

Author Index

Abelson, Robert P., 62, 62n5, 80n1 Abu-Lughod, Lila, 29n47, 32n59 Achen, Christopher H., 21n29 Adams, Anthony, 231n7 Adams, Richard, 105n27 Akers, Justin, 191n3 Alexander, Susan H., 123, 123n4, 339n1 Allen, Harris M. Jr., 89n12 Allport, Gordon, 126 Anderson, Benedict, 15n9

Bakhtin, Mikhail M., 1517, 15-20, 16110, 63-65, 107n28 Balderrama, Francisco E., 184n37 Barrett, Edith, 206, 206n11, 206n12, 211126 Barth, Fredrik, 31, 31n57 Bartlett, Lesley, xxn8 Beatty, Bess, xxin10 Becker, A. L., 17, 17n13 Belanger, Maryann, 124, 124*n*9, 125*n*14, 128, 128n21, 128n22, 128n24, 132, 134130, 135132, 13911, 186140, 204114 Bellah, Robert N., xixn1, xixn3 Berezin, Mabel, 28n44 Billig, Michael, 19n21 Blue, Ron, 281n3 Blumer, Herbert, 15n8 Bobo, Lawrence, 89112 Borjas, George J., 153*n*19 Bourdieu, Pierre, 29n46, 215n45, 342n5,

Brightman, Robert, 28*n*43 Brooks, Clem, 203*n*3 Buchanan, Patrick J., 171*n*17

Cantril, Albert H., 102, 102n24,

215146-216

Cantril, Hadley, 25, 25n35, 98n18, 102n22, 102124, 207-08, 2111130, 2131140, 213-14, 214142, 2151146-216 Carter, Robert T., 378-79 Casson, Ronald, 17n15 Ceobanu, Alin M., 124n11, 126n17 Chafe, Wallace, 70n20 Chavez, Leo R., 123, 123n5, 140n3, 172, 172120, 33911 Cheng, Simon, 203n3 Childs, Becky, 369n5 Chomsky, Aviva, 147n13, 159n5 Citrin, Jack, 30n49, 125n14, 210n24, 213n39, 318n13 Clinton, Hillary R., 288n8 Cloward, Richard A., 211, 211n27, 291n9 Cody, Francis, 15n8, 342n7 Conover, Pamela J., 283n5, 339n1, 352, 352n23 Converse, Philip, 21n29, 98n18 Cook, Fay L., 206, 206n11, 206n12, 211126 Coughlin, Richard, 314n10 Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA), 1919-10, 196

Crawford, James, 376n12

Crewe, Ivor, 339n1, 352

346n15, 349n19



404

Author Index

D'Andrade, Roy G., 17115, 30148, 31, 31154, 31157, 6011

Danticat, Edwidge, 161, 16118

Davey, Lynn, 27141, 27142

Dawson, Michael C., 1518, 26140

Dees, J. Gregory, 352124

Delli Carpini, Michael X., 20–21, 21126, 98118, 98120

Democratic National Convention

Committee, 293110

DiTomaso, Nancy, 319115

Duclos, Susan, 15613

Dudley, Kathryn M., 300112, 322121

Duke, Selwyn, 16414

Economy, Peter, 352n24
Edelman, Murray, 29n46, 61n3
Ehrenreich, Barbara, 260n11
Elazar, Daniel J., 283n6
Eliasoph, Nina, 20, 20n24, 20n25, 116n39, 343n10, 344n14
Ellis, Nick C., 17n11, 17n13
Emerson, Jed, 352n24
Escandell, Xavier, 124n11, 126n17
Espenshade, Thomas, 124, 124n9, 124n36, 125n13, 125n14, 128, 128n24, 132, 134n30, 135n32, 139n1, 186n40, 204n4

Fairclough, Norman, 18, 18n18, 61n2 Fantasia, Rick, 331n27 Feldman, Jonathan L., 17115, 89112 Feldman, Stanley, 21n29, 25n38, 30n47, 98n18, 128n25, 206n8, 208, 211n29, 212, 213, 213139, 213141, 214-15, 2151144-216, 2151146-216, 218, 23016, 24311, 277 Fetzer, Joel, 124–125, 125*n*15, 126, 374111 Fischer, Frank, 18n20 Form, William H., 218n49, 243n1 Frederick-McGlathery, Marla, xxn8 Free, Lloyd, 25, 25n36, 98n18, 102n22, 207-08, 2111130, 2131140, 213-14, 214142, 215146-216

Gamson, William A., xix3, 15n6, 26, 26n40, 61, 61n3, 62, 109, 109n29, 116n38 García, Arnoldo, 196n8 Gee, James P., 18n16, 61n2 Gilens, Martin, 151n18, 210, 210n23, 218, 218n51 Glynn, Carroll J., 1518, 22130, 30152, 8113, 344113 Goodwyn, Lawrence, 324122 Green, Donald P., 125114 Guldbrandsen, Thaddeus C., xx18

Habermas, Jürgen, 31n55, 116n40, 198 Harrington, Michael, 313n9 Harris-Lacewell, Melissa V., 344n14 Harrop, Froma, 331n28 Harwood, Edwin, 123–124, 127, 127*n*20, 132, 132n28, 136, 136n34, 141-42, 14216, 14419, 20414 Hasenfeld, Yeheskel, 206n8, 211n30, 212136, 24311 Hauser, Gerard A., 31n55 Henke, Robert, 167n11, 376n13 Herbst, Susan, 1518, 221130, 30152, 81113, 344113 Heywood, Andrew, 199n15 Higham, John, 122-23, 123n2, 141, 141n5 Hochschild, Jennifer, xxn2, 21, 21n27, 26*n*40, 98*n*18, 102–103*n*25, 213, 213n39, 213n37, 318n14, 339n1, 352, 352121 Holland, Dorothy, xxn8, 17n15, 60n1 Huber, Joan, 218n49, 243n1 Huntington, Samuel P., 29145, 167, 167114, 170-71, 177130, 368, 36813, 376, 376n14, 381, 386

Isserman, Maurice, 31319
Iyengar, Shanto, 27141, 116140

Jacobs, Elisabeth S., 81n4, 203n1, 203n2, 204, 204n6, 204n7, 213n38, 213n39, 217n48, 352n22

Jacobs, Lawrence, 29n46, 203n3, 204, 204n5, 206n13, 206n14, 206-07, 211, 211n28

Jacoby, William G., 206, 206n12, 211n26

Jones, Jeffrey M., 121n1

Juhasz, Antonia, 49, 333n32

Kasinitz, Phillip, 387, 387n22 Kazin, Michael, 324n22 Key, V. O., 204n7 Kinder, Donald R., 27n41, 27, 89n12, 112n31, 210n23 Kluegel, James R., 82n5, 89n12, 99n21, 211n30, 217-18, 218n49, 218n51, 291n9



Author Index

Kominski, Robert A., 163 Kramnick, Isaac, 278n2 Kristeva, Julia, 66n18 Kymlicka, Will, 217n48, 283n5

Labov, William, 368, 368n4, 369
Lakoff, George, 27n41, 110n30, 116n40, 133, 133n29
Lamb, Karl A., 184n38
Lamballe, Tessa, 77n25
Lamm, Richard, 164n3
Lamont, Michèle, xix187, 187n41, 187n42, 302, 302n17, 314n11, 339n1
Lane, Robert E., xixn2, 26n40, 80n1, 82n5, 98n19, 339n1, 352
Lau, Richard R., 89n12

Leonhardt, David, 154n1
Lewis, Oscar, 311, 311n7, 313n9
Lichterman, Paul, 20n25
Linde, Charlotte, 319n15
Lindeman, Mark, 15n8, 22n30, 30n52, 81n3, 344n13
Lindquist, Julie, 344n14
Lippmann, Walter, 81n3, 203n1
Lipset, Seymor M., 203n2, 206n10, 211n30, 212n36, 213n39
Luebke, Paul, xxin9
Lutz, Catherine, xxn8, 300n11

Macpherson, C. B., 210n25 Madsen, Richard, xixn1, xixn3 Malkin, Michelle, 167, 167n13 Mallinson, Christine, 368n5-369 Manhattan Institute Immigration Policy Center, 153n19 Marshall, T. H., 217n48 Martinez, Elizabeth, 196n8 Mathews, Holly, 319n16 Mazzula, Silvia L., 378-79 McClosky, Herbert, 212n36 McCollum, Chris, 321n20 Merelman, Richard M., 30n47, 123, 12313 Milroy, Lesley, 367, 367n1 Modigliani, Andre, 15n5, 26, 26n39, 61, 6113, 62, 109, 109129, 116137 Moffatt, Michael, 182n35 Mollenkopf, John H., 387, 387n22 Muller, Thomas, 125n13 Murillo, Enrique G., Jr., xxn8 Murray, Charles, 311n5 Muste, Christopher, 125n14

National Immigration Forum, 172, 172*n*21
National Opinion Research Center,
General Social Survey, xx*n*5, 25*n*37,
208–09, 209*n*22–210, 252*n*5, 253*n*6,
267*n*16
Nelson, Thomas E., 210*n*23
Newman, Katherine S., xix*n*1, xix*n*3, 81*n*4,
203*n*1, 203*n*2, 204, 204*n*6, 204*n*7,
213*n*38, 213*n*39, 217*n*48, 339*n*1,
352*n*22
Newton, Lina, 62, 62*n*6, 63*n*8, 123,
123*n*6, 144*n*9, 153*n*20, 156–58,
182*n*35, 339*n*1
Nisbett, Richard, 80*n*1, 105*n*27
Noelle-Neumann, Elisabeth, 30–31, 31*n*53

405

Obama, Barack, 232, 232n8
O'Keefe, Garret J., 15n8, 22n30, 30n52, 81n3, 344n13
Ong, Aihwa, 26n39
Ono, Kent, 19, 19n22, 352-53, 353n25
Ortiz, Rhonda, 136-37n34, 166n9
Ortner, Sherry B., xixn1, 278n1

Nonini, Donald M., xxn8

Page, Benjamin I., 26n40, 81n3, 211-12, 267116 Pantoja, Adrian, 128n25, 128-29, 129n26, 135 Pappas, Gregory, 26n39, 216n47 Parks-Yancy, Rochelle, 319n15 Pastor, Manuel, 136–134, 137135, 16619 Peng, Kaiping, 80n1, 105n27 Peplau, Letitia A., 17115, 89112 Pettigrew, Thomas F., 126n18 Pew Research Center for the People & The Press and Pew Hispanic Center, 161n6 Phiffer, Dan, 198, 198n13 Phillips, Louise, 61n3, 343n9, 352n24 Pick, Hannah, 29n45, 189 Piven, Frances F., 211, 211n27, 291n9 Pope, Carl, 141n4 Portes, Alejandro, 155n2 Post, Corrine, 319n15

Quinn, Naomi, 17n15, 28n43, 32n60, 60n1, 62n4, 71n23, 93n14, 117n41, 319n15, 340n3

Potter, Jonathan, 22n30, 23n34, 30n50

Rafferty, Jane A., 206*n*8, 211*n*30, 212*n*36, 243*n*1

© in this web service Cambridge University Press

www.cambridge.org



406

Author Index

Rasmussen, Scott, 331n28 Rasmussen Reports, 224, 224n3 Reich, Robert, 283n5, 324n22 Reinarman, Craig, xixn2, 29n46, 82n5, 98n19, 217n48, 339n1, 352, 352n22 Roe, Emery, 62n6 Ruiz, Vicki L., 184n37 Rumbaut, Rubén G., 155n2

Santa Ana, Otto, 140n3, 246n3 Schiller, Wendy, 28n44 Schilling-Estes, Natalie, 369n6 Schmidt, Ronald, 125n16, 165n6 Schneider, Saundra K., 206, 206n12 Schoen, Douglas, 331n28 Schuck, Peter H., 144n9 Searing, Donald D., 339n1, 352 Sears, David O., 17115, 89112 Shapiro, Robert Y., 1518, 221130, 261140, 29146, 30150, 8113, 20313, 204, 20415, 206113, 206114, 206-07, 2111128, 211-12, 2671116, 3441113 Shin, Hyon B., 163n1 Shklar, Judith N., 30n48 Shore, Bradd, 18n16, 20, 20n22 Shore, Cris, 18*n*16, 26, 62–63 Simon, Rita, 123, 123n4, 339n1 Sirota, Milton, 324n22 Skocpol, Theda, 203n3 Sloop, John M., 19, 19122, 352-53, 353125 Smith, Adam, 195-96 Smith, Eliot R., 82n5, 99n21, 217-18, 218n49, 218n51, 291n9 Smith, Lamar, 14 Smith, Rogers M., 30n48 Smith, Tom W., xxn5, 98n18, 114n33, 208, 208n18Soco, Eric, 198n14 Sperber, Dan, 86n10 Spitulnik, Debra, 17, 17n14, 63n9 Steenbergen, Marco, 25n38, 128n25, 211129, 212, 277 Stimson, James A., 29n45

Strauss, Claudia, 5*n*3, 15*n*6, 17*n*15, 28*n*43, 30*n*51, 31*n*55, 32*n*56, 32*n*58, 60*n*1,

6214, 711123, 83117, 931114, 991121,

107n28, 117n41, 264n12, 340n3,

342n5, 362n2

Stuart, Alfred W., xxn7, xxi10 Sullivan, William M., xixn1, xixn3 Swidler, Ann, xixn1, xixn3, 116n39

Taylor, Shelley E., 17n15, 89n12
Tichenor, Daniel J., 153n20
Tipton, Steven M., xixn1, xixn3
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 94n15, 94-95, 342, 342n6, 345
Tomasello, Michael, 17n12, 343n8
Torfing, Jacob, 18n17
Tyler, Tom R., 89n12

Urciuoli, Bonnie, 176–77, 177*n*29 U.S. Department of State, 159*n*5

van Dijk, Tuen A., 23*n*34, 30*n*50, 175*n*25 Vinocur, John, 150*n*17

Walsh, Katherine C., 344n14
Waters, Mary C., 387, 387n22, 387n23
Weber, Max, 206, 206n9
Weisner, Thomas S., 311n6
Welch, Catherine M., xviiin6
Westen, Drew, 27n41, 80n1, 117n41
Wetherell, Margaret, 22n30, 23n34, 30n50
Williams, Bruce A., 20–21, 21n26, 98n18, 98n20
Williams, Raymond, 339n2

Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 79n28
Wolfe, Alan, 128n23, 147n13, 164n5,
172, 172n19, 177n30, 186n40, 212,
212n35, 266n15, 268n17, 270,
270n19, 301, 302n15, 339n1
Wolfram, Walt, 369n6

Wong, Cara, 125114 Wood, Ron, 19112 Wright, Susan, 18117, 62–63

Yankelovich, Daniel, 31n55 Yeh, Christine J., 378–79

Zaller, John, 21n29, 22n31, 30n48, 80n2, 82n6, 87n11, 98n18, 102n23, 114n32, 114n33, 116n39, 206n8, 208, 212n36, 213, 213n39, 213n41, 214-15, 215-16n46, 218, 230n6, 243n1



Subject Index

ABC/Washington Post poll on "affording" immigration, 133, 134 on legal immigrants, 128, 132-134 wording shifts in, 132-134 Action Club, 168n15, 170n16 discrepant discourses on, 20 and immigration, 137, 141, 159, 161, 166, 167-168, 185 and social welfare, 211, 329t, 333 Adelita (pseud.), on getting ahead, 381 advocacy and dialogue, implications of present study for, 350-353 affirmative action, 228, 317, 318n14 affordable housing, 83-84 Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), xxii, xxiv, 206, 259-260, 264, 265-266, 351 Alamance County (research setting), Allen, Jack (pseud.), 107, 325-326, 334 identity, as basis of discourse selection, 86, 87-88 on immigration, 108, 140, 155, 275 integration of discourses by, 106-108 on social programs, 107, 237, 238, 254, 258, 261, 276, 280, 281-282, 289-290, 292, 295, 296, 297, 323, 325, 325n23 ambivalence, 174-176 defined by others, 102 definition of, 102*n*25–103 true, 82, 98, 102-104

See Nation of Immigrants discourse American Dream, 245-246, 272, 308, 329 American Dream Survey, 319n16-320 American flag, as used in immigration discourse, 167-168, 376-377 American Indians, 24, 76, 125, 183n36, 285-286 Americans' Views on Taxes Survey, 331-332, 332*n*30 amnesty, favorable attitudes on, 136n33 Angle, Sharron, 157 Anglo-Protestant values, 368, 381 Anti-Corporate-Capitalism discourse, 49t, 223-224, 308, 332-334 Anti-Isolationism variant, of Nation of Immigrants discourse, 173 anti-materialism. See Dollar Versus Good Values discourse Anti-Neoliberalism/Anti-Imperialism discourse, 58t, 61, 190, 195-197 lack of survey research on, 197 Antipoverty programs. See social welfare: programs Anti-Tax discourse, 36t, 223, 238–239 Greed of Corporations and the Rich discourse vs., 239 Mexican immigrants on, 385 and Taxes and Citizenship discourse, 224, 303, 304 Arizona, and immigration law, 157 arts, as used in pro-immigration discourses, 23, 24, 177, 178

America as nation of immigrants.



408

Subject Index

Asian immigration, 169, 170, 184 bourgeois individualism, 79 Associated Press, 73*n*24, 197*n*12 Britain, 305 "broken system," 73n24 Associated Press/Gfk poll, 276n22 Brower, David, 141n4 Baxter, Lisa (pseud.) Brown Berets, 190*n*1–191 Brown v. Board of Education, 184n37 on social programs, 262, 276 on wealth disparity, 347 budget, federal vs. household, 234 Baxter, Wayne (pseud.) bureaucracy and Free Market discourse, 331 on immigration, 145, 158, 179-180, and Government Inefficiency discourse, 186, 193, 194 on social programs, 72, 225, 229, 251, 230-231, 241 261, 267, 278, 279, 281, 288-289, Bush, George W. 290, 292-293, 296-297, 315, 322, and antiterrorism, 87-88 and environment, 94 323, 327, 334 BBC survey, 224 on free market capitalism, 224 beliefs and immigration, 73n24, 148, 158 and taxation, 303 influence of conventional discourses on, TTT not acquired from conventional CAFTA, 197112 discourses, 337 California selecting among discourses on basis of, Proposition 154n1, 167, 187 segregated schools in, 184n37 89, 343 Benefits Only for Contributors discourse, Canada, 164, 296, 305, 331 24, 38t, 74t, 146-148, 216, 217, Cannon, Chris, 161 259-263 capitalism and Contributors Deserve Benefits inequality as requirement of, 227-228 See also Anti-Corporate-Capitalism discourse, 74, 274 discourse; Free Market discourse; Mexican immigrants/Mexican Americans market logic on, 376 and Personal Responsibility discourses, Cardenas, Andrés (pseud.) on immigration, 377, 387 benevolent community myth, 283n5 on self-reliance, 382-383 benign multiculturalism, 177n30 on social programs, 375, 387 Bible, 86, 110 Caribbean immigration, 9, 10, 99, 157, Big Brother, 235, 238 184-185 bilingualism, 164n3, 376 Caring for Family and Community bin Laden, Osama, 158 discourse, 43t, 92, 219, 277, blacks 282-290 and affirmative action, 228, 317, 318n14 overlap with Dollar Versus Good Values and availability of credit, 184 discourse, 283 parallels between treatment of Mexicans catchphrases, 61, 72, 161 and, 113, 182-183 Catholics, 125 and racial discrimination, 317, 317n11 Catholic social justice tradition, 301 and Work Ethic discourse, 251 CBS News Poll, 149*n*15, 187*n*43 See also Racial Differences/Cultural CBS/NY Times Poll Inferiority discourse on "affording" immigration, 132-134 Border, Security, Antiterrorism, and Illegal on welcoming immigrants, 128 CBS poll, question-wording effects, 149 Immigration Control Act of 2005 (HR 4437), 14, 161, 175 Census Bureau, 163 Center for the Study of Immigrant border security, 135 See also Illegal Is Wrong discourse; Integration at the University of National Security discourse Southern California, 166n9



Subject Index

409

charity	melting pot metaphor in, 172n21
connection with military service, 286	CNNPolitics.Com, 195n6
government social provision vs., 115	coding text, 66
Chicago Council on Foreign Relations,	cognitive efficiency, 62, 342, 345
197112	collectivism, 26, 211 <i>n</i> 30
Chicano nationalism discourse, 190,	communism, 289, 326
19011-191	Communist Manifesto (Marx & Engels),
childcare	331
children's health insurance, 139-140	communitarianism, 283-284
and Negative Role Models discourse,	rugged individualism vs., 283
313	compartmentalization, 98, 99-102, 112, 338
paid parenting leave, 263, 264n13-265,	definition of, 82, 99, 99n21
295, 313	of immigration discourses, 135
and Providing Americans' Basic Needs	competition
discourse, 299	global, 294, 322
and Self-Reliance discourse, 253,	and immigration, 372-375
268–269	Comprehensive Reform discourse, 53t, 73,
and Social Investment discourse, 292,	159–161
293	condensation symbols, 61n3, 62
subsidized, 83-84	conflicting discourses
and Work Should Be Rewarded	compartmentalization of, 82, 98,
discourse, 273	99–102, 112, 338
children	integration of, 82, 98, 104-111, 112
and Benefits Only for Contributors	and true ambivalence, 82, 98, 102-104
discourse, 260-261, 313	Connor, Maverick (pseud.)
and Caring for Community and Family	on immigration, 141, 147, 178
discourse, 283	on social programs, 231, 233-234, 251,
and Negative Role Models discourse, 313	258, 268, 270, 292, 298, 303, 312,
and Personal Responsibility discourse,	330
269	conservatism
and Self-Reliance discourse, 253-255	economic, 102, 109, 217
and Social Investment discourse, 293	neoconservatism, 313n9, 352
child support, 266	social, 109
Christian Focus on the Family, 281	See also Republicans
Christianity, 20, 30, 79, 107, 109, 110,	Constructions, usage-based. See language
219, 280, 281	constructions
citizenship, political and social	contact hypothesis, 126-127
and Comprehensive Reform discourse,	contextual cues, 338
159	Contributors Deserve Benefits discourse,
and Speak English and Assimilate	41 <i>t</i> , 217, 244, 273–276
discourse, 103 <i>n</i> 26, 137, 164–165	and Benefits Only for Contributors
theory of, 217, 217 <i>n</i> 48	discourse, 74, 274
civil rights movement, 352	survey questions on, 276
Clinton, Bill, 211, 272, 272n21, 351	conventional-discourse analysis
Clinton, Hillary R., 195	assumptions of, 5, 337
closed-choice survey questions, 346n15	cataloging discourses, 348-349
CNN/Opinion Research Corporation Poll,	choosing name for discourse, 65, 78
14318, 180, 180133, 234119	coding text, 66
on discrimination, 317n11, 317n11,	comments not from conventional
317112-318	discourse, 68–70
on Good People as Individuals discourse,	conflicting opinions and, 10, 20-21, 22,
180	338



410

Subject Index

conventional-discourse analysis (cont.) See also Poverty and Crime discourse decisions about lumping/splitting, 75-78 Cubans, 9, 10, 99, 157, 184-185 Cultural Diversity discourse, 55t, 176-178 drawing up list of conventional cultural meanings, xvi discourses, 65–78 cultural models, 27n42, 60, 60n1 and ethnography, 32 implications for political See also schemas communication, 350-353 cultural standing, 30, 31 and political communication, 350-351 lists, uses of, 350 no discourses on topics in opinion definition of, 32 community, 66-68 discourses not all of culture, 31-32 rating, 96-98 shared keywords as neither necessary/ racial explanation vs., 28, 28n42, nor sufficient indicators, 71-73 170-171 similar attitudes not necessarily See also political culture culture of poverty, 311-312, 313n9 indicating, 70-71 and study of diffusion of discourses over Daily Show, The, 15 time, 343 verbal formulas of, 17, 62, 62n6, 63n9, data collection methods (present study), 359-365, 371 229, 248-249 and verbal pauses, 70 Davis, Paul (pseud.) See also conventional discourses background of, 5 on immigration, 5-10, 11-19t, 61, conventional discourses 99-100, 143, 148, 149, 157, 177, 271, definition of, xvi, 15, 60-65, 79, 339 expressing particular social identity, 288, 324 on social programs, 232, 249-250, 258, 73-75 Foucauldian discourse vs., 18-60, 19t 268-269, 296, 334 future research, 343-345 defensive voluntarism, 31n56 deindustrialization, 218 hybrid, 340 Democracy Corps Poll, 173n22, 176n28, nature of, 63, 339-343 as not fixed, 339-340 331, 346n16 opinions, effect on, 111-112, 340-341 democratic competence, 22, 81, 338 and originality, 80 Democrats and Contributors Deserve Benefits people on opposite sides of issue can use discourse, 276 same discourse, 75 use of Social Investment metaphors, 293 reification of, 339 Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV), 69, repeating, reasons for, 342-343 as shared, xvi, 60-65 23117 See also ambivalence; deportation, 136n33, 165-166 compartmentalization; disabled persons, 272-273, 275 See also Incapacity Exception to conventional-discourse analysis; heterogeneous discourses; integration; Self-Reliance discourse discourse analysis, in linguistic and cultural nonconforming discourses corporate malfeasance, 352 studies, 18, 18n16, 60-61 Corporate Social Investment discourse, 44t, discourse family, 79 discourses. See conventional discourses 219, 294-295 discrimination creative accommodation of discourse, based on nationality, 184-185 104-106 crime gender, 317n11 Mexican immigrant discourses on, history of, 183-184 racial, 184-185, 317n11, 317n12-318, and Negative Influences discourse, 378 See also Equal Rights discourse poverty and, 290-291



Subject Index

economic self-interest hypothesis, 124-125, economic stratification, 328-329 education federal aid for, 207 and global competition, 294 Headstart, 300, 313 and Help People Be Self-Reliant discourse, 268 higher, 268n18 lack of and Incapacity Exception to Self-Reliance discourse, 267 and Providing Americans' Basic Needs discourse, 297 segregated schools, 184n37 and Social Investment discourse, 291, 292, 293 and Taxes and Citizenship discourse, 304 See also Education and Opportunity discourse; Providing Americans' Basic Needs discourse Education and Opportunity discourse, 46t, 218-219, 314-315 Edwards, Jane (pseud.) on immigration, 151 and Land of Opportunity discourse, and Self-Reliance discourse, 77 on social programs, 72, 97, 186, 225-226, 234, 236, 238, 248, 258, 259, 262, 264, 265, 268, 269, 278, 291, 293, 294, 296, 297, 300, 310, 319, 334 egalitarianism, 129, 213, 289-290, 326 elderly persons. See retirees election results, and ideology, 203 elite discourses, 116, 117, 213-214, 344 El Salvador, and "neoimperialism," 196 emic analysis, 78 employers proposed penalties for hiring illegal immigrants, 136n33 provision of health insurance by, 84, 105-106, 226, 227 Employers Taking Advantage discourse, 57*t*, 190, 191–195 English, percentage of Americans speaking, 163*n*1 English Only movement. See Speak English and Assimilate

environmentalism, 94, 281

411

discursive framework, 79 disease, and immigration, 154n1 distributive justice, 146, 212-213, 216, divergence theory evidence against, 368n5-369 See also Mexican American discourses, and theory of divergence diversity of discourses. See heteroglossia Dobbs, Lou, 73n24, 154n1 Doez, Pat (pseud.), on family support and housing, 383-384 Dollar Versus Good Values discourse, 42t, 219, 279-282 and Greed of Corporations and the Rich discourse, 280, 281 overlap with Caring for Family and Community discourse, 283 overlap with Spending Versus Saving discourse, 281 and Quality of Life discourse, 280, 281-282 drug trade and border control, 157, 158 and crime, 290-291 and immigration, 158-159, 378 and Work Ethic discourse, 250, 261 Dwyer, Catlyn (pseud.) identity, as basis of discourse selection, 86, 87-88 on immigration, 140-141, 157, 158, 171, 183-184 investment in seemingly opposing discourses, 91-92 on social programs, 74, 96, 225, 228-229, 235, 240-241, 247, 255, 258, 260, 264, 265, 267, 269, 283-284, 286-288, 289, 296, 298, 304-305, 311, 316-317, 327, 328, 329-330 on wealth disparity, 347 Earned Income Tax Credit, 227-228, 272, 298 economic crisis of 2008, 224 economic equity. See Benefits Only for Contributors discourse; distributive economic individualism, 215 See also individual responsibility economic redistribution. See distributive justice; social welfare: policy; social

welfare: programs



412

Subject Index

equality of results, vs. equality of and Self-Reliance discourse, 256-257 opportunity, 314 as used in pro-immigration discourses, Equal Rights discourse, 46t, 56t, 73, 23, 24, 177, 178 See also Providing Americans' Basic 182-185, 218-219, 315-318 Mexican Americans on, 378 Needs and Necessary Inequality discourse, 224 food stamps, 139-140, 206 surveys on, 317 Forbes, Steve, 239 ethics, of Congress members, 324 Foreigners Taking Our Jobs discourse, 50t, evangelical Christianity, 107, 280 Exposing Prejudice (Urciuoli), 176–177 Jobs Americans Don't Want vs., 143, expressed opinions, vs. underlying 149 attitudes, 341n4 Mexican immigrants on, 372-375 formative experiences, effect of discourses family on, 93, 338 Mexican Americans on, 383-384 for-profit hospitals, 330 as source of help, 254n7, 254-255 Foucauldian discourse, conventional discourse vs., 18-60, 19t See also Caring for Family and Community discourse Fox News, 73n24, 199 family leave, paid, 227, 334 FOX News/Opinion Dynamics Poll, 189, fate/luck, 320-321 189147, 199116 Federal Immigration Reform and Foxx, Virginia, 175 Enforcement (FIRE Coalition), frames, message, 26-27 Frameworks Institute, 27n42 192-193 Federation for American Immigration France, 296-297, 302 Reform (FAIR), 141 Frederick, Marvin (pseud.) Fewer Opportunities discourse, 47t, discourse effect on personal identity of, 218-219, 321-323 filtering discourses, actively, 86-87 on immigration, 75, 143, 145, 146-147, Fiscal Responsibility discourse, 35t, 219, 155, 158-159, 344112 223, 232-234 on social programs, 74, 238, 249, 250, Government Inefficiency discourse vs., 251, 253, 254, 263, 272, 275, 281, 282, 284, 285-286, 300, 323, 324, link with Taxes and Citizenship 327, 330 discourse, 303-304 freedom, restrictions on, 85 fish aphorism on becoming self-reliant, 268 See also Free Market discourse; Fix Sending Countries discourse, 58t, 190, Government Intrusion discourse 194-195 free enterprise, 19, 104, 211-212, 215, lack of survey research on, 195 216, 219-220, 224, 322 Mexican immigrants on, 375 Free Market discourse, 19–20, 34*t*, 50*t*, flat tax, 327 151-153, 220, 223-224, 225-227, Flemings, Howard (pseud.) 241-242, 294 Government Inefficiency discourse vs., on immigration, 158, 175, 186 interpretation of personal responsibility, 89-91 Mexican Americans and, 215-216 on social programs, 266, 271, 293, overlap with Government Inefficiency 305-306, 315, 316, 319 discourse, 227 Focus on the Family, 281 overlap with Government Intrusion discourse, 227 food and Caring for Family and Community overlap with Jobs Americans Don't Want, 152-153 discourse, 287 and Help People Be Self-Reliant Personal Responsibility discourse, discourse, 269 relation to, 243-244



Subject Index

413

```
on poverty as vicious cycle, 387
  on self-reliance, 386
Gallup/Newsweek Poll, 347n17
Gallup Organization, 309n1
Gallup Poll, 23n32, 121, 132, 134n30,
    134-135, 136, 143, 143n7, 149,
    149115, 172121, 176, 178, 178132,
    309-310, 319116-320, 347, 347117
Gallup/USA Today Poll, 145n11, 176n27
  on fixing sending country, 195, 195n7
  on Good People as Individuals, 180
Gates, Bill, 110, 280
gay and lesbian rights. See Equal Rights
    discourse
gender discrimination, 316-317
  See also Equal Rights discourse
General Social Survey, xx, 143n8, 166,
    166n10, 208-210, 252-253, 267,
    271-272, 272n20, 302n16, 317n12-
    318, 319116-320, 321120, 328,
    328n26, 332, 332n31
getting ahead
  and Equal Rights discourse, 317n11,
    317112-318
  and Low Self-Esteem discourse, 310
  and Quality of Life discourse, 278
  surveys on, 309n3, 309-310
  and Wealth, Connections, and Other
    Advantages discourse, 319
Getting Along discourse, 56t, 181-182
  and Good People as Individuals
    discourse, 181
global competition, 294, 322
Good People as Individuals discourse, 55t,
    178-180
  and Equal Rights discourse, 183
  and Getting Along discourse, 181
  lack of survey research on, 180
Gore, Al, 331n28, 350-351
government-as-a-parent metaphor, 236
Government Inefficiency discourse, 35t,
    219, 229-232
  Fiscal Responsibility discourse vs., 233
  and Free Market discourse, 227, 232
Government Intrusion discourse, 36t,
    223-224, 227, 234-238, 241
government social programs. See Aid to
    Families with Dependent Children;
```

free trade agreements, 196, 197n12, 323

on benefits for contributors, 376

Free Trade Survey, 197112

```
food stamps; healthcare; housing;
    social welfare; welfare; individual
    discourses described in Part III
Great Depression, 364n4
Great Society period, 204
Greed of Corporations and the Rich
    discourse, 48t, 223-224, 326-332,
  Anti-Tax discourse vs., 239
  and Dollar Versus Good Values
    discourse, 280
  and Politicians Don't Care about the
    Average Person discourse, 330
  surveys on, 328, 331-332
guaranteed childcare, 273, 292, 293
guest worker program, 148
Gutierrez, Luis, 161
Habitat for Humanity, 237, 262, 298
Haitians, 9, 10, 99, 157, 184-185
Hall, Kelly (pseud.)
  on immigration, 61
  on social programs, 257, 294, 296, 305,
Headstart, 300, 313
healthcare
  children's health insurance, 139-140
  and Contributors Deserve Benefits
    discourse, 274, 275-276
  employer provided, pros and cons 84, 226
  government vs. for-profit, 239-242, 330
  health insurance, 4-5, 70-71, 83-84,
    105-106, 211, 226, 227, 241, 259,
    272, 304-305
  and Help People Be Self-Reliant
    discourse, 269
  as human right, 301
  and immigrants, 145
  and Personal Responsibility discourse,
    246-247
  and Providing Americans' Basic Needs
    discourse, 296-297
  public opinion, conventional wisdom
    about, 206-207
  and Social Investment discourse,
    292-293
  surveys on, 306-307
  and Taxes and Citizenship discourse,
    304-305, 306-307
  universal, 4, 69-70, 87, 204, 292-293,
  World War II effect on, 105
```



414

Subject Index

health insurance companies, 85 on social programs, 61 Health Maintenance Organizations Humanitarian discourse, 57t, 146, (HMOs), 240–241 185-189 Help Our Own First discourse, 24, 50t, Human Rights version of, 188-189, 379 and Land of Opportunity discourse, 186 144-145, 146 as countered by Good People as Mexican Americans on, 378-379 Individuals discourse, 179 humanitarian values as countered by Illegal Is Wrong and immigration, 129 and social welfare policy, 211-212 discourse, 95 human rights, 189, 301-302, 379 Mexican Americans on, 375 Help People Be Self-Reliant discourse, 40, Human Rights version, of Humanitarian 78, 217, 244, 268-270 discourse, 188-189, 379 heterogeneous discourses, 27 and discourse analysis, 29-30 identity as explanation of inconsistent opinions, as basis of discourse selection, 87-88 xvi, 22, 129-130 influence of conventional discourses on, how people deal with, 95-98 111, 338, 343 on immigration, 22-23, 130-135 influence on opinions, 250n4, 337 and views on social programs, 25 marginality hypothesis on, 125-126 See also compartmentalization; personal identity, effect of discourse on nonconforming discourses development of, 93 heteroglossia, 16-17 political, 87 social, 63, 73-75, 125-126 higher education, 268, 268n18 See also education ideology hippies, 281, 289-290 and election results, 203 "The Hispanic Challenge" (Huntington), traditional vs. modernizer, xxin9 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant 368 HMOs (Health Maintenance Responsibility Act of 1996, 139-140, Organizations), 240-241 Hockett, Nadine (pseud.), on social Illegal Is Wrong discourse, 52t, 99, 154, programs, 235-236, 275-276, 299 155-157, 165 as countered by Help Our Own First Hockett, Tommy (pseud.), on social programs, 235-236, 296 discourse, 95 homelessness, 257, 296, 297, 300, 384 Mexican American discourses on, 375 hospitals, for-profit, 330 National Security discourse vs., 157 housing imagined communities, 15 and Benefits Only for Contributors Immigrant Solidarity Network, 188n45 Immigrants' Work Ethic discourse, 52t, discourse, 262 family assistance for among Mexican 149-151 Americans, 383-384 immigration federal grants for, 207 activism on, 137, 141, 159, 161, 166, and Government Intrusion discourse, 167-168, 185 contact hypothesis of public opinion on, 237 guaranteed, 262, 298 and Providing Americans' Basic Needs and conventional discourses, 129-137 discourse, 296, 297, 298 economic self-interest hypothesis of and Self-Reliance discourse, 257 public opinion on, 124-125, 126-127 See also Providing Americans' Basic five-year restriction on receiving federal benefits, 145 HR 4437 (anti-immigration), 14, 161, 175 as good/bad for country, 121, 122 Hughes, Maggie (pseud.) heterogeneous discourses on, 22-23, on immigration, 177-178 130-135



Subject Index

415

"illegal" immigration as contrasting interviewing alternative to, 134n30 advantages of, xviii-xix disadvantages of, xviii legal, 128, 132-134 in-depth interviews, xixn2, xix, 27 marginality hypothesis of public opinion sample size, xixn1, xixn2on, 125-127 nonconforming discourses on, 136-137 interview questions (present study) nonverbal symbols of, 62 in 2000, 355 public opinion on, 121-129 in 2005, 363-365 investments in discourse, differing, 91-92 scholarly literature explanations of attitudes about, 124–129 Investor's Business Daily, 199 iPOLL databank, xx, xxn4, 172, 189, immigration discourses overview of, 50-6t pro/anti comments by same person, See also specific survey organizations 97-98 IpsosPublic Affairs/McClatchy Poll, 176n28 See also individual discourses described Iraq War, 299-300 Islam/Muslims, 29, 125 in Part II immigration levels It Takes a Village (Clinton), 288n8 opinions on, 121, 122 scapegoat hypothesis and, 125, 125n14 Jeffersonian society of equals, 290 and unemployment levels, 125n14 Jews, 125 jobs immigration policy, 9, 10, 137 competition for, 372-375 inconsistency in, 99, 157 rallies concerning, 167 and Help People Be Self-Reliant improvisation of opinions, 112 discourse, 269 Incapacity Exception to Self-Reliance job change as cause of shift in opinions, discourse, 40t, 78, 216, 217, 244, 256, 266-268 opposing discourses on impact of individualism, 383 immigrants on, 131 bourgeois, 79 outsourcing, 238 economic, 215 and Self-Reliance discourse, 253 rugged, 205, 244, 283 and Social Investment discourse, 292 individual responsibility See also Foreigners Taking Our Jobs and "economic individualism," 215 discourse; Jobs Americans Don't Want and social welfare, 4, 211-212 discourse; outsourcing See also Personal Responsibility Jobs Americans Don't Want discourse, 17, 51*t*, 148–149 discourse inheritance tax, 327 Foreigners Taking Our Jobs vs., 143, 149 insurance overlap with Free Market discourse, Unemployment Insurance, 206 152-153 Johnson, Lyndon B., 313n9 See also healthcare: health insurance integration, of conventional discourses, 82, Jones, Terrell (pseud.) 98, 104-111, 112 on immigration, 170, 181, 182-183, using compromise, 104-106 184 using discourses on different sides of job change as cause of shift in opinions issue, 106–108 of, 84–85 using single discourse/single discourse on social programs, 241, 244, 245, 249, family, 108-109 254*n*7, 263, 298, 316, 329 Internal Revenue Service (IRS), 69 Judeo-Christian tradition, 30, 187 International Monetary Fund, 196 Kaiser Health Tracking Poll, 307n19 intersubjectivity, definition of, 31 Kaiser/Washington Post/Harvard interviewees, present study, xxii-xxiii,

Low-Wage Workers Survey, 246n2

355-358, 371



416

Subject Index

Kennedy, John F., 324 disparity in, 297-298 keywords and Fewer Opportunities discourse, 323 shared, as conventional discourse government vs. individual responsibility indicator 16, 61, 65-66, 71-73, 112 used to criticize both government and and Providing Americans' Basic Needs privatization, 240 discourse, 300 Koreans, 170, 184 and Work Should Be Rewarded discourse, 272-273 labor-market version, of economic lobbying, 203, 325 self-interest hypothesis, 124 Locke, John, 205 Lockean liberalism, 205, 308, 314 laissez-faire capitalism, 206 Land of Opportunity discourse, 36t, 55t, Long, Margaret (pseud.) 61, 62, 73, 76, 173-176, 244-246 on immigration, 192 Mexican Americans on, 378 on social programs, 70, 71, 225, 227, and Self-Reliance discourse, 245 229, 230, 231, 236, 237, 248-249, language constructions, 17, 342-343 253, 254, 256-257, 259, 262, 272, latent opinion, 204n7 274, 292, 298, 299, 305, 312, 313, Latino immigrants 315-314, 329 achievement of, 387 Long, Tiffany, 362n2 change in opinions about, 139-140 López, Rita (pseud.), 74, 385 in North Carolina, xx Los Angeles Times, 197112 and Speak English and Assimilate Low Self-Esteem discourse, 45t, 218–219, discourse, 164 310 luck/fate, 320-321 See also Mexican immigrants; individual discourses about immigration Lumbee Indians, 285-286 Lazarus, Emma, 122-123 Luna, Eva (pseud.) legal immigrants, 128, 132-134 on immigration, 189 level playing field, 248, 319, 327 on social programs, 376, 383, 384-385 liberalism vs. conservativism. See Nonconforming Maddox, Peter (pseud.) discourses on immigration, 138 Lockean, 205, 308 on social programs, 244, 267, 319 "old" vs. "new" style, 214 marginality hypothesis, 125-127 and social welfare policy, 205 María (pseud.) See also Anti-Neoliberalism/ on immigration, 378 on social programs, 382 Anti-Imperialism discourse Liberal Tradition, The (Hartz), 205 María, Romo (pseud.) Libertarianism, 109 on immigration, 372-375, 379 life experiences on social programs, 382 market logic, 216, 227 as basis of discourse selection, 89 influence of conventional discourses on, See also Free Market discourse Marshall, John (pseud.) influence on opinions, 117, 341 on immigrants, 83-84, 150, 152, 158 Limbaugh, Rush, 15 shifting views on healthcare, 106 linguistic divergence on social programs, 106, 226, 238, 253, along ethnic lines, 368, 370 275-276, 285, 287, 297 Martinez, Humberto (pseud.), on See also Mexican American discourses, and theory of divergence bilingualism, 376 linguistic divergence theory, 368n5-369 Marx, Karl, on national differences, 198-199 Marxism, 21, 191 Live and Let Live conventional discourse, master discourse, Personality 344112 living standards Responsibility as, 77n26, 243, 246



Subject Index

417

materialism Mexican American discourses, and theory hippie rejection of, 281 of divergence, 367-387 asking family members for help, 254n7 religion on, 109-110, 281 and women working outside home, basic social goods as human right, 301 Benefits for Contributors discourse, 376 See also Dollar Versus Good Values data collection/transcription, 367, 371, discourse 371110-372 McCain, John, xxi, xxin13, 187, 224, 331 Equal Rights discourse, 378 means-tested federal public benefits, Foreigners Taking Our Jobs discourse, 139-140, 145 media Free Market/Government Inefficiency/ creation of opinion communities Government Intrusion discourse, through, 15, 16-17, 117, 337 215-216, 385 exposure to schemas and discourses generational differences, 367-368, through, 17, 345 386-387 and ideology, 84, 116, 341 on hard work and deserving persons, 251 and immigration, 83, 127, 167-168, Humanitarian discourse, 378-379, 376, 386 384-385 and Negative Role Models discourse, immigration discourses, 372-380 interviewees, 371, 373-387t media discourses, 61 Land of Opportunity discourse, 378 Medicaid/Medicare, xxiv, 25, 105, linguistic divergence, predicted threats from, 368 139-140, 238 National Symbols discourse, 376-377 and Benefits Only for Contributors discourse, 260 Nation of Immigrants discourse, 378 and Contributors Deserve Benefits, 274, Negative Influences discourse, 377-378 Self-Reliance discourse, 382-383 and Government Inefficiency discourse, sharing of standard local dialectical features in speech (MACE), 369 mixed opinions on, 276n22 similarity to/difference from research support for, 211 of Strauss, 377, 379-380, 383, 384, and Welfare Abuse discourse, 385, 386 social welfare program discourses, 375, 263-264 melting pot metaphor, 165, 171n18, 380-386 socioeconomic level of interviewees, 172121 Méndez v. Westminster, 184n37 373-374 message frames, 26-27 Speak English and Assimilate discourse, metaphors in Comprehensive Reform discourse, Work Ethic discourse, 215-216, 381-382 Mexican Americans, and segregated in Cultural Diversity discourse, 177 schools in California, 184n37 ethnic stew metaphor, 177 Mexican immigrants government-as-a-parent metaphor, 236 and Anti-Neoliberalism/Anti-Imperialism in Help Our Own First discourse, 145 discourse, 324.230 and Equal Rights melting pot metaphor, 165, 171n18, discourse, 113, 182-183 172121 and Immigrants' Work Ethic discourse, in Social Investment discourse, 293 150-151 umbrella metaphor, 246, 246n3 and Racial Differences/Cultural used to criticize both government and Inferiority discourse, 169-170 privatization, 240 and segregated schools in California, Mexican-American Chicago English (MACE), 369 and visa waiting periods, 159



418

Subject Index

Middle Eastern immigration, 140–141	NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll,
minimum wage	197112, 234119, 252115
and Employers Taking Advantage	Necessary Inequality discourse, 34t,
discourse, 193	227–229, 248, 289
and Foreigners Taking Our Jobs	as opposed by Equal Rights discourse,
discourse, 108	224
and Greed of Corporations and the Rich	Negative Influences discourse, 377–378
discourse, 331	Negative Role Models discourse, 45t,
Minutemen, 155–156	218-219, 311-313
moralizing discourses, 220	neoconservatism, 313n9, 352
music, as used in pro-immigration	neoimperialism, 196
discourses, 23, 24, 177, 178	neoliberalism
Muslims/Islam, 29, 125	criticism of, 333
	definition of, 195–196
NAFTA (North American Free Trade	See also Anti-Neoliberalism/
Agreement), 196, 197 <i>n</i> 12, 323	Anti-Imperialism discourse
nanny state, 236	neorestrictionism, 142
narrative policy analysis, 62n6	Newsweek, 317n12-318
national culture, simplistic definitions of,	Newsweek/Gallup poll, 123n7, 132n28
29	New York Times Poll, 319n16-320
National Election Studies pilot (1987), 208	New Zealand, discourses about
national health insurance, 83-84, 96, 241,	immigration, 30n50
247, 304–305	Nicks, Andre (pseud.), 320117
See also healthcare; social welfare: policy	9/11, 154
nationalism	Nixon, Richard, 105
Chicano nationalism discourse, 190,	nonconforming discourses, 22–23, 25–26,
19011-191	27-28, 109, 193, 216, 338
and economic theory, 19	advantages of using, 351-352
political appeals to, 28, 233	disadvantages of using, 352
and Providing Americans' Basic Needs	as explanation of inconsistent opinions,
discourse, 299–300	22, 129–130
See also Postnationalism discourse	on immigration, 136–137
national quota system and immigration,	on social programs, 25, 216
159	See also heterogeneous discourses
National Security discourse, 53t, 73, 138,	nonverbal symbols, 62
154, 157–159	North Carolina, xx
National Symbols discourse, 54t, 166–168	nuclear power, 109
Mexican Americans on, 376–377	Ohama Baradairra
Nation of Immigrants discourse, 24–25,	Obama, Barack, xxin13, 73n24, 232,
54t, 62, 76, 99, 171–173	33 I
Anti-Isolationism variant of, 173	open borders. See Postnationalism discourse
lack of survey research on, 172–173	opinion community
Mexican Americans on, 378	
nativism	and construction of opinions,
definition of, 141	III-II6
in North Carolina, xx	creation through media, 15, 16–17, 117,
poem on Statue of Liberty, 122–123	337, 345
See also immigration; Too Many Immigrants discourse	definition of, 15–16, 337
natural lottery, 228–229	influence of, 83–85 local, 349–350
Navarro, Catarina (pseud.), on social	schemas of, 19–20
welfare benefits, 375	specialist <i>vs.</i> nonspecialist, 19
wenare benefits, 3/3	specialist vs. nonspecialist, 19



Subject Index

419

Opportunity Agenda Human Rights in the Pew Hispanic Center, 124n10, 139n2, US Survey, The, 189, 189n47 161*n*6 Other America, The (Harrington), 313n9 Pew News Interest Poll, 139n2 "out of the shadows," 161 Pew Research Center, 24n35, 124n10, outsourcing of U.S. jobs, 143, 238 135n32, 139, 147n13, 150, 161n6, and Fewer Opportunities discourse, 323 252115, 3071118, 317112-318 and Free Market discourse, 323 Pew Social Trends Poll, 317n11 and Greed of Corporations and the Rich pharmaceutical companies, 331 discourse, 329, 331 Pick, Hannah. See Mexican American discourses, and theory of divergence parenting leave pluralistic ignorance, 30 and Anti-Corporate Capitalism point of view of a conventional discourse, discourse, 334 62-63 and Corporate Social Investment policymakers, and public opinion, 68, 81 discourse, 295 political communication, 28, 233, 350-353 and Free Market discourse, 227 political culture, 28-32, 342 and Government Intrusion discourse, political identity, 87 political ideology, 28, 110-111 237 in Sweden, 313 political labeling, 111 and Welfare Abuse discourse, 263, political protest, 167–168 politicians. See elite discourses; Politicians 264113-265 Park, Barbara (pseud.) Don't Care about the Average Person on immigration, 140, 165-166, 174 Discourse; U.S. Congress interpretation of personal responsibility, Politicians Don't Care about the Average 89-91 Person discourse, 48t, 63, 219, on social programs, 232, 239, 247, 249, 323-326 271, 288, 293, 297, 305-306, 334 and Greed of Corporations and the Rich Parks, Destiny (pseud.) discourse, 330 on immigration, 377, 384, 387 popular culture, and immigration, 123 on social welfare programs, 375, population stabilization, and immigration, 382-383 141 populism, 324 Patterson, Cynthia (pseud.) on American Indian rights, 183n36 and Employers Taking Advantage discourse, 193 identity and shift in opinions of, 113 on immigration, 97-98, 112-113, 147, and Greed of Corporations and the Rich discourse, 324 157, 165, 177, 183-184 on social programs, 235, 253, 254, and Politicians Don't Care about the 25417, 260, 272, 273, 290, 300, 328 Average Person discourse, 324 Paul, Bill (pseud.), 71n22 public opinion based on, 221-223 unsuccessful use of, 350-351 on social programs, 71 Pell Grants, 211 Postnationalism discourse, 59t, 190, personal identity, effect of discourse on 197-199 development of, 93 poverty Personal Responsibility and Work attributed to mental illness or addictions, Opportunity Reconciliation Act, 90, 210, 265-266 culture of poverty, 311-312, 313n9 cycle of poverty, 313, 320, 387 Personal Responsibility discourse, 37t, 77n26, 89-91, 216-218, 243-244, global, attributed to free market, 61 246-247, 253-255, 269 and Negative Role Models discourse, See also Welfare Abuse discourse Pew Economic Mobility survey, racialized culture model of, 151 319116-320 War on Poverty, 313n9



420

Subject Index

public opinion poverty (cont.) analysis based on elite views, 213-214 See also Poverty and Crime discourse; Providing Americans' Basic Needs and conventional discourses, 22, discourse; social welfare: discourses ттт-тт6 Poverty and Crime discourse, 43t, 290-291 definitions of, 31 Powell, Bobby (pseud.) misleading indicators of, 203, 204 on immigration, 145, 150, 164, regarding immigration, See immigration: 169-170, 181-182, 186, 225 public opinion on regarding social welfare policy, See social life experiences, as basis of discourse welfare: policy selection, 86–87, 89 shaping of, 127, 344 on social programs, 230, 231, 250, 263-264, 266, 267, 281, 284-285, theories of, 21n29, 82n6 See also surveys; Zaller's 286, 289, 312, 320, 322, 334 Receive-Accept-Sample model pragmatic discourses, 194, 215, 220-221 pregnancy public-private partnerships, 232 Public Religion Research Institute, 172n21 and Personal Responsibility discourse, 115 "public words," 17 Providing Americans' Basic Needs discourse, 101 See also Unwed Mothers and Deadbeat Quality of Life discourse, 42t, 277-279 and Dollar Versus Good Values Dads discourse prejudice. See Equal Rights discourse discourse, 280, 281-282 and Work Ethic discourse, 95, 252, 279 Pride Variant, of Self-Reliance discourse, 382, 385-386 Princeton Survey Research Associates race/ethnicity International/Newsweek Poll, and self-sufficiency responses, 254n7 and sports stereotypes, 182-183 317112-318 privatization, 232, 330, 333, 334 and welfare stereotypes, 210 and work ethic stereotypes, 139-140, 151 (see also Immigrants' Work Ethic and Employers Taking Advantage discourse.) discourse, 191-195 and Fewer Opportunities discourse, 323 Racial Differences/Cultural Inferiority discourse, 24, 54t, 138, 168-171 and Free Market discourse, 151-153, as countered by Good People as and Greed of Corporations and the Rich Individuals discourse, 179 racial discrimination, opinions about discourse, 329-330 Program on International Policy Attitudes/ 317111 BBC survey, 197112, 224, 22412 See also Equal Rights discourse racialized culture model of poverty, 151 progressivism, 5, 25, 61, 300n13 See also liberalism racism, 138, 316 rational choice model, 311 Proposition 187 (California), 154n1, 167 Rational Deliberation model of public Protestant Ethic, 218-219, 252 Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of opinion, 31n55 Capitalism, The (Weber), 206 Rawls, John, 283 Providing Americans' Basic Needs Reagan, Ronald, 224, 232 Receive-Accept-Sample model. See Zaller's discourse, 44t, 63, 277, 295-302 public, Blumer's concept of, 15n8 Receive-Accept-Sample model Reconquista movement, 167, 376 Public Attitudes Toward Immigration in the United States France and Germany religion (Fetzer), 124 and Caring for Family and Community public education. See education discourse, 284 Catholic social justice tradition, 301 public housing, 207, 237 Christian End Times imagery, 280 See also housing



Subject Index

and nonconforming discourses, 130, 338 shared, 17, 27n42, 65-66, 340 and Humanitarian discourse, 187-188 theory on, 17n14unconnected, 99n21 See also cultural models Scott, Liz (pseud.) on immigration, 144 on social programs, 328 seat belt law, 236 segregated schools, in California, 184n37 self-interest effect of discourses on perceptions of, 93, 338 selecting among discourses on basis of, 88-89 Self-Reliance discourse, 38t, 77–78, 78n27, 91-92, 216, 253-257, 382, 385-386 combining with other discourses, 76-77 and Land of Opportunity discourse, 245 Mexican American discourse on, 382-383 survey questions on, 257 and Work Ethic discourse, 253 and Work Should Be Rewarded discourse, 257 See also Help People Be Self-Reliant discourse; Incapacity Exception to Self-Reliance discourse semistructured interviews, xviii, 371110-372 Sensenbrenner Act, 14, 161, 175 sexual harassment, 316-317 Shane, Daniel (pseud.) on ambivalence in Land of Opportunity discourse, 174-175 background of, 3 on immigration, 148, 151, 155, 164, 170, 180, 228, 230, 261, 267 on Self-Reliance discourse, 77 on social programs, 3-5, 6-11t, 26, 241-242, 245, 251, 274, 275, 280, 297, 299 on Welfare Abuse discourse, 72 shared keywords, 16, 61, 65-66, 71-73, Sheridan, Louise (pseud.) on immigration, 147, 148, 160 on social programs, 84, 230, 239, 246-247, 252, 259, 264n13-265, 269, 279, 297, 300113-301, 303, 304, 310, 311-312, 325, 330, 331

Sierra Club, on immigration, 141n4

60 Minutes, Medicaid scandal, 263-264

and immigration, 185 Judeo-Christian tradition, 30, 187 Protestant Work Ethic, 218-219, 252 See also Christianity repetition, in conventional discourses, 63n10 Republicans and Contributors Deserve Benefits discourse, 276 and taxation, 231, 238, 303 Resendez, Josefina (pseud.), on human rights, 379 residual welfare state policies, 334 resource scarcity. See Help Our Own First restrictionism, 121, 123, 127, 134, 135, 140, 142, 174, 175-176 retirees and Providing Americans' Basic Needs discourse, 299 and Work Should Be Rewarded discourse, 272 rich get richer and poor get poorer, 320 Risky, Pedro (pseud.), on social programs, 375 Rivers, Michael (pseud.) and Contributors Deserve Benefits, 75 on Earned Income Tax Credit, 227-228 on immigration, 75, 147-148, 193-194 influences on identity of, 93-94 on social programs, 238 Rockefeller Foundation/Time Campaign for American Workers Survey, 246n2, 347118, 347-348 Roosevelt, F. D., 213 Roper Center poll, xxn4 on Nation of Immigrants discourse, 172 survey on getting ahead, 309n3 rugged individualism, 205 communitarianism vs., 283 and personal responsibility, 244 Ruíz, Alejandra (pseud.), on socialism, 384 same-sex couples/marriage, 183, 343-344 scapegoat hypothesis, 125, 125n14 schemas compact, 61 definition of, 60 framing and, 27n42

and Dollar Versus Good Values discourse, 109-110, 281

implicit/explicit, 60n1

42I



422

Subject Index

Smith, Ida (pseud.), on human rights, 189 See also verbal molecules Smith, Representative Lamar, 14 Soviet Union, perceived egalitarianism in, Smith, Sally (pseud.) 107, 325-326, 334 on immigration, 144-145, 179, 180, Speak English and Assimilate discourse, 53*t*, 99, 138, 162–166 183, 316 on social programs, 144-145 Mexican Americans on, 376 Smith, Tom W., xxn5, 98n18, 114n33, 208, speech norms, 20 208118 Spending Versus Saving discourse, 38t, social assistance. See social welfare 258-259 and Dollar Versus Good Values social compact, 217n48 social conformity, 345 discourse, 281 social entrepreneurship, 295 spiral of silence, 30-31 social identity, 63, 73-75, 125-126 standard of living. See living standards Social Investment discourse, 43t, 72, Stanton, Elsa (pseud.) background of, 77n25 291-294 socialism, 187141, 334, 384 combining of discourses by, 77 socialist but verbal formula, 334 States' Rights, 237 Statue of Liberty, 62, 122–123, 172 social languages, 64-65 "social safety net," xxiv stereotypes Social Security, xxiv, 238, 256, 299 cultural schemas as, 17 and Contributors Deserve Benefits sports, 182-183 discourse, 274 Stewart, Jon, 167112 privatization of, 330, 334 stew metaphor of ethnic groups, 177 and Republicans, 231, 276 stratification, economic, 328-329 subject positions., 73 and Spending Versus Saving discourse, Supplemental Security Income, 206 258-259 support for, 211 supply and demand, 226 "social security programs," xxiv surveys social services combining answers, problems with, privatizing, 330 See also Benefits Only for Contributors implications of conventional discourses discourse; Help Our Own First for, 345-350 discourse interpretation cautions, 166 social solidarity discourse, basic needs question-wording effects, 114-116, provision vs., 302 124*n*36, 129, 132–134, 143, 149, 234, 309-310, 331*n*30, 331-332, social welfare activism, 211, 329t, 333 346-348 antipoverty programs, xxiv Swedish social welfare policy, 305 benefits, 131, 185–186, 375 discourses, 95-98, 175-176 Taking America's Pulse III - Intergroup (see also (discourses described in Relations Survey, 317n11 Part III) taxation for education, 293, 304 policy, 203-204, 205-213, 305 programs, 34-49t, 237, 238, 245, 262 flat tax, 327 provision of, 102, 217, 301 and Greed of Corporations and the Rich stigma attached to, xxiv discourse, 327 and immigrants, 144–145, 147*n*13, 179 solidarity discourse, in France, 302 Sophia, Emma (pseud.) inheritance tax, 327 background of, 77n25 and Politicians Don't Care about the combining of discourses by, 77 Average Person discourse, 325 Sosa, Lionel, 381 for universal healthcare, 304-305, sound bites, 71-72, 89 306-307



303-307

303-304 surveys on, 306-307

Taylor, Lea (pseud.)

xxiii-xxiv terrorism/terrorists

legislation, 14

269, 278, 292, 313, 330

Temporary Aid for Needy Families (TANF), 139–140, 145, 264

verbal pauses by, 70

justification for, 280

textile mills, 288, 349-350

textual poaching, 352-353 Time/Abt SRBI Poll, 307n18

73, 99, 140-142

Turner, Faith (pseud.)

87-88, 25014

144-145, 179

Science Monitor Poll, 199n16

Tocqueville, Alexis de, 212, 342

self-reliance, 381-382

true ambivalence, 82, 98, 102-104 Trump, Donald, 110, 280

ambivalence in attitudes of, 179

on immigration, 141, 142-143,

288, 290-291, 319, 322, 327

tyranny of the majority, 94-95

umbrella metaphor, 246, 246n3

underlying attitudes, vs. expressed

Tea Party, and taxation, 240

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-01992-8 - Making Sense of Public Opinion: American Discourses About Immigration and Social Programs Claudia Strauss Index More information

Subject Index

See also Anti-Tax discourse; Benefits Only for Contributors discourse; malfeasance, 352 Taxes and Citizenship discourse in North Carolina, xx Taxes and Citizenship discourse, 45t, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 25, 301, 301*n*14 and Anti-Tax discourse, 224, 303, 304 universal healthcare. See healthcare: link with Fiscal Responsibility discourse, universal Unwed Mothers and Deadbeat Dads discourse, 39t, 265-266 upward mobility, 251 on immigration, 61, 150, 160, 178, 188 urban renewal, federal aid for, 207 on social programs, 68-70, 72, 244, 251, urban sprawl, as egalitarian, 289 USA Today. See Gallup/USA Today Poll USA Today/Gallup Organization, 309n1 U.S. Congress, 14n5, 161n7, 175n26 English as official language, 163 and ethics, 324 and immigration, 14, 346-347 terminological choices, present study, and immigration reform, 123, 161, 175 Usedom, Jenna, 71n22, 168n15 use-of-services version, of economic immigrant as terrorist, 83-84, 154 self-interest hypothesis, 124-125 U.S. Postal Service, 69, 69n19 See also National Security discourse USSR. See Soviet Union, perceived egalitarianism in vacations and Corporate Social Investment TIPP/Investor's Business Daily/Christian discourse, 294 and Free Market discourse, 227, 295 Too Many Immigrants discourse, 24, 50t, and Government Intrusion discourse, Torres, María (pseud.), on work ethic and and Quality of Life discourse. 278-279 and Social Investment discourse, 292 tossed salad model of ethnic group, 177 and Welfare Abuse discourse, 72 Vader, Darth (pseud.) background of, 71n21 on immigration, 182n34, 378 on social programs, 70-71 values, studies on, 22-23, 29, 31 identity, as basis of discourse selection, See also Dollar Versus Good Values discourse Van Cleve, Rachel, 63n11, 350n20 on social programs, 72, 250, 257, 260, verbal formulas, 17, 62, 62n6, 63n9, 229, 263, 265, 269-270, 271, 272-273, 248-249 verbal molecules, 71-72, 105n27, 228-229, 258-259, 264 See also sound bites verbal pauses, 70 vernacular discourses, definition of, 19,

19122

veterans benefits, 275-276

Unemployment Insurance, 206

opinions, 341n4

© in this web service Cambridge University Press

www.cambridge.org

423



424

Subject Index

Victoria, Angie (pseud.), on social Who Are We? (Huntingdon), 170-171 programs, 375, 382 Wilbur (pseud.), on immigration, 377 Vietnam War, 352 Williams, John (pseud.), on social visas, wait time for, 159, 160 programs, 387 volunteer work, 251 Willowstar (pseud.) on immigration, 198 Wake County (research setting), xxi on social programs, 185, 273, 305 Wake Up Americans blog, 155 Wall Street Journal, 152, 153 and gender discrimination, 316-317, War on Poverty, 313n9 317111 Watergate scandal, 352 working outside home, and Dollar wealth Versus Good Values discourse, effect on character of child, 260-261, 282114 Wood, Paula (pseud.), on social programs, and Greed of Corporations and the Rich 260 discourse, 327 Wood, Ralph (pseud.), on social programs, and Politicians Don't Care about the 239, 257, 296, 304, 312 Average Person, 324-325 wording effects. See surveys: sharing of, 280 question-wording effects survey on levels of, 347-348 Work Ethic discourse, 37t, 216–217, and Wealth, Connections, and Other 247-253, 271 Advantages discourses, 320 combining with other discourses for and Work Ethic discourse, 251, 271 purpose of analysis, 76-77 and Work Should Be Rewarded Mexican Americans on, 215-216, 378, discourse, 271 381-382 See also Greed of Corporations and the and Quality of Life discourse, 95, 252, Rich discourse; Wealth, Connections, and Other Advantages discourse and Self-Reliance discourse, 253 Wealth, Connections, and Other survey questions on, 252-253 Advantages discourse, 47t, 318-321 workfare, 262 Wealth of Nations, The (Smith), 195-196 working class, 309n3 WeHireAliens.com, 192-193, 19314 work permits, 159 welfare, stigma attached to, xxiv Work Should be Rewarded discourse, 41t, Welfare Abuse discourse, 39t, 263-265 243-244, 270-273 welfare benefits, shift in attitudes toward and Self-Reliance discourse, 257 immigrants, 139-140 and Work Ethic discourse, 216-217 welfare state, stigma attached to, xxiv World Bank, 196 Whitaker, Lucy (pseud.) World Trade Organization (WTO), 196 World War II, effect on healthcare, 105 on immigration, 61, 156, 159-160, 174, WPA, 253, 364n4 316 on social programs, 230, 237, 251, 254, 262, 269, 293, 296, 297, 299, xenophobia, 141-142, 351 303-304, 312, 313, 328, 331 White, Allison (pseud.), on immigration, Zaller's Receive-Accept-Sample model, 147-148 82n6, 114n32