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**Inclusion and Exclusion in Immigration Rhetoric:
Party and Ethnicity in the United States House of Representatives**

Political Science Departmental Honors Thesis



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Abstract

The political parties in the United States have grown polarized in their attitudes on immigration. The polarization is evident through the immigration rhetoric that Republicans and Democrats employ because Republicans often use negative, restrictionist rhetoric, unlike Democrats who integrate inclusive frameworks that reflect positive rhetoric. However, the differences in immigration rhetoric between the Democratic Party and Republican Party are insufficient in explaining political elites' immigration rhetoric during the time when polarization was weak between the two political parties. This paper posits that the immigration rhetoric of members of Congress (MCs) are shaped based on two factors: MC's party identification and their race/ethnicity. I found that variations within these factors, such as being Democratic/Republican or Hispanic/White non-Hispanic, influence their choice of immigration rhetoric over time.

Keywords: immigration, members of Congress, Hispanics, political parties, rhetoric, ethnicity, House of Representatives

Introduction

Immigration is one of the most polarizing issues within the American political discourse (Card et al. 2022). It was a prominent issue debated between former President Donald Trump, a Republican, and presidential candidate Hillary Clinton, a Democrat, during the 2016 U.S. presidential elections. Former President Trump argued for restrictive immigration measures like the construction of a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border, while Clinton advocated for comprehensive immigration reforms, such as establishing pathways to citizenship for undocumented immigrants rather than prioritizing border security (Jacobson 2016). “In terms of having people come into our country, we have many criminal illegal aliens,” Trump stated during the Second Presidential Debate Town Hall in 2016 (ABC15 Arizona 2016). Unlike Trump, Clinton strayed away from depicting immigrants as criminals by saying in the final presidential debate in 2016 that “bringing undocumented immigrants out from the shadows, putting them into the formal economy will be good because then employers can’t exploit them and undercut Americans’ wages” (LiveNOW from FOX 2016). Although immigration resurfaced as a contentious matter throughout the U.S. presidential campaigns in 2016, it has actually been a topic debated for more than a century by the federal government and the American public alike.

The centuries-long immigration debate highlights racialization that politicians imposed in their legislative arguments to justify the exclusion of immigrants from being allowed to stay in the United States. Racialization involves “the use of biological criteria (i.e. phenotype etc.) to separate people into distinct groups for the purpose of domination,” which members of Congress (MCs) did by integrating discriminatory terms into their speeches to define immigrants as national threats (Inwood and Yarbrough 2010, 299). The concerns MCs shared about Chinese immigrants harming Americans (those of European descent) loomed during the nineteenth and

twentieth centuries (Lee 2002). Henry Cabot Lodge, a House representative from Massachusetts serving from 1887 to 1893, characterized Chinese immigrants as threats who do not belong in the United States because he claimed the increase in immigration is “from races most alien to the body of the American people” (Lodge 1891, 32). Consequently, legislators passed restrictive immigration policies, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, to minimize the security threat that those immigrants allegedly posed.

MCs’ use of restrictionist rhetoric to categorize immigrants as “alien,” illustrated in Lodge’s response during the nineteenth century, continues to appear in political discourse today as current MCs consider numerous immigration bills at the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C. annually. Former House Speaker Kevin McCarthy said during a speech on the House floor regarding a 2023 immigration bill, titled Secure the Border Act of 2023, that “to this day, our southern [Mexico-U.S.] border is being flooded by illegal aliens from more than 140 countries” (169 Cong. Record H2223, 2023). Both Lodge and McCarthy’s language to persuade their colleagues to vote for or against bills involves depicting immigrants as “aliens” who invade the United States. Thus, this particular term not only emphasizes that ethnic groups are different from Americans (those born in the U.S.) but also indicates judgment that they are bad for the country’s well-being, as had been previously expressed through Lodge’s statement from the nineteenth century. Furthermore, McCarthy’s selection of the term “flooded” expresses the idea that there is a massive influx of immigrants trespassing, further calling attention to immigration as a major issue that needs to be strongly controlled (169 Cong. Record H2223, 2023).

The U.S. population has grown to be more ethnically diverse over time as immigration from various countries continued to occur over the years (De Vita and Pollard, 1996). For instance, Hispanics residing in the U.S. increased from 35.3 million in 2000 to 62.5 million in

2021 (Zong 2022). On the national level, “Hispanics accounted for 51% of the nation’s population increase, a higher share than any other racial or ethnic group” (Cohn, Lopez, and Passel 2022). A similar upward trend can be seen in Congress; while there were only 19 Hispanic House representatives and no Hispanic-identifying senators in the 106th Congress from 1999 - 2001, the number grew to 44 Hispanic-identifying House members and five senators serving in the 117th Congress (2021-2022) (“People Search” n.d.; Manning 2022, 2). Taking into account that the Hispanic population has increased in the nation and in Congress, it raises a significant inquiry about how “the nation’s second largest racial or ethnic group after non-Hispanic whites,” has shifted congressional discourse on immigration over time as more Hispanic-identifying individuals have joined Congress (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Office of Minority Health n.d.).

Scholars typically describe Democrat MCs as expressing positive immigration rhetoric while Republican MCs use restrictionist immigration rhetoric, but the scholars do not specify how MCs structured their rhetoric in the past. Instead, they generalize the MCs of the past as “legislators” or “politicians” rather than investigate if a similar pattern of party identification’s correlation with rhetorical divergence can be observed in the past (Card et al. 2022; Chock 1995; Schneider 1998). I propose that ethnicity is a potential underlying influence in MCs’ immigration rhetoric because MCs (the vast majority being Anglo-Americans) have historically used restrictionist rhetoric to set immigrants apart from U.S. citizens. Thus, integrating new variables in the literature of U.S. immigration rhetoric would enhance our understanding of the diverse factors driving it, including the influence of party identification and ethnicity in the legislative environment over time (Asbury-Kimmel 2023; Chock 1991; Hartman and Weber 2009; Iyengar et al. 2019).

I also want to address the complexities and nuances of significant terms. The term “Hispanic” comprises individuals who live in the United States and who were born or have family members from at least one of the Spanish-speaking Latin American countries or Spain. Although it is not widely accepted by its referents, the term “Hispanic” has been used by government institutions and social scientists to indicate people who share qualities of having Latin American descent or speaking the Spanish language (Marin 1991). It is an ethnic label that does not refer to a race because “Hispanics belong to all of the human races (Whites as well as Black, Asia, and indigenous Native American)” (Marin 1991, 2). Additional labels used to describe the ethnic group include Latino, Chicano, Spanish, Latin American; therefore, there is a wide variety of terms encompassing the ethnic group, and is an important aspect researchers must recognize when identifying Hispanics in studies (Marin 1991). Hispanics are diverse in cultures and are not a homogenous group, but will be categorized as one ethnicity in this paper because the U.S. perceives them as one ethnic group (Garcia and Sanchez 2007).

This thesis paper is guided by the following research questions: Has immigration rhetoric changed over time? If so, has the party identification or race/ethnicity of House members influenced their immigration rhetoric? I argue that an MC’s immigration rhetoric is based on two factors: the MC’s party identification and ethnicity. I hypothesize that MCs who identify themselves as both Democrat and either Hispanic or White non-Hispanic are more likely to engage in positive immigration rhetoric now than in the past (1980s), while MCs who are Republican and either Hispanic or White non-Hispanic are more likely to adopt restrictionist rhetoric. In regards to the past (1980s), I hypothesize that ethnicity is likely to influence Hispanic MCs to adopt positive immigration rhetoric, while White non-Hispanic MCs would utilize restrictionist rhetoric, regardless of their party identifications. MCs’ party identification can

possibly hold less influence than ethnicity when examining legislative speeches on immigration bills from the 1980s because polarization was weak back then, unlike now where it is much stronger and division between political parties is evident through their positions (Iyengar et al. 2019).

This paper first recounts the existing literature on immigration rhetoric, polarization, and legislative behavior that scholars have studied since the 1970s. Then I will explain my arguments, hypotheses, and the research methodology used to conduct the investigation. My paper considers a sample of 21 congressional speeches that House members gave on the House floor when taking into consideration one of the selected immigration bills: the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (H.R. 3810), the Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 (H.R. 4437), and the American Dream and Promise Act (H.R. 6). H.R. refers to House Resolutions that the House named the bills as. I analyzed the congressional speeches via content analysis in order to examine the rhetorical frames reflecting the immigration rhetoric House members of varying characteristics (party identification as Democrat or Republican and race/ethnicity as Hispanic or White non-Hispanic) have utilized, as well as compare the rhetorical changes over time amidst the increase in both the Hispanic population and elite polarization. Lastly, I will discuss my findings and conclusion about the temporal pattern of immigration rhetoric and the two factors' potential influence on the type of immigration rhetoric MCs applied in their speeches on the House floor.

This research is significant and relevant because scholars have found that there is no relationship between immigration and crime, yet legislators continue emitting this association in their immigration rhetoric across time (Gonzalez O'Brien 2018). Their rhetoric's contradiction with evidence-based findings suggests that there are other factors at play in driving politicians to

employ restrictionist rhetoric when conveying immigrants as criminal threats. Furthermore, restrictionist rhetoric illustrates the current tensions of race and ethnic relations within the American political environment. It focuses on the construction of groups to define who belongs and who does not (Lee 2002). The characterization of immigrants as threats to the United States demonstrates a temporal pattern in which MCs have used similar terms in the past and in modern day (like “aliens”) to justify the exclusion of foreigners, especially Hispanics who originate from Latin America. Beyond that, it also underlines the variety of rhetorical frames (economic, cultural, law and order) MCs adopt when speaking about immigration, especially alongside the Mexico-U.S. border. Democrats have, over time, selected words and phrases reflecting positive immigration rhetoric (“community,” “pay taxes,” “hard-working”) while Republicans have veered toward restrictionist rhetoric instead (“illegal,” “not pay taxes,” “take jobs”) (Card et al. 2022).

Concept Specification

Before discussing past scholarly literature and findings, it is imperative that I first explain the concepts I explore as this lays the groundwork for understanding the framework of my thesis and the meaning of the terms applied to this political context.

“Hispanic” is an ethnic label used to define group membership for those who share the key aspect of “national origin or ancestry” (Marin 1991). It is inaccurate to claim additional features like the Spanish language, Spanish surnames, or Roman Catholic religion are commonly shared amongst all Hispanic-identifying people because not all Hispanics speak Spanish or are Catholic, and might not even have a Spanish last name. Thus, the “Hispanic” ethnic label describes people who, either themselves or ancestors, “come from one of the 19 Spanish-speaking countries in the Americas, from Puerto Rico (a commonwealth of the United

States, or from Spain” (Marin 1991). “Latino” is another ethnic label utilized to describe those who come from Latin American countries (excluding Spain), yet is used less frequently by government institutions and, thus, will not be the ethnic label mentioned in this particular study. Considering that “Hispanic” was created by the U.S. federal government in 1980 and continues to be used by institutions like Congress to define MCs who identify with having national origin (either personal or familial) in a Spanish-speaking country, I will use “Hispanic” instead of “Latino” when investigating MCs’ immigration rhetoric (Marin 1991).

Party identification refers to the “social identification with a political party,” in this case either the Democratic Party or Republican Party (Greene 1999, 393). Ethnicity is the collective identity rooted in language, culture, or a common ancestry. Immigration rhetoric is the usage of persuasive language by politicians to shape others’ perception on the policy area of immigration. There are two types of immigration rhetoric: positive immigration rhetoric and restrictionist rhetoric. Positive immigration rhetoric refers to the use of persuasive language as well, but it is different from restrictionist rhetoric because the former specifically highlights the importance of embracing cultural diversity and the significance behind immigrants’ contributions to the United States (Card et al. 2022). In contrast, restrictionist rhetoric is utilized to justify the marginalization of groups (based on race, ethnicity, class, etc.) and rationalize the ways in which immigrants are detrimental to U.S. communities’ well-being and the economy (Gonzalez O’Brien 2018). Furthermore, restrictionist rhetoric works to persuade audiences that immigration needs to be curtailed, and that immigrants threaten the natives’ country. For positive immigration rhetoric, it embodies the ideas that immigrants strengthen the economy and contribute to a country’s prosperous state. When discussing immigration rhetoric’s change over time, I will include the concept of elite polarization because it illustrates a political phenomenon occurring

alongside MCs' use of immigration rhetoric. It refers to division between politicians who serve in the U.S. government and identify with different political parties (Banda and Cluverius 2018). It also serves as the rationale for looking at three time periods in which it is shown that Congress has polarized over time (Figures 3 and 4).

Literature Review

Current literature on U.S. immigration rhetoric extensively analyzes the frameworks that politicians have historically used during legislative debates on immigration bills that resulted in their eventual passage (Card et al. 2022; Chock 1995; Gonzalez O'Brien 2018; Lakoff and Ferguson 2006; Schneider 1998). However, there is no clear consensus about the factors that drive politicians to decide whether to communicate positive or restrictionist rhetoric to their audience (Card et al. 2022; Arthur and Woods 2013). First, I will provide background information on immigration rhetoric employed in the U.S., mentioning features comprising the concept and its existence in U.S. history. Then, I will delve into the rising trend of polarization (a phenomenon in which division develops between two or more groups) in order to provide thorough context about the phenomenon occurring in Congress where immigration rhetoric has changed alongside with, and is implied by political scientists as instrumental in the rhetorical divergence of the immigration discourse. Finally, I address the gap in the literature by introducing literature on legislative behavior and social identity in order to demonstrate additional insights on immigration rhetoric that previous scholars have not considered.

Rhetoric and Political Rhetoric: The Building Blocks of Immigration Rhetoric

The creative usage of language consists of “making new meaning by a speaker and the recreation and re-interpretation of meaning(s) by a receiver” (Zawada 2009, 235). Rhetoric serves as one creative use of language because it consists of “persuasive or honest communication,” (Wróbel 2015, 41). Early scholars like Richard Vatz (1973) argue that the speaker has complete freedom in their decision behind rhetoric, but Scott Consigny (1974) disagrees by claiming that the location, time, and audience affect the speaker’s decision on rhetoric. More recent scholars align with the latter interpretation that rhetoric is the “negotiation of the distance between individuals” because it can either divide the speaker from his audience or lessen their social distance (Meyer 2014). This latter description of rhetoric highlights its active role in shaping social relationships between the speaker and their audience because it suggests that the audience can influence the speaker’s choice in rhetoric. Thus, this thesis builds on Consigny’s concept of rhetoric by analyzing it within the context of American politics, particularly the U.S. immigration discourse, in order to discover if MCs’ rhetoric has changed over time and shared commonalities with their colleagues of either the same party or race/ethnicity.

Political rhetoric is a subcategory of rhetoric that politicians strategically shape in order to sway people’s opinions and achieve political goals, such as seeking re-election or gaining support for policies (Flores 2003; Rank 1980). Political rhetoric illustrates persuasive speeches’ extensive role in American law-making procedures because it highlights the politicians’ call to action. Thus, there is subjectivity involved in the rhetoric politicians use because they structure their speeches or arguments to express particular ideas meant to shape the audience’s perception on topics. This paper particularly focuses on political rhetoric because it is most relevant in the

American legislative body where political actors urge each other to either do or not do something, like voting on bills or voicing their opposition to policies.

While they bring their own stance into their political rhetoric, speakers are also impacted by the context (in this case the audience) during the moment their speech is given (Consigny 1974; Meyer 2014; Rank 1980). A scholarly debate centers on whether the situation (where, when, who is at the event) determines the speaker's response or if it is the speaker who independently decides. Lloyd Bitzer (1968) believes that the situation completely determines the speaker's response because the speaker is guided by the audience. Consigny (1974) somewhat disagrees by stating that a speaker has freedom in deciding a position to uphold, but there are limitations (audience, location, time period) placed upon the speaker that influences their response. Therefore, political actors freely decide upon their choice in political rhetoric, but not without recognizing who their listeners are. Ultimately, applying this theoretical framework to the U.S. immigration discourse would produce greater insights into how different interpretations, influenced by the speaker's environment, have long-lasting impacts on ethnic groups targeted in immigration legislation.

Key Aspects of Immigration Rhetoric

Immigration rhetoric is an example of a specific kind of political rhetoric, encompassing the persuasive language utilized by politicians to discuss the topic of immigration and shape others' perception of it (Card et al. 2022). As Deborah Stone (1989) argues, the framings implemented in MCs' speeches reflect their strategy to show favor for a particular course of action, which can be observed in their discourse on immigration bills. They intentionally utilize different frames in order to describe immigration in a narrow scope, like economic or security threat, to support their preference in course of action (Card et al. 2022; Lakoff and Ferguson

2006). However, scholars proposing this do not consider that purposes may not always be politically driven because they might stem from social motivations like belonging to a group (Greene 1999).

Scholars studying U.S. immigration rhetoric identify various frames to demonstrate the wide range of characterizations immigrants have historically been placed under by Democratic and Republican MCs to either justify immigrants' exclusion from the U.S. or support their stay (Card et al. 2022; Chock 1995; Gonzalez O'Brien 2018; Lakoff and Ferguson 2006; Schneider 1998). Lakoff and Ferguson (2006) confine frames to the perceived image of immigrants ("undocumented worker frame," "temporary workers"), Gonzalez O'Brien (2018) categorizes frames into the types of threat immigrants are depicted as ("economic threat," "cultural threat," "criminal threat"), and both Chock (1995) and Schneider (1998) primarily focus on the natural history framework ("disease," "overpopulation"). Although there has been no clear consensus on the actual terms of frames to universally use when studying immigration rhetoric, scholars generally share similar arguments behind the meaning that the variety of frames evoke. Legislators select restrictionist rhetoric by framing immigrants as "criminal threats" or "economic threats" because they strive to justify the exclusion of immigrants, which establishes them as the out-group—those marginalized from the in-group (one that the individual closely identifies with) (Gonzalez O'Brien 2018; Greene 1999). Frames were not equally applied to all nationalities, but rather legislators employed different frames depending on the nationality group targeted (Card et al. 2022, Lee 2002). This, therefore, highlights that legislators purposefully structure their rhetoric to validate Anglo-Americans' concerns behind immigrant groups who pose as threats, and reinforce stereotypes associated with each national group.

History of U.S. Immigration Rhetoric in Immigration Bills

Congress has engaged in debates and the passage of immigration bills since its inception in 1789, and has utilized similar restrictionist rhetoric currently seen in American political discourse. The Naturalization Act of 1790 was the “first comprehensive immigration policy set forth by Congress” to establish rules behind naturalization, such as the number of years one must live in the U.S. before qualifying for citizenship (Feigenbaum et al. 2019). However, Lee (2002) traces the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 as the first restrictive immigration law to establish limits on an immigrant group based on their race and class, which then set precedents for later immigration policies to treat immigration as control-related. Race had been treated by MCs as a primary factor in determining which groups to reject in the U.S. because Chinese immigrants were perceived as inferior to Americans, thus instigating MCs to affirm Chinese immigrants’ exclusion from U.S. citizenship by passing restrictive policies. Although this particular act solely targeted Chinese immigrants, Lee (2002) argues that it impacted subsequent groups of immigrants because the anti-Chinese rhetoric established the foundation for later nativist arguments, which centered on the racialization of Mexicans, as well as Eastern and Southern Europeans.

The use of framing as a strategic method in guiding MCs to place restrictions on immigration is evident in the twentieth century when they integrated the natural history framework into legislative discourses (Chock 1995; Schneider 1998). The natural history framework consists of scientific terms, such as “overpopulation” and “disease,” to describe the immigration problem and justify the ostracism of immigrants. By associating immigrants with “disease,” it expresses immigrants as “attack(ing) a body,” which refers to the U.S. (Santa Ana 2002, 41). This framework reflects the restrictionist rhetoric that MCs used to evoke the idea that

immigrants harm the American environment with their illnesses and high numbers in population. This type of argument is known as “social pollution,” and it emphasizes that immigrants are threats who bring forth “pain and suffering to American families” (Schneider 1998, 91). MCs decided to utilize the natural history framework to distance themselves from being considered racist because science is rooted in objectivity instead of subjectivity (Schneider 1998). However, as Chock notes, the discourse revolving around the natural history framework nonetheless leans toward racism because the units of natural order, immigrants and American citizens, bear a resemblance to a racial hierarchy in which citizens perceive themselves as superior to immigrants, who are seen as threats to the status quo.

Shaping immigration rhetoric to emphasize the division between natives and immigrants exemplifies the strategy MCs utilized to establish a racial hierarchy because they identified groups of immigrants that would be favored over others. Mexicans and Chinese immigrants were two groups who were treated more harshly than European immigrants because Americans compared them to their perception of whiteness (Chock et al. 2018; Lee 2002). For example, Card et al. (2022) found that Chinese and Mexican immigrants face more negative frames overall than Italians, which they theorize is due to immigrant groups being judged by how close they are to “whiteness:” skin tone relative to the white skin phenotype. Lee (2002) agrees that they faced more negative frames than Europeans, but says it is because immigrant groups are racialized alongside the “Chinese immigrant model,” thus enforcing the comparisons MCs make with immigrant groups to define who is more desirable to have than others (43).

The historical trend of immigration rhetoric across legislative bills spanning centuries lies outside the scope of this paper, but the subject matter is nevertheless essential in displaying legislators’ rhetoric that has endured through later centuries in immigration policies impacting

Hispanics. The legislative debate behind the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 involved restrictionist rhetoric expressing Chinese immigrants as criminals who threaten Americans' security (Lee 2002). This notion of "immigrants as criminal threats" continues to be seen in current speeches by MCs as they debate on immigration bills that center on undocumented immigrants and Dreamers.

Political Polarization and Contemporary Immigration Rhetoric

In recent years, polarization in the U.S. has become a key topic of research amongst political scientists who, generally speaking, agree that polarization exists. Political scientists agree that polarization has risen in the U.S. in the last 50 years (Boxel et al. 2020; Card et al. 2022). Literature on polarization has primarily focused on key differences between sources of polarization and the mechanisms of each type (Bail et al. 2018; Card et al. 2022; Dias and Lelkes 2022; Druckman et al. 2013; Leonard et al. 2021; Stewart, Plotkin, and McCarty 2021). Scholars conduct surveys with respondents and logistics regression models to test potential driving forces of polarization, such as partisanship (Iyengar et al. 2019, Dias and Lelkes 2022), media (Bail et al. 2018), economic hardships (Stewart et al. 2021), and public opinion (Leonard et al. 2021). I will focus on elite polarization as it centers on the politicians who serve in the government, like MCs, rather than the mass public.

Immigration scholars believe that polarization has existed within immigration rhetoric, pointing to the language, such as "cargo" and "families," MCs have made about immigrants (Asbury-Kimmel 2023; Card et al. 2022). Scholars then organize these statements by themes to reveal the prevalence of either positive or negative-type frameworks. Through this method, Card et al. (2022) concluded that the Democratic Party's usage of positive frames and the Republican Party's utilization of negative frames ("illegality," "terrorism," and "criminality") demonstrate

that the “two parties have become increasingly polarized over time.” Polarization between parties has transpired across the U.S., and especially within Congress, resulting in a striking increase in the late 1970s that aligns with the rhetorical divergence between the Democratic Party and Republican Party (Card et al. 2022). Because restrictionist rhetoric from the previous 100 years continues to be evident in Congress today when MCs of different political parties debate on immigration bills, it raises an important question about whether immigration rhetoric has changed over time, and become more polarized alongside the polarization happening in Congress.

Social Identity Theory and Legislative Behavior

There has not been much study done on the driving forces behind MC’s choice in immigration rhetoric, but the literature on MCs’ behavior towards their constituents can provide insights into how MCs decide upon the immigration rhetoric to employ in Congress. Literature on legislative behavior has involved the examination of a range of factors to shed light on how voting decisions get made and how often legislators respond to their constituents (Feigenbaum et al. 2019; Gell-Redman et al. 2018; Janusz and Lajevardi 2016). One factor has been the demographic composition of the member’s district, in which the percentage of Hispanics, whites, blacks, and Asians wield influence in the state legislators’ response (Feigenbaum et al. 2019, Gell-Redman et al. 2018). Various studies have examined the interactions between legislators and their constituents, and they found that Hispanics and Asians receive lower response rates than white constituents from their Republican representatives (Gell-Redman et al. 2018; Janusz and Lajevardi 2016). Democratic representatives respond to whites and Hispanics at similar rates (Gell-Redman et al. 2018). The varying levels of legislative responsiveness towards racial and ethnic groups demonstrate the existing tensions between race/ethnic relations and American

politics because it suggests that legislators view their constituents through a racial lens (Gell-Redman 2018). Some scholars claim that representatives do not respond due to self-interest, while others claim that out-group bias is the main factor (Gell-Redman et al. 2018; Mendez 113).

The-out-group bias explanation is reminiscent of the social identity theory that scholars have studied to investigate the reasons behind group tensions in American politics (Greene 1999). Social identity theory refers to the idea that “groups occupy different levels of a hierarchy of status and power, and that intergroup behavior is driven by people’s ability to be critical of, and to see alternatives to, the status quo” (Hornsey 2008, 207). Considering that they identify with a political party, MCs want to belong to a group and express their loyalty to the party by aligning themselves with their stances on policy areas (Greene 1999; Hornsey 2008; Iyengar et al. 2019; McCarty 2021). Social identity is claimed by Iyengar et al. (2019) to be a contributor in the increase of polarization because the political environment developed to contain an in-group (one’s party affiliation) and an out-group (opposing political party). Furthermore, Garcia and Sanchez (2007) argue that people have a “set of social identities based on race, ethnicity, and gender that they emphasize or deemphasize based on the social context in which they find themselves” (14). Because aspects of social identities, like party and ethnicity, allude to people’s membership in a group, I find this relevant to integrate into my research on MCs’ immigration rhetoric, which previous scholars have not conducted.

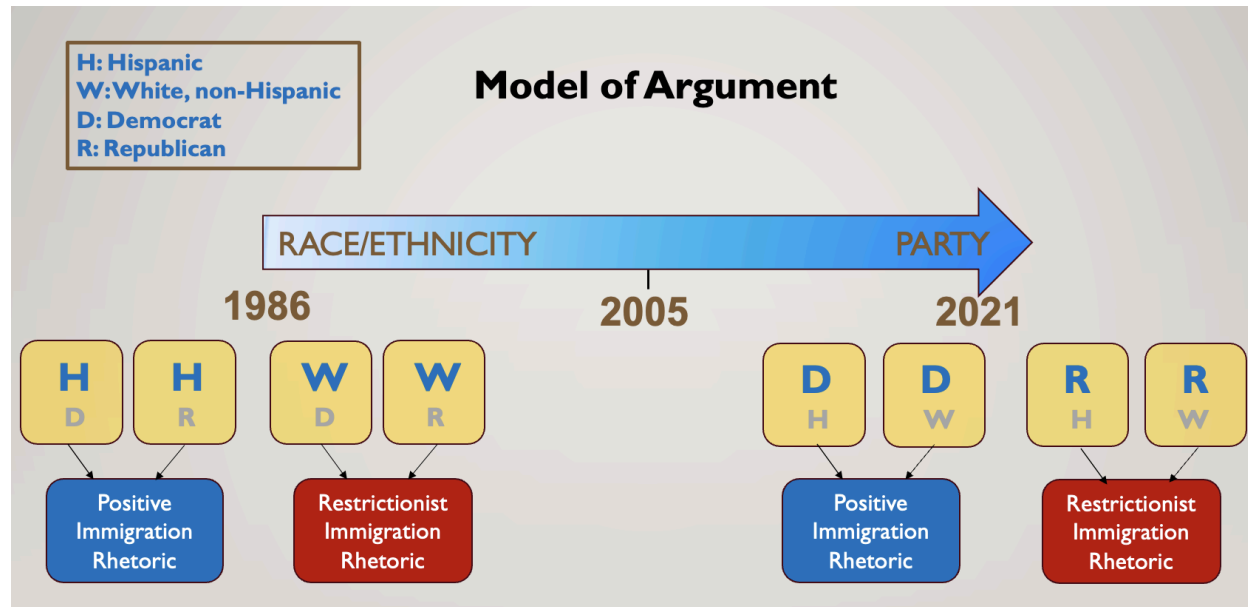
MCs’ immigration rhetoric consists of either restrictionist rhetoric in which immigrants (the out-group) are excluded from the in-group, or positive rhetoric that permits immigrants to be included in American societies. MCs want to be a part of an “in-group,” as noted through their strong alignment with their party’s stance on immigration (Card et al. 2022). Integrating the

social identity framework into the literature on MCs' immigration rhetoric would serve to further understand the rationale of racial and ethnic tensions that have historically taken place in legislative discourse. Previous scholars have not applied the concept of ethnicity (which is an aspect of one's social identity) in literature on immigration rhetoric, thus integrating it into this body of literature would increase our understanding of how rhetoric conveys messages about who belongs and who does not belong in the United States. Immigration rhetoric has historically contained terms targeting immigrants and ethnic groups alike, so integrating race/ethnicity into the literature on immigration rhetoric would introduce insights into how those factors have the potential to shape legislators' decisions on the rhetoric employed in debates on immigration bills. Through addressing this gap, I contribute to presenting an understudied factor that can prompt MCs to express either positive or restrictionist rhetoric.

Argument

I argue that the immigration rhetoric used by legislators in their immigration speeches are predicated by two factors: 1. The political party to which an elected representative is affiliated with and 2. the race/ethnicity of the member of Congress (MC) (Figure 1). Parties and ethnic identities are understood to be prime movers in the creation of immigration rhetoric. An MC aligns with their party's stance on immigration in order to stay loyal to their political party. The MC's ethnicity affects the MC's structure of immigration rhetoric because ethnicity serves as an indicator in determining the in-groups and out-groups that MCs would be inclusive or exclusive towards. Essentially, the different combinations of the two factors affect the type of immigration rhetoric that MCs select.

Figure 1:



To elaborate further, each factor contains subcategories that specify the party identification and ethnicity associated with the MC because they serve to demonstrate the potential influence in shaping their immigration rhetoric. My argument indicates that there are two factors that shift in strength across time because political parties gain wielding influence in MCs' voting decisions as decades pass (Figure 1). The existing literature tends to describe the framings behind immigration rhetoric and political parties' inclination towards either positive or restrictionist rhetoric, but it does not consider additional driving forces that influence legislators' rhetoric during terms as House members who are tasked with creating laws. The model of my argument builds on previous literature about immigration rhetoric because it incorporates the concept of ethnicity from the literature on legislative behavior (Figure 1). Considering that legislators respond to their constituents differently due to a racialized view of them, my paper will expand the literature on immigration rhetoric by presenting aspects that explain MCs in using positive or restrictionist rhetoric (Gell-Redman et al. 2018).

Hypotheses

My hypothesis is temporal-based: as a political party becomes stronger over time, there is less variation in rhetoric within a party than between parties. My hypotheses below reflect the temporal-based hypothesis because Hypotheses 1-4 account for the 1986 period while Hypotheses 5-8 center on the 2021 period. For 2005, I hypothesize that it would begin to reflect the party as a major influence, but to a smaller extent than in 2021.

I.) 1986 (IRCA) and 2005 (H.R. 4437):

Hypothesis 1: House members who are Hispanic and Democrats are more likely to utilize positive immigration rhetoric.

Hypothesis 2: House members who are white non-Hispanic and Democrats are more likely to utilize restrictionist immigration rhetoric.

Hypothesis 3: House members who are Hispanic and Republican are more likely to use positive immigration rhetoric.

Hypothesis 4: House members who are white non-Hispanic and Republican are more likely to use restrictionist immigration rhetoric.

Hypotheses 1-4 are vindicated by *ethnicity* serving as a strong factor in House members' strategic use of immigration rhetoric, but under the condition that the political party is weak in strength. Under this structure, I claim that if MCs are Hispanic (or white, non-Hispanic), then there will be less variation in immigration rhetoric between parties than within parties, regardless of party identification, because their respective parties are weak in strength.

II.) 2021 (ADPA):

Hypothesis 5: House members who are Hispanic and Democrats are more likely to utilize positive immigration rhetoric.

Hypothesis 6: House members who are white non-Hispanic and Democrats are more likely to utilize positive immigration rhetoric.

Hypothesis 7: House members who are Hispanic and Republican are more likely to use restrictionist immigration rhetoric.

Hypothesis 8: House members who are white non-Hispanic and Republican are more likely to use restrictionist immigration rhetoric.

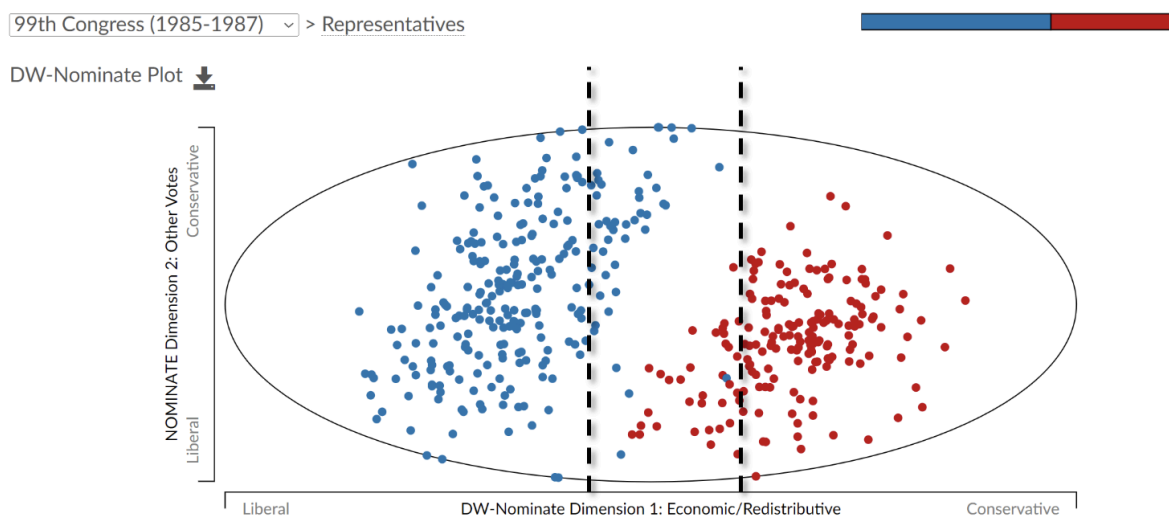
Hypotheses 5-8 are rationalized by *party* being a highly influential factor instead of ethnicity in House members' strategic use of immigration rhetoric, but under the condition that the political party is strong in strength. If House members are Democrat (or Republican), then there will be less variation in immigration rhetoric within parties than between parties, regardless of ethnicity, because their respective parties are strong in strength.

Because I analyze immigration rhetoric from 1986, 2005, and 2021 when the House passed the Immigration Control and Reform Act (IRCA), the Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 (H.R. 4437), and the American Dream and Promise Act (ADPA), the temporal dimension of political rhetoric's change over time is recognized in order to assess the factors' levels of effect on House members' immigration rhetoric.

The combination of different characteristics of the two factors alters their immigration rhetoric, especially across time periods when polarization was at a weak and high point (Figures 2 and 3). Figures 2 and 3 show the voting outcomes amongst MCs of different ideologies, and the graph indicates weak polarization because the dots are close to the center, unlike in 2021 where the division is more defined. A White non-Hispanic Republican House member in 1986 would be likely to share similar restrictionist rhetoric with White non-Hispanic Democrats, while a Hispanic Democrat in that same time period would employ positive rhetoric like Hispanic

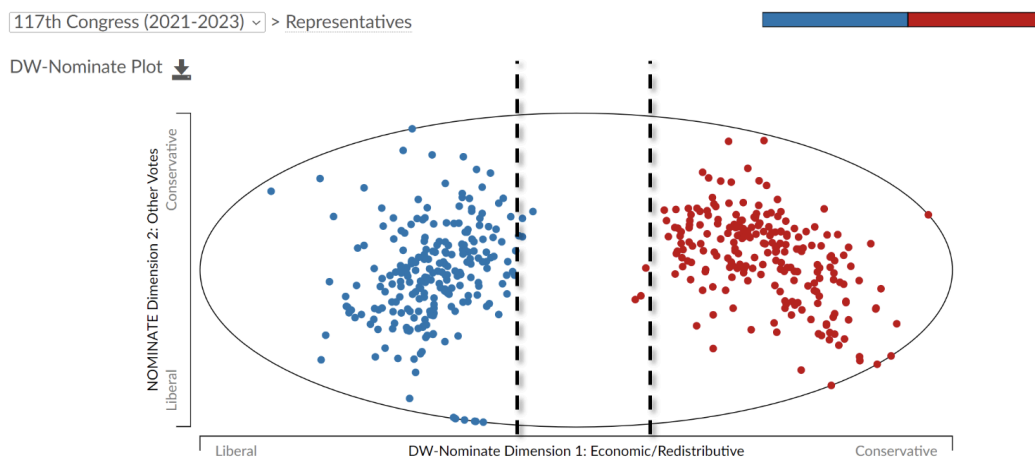
Republicans because ethnicity factors in how politicians perceive other ethnic groups. Hispanic immigrants would be the out-group from Republicans' perspective while it would be the in-group for Hispanics. In this example, the Hispanic ethnicity of the MC exhibits strong influence when polarization is in a weak state (party would, thus, exert a weak influence) in 1986, while restrictionist rhetoric would be more prominent with an MC who is White, non-Hispanic and Republican.

Figure 2: Elite polarization in 1986



Source: *Voteview.com*

Figure 3: Elite polarization in 2021



Source: Voteview.com

For the 2005 period, I hypothesize there would be a shift in immigration rhetoric amongst the MCs so that there is an increasing number of mentions reflecting restrictionist rhetoric amongst Republicans (regardless of ethnicity), and positive rhetoric amongst Democrats. For the 2021 period, parties hold strong influence and may have White and Hispanic Republicans expressing restrictionist rhetoric, while White and Hispanic Democrats evoke positive rhetoric. I argue that the differences between the MCs' party and ethnic identities shape their immigration rhetoric because immigration has been treated as a control-related issue involving foreigners, like those from Latin America (Gonzalez O'Brien 2018) that brings forth tensions between in-groups and out-groups. Under this argument, I suggest that MCs are confronted in determining whether they choose to align themselves with the interests of either one of two "in-groups."

I expect that White non-Hispanic Republicans will look similar to White non-Hispanic Democrats in 1986 because the only feature differentiating them is party rather than the ethnic features of the politician. If there is weak partisanship, then there would likely be stronger ethnic

effects. I expect the Hispanic ethnicity feature to weaken over time and the party to strengthen because elite polarization is more evident in 2021 than in 1986 (Figures 2 and 3). For 2021, it is the ethnicity that is weaker, while the party dominates in influencing politicians' immigration rhetoric. The immigration rhetoric of the White non-Hispanic Democrat should look more like the Hispanic Democrat in 2021 because the party controls the variation, and MCs may want to belong to a salient group.

Research Methodology

Scholars' methodological approach in studying immigration rhetoric of 18th and 19th-century immigration bills involve conducting content analysis, but the scholars differ on the criteria behind their data collection. Lee (2002) looks at various immigrant groups to analyze immigration policies' impacts and MCs' rhetoric during debates, while others place focus on one singular group (Feigenbaum et al. 2019; Gonzalez O'Brien 2018). Lee (2002) finds that studying various immigrant groups together contribute to providing a strong understanding of the historical trend behind MCs' consistent use of nativist rhetoric over time. Gonzalez O'Brien (2018) looks at immigration bills from the 20th century and the rhetorical impacts they have had towards Mexicans, while Feigenbaum et al. pays close attention to immigration bills targeting European immigrants because "lawmakers did not always view European immigrants, especially those from southern and eastern Europe, as belonging to the same racial group as "white" Americans" (6, 2019). I follow the methodological approach Gonzalez O'Brien (2018) and Feigenbaum et al. (2019) conduct, but my focus is on Hispanics because they share a feature of a rich immigration history in which they or family members immigrated from one of the "19 Spanish-speaking countries in the Americas," and have grown in population over the years in the U.S. (Garcia and Sanchez 2007, Marin 1991). Although the terms Hispanic and Latino may be

used interchangeably by people who are of Latin American descent or speak Spanish, I state the term “Hispanic” rather than “Latino” because it is the main label used by government institutions like Congress and the U.S. Census Bureau to categorize MCs and individuals who identify with this particular ethnic group. Therefore, I will abide by the terminology that government institutions continue to utilize to accurately represent the ethnic identification they name.

Research Design

I utilize content analysis to evaluate my hypotheses and investigate House members’ immigration rhetoric across the three widely recognized immigration bills that were passed by the House (Chock 1995; Schneider 1998; Gonzalez O’Brien 2018). This method involves drawing findings from House members’ speeches during consideration of immigration bills on the House floor. Immigration scholars have used this type of qualitative method to identify temporal changes in rhetoric around immigration (Card et al. 2022, Gonzalez O’Brien 2018). Particular focus on content is executed in order to analyze the various frames utilized to describe the topic of immigration. Therefore, in using content analysis, I can conduct an investigation into how House members’ immigration rhetoric has shifted over time, as well as the arguments stated by MCs to justify their stance on immigration politics. Immigration rhetoric can precisely be identified via codes that previous scholars have found, and I will build upon their framework by searching for additional words and phrases that have not been considered. Additionally, content analysis provides a systematic approach in investigating the temporal dimension of immigration rhetoric because recording the counts of words can underline the prevalence or diminishing term usage. I use this method to interpret the immigration rhetoric and recognize frameworks scholars found during their investigations.

My table of rhetorical frames and codes I used for my data collection is outlined below. There are four main frameworks: economic, cultural, law and order, and health. Each contains categories of “positive” and “negative” because they indicate the angles MCs have taken to reflect whether immigrants are contributors or a burden on the nation. The economic framework refers to the financial aspect and work conditions that immigrants engage in either strengthening the U.S. economy (positive economic frame) or “tak(ing) jobs” (negative economic frame). The cultural framework encompasses the social aspect of immigrants engaging in the community (positive cultural frame) or distancing oneself from it (negative cultural frame). The law and order framework is about immigrants’ obedience to laws, as well as protecting others as part of the military (positive law and order frame), and committing crimes (negative law and order frame). The health framework covers the health-related field in which immigrants serve as healthcare staff (positive health frame) or have harmful diseases (negative health frame). The blue and red words indicate Gonzalez O’Brien’s (2018) codes that he used for his study (color coded by positive and negative), while the green underlined words represent my new codes that have not been previously considered. The yellow highlighted titles symbolize my contribution in introducing new names to reflect immigration rhetoric: “law and order” rather than “criminal threat” because it has a neutral meaning that can include the positive frame, and “health” that no scholar has included in current studies (Card et al. 2022, Gonzalez O’Brien 2018). When coding, I highlight words that are the same as or reflect the key words in any of the sections, and do not consider words that include “no,” “none,” “not” (or anything related to rejection) because it negates the message. For example, if a House member says “immigrants are not illegal,” then I do not count “illegal” even if it appears in my table because the individual is rejecting the description rather than supporting it.

Figure 4:

Positive and Negative Frames in U.S. Immigration Rhetoric

<i>Economic</i>	<i>Cultural</i>	<i>Law and Order</i>	<i>Health</i>
<i>Positive:</i> - Improve economy - labor demands -hard workers - <u>workers</u> - <u>labor</u> - <u>pay taxes</u> - <u>take care</u>	<i>Positive:</i> - contribute to culture - assimilate - shared values - family oriented - <u>community</u> - <u>members</u> - <u>desirable</u> - <u>education</u> - <u>heritage</u>	<i>Positive:</i> - law-abiding - follow rules - obey rules - honest - <u>protect</u> - <u>military</u>	<i>Positive:</i> - <u>healthcare workers</u> - <u>take care of patients/kids/family</u> - <u>doctors</u> - <u>medical staff</u> - <u>essential workers</u>
<i>Negative:</i> -take jobs -burden on services - don't pay taxes - hurt unions - lower wages	<i>Negative:</i> - Don't assimilate - Racial threat - different values - undesirable - illiterate - uneducated - <u>aliens</u>	<i>Negative:</i> -steal/theft -smuggling -fraud - violence -crime -criminals -drugs -gangs - <u>illegal</u> - <u>violation</u> - <u>criminal threat</u> - <u>border security</u> - <u>harm/danger</u> - <u>security/safety</u> - <u>cartels</u> - <u>traffickers</u> - <u>undocumented</u> - <u>terrorism</u>	<i>Negative:</i> - <u>disease</u> - <u>have COVID-19</u> - <u>harm health</u>

Rationale Behind Immigration Bills

Before conducting content analysis, I need to establish the eligibility criteria for determining which bills and laws to study. The bills and laws have to be recognized as major

pieces of immigration legislation by previous scholars (Estrada et al. 2016; Gonzalez O'Brien 2018; Semyon 2023); created at the federal level (not state or local level); proposed between 1985-2021; addressed by House members in speeches for House floor consideration on the day the immigration bill was approved; and passed by the House. This resulted in three bills and laws that range from restrictive to inclusionary immigration reform: the Immigration Reform and Control Act (S. 1200, enacted in 1986); The Border Protection, Anti-Terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act (H.R. 4437, passed by House in 2005); and the American Dream and Promise Act (H.R. 6, passed in 2021). The House profoundly spoke first on a proposed amendment for S. 1200 called the Immigration Control and Legalization Amendments Act (H.R. 3810, passed by the House in 1986). When I mention H.R. 3810 in this paper, it refers to IRCA and the 99th Congress rather than a completely separate bill because the amendment's passage led to IRCA receiving a majority vote for approval in the House (132 Cong. Record 30117, 1986).

Although one out of the three immigration bills is labeled as a restrictive, “enforcement-only” bill, I kept it in the study because it is constructive in enhancing representation of the two categories of immigration legislation: inclusionary and restrictive. Inclusionary legislation tends to “challenge boundaries, while restrictive legislation inherently makes distinctions between immigrant and nonimmigrant groups brighter” (Estrada et al. 2016, 561). Comparing immigration rhetoric across the three bills that comprise the two types of U.S. immigration legislation is vital in producing insights about frameworks House members applied in response to the proposed rules of both the restrictive and inclusionary bills. Additionally, the years in which each of the three immigration bills were passed in the House are spaced out enough to reflect a 35-year period, a significant length of time that can demonstrate

congressional rhetoric's change over time whilst elite polarization in Congress undergoes a similar increase in trend.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) was an immigration bill that passed in the Senate first on September 19, 1985, then considered by the House for passage. However, the House considered the proposed amendment titled H.R. 3810 that would be later included in the IRCA bill, ultimately passed by the House on October 9, 1986 (132 Cong. Record 30114, 1986). When I mention H.R. 3810 in this paper, it refers to IRCA and the 99th Congress rather than a completely separate bill and Congressional period because the amendment's passage led to IRCA receiving a majority vote for approval in the House. House members stated the amendment H.R. 3810, officially named as the Immigration Control and Legalization Amendments Act of 1986, in their speeches on the day IRCA was passed by the House, confirming that they gave speeches voicing either their support or opposition to the amendment associated with IRCA. IRCA is widely known as the "first and most comprehensive legislation to take on the issue of illegal immigration to the United States" (Chishti and Kamasaki 2014). The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 is deemed as a restrictive immigration bill because it focused on curbing immigration and establishing felonies for immigrants who cross the U.S. border (Estrada et al. 2016). The American Dream and Promise Act of 2021 was passed by the House on March 18, 2021, and this bill placed greater emphasis on Dreamers, who are immigrants as well but came to the United States as children or babies. It was a bill passed after the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, thus bringing insights into changes in immigration rhetoric that could shift after the beginning of a global pandemic.

The rationale behind looking at the three time periods is that they show the development of polarization over time in roll call votes that is indicative of the polarization happening to

immigration rhetoric. Although I did not conduct roll call vote analysis in this paper, published data on Congressional roll call votes is relevant in providing additional context on voting patterns that happen after MCs debate and publicly speak about the bills on the floor. In the image displaying 2021, each political party congregates at opposite ends and the distance between them shows polarization because there is internal coherence within parties, but also a stark contrast between the Democratic Party and Republican Party (Figures 2 and 3). Figure 2 demonstrates homogeneity of the Democratic members and Republican members who, overall, responded similarly to the rest of their respective parties on voting for IRCA in 1986. The striking observations made is that party matters more in 2021, while it mattered less in 1986. I also selected 2005 because it marked a stark contrast in the type of immigration bill accepted by a vast majority of the House (comprehensive immigration bill in 1986 to restrictive immigration bill in 2005) (Estrada et al. 2016; Gonzalez O'Brien 2018). Thus, the anomalies and differentiations are crucial elements that expand our understanding of the influential role that party or ethnicity has on shaping politicians' immigration rhetoric.

Description of House Member Selection

I collected 21 total House members' speeches in which there are seven representatives' speeches for each of the three immigration bills considered on the House floor. I chose seven House members per immigration bill because I looked at two Hispanic Democrats, two white Democrats, two white Republicans, and one Hispanic Republican. I narrowed down my sample size by selecting House members who spoke on the respective immigration bills during time of consideration on the House floor (revealed by the Congressional Record); who fall under the key categories of either Democrat/Republican and Hispanic/White non-Hispanic; are not Speakers of the House (they are chosen by their respective party to serve in the position); said a speech on the

bill the day it got passed; and spoke substantially between 30 seconds to 5 minutes about either immigrants or the topic of immigration. “Hispanic” is not a race, but rather an ethnicity, because those who identify as Hispanic can belong to any race, like White and Asian (Marin 1991). Since Hispanic and White are not necessarily mutually exclusive, I designed my research method to compare the immigration rhetoric of Hispanics and non-Hispanic Whites because it is an appropriate way of categorizing individuals who do not share similar national origins.

Non-Hispanic Whites may trace their ancestry and national origin to European nations instead of Latin America or Spain, like it is for Hispanics. I selected to study Hispanics and White non-Hispanics because Whites have historically comprised a larger portion in Congress, and White legislators’ national debates have characterized Hispanics as threats (Lee 2002; Santa Ana 2002). While Hispanics are not a homogenous group, I will nonetheless characterize the ethnicity as Hispanic because the U.S. government has listed them as that (Marin 1991).

I limited my selection to 21 total speeches because it encompasses as close to a representative sample as possible with consideration of political party (Democrat or Republican) and ethnicity (Hispanic or White, non-Hispanic). I look at only one Hispanic Republican per time period rather than two like the rest because the 99th U.S. Congress (1985-1986) included only one Hispanic-identifying House Republican, thus I fixed the number at one for “Hispanic Republican” across the next two time periods to maintain consistency (“People Search”). The 21 House members are listed below in tables categorized by time period (Figures 5-7). I chose to study House members because the House contains 435 members who each represent a district. The big number in the group provides more data for me to find members who willingly give speeches rather than as a small number where it would be more difficult for me to find members who fall under the studied categories. I strove to have a representative sample by having as close

to an equal number of males and females possible in my three sample sizes. However, there are only male House member speeches for the 1986 sample size because it is not possible to collect female House member speeches for the 99th Congress (“People Search”). There were no female Democrats or Republicans who identified as Hispanic, while only 22 white women, regardless of political party affiliation, served in the 99th Congress (“People Search”). This number is significantly less from the more than 400 men who served in this Congress.

Figure 5: Table of House Members Speaking on H.R. 3810 (99th Congress) - 1986

Name (State-District #)	Race/Ethnicity	Party
Bill Richardson (NM-3)	Hispanic	Democrat
Robert Garcia (NY-18)	Hispanic	Democrat
William Hughes (NJ-2)	White	Democrat
Lawrence Smith (FL-16)	White	Democrat
Jack Fields (TX-8)	White	Republican
James Jeffords (VT-District at Large)	White	Republican
Manuel Lujan (NM-1)	Hispanic	Republican

Figure 6: Table of House Members Speaking on H.R. 4437 (109th Congress) - 2005

Name (State-District #)	Race/Ethnicity	Party
Solomon Ortiz (TX-27)	Hispanic	Democrat
Hilda Solis (CA-32)	Hispanic	Democrat
Joseph Crowley (NY-7)	White	Democrat
Rush Holt (NJ-12)	White	Democrat
Cathy McMorris (WA-5)	White	Republican
Gary Miller (CA-42)	White	Republican
Henry Bonilla (TX-23)	Hispanic	Republican

Figure 7: Table of House Members Speaking on H.R. 6 (117th Congress) - 2021

Name (State-District #)	Race/Ethnicity	Party
Adriano Espaillat (NY-13)	Hispanic	Democrat
Teresa Leger Fernández (NM-3)	Hispanic	Democrat
Janice Schakowsky (IL-9)	White	Democrat
Greg Stanton (AZ-9)	White	Democrat
Lisa McClain (MI-10)	White	Republican
Jodey Arrington (TX-19)	White	Republican
Mike Garcia (CA-25)	Hispanic	Republican

Secondly, I use a deductive coding approach, relying on existing literature (Card et al. 2022; Gonzalez O'Brien 2018), to select the main codes (words that indicate different frames in immigration rhetoric) that I use to search in the data. I set them up as categories to set the foundation in the frameworks that House members have used to address their support or opposition to immigration bills. The codes are outlined in Figure 4, and I remodel Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien's (2018) and Card et al.'s (2022) approach in coding for terms related to immigration rhetoric. For example, I added the "health" framework so that I can include the disease code, COVID-19 (Card et al. 2022, Gonzalez O'Brien 2018). Thirdly, I use these remodeled framework codes to analyze the content of the speeches (Gonzalez O'Brien 2022). I manually coded each of the 21 speeches by counting the number of mentions each code was stated by the House member. Gonzalez O'Brien (2018) executed content analysis by counting repeated words of an MC speech as one mention to avoid misleading perception of the overall frequency of words stated in MCs' immigration rhetoric. However, I decided to alter this traditional approach because I am not focusing on comparing the number of MCs who selected

certain words with the MCs who decided not to, but rather my focal point is on the prevalence of frames across speeches and time periods. Thus, recognizing the frequency of repeated words is crucial to note. If a word was mentioned twice in one speech, then I counted it as two to record the overall frequency of words stated in MCs' immigration rhetoric. For example, if a House member says "illegal" three times in their speech, it means three times within the context of my study. I record the number of times each word I identified as codes has been found in the speeches said about H.R. 6 (2021), H.R. 4437 (2005), and H.R. 3810 (1986). Lastly, I create my conclusion about the content and findings I discovered when comparing the number of times each word was stated.

Data Sources

To collect my data, I utilized the Congressional Record to search for the full text of all 21 congressional speeches that House members gave on the House floor (all speeches found in the Appendix). This source records every speech and Congressional action that occurred during House Sessions. On the Congressional Record website, I searched the date of when each bill was passed to find the required documents listing each House member and their speech. I gathered 21 speeches by searching on the Congressional Record by date when the respective immigration bill was passed. For the 1986 IRCA floor speeches, they can be found on the Congressional Record by searching the date when it was passed by the House, which was on October 9, 1986 (132 Cong. Record, 1986). When searching for the date, a document recounting the day's Congressional actions and speeches are found. Similarly, House members' speeches for the H.R. 4437 (2005) and ADPA (2021) is found via the same method of searching on the Congressional Record by date when it got passed in the House.

For the 21 House floor speeches, I selected seven from each time period to provide a foundation on the temporal changes over time that immigration rhetoric has undergone, and how MCs aligned themselves with either ethnicity or party. For speeches that House members gave on October 9, 1986 when H.R. 3810 was passed, I looked at Bill Richardson of Santa Fe (NM-3), Robert Garcia of New York City (NY-18), William Hughes of Vineland (NJ-2), Lawrence Smith of Bradenton (FL-16), Jack Fields of Houston (TX-8), James Jeffords of Burlington (VT-District at Large), and Manuel Lujan of Albuquerque (NM-1) (Figure 5). For H.R. 4437, my data set comprised speeches given by House members who spoke about it on December 16, 2005 (the day it got passed in the House): Solomon Ortiz of Corpus Christi (TX-27), Hilda Solis of West Covina (CA-32), Joseph Crowley of New York City (NY-7), Rush Holt of Trenton (NJ-12), Cathy McMorris of Spokane (WA-5), Gary Miller of Chino Hills (CA-42), and Henry Bonilla of Uvalde (TX-23) (Figure 6). For H.R. 6, I looked at speeches that House members gave on March 18, 2021: Adriano Espaillat, of New York (NY-13), Teresa Leger Fernández of Santa Fe, (NM-3), Janice Schakowsky of Chicago (IL-9), Greg Stanton of Mesa (AZ-9), Lisa McClain of Macomb (MI-10), Jodey Arrington of Lubbock (TX-19), and Mike Garcia of Santa Clarita (CA-25) (Figure 7).

I obtained data on the ethnicity of House members and their party identification through a United States House of Representatives web page titled “History, Art, & Archives.” This source is a “collaborative project between the Office of the Historian and the Clerk of the House’s Office of Art and Archives” that archives historical documents associated with the House of Representatives, and records information about the demographics of MCs across Congressional terms (“History, Art, and Archives”). I filtered the data of Hispanic MCs by selecting “Hispanic Americans in Congress” in the search bar in order to find House members who both the Office of

the Historian and the Clerk of the House's Office of Art & Archives definitively categorize as identifying with that ethnicity. Besides the "History, Art, & Archives" site, I utilized Congress.gov to find the state and district that House members served in because it is the official website that contains U.S. federal legislative information about MCs, and it is managed by the Library of Congress.

The United States Census Bureau, a source associated with the U.S. Department of Commerce, provides bountiful data on population counts of U.S. congressional districts. I used this data source to find the largest city (by population count) that is in each MC's congressional district in order to define the approximate location of the House member's district. There can be more than one House member from each U.S. state (except for Vermont, Alaska, Wyoming, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Delaware where there is only one district in the whole state), thus I introduce House members by district and largest city to distinguish them from others who are from the same state. The U.S. Census Bureau contains files that synthesize data from the 1980 U.S. Census, and I utilized the documents named as "General Population Characteristics" to find the district and city with the most inhabitants.

The limitation behind relying on the U.S. Census Bureau as a main source in gathering information on population lies in the aspect of self-reporting. While the U.S. government mandates the American public to fill out the forms either by paper or phone call every 10 years, it does not necessarily guarantee complete accuracy behind the exact number of people living in each congressional district because their self-reports are not verified by the federal government. Undercounts of some areas and overcounts of other places have been found in the 2020 census, with Hispanics encompassing a "record undercount" (Cohn and Passel 2022). Therefore, the data

published by the United States Census Bureau should be perceived as rough estimates rather than as exact percentages.

Operationalization of Variables

Party identification is operationalized as dichotomous variables (two distinct parts): Democrat or Republican. For ethnicity, is also operationalized as dichotomous variables: Hispanic or White non-Hispanic. Party identification and ethnicity serve to be independent variables because they are fixed aspects that I established for each time period. For immigration rhetoric, it is measured by number of word counts (coming from the table of frames in Figure 4). Thus, it is the dependent variable because it relies and is affected by House members of varying party and ethnic labels. The four main frameworks (economic, cultural, law and order, health) each have two subcategories, labeled as either positive or negative to exemplify the changes in immigration rhetoric that House members of varying ethnic and party identification aspects choose to employ. If a House member utilized the economic framework, then I would check to see if they used either the positive or negative type of economic framework because each kind highlights a different perception of immigrants. For example, if a House member says “jobs,” it is insufficient to automatically list it in the general economic framework because the context beside it as either “take jobs” or “do jobs” is crucial to identify the exact type of economic framework House members employed (positive economic framework for “do jobs” or negative economic framework for “take jobs”). Similarly, I followed this similar approach when looking for the other main frameworks of cultural, law and order, and health. I create categories to differentiate rhetorical differences amongst legislators, and the categories are organized to reflect the frameworks historically used to characterize immigration (Figure 4).

Findings

House Member Speeches about H.R. 3810

The Hispanic Democrats, Richardson and Garcia, used only one positive framework each: either positive economic framework (Richardson) or positive cultural framework (Garcia). No positive law and order nor health frames were applied. I found that there was a count of 12 words indicating the positive economic framework in Richardson's House floor speech (Figure . A couple of terms that represents this particular framework is found in his statement: "*an essential component of the immigration reform legislation is a positive **economic** relationship with Mexico, both nations working together to stem the flow of undocumented **workers**.*" "*Economic*" and "*workers*" are associated with the positive economic framework because it focuses on immigrants' role and alignment with the economic well-being of a nation, in this case Richardson contextualizes it beyond the U.S. border towards Mexico. There were four counts total related to the positive cultural framework because Garcia stated the words "*community,*" "*heritage,*" "*culturally rich,*" and "*contribute,*" highlighting cultural diversity with immigrants living in areas of New York. Hughes and Smith, while Democrat, actually composed their immigration rhetoric with negative cultural and negative law and order frameworks. I discovered that there were 5 mentions of the negative economic frame by Smith about immigrants being a burden on services because "*it is costing America by having all these **illegal** aliens here **not paying taxes, drawing Federal services, drawing State and local services** which the taxpayers of America are paying for.*" As seen in Table 4 below, both Hughes and Smith adopted the negative cultural frame by defining immigrants as "*aliens*" (9 counts total).

In regards to white, non-Hispanic House Republicans, Fields and Jeffords shared similar immigration rhetoric with the white House Democrats Hughes and Smith because they all used

the negative law and order frame to describe immigrants as “*illegal*” and dealing with “*drugs*.” Not one of the House Republicans (White non-Hispanic and Hispanic) used the negative or positive health frames, and the negative law and order frame was most frequently used (14 mentions total), with the negative economic frame being a close second (13 mentions total). All three Republicans mentioned the negative law and order frame. The negative economic frame was utilized by one White non-Hispanic Republican, Fields. Lujan, the only Hispanic-identifying House Republican, used the positive cultural frame: “*heritage*” and “*welcome*” (1 count each), but also called immigrants who are in the U.S. “*illegally*” (1 count) as those who “broke our law” (1 count).

Figure 8:

Threat Frame Results by House Member (HR. 3810) (1986)

[Number of Mentions / Number of House Members mentioning]

Frames	Hispanic Dem.	White Dem.	White Rep.	Hispanic Rep.
Positive Economic	12 / 1	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0
Negative Economic	0 / 0	5 / 1	4 / 1	0 / 0
Positive Cultural	4 / 1	0 / 0	0 / 0	2 / 1
Negative Cultural	0 / 0	9 / 2	13 / 1	0 / 0
Positive Law and Order	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0
Negative Law and Order	0 / 0	6 / 2	12 / 2	2 / 1
Positive Health	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0
Negative Health	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0

House Member Speeches about H.R. 4437

All four House Democrats, both Hispanic and White non-Hispanic, applied the positive economic framework in their speeches during House floor consideration of H.R. 4437 on December 16, 2005 (23 counts total). Ortiz said that “*people come to the country to **do the jobs** Americans do not want to do*” and Solis stated that “*[immigrants are] workers [who] help to make our **economy the strongest in the world,***” indicating that they characterize immigrants to be economic contributors by accepting jobs. Solis utilized the positive economic framework the most out of the four Democrats (10 counts). Holt and Crowley similarly discussed either work or the economy by mentioning that “*immigrants add billions of dollars to the U.S. **economy***” and that they “***work, pay taxes, serve in our military, and contribute in a resoundingly positive way,***” respectively. Additionally, Crowley and both Hispanic Democrats, Solis and Ortiz, noted that immigrants are “***paying taxes.***” The positive health framework was not utilized by any of the House Democrats, but the positive cultural framework was used by three out of the four individuals (Solis and both white, non-Hispanic Democrats). Border security was the only concept covered by those same three individuals that reflects the negative law and order frame, a concept typically enforced by Republican Democrats as a high priority (Cerdeira and Oliphant 2022).

Amongst the three Republican Democrats, I found that each one mentioned border security and “*illegal,*” which comprise the negative law and order frame. For instance, McMorris stated that “*The Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 will bolster our **border security,***” Miller mentioned that “*[the bill] lays a solid foundation to enhance our **border security,***” (2 counts total), and Bonilla giving a “*perspective on how to increase our **border security.***” Miller said “illegal” the most out of the three Republicans (17

counts), and described immigrants as “*lawbreakers*.” Bonilla did not provide a speech for H.R. 4437, but instead spoke on an immigration bill a year later that got added in my sample size because it provides insights into the immigration rhetoric employed. No one employed any positive types of frameworks, and instead they framed their immigration rhetoric to portray immigrants as “illegal.” Bonilla said the most words (10 counts) related to the negative law and order frame because he integrated the words “*illegal*” (3 counts), “*gangs*” (1 count), “*border security*” (1 count), “*cartels*” (2 counts), “*drugs*” (2 counts), and “*criminals*” (1 count).

Figure 9:

Threat Frame Results by House Member (H.R. 4437)

[Number of Mentions / Number of House Members mentioning]

Frames	Hispanic Dem.	White Dem.	White Rep.	Hispanic Rep.
Positive Economic	16 / 2	7 / 2	1 / 1	0 / 0
Negative Economic	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 1	0 / 0
Positive Cultural	9 / 1	5 / 2	0 / 0	0 / 0
Negative Cultural	0 / 0	0 / 0	6 / 1	2 / 1
Positive Law and Order	0 / 0	2 / 2	0 / 0	0 / 0
Negative Law and Order	2 / 1	5 / 2	23 / 2	14 / 1
Positive Health	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0
Negative Health	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0

House Member Speeches about H.R. 6

After completing the coding of the House floor speeches for H.R. 6 from the 117th Congress, I found that the House Democrats, regardless of ethnicity, adopted only positive frames and no negative frames. Table 4 is shown below to summarize the results. All four House

Democrats (Espaillat, Leger Fernández, Schakowsky, and Stanton) utilized the positive cultural framework in their speeches (six counts altogether). Only one Hispanic Democrat, Espaillat, used the positive law and order frame (2 counts). Espaillat, Leger Fernández, and Stanton mentioned education as a field in which Dreamers, who are undocumented immigrants who arrived in the United States as kids, have been engaged in, whether as “*teachers*” (Leger Fernández and Stanton) or “*students*” (Leger Fernández). Schakowsky and Stanton associated Dreamers with the American community because they were labeled as “*members of the community*” (Schakowsky: 1 count) and “*community organizers*” (Stanton: 1 count). Regarding the positive economic frame, Espaillat and Leger Fernández mentioned that Dreamers take care of others, whether it be “*daycare services*” (Espaillat: 1 count) or “*feed(ing)*” (Leger Fernández: 1 count), and Leger Fernández and Stanton collectively stated that Dreamers help improve the economy (3 counts total). While only Espaillat mentioned military services, particularly “*as members of the National Guard,*” that Dreamers do to “*protect*” others (positive law and order frame: 2 counts), Leger Fernández and Stanton brought up the positive health frame because some of the jobs Dreamers may hold as “*healthcare workers*” and “*essential workers*” were named, respectively. Espaillat’s statement that “*those Dreamers provide **education and daycare services for their children***” covers strikingly similar themes to Leger Fernández’s claim of “*Dreamers are **teachers, students, and healthcare workers. They feed us, care for us, and inspire us***” because they discuss the roles Dreamers play in the educational field and in their communities.

For House Republicans, all three of them, regardless of ethnicity, used the negative law and order frame more frequently than the rest: White non-Hispanic (McClain and Arrington) at eight counts and Hispanic (Garcia) at three counts. Garcia, the Hispanic Republican, repeated the

phrase “*secure our (or the) border*” three times. He did not specify immigrants as criminal threats, unlike McClain and Arrington who both used the term “*cartels*” to associate immigrants with crime (three counts total). None of the White, non-Hispanic House Republicans utilized any of the positive frameworks to characterize immigrants as contributors to the U.S. community nor economy because they focused their immigration rhetoric on framing immigrants as “*illegal*,” “*aliens*” and “*traffickers*” (McClain: 1 count of each term), as well as “*cartels*” (Arrington: 2 counts). Garcia, a Hispanic Republican, made one comment that reflects the positive economic framework: “*We are a land of immigrants, built on **hard work***” (1 count). He is the only Republican from the three to use any one of the positive frameworks.

Figure 10:

Immigration Rhetoric Frame Results by House Member (ADPA 2021)

[Number of Mentions / Number of House Members mentioning]

Frames	Hispanic Dem.	White Dem.	White Rep.	Hispanic Rep.
Positive Economic	5 / 2	4 / 1	0 / 0	1 / 1
Negative Economic	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0
Positive Cultural	3 / 2	3 / 2	0 / 0	0 / 0
Negative Cultural	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 1	0 / 0
Positive Law and Order	2 / 1	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0
Negative Law and Order	0 / 0	0 / 0	8 / 2	3 / 1
Positive Health	1 / 1	1 / 1	0 / 0	0 / 0
Negative Health	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 1	0 / 0

Discussion

The current study aimed to determine whether immigration rhetoric has changed over time within Congress. I focused on two types of dichotomous variables: Democrat/Republican and Hispanic/White non-Hispanic to test the influences that political party and ethnicity have on the House members' immigration rhetoric. I conducted content analysis to record the number of times certain words (which reflect either an economic, cultural, law and order, or health framework) have been stated by House members of different parties and race/ethnicities. Essentially, immigration rhetoric has changed over time amongst House members when we consider the 35-year time period of 1986 to 2021. This conclusion reflects previous scholars' findings that "rhetoric employed by political actors (who) engaged in immigration debates" show polarization happening amongst elites (Card et al. 2022; Asbury-Kimmel 2023).

When considering the aspects of social identity ((party and ethnicity),) I found evidence that House members' immigration rhetoric varies and aligns with either ethnicity (1986 period) or party identification (2021 period). For 2005, the rhetorical divergence between Democrats and Republicans becomes somewhat visible because White non-Hispanic Democrats utilized both positive and negative frameworks, but Republicans primarily employed negative frames (23 counts total for White non-Hispanic Republicans and 14 counts (Figure 9). After collecting the data and finding the results, I discovered that House members of similar racial/ethnic identifications tend to express similar frameworks during the 1986 period, with White non-Hispanic Democrats not completely committing to either only positive or only negative frames in the 2005 period. On the other hand, 2021 reflects the stark polarization amongst MCs of differing political parties because Democrats, regardless of ethnicity, only expressed positive

frames (the positive economic framework used the most altogether), while Republicans only evoked negative frames (the negative law and order frame being dominant over the others).

Although recent scholars explain that the differences in immigration rhetoric is noticed by looking at parties (Democratic Party expressing positive immigration rhetoric and Republican Party enforce restrictionist rhetoric), this argument cannot be seen in the late twentieth century when MCs were debating on H.R. 3810, an amendment added to IRCA (1986) (Asbury-Kimmel 2023; Card et al. 2018). My hypotheses about both Hispanic Democrats and Hispanic Republicans being likely to express positive immigration rhetoric, while White non-Hispanic Democrats and White non-Hispanic Republicans are likely to evoke restrictionist rhetoric is proven by the number of mentions each House member has given on H.R. 3810. For example, Hispanic Democrat Garcia, as well as Hispanic Republican Lujan, brought forth the positive cultural framework in their respective immigration speeches. Garcia mentioned that immigrants “*want nothing more than to come here to **contribute** the building of our great Nation*” and further details the “***culturally rich***” places in New York that immigrants shape with their cultures. Lujan similarly used the positive cultural framework because he said, during consideration of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1983, that “*our strength comes from our own immigrant **heritage** and our capacity to **welcome** those from other lands.*” Lujan does evoke negative law and order frame, but he does not call the whole immigrant population as “bad” to have in the U.S. because he differentiates the ones who are in the country legally from those who came “illegally.” Lujan did not speak on H.R. 3810, but his speech on an immigration bill passed during the 1980s serves insightful to unveil the immigration rhetoric he employed about the policy area of immigration.

Party identification is not a good indicator to explain rhetorical divergence of the past because House members of the same party (but different ethnicity) do not share similar frameworks in their speeches. Because they were weak in polarization during the 1980s, House members instead focused on group membership in their ethnic groups, which is exemplified by Hispanics engaging in similar positive immigration rhetoric, while White non-Hispanics focus on restrictionist rhetoric. For instance, White Democrats and White Republicans both expressed the negative law and order framework. Hughes, Smith, Fields and Jeffords all utilized the negative economic, cultural, and law and order frameworks. Hughes (White Democrat) says that law enforcement has to “*track aliens and smugglers,*” synonymous with Fields’ statement (White Republican) that the problems with immigration includes “*the increase in criminal activity and job displacement.*” Ethnicity serves to be an influential aspect of House members’ choice in immigration rhetoric because H.R. 3810 demonstrates that House members do not strictly align with their party’s stance, like is seen in 2021’s H.R. 6. On the contrary, House members’ ethnicity can influence them to be inclusive towards immigrants (via positive immigration rhetoric) or exclusive towards them (via restrictionist rhetoric), as noted by Hispanics tending to generally focus on positive immigration rhetoric while White non-Hispanics gear towards restrictionist immigration rhetoric. Hispanics have a history of facing derogatory terms and restrictive immigration programs, such as Operation Wetback, by White non-Hispanic legislators, and this group tension is evident in immigration rhetoric employed by House members of both ethnicities (Garcia and Sanchez 2007). Gell-Redman et al. 2018 finds that state legislators have out-group bias because White Republicans tend to respond to Hispanic constituents at lower rates than with White constituents. Thus, White House Democrats and Republicans may have out-group bias towards immigrants and are exclusive towards them

because they see themselves as belonging to the White non-Hispanic group (in-group). Party is not the sole indicator of rhetorical divergence because House members' immigration rhetoric in the past appears to align more with ethnicity than with party (Figure 10).

For the 2005 period, the Hispanic House members diverged on immigration rhetoric based on their party identification, while White non-Hispanic Democrats used both positive and negative frames. Party gradually gains influence over ethnicity, as noted by the Hispanics already separating from immigration rhetoric based on their party identification, and White non-Hispanic Democrats integrate both positive and negative frames into their immigration rhetoric. For example, Ortiz mentions that there are “*8 to 11 million people who are in this country now, paying taxes and doing hard labor,*” and Solis similarly says that immigrants are “*every single day paying taxes, making those beds in those hotels, providing service.*” Thus, their mention of immigrants “*paying taxes*” and doing labor indicates their sense of belonging to a group, in this case Democrats. However, they do not face as much of a tension in deciding whether to choose ethnicity or party because the Democratic Party has grown to be sympathetic towards immigrants, and Hispanics tend to have familial immigration history (Card et al. 2022). Although Crowley states that immigrants “*work (and) pay taxes*” and Holt elaborates that they are “*hard-working,*” both White non-Hispanic Democrats also implement the negative law and order frame because they reference “*border security.*” This shows that polarization between parties was growing because White non-Hispanic Democrats utilized frameworks from both positive and restrictionist rhetoric, and they were divided upon whether to align themselves with the Democratic Party or the White non-Hispanic group (a group that historically has associated immigrants as criminal threats) (Gonzalez O'Brien 2018). White non-Hispanic Republicans McMorris and Miller primarily called immigrants “*illegal,*” and Bonilla predominantly used the

negative law and order frame to associate immigrants as criminals through using terms like “*gangs*” and “*cartels*.” Although Bonilla did not give a speech on H.R. 4437, his speech on a different immigration bill underlines the immigration rhetoric a Hispanic Republican employed when facing an immigration bill. In fact, no other Hispanic Republican gave a speech on H.R. 4437, which is surprising because some voted for and others voted against it. Their lack of response suggests that there was tension between either having a party or ethnicity as the salient social identity aspect.

The four Democratic House members in my sample size for the 2021 period employed positive immigration rhetoric via positive frameworks, regardless of the race/ethnicity, because they focused on attributing immigrants as economic contributors. Immigrants “*pay taxes*” and provide services related to “*daycare*” and “*healthcare*,” according to House Democrats Stanton, Leger Fernández, and Espallat. In contrast, House Republicans McClain and Arrington adopted restrictionist rhetoric because they only used negative frames to portray immigrants as “*illegal*,” “*criminals*,” and affiliated with the “*cartels*.” Therefore, I conclude that political parties wield a larger influence than ethnicity in the immigration rhetoric employed by Democratic House members and Republican House members because they concentrate on aligning with their party’s stance as a way to belong in a group. As Garcia and Sanchez (2007) claim, people have a set of social identities that “they emphasize or deemphasize based on the social context in which they find themselves” (14).

Elite polarization in Congress has been increasing over the years and is stronger now than the past 50 years, and party identification stimulates group membership because “we instinctively divide up the world into an in group (our own party) and an out group (the opposing party)” (Card et al. 2022; Iyengar et al. 2019). Because they congregate on the House floor to

discuss immigration bills, House members share similar immigration rhetoric as their party's stance in order to show loyalty and maintain group membership. My hypotheses about Democrats, regardless of ethnicity, being likely to employ positive immigration rhetoric, and Republicans' leaning towards restrictionist rhetoric were correct. Democratic House members of either race/ethnicity placed heavy emphasis on Dreamers having crucial roles in society that bring positive impacts to the economy and community. Espaillat and Leger Fernández (Hispanic Democrats), as well as Stanton (White non-Hispanic Democrat) highlighted Dreamers' roles in the educational field by mentioning "*education*," "*teachers*" and "*students*." For House Republicans, the White non-Hispanic Republicans predominantly emphasized the negative law and order frame, while the Hispanic Republican did not explicitly associate immigrants with crime. My hypothesis about Hispanic Republicans being likely to employ restrictionist rhetoric was somewhat true because Garcia brought forth both positive and negative frames into his speech. Therefore, the difference in rhetoric between the Hispanic and White non-Hispanic Republican suggests that ethnicity may not be mutually exclusive from political parties for MCs after all, unlike for the white non-Hispanic and Hispanic Democratic House members. Garcia may not have leaned towards explicitly linking immigrants with crime because of his close familial immigration history. Feigenbaum et al. 2019 found that MCs with smaller gaps in their familial immigration history tend to support pro-immigration policies more often than those who are distant from immigration history (like fourth or fifth generation). Garcia specifically states that he is a "*first-generation American*," thus establishing his identity as a Hispanic with close ties to his familial immigration history. Future research should consider studying Hispanic House members with familial immigration histories to see if immigration rhetoric changes by generation.

I noticed that the only time that House members implemented the health frame in their speeches was during the 2021 period, which happened to be about a year after the COVID-19 pandemic started. This observation reflects the natural history framework that Chock (1995) and Santa Ana (2002) mention about immigrants being perceived by MCs as “diseases” and harmful to American societies during the early 20th century. Referencing “*healthcare*” and “*disease*” into Congressional discourse on immigration expands our current conception of immigration being just about the border: it is also about public health. This calls for future research into the social context’s impacts on immigration rhetoric, such as the global pandemic that harmed people’s lives in all nations.

Although content analysis tends to be a common way of investigating immigration rhetoric (Card et al. 2022; Chock 1995; Schneider 1998; Gonzalez O’Brien 2018), there are limitations behind my execution of the method that should be recognized. One limitation is the small sample size. I only looked at 21 speeches when there are 435 total House representatives. Not every House representative spoke on the immigration bills, yet collecting more speeches by those who did speak on it could have the potential of providing deeper insights into the speakers who willingly spoke on it. Additionally, there were no Hispanic Republicans who spoke on H.R. 3810 (1986) nor H.R. 4437 (2005), so I resorted to looking at other immigration bills that the ones serving in the 99th Congress and 109th Congress spoke about to present their immigration rhetoric. Another limitation is on the representation of men and women. There is a greater number of men than women in my data set that I faced challenges in balancing out due to there being more men who speak on the bills than women.

Conclusion

Immigration rhetoric has changed over time amongst House members that is evident when considering their race/ethnicity and party identification. The focus of my thesis paper was in examining the following research question: Has immigration rhetoric changed over time? If so, has House members' party identification or race/ethnicity impacted their choice in immigration rhetoric? I argued that immigration rhetoric that legislators employ in their speeches are predicated by two factors: 1. The political party to which an elected representative is affiliated with and 2. the race/ethnicity of the MC. I selected to study only White, non-Hispanics and Hispanic House members because White legislators have historically stated derogatory terms about Hispanics, and this latter ethnic group shares a common feature of having familial immigration history (Marin 1991). Hispanics comprise "the nation's second largest racial or ethnic group after non-Hispanic whites," thus studying the two biggest groups in the nation serves insightful to comprehend racial and ethnic tensions arising in large groups. Applying the social identity theory into the literature on immigration rhetoric provides valuable insights on the dynamics of House members' choice in immigration rhetoric.

While scholars attribute modern rhetorical divergence of immigration to political parties, there has not been studies conducted as to whether this observation can be applicable to the past when parties were less influential (evident through weak elite polarization). Considering that their arguments center on people's inclination towards group membership, the scholars on legislative behavior and social identity theory provide a framework in which it would serve useful to integrate the concept of ethnicity to investigate whether MCs strive to attain group membership in either their ethnic group or party. I found that White non-Hispanic Democrats and Republicans tend to express restrictionist rhetoric in the past while they are divided now by party

identification. This suggests that White non-Hispanic Democrats and Republicans find their ethnicity as the in-group, but later see their party as the in-group. Hispanic Democrats tend to apply the positive frameworks over time, but the Hispanic Republicans in 1986 and 2021 tend to apply both positive and negative frameworks. Future research should examine the existing tensions, if any, that Hispanic Republicans face as they are not committing to either positive or negative frameworks in immigration rhetoric, unlike Hispanic Democrats, White Democrats, and White Republicans who have done so over time.

Investigating the driving forces behind MCs' decisions on immigration rhetoric is significant to study because it predates the policies that pass to shape the immigration system (Gonzalez O'Brien 2018). Congressional speeches are powerful because they shape perceptions of other groups that can result in enforcing the theme of "us" versus "them" (Asbury-Kimmel 2023). When looking at speeches from 1986, I noticed that White Democrats and White Republicans engaged in the negative law and order framework, which ultimately reflects the notion of "us" versus "them" because immigrants were seen as threats. Currently, White Democrats shifted towards positive immigration rhetoric, while White Republicans continue to utilize restrictionist rhetoric. Amongst Hispanic Republicans Lujan and Garcia, they did not treat positive and negative frameworks as mutually exclusive, thus this calls for future research to further examine the reasons why Hispanic Republicans might not choose a side, while Hispanic Democrats, White Republicans, and White Democrats do. Future research should look into Asian or Black racial groups to explore whether their growing numbers in Congress and in the country have affected MCs' immigration rhetoric. Each racial and ethnic group is different in cultures, languages, and especially immigration history, thus I decided to focus on one group as the initial step for future researchers to study additional groups. U.S. immigration rhetoric is fundamentally

a reflection of who belongs and who does not belong in the United States, but it also reflects MCs' inclination towards belonging to a group that aligns with their social identity.

Appendix A

7 House member speeches on H.R. 3810 (IRCA)- 1986

Bill Richardson - 29997

Mr. Chairman, I thank my three colleagues for yielding me this time. Mr. Chairman, an essential component of the immigration reform legislation is a positive economic relationship with Mexico, both nations working together to stem the flow of undocumented workers as well as to help our depressed border economies. In the past, immigration reform bills have not contained any provisions to deal with this issue. For the first time, in my judgment, this immigration reform bill does contain positive economic partnership provisions with Mexico. Mr. Chairman, the bill contains an amendment that I have offered that authorizes the President of the United States to negotiate with Mexico a free trade zone. The President is not obligated to do so by this amendment, but he simply has that option. We have such an agreement with Israel, and are presently negotiating one with Canada. Under this provision, products, not people, move duty free through this free trade zone, coproduction zone. The joint enterprises are formed and with the help of Members like the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] it includes in this provision that I have authored the potential for creating a joint economic development bank with Mexico to jointly finance projects. This is a very important and positive step. It has been endorsed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the first time that the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has endorsed anything that I have ever done, so it is a landmark for me. In addition to that, it has been positively received by the Mexican Government. They feel strongly that they do need economic development along the border worked on jointly. But let's face it, in the past they have shield away from it. Why should they help us get off the hook with a safety valve problem that they have? But I believe for the first time they are ready to negotiate, although they have not said this publicly; it has mostly been privately. So I believe that this bill contains the potential for economic development in the border regions, the depressed border economies. It is up to the President and the State Department and the Commerce Department working with our labor unions, working with many border economies and mayors in border States to come up with a plan that possibly will help the border economies. For this reason, Mr. Chairman, I think this economic tie with Mexico that we have neglected so many times, the bilateral relationship with Mexico, that the Mexicans will respond positively, that they will say to us that they appreciate this economic initiative that the House of Representatives has put forth. So I applaud the members of the Committee on Rules for having accepted this amendment which simply says the President is authorized to negotiate a free trade zone with Mexico. He does not have to do it. I think it is up to the executive branch to develop a positive formula that will bring jobs to the border.

Robert Garcia - H29992

*I thank both gentlemen for yielding me this time. Mr. Chairman, we are debating the Rasputin of legislation today. It will not die, no matter the circumstances or changes made, and while I, again, have reservations concerning this legislation, I cannot be anything but amazed by the continuing saga of immigration reform in this body. I would be remiss, if I did not take a moment to commend the distinguished chairman of the Immigration Committee for his efforts to accommodate all of us who have concerns regarding the legislation before us. What makes this particular bill so vital is not only its impact on the flow of immigrants to this country, but how we as a nation perceive that flow, whether or not we consider it to be beneficial to the building of the United States or whether or not we believe that the flow must be stopped at all costs. I have thought long and hard about this issue and about this bill. I want to emphasize from the start that I am in agreement with the framers of this legislation on one crucial point: We need immigration reform. Yet, that reform cannot come at the expense of any group, **community**, or branch of Government; whether or not it is Hispanics, blacks, or Asians; whether or not it is small or large businesses; whether or not it is State or local governments. Reform must be fair, as well as realistic. I have several problems with this bill, but, again, my primary concern centers around employer sanctions that provision in the bill which would fine employers for hiring an undocumented person. At face value, one might ask: What's wrong with sanctions? Shouldn't it be illegal to hire persons who are here without proper documents? In a word, No. I say no. Because in our zeal to slap the hands of those who would hire undocumented persons, we are also setting up a situation where employers would rather not hire a person of color because of the risk of a fine. It's not the bigots that concern me; they will always find a way to discriminate. No; it's the ordinary small businessperson who isn't going to take any chances. They can't afford to. That is why we must, at all costs, maintain, the antidiscrimination provisions in this bill. We must fight back any attempt to eliminate or alter those provisions. Another aspect of this bill troubles me. This legislation does not take into consideration foreign policy concerns. It attempts to deal with immigration reform, not at the border, or before the border, where the problem begins, but over the border, where enforcement is much more difficult and much less permanent. There is a provision in this bill, however, which at least recognizes the effect that our foreign policy has on the flow of refugees to this country. It is that section that would extend extended voluntary departure status to Nicaraguan and Salvadoran refugees until such time as the turmoil in their nations has quieted. Again, any attempt to strike this provision from the bill would greatly weaken the overall Legislation. Finally, Mr. Chairman, as I and so many others before me have said, this is a nation of immigrants. There is not one of us in this Chamber who cannot trace their ancestry, at least part of it, to another part of the world. We are the product of adventurers, reformers, castoffs, and slaves. Yet, we have beaten the odds and defied those who turned their backs on our ancestors by creating this, the greatest Nation in the world, a nation not built on royalty or aristocracy but on pride and heart. We have been able to create such a great Nation because our Nation, as symbolized by the Statue of Liberty, has been receptive to the flow of immigrants. We have not been afraid to open our doors. We are not a homogenous nation, thank God. When I go back to New York City, my home, I can go around the world just by moving from neighborhood to neighborhood. I can hear the music of my **heritage** playing on the streets of the South Bronx-the Salsa beat makes me feel at home in my barrio, my neighborhood. I can go across the bridge and hear a different but just as energetic music,*

American jazz, and if I listen closely enough, I can feel the music's African roots. Or, I can go downtown and to Little Italy or Chinatown and have some of the best Chinese or Italian food to be found anywhere in the world. I can get a corned beef sandwich at any of the thousands of Jewish delis in the city. I can also have a great conversation about the state of world affairs with a Russian, West Indian, or Israeli cabdriver—all immigrants to this land of promise. New York City has a Jewish mayor; the State has an Italian Governor. I personally think that's what makes the city and State so great, the fact that we are so culturally rich. I don't want us to become smug or insular in our attitude toward the infinite variety of cultures and people who want nothing more than to come here to contribute the building of our great Nation. We must remain in control of our borders, but I believe that in order for this Nation to continue to be dynamic and first among the world's democracies, we must not forget our humble roots. We must not fear the next generation of immigrants. We must, instead, embrace them. If we give in to our fears and pass a bill that is discriminatory or nativist. Then it's the Nation that will finally lose.

William Hughes - H30058

Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding this time. Let us take just a minute and think about what we are doing. We are saying that in order for the law enforcement community, the Border Patrol and other law enforcement agencies, to be able to go in open fields, they have to have a search warrant. They have to track aliens and smugglers sometimes as much as 50 miles inland. After 25 miles, this amendment would require them to go and get a search warrant. Where would they go? Sometimes they have to travel 100 miles to get a search warrant. Do you think that the aliens and the smugglers and the dope peddlers are going to wait while you in fact go in and get a search warrant? It does not make sense. In the first place, it would be hard to describe the property that you want to search, because they move from field to field. They would have to go into the county clerk's office and determine the location of the smugglers or the aliens, and that is not an easy task to do. Now do you identify what parcel they are on so you can get a search warrant? You have to be specific insofar as the lands where these individuals are located. Now, if you really want to hamstring the Border Patrol, support this amendment. We are arresting 3,000 aliens a day. Every 20 seconds we arrest an alien. We have so many aliens in our holding tanks that we have to close down the operation every month because we do not have enough space to hold the aliens. Thirty-two percent of our cocaine is coming across the southern border today, 32 percent. Eighty countries are now coming across our borders. The word is out. If you want to come across into the United States, come through Mexico, because it is an open border. It is a sieve. If you really want to make it difficult for an overburdened, overworked, understaffed Border Patrol, support this amendment. It does not make sense. It does not make sense to handcuff our law enforcement community like this amendment would do.

Lawrence Smith - 29991

I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time. Mr. Chairman, the House has an historic opportunity today to do something which really should have been done years ago. We did pass an immigration bill previously in 1984, unfortunately, the conference broke up over the

administration's desire to impose a cap for reimbursement costs and for States like Florida, California, and others that would have been terrible, inappropriate thing to do. We have now been granted an additional chance to do the right thing for this country. Let me take a slightly different tack in the short period of time that I have. You have heard and will hear from all the other speakers what is right and what is wrong about this bill. But what is something that will very rarely be told is the truth about what it is costing America by having all these **illegal aliens** here **not paying taxes**, **drawing Federal services**, **drawing State and local services** which the taxpayers of America are paying for. The program of legalization, and it is not amnesty; nobody gets blanket amnesty, nobody has a magic wand waved over them; they have to apply, they have to qualify, they cannot be automatically excludable under the laws that exist even now. They must affirmatively come forward. They are today **taking the jobs** of Americans and getting paid off the books. They have no protection under the law. They do not get protection by the employers who are exploiting them. They do **not pay taxes** to the United States. They do not have payroll taxes paid for them. In the end, that is draining every year over \$100 billion in revenue at the State, local, and Federal level from the tax money which could be used to do other things, including reducing the deficit. By making these people come forward out of the shadows, out of that subrosa economy, we are going to help the United States. The second thing this bill does is give us the ability to enforce our laws once and for all, to take them out of a melange of laws that are inappropriate, ineffectual and not being enforced correctly, the dedication to start doing the right thing for this country. To seal our borders and protect this country from **illegal aliens**. We must pass this bill in this form.

Jack Fields - 30004

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition today to H.R. 3810, the Immigration Reform Act of 1986. My opposition to H.R. 3810 does not mean I am opposed categorically to immigration reform, for I am not, Nor does it mean I oppose legal immigration, for I do not. However, I am opposed to several of the provisions affecting **illegal** immigrants contained in the immigration reform bill we are considering today. I am a native of and represent a southern border State-Texas, I am well aware of the problems associated with illegal immigration: **The costs to public education, the costs to public hospitals, the costs for public health services, the increase in criminal activity and job displacement.** I do not believe that State and local governments in my home State of Texas or in any other State should be burdened by these increased social costs associated with the failure to control our border. I feel the solution is to provide more resources to patrol and control the border and to enforce our laws. The solution is not to grant amnesty, or legalization, thereby legitimizing previous **illegal** actions by an unknown number of **aliens**. How many **illegal aliens** qualify for amnesty? No one knows. There could be over 1 million **illegal aliens** in Texas alone who will be granted amnesty under this bill. I oppose legalization. However, should this bill become law, thereby legalizing an unknown number of **illegal aliens**, I believe it is only right that the Federal Government be responsible for the accompanying social costs. Therefore, I support the amendments to the health provisions approved by the Committee on Energy and Commerce which were incorporated as original text with the adoption of the rule. Mr. Chairman, these health provisions are critical for States like Texas that likely would have substantial numbers of **illegal aliens** applying for permanent resident status should this bill become law. I would urge the House to insist on retaining these provisions should the House find

itself in conference with the other body on this bill. In addition to amnesty, I oppose the agricultural worker provisions. Again, I feel that these provisions allow an unknown number of **aliens** to gain permanent resident status because of their ability to move out of agricultural work and the allowability of their replacement by new **aliens**. I also am concerned with the employer sanctions provisions, the workability of the verification system to determine **alien** status for employment and the antidiscrimination provision. I recognize that the antidiscrimination provision was included to prevent the possibility of increased discrimination due to employer sanctions, a real concern. However, the provision gives **aliens** greater legal and procedural rights than currently afforded to U.S. citizens, civil rights law already prohibits discrimination based on national origin. The antidiscrimination provision prohibits an employer from preferring a U.S. citizen over a noncitizen. I submit that as written, the provision discriminates against U.S. citizens. I also believe that if employer sanctions ultimately are going to be included in an immigration bill, they should be predicated on the hiring of an **illegal alien**, not on paperwork violations. As written, employers who do not even hire **illegal aliens** could be fined for noncompliance with recordkeeping and paperwork requirements that would serve no purpose. This is inefficient policy. Mr. Chairman, for the previously stated major reasons, I oppose H.R. 3810 and urge its defeat. I recognize the need for immigration legislation, but cannot agree with the methods proposed. I do, however, endorse the provisions of the bill that recognize Federal responsibility for social services provided to **aliens**. I also support increasing our enforcement efforts.

James Jeffords - 30001

Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume. Mr. Chairman, immigration reform is long overdue. Even though my own State is relatively unaffected by immigration compared to the States on the southern border, Vermonters know that we must act to control our borders. The **drugs** that have long been brought across our southern border are now entering from the north. The strain on national resources affects every one of us. And as we all know, the only way we are realistically going to be able to reduce the flow of **illegal** immigrants is by making it illegal to hire undocumented workers. This bill is not perfect, and the procedure by which it comes before us is unfortunate. I have serious reservations about many provisions of this bill. But on balance, I have to put aside my personal preferences to move this bill to conference with the Senate and on to the President's desk. The core of this bill, of course, is employer sanctions for the hiring of undocumented workers and the legalization program for **illegal aliens** who have established some roots in this country. I do not like legalization. I have constituents with relatives who are trying to enter this country legally who are still waiting. But I think it is a necessary component to this bill. I am pleased that this bill addressed the continuing problem of Salvadoran and Nicaraguan refugees who are coming to this country in order to escape persecution. Our laws provide extended voluntary departure [CEVD] status for just such situations. This status currently applies to Afghans, Poles, Ugandans, and Ethiopians. However, the Attorney General has refused to extend EVD status to Central Americans, forcing them to return to their countries. Contrary to INS assertions, the majority of these refugees are not coming here for economic reasons; they are coming here out of fear

for their lives, and they hope to return to their homes as soon as political conditions permit. EVD is the appropriate status for such refugees, as it would allow them to remain in this country temporarily, but would not grant them permanent asylum. In addition, EVD would reduce the number of people forced to enter the country illegally. H.R. 3810 prohibits two forms of employment discrimination: Discrimination on the basis of citizenship status and discrimination on the basis of national origin. Discrimination on the basis of national origin by employers of 15 or more is already proscribed by title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; enforcement of this law is entrusted to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. No Federal law now prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of citizenship status. Under EEOC guidelines, however, citizenship requirements for job applicants are deemed violative of title VII when they have the purpose or effect of discriminating against persons on the basis of national origin. This bill increases the scope of the protection of victims of national origin discrimination to workers in businesses with 4 to 14 employees. Enforcement of national origin discrimination claims by victims of these small employers would be entrusted to a new Special Counsel's Office in the Department of Justice. All citizenship discrimination claims would also be enforced by the Special Counsel. It is difficult to see any practical distinction between citizenship discrimination and national origin discrimination. The facts needed to prove discrimination on the basis of citizenship would stem from the same source as those relied upon with respect to national origin discrimination claims. It is difficult, therefore, to understand why a new bureaucracy is needed to enforce these new provisions. Nor does it make any sense to have the enforcement of national origin discrimination claims split between two agencies, depending on the size of the employer. With the EEOC, we already have an agency with the expertise and personnel for enforcement of such claims. Citizenship discrimination claims are so similar to national origin claims that they, too, should be enforced by the EEOC. The new Office of Special Counsel is unnecessarily duplicative and expensive. Another provision in the bill before us is one which creates a class of agricultural workers known as special agricultural workers CSA W's] and Replenishment Agricultural Workers CRAWs]. Much has been said by my colleagues on this provision, and I don't want to belabor the point, but we need to understand exactly what this provision contains. As I understand this provision, and I have not had an opportunity to study the bill language, there is a two-tiered system for special agricultural workers with a 2-year application period. One tier of workers must have worked 90 man-days for the last 3 years in agriculture, with adjustment to permanent residence status 1 year after adjudication of their temporary status. The second tier of workers must have worked in agriculture for 90 man-days between May 1985 and May 1986, with adjustment to permanent resident status 2 years after adjudication of their temporary status. The significant difference among these two tiers is not the length of time they have worked in agriculture, but the fact that tier one is capped at 350,000 workers and the second tier has no cap. Then there is provision for replenishment workers who are granted temporary status for 3 years with the same 90 man-day agricultural employment Test. I testified before the Rules Committee, asking that I be allowed to offer an amendment to the Schumer proposal which would have capped the number of workers at 350,000. The

Rules Committee did not, however, make my amendment in order. I had hoped that during the negotiations with the Senate and Judiciary Committee members that a cap would be placed on the number of workers allowed in as special agricultural workers. To place a cap on only one half of the group does only one half of the job. Mr. Chairman, this is a bad provision. I believe that we should have an opportunity to have a separate vote on it; however, I am also sensitive to the fact that the clock is running down and this country needs its immigration laws reformed. I would urge my colleagues to set aside their political prejudices and support the efforts of the Judiciary Committee members who have worked so long and hard to bring us a compromise bill. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Manuel Lujan - 235

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Before proceeding with my statement, I suppose I am here this morning partly because during the discussion and the votes taken during the lame duck session on the immigration bill, I came out in opposition to it and, of course, at that time I was told, "Now, where were you? We didn't know that you guys were out there in opposition to it." So in self-defense I thought I'd better come up early and we'd discuss it. Mr. Chairman, there is no question that our immigration laws and procedures need some revision and guidelines that are fair and equal to all who wish to join the American experiment. However, there are some provisions within this bill that disturb me, and I would like to address these problem areas. One aspect of this bill, I believe, is insulting to each and every citizen of this land of free people—a national identity card. And you will argue with me that you do not have an national identity card provision in the bill, but there is a provision where I must show documentation of being legalized as a citizen before I can be employed.

For as long as I have been politically aware, I have heard officeholders and candidates for office brag about how the United States of America is a free country, where the citizens are not required to show documents to Government authorities. In every speech we have also compared this fact to Communist countries that do require all of their citizens to be documented. I, personally, and many thousands of my neighbors and relatives in the Southwestern part of the United States are unique to immigration policy. Many of our ancestors were living here about 200 years before the Pilgrims found their way to Plymouth Rock. Nevertheless, this is a Nation of immigrants. More than any other country, our strength comes from our own immigrant heritage and our capacity to welcome those from other lands. Our philosophy cannot allow us to greet them with an identity card, Mr. Chairman.

As I look at the names of the subcommittee members—Mazzoli, Lungren, Frank, McCollum, Hall, and the witness, Lujan—it is apparent that no nationality “has a claim of dominance over any other. Yet, if we begin issuing national identity cards, it will imply a class of citizenship. In this country we do not have classes of citizenship. The bottom line, Mr. Chairman, is that required documentation is abhorrent to our nature as a free people.

Another point of objection in this bill is wiping away the responsibility of those persons who entered this country illegally. What we would be doing is to reward those people who broke our law and punish the thousands of people waiting patiently to enter this country in a legal manner. Somehow, to my sense of justice, that just doesn't make sense.

Mr. Chairman, I feel that we have to look at the whole picture before we make such stopgap changes in the entire legal code. This is not a perfect world. There are oppressive governments that enslave their citizens. This country has always stood as a beacon of individual liberty and justice. But commonsense tells us that we cannot support the population of the entire planet within our borders, because the rest of the world does not promote our ideals and principles. We are not the only free country on Earth. The responsibility for human care and concern must be shared. But the greatest concern that this Nation can show to oppressed peoples is to export our ideals as we have had a tradition of doing. We must stand up "and fight tyranny where it exists. If our only policy to oppose tyranny is to enlarge our population with refugees, we will eventually sink our own ship or State and lose the battle for individual liberty entirely.

There are some countries with whom we have a special relationship. Mexico and Canada, as historical friends and neighbors, are among them. With these nations our immigration policy should reflect this relationship.

Two years ago, testifying before this subcommittee, the Attorney General of the United States said that "We have lost control of our borders." He said that we have pursued unrealistic policies and failed to enforce our laws effectively. He said that we must face reality and more effectively enforce our laws. It seems to me that this approach makes sense. We must enforce our existing laws, rather than give up, say it doesn't work, and write new laws. And if the new laws call for national identity cards and blanket amnesty for those who broke the law, then we have not improved the law but harmed it.

Appendix B

7 House member speeches on H.R. 4437 (The Border Protection, Anti-Terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act) - 2005

Solomon Ortiz - H11989

Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin for his effort at pulling together this bill. Reforming immigration in this Nation—and reinforcing the borders, as I have advocated for over a year and a half—is a difficult proposition. However, the gentleman from Wisconsin and those that are in support of this bill do not seem to understand the complexities of border and immigration policy. The bill before us today would do little to solve the immigration problem, and it is not what we need to reform immigration policy and to reinforce our borders. Any effort by Congress to truly reform immigration and protect our borders must address the root causes of illegal immigration. As President Bush has stated, people come to the country to do the jobs Americans do not want to do. We must understand that it is our labor market that draws them to the U.S., and we must address how the U.S. could absorb the economic blow of losing this part of our labor market that keeps prices artificially low for consumers. Are businesses ready to pay high wages to agriculture workers? Are Americans ready to absorb that cost and pay higher prices for their produce? An honest policy discussion is needed to address the complete problem—our broken immigration system and the needs of our labor market. Although my colleagues on the other side of the aisle claim this bill will secure our borders, it does nothing of the sort. Nothing in this bill guarantees funding for detention facilities, Border Patrol agents, immigration judges or prosecutors. The single most important thing we can do in Congress is invest in homeland security. However, our experience has been this: Numerous Members of Congress put forth ideas about how to fix border security, but funding these ideas has been impossible. Let's use 2005 as an example. One year ago, the 9/11 Commission did what Congress's current majority could not do: It investigated the events leading up to the attacks on the United States, and made solid suggestions to the Nation about how the Government could prevent similar attacks in the future. On the issues of Border Patrol agents and detention beds, the 9/11 Commission said the very least the United States needed to do was add 2,000 agents annually—for 10 years—and 8,000 detention beds annually. Congress agreed, and passed the bill overwhelmingly. How did the President and Congress react when it came time to pay for it all? The President's budget proposed funding 200 Border Patrol agents this year—that's 1,800 short of the least we should do—and 1,900 detention beds—that's 6,100 short of the least we should do. Congress acted a little better, passing an emergency spending bill and a spending bill for homeland security that netted us a total of 1,500 Border Patrol agents—still 500 short of 9/11 Commission recommendations—and 4,250 detention beds—still 3,750 short of 9/11 Commission recommendations. We are playing a shell game with our border security and, by extension, our national security. On the one hand, every single elected official is for more border security. Yet, the leadership in Congress does not have the political courage to pay for it. This is what always hangs us up. There's no money and no political will to change the equation. The American people deserve an honest debate on how to protect our homeland. All of us in Congress understand the world changed after September 11. For that reason, we must put forth a solution to bring out of the shadows the 8 to 11 million people who

are in this country now, **paying taxes** and doing **hard labor** and have an honest discussion, absent the politics.

Hilda Solis - H11895

Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished Member from Florida, and I appreciate the opportunity to speak on the floor on this very important issue. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in strong opposition to this rule. The Sensenbrenner bill is an unacceptable, inefficient and punitive proposal to reform our immigration system. Rather than focusing our resources on apprehending terrorists, fraudulent document manufacturers and other serious criminals, this proposal hurts **hard-working families** who want nothing more than to contribute to the **economy** and to achieve the American dream. These **workers** help to make our **economy** the strongest in the world. Criminalizing and deporting 11 million undocumented immigrants already in the United States is unrealistic and would be very costly to the American Treasury, as much as \$230 billion. This legislation places unfunded mandates on our local governments and especially on our first responders who already face serious budget deficits. While I agree that we must **secure our borders**, enforcement-only legislation is the wrong approach. Our immigration system is broken and severely outdated and should be comprehensively reformed. That is why I am disappointed that this rule does not allow for amendments which would provide real, effective reform, including a path to legal permanency for the undocumented that are already here, a reduction in the immigration backlog so that thousands of separated **families** can be reunited, and new channels for future **workers** to enter safely and legally. This **border security PLUS** approach is a comprehensive solution to a complex problem. For generations, immigrant **families** have journeyed to the United States in search of the American dream. Like the immigrants of the past, today's immigrants **contribute** significantly to our country and yearn for that American dream. As a daughter of proud immigrants, I value America's history of treasuring the **contributions** that immigrants have made to this country. My parents came from abroad. My father came from Mexico and came here to this country under the Bracero program to work to make this country great. He busted his back working on the railroads; helping to pick fruit and vegetables in Texas, in Colorado, in Montana; and eventually met his wife, my mother, from Central America who had to leave poverty in Central America to find a better life. She and my father raised seven children, and I am proud to be a U.S. citizen born here. Some of the amendments that you are going to hear about would try to deny a mother who gave birth to a child here that citizenship because she does not have her documents. How dare the Republican Party begin to try to take apart our very Constitution? How dare the Republicans attempt to try to take away the lifeblood of our country, the **contributions** that immigrants have made and will continue to make? Give me your tired, your poor. Give me those huddled masses that are yearning to breathe free. We did it a century ago when Italians, Germans and Europeans came to this country. But now when this economy is going down the tubes, we quickly want to point fingers at what I think is a **community** that has **worked very hard**, and that is the Hispanic **community**. I am a very proud to be a part of that **community**. I know the residents and constituents that I represent toil every single day **paying taxes**, making those beds in those hotels, providing **service**, janitorial **services**, and many of them **caring** for our elderly and our children. What are we going to say to them for harboring the undocumented, that they are also criminals? I think not. This rule and the underlying piece of legislation should be voted down.

Joseph Crowley - H11991

Mr. Chairman. I rise in opposition to H.R. 4437. Immigrants—who are likely counted among the families of most members of this body—work, pay taxes, serve in our military, and contribute in a resoundingly positive way. And our burdensome, inefficient immigration system is not working for immigrants and it is not working for our country. Unfortunately, this bill lets down immigrants, those who depend on them, and our Nation on the whole. There is a lot that is troubling in this bill, but also troubling is what is not in this bill. Real immigration reform and security improvements cannot end with a discussion on enforcement anymore than you can make a peanut butter and jelly sandwich without peanut butter.

Immigration is about so much more. Immigration is also about bringing families together, and supplying a pathway to citizenship for those who come here and contribute. Moreover, it is foolish to pretend that we have somehow solved our immigration or security concerns by simply making it harder for people to come or stay here. That is simply increasing the incentive for immigrants to immigrate, live and work in the shadows. And that is a loss for immigrants, their families, society, and national security.

Make no mistake—our immigration system needs reform. And it is appropriate to discuss how to best enforce our laws and secure our borders. Certainly none of my constituents in New York City are interested in making things easier on terrorists who use our immigration system to harm America. But let's make sure the enforcement tactics we're talking about make sense. And let's make sure our tactics actually make us safer. And let's make sure that immigration reform does not end with enforcement. Because at the end of the day, immigration is too important to just take the most simplistic response and label it a solution. Fortunately, there is a better bill—a bipartisan bill offered by Congressmen KOLBE, FLAKE, and GUTIERREZ. A bill that reduces immigration backlogs and helps family reunification. A bill that recognizes that comprehensive immigration reform—as opposed to strictly discussing enforcement—is the only way to protect both the security and the ideals of the U.S. And this is certainly not that bill.

Rush Holt - H11990

Mr. Chairman, I rise today to oppose the so called Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005, H.R. 4437. I am deeply concerned by this bill's enforcement-only focus and the simple fact that it fails to seriously address our Nation's true immigration problems. Our Nation's immigration system is broken. It does not work. Our legal immigration system does not meet the needs of American employers, lawful immigrants seeking residence in the U.S., and families seeking to reunite and pursue the American dream. And yet that does not need to be the case. One of the main reasons we have a huge illegal immigration problem is that our legal immigration system just does not work. We could be talking today about the widely recognized problems and debate comprehensive immigration reform. But we will not do that today. I am deeply troubled that this bill, which would drastically alter our Nation's

immigration laws, was rushed to the House floor just a little more than a week after it was introduced and after only one committee hearing it was voted out on party lines. On this key issue we should be able to work together. Immigration is not a Republican or Democratic issue. It is truly an American issue. The history of America is a history of immigration and immigrants. From the first Europeans to settle on our shores in places like Jamestown and Plymouth, to the millions who were greeted by the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island trying to flee hunger and poverty in the Old World in search of a new life and a new start in America, legal immigrants continue to this day to be a vital part of our social fabric and our economic growth. I firmly believe in the necessity of legal immigration. Our country was founded on the principle of immigration, and we are fortunate to have millions of hardworking, law-abiding immigrants living in this country. Studies show that, far from being a tax burden on us, immigrants add billions of dollars to the U.S. economy. Statistics also reveal that immigrants are likely to set up their own businesses, which creates jobs for workers and sales opportunities for American companies. It is important to recognize the many benefits—economic and otherwise—that legal immigrants provide to our country. However, like many Americans, I am concerned about the influx of illegal immigrants into our country. I believe the best answer to this problem is to comprehensively address our Nation's legal immigration system and to also fully and effectively enforce our immigration laws on the books. But this bill focuses almost solely on new enforcement actions. It is a piecemeal attempt to solve a much larger problem and it will end up jailing foreign citizens who come illegally into the United States and make all employers in the country deputy immigration officials. These are not sensible solutions to the immigration problems that exist. I strongly believe that we need to secure both our southern and northern borders. It is also imperative to secure our seaports and airports. But we also need to acknowledge and deal with the fact that an estimated 11 million illegal immigrants hide in the shadows of our country. This bill simply ignores them and tries to fool the public into thinking that real changes are being made to secure our borders. Over the last 20 years, Congress has passed into law 17 different immigration-related pieces of legislation. But a clear problem still remains. Rather than seriously doing something about immigration, the Congress has passed politically expedient but not policy based legislation. It is clear that the Immigration and Nationality Act, INA, needs dramatic changes and the American people have continually called for such changes. The INA needs to be updated to meet the labor shortages that American employers face. It needs also to be fundamentally altered in how it handles foreign-born workers. Too often the INA is more complex and arcane than even the IRS Tax Code. This leaves businesses, citizens and prospective immigrants confused and unsure of what to do.

Cathy McMorris - H11993

Mr. Chairman, what has made America great have been the opportunities given to everyone in this country. Since our founding, individuals and families have come to America to seek freedom, opportunity and the choice for a better life. Everywhere I travel throughout Eastern Washington, I hear from people demanding we do a better job of controlling our borders and reducing illegal immigration. This past year, my office helped with nearly 150 immigration cases. It has become increasingly difficult for those who would like to enter our country legally and choose to obey the law to do so. For example, one family went through a 17-year process before they were allowed to come over legally. We must find a way to have

responsive and legal immigration for those who desire to come. In Congress my priorities include growing our economy and keeping our Nation and community safe. In my opinion, this includes a comprehensive immigration policy that addresses the growing problems related to illegal immigration but also ensures that our efforts do not unduly hurt our local and national economy.

The Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 will bolster our **border security**, increase interior enforcement efforts, crack down on human **trafficking**, and reestablish respect for current immigration laws. While this is an important component, any comprehensive immigration bill must take into account our national and regional economy, which must have the workforce to meet the demands in agriculture and other service industries. Agriculture is the number one industry in Washington State, producing thousands of jobs and over \$1 billion in revenue for Eastern Washington. Our farmers help supply the country with a safe and stable food supply and they must have enough workers. The agriculture industry in Washington is currently experiencing overall labor shortages. When I visited Crane and Crane Orchards last month in Brewster, I learned that labor shortages are hurting their business. This year alone, over 80,000 boxes worth of apples were left on the trees because they didn't have enough labor; they needed over 300 pickers. They are experiencing labor shortages despite the fact that they pay between 10 to 12 dollars an hour and provide housing to their workers. They couldn't find workers anywhere. As Congress proceeds with immigration reform, Eastern Washington's agriculture and service related industries need to address the impact of these policy changes on their workforce. We need to keep our economy and workforce competitive in the 21st century by establishing a legal workforce. A comprehensive immigration bill must take into account potential impacts on our workers, their families and the overall economy. Immigration is a complex problem, with no easy solution or quick fix. Controlling our borders is an important first step, but we cannot stop there. Immigration reform will not be complete until we can adequately resolve the **labor needs** of our agriculture community. As we continue to update and improve our immigration laws, it is important that we retain our compassionate and welcoming system that defines who we are as Americans.

Gary Miller - H11900

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this effort to make the most meaningful changes to our immigration enforcement in a decade. This legislation is long overdue. **Illegal** immigration is spinning out of control, and we must act now to enact a tough and unified policy to effectively curb the influx of **illegal aliens** entering our Nation. My district is in southern California. This region bears the brunt of our Nation's failed immigration policies. California has the highest number of **illegal** immigrants residing in its borders. In fact, nearly 32 percent of the total number of **illegal** immigrants in the United States are in California. The tide of **illegal** immigration increases Californian's **tax burden**, while weakening its legal, education and welfare system. I am an original cosponsor of this bill because it lays a solid foundation to enhance our **border security** and enforce our current immigration laws. This is desperately needed. We must end policies that encourage **illegal** immigration. I am disappointed that some of the other creative solutions that Members offered to address our failed immigration policies are

not included under this Rule. I firmly believe these are important ideas that should be considered by Congress as we work to enforce and bolster our Nation's immigration policies. For example, Representative NATHAN DEAL's amendment to deny citizenship to children born in the United States to **illegal** immigrants was not made in order. Providing automatic citizenship to the children of **illegal aliens** is an incentive for **illegal** immigration and we must close this loophole. Three amendments that I offered, but were not made in order under this Rule, would have discouraged **illegal** crossings by eliminating incentives and providing tough interior enforcement. Allowing all counties to be reimbursed for detaining and transferring **illegal aliens**: One amendment I submitted would allow all counties to be promptly reimbursed for the costs associated with assisting Federal immigration officials. Immigration affects all counties in the United States, not just those within 25 miles of the southern border. All counties absorb the costs of detaining, housing, and transporting **illegal aliens**. Prohibiting **illegal aliens** from obtaining mortgages: Another amendment I submitted would require lenders to verify that mortgage credit applicants are U.S. citizens or legally present in the U.S. Allowing individuals who are here **illegally** to participate in the homebuying process only incentivizes illegal immigration. White picket fences shouldn't go to those who break down our fences to get in. Outlawing birth tours: The last amendment I submitted would prohibit any **alien** from entering the United States with the intention of giving birth. It is truly disturbing that an entire industry has built up around the U.S. system of birthright citizenship. Each year, thousands of near-term pregnant women come to the United States from countries across the world for the sole purpose of giving birth so their newborns can become U.S. citizens. We cannot continue to allow **illegal immigrants** to make a mockery of our nation's hospitality and our laws.

Conclusion: It is imperative that we close the loopholes that encourage citizens to infiltrate our porous borders. If the war on **terrorism** is to be ultimately successful, it is more important than ever that we take the necessary steps to tighten **security at our borders** and provide law enforcement agencies the tools they need to identify those individuals who enter or remain in the United States **illegally**. I am pleased this bill is before us today so we can begin to address those failed policies, which we have ignored for too long. As we move forward, we must reject all proposals that contain any and all forms of amnesty. Rewarding **lawbreakers** will only weaken any proposal aimed at strengthening the system. There should be no new guestworker program until we better enforce current immigration laws. History has shown that enforcement provisions are ignored and underfunded while guestworker and amnesty provisions are always implemented. The American people need to see that the current laws against **illegal** immigration are being enforced before any guestworker program can be considered.

Henry Bonilla - H6888

Mr. Speaker, I am proud that today Congress will pass vital legislation based upon legislation I drafted, the Fairness in Immigration Litigation Act of 2006, to close an egregious loophole that allows thousands of **illegal aliens** to remain in our country every week. Passage of this legislation will result in safer communities across our nation. Currently, the Orantes injunction mandates that the U.S. Government afford all Salvadoran immigrants the benefit of full deportation proceedings and undermines the authority of the Department of Homeland Security to apply expedited removal procedures. The court order was issued in 1988 when El Salvador was in the midst of a bloody civil war and was designed to protect those seeking refuge in

*the United States. However, on January 16, 1992, a peace accord was signed ending 11 years of civil war and implementing strict human rights restrictions. Today El Salvador enjoys a democratically elected government and a developing economy. **Illegal aliens** stream across our border by the hundreds on a daily basis. They present an immediate **danger** to the lives of people in every Texas community and across the United States of America. For over 14 years I have worked to raise awareness on Capitol Hill about the crisis facing our border communities. I have met with law enforcement officials along the border and discussed this critical issue with my colleagues in Congress, providing those in Washington with a firsthand perspective on how to increase our **border security**. However, **gangs** such as Mara Salvatrucha, otherwise known as MS-13, and members of **drug cartels** now exploit this loophole in our legal system to thwart our immigration laws and obtain release into our communities. This legislation removes obstacles that prevent our government from effectively enforcing the immigration laws that Congress intended. The threat of **terrorism** is real. Each day our border communities witness **violence** and fear created by ruthless members of **drug cartels**. We must not allow **terrorists** and **criminals** from around the world to abuse loopholes in our legal system, turning our southwest border into a revolving door. The efforts of our law enforcement officials to catch, detain, and deport those who enter **illegally** must not be obstructed by those looking to abuse the system. I am proud that today Congress will overturn the outdated and obsolete Orantes injunction to protect the integrity of our legal immigration process.*

Appendix C

7 House member speeches on H.R. 6 (American Dream and Promise Act) - 2021

Adriano Espaillat - H1524

Madam Speaker, I rise to support H.R. 6, the American Dream and Promise Act. Madam Speaker, how hypocritical and shameful of the other side of the aisle. They want to deny Dreamers, yet those Dreamers provide education and daycare services for their children. They want to deny Dreamers, but those Dreamers take care of their frail and elderly parents. They want to deny Dreamers, but their parents pick the crops and the fruits that they eat at their table. Madam Speaker, how hypocritical. They want to deny Dreamers, yet those Dreamers, as members of the National Guard, protected us right here against an angry, racist mob. Madam Speaker, I know that too well because I came to this Nation without any papers. And I sit as a Member of Congress and my vote is equal to any of their votes. It is equal to any of their votes because, in this country, you can dream and it has promise. Madam Speaker, we will not go back. We will continue to move forward. I support H.R. 6.

Teresa Leger Fernández - H1523

Madam Speaker, I rise for every child who was ever raised in this beautiful country but told they are not American; for every Dreamer who has lived in fear that they will be forced from the only home they have ever known. Madam Speaker, Dreamers are teachers, students, and healthcare workers. They feed us, care for us, and inspire us. They strengthen our economy. Now is the moment. We must give them the same opportunities and protections that they deserve as Americans.

Janice Schakowsky - H1524

Madam Speaker, there is no doubt the American Dream and Promise Act will bring much-needed relief to our Dreamers and our immigrant communities, and I will be voting for the bill. However, many of my constituents are disappointed that H.R. 6 includes harsh exclusions that will block many of our long-term members of our community from citizenship simply because of misdeeds, mistakes that they made years and years ago. I will continue to advocate for them.

Greg Stanton - H1520

Madam Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 6, the American Dream and Promise Act. Dreamers have been waiting far too long for meaningful congressional action. By passing H.R. 6, we are telling Dreamers all over our country: We see you, we hear you, and we know your home is here in the United States of America. Arizona is fortunate to have nearly 24,000 DACA recipients. They are teachers, community organizers, and essential workers contributing greatly to our economy. In this pandemic, they make sure our grocery store shelves are stocked and our families are fed. They work long shifts in COVID hospital wings and now are vaccinating our communities. That is who they are, giving back and contributing an estimated \$240 million in taxes yearly in Arizona alone. Dreamers are essential to rebuilding our economy, and it is long past time we put them on a path to citizenship.

Lisa McClain - H1524

Madam Speaker, I rise today because I am absolutely furious. Every single day, 5,000 new illegal aliens cross our southern border. Every single day, more men, more women and children are smuggled across our border and being trafficked. Every single day, the drug cartels and human traffickers are raping and abusing our women and children. One out of three of these women and children are being raped. I ask the administration this: How is that not a crisis? Madam Speaker, for almost 2 months, our Nation has refused to call this a crisis, what is occurring at our border. You cannot solve a problem unless you first admit there is a problem; and we have a problem. This bill today does nothing to solve that problem or even acknowledge that we have a problem. We, as a Congress, need to say in unison: We have a crisis at our border.

Jodey Arrington - H1524

Madam Speaker, don't ask the President. Ask the people of Texas and they will tell you the truth. Biden's unilateral actions are the cause for this unprecedented crisis. My Democrat colleagues' response to their fellow Americans: An amnesty that will only add fuel to the fire of the burning chaos at the southern border. Madam Speaker, how did we go from America first to America last in just days? Taken together, these perverse incentives will further encourage lawlessness, enrich cartels, enable the abuse and exploitation of the most vulnerable people, cheat those who have respected our process, compromise the health and safety of the American people, and undermine the sovereignty and security of our great Nation. Madam Speaker, don't ask the President. Ask the people of Texas and they will tell you the truth. The cartels are in control at the border and the left is in control of the Democrat party.

Mike Garcia - H1520

Madam Speaker, I rise today in opposition to H.R. 6. As a first-generation American, I know firsthand the opportunities that America provides. I understand why every person on this planet should want to come to this beautiful country. We are a land of immigrants, built on hard work, and blessed by freedoms that are protected by law and order and secured by our Constitution. I sympathize with the Dreamers, I really do, but this bill should not be considered before addressing our broken immigration system that led to this very problem. Providing amnesty to Dreamers while ignoring the crisis at the border is like cleaning up spilled water before fixing the broken pipe. If Congress fails to reform our immigration system and fails to secure our borders, future migrants will be subjected to the same situation in which Dreamers today find themselves. We need to fix our broken immigration system and secure our borders. If my colleagues are sincere about their care and passion for the Dreamers, they should work with us to secure the border today so that the Dreamers have a chance tomorrow.

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