each of the five models, moral traditionalism had the most sizeable effect on immigration opinion out of any of the components of conservatism. Figure 4.3 shows the effects of those variables from Model 4, which was the only model in which all three components of conservatism were significant. As can be clearly seen, all three decrease the likelihood of supporting more liberalized views on immigration, but the influence of moral traditionalism is by far the most powerful.

FIGURE 4.3: INFLUENCE OF CONSERVATIVE IDEAS ON SUPPORT FOR IMMIGRATION STATUS CHECKS (MODEL 4)



While the models do show that political ideas influence immigration opinion at the mass level more than the literature would expect, there is little support for the idea that conservative ideas can influence immigration opinion in either restrictive or permissive ways. All of the components of conservative ideology, when significant, influence immigration in the stereotypically restrictive way. This is not too surprising, however, especially since only limited government was predicted to have the ability to influence immigration opinion in both directions, and the ability of the masses to think about the multiple aspects of political ideas will be much lower than in the engaged or mass level. Even so, the power of conservative ideas at this level of sophistication is remarkable. The contrarian to these findings may find comfort with Converse' inimitable response to similar findings in work such as Page and Shapiro's (1992). "The quickest 'fix' for a poor signal-to-noise ratio is to aggregate your data" (Converse, 1990). While it is true that aggregation can seem miraculous, it is important to note that

this miracle applies not only to findings we like, but also those we do not like. What is notable about the power of ideas here is not just that they explain opinion in a significant way, but more powerfully than American identity, or even partisanship (a truly surprising finding!). While it would be excellent for the political beliefs to be present in the 21CAS models as well, the lack of data makes corroborating this finding impossible. The ANES, however, is one of the most widely respected sources of survey data on political life in the social sciences, so this finding is fairly solid, barring unforeseen critiques.

The results for the cultural values was mixed. The explanatory power of cultural values in the 2012 ANES was slightly disappointing. It was predicted that culture would be a strongly predictive influence on immigration opinion. While egalitarianism was consistently predictive across the models, being significant in four of the models, hierarchism/individualism was less so, being significant in only two. On the positive side, however, all of the cultural values were influential in the predicted direction, when significant. Additionally, it is not terribly surprising that hierarchism and individualism were less predictive than egalitarianism, as they were derived from questions intended to measure authoritarianism, rather than specifically dedicated to measuring hierarchism or individualism. That, however, is one of the unfortunate casualties of using existing data. Further efforts in the dissertation using original data will not have this weakness.

FIGURE 4.4: INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL VALUES ON SUPPORT FORR INCREASING LEGAL IMMIGRATION (MODEL 6)

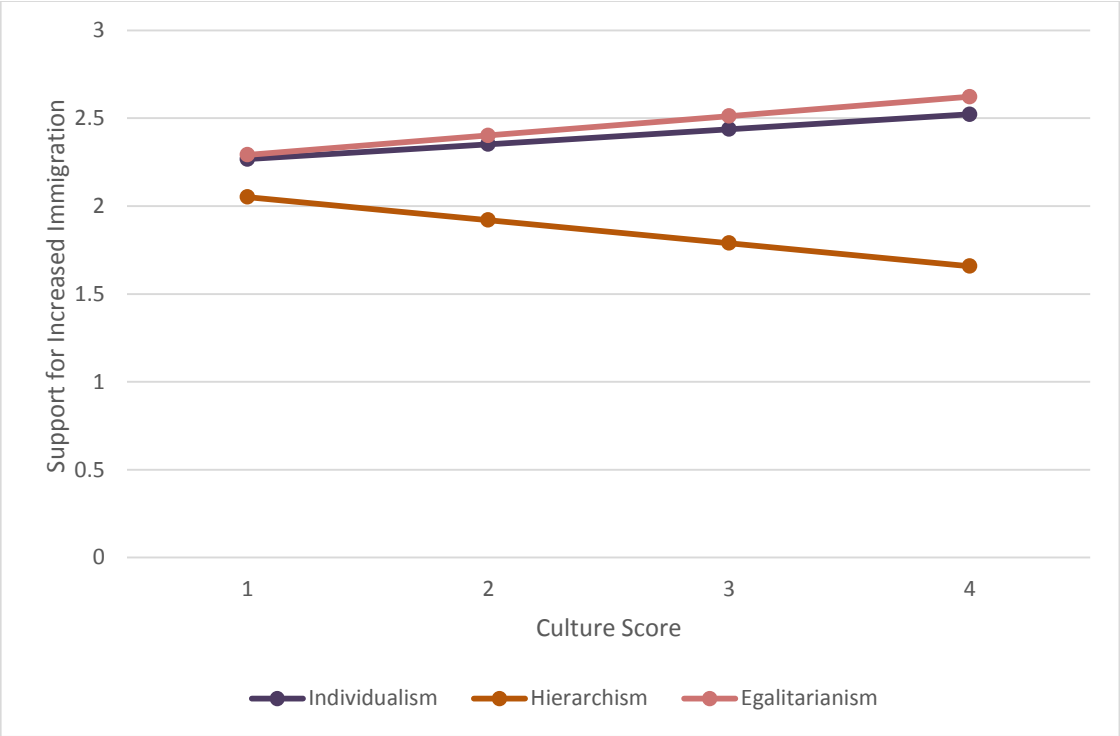
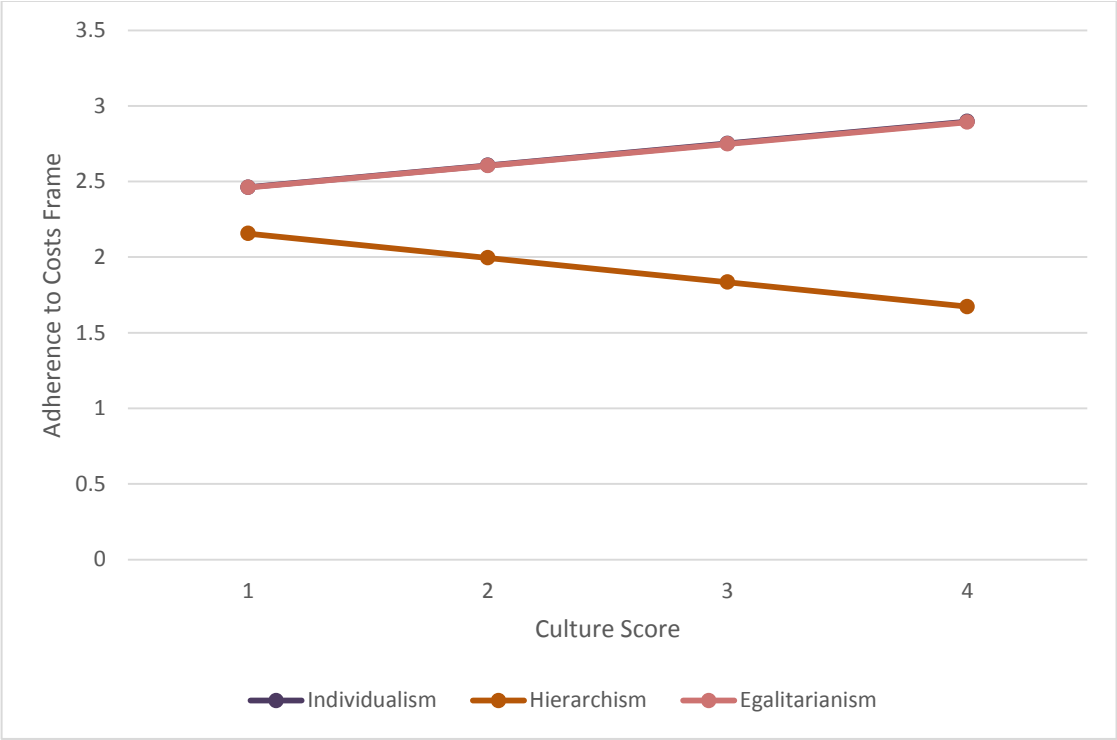


FIGURE 4.5: INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL VALUES ON ADHERENCE TO THE COSTS FRAME (MODEL 7)

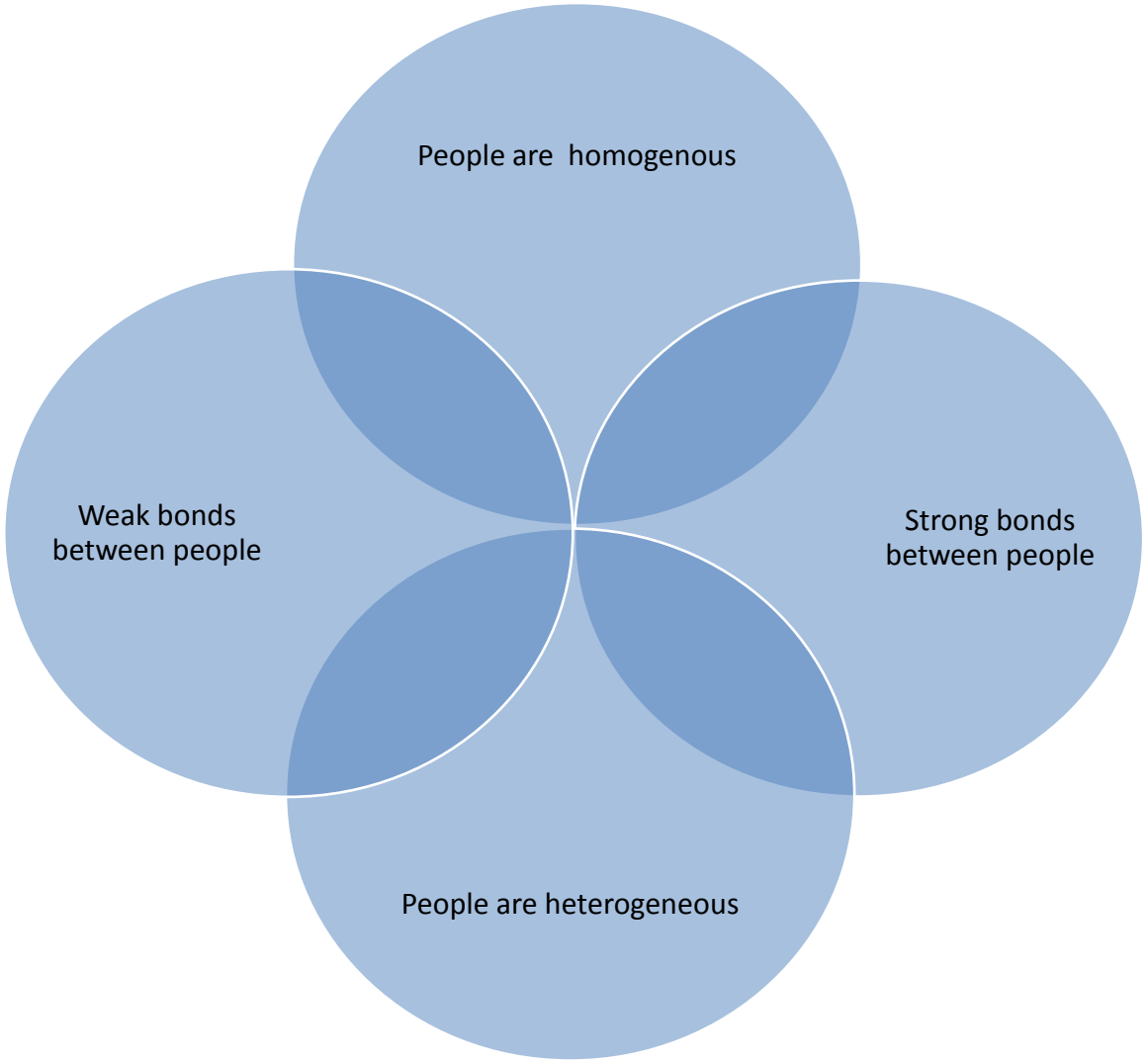


In the 21 CAS models, however, cultural values were quite powerfully and consistently predictive, with hierarchism being significant in all three models, and individualism and egalitarianism being significant in two of three. In all three of the 21CAS models, the cultural values were far more important in explaining immigration opinion than American identity, although it was less important than partisanship. All are effective in the prediction direction, with individualism and egalitarianism having a liberalizing effect on immigration opinion, while hierarchism has a more restrictive effect. Figure 4.4 shows the effects of these variables in Model 1 of the 21CAS models, while Figure 4.5 shows their effects in Model 2. Note that it is difficult to see the difference between individualism and hierarchism in the chart, due to the fact that their

coefficients were nearly identical for this model, as the had very similar coefficients in in Model 1.

This suggests that the critical factor that unites cultures in their acceptance of immigrants is the "grid" aspect, not the "group". Egalitarianism and individualism, according to Wildavsky and Douglass, vary wildly in terms of their acceptance of the reality that individuals ought to share strong bonds with each other by their very nature, with egalitarians holding that they should share these bonds, while individualists feeling that these bonds are unnecessary. On the question of whether or not individuals are strongly different, or mostly the same, however, individualists and egalitarians agree that people are mostly the same, which would have obvious implications for their acceptance of people from diverse cultures, as all share strongly similar human trades, and are largely interchangeable (see Figure 4.6). Further exploration and application of this finding is necessary, but should also be accepted cautiously, for three reasons.

FIGURE 4.6: DIAGRAM OF GRID-GROUP THEORY



First, the 2012 ANES models did not show this relationship as strongly, with cultural values being less important in the ANES models than in the 21CAS models. It is notable that in the alternate models that did not utilize political values, the cultural values took on stronger significance and effects, suggesting that these two concepts overlap a bit, with political values tending to have more influence than cultural ones. Second, the ANES data did not feature any separate measure of individualism, necessitating the use of a continuum which essentially assumed that those who were not

hierarchists were also individualists. While this makes sense conceptually, it is admitted that it would be better to have a separate measure. Third, there is no measures whatsoever for the frequently forgotten fatalists. If the explanatory power of culture lies within the "grid" part of culture, then it would be nice to see if fatalists also opposed immigration, due to their belief in a heterogeneous humanity. As this test is impossible without data, it will have to be saved for another research design, but there is enough presented in my dissertation to warrant further study of this observation.

CHAPTER 5: IMMIGRATION OPINION AMONG THE POLITICALLY ENGAGED

DATA

For this portion of my dissertation, the intent was to sample conservatives who were politically engaged, while also not being elites in the purest sense of the word. The idea was to attempt to measure the effects of culture, values, and ideology at a level more sophisticated than the masses (first empirical chapter), but less sophisticated than professional activists and pundits. In order to accomplish this from a sampling perspective, I needed to obtain data from individuals who were conservatives, and were passionate enough about politics to engage in it through donations or extensive personal time to get informed. Obtaining large numbers of respondents for use in data analysis was challenging, particularly given these stipulations. While the data used in this chapter are far from ideal, they are at least a decent measure of engaged conservative political opinion, and are a good base from which to work for future research in this area.

I used data from two samples, which were combined for analysis for convenience. The first sample was the donors to the Randy Brogdon for Senate Campaign. As mentioned earlier, Randy Brogdon is an Oklahoma politician who was served in several roles in Oklahoma state politics, including as a State Senator, gubernatorial candidate, U.S. Senatorial Candidate, and state party chairman for the Oklahoma Republican Party. Mr. Brogdon is widely regarded as a very conservative candidate and officeholder, and is a favorite of tea party members in Oklahoma (Green,

2015). Responses were obtained by email, and collected through Qualtrics. Eighty-four members of this email list responded to the survey.

The second sample is listeners to the Veritas Radio Network. The Veritas Radio Network is an internet radio network formed in 2015 by Mike Church. As discussed in the research design chapter, Mr. Church was a nationally syndicated traditional broadcast radio conservative talk show host until 2003, when he became the first talk show host hired by satellite radio service Sirius Radio. He continued in that role until 2015 when he departed Sirius to found Veritas Radio Network (Wallace, 2015). Veritas is a subscription-based internet radio network, meaning that only "Founders Pass" members can listen to the network without restrictions. There is a preview hour of each show that people can listen to online for free, but for the most part content is restricted behind a paywall. Paid subscribers can also listen to archived shows using the Veritas Radio Network application on mobile phones, or through the website (Veritas Radio Network, 2017). Data for this sample was collected both through an email, as well as through subsequent mentions of the product live on air. Listeners and email list recipients to the radio show were directed to a Qualtrics collector for data collection, and a total of 117 members of this sample completed the survey.

This data collection approach is far from ideal, for a variety of reasons, but it is defensible. First, combining samples is worse than having a uniform sample, as you are sampling separate target populations, making any sort of generalizability even more challenging than with a purely random sample, or even with a single purposive sample. Unless the samples are theoretically similar in orientation, and mathematically similar in demographics, aggregation makes little sense, other than simply for the purposes of

obtaining a larger dataset (although this is not necessarily a bad goal). Two samples must be substantially similar in order to give face validity to the choice to combine two samples. In the opinion of the author, these samples are, in fact, similar enough to warrant combining them to obtain the substantial utility from doubling the sample size.

Simply saying that they are similar enough in my judgment, however, is fairly weak, so I will give a few points of defense for combining the samples. First, the two datasets clearly meet the qualities that I have outlined. Both require some degree of engagement with political life, and conservative political ideology in particular. Donating money to a political campaign requires an individual to go outside of the normal pattern of life to make a conscious decision to lend support to a political cause in such a way that actually requires sacrifice (of time and financial resources). Similarly, subscribing to an internet radio network requires that an individual invests time (into even discovering that such a thing exists) as well as perhaps money in order to even discover an internet radio network, let al.one sign up for an email list or listen to the station on a regular basis. Further, both Randy Brogdon and the Veritas Radio Network self-identify as advocating for conservative ideas on a regular basis, and it can be safely assumed (and supported with data) that most of the listeners and donors are more conservative and more engaged in political life than the average American.

Part of the trouble with purposive samples, however, is that they rarely are able to generalize well to the more general population to whom they are supposed to represent. For example, if a researcher wanted to know more about the conservative talk radio audience, there are many hosts' audiences who the researcher may want to sample. However, as listeners likely self-select to listen to hosts with whom they agree

(Zaller 1992), one audience's responses, even at a substantial n, cannot serve as a substitute for the conservative talk radio audience writ large. Listeners to Michael Savage will likely be more focused on cultural issues and immigration than listeners to Rush Limbaugh, just to give one example. This trouble is compounded when combining samples, as you not only have to worry about the generalizability of purposive samples, but also demonstrate that the two samples themselves are of similar extraction to warrant combination.

Fortunately, the sources of the two samples are extraordinarily similar. Both Brogdon and the Veritas Radio Network espouse very similar sets of political opinions, even within the big tent of conservatism. Both are supporters of states' rights, actively dismissing federal solutions to public problems, as well as supporting a common set of state-oriented solutions to those problems. The overlap between the two organizations also exists in personnel. One of the campaign managers for Brogdon's U.S. Senate Campaign is a radio host on the Veritas Radio Network. There are, thus, qualitative reasons to believe that combining the samples makes sense.

FIGURE 5.1: COMPARISON OF GENDER OF RESPONDENTS

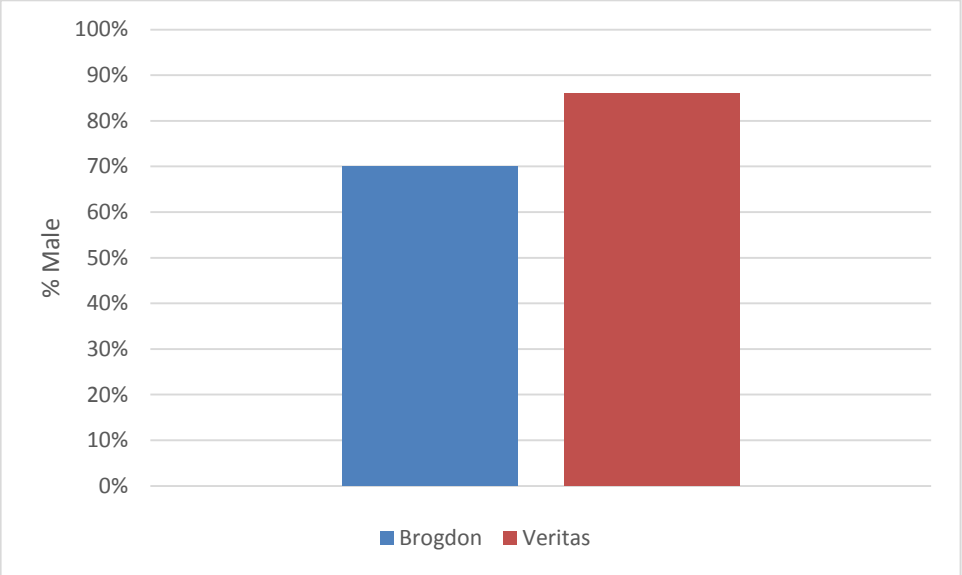


FIGURE 5.2: COMPARISON OF AGE OF RESPONDENTS

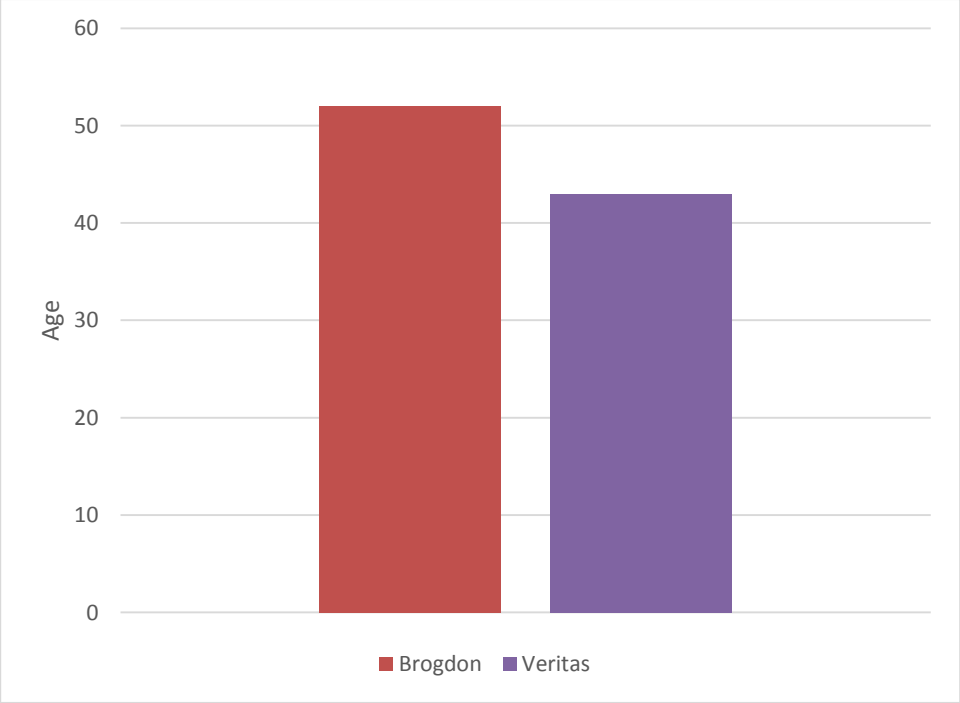


FIGURE 5.3: COMPARISON OF REPORTED INCOME OF RESPONDENTS

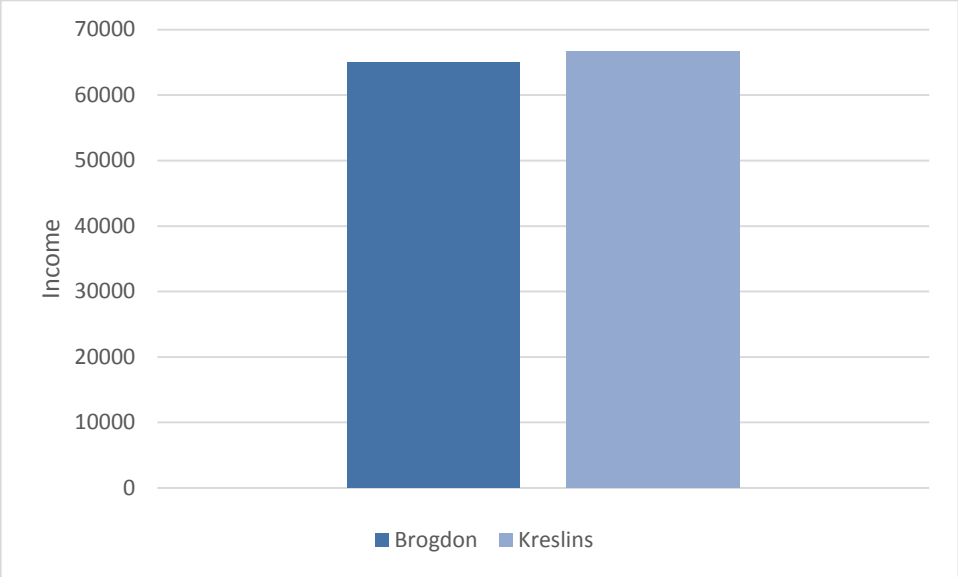
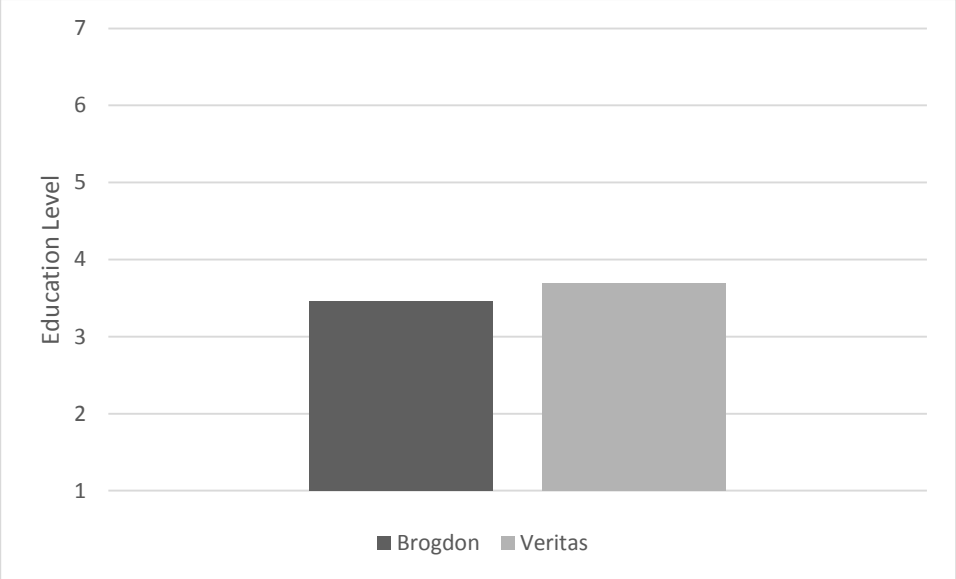


FIGURE 5.4: COMPARISON OF EDUCATION LEVEL OF RESPONDENTS



(1=did not finish high; 2=high school graduate; 3=Associate degree; 4=Bachelor's Degree; 5=Master's Degree; 6=Professional Degree; 7=Doctorate)

FIGURE 5.5: COMPARISON OF PARTISAN LEANING OF RESPONDENTS

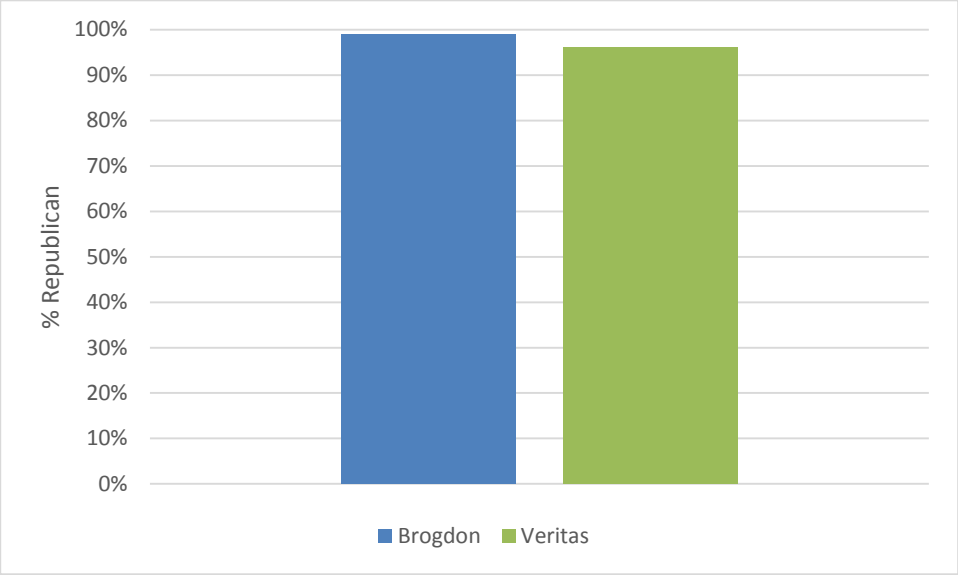
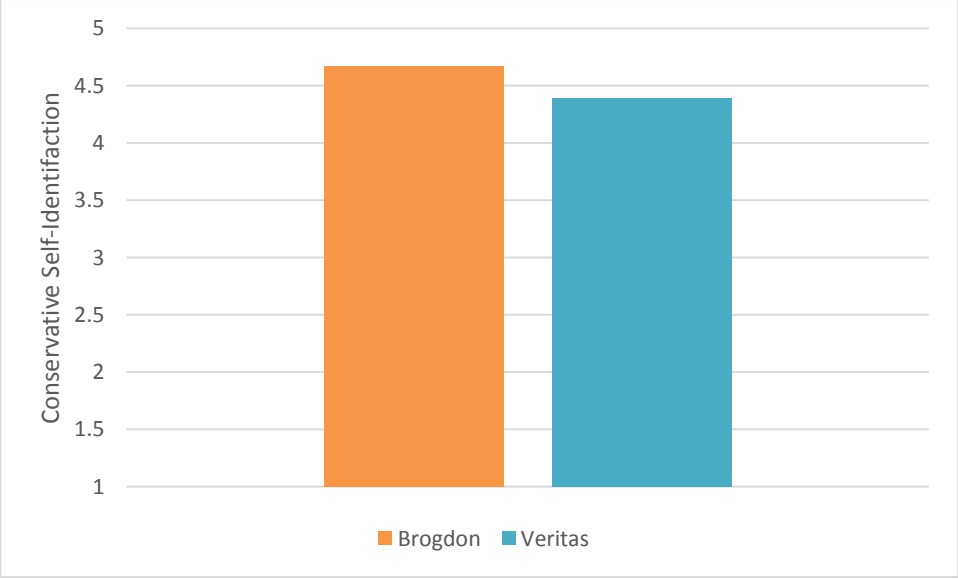


FIGURE 5.6: COMPARISON OF IDEOLOGY OF RESPONDENTS



(1=very liberal, 5=very conservative)

The similarities between the two samples also extend farther than surface level qualitative comparison. Descriptive statistics of the two samples demonstrate that respondents from the two samples report mathematically similar responses to a wide

variety of questions, in addition to coming from very similar sources. Figures 5.1 through 5.6 displays the average means on a variety of demographic and opinion responses from the engaged level survey. The biggest differences between the two samples are displayed in Figures 5.1 and 5.2. Seventy percent of those who responded to the survey as part of the Brogdon sample were male, while a remarkable eight-six percent who responded to the survey were from the Veritas sample. The Brogdon sample was also significantly older, with the average respondent at 52 years old, while the average respondent from the Veritas sample was 43. Other demographic information, however, was more similar between the two groups. Both groups had roughly identical income (average of slightly over 65000), and education levels were similar as well (average education of above an associate degree, but below a bachelor's degree). All demographic information being considered, the groups appear similar enough to warrant a cautious combination of samples.

The opinion-based measures strongly support the notion that the two samples accurately capture the type of respondent desired for this project. The respondents in both samples overwhelmingly leaned towards the Republican Party, with 99% of Brogdon respondents and 96% of Veritas respondents. They also self-reported a high degree of identifying as a conservative, with both samples reporting average responses of above 4.0 (somewhat conservative). The Brogdon sample was slightly more conservative than the Veritas sample, but only by less than 10%. This presents a clear picture that both samples are capturing the types of respondents in which I am interested for the purposes of this project. Both groups are very conservative, and overwhelmingly leaned towards the Republican Party. Additionally, both meet the criteria of politically

engaged, for the reasons listed above. While the sampling techniques used for the paper are far from ideal, they do represent an important first step on the road to having a more accurate picture of what this group believes about immigration, and why.

METHODS

This chapter of my dissertation uses OLS regression for analyses on the data I described earlier. OLS regression is an appropriate methodological choice for this chapter due to the measurement of the dependent variables, which I will discuss in a subsequent section on measurement. All of the dependent variables are measured at the ordinal level, making OLS an excellent tool for models explaining these variables. Unlike the previous chapter, the data for this sample are not weighted, as there is no comparison group to which to correct for sampling errors, so no specialized regression for use with weighted data will be necessary.

Eight OLS models were run for this chapter, allowing for analyses of a wide range of opinions on immigration among conservatives. These include general opinions on immigration, as well as more specific opinions on undocumented immigration, cultural issues associated with immigration, and a unique measure intended to capture the frame through which an individual looks at immigration as a political issue. The models were run using R, and regression tables were produced using the stargazer package (Hlavac, 2015).

MEASUREMENT[3]

The dependent variables, as stated above, cover a wide range of immigration focused questions. The first general dependent variable is a standard question asking about an individual's opinion on legal immigration levels. The question asks whether legal immigration should be increased, decreased, or remain the same. This variable is referred to in the models as "level". The second general variable asks about support for a policy similar to the DREAM Act, in which undocumented immigrants currently in the U.S. who meet certain requirements, including getting a college degree, serving in the military, and having good moral character, would be allowed to be legalized and eventually granted permanent residence in the U.S. This variable is referred to as "dream". The third general dependent variable is a question intended to measure an individual's attitude towards policy towards undocumented immigration in the U.S. This question asks about the appropriate policy response for undocumented immigrants, and has options ranging from universal deportation to amnesty without penalties. This variable is referred to as "policy" in the models. The final general dependent variable asks about an individual's opinion regarding state and local laws requiring law enforcement to verify an individual's immigration status if there is a reasonable suspicion that they may be an undocumented immigrant (similar to Arizona SB 1070). This variable is referred to as "checks". All of these general questions were taken verbatim from the GSS, ANES, or 21st Century Americanism Survey, and were coded so that the most liberalized response was the highest numerically.

[3] A full list of all measures used in this chapter are included in Appendix C

The four remaining dependent variables were intended to measure the immigration frame concept discussed in the theory section of my dissertation. These variables were taken from one question, a novel one of my own creation. As the measurement is a novel one, a more detailed description of the choices in this section is merited. This question asked the respondent to rank five descriptions of immigrants in the U.S. in order of which they found most accurate. Ranking one description as a five would indicate that the individual finds that description most accurate, while a ranking of one would indicate that the individual finds that description as least accurate. These five statements are (1) immigrants fill many jobs that Americans will not do, (2) immigration costs America more than it benefits America, (3) the federal government has no right to tell people, no matter where they come from, if they can live in America, (4) unsecured borders and the immigrants who come through them greatly increase the danger of terrorist attacks on the U.S., and (5) the current generation of immigrants has not assimilated to American culture as quickly as past generations.

While this question asked about five frames, one was excluded for the purposes of data analysis. The excluded frame was the third, intended to measure a human rights frame. This was a legacy measure from an older iteration of the project, but after careful thought I decided to remove it because in my experience, you very rarely hear this frame from people on the right, and if it is rarely heard then it is better to remove the frame for simplicity's sake.

This sense I had was backed up by the data, where 88 of the 178 respondents (49%) chose this as the least accurate frame, and 109 out of 178 (62%) selected it as the least accurate, or second to least accurate. The 40 people (22%) selecting it as the most

accurate frame was also likely inflated due to the uniquely states' rights-oriented samples described above. As such, any measures on this concept are likely not going to measure well due to the mentioning of the federal government in the question. To correct for this, all these answers were removed from the data set for analysis, and other answers were lowered or remained the same in numerical value to account for this removal. For example, if an individual rated this frame as a one, then all other frames were reduced by one, so that a response of five would then equal four, and a response of three would then equal two. If an individual rated this frame as a three, then answers of one or two were left alone, while answers of four and five were changed to three and four, respectively.

This measure is an important and accurate measure for two reasons. First, the question clearly lays out some of the most common immigration frames in the public discourse. Having all of these frames as choices is important in accurately assessing the way that these individuals select from a variety of posed frames for the issue. Second, the question not only asks individuals to assess the validity of each statement, but also asks the individual to compare that validity to the other frames. It is a valid approach to ask individuals to rate each question, but it is an interesting exercise to ask them to compare those statements to others in terms of accuracy. If each of those statements was asked in separate questions, then you may get an individual rating three or four at the maximum value. This approach forces an individual to pick one which resonates most with him/her, enabling a more accurate measure of the frame through which the respondent looks at immigration as an issue.

The measurement of the independent variables was generally non-controversial, with most being taken from the GSS, ANES, and 21st Century Americanism surveys. The measure for American identity was taken from a question about how important it is that true Americans think themselves as Americans, with answers ranging from very unimportant to very important. The measure for conservatism was a standard self-identification question with answers ranging from very liberal to very conservative. The measures for cultural values were taken from a paper by Jenkins-Smith and Herron (2009), and were averaged out into scales in a manner similar to the previous chapter. All answers were coded so that adherence to the value was numerically highest, and then responses were averaged to indicate the degree to which each individual adhered to that culture. Values for egalitarianism and individualism were again combined into one measure, this time by subtracting an individual's egalitarianism score from their individualism score. Negative scores, thus, represented strongly egalitarian leanings, while positive scores represented individualist tendencies.

Control variables were also non-controversial, with one exception. Measures for income, education, race, and religion were included in the models, with a few others (see models and Appendix B for complete listing). All question wordings for control variables were taken from standard GSS or ANES questions. Due to the relatively low number of respondents, as well as to the incredibly non-varying nature of the respondents, partisanship was excluded from the model. As 99% of the Brogdon donors and 96% of the Veritas respondents leaned towards the Republican Party, the inclusion of partisan leaning in the models was doing more statistical harm than good. A variable that does not vary is unimportant in modeling, and when dealing with a dataset that has

a relatively low number of respondents, simplicity in modeling is more important than a huge number of variables. To decrease complexity, this variable was excluded.

RESULTS

The results for this chapter were significantly more limited than for the mass level chapter due to low number of respondents. Despite these obstacles, however, certain trends did show themselves across a number of the models, and the engaged level data does show significant differences to the mass level data. All of the models are displayed in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 above. Table 5.1 displays the more general models dealing with immigration opinion, while Table 5.2 displays the models explaining choice of immigration frame.

It is clear that self-identification as a conservative mattered much more for politically engaged people than did American identity, although this finding needs to be qualified due to the unusual measure of American identity. Identity was significant in zero of the models, while conservative self-identification was significant in four of the eight models. Conservatism, however, was significant in three of the eight models. Interestingly, self-identifying as a conservative did not in any case influence opinion in the stereotypical direction. Stronger adherents to conservatism were less likely to think that immigrants were not assimilating to American culture fast enough (Model 8), more likely to think that immigrants were filling many jobs Americans will not do (Model 7), as well as less likely to support immigration status checks by local police (Model 4). This certainly casts doubt on the stereotypical depiction of conservative thought.

Conservative values were predictive with regards to the general opinion issues, but had less effect on immigration frame choice. Limited government's effect on opinion was particularly notable, as it had a very different, although intuitive effect than that predicted by the conservative stereotype. Strong adherents to limited government were more likely to oppose the Dream Act (Model 2), as well as tended to make an individual's opinions towards immigration policy towards undocumented immigrants more restrictive (Model 3). It did, however, correlate with greater opposition to immigration status checks by police (Model 4). As bills like Arizona's SB 1070 are intended to reduce the limits on policing in regards to immigration, this finding suggests a fairly high level of ideological sophistication among this sample. It is notable that in the theory and hypotheses section of my dissertation, I predicted that of all of the three conservative values, adherence to limited government would be the most likely to exert a liberalizing effect on immigration opinion, and these data support that hypothesis.

TABLE 5.1: GENERAL IMMIGRATION OPINION OLS REGRESSION MODELS

	Level (1)	Dream (2)	Policy (3)	Checks (4)
American Identity	-0.032	0.081	-0.155	-0.065
	(0.105)	(0.154)	(0.170)	(0.098)
Conservative	-0.094	-0.008	-0.071	0.141**
	(0.066)	(0.097)	(0.108)	(0.062)
Egalitarianism	0.154*	0.155	0.121	-0.236***
	(0.080)	(0.118)	(0.132)	(0.075)
Hierarchism/Individualism	-0.136**	-0.182*	-0.250**	0.118*
	(0.065)	(0.095)	(0.104)	(0.061)
Limited Government	-0.371	-0.740**	-0.678**	0.367*
	(0.242)	(0.305)	(0.310)	(0.195)
Moral Traditionalism	-0.083	-0.221*	-0.103	0.097
	(0.087)	(0.128)	(0.141)	(0.082)
National Security	-0.079	0.053	0.028	-0.018
	(0.071)	(0.104)	(0.115)	(0.067)
Age	-0.038	0.011	-0.058	0.048
	(0.035)	(0.051)	(0.056)	(0.033)
U.S. Born	-0.058	-0.216	-0.126	0.254
	(0.203)	(0.302)	(0.331)	(0.193)
Latino	0.194	-0.002	-0.129	0.050
	(0.236)	(0.330)	(0.359)	(0.211)
White	0.008	0.373*	-0.186	0.124
	(0.143)	(0.209)	(0.226)	(0.134)
Christian	-0.028	0.108	0.280*	0.031
	(0.096)	(0.139)	(0.152)	(0.089)
Education	0.094***	0.054	0.100*	-0.0003
	(0.033)	(0.049)	(0.054)	(0.031)
Income	-0.001	-0.032	-0.022	0.005
	(0.030)	(0.044)	(0.049)	(0.028)
Political Knowledge	0.177	-0.542	-0.072	-0.025
	(0.254)	(0.374)	(0.410)	(0.239)
Constant	3.577***	5.500***	5.876***	0.003
	(0.954)	(1.273)	(1.247)	(0.814)
Observations	175	178	176	178

Note: *p **p ***p<0.01

TABLE 5.2: IMMIGRATION FRAME OPINION OLS REGRESSION MODELS

	Costs (5)	Terror (6)	Efficient (7)	Culture (8)
American Identity	-0.026	-0.109	0.194	-0.219
	(0.185)	(0.229)	(0.225)	(0.200)
Conservative	0.028	0.038	0.302**	-0.512***
	(0.117)	(0.145)	(0.143)	(0.126)
Egalitarianism	-0.156	-0.098	0.166	0.115
	(0.141)	(0.175)	(0.172)	(0.152)
Hierarchism/Individualism	0.157	-0.035	0.154	-0.320***
	(0.111)	(0.138)	(0.136)	(0.120)
Limited Government	-0.198	0.230	-0.327	0.478
	(0.338)	(0.419)	(0.412)	(0.365)
Moral Traditionalism	0.051	-0.179	0.067	0.104
	(0.154)	(0.192)	(0.188)	(0.167)
National Security	0.132	0.306*	-0.476***	0.008
	(0.127)	(0.157)	(0.155)	(0.137)
Age	0.075	-0.040	-0.095	0.046
	(0.062)	(0.077)	(0.076)	(0.067)
U.S. Born	0.349	0.139	0.218	-0.704*
	(0.383)	(0.474)	(0.467)	(0.413)
Latino	0.428	-0.588	-0.291	0.272
	(0.393)	(0.487)	(0.479)	(0.424)
White	0.181	-0.118	0.072	-0.234
	(0.249)	(0.309)	(0.304)	(0.269)
Christian	-0.120	0.183	-0.334*	0.288
	(0.165)	(0.205)	(0.202)	(0.179)
Education	0.027	0.057	-0.067	0.013
	(0.059)	(0.073)	(0.072)	(0.064)
Income	-0.034	-0.068	0.017	0.081
	(0.053)	(0.065)	(0.064)	(0.057)
Political Knowledge	0.059	-0.661	-0.018	0.540
	(0.464)	(0.575)	(0.566)	(0.501)
Constant	1.678	2.354	3.141*	3.199**
	(1.363)	(1.689)	(1.662)	(1.472)
Observations	176	176	176	176

Note: *p **p ***p<0.01

The results for the other two values, however, do not fit with theory as well as the results for limited government. Moral traditionalism's effect on immigration opinion was surprisingly limited. Traditionalism was significant in one model, correlating with lower support for the DREAM Act (Model 2). National security's effect on general immigration opinion was nonexistent, but had a strong effect on two of the immigration frames. Strong adherents to national security were more likely to select the terror frame as their most accurate description of immigration as an issue (Model 5). In addition, believers in a strong national defense were also less likely to support the idea that immigrants were taking jobs that Americans would not do, which requires future theorizing.

Cultural theory received mixed support in the models. Egalitarians were more likely to support increased levels of immigration (Model 1), but also more likely to support immigration status checks, contrary to my hypotheses (Model 4). Egalitarianism had no effect on selection of immigration frame. The theory presented earlier predicted correctly that hierarchists were more likely to support lower immigration levels (Model 1), the DREAM Act (Model 2), and more restrictive policy options for undocumented immigrants (Model 3). It was incorrect, however, in that hierarchists were less likely to select the culture frame (Model 8), and less likely to support immigration status checks (Model 4). On the whole, however, hierarchism was regularly significant, but with two missed predictions, suggesting the need for new theorizing in this area.

DISCUSSION

When considering the evidence for the three theories (cultural theory, symbolic threat theory, and values theory), it can safely be said that the evidence presented here suggests that the values based theory is most applicable for the engaged level, at least regarding more general immigration opinion. Identity lacked any explanatory power whatsoever in either general opinion or immigration frame. Cultural theory was regularly significant, but also frequently significant in the opposite of the hypothesized direction. Limited government and conservatism, however, proved to be impressively predictive across a wide range of models. Moreover, the evidence presented here suggests that the effect of conservative values can actually influence opinion on immigration in either a positive or negative direction, supporting the notion that the pluralistic ideology of conservativism has far more complex relationships with opinion than the simple stereotype that conservatism is synonymous with a desire to restrict immigration. The evidence was much less clear for explaining choice of immigration frame, however, as only conservatism, hierarchism, and national security had any impact on choice of frame. These data suggest a much more nuanced and complex version of conservative ideology than at the mass level, which in turn suggests more independent thought and less direct cue taking from elites. For example, in Models 1 and 2, support for limited government was strongly associated with more restrictive opinions on immigration, which makes intuitive sense. Both the DREAM Act and undocumented immigration policy could easily be seen as new ways for people who do not deserve government services to obtain them. However, limited government was also associated with reduced support for immigration status checks by local police, another intuitive outcome. Reducing the limits on local police' ability to obtain information

about suspects should theoretically be troubling to supporters of limited government, and these data support that hypothesis.

FIGURE 5.7: INFLUENCE OF LIMITED GOVERNMENT ON SUPPORT FOR DREAM ACT

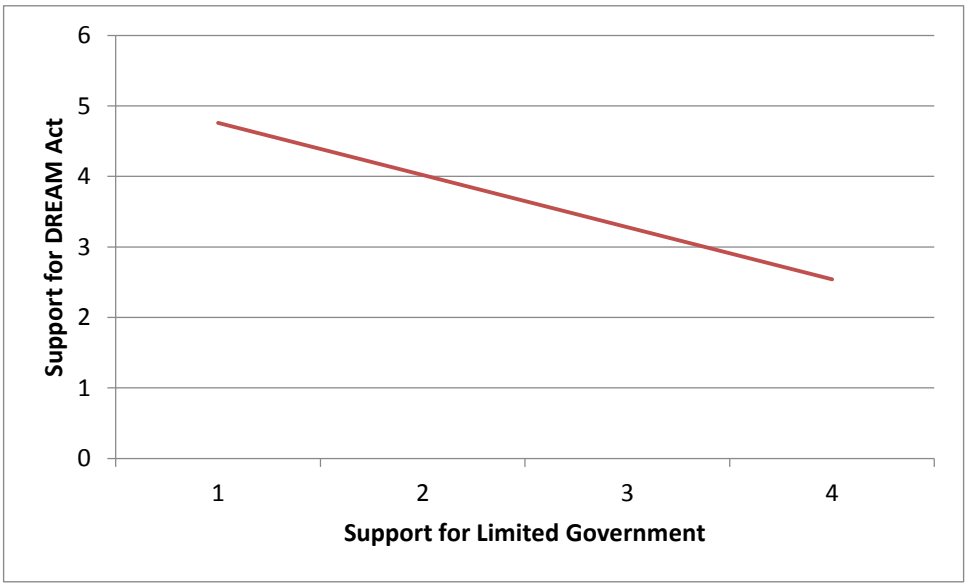


FIGURE 5.8 INFLUENCE OF LIMITED GOVERNMENT ON UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRATION POLICY (MODEL 3)

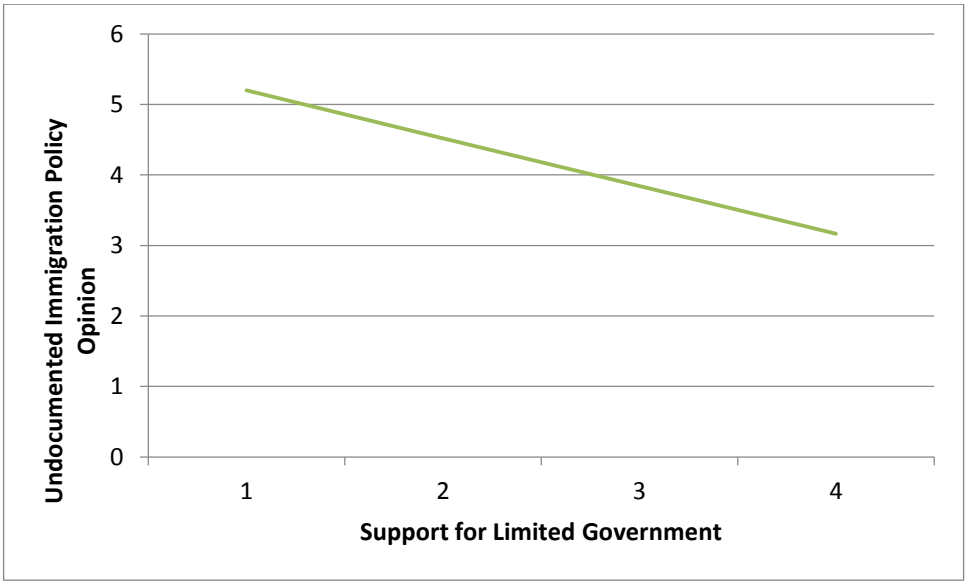
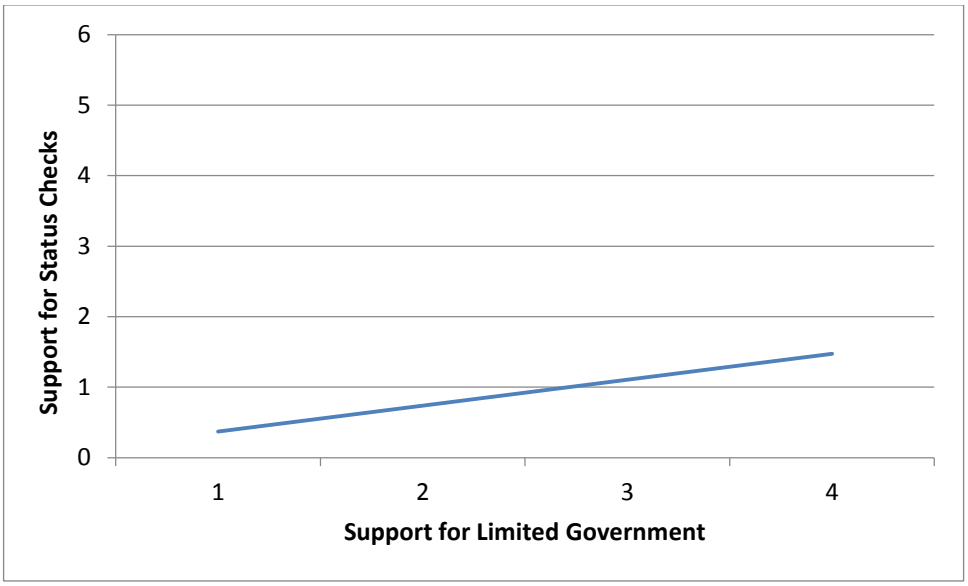


FIGURE 5.9: INFLUENCE OF LIMITED GOVERNMENT ON SUPPORT FOR IMMIGRATION STATUS CHECKS (MODEL 4)



Note: Higher values in Y axis suggest more liberalized opinions in Figures 5.7, 5.8, and 5.9

Simply looking at the significance of these variables, however, only shows half of the picture. As shown in Figures 5.7, 5.8, and 5.9, limited government also had a substantial effect on immigration opinion. In Model 2, the difference between the lowest and highest responses for limited government is -2.22, or a change from strongly agreeing that the DREAM Act is good policy to somewhat disagreeing. In Model 3, the difference between lowest and highest responses for limited government is -2.034. Strong support for limited government was capable of changing support for unconditional amnesty down to supporting only temporary guest worker programs. Model 4 showed the liberalizing effect of limited government, but it was about half as effective compared to the other two examples. The difference between minimum and maximum scores on limited government was 1.101, which would translate to a change from strongly agreeing that immigration status checks are a good idea to somewhat

agreeing that they are a good idea. Limited government, thus, was both significantly and powerfully predictive as a political value, in addition to showing the capacity to influence immigration opinion in multiple directions.

Conservative self-ID also had the complete opposite effect that the stereotype of conservative thought would suggest. Conservatives were much less likely to agree that the cultural frame was accurate (Model 8), much more likely to agree that immigrants were filling jobs that Americans will not do (Model 7), and much more likely to oppose immigration status checks if immigration status is in question (Model 4). These results certainly lend credence to the notion that conservatism as an ideology is very complex, and that simple binary relationships between conservative self-identification and immigration opinion do not exist.

The effect of culture on the engaged population was mixed, compared to the predictions made. Hierarchism/individualism had a strong and consistent effect, but its effect was not always as predicted. Hierarchists were generally more likely to support restrictive immigration opinions, and to choose restrictive frames, with the exception of having more liberalized opinions on the question of immigration status checks, and being less likely to select the cultural frame. Egalitarianism, however, had no effect on choice of frame at all, and showed mixed results on opinion. Out of two significant results, only one fit the predictions. Culture, thus, may have a reduced impact on the engaged group. It is also possible that the measurement and sampling issues discussed below may have caused some of this issue.

While this project represents a significant improvement on our knowledge of engaged conservative opinion, there are weaknesses that need to be addressed in future work. First, and most importantly, the next sample needs to be larger, and from one source, or perhaps feature separate analysis on a few different samples for comparison's sake. Seeing as the engaged conservative public is a relatively new target population, and given the lack of resources with which to conduct sampling and recruitment, the sampling choices in this chapter are defensible, but far from perfect. Purposive samples generally lack external validity, but this choice of sampling reduces that external validity even further. Additionally, the number of observations for the model are in excess of what is *necessary* for doing regression analyses, but still low enough that other variables that may have been on the cusp of significance were underrepresented due to low *n.* The findings of this chapter thus, represent an interesting set of findings to guide further research, not an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

In addition to the sampling, there are several measurement issues that need to be redressed in future iterations of the project. First, the American identity measure was admittedly subpar, and needs improvement to be up to par with the standard measures in the field. It is very possible that with a better measure of identity, identity will have more explanatory power. Second, the immigration frame question will likely need improvement. While it is possible that the measure would work better with a bigger *n*, to have that few number of statistically significant independent variables on a cornerstone of the project was disappointing. It could also be, however, that perhaps immigration frame selection is not as much a matter of conscious choice, and is simply more random for members of the engaged group. Improvements in measurement in

future iterations of the project will help to clarify these questions and lend improvement to our understanding of the concept and the causal factors with which it is associated.

CHAPTER 6: ELITE CONSERVATISM AND IMMIGRATION OPINION

INTRODUCTION

Of the three groups analyzed in my dissertation, I hypothesized that the elite level will be the most unique, and operate at the level closest to Converse' standard of constrained ideological thinking. It stands to reason that the practical obstacles to becoming well informed that exist at the mass and engaged levels will not exist for elites, or at least be far less important. It may be true that there exists little incentive for the masses to become informed, and that little incentive but natural inclination exists for the engaged to become informed, but political elites theoretically are both naturally inclined and economically incentivized to become well informed about politics, and to have sensible political opinions.

What, after all, is gained by the masses in becoming informed? There is little financial incentive in obtaining information, and there is little chance that even by becoming informed that their actions can alter policy outcomes, particularly at the national level. Further, by not joining the engaged group by donating money to a political cause, joining a political organization, or engaging with a political organization regularly, the masses show a lack of natural inclination towards becoming informed simply for psychological benefits. The politically engaged similarly have little financial or practical incentive in becoming involved in politics, but appear to have some natural inclination towards being interested, explaining their involvement.

In contrast, political elites have all three of the trinity of incentives to become involved. A large portion of political elites are presumably self-selected into the field

due to natural ability or inclination towards political affairs. Many elites can earn a comfortable living engaging with politics. Further, their work certainly has a greater likelihood of influencing the policy process and policy outcomes than those at the engaged and mass levels. As such, the incentives all line up for elites to be well informed about politics and more closely resembling Converse' ideal of having constrained ideological thinking. Elite opinion, it is hypothesized, will be far more consistent with ideological values than members of the mass and engaged groups. Additionally, it is hypothesized that elites will be the most cognizant of the values underlying conservatism, and will show the most variation in opinion based on their expression of those values.

These, however, are hypotheses that must be tested with data. While these arguments appear to have a certain face validity, and are certainly supported by Converse' earlier research, little work has been done specifically focusing on the nature of conservative ideology and its influence on opinion among political elites who self-identify as conservative. This chapter of my dissertation attempts to rectify this shortcoming in the literature, as well as highlight differences between the mass and engaged levels discussed in the previous two chapters.

DATA & METHODS

Data for this chapter was taken from eleven interviews conducted with self-identifying conservative elites. In order to qualify for the interview, a candidate had to meet three qualifications:

1. The individual had to self-identify as a conservative.

2. The individual has to work, or at some point have worked, professionally in a role as a political activist, commentator, or elected or appointed official.
3. The individual had to have made some sort of public comments or engagement on immigration as an issue.

The sampling began by asking Alex Nowrasteh, immigration policy analyst at the Cato Institute, for a list of people who he felt fit these three categories. From there, I attempted to contact each person on the list for an interview, with varying degrees of success. I included a final question on the interview guide (see Appendix D) which was essentially a snowball sampling question, and obtained several interviews via this use of question. All interviewees agreed to be quoted by name for the purposes of the project, and informed consent was specifically gathered from each individual.

I completed eleven total interviews for this chapter of the dissertation, featuring a range of elected officials, professional pundits, political activists, and think tank members. Appendix F contains brief biographies of each interviewee, briefly discussing their professional status and history of advocacy. Additionally, opinions on the issue of immigration varied widely, with two of the interviewees holding what I classified as liberalized opinions on immigration, six holding restrictive opinions, and three having more moderate or moderate opinions. Interviews were conducted by phone, and typically lasted about a half hour, although one interview was very short at fifteen minutes, and two lasted longer than an hour. Interviews were recorded via Automatic Call Recorder Pro, an Android application which can record phone calls. The calls were then transferred to my computer, where they were transcribed and coded.

Coding was conducted using a rubric (see Appendix E), but certain exceptions were made to the rubric when it was clear to the coder that a certain value or frame was being discussed. Interviews were read several times through before coding to assure that all coding was done in the context with which the interviewee intended. Coding was performed by adding a single tally for each separate mention of a value or frame, although extra tallies were occasionally given for extended discussions of a value or frame, assuming that these extended discussions inferred greater importance to the interviewee. A mere mention of the value or frame, however, was not sufficient to warrant a code. For example, some interviewees mentioned ideas derisively, or in a mocking manner, or to establish an argument against which to argue against. In those cases, these mentions were not included as evidence of agreement with the frame or value, but those judgments had to be made on an individual basis. Most of the time this was a simpler process than might be expected. For example, in Zmirak's interview, he responded to a question about economic benefits from immigration by saying:

> *"Well the Catholic Church benefits from it, because according to a Pew study, 40% of native-born American Catholics leave the church and never return…If it were not for a constant influx of immigrants from Latin America, the Catholic Church would be shrinking almost as quickly as the Episcopal Church. The Bishops would be losing influence, their flocks would be shrinking, and their failure to pass along the Catholic faith to their own flock would be made glaringly obvious. But because they have this human subsidy from Latin America, where the church is strong and bishops are effective, the effective bishops in Latin America are subsidizing the failure of American bishops to do so. So that is the main reason bishops want open borders, is simply to cover up their own failure. And also because they get tens of millions of dollars in federal contracts resettling immigrants, and caring for immigrants…So in terms of propping up the Catholic Church in America, despite its appallingly bad leadership, I guess you could call that a benefit…"*

While Zmirak here is responding to the question about economic benefits with this answer, and explicitly calls it a benefit, his tone clearly suggested that

he did not really think that this was any sort of real benefit. As such, this and other examples like it are not coded as embracing the economic efficiency frame, or other frames which are discussed with this sort of tone, or in a way that suggests that the individual does not actually believe in what they're saying.

Individuals were then sorted into categories based on the number of tallies they received in the coding process. These categories suggested their most mentioned element of conservatism, most frequently discussed immigration frame, their most dominant cultural value, whether or not their interview reflected liberalized, restrictive, or more moderate general opinions on immigration, and whether or not they verbally expressed attachment to identifying strongly as an American during the interview. These data are displayed below in Table 6.1.

TABLE 6.1: SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW CODING

	Conservative Value	**Immigration Frame**	**Cultural Value**	**American Identity**	**Immigration Opinion**
Brad Bailey	Limited Government	Economic Efficiency	N/A	No	Liberalized
Josh Culling	Limited Government	Economic Efficiency/Human Rights	Individualism	Yes	Liberalized
Dan Fisher	Limited Government/Moral Traditionalism	Cultural Concerns	Individualism	Yes	Restrictive
Chuck Jenkins	Moral Traditionalism	Economic Costs	Individualism	Yes	Restrictive
Mark Krikorian	Moral Traditionalism	Cultural Concerns	N/A	Yes	Restrictive
Richard Land	Moral Traditionalism	Economic Efficiency/Cultural Concerns	Individualism	Yes	Moderate
Heather Mac Donald	Moral Traditionalism	Cultural Concerns/Economic Costs	Individualism	No	Restrictive
Steve Malanga	Limited Government	Economic Costs	Individualism	No	Moderate
Ramesh Ponnuru	Limited Government/Moral Traditionalism	Cultural Concerns	Individualism	No	Restrictive
Dwayne Stovall	Limited Government	Economic Costs	Individualism	No	Moderate
John Zmirak	Moral Traditionalism	Economic Costs/Cultural Concerns	Hierarchist	Yes	Restrictive

RESULTS

The data gathered from the interviews proved very useful in testing the hypotheses discussed in the theory/hypotheses section of my dissertation. Each interview showed a unique and different take on conservatism and immigration, but ultimately each spoke to the core puzzle discussed in the introduction, that conservative opinion on immigration is far from set in stone. Each individual had their own interpretation of conservatism, as well as of immigration as a political issue, and each saw different linkages between their values and opinions. With all of this being said, however, there were enough commonalities between interviewees to draw some interesting conclusions about the nature of conservative ideology and immigration opinion. The following sections will discuss some of the most recurring themes in the interviews, and their relationship to my hypotheses.

IMMIGRATION AS A DIVERSE ISSUE

"There's always been this sense that immigration restrictionists sort of have this menu of concerns, like 'what are you concerned about?' And if you're concerned about security, "well, look, we've got something for you!' You know, there's a disjointed sense to it…In other words, whatever your concern is, we'll tell you that immigration is the problem." – Mark Krikorian

The Krikorian quote above highlights the argument made earlier in my dissertation that immigration can be seen through a wide range of lenses. I proposed several of the most frequent lenses that I had identified in the discourse on immigration particularly on the conservative side of the issue, and almost all of the frames I proposed showed up time and time again during my interviews. I did, however, identify a few different frames that showed up frequently enough for me to add two categories in my coding that did not exist in my theory section.

The first of these two frames I call electoral concerns. Electoral concerns were framed in two separate ways. First, some interviewees argued that by allowing immigrants into the country, America is exposing our democracy to new voters who could express their political power in such a way that it may damage the country. An alternative framing of was also present however, however, with several interviewees arguing that a good reason to embrace a more liberalized attitude on immigration is that immigrants represent a burgeoning voting bloc, and that by ignoring them, characterizing them as political villains, or just generally opposing policies this group will favor, conservative politics may struggle for a generation due to low support from this group. Both perspectives showed up during the interviews, but the former was far more frequent than the latter.

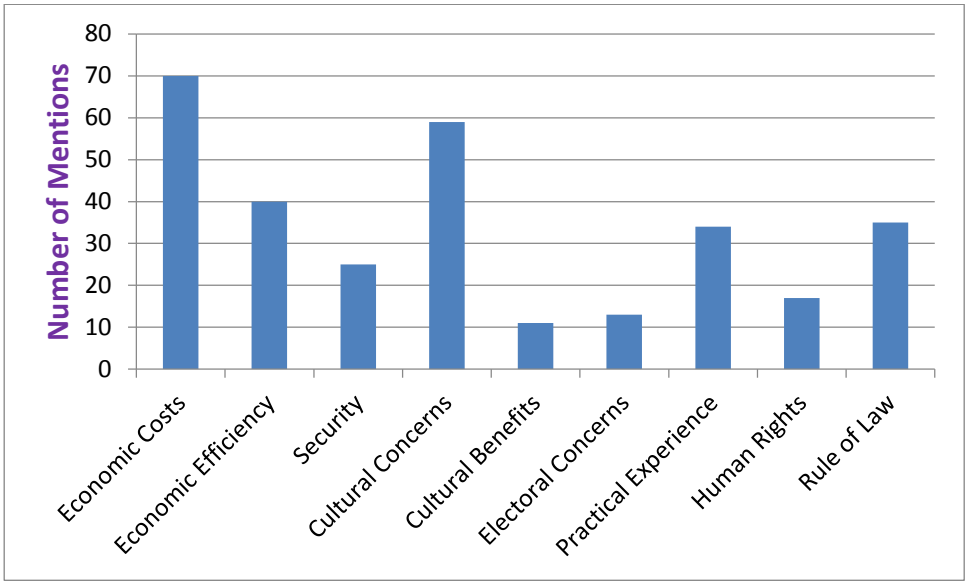
The other frame which came up over and over again is what I called practical experience. This was a challenging category, but basically was an appeal to an individual's personal or practical experience with immigration. While this frame was largely anecdotal, it was also indicative of an attempt to attach a narrative to immigration, and to appeal to some sort of concrete data that goes beyond simple ideology and theory. These experiences could be positive or negative, but were mentioned by all but one of the interviewees.

It should also be noted that the rule of law frame that was identified earlier in the course of the project, but not hypothesized for in this draft, was frequently present in the discourse. It was excluded primarily due to the observation that the rule of law has fairly ubiquitous support across the political spectrum. Despite this, its frequent

inclusion in these interviews (without any leading by the interviewer) warrants its inclusion for the sake of discussion, if not for specifically theoretical application.

A summary of the frequency with which these immigration frames occurred during the interviews can be seen in Figure 6.1 (below). Figure 6.1 clearly shows that the more restrictive frames were more prevalent than liberalized ones, as could be predicted based on the group of people who assented to be interviewed. The economic costs and cultural concerns frames were by far the most common, with security concerns coming in at a surprisingly low level. Despite this, however, it was remarkable how frequently more liberalized frames were mentioned, particularly the economic efficiency frame. The economic efficiency frame was mentioned the third most out of any, and while it's inclusion was most frequent by the two interviewees who were generally oriented towards more liberalized immigration policy (Bailey mentioned the frame twelve times, while Culling mentioned it nine), it is notable that every interviewee but one (Krikorian) mentioned economic benefits from immigration, and most mentioned it more than once.

FIGURE 6.1: MENTIONS OF IMMIGRATION FRAMES



The summary statistics suggest, thus, that elites (at least those interviewed for the project) conceive of immigration as a multifaceted issue, and Krikorian's introductory quote certainly describes that notion in a clear fashion. This line of thought is supported by numerous other quotes from the interviews, especially the interview with Brad Bailey. When asked about the changing nature of immigration as an issue since the 2000s, Bailey argued:

> *"I think the shift has come, and 9/11 changed a lot. Border security issues, that really kind of rule of law and what happens is, a lot of these anti-immigration groups which range from Numbers USA to FAIR which is called FAIR, and Center for Immigration Studies. They have basically hijacked the immigration issue in conservative circles and started passing legislation in each state that are basically enforcement only legislation so just picking them up, rounding them up, and deporting them, which in Arizona damaged the economy. Then they passed it in Alabama and Georgia, and it did the same. But a vocal minority got really entrenched on this issue. It really started after 9/11, they got vocal vocal vocal and they were able to beat President Bush's immigration bill in '07. And they have been the vocal minority to hijack this issue. And sensible people were scared to talk about this because of talking points about the rule of law and making sure that states have their sovereignty, and everything. I believe that what we've been able to prove is that we can apply our free market conservative principles to this problem of immigration reform and solve it."*

Here Bailey argues that the change in immigration as an issue is not simply due to the fact that is in itself a complicated issue. Rather, he argues that the shift in conservative framing and opinion on immigration came about because of a Multiple Streams Framework type of theory of policy formation, although he probably would not use that particular theoretical framework knowingly. The idea is basically that 9/11 provided an opportunity to view immigration differently (problem stream), and that political entrepreneurs in the groups he mentions seized the opportunity to attach their solution to the problem. This would not work as well, however, if immigration was not itself a complex issue. It is also interesting to note that while Bailey argues that the rule of law and security approaches represented the changing guard of conservative thought on immigration, these interviews suggest that cultural concerns and economic costs are the issue of the day. It is possible that discourse has moved on since 9/11, however, and also possible that the small sample size presented here misses out on some of the diversity of thought in conservatism, especially due to the sizeable number of interviews I obtained via snowball sampling.

It is probably safe to say, however, that seeing immigration as a diverse issue capable of being framed in several different ways is a notion that all of the interviewees ultimately agreed with. No interviewee listed only one immigration frame, although most were focused primarily on one or two frames, rather than dealing with them all equally. The two interviewees were the most lopsided in their focus on one immigration frame to the exclusion of others were Ponnuru and Stovall. Ponnuru mentioned cultural concerns eight times, while his next closest frames, numerically speaking, were economic costs and economic efficiency, which in some ways cancel out, at two times

each. Stovall mentioned economic costs an impressive eighteen times, with his next closest frame of cultural concerns only being mentioned five. Despite being the most extremely one-sided in terms of their framing of immigration, however, both Ponnuru and Stovall mentioned other frames several times throughout the interview, showing their awareness of immigration as a multi-faceted issue.

Perhaps the most unusual interview was with Malanga, who adopted a largely agnostic perspective on the issue, and was very cautious with expressing any sort of adherence to any particular frames over others. His most frequent frame was economic costs, with four mentions, while his second highest was economic efficiency, with two. It should be noted that this was a fairly long interview at seven pages of text, with over 4500 words, so his lack of adherence to frames was one of intentional choice, rather than lack of discussion or time. Malanga expressed a rather unique opinion as to his perspective on the biggest problem in immigration policy, saying:

"…The big problem is not finding the magic bullet, the ideal plan, the big problem is that people on both sides all across the political spectrum, don't necessarily trust that any compromise plan will actually be enacted in the way that actually satisfies what they want…It's not just that there's a plan that people object to, it's there's a trust problem."

Later he argued that one of his ideal policies would be a sort of temporary experiment using E-Verify to test the competing narratives associated with immigration, saying:

"I think that's one way to clear up the debate. Because on one hand, it' shard to tell where businesses fall on this. And in particular I think that studies on to what extent low wage immigration in particular is depriving low wage Americans of jobs is kind of all over the place. I don't think any of them are conclusive. But I do think one of the ways to kind of address the objections that people have, but also to get a clearer window onto whether low wage immigration is a problem is to have something like E-Verify. Because then we would see pretty clearly within five to ten years, whether for instance native born levels of employment rose or not, and if through E-Verify what we wound up with

instead was a clearer labor market in which companies were not able to fill all of their needs…So in a way it's kind of a natural experiment. It's even the kind of thing you can institute for ten years, have it sunset, and then have everyone revisit it after ten years."

As mentioned, however, Malanga's more agnostic approach was an outlier, but an important one showing the wide range of conservative thought on the issue.

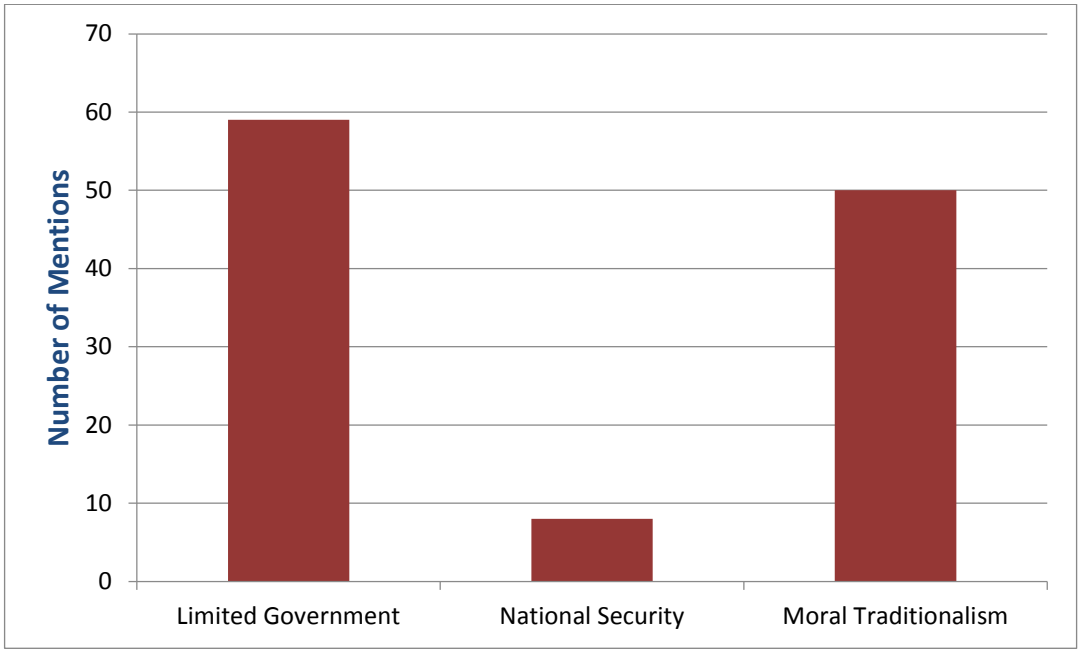
In conclusion, the interviews certainly supported the hypothesized notion that immigration is a complex issue, even when viewed through conservative ideology. The wide range of frames endorsed by the interviewees, lack of any truly dominant perspectives across the interviews, and substantive verbal acknowledgement of the complexity of immigration by several interviewees all support that claim. This all leads me to ask, however, whether or not the individuals themselves thought of conservatism as a diverse ideology, and how individuals defined themselves as conservatives.

CONSERVATISM AS A DIVERSE IDEOLOGY

"Over time, and with lots of reading, I came to the conclusion that conservatism was a better political philosophy and would yield better results for the country. I suppose there are psychological reasons I was drawn to it, but that would be it in a nutshell. I believe in traditional morality, limited government, free markets, all that good stuff." – Ramesh Ponnuru

The interviewees had a wide range of conceptions of what conservatism meant to them, although for this project, the vast majority thought of conservatism through the lens of either traditional morality or limited government. While some mentioned a preference for a strong national defense, it was rarely at the core of how they defined conservatism. Figure 6.2 shows a summary of the number of mentions of conservative values throughout the interviews.

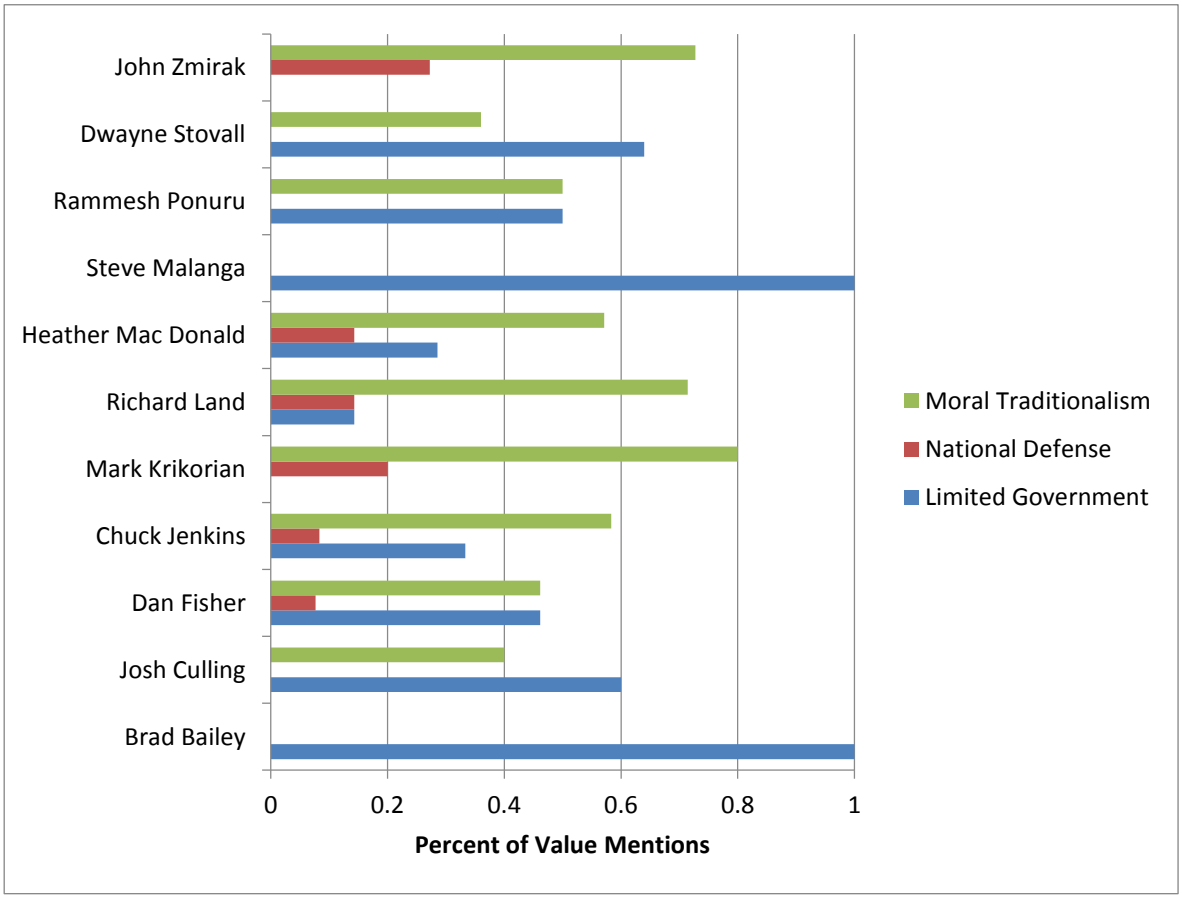
FIGURE 6.2: MENTIONS OF CONSERVATIVE VALUES



As can be seen in the chart, mentions of limited government were slightly higher than mentions of moral traditionalism, but a preference for a strong national defense ranked a very distant third. Excluding Bailey, however, who had a remarkable seventeen mentions of limited government to zero mentions of national security or moral traditionalism, reverses the preferences individuals had for moral traditionalism as opposed to limited government. These summary numbers, however, tell us little about the general distribution of preference for values. Were more of the respondents like Bailey, and strongly expressed one value over the others? Or were more like Fisher, who mentioned limited government six times, and moral traditionalism an additional six? Figure 6.3 below shows each interviewee's balance of preference for conservative values. A score of 1 indicates that the individual mentioned only that value, while a score of 0 indicates that the value was never mentioned by the individual. So, for example, Zmirak's score of 0 for limited government indicates that he never mentioned

the concept, while his score of above .75 in moral traditionalism indicates that he spoke about moral traditionalism above 75% of the time while discussing his political values, while spending the remaining time discussing having a strong national defense.

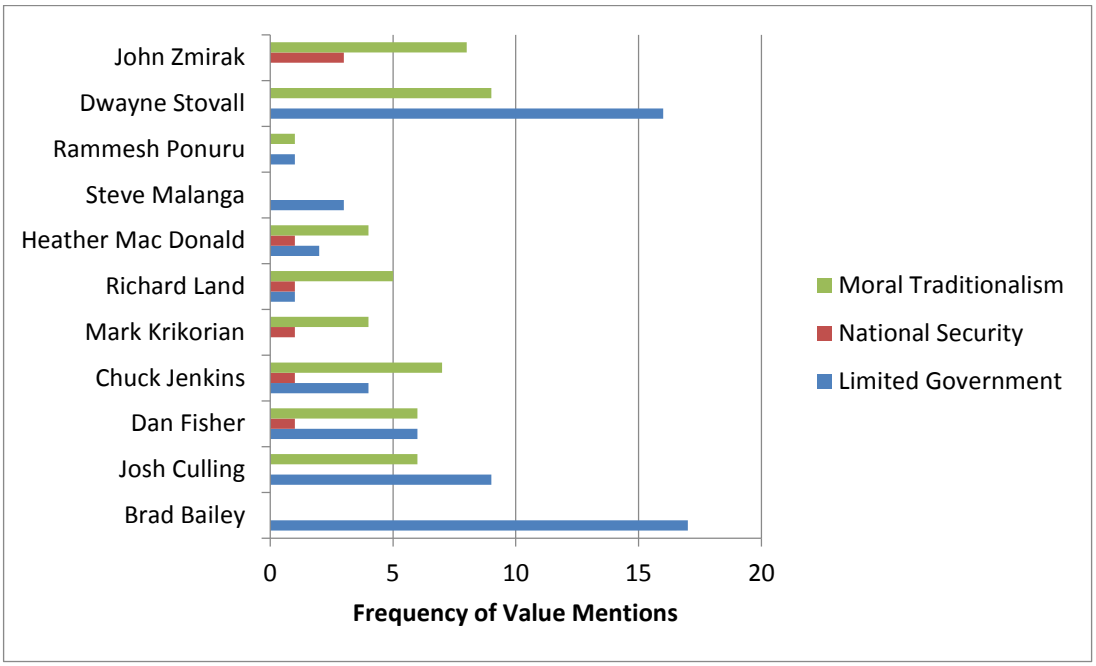
FIGURE 6.3: DISTRIBUTION OF CONSERVATIVE VALUES



This data, however, can be slightly misleading, as it only mentions the percent of mentions, while ignoring the frequency of their mentions. According to this chart, Bailey and Malanga were identical in their ideological composition, both mentioning their preference of limited government and only limited government in their interview. In reality, however, Bailey and Malanga's perspective were substantively very different, as shown in Figure 6.4 below. While both Bailey and Malanga exclusively discussed

limited government, Bailey's focus on it was the dominant trend in his interview, with seventeen mentions in a 3500 word interview. Malanga, on the other hand, mentioned his preference for limited government a mere three times in a 4600 word interview. These simple statistics, however, can tell us only how they described themselves ideologically, and give us little insight into how those ideological values influenced their immigration opinions.

FIGURE 6.4: FREQUENCY OF VALUE MENTIONS



THE IMPACT OF CONSERVATIVE VALUES

While national security came up surprisingly rarely during the course of any of the interviews, both moral traditionalism and limited government were pervasive during the conversations. My guess is that national security showed up infrequently due to America's changing position in the world. National defense was likely a larger issue for conservatives in the days of the Cold War, in which America had a true military rival,

which is not exactly the case today. It should be pointed out that while national defense did not come up frequently, most people did at least mention it. Six out of the eleven interviewees mentioned a preference for a stronger national defense during the course of the interviews, although five of those six only mentioned it once.

So what about limited government and moral traditionalism? What role did they play in influencing immigration opinion in the interviewees? This section will feature a broader overview of the influence of these values. The next section will discuss the manner in which interviewees marshalled values to support their immigration opinions, and the two subsequent ones will drill down deeper into content analysis on the interviews to show the relationships between limited government, and moral traditionalism, and immigration opinion. Table 6.2 shows a summary of the respondents' dominant values and their general outlook on immigration policy, while Table 6.3 shows a summary of the respondents' dominant values and their chosen immigration frames. In both tables, if individuals shared dominant values equally, they were placed in both values, rather than in just one.

TABLE 6.2: IMMIGRATION OPINION SORTED BY DOMINANT VALUE

	Liberalized	**Moderate**	**Restrictive**
Limited Government	Culling Bailey	Stovall Malanga	Ponnuru Fisher
Moral Traditionalism		Land	Ponnuru Mac Donald Krikorian Jenkins Fisher

As shown clearly in Table 3, the tendency was for individuals who espoused moral traditionalism as their primary value to be more likely to support more restrictive immigration policy. No individual who had moral traditionalism as their primary value held a liberalized view of immigration, although Land did hold more moderate views. Five of the moral traditionalists, on the other hand, held preferences for more restrictive immigration policy, suggesting that my hypotheses regarding the relationship between moral traditionalism and immigration opinion have at least some face validity.

Those identifying more strongly with limited government, however, had a much broader distribution of opinion than the moral traditionalists. Of this group, two held liberalized views, two held moderate views, and two held more restrictive views. It is interesting to note, however, that both of those who held more restrictive opinions were also those who shared adherence to limited government and moral traditionalism equally. Of those who were far more likely to mention limited government in their

interviews, two supported liberalized immigration policy, while the other two were more moderate.

TABLE 6.3: IMMIGRATION FRAME SORTED BY DOMINANT VALUE

	Economic Costs	**Cultural Concerns**	**Economic Efficiency**	**Human Rights**
Limited Government	Malanga Stovall	Fisher Ponnuru	Bailey Culling	Culling
Moral Traditionalism	Jenkins Mac Donald Zmirak	Fisher Krikorian Land Mac Donald Ponnuru Zmirak	Land	

Highlighted areas indicate hypothesized relationships

Table 3 shows similar levels of support for my hypothesized relationships described in the theory and hypotheses section of my dissertation. In brief review, I argued that strong adherents to limited government would be more likely to select either the economic costs or economic efficiency frames, which was true in every case in which an individual had limited government as their primary value. Fisher and Ponnuru both mentioned limited government as their modal value, but mentioned moral traditionalism just as often, so their presence in cultural concerns must be taken with a bit of context. For Malanga and Stovall, their primary concern was for the economic costs of immigration, while Bailey and Culling were most concerned about the

economic efficiency gained through increased immigration. Culling also had human rights as a secondary frame, although he was only interviewee other than Land to mention this frame more than once, making him a bit of an outlier.

The evidence for the effect of moral traditionalism was even stronger, as six of the individuals who identified most strongly with moral traditionalism all selected cultural concerns as at least one of their most important immigration frames. Of all of those who identified most strongly as a moral traditionalist, only Jenkins mentioned economic costs more frequently than cultural concerns. Jenkins, however, still discussed cultural concerns very frequently, mentioning it eight times compared to his eleven mentions of economic costs. So while cultural concerns were not the most frequent refrain for him, they were still a strong part of his mental framing of immigration as an issue. Both of those who shared both limited government and moral traditionalism as dominant values (Fisher and Ponnuru) mentioned cultural concerns most frequently in their interviews.

This summary data suggest that my predictions have proved largely correct. Adherents to limited government were in fact more conflicted over immigration policy in a larger sense, and more drawn to the economic aspects of immigration. Moral traditionalists, on the other hand, had a more unanimously restrictive perspective across the board, and were strongly drawn towards concerns about the cultural aspects of immigration. A deeper look at the substance of the interviews will be necessary, however, to examine more closely the power of values on the opinions and frames of the interviewees, beginning with a look at the role limited government played in the interviewees. In order to understand the relationship between value and opinion,

however, it is necessary to first discuss how the interviewees used ideological values in their arguments during the interviews.

PURE IDEOLOGUES

I divided these interviewees into several categories of value based reasoning based solely on my judgment of the interview as a whole. The first category I call the pure ideologue, exemplified by Bailey, Stovall, and Zmirak. In order to qualify for this category, an individual had to have both a strong preference for one conservative value over the others and also had to repeatedly logically connect their values to their opinions in the course of the interview. Bailey was the most extreme example of this, discussing only limited government in his interview, and frequently tying his views on immigration to his ideological values. During his answer regarding why he considers himself a conservative, he said:

"Well, I'm a free market conservative who believes that less government is better. I've been a conservative my whole life, from an early age, and believe that limited government, free market principles work. And more government, more restraint, more hurdles to jump over stifle the economy, stifle small business from opening and expanding and growing. I believe that the free market, limited government model works, and that it should be instituted in every state and across the nation."

In addition to his strong adherence to this principle, he repeatedly connected that principle to his opinions during the course of the interview. For example, he stated that:

"I believe that what we've been able to prove is that we can apply our free market conservative principles to this problem of immigration reform and solve it. We need to say here's what we're for, versus here's what we're against. I'm against illegal immigration, but I'm also in favor of a guest worker bill that has a background check, and gives the American worker the first opportunity at that job, at our restaurant now, we employ over 95 people at our restaurant, I can still count on one hand how many Anglo, Asian, or African Americans who are applying to be a dishwasher, a cook, or a busboy. I kind of see that font line. Once we're able to show people fact versus fiction here you can have conservative principles to address this problem."

While there were many examples of this type of reasoning in his interview, here is one last one to more directly illustrate the role that Bailey's values played in his formation of immigration opinion:

"Government needs to get out of this employment verification system…I can go to a local junior college and get two computer scientists, an Apple computer and probably over lunch design something much more efficient and effective than what the federal government has right now. So that's a free market approach. I believe the free market should also dictate the amount of workers that we should have. We shouldn't have to go through a bunch of red tape through DHS through DOL through SSA to get one guest worker approved. These states should have rights to say that they know their employers, they know their economies, they know their job markets much better than the federal government does. Let's give the states their rights, and let free markets say here's what we need in agriculture, here's what we need in hospitality, here's what we need in high tech versus having to meet artificial quotas that we put together by a bunch of D.C. lobbyists."

Zmirak, on the other hand, represented a similar approach, albeit from the perspective of valuing moral traditionalism more highly than the other values. Zmirak had no mention of limited government in his interview, and when asked why he identified as conservative, he said "I would say it seemed like the logical implication of being a Roman Catholic. And so I would say that's the grounding principle in terms of an intellectual superstructure." When asked later to elaborate on the relationship he saw between Roman Catholicism and conservatism, he stated:

"I would say that Catholic social thought rests on natural law. On the idea that there is an unchanging, naturally perceivable, unchanging structure of human nature. That there are immutable laws that function in daily life, and in society, there are God-given realities, like the family, like male and female sexes that the left and the secular world reject in favor of reconstructing reality to suit the impulses of the individual…Basically the worldview summed up by Justice Kennedy in his decision Planned Parenthood v. Casey, where he said it's a fundamental part of American liberty to be able to invent your own concept of reality and ultimate meaning. I just think that's insanity, and that is at the essence of everything that I reject. So my Catholic faith taught me that there are basic fundamentals that are non-negotiable. Not subject to progress…democratic vote…consumers' preference, but that these things are eternal, and that imposes some

tragic limits on us…I think the 20th century and all of its totalitarian experiments was a great warning against the attempt to rebel against the fundamental structure of reality out of a fit of pique, a fit of self-assertion, a kind of Promethean revolt."

This is essentially the stated argument I make above regarding the logical underpinnings of moral traditionalism. He argues that traditional morality exists for a good reason based on human nature, and that discarding it will prove dangerous to humanity itself. It is slightly modified in its focus on Roman Catholicism as the source of this moral traditional order, but can certainly be thought of as accepting traditionalism and rejecting more progressive attempts to replace traditional morals. Later, Zmirak logically connects his moral traditionalism with his opinions on immigration by stating his opinion on the modern waves of large scale immigration:

"Immigration as it's currently practiced, at large scale, with very little attempt to assimilate, it destroys, it damages the idea of national unity. It dissolves historic communities that have existed, and replaces them with new communities. When you bring in people who don't share our political and cultural values, and don't have time to assimilate to them, it undermines these things that are taken for granted. Like people honoring their promises. Like being civic minded. Those are things that aren't necessarily true in some cultures, where corruption, and cronyism, and tyrannical government have existed for hundreds of years. They don't have that Anglo-American spirit which my parents, my grandparents assimilated to. That Anglo-American spirit of promise-keeping, of civic mindedness, building charity hospitals, setting up charitable institutions, the way the Germans and the Irish did, I don't see that happening very much with Mexican immigrants…the culture that they come from is different than ours, and not entirely compatible."

Zmirak, thus, expresses both that he prefers the morally traditional way of doing things, and that immigration threatens the continued existence of the values that have made America strong due to their lack of adherence to those values.

More discussion of the pure ideologue will take place during the sections on limited government and moral traditionalism's roles in opinion formation, but these quotes give a good idea of the kinds of ideological reasoning that was taking place in

many of the interviewees' minds. While Bailey, Zmirak, and Stovall (more on Stovall later) are good examples of the pure ideologue, the majority of the interviewees fell into a second category, which I call the mixed ideologue. These individuals did not necessarily focus heavily on one value to the exclusion of another, but did verbally connect their values to their opinions, even while espousing multiple values.

MIXED IDEOLOGUES

Good examples of members of the mixed ideologue group included Dan Fisher and Chuck Jenkins. Fisher cited moral traditionalism and limited government with equal frequency, and directly tied those values to his opinions. When asked about, his reasons for identifying as a conservative, Fisher argued:

"Well, I'm a conservative because number one, the principles of conservatism not only resonate with me personally, but as a Christian, they resonate with biblical principles…Secondly, conservative principles, I believe, line up with the founding principles of our republic, and are the principles that generally lead to civil society, prosperity, individual liberty, and that, I guess, first and foremost, tend to protect life more than any other philosophical, political construct. So that's primarily why I'm a conservative."

That statement expresses both Fisher's preference for Judeo-Christian values, as well as his preference for more traditional political constructs and norms as exemplified in what he calls the "founding principles". Included in these principles, as he notes, is the notion of liberty, a concept intrinsically tied to limited government, particularly in the eyes of modern conservatives and members of the founding generation.

When applying these ideas to his opinions on immigration, Fisher was quick to relate his opinions to these values. In regards to moral traditionalism, Fisher stated that:

"…A language, of all things, generally binds a people together. You can go back to…Genesis chapter 11, the Tower of Babel, when the people were rebelling against

God, they were forced to do what God said, you know, spread out and repopulate the Earth after the flood of Noah, and God did it by confounding their languages, which is the birth of all of the language groups within our history, and all the different cultures…You can't bind together as a people if you don't speak the same language…I believe that the language of America, has been, is, and ought to be English, and therefore I would support an English language amendment."

Fisher, therefore, uses moral traditionalism, expressed through traditional biblical stories of morality and human nature, to come to his opinions on language. If, in the story of the Tower of Babel, the people were unable to cooperate and come together as a people without a common language, then it stands to reason that commonly held languages would be important in maintaining a cohesive nation that is capable of cooperating together to solve commonly held problems.

Later, Fisher relates his opinions regarding limited government to his immigration opinion as well. When asked about his opinions on welfare for legal immigrants here in the country, Fisher responded:

"I am not a supporter of welfare, period. I don't believe it's the job of the government to support people. We have put upon the government far too many obligations that government is not equipped to handle, unless you're a socialist or a community...In America, up into recently, we were a capitalist nation, and believed that the best liberating force is the individual, and that we're responsible for ourselves, and that ends up generally creating incredible prosperity because it gives people the freedom to pursue their own goals and dreams and aspirations."

Fisher processed his opinions on immigrants receiving welfare, thus, through his broader ideas about the role of the state. As he personally preferred a more limited type of government for everyone, he applied that preference across lines of legal status to include not only natural born citizens, but also immigrants to the U.S.

Jenkins' interview exemplified the characteristics of a mixed ideologue as well. During the question about why he was a conservative, Jenkins responded that he

identifies as a conservative because "…it's who I am. It's the beliefs I have with regards to the size of government, how we live in our lives, our personal decisions, our finances, I think my lifestyle speaks that I'm a conservative. I believe in the fundamental things." While Jenkins did not explicitly state that he prefers a smaller government in this section, he did make that sentiment clear during other portions of the interview. For example, he argued that immigrants ought to have access to whatever welfare benefits are available to the general population, but that the benefits themselves should be reduced for all in order to "encourage Americans to…get a job, support yourself, and not to rely on government."

He also directly related his preference for moral traditionalism to his opinions on immigration, saying:

> *"I think for us to keep the culture we have as Americans, as one country, as one nation, I think we have to control the amount of immigration. I believe that you can't water down a culture with so many different cultures. We lose our identity. America is what America is. It was based on…belief in God, and liberty, and the Constitution."*

Jenkins, thus, argues that increasing numbers of immigrants from differing cultures has the potential to change American culture. He particularly highlights areas of concern that certainly fit the qualifications of moral traditionalism, including Judeo-Christian values and the political preferences of the American founding, as opposed to more recent innovations.

While Jenkins and Fisher are good examples of the mixed ideologue, they are not the only ones. For the purpose of space and brevity, a detailed description of all the mixed ideologues will not be included here, although their ideas will be discussed in later parts of this chapter. But one other group showed itself fairly clearly during the

interviews, a group that I call the pragmatists. While the pragmatists all generally gave clear descriptions of why they are a conservative, the degree to which they connected those values to their immigration opinions was far less clear than it was in the pure or mixed ideologues. The pragmatists frequently that their immigration opinions were based more on their practical experience, anecdote, or empirical observation, rather than on political philosophy. This is not to say that the pragmatists did not have opinions that cohered with their values, but that the logical connections between value and opinion were not made clear in their discourse. This group preferred a more empirical approach, rather than an ideological one.

THE PRAGMATISTS

Perhaps the two best examples of the pragmatist group were Malanga and Krikorian. As mentioned earlier, Malanga was notable not simply for his reluctance to provide firm stance on immigration policy, but also the low number of times he mentioned any sort of conservative value throughout the opinion. His more agnostic approach seemed to prioritize political compromise and data gathering, and emphasized how little he felt people really know about the effect immigration has in modern society. He even seemed a bit bewildered by the shifting lines on immigration in both the conservative and liberal ranks, as will be discussed in more detail below in the section on conservatism, liberalism, and immigration opinion.

Interestingly, even the individuals who argued from a more pragmatist perspective, rather than an ideological one, still fit the hypothesized predictions. With the exception perhaps of Ponnuru, who mentioned limited government and moral traditionalism only once in the interview, making him a significant outlier, Mac Donald,

Krikorian, and Malanga all fit into their hypothesized categories. Mac Donald and Krikorian, both moral traditionalists, had a more restrictive view of immigration, while Malanga, an adherent to limited government, held more moderate and conflicted opinions about the subject. So it seems that regardless of the styling of argument adopted by any individual interviewee that values did play a role in shaping their opinions, even if they did not make those connections verbally explicit in their interviews.

Krikorian was certainly the most extreme member of the pragmatists in terms of the degree to which he verbally attempted to connect value to opinion. Krikorian gave the longest interview by far (over 1000 words longer than the next longest interview), yet had very few mentions of his political values at all. In the question asking about political values, he gave the answer that was probably the farthest away from ideological of all of the interviewees, and most closely reflected his embracing of the American identity, rather than any particular political principle (see discussion below on the role of American identity.

Krikorian's typical approach exemplified the pragmatist perspective well, frequently arguing from example, anecdote, and empirical observation rather than from abstract ideological reasoning. He argued, for example, against the notion that modern immigration will necessarily be as successful today as past generations by arguing that America's economy is today quite different than the economy of the late 19th and early 20th century, while the immigrants themselves remain more ideally suited for an older style economy:

"Mass immigration is not compatible with the goals and characteristics of modern society. For instance, in economics and jobs, 100 years ago, the largest share of our workforce was still in the primary sector of the economy. Farming, extraction, mining, stuff like that. And that's the way it had been in every society, everywhere in the world for all of human history. That's not the case anymore. In other words, economic development through manufacturing, and now even post-industrial societies, is fundamentally different in kind from anything that's come before. And that relates to immigration, because we don't need people to fill up the landscape, settle the land. We don't need people to fill up factories, to be warm bodies...They're 19th century style immigrants in a 21st century society."

Krikorian made this more practical style of appeal across a wide range of immigration issues, including assimilation, mechanization of the workforce, welfare usage among immigrants, health care and education costs, and many others. His more pragmatic approach also extended to his opinions on an English language amendment, which he argued against for reasons of political practicality:

"…The language issue was what got me into this issue to begin with, but I've moved beyond it. The answer is, I'm not against it, but I don't think it's worth expending political capital on, because, first of all, English is the official language of the United States. The Constitution is in English, the laws are in English…the president's veto messages are in English, the Supreme Court's rulings are in English. English is the official language of the United States. We just don't have a thing that says "English is the official language of the United States."

My personal opinion is that this more pragmatic approach was taken primarily due to the coalition with which Krikorian works, which is not (by his own description), a particularly ideological one, but rather a single issue coalition featuring many actors across the political spectrum. A description of this coalition will be included later in the section on conservatism, liberalism, and immigration opinion.

TABLE 6.4: REASONING STYLES

Pure Ideologue	Mixed Ideologue	Pragmatist
Bailey	Fisher	Krikorian
Stovall	Jenkins	Ponnuru
Zmirak	Land	Mac Donald
	Culling	Malanga

THE ROLE OF LIMITED GOVERNMENT

Limited government produced, as I predicted, a wide range of attitudes in the interviewees. Bailey and Culling were excellent examples of individuals processing the immigration issue through their preference for free markets and smaller government, coming to a more liberalized set of immigration opinions, while Malanga and Stovall were a bit more conflicted in their opinions. While I discussed Bailey at length during the section on pure ideologues, and Malanga during the section on pragmatists, this section provides an excellent opportunity to discuss Culling and Stovall's interviews, both of which presented interesting opportunities to analyze the effect limited government had on an individual.

Stovall felt significant tensions and challenges in understanding immigration through the framework of limited government, as well as his sense of how the modern political system in America is built to handle increasing levels of immigration. His perspective was largely similar to that Milton Friedman, who argued that "…it is one thing to have free immigration to jobs. It is another thing to have free immigration to welfare. And you cannot have both." In Stovall's view, he valued immigration in the abstract, but found some aspects of it troubling in the current political system:

"Immigration…as it stands today, I'm perfectly fine with free travel. What I'm not fine with is a welfare state that continues to have open borders. They don't coalesce. You can't have a welfare state and have open borders at the same time. They both lead to

destruction. So I would rather not have a welfare state and have a completely free and open border for people to travel at will. But we can't have that, because people can come here with the full intention of gaining wealth off the backs of people who are working here already."

When asked to explore this idea further, Stovall said:

"…The age that you and I live in right now, we don't have any control over the fact that we can't really have open borders. You can't really have freedom of travel. You can't. The state has disallowed that by making those who came here wards of the state at the expense of the citizens who already live here…It's an either or for me. I would rather secure the border and allow lawful travel of people who are willing to come here in the manner written, or completely get rid of the welfare state, and have a much more free look at who travels. It's a vicious situation we're in, but we have the welfare state, and it's not going anywhere."

Stovall, thus, sees a lot of personal tension within his ideology as it pertains to his understanding of immigration as an issue. As he identifies strongly with limited government, the thought of restricting the free movement and abilities to work for all people is troubling to him. Yet he feels conflicted, as many people, in his view, are not coming to America in order to work, but are rather coming for a payout from the government. As he says later in the interview, "…don't spend all this time playing these games where we let people cross the border, and pick them up and go process them and send them inland, and give them a social security card and a check. We can't do that."

Interestingly, perhaps the biggest threat to limited government from immigration, in Stovall's view, was the danger to political institutions that he viewed as necessary for liberty. His perspective, however, was taken largely from a Texan point of view, not an American one. The primary danger he saw in immigration was not from Central or South America, Europe, or the Middle East. The biggest danger, according to him, was mass immigration from more liberal parts of the United States:

"…we have more in common with the people of Mexico City than we'll ever have in common with the people of Connecticut, or New York. And that's totally understood…What's moving into Texas that's damaging that [Texan independent culture and government] more than anything is not from the south. It's from the East and West. Our predominant progressive areas in Texas aren't overrun by a Mexican culture that's taken over the government. It's overrun by northeasterners and northwesterners, east and west coast people who are coming in and taking over our government…I made a joke one time in front of a GOP group in Dallas that I'd take 1000 aliens coming over from Mexico before I'd take one person from the east and west coast! Because they [Mexicans] don't vote to influence my government, but the people who come from the east and west coast do."

Another example of tension between Stovall's belief in limited government and his opinions on immigration came during his answer to the question on whether or not undocumented immigrants currently in America should be allowed to have a path to legal residency. Stovall found this the most challenging question to answer, as it had both advantages and disadvantages. He argued:

"That's a tough, tough question. I don't know how you'd go about doing that correctly. But I also believe…I don't know, man. There's a part of me that says, no, you got here illegally, you broke the law, go home, figure out how to do it right, and come back. But then we're back to this welfare state that was basically perpetuated by judges…[who] have conflated the welfare state with citizenship. So now we're dealing with multigenerational illegal status who have now had children and those children are considered citizens…Are you willing to break up the families and send everybody home?...I'm not really sure where I fall on that. I do know that it wouldn't hurt us to force people to come out of the woods, come out of the shadows. Let us know who they are, find them. Because they'll pay. Find them, give them a requirement of you have 6 months, or you have whatever….Give them 6 months to attend basically civics classes to teach them what liberty is…teaching them about the founding…I don't know man, that's a tough one."

Stovall, thus, saw this as cutting across many of his core beliefs. His belief in the rule of law was challenged by allowing undocumented aliens legal status, but his more moral traditionalist beliefs saw him struggling with the notion of breaking up families who have been here for years, or sending them to a land that they had not been in years, and where the children may have never been. Additionally, he saw opportunities to instruct

potential new citizens on limited government as a portion of the process of naturalizing new residents.

Culling came from a somewhat different perspective than Stovall. While Stovall stated that "liberty's kind of central to my way of thinking", Culling expressed somewhat opposite views, describing the development of his political philosophy as beginning in a more libertarian fashion, and becoming more traditionally conservative over time:

"Well, it started as like a free market position. Almost like a free trade position. I believe very strongly in free trade, and I think that applies to labor as much as it does goods. But as I've gotten older and become more of a traditional conservative as opposed to a libertarian on a lot of issues, I would honestly say that it's about human beings, and the dignity of a human life. And I think that a lot of conservatives treat immigrants like shit for a lot of different reasons, that aren't consistent with the way that I feel about the dignity of human beings. So where I used to be more like, focused on H1-B visas and guest worker visas, and stuff like that, and I still care about stuff like that, as I've gotten older I'm more moved by refugees and by families. So my priorities within the immigration issue have shifted pretty dramatically."

Culling clearly and concisely describes here the role that ideas have altered his thinking on an issue. As a self-described libertarian when he was younger, he thought of immigration more of as an economic issue. As he grew more conservative, however, the economic facet of immigration began to grow less compelling compared to the human element of immigration.

Culling stated that the primary causal movers in his journey from libertarian to conservative though were his conversion to Catholicism and starting a family:

"One, I've had kids in the last three years. And two, I've converted to Catholicism. Almost exactly a year ago. And there's a lot in the Catholic faith that focuses on the dignity of human life. And that's often attributed to abortion, but I think it matters just as much for how we treat human beings who have been born, right? And I just think

that those sort of social issues resonate more with me now that I have a family than when I was a twenty-two year old hot shot in D.C., you know?"

Interestingly, Culling applied his Catholic faith in a way very different from Zmirak, the other interviewee who mentioned Catholicism as being critically important in the development of his political ideology. Zmirak argued that "The official teaching of the Catholic Church is very close to the Republican Party platform this year. What the Pope and the American bishops say in their stump speeches and things, is quite different. That they are the ones contravening the settled teaching of the Catholic church, which is that countries have the right and the duty to judge the common good of their own country and to determine policy based on that, and that immigrants who come to a country must obey its laws…and adjust themselves to the culture, be respectful of its institutions, all of the things that are not happening on a large scale in America, but especially in Europe, with the Islamic colonization of that continent." So Catholicism by itself did not appear to be a sufficient condition for producing any particular attitude about immigration, but it is important that Culling highlights that moving from more of a focus on markets to a focus on human dignity and worth as the core element of his political philosophy produced a change, not necessarily in the substance of his beliefs about immigration (restrictive or liberalized), but in the frame through which he viewed the issue.

It should be noted, however, that Culling still mentioned limited government ideas more than moral traditionalism, but it should also be noted that he mentioned a human rights frame more than the rest of the interviewees combined. He mentioned some aspect of immigration as a human rights issue nine times, compared to eight other mentions for all of the interviewees. When you exclude Land, who mentioned human

rights five times, the disparity between Culling and the rest of the field grows even starker.

The interviews with Culling and Stovall, as well as the previously discussed interviews with Malanga and Bailey, demonstrate the unique ability of limited government to produce both concerns and optimism about immigration. The interviews with Culling and Bailey were very clear depictions of how an individual can use free market ideas to come to a conservative answer to immigration policy that is not in favor of restrictive immigration. The interview with Stovall in particular shows the tremendous tension that can be caused on this issue for individuals who adhere to limited government strongly. Limited government, thus, behaved in a fashion largely identical to that predicted in my hypotheses. The evidence for moral traditionalism, however, was probably even stronger, as discussed in the next section.

THE ROLE OF MORAL TRADITIONALISM

Moral traditionalists made up the majority of the people who I interviewed. Of the eleven interviewees, five had moral traditionalism as their dominant vale, four had limited government, and the other two shared both values equally. Of the five moral traditionalists, four out of five preferred more restrictive immigration policy, with one (Land) taking a more moderate approach. Krikorian, Zmirak, and Land have already been discussed at some length, so this section will feature specific analysis of the interviews with Mac Donald and Land.

Mac Donald's explanation of her understanding of conservatism expressed a strong sense of reluctance to change the status quo of inherited wisdom lightly. She argued that her first introduction to conservatism came due to what she saw as a liberal

bias in her academic studies, advancing the study of figures she felt were most notable due to their gender and race rather than their contributions to the traditions of Western civilization:

> *"Well, first of all I observed academia and the study of the humanities being completely destroyed by identity politics. That placed melanin and gonads ahead of the pursuit of greatness and beauty in the canon, and insisted that students should seek out authors that matched their racial or gender identity. Which I just find an appalling betrayal of the duties the academic establishment has towards preserving Western civilization."*

Traditional works in Western literature, philosophy, and political thought are to her, thus, worthy of being preserved and discussed, and should not be discarded simply because it is old, or because the authors of that tradition are overwhelmingly white and male. To Mac Donald, this trend in the academy was merely part and parcel of a larger and more dangerous attempt to supplant classical ethics and social norms with newer norms that were, in many cases, inferior to the older norms. She connected this idea of moral traditionalism with immigration by arguing that modern Hispanic immigrants present a certain danger to society due to their lack of adherence to these traditional social norms:

> *"Looking at the out of wedlock birth rates among Hispanic immigrants, which is now 53%, nearly twice what it was when Daniel Patrick Moynihan wrote his prescient warning in 1965 about the consequences of the black out of wedlock birthrate, which was at the time 23%. The Hispanic out of wedlock birthrate is now twice that, and the consequences are serious. Learning that the Hispanic high school drop-out rate is the highest in the country, the educational advances stall out in the second and third generation."*

Land's interview represented a highly ideological approach to immigration formation, although his opinions were not exactly what were predicted in the theory and hypotheses section of my dissertation. During his description of why he identifies as a

conservative, Land took a very similar approach to Fisher, tying his political beliefs to his Christian faith:

> *"Because I'm an evangelical Christian. And an evangelical Christian who is a consistent thinker is bound to be a political conservative. If you believe what the Bible teaches is true about man, as Jeremiah 17:9 says, 'The heart of man is deceitfully wicked and who can know it?' And Romans 3, "For all have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God', if you believe in the depravity and fallenness of natural man, then liberal economic policies will never work. Socialism has never worked. And the reason is that it's contrary to the basic fallen nature of man to work according to your ability and receive according to your need…And I would have thought that the experience of mankind in the last third of the 20th century would have solved this debate…forever. You look at what's happened in China and India since they abandoned communism and socialism respectively, and taking up forms of capitalism, and they've alleviated thousands of times the amount of poverty that they would have alleviated under communism and socialism."*

While this little piece of his interview may lead the reader to think that limited government would have been the dominant value in Land's ideology, this mention was the only instance in the entire interview during which he mentioned the concept. When pressed about it a bit later, he took a more moderate approach to the issue, arguing that government programs can, when well designed and executed, be a positive force for the economy and society in general:

> *"I'm more of a, I draw a distinction between Reaganism and Bushism. I'm more of a Bushy. People say, Reagan said government is part of the problem, it's not part of the solution. Well a lot of the time that's true, but it's not always true. Just think about this. The most transformative piece of government legislation since the end of World War II. Probably did more to transform the country in positive ways than any other thing that's been done in the last century was the GI Bill. When those veterans came home from World War II, most of whom had never been to college. Most of whose families had never been to college. They got home and the government said we'll pay the tuition and expenses for any college you can get into. Harvard, Yale, Stanford, Princeton. If you can get in, we'll pay the tuition, we'll pay your books, and we'll give you a living stipend. And that investment in intellectual capital is what drove the dynamo of the last half of the 20th century. Well, that's government enabling people to help themselves. So, yeah, I'm more of a Bushy."*

When asked about the formation of his immigration opinions, he instead chose to frame the issue from the perspective of his Judeo-Christian values, saying:

"As this issue became more and more to the fore, I decided to just sit down and rethink. Ok, we'll take a Biblical approach to this issue. And try to help Southern Baptists deal with it from a Biblical perspective. And when you do that, you have to deal with compassion, you have to deal with the rule of law. And we were confronted with a situation where it is wrong to break the law. But it's also wrong to not enforce the law for 25 years, and then retroactively say, now we're going to enforce it. That's immoral too. So I believe that we have the right to have a culture that is defined as American culture. With American values, articulated in the English language."

These Judeo-Christian and morally traditional notions of compassion for others, the worth of traditional culture, and the responsibility to deal fairly with others undergirded the development of his immigration opinions, resulting in one of the most decidedly moderate interviews from the sample.

Land was highly concerned about maintaining a traditional American culture featuring a commonly understood language of English, arguing that attempts to allow multiple languages to coexist in the public square inevitably do damage and increase conflict between different ethnic groups:

"They [the American people] want people who want to stay here, to speak English. They want them to be able to read, write, and speak English. They do not want a World Series where you have to sing the national anthem in English and Spanish. And I think they're right! Intuitively, I think they know that there's not a place in the world without a common language that you don't have real significant ethnic conflict. Canada, South Africa, Belgium. These are relatively modern countries. But they're divided over language. And I agree with them! I think that we are an English speaking nation. I think more Americans ought to speak more languages than they probably do, but if you want to be here, and you want to be a permanent legal resident, or a citizen, you need to demonstrate that you can read, write, and speak English."

Despite these concerns about language and culture, Land was also clear that he wanted any future immigration policy changes to treat immigrants in a just manner,

given the history of the last thirty years. He argued that "we've had two signs up at the border. One says, 'help wanted', and the other says 'no trespassing.'" Given this contradiction, he was concerned that flipping the switch and beginning to deport all undocumented immigrants as a primary part of immigration policy was fundamentally unfair to immigrants who had come here based on a *de facto* understanding of U.S. immigration policy.

He was also concerned about honoring the unique role that Mexican and other Central American immigrants have played in United States history, and continue to play today. He argued that as a Texan he had to appreciate the ever growing role that Mexicans have had in the growth of the state, saying:

> *"And I'm from Texas. So, you know, for Texans, this has always been an issue. You know, when Texas got its independence from Mexico, there weren't any Mexicans in Texas to speak of. The percentage of Mexicans in Texas has been growing steadily ever since independence. Basically there were a few Mexicans, a moderate number of Anglos, and a lot of Native Americans, in 1836. And, literally, every census since we joined the Union, the Hispanic percent of the population has grown."*

He later continued this train of thought by explaining that his history with the Southern Baptist Convention has also shaped his opinions on immigration, giving him a window into how his fellow Southern Baptists see the issue, giving him an opportunity to share what he sees as a principled approach to handling the issue of immigration, as well as observing closely the impact of immigration policy on Hispanic members of the Southern Baptist Convention:

> *"There's a lot, I think a lot of Southern Baptists, are deeply offended at the disregard for the rule of law. That you know, if the law's wrong, change it. Don't just ignore it. I think they're deeply offended that their own government doesn't enforce the law. I mean, I have people call me and say, do I have a responsibility to turn people in that I know are undocumented? And my response is no! That's the police's job, not your job.*

Your job is, if they're hungry…you give them food, if they're thirsty you give them water, you try to help them if you can, and you don't ask if they're undocumented or not. That's not your job. Your job is, if you see a stranger and they're in need. You give them help. But you know, we have over 500,000 Hispanic Southern Baptists, and a significant portion of them, not a majority, but a significant portion are undocumented. So you know, we, in Texas, they don't hold the Texas convention too close to the border, because they won't come! They're too concerned about being picked up by immigration. And that's no way to live. I feel for these people, who come here, they come here for a better life. Most of them are far more appreciative of America, the Hispanic ones anyway, far more appreciative of America than Americans are."

Land was a serious outlier from the rest of the moral traditionalists. His clear preferred value was for moral traditionalism, and he frequently connected that value to his opinions on immigration. Yet it was frequent that the Judeo-Christian values he espoused were connected to more liberalized attitudes on immigration. He himself expressed his personal opinion that his immigration stances were a bit more moderate, and described himself as an outlier, discussing an article he had written about with a former student of his:

"Well…Duke…did the Biblical stuff, and I did the policy stuff, then we read each other's stuff, and we were in total agreement about where we were. But that's the most comprehensive attempt to thread the needle, because we were trying to thread the needle. Because we didn't find anybody that we agreed with! Completely. You know, we were too liberal for the conservatives, and too conservative for the liberals! So, we finally came to the conclusion that sometimes that's the price you pay for being right."

In conclusion, the evidence for the role of moral traditionalism was largely very supportive of the hypotheses I proposed in the theory and hypotheses section. In all but one case, individuals with moral traditionalism as their strongest value also had restrictive attitudes about immigration. And in the case of the one outlier, Land, those elements of moral traditionalism he expressed did result in the adoption of some of the more stereotypically restrictive immigration frames, as cultural concerns were his most frequently expressed frame. Yet these morally traditionalist attitudes also translated to

high levels of adoption for the human rights frame, as he mentioned this element of immigration more than any interviewee other than Culling.

When taken together with the evidence for the effect of limited government, it seems clear that for elites, as predicted, values play a large role in determining both general attitudes towards immigration policy as well as the frame through which they viewed immigration as an issue. Not only were these values effective in their formation of opinions, however, they generally behaved as predicted, with adherents to limited government focusing more on economic issues and generally being more conflicted about immigration policy, while adherents to moral traditionalism focused more strongly on cultural issues, with more restrictive preferences for immigration policy. It was fairly clear across the interviews, thus, that conservatism is a diverse ideology, and that elites were generally coherent in their opinions about immigration, with opinions being clearly explained through the lens of either ideology, empirical evidence, or both. None of this, however, sheds any light on the claims I make regarding the nature of the immigration policy space. Did the interviewees share my argument that the coalition intending to restrict immigration was not composed exclusively of, or even primarily of conservatives?

CONSERVATISM, LIBERALISM, AND IMMIGRATION OPINION

Several pieces of convincing evidence to support this argument are present in the interviews, and perhaps none is more convincing than the section in Krikorian's interview in which I ask him to provide names for people whom I can interview for the project. During this portion, Krikorian helpfully gave many names of conservatives with whom I could speak, but this took some time. Before getting to the conservatives,

he initially struggled, mentioning several other names, saying that they would not work, as they were not conservative. He also included his sense for the restrictive immigration movement in this quote:

"Yeah I'm thinking about who would be good. Because a lot of restrictionists are either more liberal or more middle of the road. You don't want that. Who would be good? Um…Geez. I mean, sort of, a lot of the people I'm thinking of are really like {name omitted}, he wouldn't be a conservative. He's not a liberal any more, but he's definitely not a conservative. [Name omitted], who runs [organization omitted], he's not a conservative. Um…he's become more moderate over time, but he was more liberalish in the old days. Geez."

Krikorian was not the only interviewee to discuss this diverse coalition among those advocating for more restrictive immigration policies. Malanga in particular discussed this phenomenon at length during his interview. He repeatedly expressed a certain measure of confusion as to what the "correct" side was for conservatives, preferring instead a more pragmatic and compromise based framework into which both sides of the issue, and both parties, can buy. For example, he discussed a time in which he began to realize the complex coalitions which existed on immigration policy:

"Well, this is an interesting topic. Because first of all, I don't think any more there's unanimity on the left or the right, in fact…in…2006 or 2007…someone…at the Wall Street Journal, made the observation that on this issue he can't even talk to some of his old friends anymore. And I thought that on both the left and the right, you had sort of two camps emerging, and let me give you an example. I was on a radio program about that time…and there was a panel of us. And one of the panels was an economist with the AFL-CIO. And we were on the same side of a number of issues, as opposed to other people on the panel who were on the left and the right, but weren't on the side with us. I thought that was unusual, but it's indicative you know, of the way the whole issue has been scrambled."

He then described his and the Manhattan Institute's general stance on the issue, which could be roughly described as the idea that immigration is still a net gain, but that the gain is no longer as large due to changes in the economy and the immigrants, and

that modern immigration was not working quite as successfully as in the past. He recommended moving towards more high skilled immigrants as opposed to lower skilled, but also said that he felt that this position was more in line with a bipartisan consensus in the early 2000s, could not really say that it was a true conservative position these days, and did not really even know what conservative position meant:

"So that was seven or eight years ago, and since then the debate has moved way past that kind of stuff, and I haven't moved with it. Someone sent me an email yesterday, saying they're doing these panels on immigration…and they want conservative voices, and I sent them back an email saying 'that's fine', but what do you consider a conservative voice? Because I think Trump is considered a conservative voice, and that's not where we are…so I don't know where that puts me on the scale anymore! (Laughs) I just don't know."

He then went on to discuss in more detail the changing landscape of opinion on immigration while describing the process by which he and the Manhattan Institute came about their stance on immigration.

"We have to remember that this isn't 20 years ago. It's at least 10 years ago. If we're talking about McCain-Kennedy, that era. The lines were already blurred in the sense that you had what I call, for lack of a better word, the pro-business conservatives, who were very much, I mean, the Wall Street Journal editorial page, you know, up until like 2008 and 2009 was still open borders, we don't need any borders. Even though you don't read that on that page any more, I just think that it's not on anybody's radar screen anymore. You're just going to be immediately…dismissed by a lot of people. So everybody's moved. But now you have kind of the extreme position which you hear a lot of. And so I don't know where, how to even judge where I fall on the spectrum anymore. Or how to say how we [Manhattan Institute] fall here on the spectrum anymore.

You can roughly summarize Malanga and Krikorian's insights into three main points. First, no one specific ideology has a monopoly on preferring restrictive immigration policy. Not only are there examples of restrictive liberals, but many actual play a key role in the coalitions pushing those policies, including those members of prominent restrictionist immigration groups Krikorian mentioned, as well as organized

labor organizations like Malanga mentioned (it should be noted that some organized labor groups have reversed their stance on immigration, but only very recently). Second, the landscape of elite opinion on immigration has changed remarkably in the last decade, rendering any sort of "conservative therefore restrictionist" calculation time bound at most, and deeply flawed at least. If the lines have moved recently to make position like those on which Trump campaigned the norm in conservative circles, then those changes will have to show some sort of endurance beyond a few election cycles before they can be considered to be part of the conservative policy canon, especially in light of past conservative efforts to liberalize immigration. All of this is to suggest that the position I argue for in the introduction has some validity, but there still exist outlying questions that have not yet been addressed in this chapter, including the role of national identity on elite opinion. While elites' used values as a cognitive structure through which they can process opinions, how can we describe their use of American identity?

THE ROLE OF AMERICAN IDENTITY

While American identity is usually thought of as strongly predictive for the masses, what effect does it have on political elites? Does their sense of belonging to a national group influence their opinions on immigration at all? If so, how? Evidence for this variable was more scattered and less direct for American identity than it was for conservative values, for one primary reason. First, and most importantly, there was no direct question on the interview guide related to Americanism specifically, which meant that any mention of belonging to the American national identity, or about the unique things that define America, or what makes for a good American were completely left up

to the free discourse of the participants. This is not to say that these topics never came up, however. They actually arose in most interviews, and more frequently than culture, for example. Nor is it to say that Americanism played no role in the minds of the interviewees. Mentions of American identity were generally associated with more restrictive attitudes towards immigration, or at least associated with concerns about immigration.

The best examples of American identity playing an important role in shaping opinion come from Krikorian and Zmirak's interviews. In Krikorian's case, when asked about why he is a conservative, he traced the roots back to his experiences with cultural turmoil during the civil rights era. He first identified as a conservative, he said, because:

> *"I've probably always been temperamentally conservative, in other words, but I didn't really become politically conservative until college…If I'd have to identify one thing, it's that I grew up, I was born in '61, so in 1968 and the Chicago riots, burning flags and all that stuff happened, when I was starting to kind of be aware of the world. Really, probably, it's the revulsion against the left's America hatred that probably moved me initially to the right."*

It is interesting to note that Krikorian's description of his path to conservatism begins first in identifying as an American, and only second as acceptance of conservative ideology in the abstract. His discussion here suggests that he perceived that political liberalism lacked pride in America, and even argues that they generally disliked America, and it was this observation that caused him to gravitate more towards political conservatism.

This is not to say that political values were entirely absent in Krikorian's interview. He certainly endorsed moral traditionalism on a few occasions, but these mentions were rarely in conjunction with any specific opinion on immigration, and did

occur far less frequently than in other interviews. When these values were mentioned, they were generally described in conjunction with a specific American identity. One example in which his political values and opinion were in connection was when he described the parties interested in advancing bilingual education in America:

> *"They were balkanizers, multi-culturalists whose goal was maintenance of foreign languages, and the idea was that our common life as a people would somehow be conducted in multiple languages, was and remains a repellant and fundamentally anti-American idea, in my perspective…Our common life as Americans is conducted in English, because that's our language. It's part of our culture and our history, and Americanness, at least on a broad scale, can't be separated from the English language."*

Here he discusses a cultural conception of Americanness that goes above and beyond simple self-identification. To Krikorian, the English language is an intrinsic part of being an American, which means that those who choose not to speak English or attempt to change this conception of Americanism are really attempting to change Americanism itself. As a person who identifies strongly as an American, thus, these attempts to alter what it means to be an American represent, to use his own words, a "repellant and fundamentally anti-American" mindset.

Zmirak told a similar story about his path to conservatism, tracing it back to current events occurring during a formative period in his life, and how those affected his pride as an American:

> *"If you want the causal thing, I would say it began in 1975 watching the fall of Saigon on television, and then in subsequent, seeing the North Vietnamese tanks knock down the gates of the U.S. embassy, and I was 11 years old at the time. And then in the subsequent months, watching the overrunning of Cambodia and Laos, hearing about the genocides there that were happening, and watching the U.S. Congress just sit on its hands, and not do anything for countries that we had allied with, and promised to protect. So that really just horrified me…I guess I felt like America had betrayed its*

promises, and been humiliated on the international stage, and that this could never be allowed to happen again."

Zmirak, thus, had formed a certain attachment to the nation, and found that this humiliation of the nation was occurring with seemingly few people in places of authority caring much about it.

He later spoke regarding his sense for what makes a good American, and how he felt that high amounts of Mexican immigration in particular brings a risk of undercutting this sense of national unity and identity:

"Immigration as it's currently practiced, at large scale, with very little attempt to assimilate, it destroys, it damages the idea of national unity…when you bring in people who don't share our political and cultural values, and don't have time to assimilate to them, it undermines these things that are taken for granted. Like people honoring their promises. Like being civic minded. Those are things that aren't necessarily true in some cultures, where corruption, and cronyism, and tyrannical government have existed for hundreds of years. They don't have that Anglo-American spirit which my parents, my grandparents assimilated to. That Anglo-American spirit of promise-keeping, of civic-mindedness, building charity hospitals, setting up charitable institutions, the way the Germans and the Irish did, I don't see that happening very much with Mexican immigrants. The culture they come from, people don't do that. Everything is the family. Because when you do things in the public square, it tends to get looted by a tyrannical government. I don't see these people being in any way inferior, but the culture that they come from is different than ours, and not entirely compatible. And if they come in large numbers, and maintain ethnic solidarity among themselves rather than pretty quickly intermarrying, they will tend to replace our culture with theirs, and replicate the dysfunction that they were fleeing from in their native countries."

According to Zmirak, thus, the thing about American culture that makes it so very remarkable is not the rugged individuality that some might associate with Americanism, but is rather a sort of public servant mindedness that he argues is not shared by large swaths of the immigrants currently in the U.S. As such, increasing the number of immigrants of this variety can only, in his mind, serve to water down the uniqueness of American culture.

While there were several other similar examples from interviewees that reinforced the hypothesis that strong attachment to the American identity produces more restrictive attitudes towards immigration, Culling's interview represents an interesting counter to the theory. He identified strongly as an American, but framed his sense of Americanism much differently than the other interviewees, saying:

> *"I'm a big believe in American exceptionalism. I'm a big, corny, sort of rah rah U.S.A. guy. I think that with the greatness of this country, both culturally, economically, militarily, whatever, we are a destination. For people all over the world, and I'm very proud of that. I think that with all the success that our country has had, we also have a responsibility. When we can help people without disrupting our way of life, we should do it. So you see Syrians that are literally fleeing for their lives from horrible, horrible people. I think that it makes a lot of sense for them to come here, and set up shop. Get a job, go to church, and serve in the military if you want to. Get a degree. I feel that they're human beings who we can help, and so we should. We have a long history of helping the less fortunate shoulder their burdens, and we're losing sight of that, I fear. Whether it's because they're Muslim and it's scary, or there's a lack of trust in our politicians and our institutions. I don't exactly know why. But I think we need to stick with that attitude towards immigrants, that they're humans."*

Here Culling argues that his sense of Americanism includes a certain responsibility, similar to the motto on the Statue of Liberty, to help those around the world who need help. This, to Culling, represents one way for America to embrace her role as world leader.

While Culling demonstrates that the theory does not always work out to result in more restrictive opinions towards immigration, the balance of mentions of Americanism and attachment to America were generally supportive of the theory. Most individuals who mentioned attachment to or admiration for American culture, or America itself had more restrictive views of immigration, so on net, the theory has received some support in the elite group. What about culture, however? Did adherence to particular cultural norms result in differing opinions for the interviewees?

THE ROLE OF CULTURE

Out of all of the challenges of coding the data for this chapter, coding for culture was by far the most difficult. There were many mentions during the interviews that were extremely challenging to code, being able to code them in either an ideological manner, or a cultural one. In those cases, it was simply a judgment call as to which was closer, as I did not want to conflate culture with values in my coding, although there were occasions when I coded a statement both an ideological value and a cultural one. For example, consider the following statement from Fisher. "In America, up until recently, we were a capitalist nation, and believed that the best liberating force is the individual, and that we're responsible for ourselves, and that ends up generally creating incredible prosperity because it gives people the freedom to pursue their own goals and dreams and aspirations." This statement, in my opinion, could have been classified as either exemplifying limited government or individualism, so I made the judgment call to code it as both. Generally, however, as my dissertation deals primarily with values with a smaller focus on culture, I made borderline calls towards the value side rather than the culture side, resulting in a ratio of values to culture that was far more in favor of mentions of value rather than culture.

The coding was also complicated due to the fact that across all of the interviews, not a single interviewee mentioned egalitarianism, and only one mentioned hierarchism. Two did not mention culture at all, and only one, Stovall, made any sort of culture a significant part of his interview. Stovall was the clear outlier, mentioning his preference for individualism seven times, as compared to two mentions for the next closest interviewee (Ponnuru).

Due to these challenges, it is extremely challenging to make any generalizations from the data. With essentially all individuals identifying as individualists, and coding being challenging even given the strongly skewed nature of the data, I have chosen to defer making any conclusions regarding the role of culture on immigration opinion among elites. It is hoped that future efforts in understanding culture's importance in informing political opinions among elites will feature more sophisticated research design to more directly measure an individual's culture as a separate element from their political values. Unfortunately, this iteration of the project is not the one to do this, although it is hoped that subsequent revisions will do a better job of this.

DISCUSSION

The interview data presented in this chapter shows strong confirmation of most of the hypotheses posed earlier in my dissertation. Elites, as expected, perceived immigration as a complex and multifaceted issue. They were keenly aware of the crosscutting nature of the issue, and had coherent and intriguing answers to a wide range of questions about these different aspects of immigration.

They also saw conservatism in vastly different ways, with each individual having their own unique take on the ideology. While conservatism was not primarily split into three values, as I hypothesize, the divide between limited government and moral traditionalism was noticeable, and most interviewees focused primarily on one over the other. The lack of mentions of national security was contrary to my hypotheses, but could simply be due to the relatively low sample size used, and also could reflect that perhaps it is conservatives who are more interested in moral traditionalism and

limited government, while conservatives who are interested in national security focus more on different issues rather than immigration.

There was also significant evidence to suggest that restrictive opinion on immigration is not a position monopolized by conservatives. Both the descriptions of immigration as an issue, as well as discussions of political coalitions mentioned during the interviews suggested that the political coalitions surrounding immigration policy are as varied and diverse as the issue itself. Thus, it makes sense to see restrictive opinion on immigration not primarily as a conservative versus liberal issue. If that dichotomy exists, it is likely a newer development, and there is no theoretical reason to assume that it will continue intact into the future.

Conservative values influenced opinion in largely an identical manner to my predictions in the theory and hypotheses chapter of my dissertation. Strong adherents to moral traditionalism were almost exclusively in favor of more restrictive immigration opinions, while adherents to limited government were much more varied and, at times, conflicted over the "right" stance to take, given their values. Moral traditionalists were also much more likely to be concerned over cultural issues, while adherents to limited government were more focused on the economic ramifications of immigration. While there were certainly exceptions to this (most notably the interview with Land), this general principle held true across the rest of the interviews.

American identity also behaved in a manner predicted in the literature, generally resulting in more restrictive attitudes towards immigration. Individuals who identified strongly as an American were more likely to support more restrictive policies and to be

focused on more negative frames of immigration as an issue. One interesting counter to this trend was Culling, who used American identity as a foundation for supporting more open and liberalized immigration policy, but this was only one exception to the more general rule.

While this project has proven successful in verifying many of the hypotheses I propose, significant improvements are needed to move the study of conservative ideas and immigration policy forward. First, the role of culture was far too challenging to measure with the current research design and approach. To draw conclusions at this time would be beyond the scope of what I consider to be valuable social scientific research, so I will have to decline to do so at this time. Improving on this aspect of the research design will be the most critical improvement for the project as it moves forward in subsequent iterations.

Second, more direct questioning about American identity would be a useful addition in revisions to the project. While some interviewees gave substantial amounts of detail regarding their view of America, others gave nothing. While this could be a sign of lower interest in America compared to those who did mention it, it could very well be that upon being asked about their view of America, and what makes a good American that those who were silent on the subject may have substantial and interesting insights.

Third, a larger number and more diverse distribution of interviewees would be a substantial improvement to the project. Getting eleven interviews with political elites may seem like a small number, but it required hundreds of hours finding contact

information, cold calling, obtaining references from contacts, setting up informed consent documents, scheduling interview times, etc. As such, I believe eleven is sufficient to begin to explore these concepts, but realize that a larger number will be needed to begin to get a broader picture of conservative opinion on immigration. Strong adherents to a strong national defense should be particularly sought out to further explore if the lack of national defense conservatives interviewed here is a symptom of poor sampling, or if the sample was actually acceptable and few elites are interested in immigration for national security reasons.

In summary, this chapter of my dissertation advances our understanding both of conservative elite opinion and immigration as a policy issue. My depiction of immigration and conservatism as complex phenomena worthy of deeper analysis can be said to have received support from these data, and concrete improvements to the project have been suggested. Access to other elites will be critical in these improvements, along with gradually improved research designs allowing more direct measurement of culture and American identity in particular.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND NEXT STEPS

INTRODUCTION

My argument framed in the introductory chapter to dissertation was that conservatism has a stereotype attached to it. Like most stereotypes, it has a certain basis in reality, but merely focusing on the stereotype will cause the viewer to have an incomplete and frequently inaccurate picture of the object of the stereotype. In the case of conservative ideology, the stereotype is that conservatives oppose immigration, and I lay out several reasons why that has not always proven to be the case, and make the case that these reasons are not merely small outliers, but are rather critically important data points to be understood, not to be dismissed.

I then set out to test this argument by looking more in depth at what constitutes conservative ideology, and proposed various tests to examine whether these various components of conservative ideology lend themselves to differing opinions on immigration, as well as different adherence to frames of immigration as an issue. The tests included regression analyses on nationally representative surveys, purposive surveys of politically engaged conservatives, and interviews of political elites who self-identify as conservative.

The question to be answered by this work was "what is it specifically about conservatism that lends itself towards both positive and negative attitudes towards immigration?" I believe that the empirical analysis that has been presented in the previous three chapters have at least pointed future work in this area in the right

direction towards answering this question more completely, and that this work has provided enough empirical analysis to at least make some tentative conclusions.

CONSERVATIVE SELF-IDENTIFICATION AND CONSERVATIVE VALUES

I believe that my core hypothesis, that conservatism's relationship with immigration opinion is far more nuanced than the stereotype would suggest, has received strong support from the empirical analysis presented in the previous three chapters. At the mass level, as discussed in chapter four, big tent conservatism showed mixed effects on immigration opinion. In several models, conservatism influenced immigration opinion in a negative way, but was not very impactful, especially when compared to the effects of other theoretically important values such as American identity and political values. In other models, conservative self-identification had no significant effects whatsoever.

At the politically engaged level, conservative self-identification's effect on immigration opinion was even more mixed than at the mass level. While the sampling and methods used at this level were admittedly the most experimental and novel than in the other chapters, it bears noting that conservative self-identification was associated with more liberalized immigration opinion more frequently than it was with more restriction opinions for this group. Like the results from the mass level however, the effects of conservative self-identification were significantly smaller than the effects for other relevant variables.

At the elite level, conservatism was such an amorphous and nuanced concept that assessing any effect of conservatism writ large was impossible. Several respondents

went into detail regarding their confusion about the shifting lines of immigration policy and opinion, as well as conservatism itself, and generally preferred to couch their immigration opinions in more specific concepts like limited government, moral traditionalism, the rule of law, or religious beliefs. While the sophistication of these respondents certainly exceeds that of the members of the mass or engaged levels, their responses lend a great deal of support to my arguments regarding shifting support for immigration among members of both the liberal and conservative movements over the past few decades, as well as for my arguments against conservative self-identification as a useful measure of political tendency.

In contrast to the relatively unimpressive performance of conservative self-identification in the empirical analysis of the last three chapters, conservative political values actually showed significant impact on opinion across all three groups, and certainly warrant more examination in future work in this area. Moral traditionalism had the strongest effect out of all three of the political values examined in this work, and this effect was always either not significant or significantly moved opinion in a restrictive direction, as predicted. In the mass level data, moral traditionalism was significant in all five models in which it was included, and was over ten times more impactful than conservative self-identification in the single model in which they were both significant. While measurement and sampling were the most experimental and challenging in the engaged level data, moral traditionalism was still significant in one of the models, and was negative in that model, while also outperforming conservative self-identification by a wide margin. As expected, moral traditionalism was very influential

at the elite level, with all but one of the interviewees who espoused moral traditionalism as their primary variable taking a restrictive stance on immigration.

The record of limited government was far more mixed than the unanimous effect of moral traditionalism, but this is in keeping with the predictions made during the theory and hypothesis chapter of my dissertation. At the mass level, belief in limited government was, when significant, always associated with more restrictive attitudes about immigration, which makes sense when placed in the context of the sophistication of the respondents. As the sophistication level increases, however, limited government's impact on immigration opinion becomes far more nuanced. At the engaged level, limited government was associated with negative attitudes about the DREAM Act, and a more restrictive preference towards immigration policy in general, but also associated with more liberalized attitudes towards the wisdom of allowing immigration status checks by state and local police. This more nuanced take on limited government was fully on display at the elite level, where several of the interviews noted the ideological challenge of bringing their immigration opinions in line with their belief in limited government. In comparison to the nearly unanimous influence of moral traditionalism, believers in limited government were evenly distributed across the opinion spectrum at the elite level, with two respondents having liberalized immigration attitudes, two having moderate attitudes, and two having restrictive attitudes. The predictions I made regarding the nuanced nature of belief in limited government have, therefore, been given empirical support in my dissertation.

In short, conservative self-identification as a concept has been shown to be seriously lacking theoretically, given the diversity of political thought undergirding the

ideology. This theoretical lacking was also reflected in the empirical evidence, where conservative self-identification had mixed effects, and those effects were very low in terms of impact across all three populations examined in my dissertation. As a result, I would feel confident in saying that including measures of moral traditionalism, limited government, and national security would go a lot farther in explaining public opinion than would including conservative self-identification.

CULTURAL VALUES

The empirical record on cultural values presented in my dissertation was mixed, but in a manner different to that of limited government. Limited government was predicted to have a more nuanced effect on public opinion on immigration, while cultural values were hypothesized to have strong, sizeable, and predictable effects across all of the levels examined in the previous chapters. Cultural values performed quite well, and as predicted, at the mass level, with individualist and egalitarian cultures responding in a more liberalized manner to immigration questions, while hierarchists responded in a more restrictive manner. At the engaged level, however, egalitarianism was statistically significant in two models, one in the predicted liberalized direction, and once in a restrictive direction. Hierachists and individualists had the predicted opinion in four of the eight models, while having the opposite opinion in one of the eight. This is slightly troubling, as proxy measures for culture were used at the mass level, while more generally accepted measures for culture were used at the engaged level, but sampling was also most experimental at the engaged level, so this may explain the slight divergence from the results expected from the literature.

The elite level, however, was where culture was incredibly hard to measure. I was hoping that these kinds of cultural values would naturally spring out of a conversation about values, and often times individuals would say things that were strongly reminiscent of certain cultural values, but were generally closer to statements that could be classified as ideological rather than cultural. This undergirds one of the biggest weaknesses of cultural theory, in my opinion, which is that the concepts of political beliefs and cultural values are frequently so similar that it can be difficulty to differentiate between the two. In this case, it is more likely, in my opinion, that culture as described by Douglas and Wildavsky is simply too similar to political values to be a useful and new inclusion in political analysis. Mine is hardly the definitive word on the subject, but I believe it will not likely be a central concept in my future research, particularly in research featuring content analysis on interview data.

AMERICAN IDENTITY

American identity has served as one of the dominant concepts in the literature on immigration opinion, and a cursory look at the results of the empirical work on the mass levels shows both the strengths and weaknesses of this approach. On one hand, strong attachment to American identity was statistically significant and influenced immigration opinion in a restrictive manner in eleven of the thirteen models run at the mass level. On the other hand, the impact of American identity was statistically dwarfed by that of political values, and in particular moral traditionalism. This suggests that American identity is indeed an important concept in immigration opinion, but should not necessarily be the central one in the literature. It also suggests that the ideological sophistication of individuals at the mass level is in fact significantly higher than one

would expect based on the literature's depiction, and this is largely due to measurement error by focusing on large scale ideologies rather than on more narrow political values. American identity performed very poorly at the engaged level, however, but the unique anti-nationalist bent of the sample could likely have caused these data to be misleading. The most disappointing performance of American identity was again at the elite level, where the concept rarely came up. Of the three people who discussed American identity at length, two of the three of those who identified strongly as Americans also held restrictive views, but more direct measurement of the concept will be necessary in future iterations of the project.

NEXT STEPS

I believe that my dissertation has been a mix of successes and failures, and like all but the most refined and skilled examples of social science research, the balance has been far more into failure than I would like to admit. But one of the ways in which refinement and skill come about is from confront error and mistake and applying appropriate correction, so I think it would be safe to say that even in error my dissertation has uniquely equipped me to go forth and do better in the future.

I think that my dissertation was probably a bit too ambitious in the number of things it sought to examine, making it challenging to adequately produce a work that could be simply summarized and clearly explained. Too many moving pieces tends to make for messy social science that does far more to confuse rather than elucidate, and my dissertation certainly had more than one extraneous area of analysis that could easily be cut while not taking away much at all from my core argument. I think the

primary candidates for cuts in future work are culture, which either underperformed or was tremendously challenging to differentiate from political values, or the notion of immigration frames, which was probably poorly branded and requires its own separate analysis. As an exploratory analysis, I am grateful to have included these elements in this version, but will use this opportunity to pare down the analysis in future projects to enjoy the fruits of greater depth and clarity at the cost of wider scope.

I think that my dissertation has clearly laid the groundwork for future work in this area, and that the lesson which I have learned will serve me well as I prepare for and conduct my research from this point on. I believe that my first project will be an article length combination of my first and separate chapters, with better sampling techniques for my engaged group. While novel and interesting I believe that my sampling for the engaged group was fundamentally flawed, and think that my future examinations of this group should just take place as a subsample of larger and more established datasets, like the ANES. It would be fairly simple to cut down the dataset to only include groups like campaign donors, those who are knowledgeable about politics or other signs of political engagement and compare that group to the general population from the same data set. Combined with the lessons that I have learned about relevant variables, I think that this design will be far more refined and successful than this first attempt.

I am also interested in trying to apply this theory across opinion issues other than immigration. I think this theory has broad applicability across the spectrum of issues, including opinion issues like gay marriage, drug legalization, and other social issues that do not necessarily have a universal conservative take on them. These issues

are also ripe for examination using my limited government and moral traditionalism lens due to the fact that an individual could come to any number of opinions on those subjects, depending on the weight that they give to each of the values.

An additional application of this concept could be fairly simply applied to progressivism, as well. Theoretically, if conservative is a pluralistic ideology, then liberalism is as well. If so, then we should expect similar forces to be at play within the progressive movement as are operational among conservatives. As shown in the introduction to my dissertation, progressivism's relationship with immigration is every bit as long and varied as is conservatism's, so attempting to apply the theory across ideologies should be a natural fit for future research. Should that research on immigration and progressivism prove fruitful, then subsequent research into progressive values' effects on other issues would also be warranted.

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APPENDIX A: ANES 2012 QUESTIONS

Conservatism Measure:

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

1. Extremely liberal
2. Liberal
3. Slightly liberal
4. Moderate; middle of the road
5. Slightly conservative
6. Conservative
7. Extremely conservative

American Identity Measure:

How important is being American to your identity?

1. Extremely important
2. Very important
3. Moderately important

4. A little important

5. Not at all important

Limited government Measures:

1. Next, I am going to ask you to choose which of two statements I read comes closer to your own opinion. You might agree to some extent with both, but we want to know which one is closer to your own view.

    a. Set 1:

        i. The main reason government has become bigger over the years is because it has gotten involved in things that people should do for themselves; or:

        ii. Government has become bigger because the problems we face have become bigger.

    b. Set 2:

        i. We need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problem; or:

        ii. The free market can handle these problems without government being involved.

    c. Set 3:

        i. The less government, the better; or:

ii. There are more things government should be doing.

2. How much government regulation of business is good for society?

    a. A great deal

    b. A lot

    c. A moderate amount

    d. A little

    e. None at all

Moral Traditionalism Measures:

Now I am going to read several statements about society in general. After each one, I would like you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree. (All choice from 1-5, agree strongly-disagree strongly)

1. The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes.

2. The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.

3. We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own.

4. We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own.

5. This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties.

National Security Measures:

1. Thinking about public expenditures on defense, should there be…

    1. Much more than now
    2. Somewhat more than now
    3. The same as now
    4. Somewhat less than now
    5. Much less than now

2. Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 7. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

    1. Government should decrease defense spending
    2. .
    3. .
    4. .

5. .

6. .

7. Government should increase defense spending

Hierarchism/Individualism Measures:

1. Please tell me which on you think is more important for a child to have:

    a. Independence

    b. Respect for elders

2. Which one is more important for a child to have:

    a. Obedience

    b. Self-reliance

Egalitarianism Measures:

1. I am going to read several more statements. After each one, I would like you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree. (All statements rated from 1-5, agree strongly-disagree strongly)

    a. Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.

    b. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.

c. One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.

d. This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are.

e. It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.

f. If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems.

Demographic Measures:

1. Are you male or female?

2. Birthdate: year of birth

3. What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

4. Are you Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino?

5. I am going to read you a list of five race categories. Please choose one or more races that you consider yourself to be:

6. In what state country, or territory were you born?

    a. A U.S. state or D.C.

    b. Puerto Rico

c. Another U.S. territory

d. Another country

7. Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, do you ever attend religious services, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals?

8. Regardless of whether you now attend any religious services do you ever think of yourself as part of a particular church or denomination?

9. (Attends church) Do you mostly attend a place of worship that is Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

10. (Nonattendance) Do you consider yourself Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

11. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, a Democrat, and independent, or what?

    a. No preference

    b. Democrat

    c. Republican

    d. Independent

    e. Other party

12. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic party?

13. Do you happen to know how many times an individual can be elected President of the United States under current laws?

14. Is the U.S. federal budget deficit—the amount by which the government's spending exceeds the amount of money it collects—now bigger, about the same, or smaller than it was during most of the 1990s?

    a. Bigger

    b. About the same

    c. Smaller

15. For how many years is a United States Senator elected—that is, how many years are there in one full term of office for a U.S. Senator?

16. What is Medicare?

    a. A program run by the U.S. federal government to pay for old people's health care

    b. A program run by state governments to provide health care to poor people

    c. A private health insurance plan sold to individuals in all 50 states

    d. A private, non-profit organization that runs free health clinics

17. On which of the following does the U.S. federal government currently spend the least?

    a. Foreign aid

    b. Medicare

    c. National defense

    d. Social Security

18. Generally speaking, how often can you trust other people?

    a. Always

    b. Most of the time

    c. About half the time

    d. Some of the time

    e. Never

19. Here is a list of some organizations people can belong to. There are: labor unions, associations of people who do the same kinds of work, fraternal groups such as Lions or Kiwanis, hobby clubs or sports teams, groups working on political issues, community groups, and school groups. Of course, there are lots of other types of organizations, too. How many organizations are you currently a member of?

20. I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer.

Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person.

If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one. How would you rate the tea party?

APPENDIX B: 21CAS QUESTIONS

Dependent Variable Measures:

1. Now I have some questions about immigration policy in the United States. Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased, decreased, or left the same as it is now? (Level)
    a. Increased
    b. Decreased
    c. Left the same
2. I am going to read some statements that have been used to describe immigration and immigrants today. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree. Immigrants today take advantage of jobs and opportunities here without doing enough to give back to the community. (Costs Frame)
    a. Strongly agree
    b. Somewhat agree
    c. Somewhat disagree
    d. Strongly disagree
3. Immigrants today come to think of themselves as Americans just as much as immigrants from earlier eras did. (Component of cultural frame)

a. Strongly agree

b. Somewhat agree

c. Somewhat disagree

d. Strongly disagree

4. Blending into the larger society while still maintaining cultural traditions is difficult, but a lot of immigrants today seem to do a good job of it. (Component of cultural frame)

    a. Strongly agree

    b. Somewhat agree

    c. Somewhat disagree

    d. Strongly disagree

5. If immigrants only tried harder to fit in, then more Americans would accept their cultural differences.

    a. Strongly agree

    b. Somewhat agree

    c. Somewhat disagree

    d. Strongly disagree

Conservatism Measure:

1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as conservative, moderate, or liberal?
    a. Conservative
    b. Moderate
    c. Liberal

American Identity Measure:

1. I'm going to read a list of things that some people say are important in making someone a true American. Thinking of oneself as American. Would you say that it should be very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or very unimportant in making someone a true American)
    a. Very Important
    b. Somewhat Important
    c. Somewhat Unimportant
    d. Very Unimportant

Hierarchism Measures:

1. I'm going to read a list of things that some people say are important in making someone a true American. Having American Citizenship. Would

you say that it should be very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or very unimportant in making someone a true American)

a. Very Important

b. Somewhat Important

c. Somewhat Unimportant

d. Very Unimportant

2. I'm going to read a list of things that some people say are important in making someone a true American. Respecting America's political institutions and laws. Would you say that it should be very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or very unimportant in making someone a true American)

a. Very Important

b. Somewhat Important

c. Somewhat Unimportant

d. Very Unimportant

Individualism Measures:

1. I'm going to read a list of things that some people say are important in making someone a true American. Pursuing economic success through hard work. Would you say that it should be very important, somewhat important,

somewhat unimportant, or very unimportant in making someone a true American)

e. Very Important

f. Somewhat Important

g. Somewhat Unimportant

h. Very Unimportant

2. Letting other people say what they want, no matter how much other people disagree with them. Would you say that it should be very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or very unimportant in making someone a true American)

a. Very Important

b. Somewhat Important

c. Somewhat Unimportant

d. Very Unimportant

***Egalitarianism Measures**:*

1. I'm going to read a list of things that some people say are important in making someone a true American. Seeing people of all backgrounds as American. Would you say that it should be very important, somewhat

important, somewhat unimportant, or very unimportant in making someone a true American)

   a. Very Important

   b. Somewhat Important

   c. Somewhat Unimportant

   d. Very Unimportant

Demographic and Control Measures:

1. Were you born in the United States?

   a. Yes

   b. No

2. Are you of Hispanic or Latin origin or descent?

   a. Yes

   b. No

3. What race do you consider yourself to be… (white, black, Asian, native American, or some other race)?

   a. White/Caucasian

   b. Black/African American

   c. Asian

d. Native American

e. Some other race (open ended responses)

f. Hispanic/Latino

g. Mixed (open ended response)

4. The next set of questions focuses on the government. Many people do not know the answers to these questions. If there are some you don't know, please just say so. What are the first 10 amendments to the Constitution called? (Component of knowledge measure)

    a. The Bill of Rights

    b. Wrong answer

5. What position is held by William Rehnquist? (Component of knowledge measure)

    a. Correctly identifies Rehnquist as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court

    b. Identification is incomplete or wrong

6. Which political party has the most members in the House of Representatives-the Democrats or the Republicans? (Component of knowledge measure)

    a. Republican Party

    b. Wrong Answer

7. How many years is the term of a United States Senator? (Component of knowledge measure)
    a. Six years
    b. Wrong answer
8. General speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?
    a. Most people can be trusted
    b. You can't be too careful
9. As you know, people can belong to various organizations or associations such as labor unions, professional associations, fraternal groups such as Lions or Elks, hobby clubs or sports teams, groups working on political issues, community groups, and school groups. Of course, there are lots of other types of organizations, too. Not counting membership in a local church, synagogue or mosque, are you a member of any of these kinds of organizations? About how many?
    a. Numerical value
10. What is your age?
    a. Numerical value
11. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?

a. Less than high school diploma

b. High school grad

c. Trade/vocational school

d. Some college (No degree or associate's degree)

e. Bachelor's degree (BA or BS)

f. Some graduate school (No degree)

g. Graduate level degree

12. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?

a. Closer to Republican Party

b. Closer to Democratic Party

c. True Independent

13. What, if any, is your religious preference?

a. Agnostic

b. Atheist

c. Baptist/Southern Baptist

d. Buddhist

e. Catholic

f. Christian

g. Episcopalian

h. Jehovah's Witness

i. Jewish

j. Lutheran

k. Methodist/United Methodist

l. Mormon/Church of Latter Day Saints

m. Muslim

n. Presbyterian

o. Protestant

p. Quaker

q. Seventh Day Adventist

r. Other (Please specify)

14. Income variable created from two income questions, sorting respondents into 16 categories from less than 10,000 to more than 200,000. Question is worded "Please tell me which income category best describes the total amount of income, before taxes, received by all of the members in your household during 2003. Please stop me what I reach the correct income category. Would you say…"

APPENDIX C: ENGAGED LEVEL SURVEY

Demographic Measures:

1. What is your age?
    a. 10-19
    b. 20-29
    c. 30-39
    d. 40-49
    e. 50-59
    f. 60-69
    g. 70 or older
2. What is your gender?
    a. Male
    b. Female
3. Information about income is very important to understand how people are doing financially these days. Your answers are confidential. Would you please give your best guess? What is the total income of all the members of your family in 2014, before taxes (in US dollars)?
    a. 0-19,999
    b. 20,000-39,999
    c. 40,000-59,999
    d. 60,000-79,999
    e. 80,000-99,999
    f. 100,000-200,000

g. 200,000-1,000,000

h. 1,000,000 or more

4. What is your religious preference? Is it Protestant, Evangelical Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, some other religion, or no religion?

    a. Protestant

    b. Evangelical Protestant

    c. Catholic

    d. Jewish

    e. Some other religion (with choice)

    f. No religion

5. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

    a. Did not complete high school

    b. High school

    c. Associate degree

    d. Bachelor's degree

    e. Master's degree

    f. Professional degree

    g. Doctorate

6. Were you born in the United States?

    a. Yes

    b. No

7. Are you of Hispanic or Latin origin or descent?

    a. Yes

b. No

8. Which one of these best describes how you think of yourself most of the time?
    a. I identify as a member of my racial group
    b. I identify as an American
    c. I identify as a member of a country that is not the U.S. (with choice)
    d. Don't know/none of these

Political Knowledge Measures:

1. Do you happen to know how many times an individual can be elected President of the United States under current laws?
    a. 1
    b. 2
    c. 3
    d. 4
    e. No limit
2. Is the U.S. federal budget deficit-the amount by which the government's spending exceeds the amount of money it collects-now bigger, about the same, or smaller than it was during most of the 1990s?
    a. Bigger
    b. About the same
    c. Smaller
3. For how many years is a United States Senator elected-that is, how many years are there in one full term of office for a U.S. Senator?
    a. 2

b. 4

c. 6

d. 8

4. What is Medicare?

    a. A program run by the U.S. federal government to pay for old people's health care

    b. A program run by state governments to provide health care to poor people

    c. A private health insurance plan sold to individuals in all 50 states

    d. A private, non-profit organization that runs free health clinics

5. On which of the following does the U.S. federal government currently spend the least?

    a. Foreign aid

    b. Medicare

    c. National defense

    d. Social Security

Ideology and Values Measures:

1. When it comes to politics, would you describe yourself, and the following, as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

    a. Very liberal

    b. Somewhat liberal

    c. Neither liberal nor conservative

    d. Somewhat conservative

e. Very conservative

2. Please rate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements. Relying on aid from other nations to ensure international and national security is a good idea.
    a. Strongly agree
    b. Somewhat agree
    c. Somewhat disagree
    d. Strongly disagree
3. Other nations cannot be trusted, and as such we should maintain a very strong military.
    a. Strongly agree
    b. Somewhat agree
    c. Somewhat disagree
    d. Strongly disagree
4. All human beings are born with certain rights that governments and other human beings should not take away.
    a. Strongly agree
    b. Somewhat agree
    c. Somewhat disagree
    d. Strongly disagree
5. Private businesses do a better job of providing needed goods and services than the government.
    a. Strongly agree

b. Somewhat agree

c. Somewhat disagree

d. Strongly disagree

6. A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work.

    a. Strongly agree

    b. Somewhat agree

    c. Somewhat disagree

    d. Strongly disagree

7. A preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works.

    a. Strongly agree

    b. Somewhat agree

    c. Somewhat disagree

    d. Strongly disagree

8. It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family.

    a. Strongly agree

    b. Somewhat agree

    c. Somewhat disagree

    d. Strongly disagree

9. Attempting big changes in a short period of time is not a good idea.

    a. Strongly agree

    b. Somewhat agree

c. Somewhat disagree

d. Strongly disagree

10. There's been a lot of discussion about the way morals and attitudes about sex are changing in this country. If a man and a woman have sexual relations before marriage, do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?

    a. Always wrong

    b. Almost always wrong

    c. Wrong only sometimes

    d. Not wrong at all

11. What about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex-do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?

    a. Always wrong

    b. Almost always wrong

    c. Wrong only sometimes

    d. Not wrong at all

12. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree that it is sometimes necessary to discipline a child with a good, hard spanking?

    a. Strongly agree

    b. Somewhat agree

    c. Somewhat disagree

    d. Strongly disagree

13. Some people say that it is better for a country if different for a country if different racial and ethnic groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions. Others say that it is better if these groups adapt and blend into the larger society. Which of these views comes closer to your own?
    a. Groups should maintain their distinct customs and traditions
    b. Groups should adapt and blend into the larger society

Cultural Values Measures:

1. Please rate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements. The best way to get ahead in life is to work hard and do what you are told to do.
    a. Strongly disagree
    b. Somewhat disagree
    c. Somewhat agree
    d. Strongly agree
2. Society is in trouble because people do not obey those in authority.
    a. Strongly disagree
    b. Somewhat disagree
    c. Somewhat agree
    d. Strongly agree
3. Society would be much better off if we imposed strict and swift punishment on those who break the rules.
    a. Strongly disagree
    b. Somewhat disagree
    c. Somewhat agree

    d. Strongly agree

4. What society needs is a fairness revolution to make the distribution of goods more equal.
    a. Strongly disagree
    b. Somewhat disagree
    c. Somewhat agree
    d. Strongly agree
5. Society works best if power is shared equally
    a. Strongly disagree
    b. Somewhat disagree
    c. Somewhat agree
    d. Strongly agree
6. It is our responsibility to reduce differences in income between the rich and the poor.
    a. Strongly disagree
    b. Somewhat disagree
    c. Somewhat agree
    d. Strongly agree
7. Even if some people are at a disadvantage, it is best for society to let people succeed or fail on their own.
    a. Strongly disagree
    b. Somewhat disagree
    c. Somewhat agree

d. Strongly agree

8. Even the disadvantaged should have to make their own way in the world.
    a. Strongly disagree
    b. Somewhat disagree
    c. Somewhat agree
    d. Strongly agree
9. We are all better off when we compete as individuals.
    a. Strongly disagree
    b. Somewhat disagree
    c. Somewhat agree
    d. Strongly agree

Immigration Frame Measures:

1. Please order the following perspectives on immigrants to America in the order of which you believe that they are most accurate, with "1" indicating that you believe that it is the *least accurate*, and "5" indicating that you think it is the *most accurate*. To reorder the statements, click and drag the statement to the rating you would like.
    a. Immigrants fill many jobs that Americans will not do.
    b. Immigration costs America more than it benefits America
    c. Unsecured borders and the immigrants who come through the greatly increase the danger of terrorist attacks on the U.S.
    d. The current generation of immigrants has not assimilated to American culture as quickly as past generations.

Immigration Policy Measures:

1. Which comes closest to your view about what government policy should be toward unauthorized immigrants now living in the United States?
    a. Make all unauthorized immigrants felons and send them back to their home country.
    b. Have a guest worker program that allows unauthorized immigrants to remain in the United States in order to work, but only for a limited time.
    c. Allow unauthorized immigrants to remain in the United States and eventually qualify for U.S. citizenship, but only if they meet certain requirements like paying back taxes and fines, learning English, and passing background checks.
    d. Allow unauthorized immigrants to remain in the United States and eventually qualify for U.S. citizenship, without penalties.
2. There is a proposal to allow people who were illegally brought into the U.S. as children to become permanent U.S. residents under some circumstances. Specifically citizens of other countries who illegally entered the U.S. before age 16, who have lived in the U.S. 5 years or longer, and who graduated high school would be allowed to stay in the U.S. as permanent residents if they attend college or service in the military. From what you have heard, do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose this proposal?
    a. Favor
    b. Oppose
    c. Neither favor nor oppose

3. Some states have passed a law that will require state and local police to determine the immigration status of a person if they find that there is a reasonable suspicion he or she is an undocumented immigrant. Those found to be in the U.S. without permission will have broken state law. From what you have heard, do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose these immigration laws?
    a. Favor
    b. Oppose
    c. Neither favor nor oppose
4. Do you think the number of immigrants to America nowadays should be increased, remain the same as it is, or be decreased?
    a. Increased
    b. Remain the same
    c. Decreased

APPENDIX D: ELITE INTERVIEW GUIDE

Why are you a conservative?

What led you to the beliefs that you have about immigration?

What economic costs and/or benefits does immigration present?

What social costs and/or benefits does immigration present?

What do you think about adding an English language amendment to the Constitution and why (explain what this is to the engaged group)?

What do you think about E-Verify and why (explain to engaged group)?

What do you think about building a fence on the U.S. Mexico-Border and why?

What do you think about providing a path to legal residence for undocumented immigrants and why?

What do you think about providing welfare benefits of any kind to legal immigrants and why?

Should current legal immigration levels be the same, increased, or decreased and why?

If you could pick one immigration reform to undertake, which would it be and why?

Do you know of any other people to whom I can speak?

APPENDIX E: ELITE INTERVIEW CODING RUBRIC

Category (Frames)	**Key Words**
Human Rights	Human rights, rights, equal
Economic Efficiency	Competition, labor, business, specialization, work, revenue
Economic Costs	Welfare, education, deficit, budget, health care, emergency room, taxes
Cultural Concerns	Culture, language, English, multi-cultural, heritage, tradition, second language
Security	Security, terrorism, 9/11, border, fence
Rule of Law	Fair, enforce, justice, law
Category (Values/Culture/Identity)	**Key Words**
Limited Government	Liberty, property, freedom, economics, distortion, regulation, bureaucracy, taxes, spending, deficit, debt
Moral Traditionalism	Culture, values, Western, Judeo-Christian
National Security	Border, terrorism, fence, military, deterrent
American Identity	America, American, American culture, pride, national, unity
Egalitarianism	Equal, equality, fairness
Individualism	Individual, hard work, entrepreneur
Hierarchism	Obey, submit, order, hierarchy, authority

APPENDIX F: ELITE INTERVIEWEE BIOGRAPHIES

Brad Bailey:

For many years, Brad has been active in lobbying on the legislative issues that affect the restaurant industry in Texas and across the United States. This passion led Brad to co-found The Texas Immigration Solution in 2012. The Texas Immigration Solution is a 501c4 non-profit organization that develops and advances conservative solutions for the currently broken U.S. immigration policy. The goals of the organization are to provide a voice for U.S. job creators by educating the broader community on the urgent need for comprehensive, conservative and market-oriented reforms of the immigration process. In June 2012, Brad served on the Republican Party of Texas Platform Committee and co- authored "The Texas Solution" immigration platform plank. This was the first time any state Republican Party proposed a solution to repair the currently broken U.S. immigration policy. At the Republican National Convention in August 2012, Brad and The Texas Immigration Solution successfully secured the historic endorsement of a National Guest-Worker Program on the Republican National Convention Platform.

In 2008, Brad was elected as a City Council Member for his hometown of Nassau Bay, Texas. He was recently elected to serve his 3rd term. As a member of Nassau Bay City Council, Brad also serves as the Vice Chairman of the Bay Area Houston Convention and Visitors Bureau, the Secretary of the Board of Directors for the Nassau Bay Economic Development Corporation and a member of the Board of Directors for the Houston Galveston Area Council (H-GAC). Currently, Brad serves as

the Republican Party Precinct Chairman for Nassau Bay/ Harris County #307. (From http://www.texasgopvote.com/users/brad-bailey)

Josh Culling:

Culling is Senior Vice President at Dezenhall Resources. He oversees the firm's state government and regulatory advocacy strategy and specializes in public affairs, third-party outreach, grassroots advocacy and crisis communications. He assists clients in developing and implementing organizational and communications responses to acute and chronic threats. His areas of policy and advocacy expertise include state and federal tax, energy, health care and regulatory policy.

Prior to joining the firm, Culling worked in state and federal advocacy roles for prominent D.C. public policy organizations. Throughout his career, he has assembled and led a number of diverse coalitions supporting a variety of free-market policy agendas. He began his career working for the American Legislative Exchange Committee, where he worked with state legislators across the country on energy, environment and civil justice issues. After leaving ALEC, he headed state government affairs efforts for the National Taxpayers Union and Americans for Tax Reform, working closely with legislators, gubernatorial staffs and policy organizations to expand free-market policies in the states. (From http://dezenhall.com/senior-leadership/josh-culling/)

Dan Fisher:

Dan Fisher has served as a pastor of several churches over thirty years, including churches in Oklahoma and Arkansas. He is currently the pastor of Liberty Church, Yukon. Dan is on the leadership team of the Oklahoma City Tea Party and is a frequent speaker at tea parties around the state. He is a member of the High Noon Club and serves on the boards of Bott Radio Network, Reclaiming America for Christ, and Vision America. Dan is a published author and has a national speaking ministry.

Dan has served in the Oklahoma Congress as State Representative for District 60. He been politically active for years and has worked with Oklahoma legislators in endeavoring to pass key pieces of conservative legislation. He is currently a Republican candidate for governor in Oklahoma. (Adapted and slightly updated from http://lbcok.com/our-leaders)

Chuck Jenkins:

In November 2006, Chuck was elected to the Office of Sheriff for Frederick County, the largest county in the State of Maryland. The Frederick County Sheriff's Office is the largest of five full-service law enforcement agencies in Frederick County. As Sheriff, he also oversees the Frederick County Adult Detention Center including central booking and the work release program and security for the Frederick County Courthouse, which encompasses the service of all civil process for the county.

Sheriff Jenkins is currently serving in his third term as Sheriff. He is a 2007 graduate of the National Sheriff's Leadership Institute and he serves on the Immigration/Border Security Committee and Homeland Security Sub-Committees of

the National Sheriff's Association. He maintains a strong stance on illegal immigration enforcement and has effectively partnered with ICE to participate in two major programs, the 287g Immigration Enforcement Program and the Federal Inter-Governmental Services Detainee Housing Program. He was named by FOX News as "America's second toughest Sheriff on illegal immigration." In the summer of 2014, the Sheriff visited the Mexican border in the McAllen sector of Texas, to view first-hand he surge of illegal immigrants streaming across the borders, and the local impact to crime and public safety due to an open southern border.

He has testified several times before Congressional Sub-Committees on illegal immigration issues. In 2015, the Sheriff participated on a panel forum at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. to discuss the topic of sanctuary cities, and the resulting increased crime because of those adopted policies. The Sheriff is often contacted by Congressional leaders and staffers as a law enforcement source of information on illegal immigration and enforcement. (From https://frederickcountymd.gov/DocumentCenter/View/277703)

Mark Krikorian:

Mark Krikorian, a nationally recognized expert on immigration issues, has served as Executive Director of the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) since 1995. The Center, an independent, non-partisan research organization in Washington, D.C., examines and critiques the impact of immigration on the United States. Animated by a pro-immigrant, low-immigration vision which seeks fewer immigrants but a warmer

welcome for those admitted, the Center was established in 1985 to respond to the need for reliable, fact-based research in the immigration area.

Mr. Krikorian's knowledge and expertise in the immigration field are sought by Congress, as well as the mainstream and new media. He frequently testifies before Congress and has published articles in numerous outlets including The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, The New York Times, and elsewhere. He is a contributor at National Review Online, and has appeared on all major cable and broadcast news networks. He is on Twitter at @MarkSKrikorian.

Mr. Krikorian addresses a variety of audiences on a multitude of immigration topics. In addition, Mr. Krikorian is the author of the books *The New Case against Immigration, Both Legal and Illegal* and *How Obama is Transforming America through Immigration*.

His most recent publication is *Open Immigration: Yea & Nay*, co-authored with Alex Nowrasteh of the Cato Institute.

Mr. Krikorian holds a master's degree from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and a bachelor's degree from Georgetown University. He spent two years at Yerevan State University in then-Soviet Armenia. (From https://cis.org/Krikorian)

Richard Land:

Dr. Richard Land is president of Southern Evangelical Seminary, a non-denominational seminary based in Charlotte, NC which offers first-rate educational

programs in evangelism and classic apologetics. In addition to his presidency, Dr. Land also teaches courses at the Seminary.

Prior to becoming president of Southern Evangelical Seminary, Dr. Land served for twenty-five years as the president of The Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission, the Southern Baptist Convention's official entity assigned to address social, moral, and ethical concerns, with particular attention to their impact on American families and their faith.

Dr. Land graduated with the Bachelor of Arts degree (*magna cum laude*) from Princeton University and with the Doctor of Philosophy degree from Oxford University in England. He also received a Master of Theology (Honors Program) degree from New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary where he served as student body president and received the Broadman Seminarian Award as the outstanding graduating student.

Dr. Land served five terms with the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom. Former President Bush selected Dr. Land for his first two terms at the Commission (September 2001 to September 2004). He was then reappointed by former Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist in 2005 and Senator Mitch McConnell in 2007 and 2010.

He co-hosted from 1998 to 2013 a 30-minute nationally syndicated weekday radio talk show, For Faith & Family, heard on over 250 stations across the US and worldwide on the web. Currently he hosts a daily two-minute radio commentary on faith issues and how they relate to current issues, "Bringing Every Thought Captive," heard on over 400 stations nationwide. Dr. Land and leading Christian apologists

discuss significant social, religious, and political topics on SES's "Bringing Every Thought Captive" TV program, which airs 8 p.m./ET on the NRB Network, available to over 47 million viewers. (From http://www.drrichardland.com/about)

Heater Mac Donald:

Heather Mac Donald is the Thomas W. Smith Fellow at the Manhattan Institute and a contributing editor of CITY JOURNAL. She is a recipient of the 2005 Bradley Prize. Mac Donald's work at CITY JOURNAL has covered a range of topics, including higher education, immigration, policing, homelessness and homeless advocacy, criminal-justice reform, and race relations. Her writing has appeared in the WALL STREET JOURNAL, WASHINGTON POST, NEW YORK TIMES, LOS ANGELES TIMES, THE NEW REPUBLIC, and THE NEW CRITERION. Mac Donald's newest book, *The War on Cops* (2016), warns that raced-based attacks on the criminal-justice system, from the White House on down, are eroding the authority of law and putting lives at risk.

Other previous works include *The Burden of Bad Ideas* (2001), a collection of Mac Donald's CITY JOURNAL essays, details the effects of the 1960s counterculture's destructive march through America's institutions. In THE IMMIGRATION SOLUTION: A BETTER PLAN THAN TODAY'S (2007), coauthored with Victor Davis Hanson and Steven Malanga, she chronicles the effects of broken immigration laws and proposes a practical solution to securing the country's porous borders. In ARE COPS RACIST? (2010), another CITY JOURNAL anthology, Mac Donald investigates the workings of the police, the controversy over so-

called racial profiling, and the anti-profiling lobby's harmful effects on black Americans.

A frequent guest on Fox News, CNN, and other TV and radio programs, Mac Donald holds a B.A. in English from Yale University, graduating with a Mellon Fellowship to Cambridge University, where she earned an M.A. in English and studied in Italy through a Clare College study grant. She holds a J.D. from Stanford University Law School. (From https://www.city-journal.org/contributor/heather-mac-donald_122)

Steve Malanga:

Steven Malanga is the George M. Yeager Fellow at the Manhattan Institute and *City Journal*'s senior editor. He writes about the intersection of urban economies, business communities, and public policy. Malanga is the author of *The New New Left: How American Politics Works Today* (2005); *The Immigration Solution: A Better Plan than Today's* (2007), coauthored with Heather Mac Donald and Victor Davis Hanson; and *Shakedown: The Continuing Conspiracy Against the American Taxpayer* (2010). He was cited as one of Governor Chris Christie's intellectual influences (*Bloomberg Businessweek*, August 2010). In 2013, former Florida governor Jeb Bush called Malanga "the best thinker on state and local fiscal matters" in a tweet; in a 2014 Manhattan Institute speech, he said that Malanga's warnings on states' coming debt and pension crises had influenced fiscal reforms undertaken in Florida.

Before joining *City Journal*, Malanga was executive editor of *Crain's New York Business*, serving on the publication's editorial board and writing a weekly column. Prior to that, he was managing editor of *Crain's*. During his tenure at the publication, it

twice won the General Excellence Award from the Association of Area Business Publications. In 1995, Malanga was a finalist for a Gerald Loeb Award for Excellence in Financial Journalism for the series "Nonprofits: New York's New Tammany Hall," which he coauthored. In 1998, a series he coauthored, "Tort-ured State," about the influence of trial lawyers in New York State, was voted best investigative story of the year by the Alliance of Area Business Publishers.

Malanga has written for the *Wall Street Journal*, *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, *New York Daily News*, and *New York Post*. During 2007–13, he was a regular columnist for RealClearMarkets. He holds a B.A. in English literature and language from St. Vincent's College, as well as an M.A., in the same subject, from the University of Maryland. (From https://www.manhattan-institute.org/expert/steven-malanga)

Ramesh Ponnuru:

Ramesh Ponnuru is a senior editor for National Review, a columnist for Bloomberg View, a visiting fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, and a senior fellow at the National Review Institute. In the Fall of 2013, he was a resident fellow at the University of Chicago's Institute of Politics. Ponnuru grew up in Kansas City and graduated summa cum laude from Princeton's history department. Ponnuru has published articles in numerous newspapers including the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Wall Street Journal, the Financial Times, Newsday, and the New York Post. He has also written for First Things, Policy Review, The Weekly Standard, The New Republic, Reason, and other publications. He has appeared on numerous television news programs. He is the author of The Party of Death: The Democrats, the

Media, the Courts, and the Disregard for Human Life. He is also the author of the monograph The Mystery of Japanese Growth (American Enterprise Institute/Centre for Policy Studies). (From http://www.nationalreview.com/author/ramesh-ponnuru)

Dwayne Stovall:

Self-identifying as a conservative who believes in small, local government, Stovall has a deep respect for the founding generation. He believes that the current federal government does not match the ideals expressed by the Founders, and now looks to his home state of Texas for answers to the political issues of the day, rather than the federal government. He is a businessman who has also run for political office, including the United States Senate. (Adapted from http://www.texansforstovall.com/about.php)

John Zmirak:

John Zmirak is a Senior Editor of *The Stream,* and author of the new *Politically Incorrect Guide to Catholicism*. He received his B.A. from Yale University in 1986, then his M.F.A. in screenwriting and fiction and his Ph.D. in English in 1996 from Louisiana State University. His focus was the English Renaissance, and the novels of Walker Percy. He taught composition at LSU and screenwriting at Tulane University, and has written screenplays for and with director Ronald Maxwell (*Gods & Generals* and *Gettysburg*). He was elected alternate delegate to the 1996 Republican Convention, representing Pat Buchanan.

He has been Press Secretary to pro-life Louisiana Governor Mike Foster, and a reporter and editor at *Success* magazine and *Investor's Business Daily,* among other publications. His essays, poems, and other works have appeared in *First Things, The*

Weekly Standard, The Atlanta Journal-Constitution, USA Today, FrontPage Magazine, The American Conservative, The South Carolina Review, Modern Age, The Intercollegiate Review, Commonweal, and *The National Catholic Register*, among other venues. He has contributed to *American Conservatism: An Encyclopedia* and *The Encyclopedia of Catholic Social Thought.* From 2000-2004 he served as Senior Editor of *Faith & Family* magazine and a reporter at *The National Catholic Register*. During 2012 he was editor of *Crisis*.

He is author, co-author, or editor of eleven books, including *Wilhelm Ropke: Swiss Localist, Global Economist, The Grand Inquisitor* (graphic novel) and *The Race to Save Our Century*. He was editor of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute's guide to higher education, *Choosing the Right College* and Collegeguide.org, for ten years, and is also editor of *Disorientation: How to Go to College Without Losing Your Mind*. (From https://stream.org/author/johnzmirak/)