

Core Values and Attitudes Toward Immigration Policy

by

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Abstract:

National discourse surrounding immigration policies has traditionally fixated around border security, immigration reduction, and *flows* based legislation (Nevins 2002; Pantoja 2006). With the passage of Arizona S.B. 1070 in 2010, and the subsequent adoption of similar laws in states such as Alabama and Georgia, there has been increasing attention on immigrant *rights*. The language, content, and discriminatory nature of bills such as Arizona S.B. 1070 and Alabama H.B. 56 are illustrative of the *rights* based state-level legislation passed in the early 2010's (Vargas, Sanchez, and Valdez 2017). While prior research has extensively examined public opinion toward *flows* based immigration policies, less systematic research has studied public opinion toward *rights* based policies. A critical question arising out of this line of inquiry is whether the American public can differentiate between *flows* based policy types and *rights* based policy types; and if so, what implications does policy type have on policy preferences? Using a values based approach, I find that Americans can indeed differentiate between policies that target immigrants (*rights* based policies) and policies that target immigration levels (*flows* based policies) by relying on their core values. The four core values I examine are egalitarianism, economic individualism, authoritarianism, and patriotism.

Introduction:

The immigration domain is perhaps one of the most complex and salient policy domains in the United States; yet media pundits and political elites often portray immigration policy as a monolithic question of increasing or decreasing immigration levels in the United States. It remains unclear whether Americans can make sense out of the complex social implications that accompany varying types of immigration policy, or whether Americans simply view immigration policy as a domain dealing with immigrant reduction. While political discourse surrounding immigration policies has traditionally fixated around border security and immigration reduction (Nevins 2002; Pantoja 2006), in the last decade alone individual states have undertaken an increasingly active and complex immigration agenda that is more geared toward targeting and restricting services to undocumented populations. The language, content, and restrictive nature of bills such as Arizona S.B. 1070 and Alabama H.B. 56 are illustrative of such policies.

It is essential to understand if voters can differentiate between complex policies designed to limit immigration levels – or *flows* based policies – and policies designed to limit the rights and protections of undocumented immigrants – *rights* based policies. If Americans are unable to make sense between different types of immigration policies, then it is possible that the immigration domain resembles a monolithic issue in the minds of Americans. This finding would lend additional credence to the view that Americans are mostly uninformed about major issues (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996). Conversely, if Americans can differentiate between types of immigration policies, then it implies that some underlying value structure plays a key role in shaping attitudes toward varying types of policies beyond immigration.

Few studies have focused on the role core values play in structuring support or opposition toward immigration policy preferences (Pantoja 2006). Due to increased media attention that the

immigration policy domain has received over the past ten years (Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014; Carey, Branton, and Martinez-Ebers 2014), immigration policies in general are easily identifiable and arguably constitute a policy domain shaped by a few general ideas that most people acquire (Carmines and Stimson 1989; Feldman 1988; Goren 2004). More importantly, immigration issues manifest themselves in the cultural values that are salient to American society (Fraga and Segura 2006; Jacoby 2014). It is therefore reasonable to expect that certain core values structure policy preferences toward different immigration policy types. The values I examine are egalitarianism, authoritarianism, economic individualism, and patriotism. I find that core values indeed structure attitudes toward immigration policies depending on the *type* and *nature* of the policy. The layout of this paper proceeds as follows, first I briefly review post-9/11 immigration policies in the United States. In the next section, I detail the importance of core values in explaining attitudes toward different policy programs.

I. Immigration Policies

In 1996 congress passed the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), which focused on curbing U.S.-Mexico immigration by increasing border security (Nevins 2002; Magaña 2013). IIRIRA was the archetypal immigration law aimed at combating increasing immigration levels by fixating on securing the U.S.-Mexico border. The “Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 (H.R. 4437)”, also known as the ‘Sensenbrenner bill’, proposed to criminalize the presence of undocumented persons in the United States, as well as criminalize any aid offered to undocumented persons (Velez et al. 2008). During the 2000’s, H.R. 4437 marked a turning point from policies focusing on border security and immigration levels – or *flows* based legislation – to policies placing much greater

emphasis on limiting the rights and potential influence of immigrants in the United States; i.e. *rights* based legislation.

Figure 1: Immigration Policy Typology

	Restrictive	Expansive
Flows Based	Policies that limit immigration levels in the United States (e.g. border wall, increased border patrol funding)	Policies that increase immigration levels in the United States (e.g. guest worker programs)
Rights Based	Policies that limit immigrant rights and/or privileges (e.g. increased police powers, restricting state issued id's)	Policies that increase immigrant rights and/or privileges (e.g. providing a path to citizenship)

Since the rejection of H.R. 4437, the number of immigration bills proposed in state legislatures increased from 300 to over 1,500 in 2009 (NCLS 2011). Immigration policies have since grown in complexity, as immigration policies proposed or passed in the last two decades have focused on targeting the rights and benefits of immigrants *already* living in the United States. Arizona S.B. 1070 is illustrative of a policy that targets immigrant rights, which requires Arizona police officers to determine the legal status of a detained individual if there is ‘reasonable suspicion’. Immigration policies, then, have two dimensions 1) a policy-type dimension – flows based or rights based, and 2) a policy-nature dimension – restrictive policy or expansive policy. Figure 1 illustrates the two dimensions arrayed on a standard 2x2 table. Utilizing the *flows-rights* framework, recent state policies such as Arizona SB 1070 and Alabama HB 56 are illustrative of

the *rights* based policies that target the protections and privileges of immigrants already present in the United States. It remains unclear is whether Americans are able to distinguish between policies designed to limit immigration *flows* and policies designed to limit immigrant *rights*.

I contend that a values-based design is an appropriate approach to answer this question. Previous research examining attitudes toward immigration policy has focused on economic factors (Citrin et al. 1997; Scheve and Slaughter 2001; Neal and Bohon 2003), geographic contexts (Ayers et al. 2009; Berg 2009; Hood and Morris 2000; Hopkins 2010), and political identification (Chandler and Tsai 2001; Hajnal and Rivera 2014). Pantoja (2006) and Newman et al. (2013) take a value-based approach and demonstrate that core values are indeed important in structuring support toward immigration policy. However, these studies are limited by the fact that they focus almost exclusively on *flows-based* policies while not taking into account *rights-based* policies. Thus, these studies cannot answer whether Americans can differentiate between complex policies designed to limit immigration levels – or *flows-based* policies – and policies designed to limit the rights and protections of undocumented immigrants – *rights-based* policies. Taken together, the extant literature on core values has fixated on attitudes toward immigration levels, rather than on immigration policies that target the rights and protections of immigrants living in the United States.

II. Core Values

I focus on a socio-political value explanation to study opinion toward both *flows* based and *rights* based immigration policy. I explore four different types of immigration policy: (1) Views on U.S. deportation policy toward unauthorized immigrants; (2) increased police powers; (3) granting permanent residency to undocumented children; (4) reducing the number of immigrants admitted. The extant literature has largely focused on threat narratives and opposition to immigration (Campbell, Wong, and Citrin 2006; Citrin et al. 1990; Hood and

Morris 2000). Little research has examined what factors contribute to increased *support* of immigration policy, and specifically *rights* based policies. Therefore, a socio-political values approach is appropriate for this line of inquiry, as it allows me to test if Americans can differentiate between *flows* based and *rights* based policies, in addition to the implications that follow.

I restrict my examination to four core values: *egalitarianism*, *authoritarianism*, *patriotism* and *economic individualism*. Studies hold that these core values have been important in explaining support or opposition to varying types of policy programs (Feldman 1983; Feldman and Zaller 1992; Whitley and Lee 2000; Craig et al. 2005). The literature defines egalitarianism as support for equal opportunities for people of all classes, gender, and races, and support policies that help achieve those goals. Egalitarians favor government intervention to solve any existing inequalities in society. The expectation is that egalitarians will oppose immigration policies that restrict or limit the number of opportunities available to immigrants. As such, egalitarians will oppose restrictive flows based and rights based legislation. The second core value, authoritarianism, measures respect for most forms of established authority, and the preference for social cohesion and uniformity over personal autonomy and non-uniformity (Stenner 2005, Kinder and Kam 2010). Authoritarians tend to exhibit intolerance toward groups that do not conform to the uniformity they come to expect, especially from established rules and laws (Haddock, Zanna, and Esses 1993; Whitley and Lee 2000; Stenner 2005). Authoritarians are expected to hold punitive attitudes toward undocumented immigration across the board, as they view undocumented immigrants as inherently breaking the law. Kinder and Kam (2009) contend that ethnocentrism, a predisposition that partitions the world into in-groups and out-groups, is in part an outgrowth of authoritarianism. While authoritarianism is related to

ethnocentrism, the two concepts remain distinct (Kinder and Kam 2009). That is, an individual with authoritarian values does not necessarily have to hold prejudices toward outsider groups, especially if said outsider groups conform to the ideals valued by the authoritarian. The third core value, *patriotism*, measures attachment to the nation and national identity (Citrin and Sears 2014). Patriotism is often expressed through rituals such as displaying the American flag, singing the national anthem, and reciting the pledge of allegiance; rituals that evoke strong emotional forces to the nation and one's fellow citizens (Citrin and Sears 2014). Patriotism, then, is a sentiment that values American identity, the nation, and more importantly, *all fellow citizens*. The fourth core value, individualism, measures support for limited government intervention (Feldman and Zaller 1992; Pantoja 2006). It is the belief that Americans can get ahead in society through hard work and no government assistance (Feldman and Zaller 1992). Together, these core values are representative of the underlying socio-political values that influence public opinion attitudes toward a wide array of public policies.¹

Hypotheses:

H1: Individuals scoring high on egalitarianism will be more likely to support expansive flows based and rights based policies.

H2: Individuals scoring high on authoritarianism will be more likely to oppose expansive flows based and rights based policies.

H3: Individuals scoring high on patriotism will be more likely to oppose expansive flows based and rights based polices, except expansive citizenship oriented policies.

¹ The traditional variables used for the humanitarian value were not included in the 2012 ANES and was therefore excluded from this analysis

H4: Individuals scoring high on economic individualism will be more likely to oppose expansive flows based and rights based policies.

III. Data and Methods

I use the 2012 American National Election Study (ANES) as it contains the relevant questions for the immigration policies. The 2016 ANES contains a relevant battery of immigration policies, however it does not contain a sufficient number of questions for rights-based policies. Therefore, I restrict my dataset choice to the 2012 ANES. Previous attempts at capturing public opinion about immigration mostly focus on two general questions, “*Do you think immigration is a good thing, bad thing, or mixed?*” and “*Should levels of immigration be increased, decreased, or stay the same?*” (Ewing 2014; Warren and Kerwin 2015; Hopkins 2010). These questions may be sufficient at capturing general attitudes about immigration, but they do not capture attitudes about rights-based immigration policies. Individual states have taken up a more active role in passing immigration policies that target the rights and benefits available to immigrants. Therefore, I utilize the 2012 ANES as it contains sufficient questions on rights-based policies.

I use four immigration items from the 2012 ANES as my dependent variables. The first immigration policy question is a flows based policy and it asks respondents to indicate which policy type comes closest to their views on immigration. Response categories ranged from (1) ‘Make all unauthorized immigrants felons and send them back to their home country’ to (4) ‘Allow unauthorized immigrants to remain in the United States ...without penalties’. The second immigration policy question is a rights based policy and it asks respondents whether they favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose increased police powers to determine the immigration status of a person they suspect to be an undocumented immigrant. The third policy question is a rights

based question and it asks respondents whether they favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose granting permanent residency to undocumented children who entered the U.S. before the age of 16, who have lived in the U.S. 5 years or longer, and who graduated high school. Finally, I include a fourth question that is a flows based policy and it asks respondents about attitudes toward the number of immigrants entering the country, and whether the number should be increased a lot, increased a little, left the same at it is now, decreased a little, or decreased a lot.

Core Values

The main independent variables of interest are four core values taken from the ANES: 1) Egalitarianism; 2) Authoritarianism; 3) Individualism; 4) Patriotism. My analysis compares rates of immigration policy support among Americans who exhibit egalitarian, authoritarian, individual, and/or patriotic values.

Egalitarianism is measured by an index of variables in the 2012 ANES of six different preferences. The six questions ask respondents whether they agree or disagree on several questions based on equal opportunities. For example, one of the questions is worded as, "Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed." Respondents are asked to agree or disagree on a 5-point scale. Each of the six egalitarian measures are recoded from 0 to 4, with 0 being an inegalitarian response, and 4 being a strong egalitarian response. The six questions are then added together to form the egalitarian index and the row means of the six items are taken. The alpha coefficient for the egalitarian index is .78, which indicates that the six items used in the index are in fact measuring an underlying construct of egalitarianism among respondents.

Authoritarianism is measured by a scale of four questions that asks respondents to choose from a pair of desirable qualities that are important for children to have. The non-authoritarian

responses are coded as 0, and include the child qualities of independence, curiosity, self-reliance, and considerate. The authoritarian responses are coded as 1, and include the child qualities of respect for elders, good manners, obedience, and well-behaved. Respondents who answered that both qualities are desirable are coded as .5. The alpha coefficient for the authoritarian index is fairly strong at .6, which indicates that the four items used in the index are measuring an underlying construct of authoritarianism among respondents. This measure of authoritarianism has been well established in the literature (Stenner 2005; Hetherington and Weiler 2009; Cizmar et al. 2014).

Patriotism is measured by a scale of three questions that asks respondents about their feelings toward the American flag, their feelings toward the country, and the personal importance of being an American. Patriotic responses were coded as 4 while non-patriotic responses were coded as 0. The alpha coefficient for the patriotism index is strong at .8, which indicates that the three items used in the index are measuring an underlying construct of patriotism among respondents.

Individualism is a dichotomous variable about the government's role in solving problems. Respondents who view the role of government as too big were coded as '1', while respondents who view the role of government as necessary to solve big problems were coded as '0'. Individualism has been found to be negatively associated with support for immigration policy (Pantoja 2006). I include standard control variables for age, sex, education, income, ideology, party identification, and union membership. I also include dummy variables for Latino and Black respondents. Moreover, I control for retrospective economic evaluations, and retrospective sociotropic evaluations. I also include a control variable for 'Latino Hardworking', which is a respondent's evaluation of a Latino's work ethic, as values may become significant for people

who have certain stereotypes toward Latinos. Lastly, I use an ordered logit model to test the impact of core values on attitudes toward each of the four immigration policies.

IV. Results

Table 1 presents the results for the four ordered logit models. It reports the coefficients of the models, with the standard errors in parenthesis. In all four models, *education* has a significant and positive relationship with liberal views toward US immigration policy. This suggests that education plays a key role in shaping positive attitudes toward immigration policy (Citrin et al. 1997; Pantoja 2006). Additionally, in all four models the *Latino* variable has a significant and positive relationship with the dependent variables. This is in line with the literature on cultural affinity, suggesting that ethnic ties to immigrants will lead to increased support of fellow ethnics and immigration policies (Epenshade and Hempstead 1996, Pantoja 2006). *Latino hardworking* has a significant and positive relationship with the dependent variables in all four models, indicating that respondents who view Latinos as hardworking results in more liberal views toward U.S. policies. Finally, negative economic evaluations has a significant and negative relationship with the dependent variables in all four models, suggesting that pessimistic economic evaluations decrease support toward liberal immigration policies.

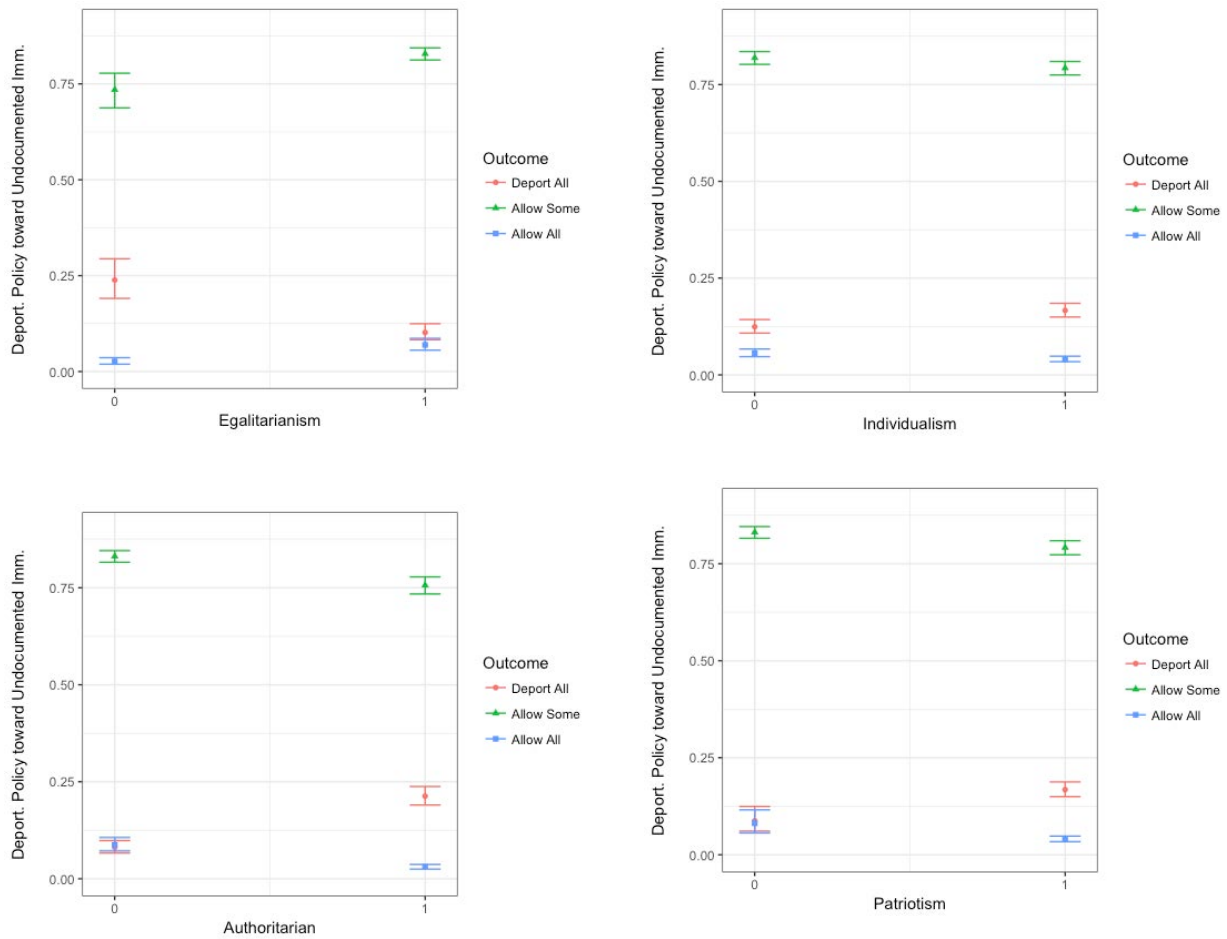
Table 1: Determinants of Attitudes Toward US Immigration Policies

	Model I (US Deportation Policy)	Model II (Oppose Police Checks)	Model III (Path to Citizenship)	Model IV (Increase Immigratio n Levels)
Egalitarianism	1.026 ^{***} (0.240)	2.210 ^{***} (0.229)	1.660 ^{***} (0.208)	0.164 (0.201)
Individualism	-0.340 ^{***} (0.104)	-0.461 ^{***} (0.086)	-0.270 ^{***} (0.085)	-0.235 ^{***} (0.083)
Authoritarian	-1.118 ^{***} (0.148)	-0.712 ^{***} (0.131)	-0.710 ^{***} (0.125)	-0.783 ^{***} (0.121)
Patriotism	-0.738 ^{***} (0.239)	-1.292 ^{***} (0.213)	0.017 (0.205)	-0.908 ^{***} (0.197)
Black	0.204 (0.137)	0.096 (0.112)	-0.074 (0.113)	0.058 (0.107)
Latino	1.013 ^{***} (0.138)	1.371 ^{***} (0.115)	0.702 ^{***} (0.118)	0.621 ^{***} (0.105)
Income	0.002 (0.010)	0.004 (0.010)	0.017 [*] (0.009)	0.008 (0.009)
Education	0.069 ^{***} (0.020)	0.064 ^{***} (0.018)	0.065 ^{***} (0.017)	0.073 ^{***} (0.016)
Age	0.007 ^{***} (0.003)	-0.007 ^{***} (0.003)	0.004 [*] (0.002)	-0.006 ^{***} (0.002)
Male	-0.161 ^{**} (0.081)	0.020 (0.075)	-0.080 (0.070)	0.189 ^{***} (0.068)
Negative Economic Evaluation	-0.121 ^{***} (0.044)	-0.222 ^{***} (0.040)	-0.149 ^{***} (0.037)	-0.117 ^{***} (0.037)
Negative Sociotropic Evaluation	-0.086 (0.055)	-0.103 ^{**} (0.047)	-0.173 ^{***} (0.046)	-0.052 (0.044)
Union	0.017 (0.018)	0.004 (0.012)	-0.009 (0.010)	-0.008 (0.013)
Latinos Hardworking	0.019 ^{***} (0.002)	0.014 ^{***} (0.002)	0.013 ^{***} (0.002)	0.016 ^{***} (0.002)
Conservative Ideology	-0.064 (0.040)	-0.202 ^{***} (0.035)	-0.063 [*] (0.033)	-0.076 ^{**} (0.033)
Party ID	-0.002 (0.028)	-0.132 ^{***} (0.025)	-0.054 ^{**} (0.023)	-0.023 (0.023)
0 1	-0.571 (0.380)	-0.331 (0.341)	0.027 (0.324)	-0.204 (0.317)
1 2	4.201 ^{***} (0.391)	1.014 ^{***} (0.342)	1.543 ^{***} (0.325)	2.059 ^{***} (0.319)
AIC	4415.836	5577.222	6305.459	6390.630
BIC	4526.367	5687.764	6416.006	6501.140
Log-Likelihood	-2189.918	-2770.611	-3134.730	-3177.315
Likelihood Ratio Test Statistic	550.808	1501.452	682.534	522.921
Pseudo R-Squared	0.112	0.213	0.098	0.076
Num. Obs.	3431	3433	3434	3427

*** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1

In Model I, all four core values have significant impacts on attitudes toward U.S. deportation policy. The first independent variable, *egalitarianism*, has a positive and significant effect on liberal US deportation policy. The model indicates that individuals with a stronger egalitarian orientation are more supportive of providing opportunities to undocumented immigrants to remain in the United States. The second independent variable, *individualism*, has a negative and significant relationship with the dependent variable. This indicates that individuals scoring high in supporting limited government intervention are less supportive of the U.S. government in expanding opportunities that allow undocumented immigrants to remain in America. The third independent variable, *patriotism*, has a negative and significant relationship with the dependent variable. Finally, *authoritarianism*, also has a negative and significant relationship with the dependent variable. Model I results demonstrate that, when it comes to deportation policy, respondents scoring high on economic individualism, patriotism, and authoritarianism are staunch supporters of stricter U.S. deportation policy. The results from Model I predicting support for a liberal US deportation policy fits well with all four hypothesis. However, since the ordered logit coefficients are not directly interpretable, I generated four predicted probabilities for the three core values: *egalitarianism* (figure 1), *individualism* (figure 2), *patriotism* (figure 4), and *authoritarianism* (figure 4).

Plots 1-4 (Model I) Attitudes Toward U.S. Deportation Policy

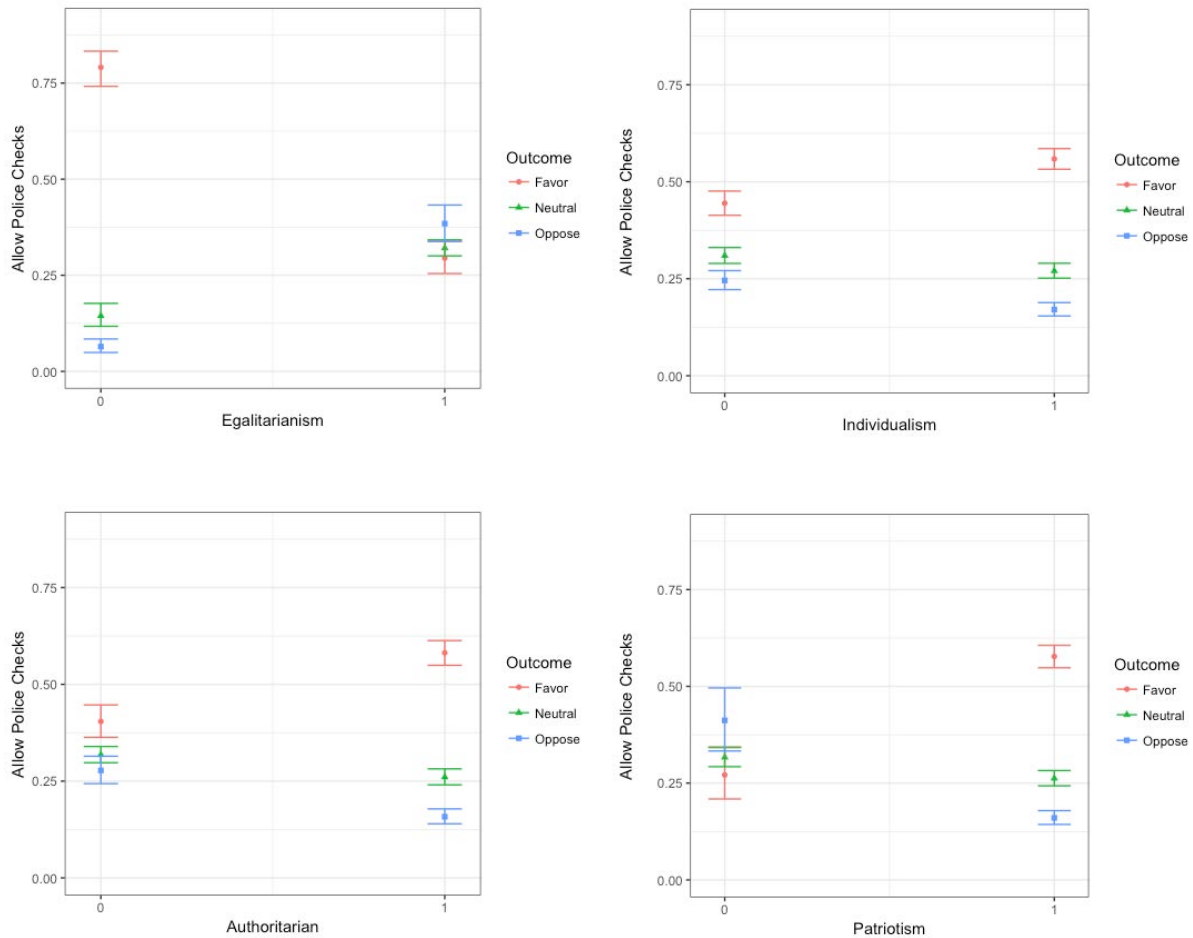


The coefficients produced by the logistic regression can only be interpreted up to the sign and significance of the coefficient. I generated predicted probabilities with 95% confidence intervals for each core value across all four models. Plot 1 indicates that respondents scoring high on egalitarianism are less likely to support the deportation of all undocumented immigrants, and more likely to support US policies that allow immigrants to stay, either under certain conditions or unconditionally. Plot 2 indicates that respondents scoring high on economic individualism are more likely to support the deportation of all immigrants. Plot 3 indicates that respondents scoring high on authoritarianism are more like to support stricter US immigration

policy. Likewise, plot 4 indicates that respondents scoring high on patriotism are more likely to support the deportation of all undocumented immigrants. Scoring high on egalitarianism has the largest effect on supporting an expansive deportation policy, while scoring high on authoritarianism has the largest effect on supporting a stricter deportation policy.

In Model II, the dependent variable is opposition to policies that require officers to check the immigration status of a person they detain or arrest. All four core values have significant effects on attitudes toward police checks. The first independent variable, *egalitarianism*, has a positive and significant effect on opposing police checks. The model suggests that individuals scoring high on egalitarianism recognize the need to protect immigrant rights from restrictive state policies. The second independent variable, *economic individualism*, has a negative and significant relationship with the dependent variable. *Patriotism* has a negative and significant relationship with the dependent variable. *Authoritarianism* also has a negative and significant relationship with the dependent variable. The results from Model II predicting support for increased police checks fits well with all four hypothesis. *Age*, *negative economic evaluation*, and *negative sociotropic evaluation* have a significant and negative relationship with the dependent variable. *Latino hardworking* has a positive and significant relationship with the dependent variable, indicating that holding the belief that Latinos are hardworking is associated with pro-immigrant sentiment. *Conservative ideology* and *party identification* have a negative and significant relationship with the dependent variable, which behave as expected, as most anti-immigrant proponents over the last decade have been among conservative Republicans.

Plots 5-8 (Model II) Attitudes Toward Increased Police Checks

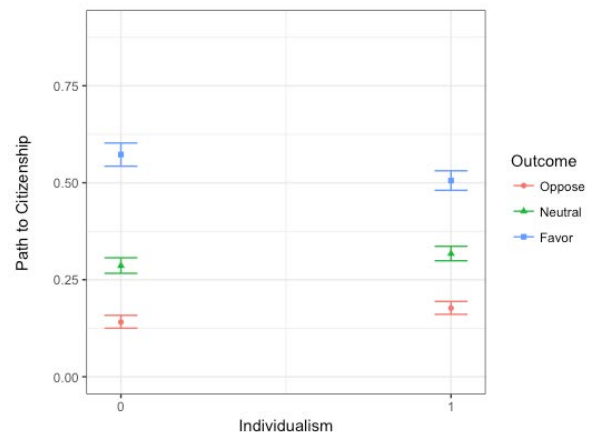
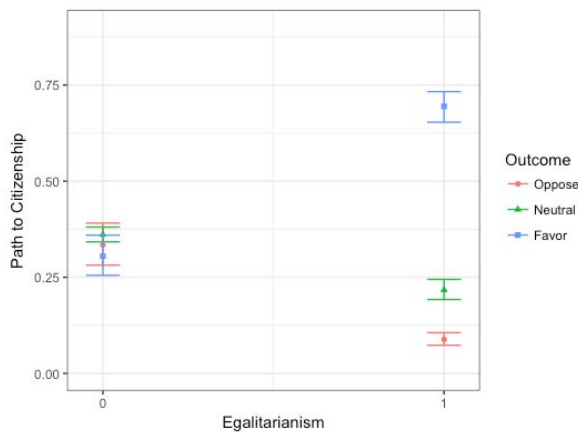


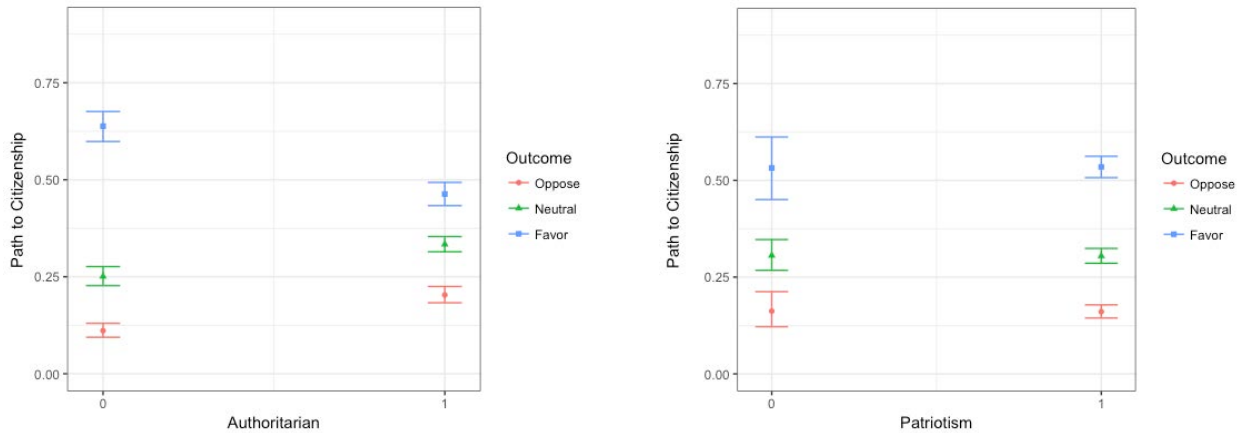
Plot 5 indicates that respondents scoring high on egalitarianism are more likely to oppose police checks and less likely to favor increased police checks. Plot 6-8 indicates that respondents scoring high on economic individualism, authoritarianism, and patriotism are more likely to support increased police checks on detained individuals who officers suspect are undocumented. Scoring high on egalitarianism has the largest effect on opposing policies that increase police powers, while scoring high on patriotism has the largest effect on supporting policies that grant additional police powers.

In Model III, the dependent variable measures support toward providing a path to citizenship for individuals who were brought into the U.S. before the age of 16. Like Model II,

this question regards a rights-based policy. Three of the four core values have significant effects on attitudes toward a path to citizenship. *Egalitarianism* has a positive and significant relationship on supporting a path to citizenship. *Economic individualism* has a negative and significant relationship with the dependent variable. *Patriotism* has no significant relationship with the dependent variable. *Authoritarianism* has a negative and significant relationship with the dependent variable. The results from Model III predicting support for a providing a path to citizenship fits well with all four hypothesis. In particular, individuals scoring high on patriotism are no more likely to support or oppose a path to citizenship for individuals who entered the country before the age of 16. This is a sharp contrast from attitudes in Model II, where patriotism had largest effect in supporting increased police checks. This indicates that Americans can effectively rely on their core values when forming attitudes toward complex and politicized policy arenas such as the immigration domain. Finally, economic and political predictors behave as expected, with *conservative ideology*, *negative economic evaluation*, *negative sociotropic evaluation*, and *party identification* all having a significant and negative relationship with the dependent variable.

Plots 9-12 (Model III) Path to Citizenship

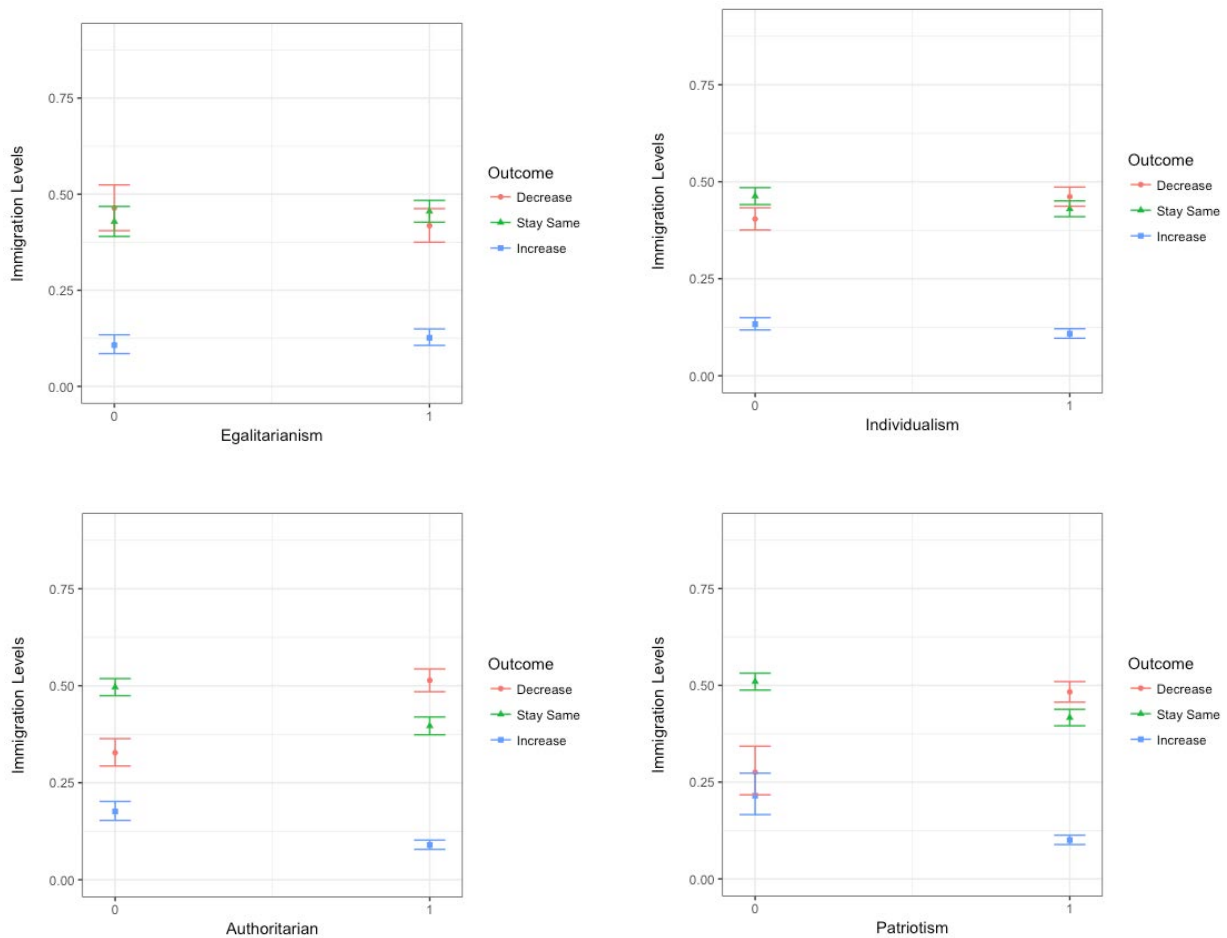




Plot 9 indicates that respondents scoring high on egalitarianism are more likely to favor a path to citizenship for undocumented children and more likely to oppose a providing a path to citizenship. Plot 10 and 11 indicate that respondents scoring high on economic individualism and authoritarianism are less likely to favor a path to citizenship and more likely to oppose such policy. Plot 12 indicates that respondents scoring high on patriotism are no more likely to favor or oppose a path to citizenship policy. Scoring high on egalitarianism has the largest effect on supporting a path to citizenship for individuals brought into the US before the age of 16, while scoring high on authoritarianism has the largest effect on opposing path to citizenship policies. In model IV, the dependent variable is a *flows* based immigration question and it asks respondents whether they think immigration levels should be increased, kept the same, or decreased. Three of the four core values have significant effects on attitudes toward immigration levels. *Egalitarianism* has no significant relationship with the dependent variable. *Economic individualism* has a negative and significant relationship with the dependent variable. *Patriotism* has a negative and significant relationship with the dependent variable. *Authoritarianism* has a significant and negative relationship with the dependent variable. The results from Model IV predicting support for increased immigration levels fits well with only three of my hypotheses.

What remains interesting is that *egalitarianism* did not remain significant in this model, whereas previous literature has found the value to be significant determinant of increasing the number of immigrants admitted (Pantoja 2006, Newman et al. 2013). This unexpected result suggests that egalitarians are more vested in rights-based policies than flows-based policies. Finally *age*, *conservative ideology*, and *negative economic evaluation* have a negative and significant relationship with the dependent variable.

Plots 13-16 (Model IV) Attitudes Toward Increased Immigration Levels



Plot 13 indicates that respondents scoring high on egalitarianism are no more likely to favor or oppose increasing immigration levels. Plot 14-16 indicates that respondents scoring high on economic individualism, authoritarianism, and patriotism are more likely to support

decreasing immigration levels and less likely to support increasing immigration levels. Scoring high on authoritarianism has the largest effect on opposing increased immigration levels.

V. Conclusion and Discussion

Over the last decade, substantial national attention has been dedicated to *rights* based immigration policies. Despite this, previous studies examining public opinion on immigration policy have mainly focused on economic, partisan, and threat based explanations. Such studies tell us very little as to what types of immigration policies Americans support or oppose. The extant scholarship on core values as determinants of immigration policy support/opposition, while important, have mostly focused on *flows* based immigration policies. That is, studies largely focused on values that explain support or opposition toward increasing the levels of immigration in the United States. Consequently, it remained unclear if Americans could distinguish between flows based or rights based policies. In this article, I explored this question using a values based approach. I controlled for a wide range of social, economic, and political factors that previous literature has deemed important in influencing attitudes toward immigration policies. I find that Americans can differentiate between complex immigration policies by relying on their core values to formulate attitudes toward a variety of flows based and rights based immigration policies.

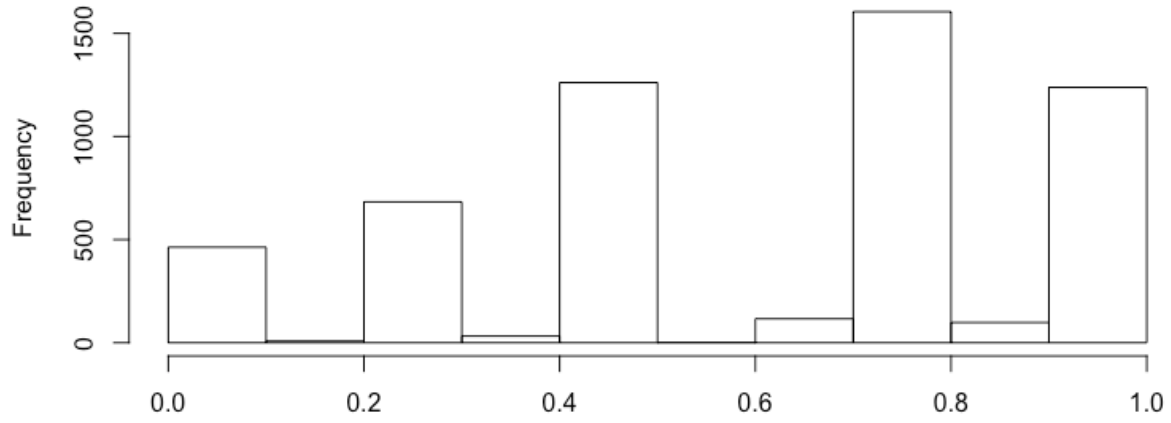
The adoption of policies such as Arizona S.B. 1070, Alabama H.B. 56, and stringent voter ID laws across the nation, and the contentious politics generated by these types of policies seem to reflect the formation of a new highly salient issue in the United States. My argument centers around the notion that the immigration policy issues manifest themselves in the cultural values that are salient to American society (Fraga and Segura; Jacoby 2014). Americans do not need to be highly informed (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996) to understand the difference between

policies that aim to restrict immigrant rights and policies that aim to restrict immigration levels. Rather the immigration policy domain is generally easily identifiable and constitutes a domain shaped by a few general ideas that most people can acquire (Carmines and Stimson 1989; Feldman 1988; Goren 2004). Ultimately, these findings have important implications for understanding the types of voters who support and oppose expansive immigration policies.

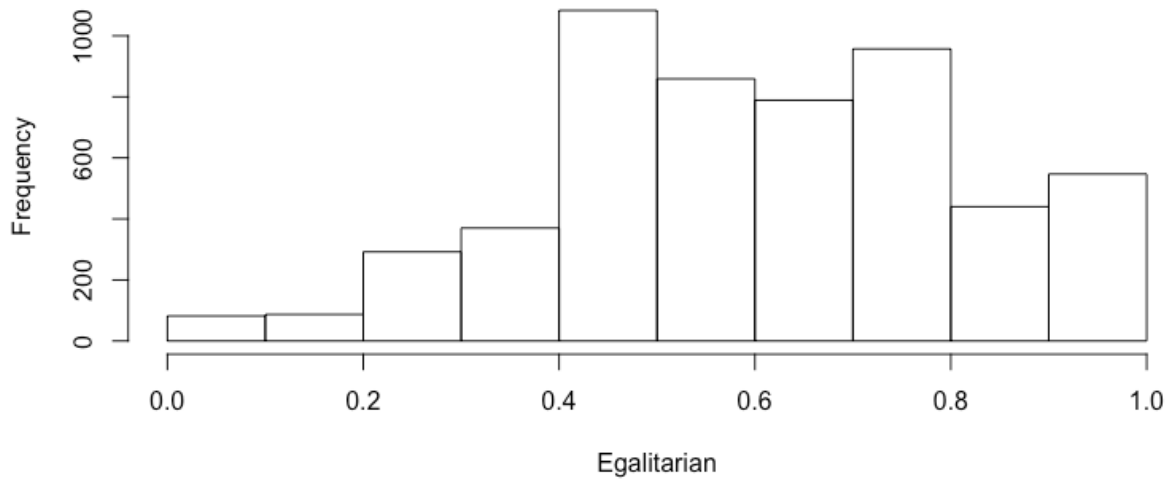
Appendix

The first immigration policy question is recoded as a three-point categorical variable with 0 for respondents whose view most closely aligned with the deportation of all undocumented immigrants, 1 for respondents whose view most closely aligned with allowing all undocumented immigrants to remain under certain requirements, and 2 for respondents whose view most closely aligned with allowing all undocumented immigrants to remain in the US without penalties. Similarly, the second policy question is coded as a three-point categorical variable with 0 for respondents who favored increased police powers, 1 for those who neither favored nor opposed increased police powers, and 2 for those who opposed increased police powers. The third policy question is coded as a three-point categorical variable with 0 for respondents who opposed granting permanent residency to undocumented children, 1 for those who neither favored nor opposed, and 3 for those who favored granting permanent residency to undocumented children. The last policy question is coded as a five-point categorical variable ranging from 0 'decreased a little' to 4 'increased a lot'.

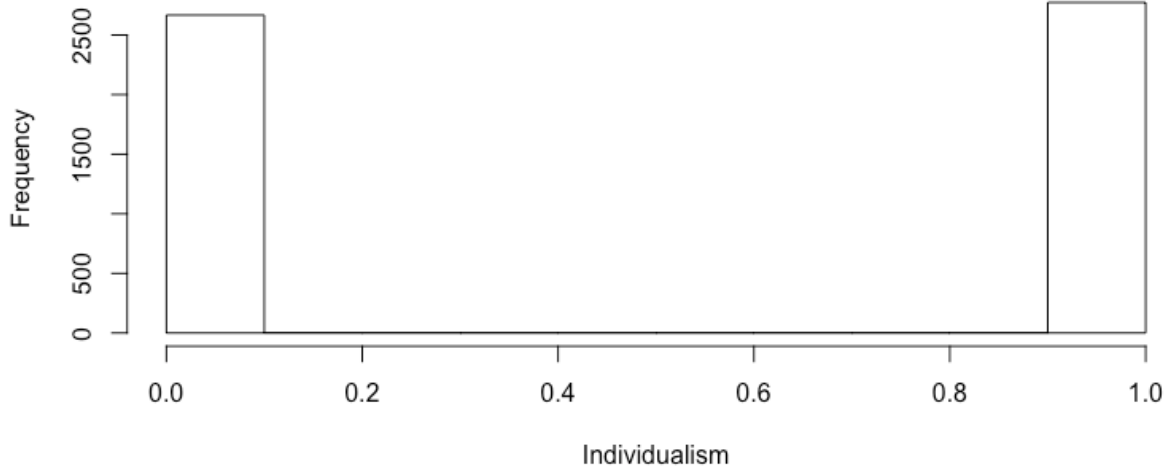
Histogram of Authoritarian



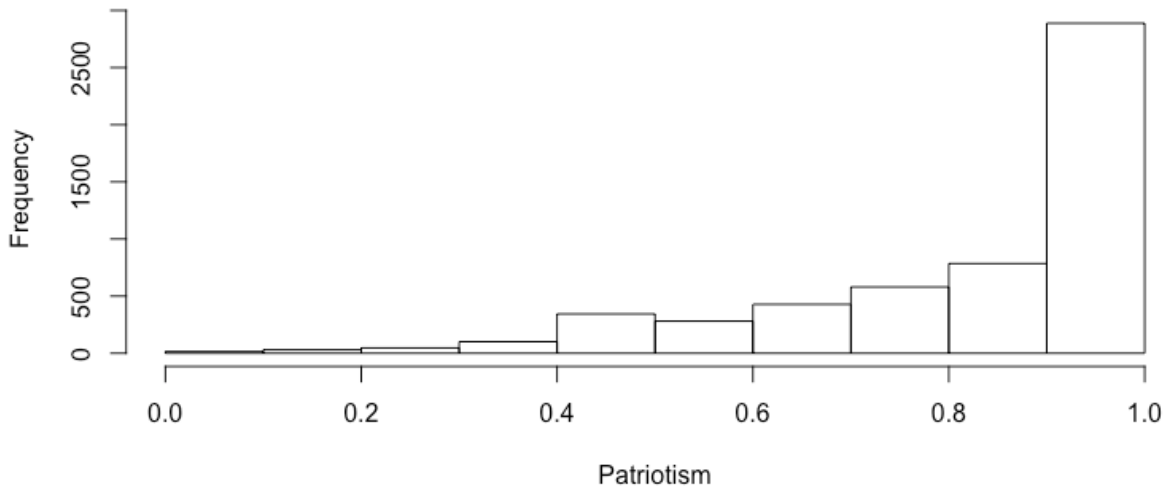
Histogram of Egalitarian



Histogram of Individualism



Histogram of Patriotism



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