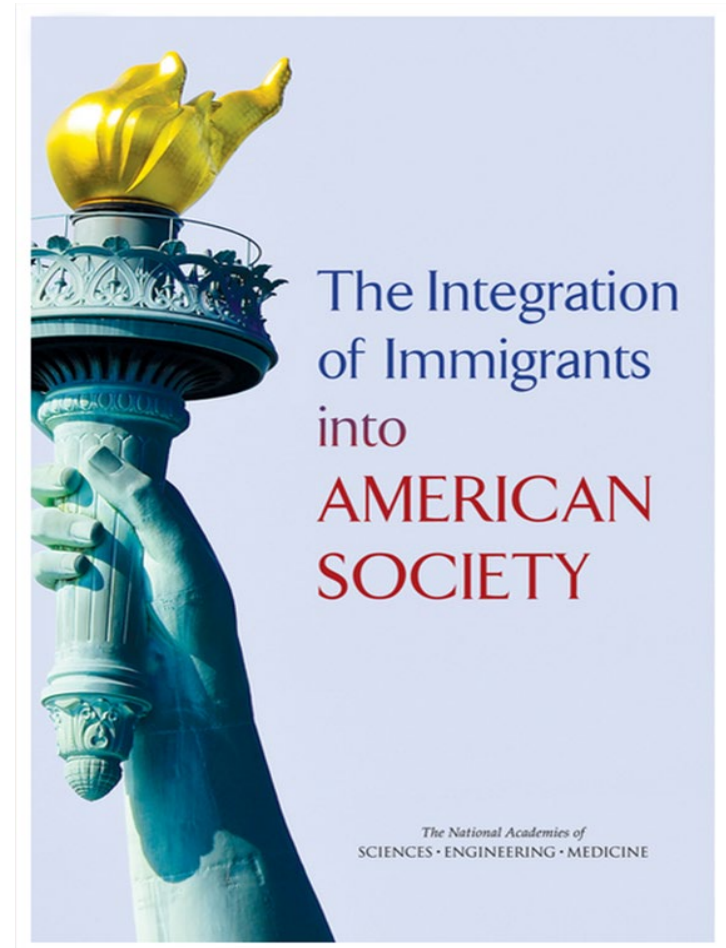
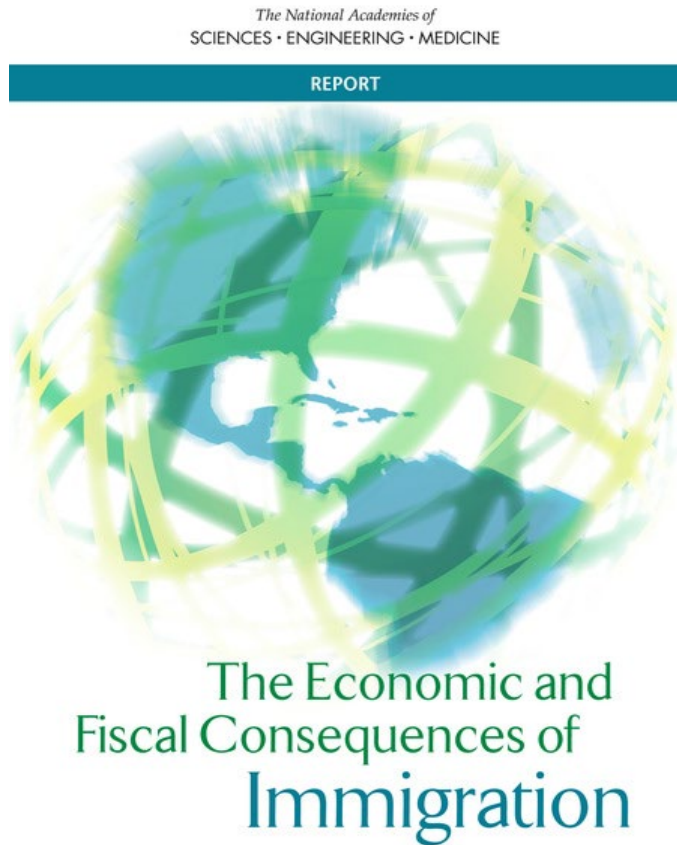


Gen Ed 1092

Lecture 23: 11/30/2020



Two NAS Studies



The National Academies of
SCIENCES • ENGINEERING • MEDICINE

The Integration of Immigrants into American Society

Committee on Population

Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education

Panel Charge

1. Summarizing what is known about how immigrants and their descendants are integrating into American society;
2. Discussing the implications of this knowledge for informing various policy options;
3. Identifying any important gaps in existing knowledge and data availability.

Integration

- Immigrant groups and host societies come to resemble each other.
 - Two-way exchange
- Measured across time and intergenerationally
- Effects on well-being

Integration across Dimensions

- Socioeconomic
 - Education
 - Occupation
 - Income
 - Poverty
- Political
 - Naturalization
 - Civic Participation
- Sociocultural
 - Language
 - Crime
 - Religion
 - Attitudes
 - Intermarriage
- Spatial
- Familial
- Health

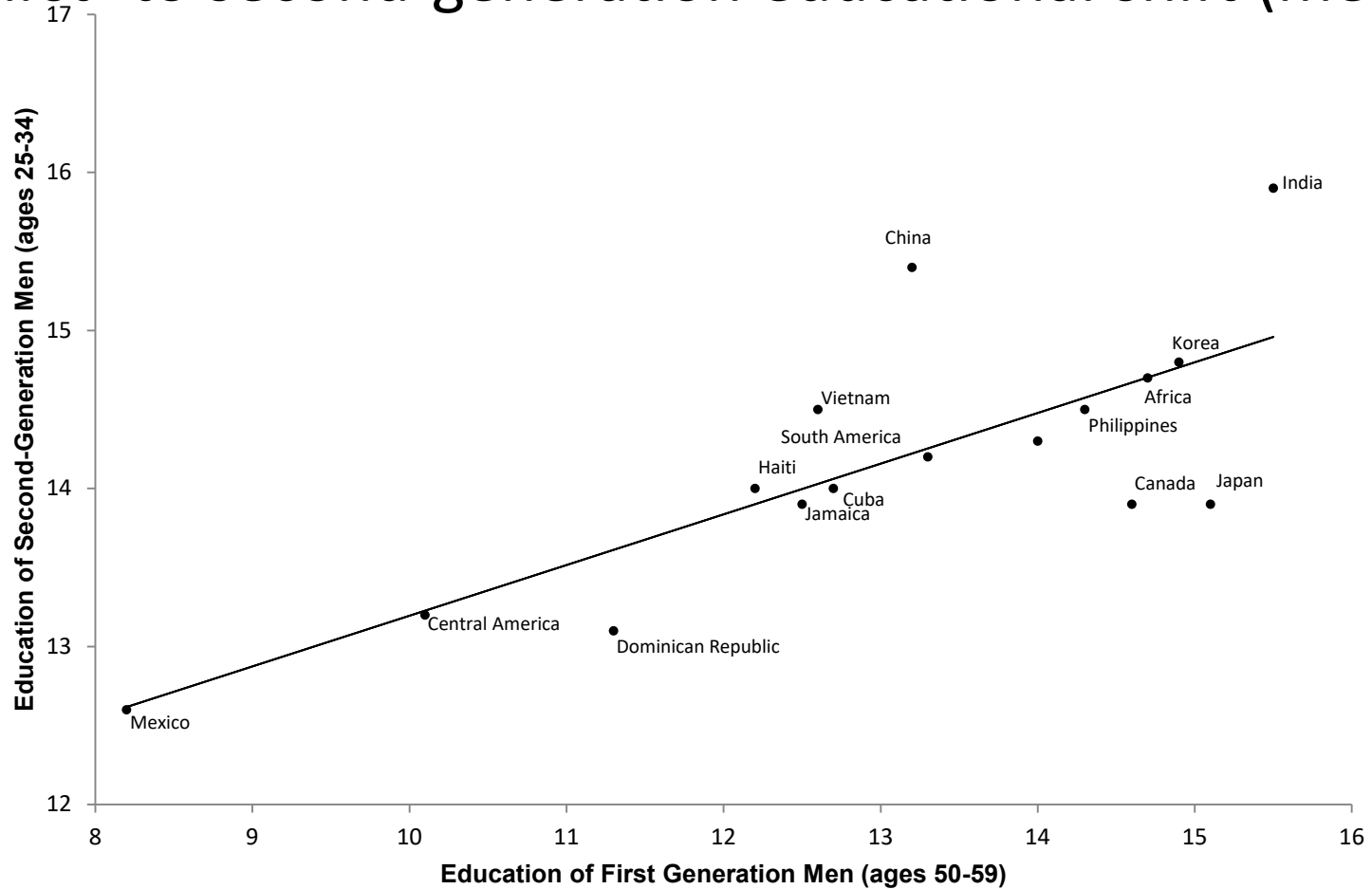
Quick Summary

- Immigrants and their children (the second generation) represent one of every four U.S. residents.
- Immigrants and their descendants are integrating into American society across all dimensions; the pace and outcomes depend on very different starting points.
- On the whole, integration increases the well-being of immigrants and their descendants, e.g., in schooling, labor-market position, and residential situation. However, this is not true in every domain. Exceptions include health, crime and family form.

Education

- Despite large differences in starting points among the first generation, there is strong intergenerational progress in educational attainment. Second generation members of most contemporary immigrant groups meet or exceed the schooling level of typical third- and higher-generation native-born Americans.
- Among Mexican American men for instance, the first generation has slightly more than 8 years of education, the second generation, 12.5 years.

First- to second-generation educational shift (men)



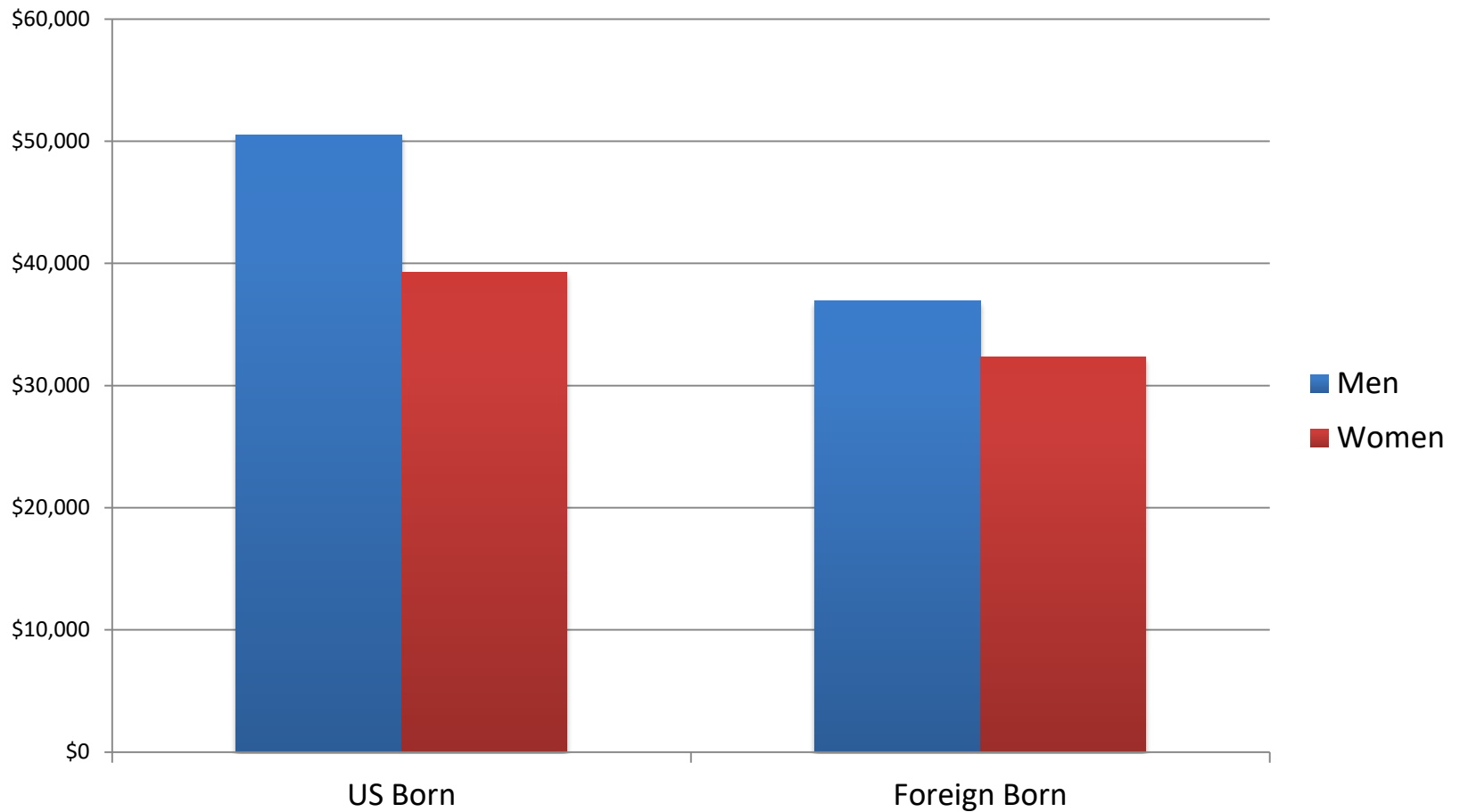
Employment

- Immigrant men have higher employment rates than native born; immigrant women lower
- Least educated immigrants much more likely to be employed than comparable native born men
- Second + generation employment rates vary by race/ethnicity and gender

Changes in Earnings

- Positive trajectories in immigrant earnings over time
- Considerably slower growth for Hispanics
- Asians see growth over time but lag whites when education is controlled.

Earnings by Nativity and Gender, 2013



Occupation

- Similar positive trajectories as employment and earnings
- The groups concentrated in low-status occupations in the first generation improve their position greatly but don't reach parity.
- Second-gen women narrowing gap faster than men
- U.S. workforce welcoming immigrants and second-gen across occupational spectrum
- 2nd generation Mexican men
 - 22% in professional or managerial positions. Move out of agricultural sector.
 - Less likely to be informal sector, more likely to have benefits

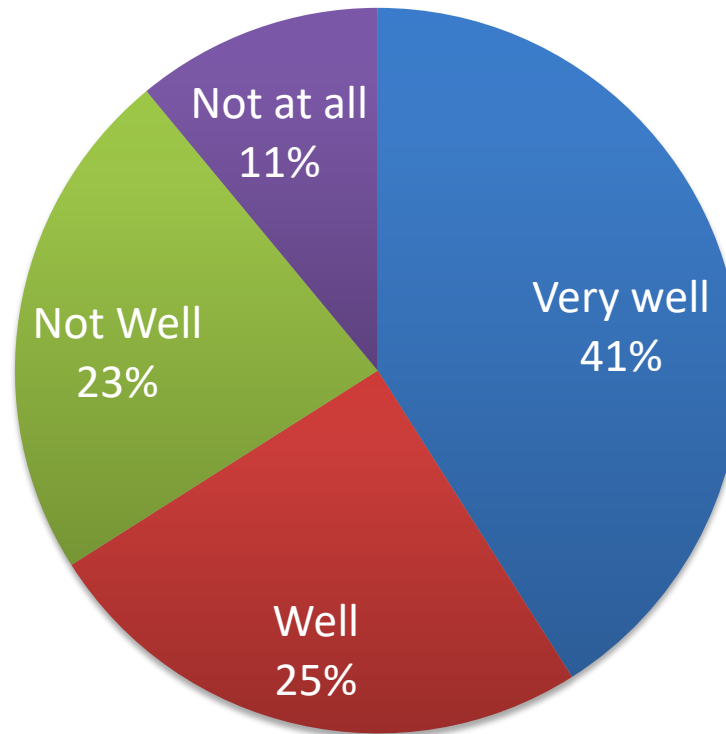
Poverty

- Poverty rates higher for foreign-born
- Poverty generally declines over generations, 18%→13.6→11.5
- Racial & ethnic disparities:
 - First-gen Hispanics highest rates but progress between first & second-gens
 - Rise in black second-gen
 - Asian stalling between second and third-gens

Language Diversity

- 85% of first-generation immigrants speak another language (62% Spanish)
- But half report speaking English “well” or “very well”
- Less than 10% say they speak English not at all.
- Not a zero sum game, you can learn English and keep your mother tongue.

Language



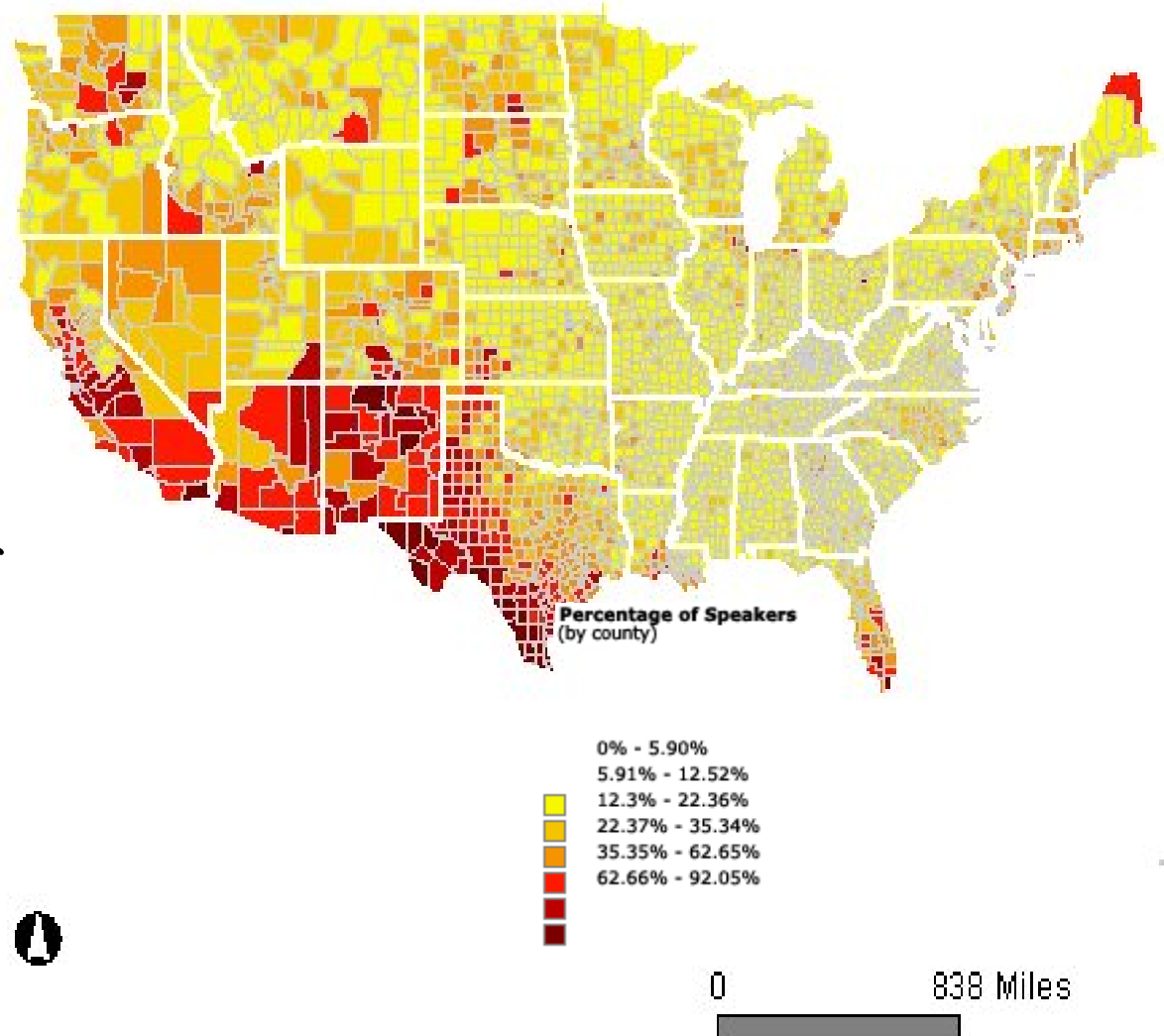
English Speaking Ability of the Foreign-born Who Speak Language Other Than English at Home, 2012

Language Assimilation

- Three generation model. First generation learns some English. Second generation is bilingual but prefers English. Third generation is monolingual in English.
- Historical exceptions--Germans, French Canadians, Cajuns.
- Coercion: schools, Americanization campaigns
- Individual Choice: role of employment, residential integration.

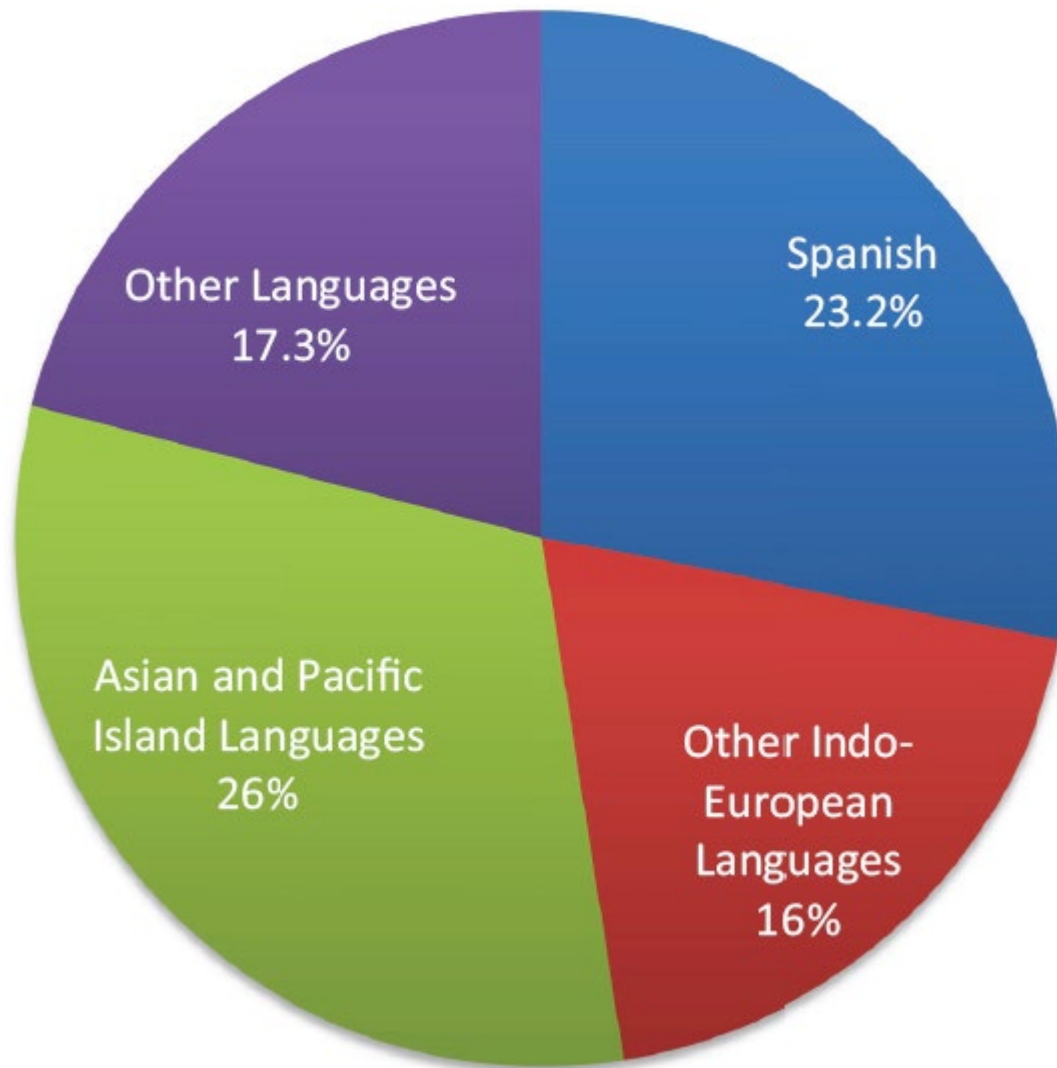
Percentage of persons speaking a language other than English, by county: 2000

Density of foreign-language speakers highest in the Southwest, especially along Rio Grande in Texas. Note pockets of foreign-language speaking in mountain states, great plains, south Florida



Linguistic Isolation

- Households where none of the adult members (over age 14) speak English very well.
- In 2013, 4.5% of households were linguistically isolated.
- 22% of children living in immigrant families in 2013 lived in families that were linguistically isolated. They are more likely to be in ELL programs and to suffer educational barriers.



Linguistically Isolated Households by Language Spoken, 2013

Language Acquisition

- Children of immigrants (the second generation) and later generations are acquiring English and losing their ancestors' language at roughly the same rates as past immigrant waves; the transition to speaking solely English usually occurs within three generations.
- Spanish is the one language that persists into the third generation, but the great majority of that generation is English dominant if not monolingual.
- In Southern California only 4% of Mexican Americans speak Spanish at home, but 17% say they can speak it well.

Disjuncture Between Scholarship and Public Debate

- Scholars find that bilingualism is good for cognitive development.
- Scholars worry that children lose parental language too quickly.
- Universal finding of rapid switch to English.
- Why are Americans worried about English?

Why do Americans care so much about language assimilation?



Tea Party signs promoting English don't always inspire confidence



Intermarriage

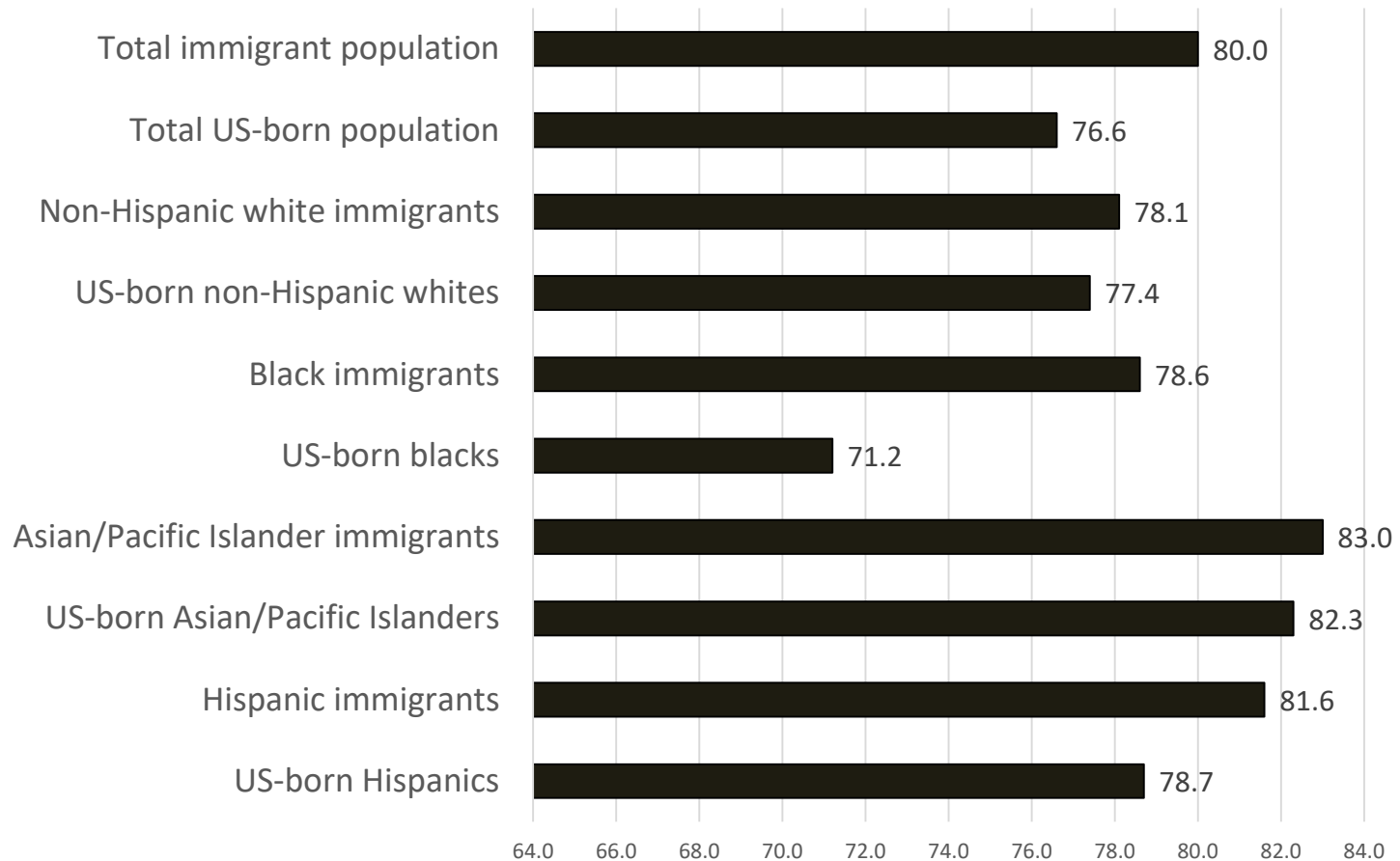
- Native-born and immigrant marriages increasing
- 1 in 7 marriages today interracial/interethnic
- More mixed race children
- Changing racial & social boundaries

Declines in Well-Being: Health

- **Health**

- Immigrants have better health outcomes, but less access to health care & insurance
- Immigrants are less likely to die from cardiovascular disease and all cancers combined.
- They have better health behaviors, less obesity, depression, alcohol and drug abuse.
- Over time these advantages decline and their health status converges with the native born. A decline also occurs between the first and second generations.

Life Expectancy at Birth (Average Lifetime in Years) by Race/Ethnicity and Immigrant Status



Data from the US National Vital Statistics System, 1989-2001. (Singh et al., 2013)

Declines in well being: crime

- ALL the evidence indicates that immigrants commit LESS crime than the native born (aside from immigration-law infractions).
 - Among men aged 18-39, they are incarcerated at a fraction of rate of the native born.
- Moreover, neighborhoods with more immigrants have lower crime rates.
- However, in the commission of crime, the second and third generations converge with native born.

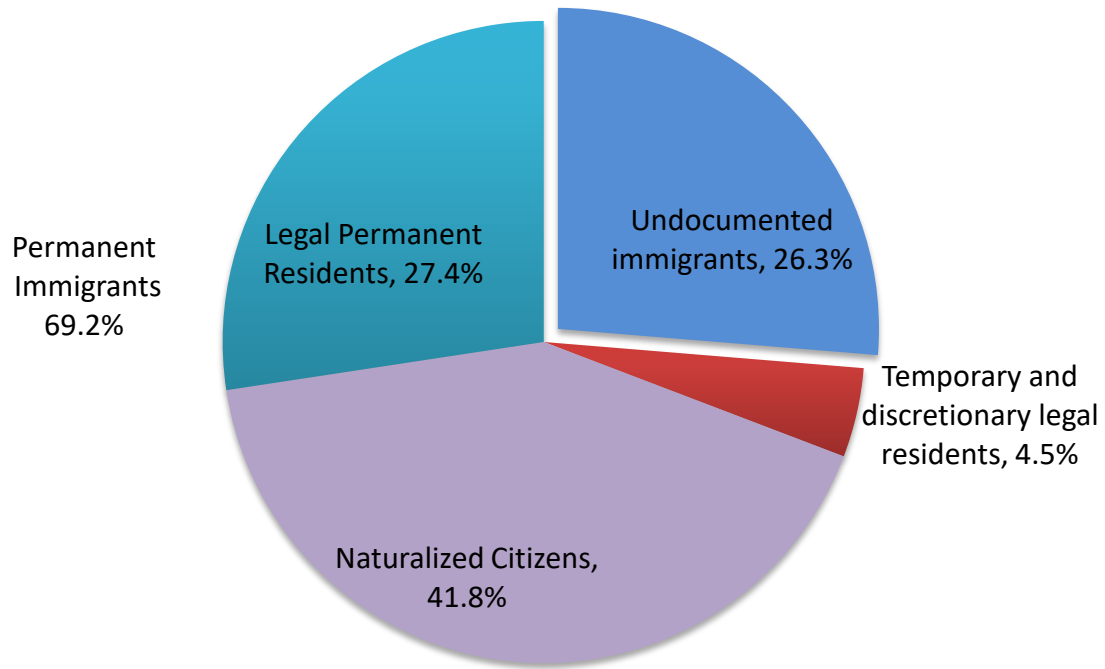
Declines in well being:Families

- Children of immigrants are much more likely to grow up with both parents than natives.
- Immigrants have lower out of wedlock births and lower divorce rates than natives.
- Over time the second generation resembles the native born and the percentage of children growing up with a single parent rises.

Areas of Concern

- Legal Status
- Racial and ethnic disparities
- Naturalization Rates

Legal Status



Legal Status

- Key factor in integration trajectory
- Many statuses are transitional and temporary
- Disproportionately impacts certain immigrant groups
- Undocumented status slows but does not fully impede integration
- Variation from state-to-state
- Multi-generational effects. 5.2 million children have an undocumented parent, (7% of all K-12 children)
- 4.5 million citizen children have an undocumented immigrant parent

Racial & Ethnic Disparities

- Immigrant integration shaped by race & ethnicity
- Black immigrants & their children integrating more slowly with non-Hispanic whites despite higher human capital
- Some evidence of discrimination impeding Latino integration
 - Racial discrimination or Undocumented status?

Economic Assimilation

- Questions:
 - Do immigrants take jobs from Americans?
 - Do immigrants lower wages for Americans?
 - What are the fiscal costs of immigrants?
- Findings from the Economic Report:
 - Answering these questions is complicated.
Important to remember the economy is not a fixed pie.

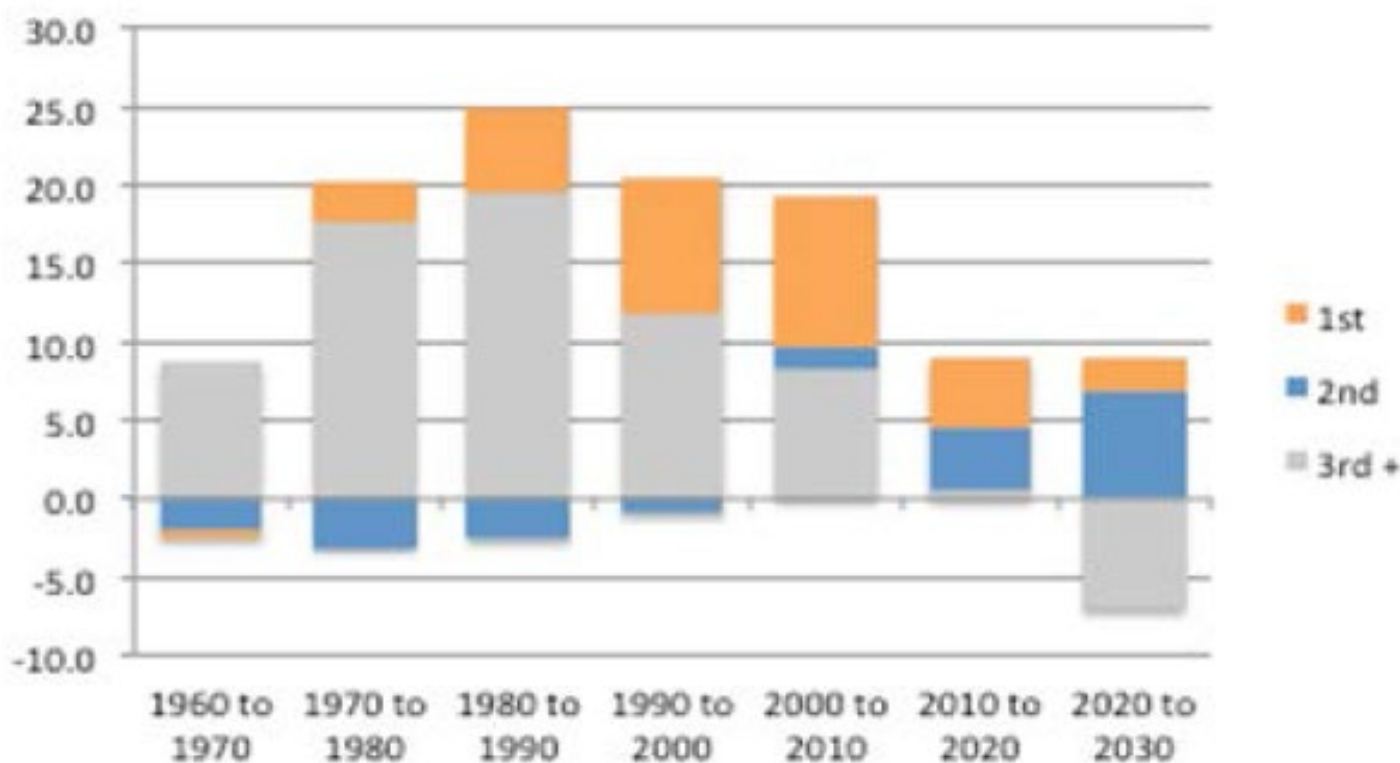
Economic Impacts of Immigration

- <https://www.nap.edu/catalog/23550/the-economic-and-fiscal-consequences-of-immigration>
- The economy is not a fixed size, so that the addition of immigrants does not necessarily reduce the situation of natives.
- Immigrants are not just workers, they are consumers and tax payers.
- First principles of economics would assume a net gain from immigration.

Workforce Growth

- The portion of the labor force that is foreign born has risen from about 11 percent to over 16% in the past 20 years. Immigrants and their children will account for the vast majority of current and future net workforce growth.

FIGURE 2-5 Net change in working-age population each decade, by immigrant generation (in millions)



SOURCE: Table 2-5 data, Pew Research Center, 2015a.

Impacts on Wages

- The impact of immigrants on wages of native born is very small.
- The negative effects are concentrated among prior immigrants who are the closest substitutes for new immigrants.
- Little evidence of immigration effects on employment levels of native workers.
- Some reduction of hours among teenagers, but not overall employment.

What is the impact of immigration on *employment*?

- Little evidence of effects on the overall employment levels of native workers
- Possible negative effects for subgroups
 - Immigrants may reduce hours worked (but not employment) of native teens
 - Some evidence of negative effects on employment rate of prior immigrants

Other economic effects of immigration

- Reduction in prices of consumer goods in some markets benefits consumers—e.g., child care, food preparation, house cleaning and repair, construction
- Immigrants and the second generation are a source of demand in housing markets
- Immigrants may help to make labor markets more efficient by flowing where opportunities are best (both when they arrive in the US and in subsequent moves)

What are the fiscal impacts of immigration?

- Immigrants' fiscal impact depends on the balance between:

Immigrants' **contribution to revenues** by paying taxes

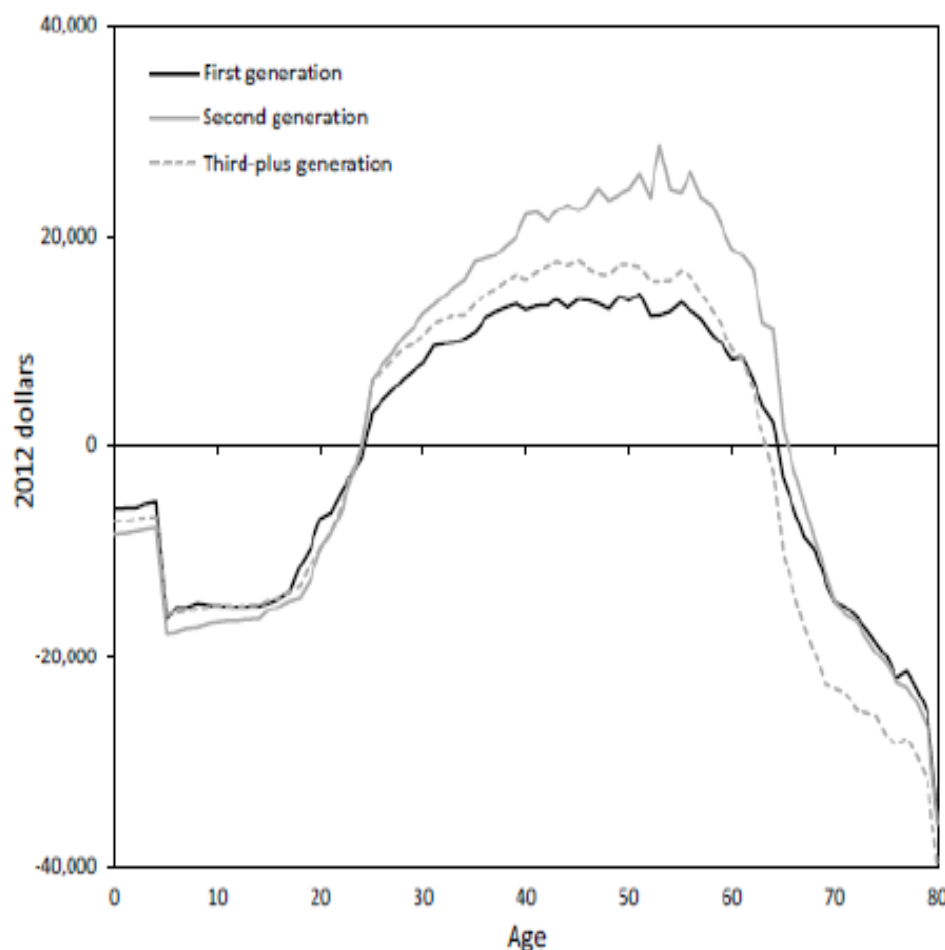
versus

Immigrants' **contribution to expenditures** by consuming public services

Different Fiscal Impacts

- Age Structure of Immigrants (Education and Social Security).
- Undocumented not eligible for benefits.
- Refugees eligible for many benefits.
- Emergency health care is a big issue.
- Short run fiscal impacts are a large problem for small areas.
- National vs. state and local impacts

Net fiscal impact in 2012, per capita, including all levels of government, by age and immigrant generation (2011-2013 March Current Population Surveys)



Fiscal Impacts

- On average individuals in the first generation are more costly to governments, mainly at the state and local levels, than are the native-born generations.
- The second generation are among the strongest economic and fiscal contributors in the population.

Fiscal Impacts

- Assumptions affect estimates of fiscal impacts.
- The second generation costs a lot—but they are native born. And the cost is actually an investment—most of the cost is education.
- Average or marginal accounting for federal expenditures. Costs like defense and national parks do not increase with each additional person, social security costs do.

FISCAL IMPACTS: FINDINGS, NATIONAL LEVEL

Dynamic Analysis (75 year time horizon)

- Permits taking into account contribution of children of immigrants when they mature and as their education converges to (or exceeds) native levels
 - Fiscal impacts of immigrants are generally positive at the federal level
 - But fiscal impacts still tend to be negative at the state and local levels
 - Their methods of taxation recoup relatively little of the later contributions of educated taxpayers
-

Conclusion

- **Economic effects:** There are many important benefits of immigration, including on economic growth, innovation, and entrepreneurship, with little to no negative effects on the overall wages or employment of native born workers in the longer term. Where negative wage impacts have been detected, native-born high-school dropouts and prior immigrants are most likely to be affected.
- **Fiscal effects:** The fiscal picture suggests negative short-run effects, especially at the state level, when the costs of educating the children of immigrants are included; but the children of immigrants (the second generation) go on to be the most positive fiscal contributors in the population. In the longer term (75 year time horizon), fiscal impact of immigrants are positive at the federal level, though still negative at the state level.

U.S. Citizenship Rules

- 5 year residence
- Oral and written English ability
- Knowledge of US history and government
- Good moral character
- Oath of allegiance
- No dual citizenship (ambiguous)
 - Give up foreign allegiance
- New citizenship test
 - <https://www.uscis.gov/citizenship-resource-center/the-2020-version-of-the-civics-test/128-civics-questions-and-answers-2020-version>

United States oath of citizenship:

"I hereby declare, on oath, that I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen; that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I will bear arms on behalf of the United States when required by the law; that I will perform noncombatant service in the Armed Forces of the United States when required by the law; that I will perform work of national importance under civilian direction when required by the law; and that I take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; so help me God."



Ascriptive Citizenship

- From 1790-1952
 - Access to citizenship was racialized and unequal.
 - Racial, gender hierarchies

States had generous laws towards immigrants

- 1846, Wisconsin allowed all immigrants who had the intention to naturalize and who had lived in state for one year to vote.
- 1850 Michigan granted vote to immigrants who had been living there 2 and a half years.

TABLE 2.1 Noncitizen Voting Rights in the United States

State	Time Period when Noncitizens Held Voting Rights
Alabama	1868–1901
Alaska	none
Arizona ^a	none
Arkansas ^b	1874–1926
California	none
Colorado	1876–1902
Connecticut	1776–1819
Delaware	1776–1831
District of Columbia	none
Florida	1868–1894
Georgia	1868–1877
Hawaii	none
Idaho	1863–1890
Illinois	1818–1848 ^c
Indiana	1851–1921
Iowa	none
Kansas	1854–1918
Kentucky ^d	1789–1799
Louisiana	1879–?

Source: Ron Hayduk (2006)
Democracy for All...

Maine	none
Maryland	1776–1851 for state and federal elections; six towns allow noncitizen voting in local elections.*
Massachusetts	1780–1822
Michigan	1835–1894
Minnesota	1849–1896
Mississippi	none
Missouri	1865–1921
Montana	1864–1889 ^c
Nebraska	1854–1918
Nevada	1848–1864
New Hampshire	1792–1814
New Jersey	1776–1820
New Mexico	none
New York	1776–1804

Source: Ron Hayduk (2006)
Democracy for All...

TABLE 2.1 Noncitizen Voting Rights in the United States *(Continued)*

State	Time Period when Noncitizens Held Voting Rights
North Carolina	1704–1856
North Dakota	1861–1889/1909*
Ohio	1802–1851
Oklahoma	1850–1907
Oregon	1848–1914
Pennsylvania	1790–1838
Rhode Island	1762–1842
South Carolina	1790–?
South Dakota	1850–1918
Tennessee	1796–1834
Texas	1869–1921
Utah	none
Vermont	1767–1828
Virginia	1776–1818
Washington	1850–?
West Virginia	none
Wisconsin	1848–1908
Wyoming	1850–1899

Source: Ron Hayduk (2006)
Democracy for All...

1857 Dred Scott Case

- Dred Scott sued for his freedom on the grounds that residing in Illinois (a free state) meant that he could not be owned by someone in Missouri.
- Supreme Court ruled that because he was not a citizen of Missouri he could not bring suit in federal court, and that freed blacks could never be citizens. The relevant statutes only conferred citizenship on “free whites”

14th Amendment 1868

- “all persons born or naturalized in the US are citizens of the US and the state in which they reside” : Birthright citizenship
- 1870 Congress debated a law that would allow any “person” to naturalize.
- But they passed a law making anyone of African descent or nativity eligible for naturalization.

Neither Black nor White?

- 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act excludes Chinese from Citizenship
- 1898 US vs. Wong Kim Ark
 - Child born in San Francisco. US tried to deport him along with his parents. Court ruled that he was a citizen. Affirming Birth Right Citizenship

Race and Citizenship

- 1897 Mexicans. Were considered neither white or black. Court decided they could naturalize based on the promises of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
- 1910 Census counted Syrians, Armenians, Palestinians, Turks, and Persians as “Asiatics” which would mean they were ineligible for citizenship. Won a court ruling that they were “white”. Still governs census today.

Race and Citizenship

- 1911 Thai, Indians and Koreans ruled ineligible for citizenship.
- 1922 Japanese ineligible for citizenship

Native Americans

- Dawes Act of 1887 gave citizenship to Indians who left the tribe for civil society.
- 1924: Congress gave citizenship to all Indians born within the US government.

Gender and Citizenship: 1907 Expatriation Act

- Women who married non citizens lost their citizenship.
- When World War 1 started many women who had been born in the US had to register as enemy aliens because they were married to German men.



Cable Act of 1922

- Allowed a woman who married an alien to keep her citizenship.
- However women who had married non-citizens between 1907 and 1922 still had to apply for citizenship.
- **MAJOR EXCEPTION:** female American citizens who married aliens ineligible for citizenship (Asians) would still be stripped of citizenship

"I lost, or believe that I lost, United States citizenship solely by reason of my marriage on October 25, 1917 to Julius H. Westphal, then an alien, a citizen or subject of Germany and my marital status with such person was terminated on January 27, 1932 by divorce."

Date: *March 11, 1942*

Amelia Pizani Hanson
Applicant

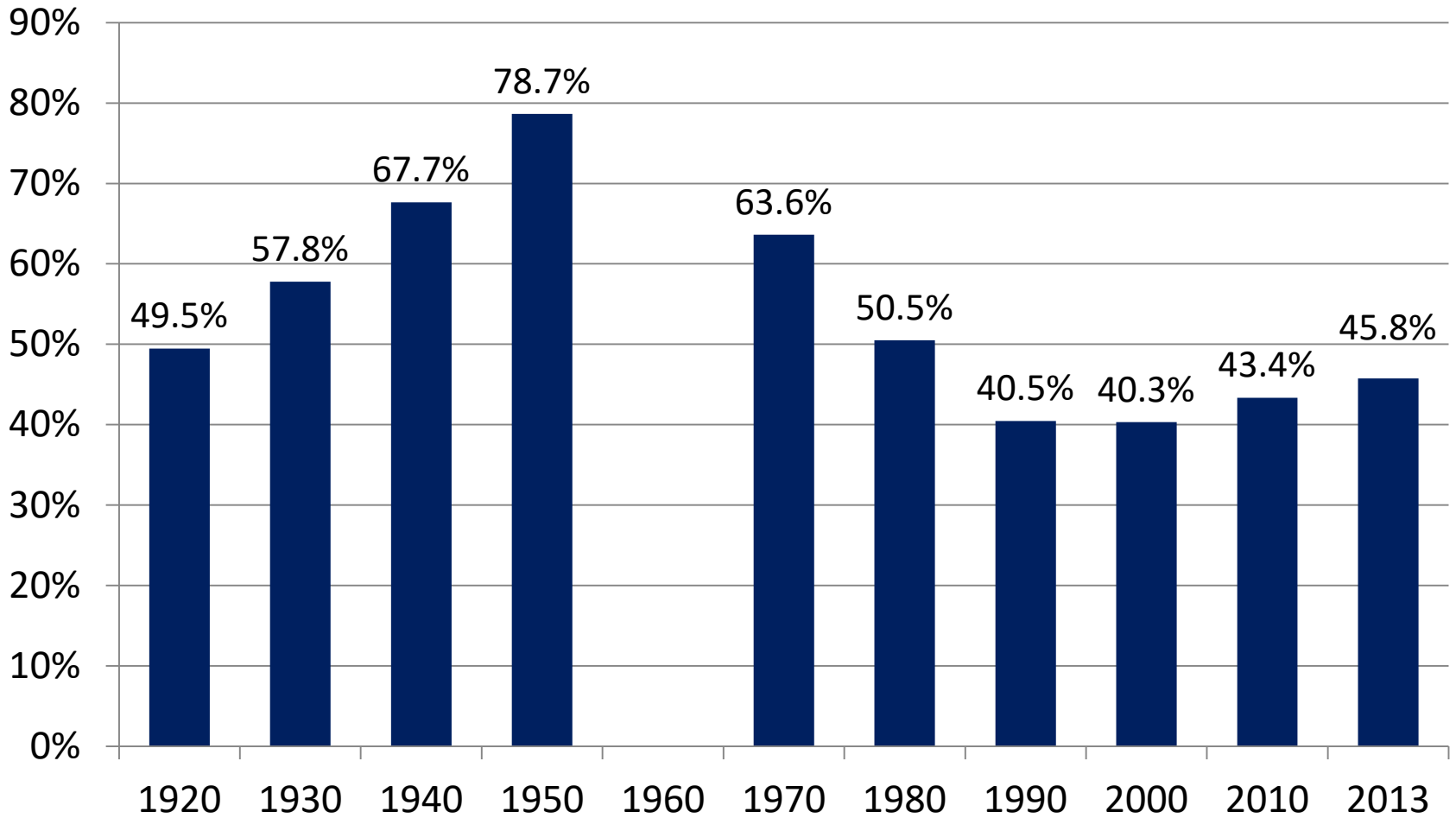
Race and Citizenship

- 1943 ban on citizenship for Chinese lifted.
- 1946 ban on citizenship for Filipinos and East Indians lifted.
- 1952 McCarran Walter Act
 - The right of a person to become a naturalized citizen of the US shall not be denied or abridged because of race or sex or because such person is married.

Naturalization & Citizenship

- Citizenship rate in *US 50%* vs. *61% OECD*
- Adjusting for undocumented population, US still well below Canada, Australia, Sweden
- Most immigrants want to naturalize
- Birthright citizenship is a powerful mechanism of integration
- Major barrier to political integration

Figure 4-2: Naturalization Levels among Foreign-born residents of the US, 1920-2013 (percentage naturalized)



Political Representation of Immigrants

- Counted for apportionment (even noncitizens)
- Representation through election to office
- Representation through the legislative process (even noncitizens)

Census and Apportionment

- Supreme Court hears Trump administration bid to not count undocumented people for apportionment starting this morning.
- Three lower courts have ruled unanimously that the president's action violates the constitution, the federal census statute or both.
- We have always counted all people—except Indians not taxed and slaves as 3/5 of a person. Even during period of Chinese exclusion and denial of citizenship.

What is a Frame?

Frames are sets of choices about how information is presented:

- ▶ What to emphasize
- ▶ How to explain it
- ▶ What to leave unsaid

Understanding Is Frame Dependent

Given the importance of free speech, would you favor allowing a hate group to hold a political rally?



85% in Favor

Given the risk of violence, would you favor allowing a hate group to hold a political rally?



40% in Favor

Sniderman & Theriault, 2004

What do Americans think of when they think about immigration?

"Them"

- Law Breakers
- Illegal Mexican/Highly-Skilled Asian
- Takers
- Immigration Nostalgia
- Security and Control

Zero Sum

- Job Competition
- Drain on the System

Punitive

- Secure the Border
- Set an Example—Rational Actor

What's in the Swamp of... **Immigration**

Black Box

Fatalism

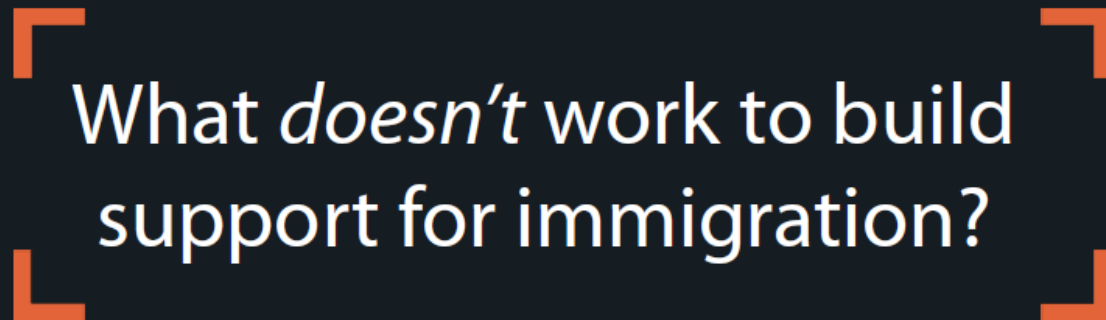
- Immigration Surge
- Money Talks
- Politics as Usual
- System Too Big and Screwed Up

Pragmatism

- Economic Fit
- Make it Work

"Us"




- Humanist—People are People
- Nation of Immigrants
- Celebrate Diversity



What *doesn't* work to build
support for immigration?

Mythbusting: Don't Do It

Flu Vaccine Facts & Myths



Department of Health and Human Services
Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

MYTH "The flu isn't a serious disease."

FACTS Influenza (flu) is a serious disease of the nose, throat, and lungs, and it can lead to pneumonia. Each year about 200,000 people in the U.S. are hospitalized and about 36,000 people die because of the flu. Most who die are 65 years and older. But small children less than 2 years old are as likely as those over 65 to have to go to the hospital because of the flu.

MYTH "The flu shot can cause the flu."

FACTS The flu shot cannot cause the flu. Some people get a little soreness or redness where they get the shot. It goes away in a day or two. Serious problems from the flu shot are very rare.

MYTH "The flu shot does not work."

FACTS Most of the time the flu shot will prevent the flu. In scientific studies, the effectiveness of the flu shot has ranged from 70% to 90% when there is a good match between circulating viruses and those in the vaccine. **Getting the vaccine is your best protection against this disease.**

MYTH "The side effects are worse than the flu."

FACTS The worst side effect you're likely to get from a shot is a sore arm. The nasal mist flu vaccine might cause nasal congestion, runny nose, sore throat and cough. The risk of a severe allergic reaction is less than 1 in 4 million.

MYTH "Only older people need a flu vaccine."

FACTS Adults and children with conditions like asthma, diabetes, heart disease, and kidney disease **need to get a flu shot**. Doctors also recommend children 6 months and older get a flu shot every year until their 5th birthday.

MYTH "You must get the flu vaccine before December."

FACTS Flu vaccine can be given before or during the flu season. The best time to get vaccinated is October or November. **But you can get vaccinated in December or later.**

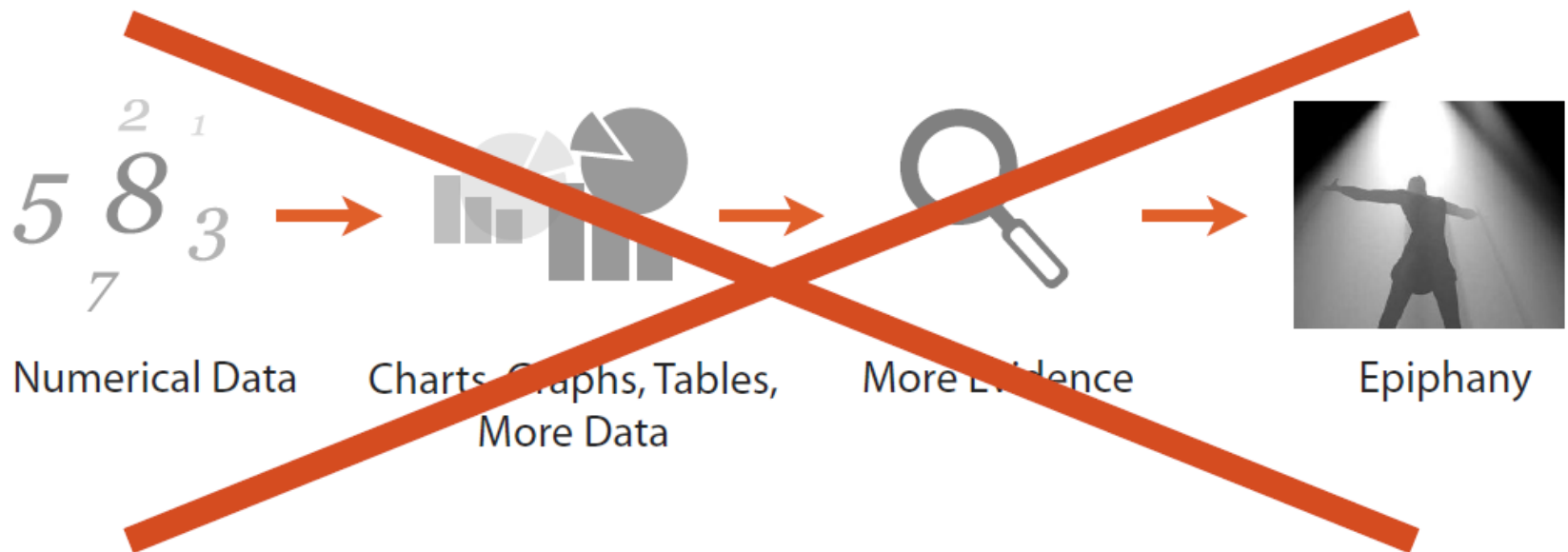
For more information, ask your healthcare provider or call 800-CDC-INFO (800-232-4636) Website www.cdc.gov/flu

In a study of the effects of myth-fact communications:

- ✓ People misremembered the myths as true.
- ✓ Got worse over time.
- ✓ Both older and younger readers made mistakes.
- ✓ Attributed false information to the CDC.

Vedantam, Shankar. 2010. The Hidden Brain. New York: Spiegel & Grau.

Providing More Data is Not the Answer



Don't Reinforce Fatalism

Obama makes broken promises for a broken immigration ...



www.patriottalon.com/.../article_836a182a-42ac-11e4-...
Sep 23, 2014

Instead, Latinos are being shown nothing but broken promises and they ... Obama has made a promise to fix ...

How to Fix Our Broken Immigration System: U.S. ... - YouTube



www.youtube.com/watch?v=RXFIHxHo5cE

Jun 17, 2014 - Uploaded by The Book Archive

"Immigration reform" in the United States of America is widely used to describe proposals to increase legal ...

Obama: Everyone knows immigration system broken - Video



video.cnn.com/gallery/?video=3000332047

Obama: Everyone knows immigration system broken. Thurs 20 Nov 2014 | 8:00 PM ET. President Barack ...

Is the US immigration system broken? - Fox Business Video



video.foxbusiness.com/.../is-the-us-immigration-syst...

FBN's Lou Dobbs on U.S. immigration policy. ... Is the U.S. immigration system broken? Feb. 10, 2014 - 2 ...

How to Fix Our Broken Immigration System



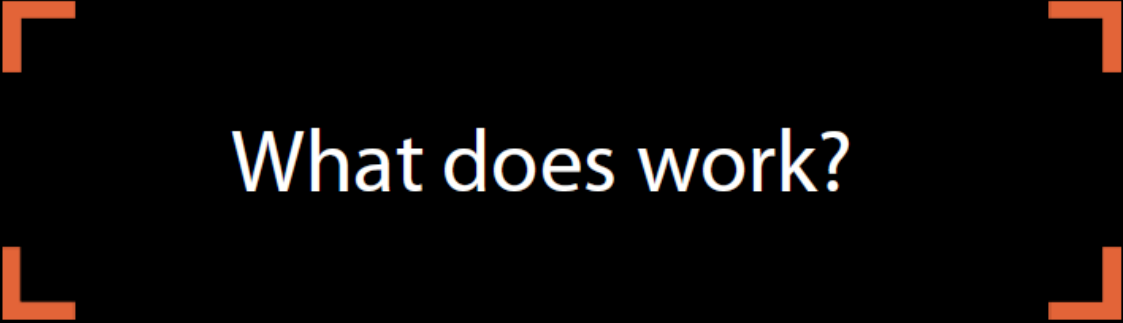
www.youtube.com/watch?v=X4hV...

May 28, 2014 - Uploaded by Listen U



Another Step Toward Fixing Our Broken Immigration System





What does work?

Avoid these swampy frames:

Getting out of the shadows

Worthy, deserving immigrants

Broken immigration system

These data speak for themselves

This is about immigrants' rights

This is a problem for population x

Solution?

And substitute these instead:

An outdated immigration *system*

Creating an immigration system that optimally utilizes the energy and contributions of us all

Change is possible, feasible, practical

These data suggest immigration reform will move us forward

This is about our shared humanity

We all need a solution to this problem

problem
SOLUTION! SOLUTION! SOLUTION!

Effective Stories for Policy Change

1

Effective stories for social change provide context, explain problems, and advance solutions.

2

Effective stories for social change use a wide lens to talk about social issues.

*How, exactly, would
immigration reform
enhance our prosperity?*

Why does this matter?

*What can we do
about it?*

*What is this
about?*

FACTS



We value shared prosperity. To maintain and expand prosperity, it requires improvements to the way people become part of our country.



"We need to treat everyone with the compassion they deserve as human beings. No matter where we were born, we are all people and are all entitled to the same basic respect."

"We need a common-sense, practical approach. Solutions should come from carefully considering all possible ideas, and then moving forward with the ones that have the best chance of improving our country."

There are several ways that improving our immigration system would move our economy forward. For example...[expanded tax base/new talent in key industries/greater stability leading to greater consumer confidence.]



We need better policies to ensure that the US economy has full sails. One thing we could do is...[provide a practical way for people living here without documentation to become citizens/rethink our policies for admitting new immigrants to add the skills and energy we need to thrive.]

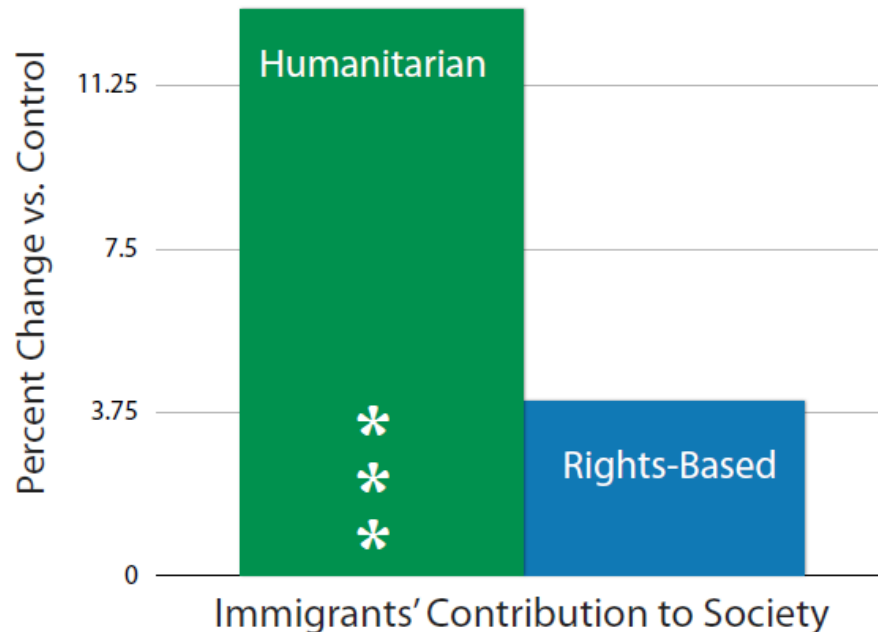
Using the Moral/ Humanitarian Value



- Reference shared humanity and common interests: *"We need to treat everyone with the compassion they deserve as human beings. No matter where we were born, we are all people and are all entitled to the same basic respect."*
- Demonstrate how current system does not recognize immigrants' humanity: *"Our country should not keep family members apart or deny people basic assistance."*
- Connect reform to ability to fulfill our moral obligation to other human beings: *"Treating all people with compassion should be the goal of immigration reform."*

Rights Need to be Explained, Not Just Asserted

One of the most basic American values is the belief that all people are created equal. *No matter where we were born, we all deserve to be treated with kindness and respect, and we should all be able to live with dignity.* In order to live up to this basic American ideal, we need to improve the way people become part of our country.



One of the most basic American values is the belief that all people are created equal. *No matter where we were born, we should all be guaranteed basic rights and to have our freedoms respected.* In order to live up to this basic American ideal, we need to improve the way people become a part of this country.

Pragmatism



- Appeal to common sense and practical measures:
"We need a common-sense, practical approach. Solutions should come from carefully considering all possible ideas, and then moving forward with the ones that have the best chance of improving our country."
- Point out how alternative proposals are not practical:
"It wouldn't make sense to send all the people that are in the country without documentation back to their country of origin — this is impractical, and wouldn't help the situation."
- Highlight feasibility of reform: *"We need to focus on taking reasonable steps toward solutions, rather than adopting impractical measures that don't have the potential to work."*

Pivot to *Pragmatism* when faced with opposition

FrameWorks researchers found that in contentious communications situations, appealing to *Pragmatism* worked to undo the damage of an opposing message and regain people's support for reform.

1.



Exposed to a *Moral Argument* appeal, people's support for immigration reform went up.

2.



But when that message was countered with an opposing message, support dropped.

3.



An appeal to *Pragmatism* showed the strongest ability to regain some of the lost support.

Pragmatism

Why does it matter? What's at stake?



The story you're telling:

"This is about taking a practical, common-sense, step-by-step approach to a solvable problem in our immigration system."



Strategic way to redirect thinking away from patterns such as:

Fatalism;
Politics as Usual

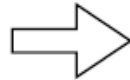


Concepts and ideas included in this frame element:

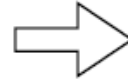
- Sense of agency: we can solve problems with a bit of **effort** and cooperation.
- **Common-sense, step-by-step** approaches allow us to make real progress on longstanding challenges and obstacles.
- This is a change that makes the most of our collective ability to be **practical**.
- **Realistic, sensible** policies lead to long-term improvements.
- We are focused on applying ideas that are **feasible** and **effective**.

Pivot to *Pragmatism* in Contentious Situations

Analyze Discourse



Bridge



Pivot to Frame Element

We have a tremendous problem in the U.S. with illegal immigration. Everyone in this room descends from immigrants in one way or another. The question is, did the immigrant come into the country legally or did they come in illegally? This is a fairly black and white issue. If the immigrants have come into the nation legally, we welcome them with open arms. If they've come into the United States illegally, it is not for us to praise them for breaking our laws for coming into the United States. It's important that we uphold the law of the land and if that means deportation than so be it.

Swamp: Immigrants as Them, Takers, Security and Control

“Try looking at it this way. . .”

We need a commonsense approach to our immigration system. Taking a level-headed look at the evidence, we can see that it isn't practical to deport all people who are in the country without documentation. This would mean that businesses lose workers, our economy loses entrepreneurs, our communities lose valuable members, and thousands of families are forcibly separated every year. It makes more sense to use a wider range of options that puts people on a path to legal status, toward becoming full members of our society.

Reframe: *Pragmatism*

Framed with *Crisis*

But just as important as the lost economic benefits of the failure to act is the human cost. In our ongoing research on undocumented youth and their mothers living in Florida, we find harrowing patterns of fear, exploitation, and dehumanization. Denying opportunities for lawful status results in barriers to employment, physical and social mobility, education and health, and the lack of opportunities has a particularly troubling impact on immigrants' mental and emotional well-being.

Reframed with *Moral Argument*

With comprehensive immigration reform, we have the opportunity to exercise the American ideals of compassion and respect for all people. But right now our system is not living up to those ideals. Denying opportunities for lawful status results in barriers to employment, physical and social mobility, education and health, all of which have a particularly troubling impact on immigrants' mental and emotional well-being. We have an important role to play in making sure that our leaders choose solutions that acknowledge the humanity and dignity of all people, no matter where they were born.

Prosperity

Why does it matter? What's at stake?



The story you're telling:

"Updating the immigration system
contributes to our shared good fortune,
both economic and social."



Strategic way to redirect thinking away from patterns such as:

Fatalism;
Immigrants as Them Politics;
Politics as Usual



Concepts and ideas included in this frame element:

- A strong sustainable society depends on contributions from all its members.
- The skills, talent, and energy that immigrants bring are the basis of a prosperous society.
- When immigrants are able to fully realize their potential contributions, all people living in the United States benefit.
- Prosperity is both social and economic.
- We are focused on making sure the immigration system contributes to the nation's prosperity.

Framed with *Broken System*

For far too long, our broken immigration system has allowed employers to drive down wages and working conditions in our country. The brunt of the impact has been born by immigrant workers, who face the highest rates of wage theft, sexual harassment, and death and injury on the job. But our entire workforce suffers when we allow standards to erode as millions of workers struggle to support their families without the status to assert their rights.

Fixing our broken system in a way that is consistent with labor's framework for comprehensive immigration reform will remain a core priority of the AFL-CIO, despite disgraceful setbacks in federal legislative efforts.

Reframed with *Immigration Sail*

We rely on the labor, talents, skills, and purchasing power of immigrants to keep our economic sails full and our country moving forward. Yet our outdated system isn't designed to embrace this vital source of economic energy. Instead, immigrants uncertain of their legal status experience wage theft and unsafe working conditions, which affects their safety, weakens their communities' financial wellbeing, and erodes working conditions for all workers. Reforming our outdated system will help to restore fair standards for all and help our workforce to operate at full capacity, propelling us towards a strong and stable future.

Comprehensive immigration reform—including revising our visa renewal process and creating a pathway to citizenship for those already here—will remain a core priority of the AFL-CIO.