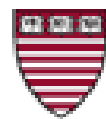

Framing for Policy Makers

Part I



HARVARD Kennedy School
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

Class Agenda

- Kyl and Durbin, framing speeches
- Pew Study Beyond Red vs. Blue
- Lakoff: Immigration Frames
- CRS report on DREAM Act
- Framing tools take-aways
- For THURSDAY: How can standard policy memos utilize framing?

Shaping the Dream:

A Case Study in Framing S. 3992, the DREAM Act of 2010



Case Study Overview

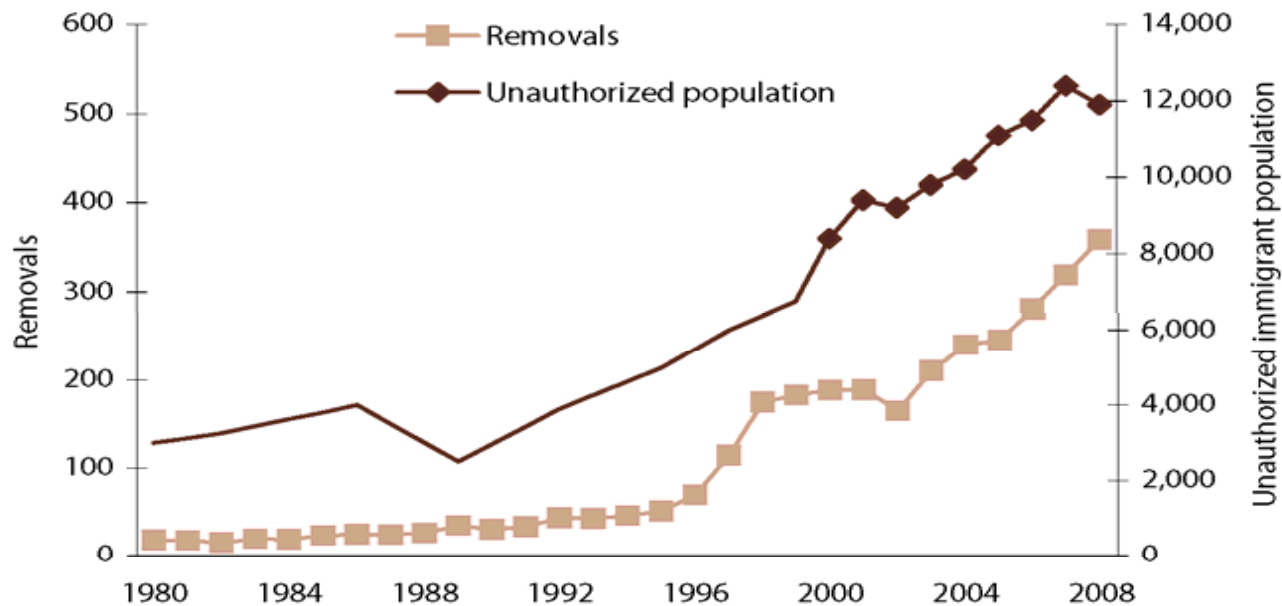
- What is the problem?
- What is the DREAM Act?
- How does language matter?
- What does this mean for other issues / contexts?
- How can you apply these lessons in the real world?

Case Study Elements

- What is the problem?
- What is the DREAM Act?
- How does language matter?
- What does this mean for teaching a class?
- How can HKS students apply these lessons in the real world?

Deportations

Figure 2
Removals and Estimated Unauthorized Immigrant Population in the U.S.,
Fiscal Years 1986-2008
(thousands)



Notes: Removals are the compulsory and confirmed movement of an inadmissible or deportable alien out of the United States based on an order of removal. An alien who is removed has administrative or criminal consequences placed on subsequent reentry owing

Source: Removals from 2008 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics from the Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics. Unauthorized immigrant estimates based on Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of the March Supplements from the 2008 Current Population Survey.

755,00 immediately eligible

2.1 million people total

Case Study Elements

- What is the problem?
- **What is the DREAM Act?**
- How does language matter?
- What does this mean for teaching a class?
- How can HKS students apply these lessons in the real world?

The DREAM Act

1. Provides relief to a limited number of immigrants who came before age 16, have been in U.S. at least five years, and are under 30 years old.
2. Requires good moral character, graduation from a high school or completion of a GED AND at least two years of college or military service.
3. Offers no safe harbor from deportation for anyone who has committed a felony or more than two misdemeanors. The DREAM Act includes a steep burden to prove eligibility with severe penalties for falsifying or misrepresenting any information on an application. Under the act, untrue statements on a DREAM application would result in fines and a possible prison term of five years. Moreover, as part of the application process, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services officers will verify all claims from all applicants and conduct criminal background checks. If an immigrant student has committed a crime—such as marriage fraud—he or she will not be able to prove good moral character, and therefore will not qualify for immigration relief.
4. Prohibits the removal of any immigrant who has a pending DREAM Act application.
5. Does not change current law regarding in-state tuition. The ten states that have passed laws allowing in-state tuition would continue to extend in-state tuition, and the remaining 40 states would have to pass legislation if they wished to extend in-state tuition to undocumented students.
6. Could benefit up to 755,000 people total (GAO).
7. Offers no immediate path to citizenship for parents and siblings.

DREAM Act *Essentials*

1. In US before age 16 and at least five years; under 30 years old.
2. Good moral character – no safe harbor for felons.
3. High school/GED AND at two-plus years college or military service.
4. No removal if pending DREAM Act application.
5. No change in current law regarding in-state tuition.
6. Could benefit up to 755,000 people total (GAO).
7. Offers no *immediate* path to citizenship for parents and siblings.

Case Study Elements

- What is the problem?
- What is the DREAM Act?
- **How does language matter?**
- What does this mean for teaching a class?
- How can HKS students apply these lessons in the real world?

Case Study Elements

- General Public Opinion
- Partisanship
- Core Values and Competing World Views
- Rhetoric that shapes understanding / decisions

Broad Approval Arizona Immigration Law

Widespread Support for Arizona Law's Elements

<i>Opinion of:</i>	<u>App- rove</u> %	<u>Dis- approve</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Requiring people to produce documents verifying legal status	73	23	4=100
Allowing police to detain anyone unable to verify legal status	67	29	4=100
Allowing police to question anyone they think may be in country illegally	62	35	3=100
<i>Considering everything, opinion of new Arizona law</i>	59	32	8=100

Pew Research Center May 6-9. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Partisan Differences in Views of Arizona's Immigration Law

<i>% approve</i>	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Ind</u> %
Requiring people to produce documents verifying legal status	73	86	65	73
Allowing police to detain anyone unable to verify legal status	67	81	55	69
Allowing police to question anyone they think may be in country illegally	62	79	50	64
<i>% approve of new Arizona law</i>	59	82	45	64

Pew Research Center May 6-9 Q10a-c & Q11. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Narrow Margin Supports DREAM Act

Issue Referendum: Legal Status for Those Brought to U.S. Illegally as Children if They Attend College or Join Military, by Key Demographics

	% Vote for	% Vote against
Non-Hispanic white	47	49
Nonwhite	69	26
18 to 34 years old	66	30
35 to 49 years old	53	44
50 to 64 years old	50	45
65 years and older	43	51
High school education or less	44	51
Some college	57	38
College graduate only	59	38
Postgraduate education	66	31

Gallup, Dec. 3-6, 2010

GALLUP®

Narrow Margin Supports DREAM Act

Issue Referendum: Legal Status for Those Brought to U.S. Illegally as Children if They Attend College or Join Military, by Political Party

	% Vote for	% Vote against
Democrats	66	31
Independents	57	38
Republicans	34	63

Gallup, Dec. 3-6, 2010

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TOPICS

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DATASETS

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ABOUT



Analyze Groups and Issues

The Pew Research Center's Political Typology divides the public into eight politically engaged groups, along with a ninth group of less engaged Bystanders.










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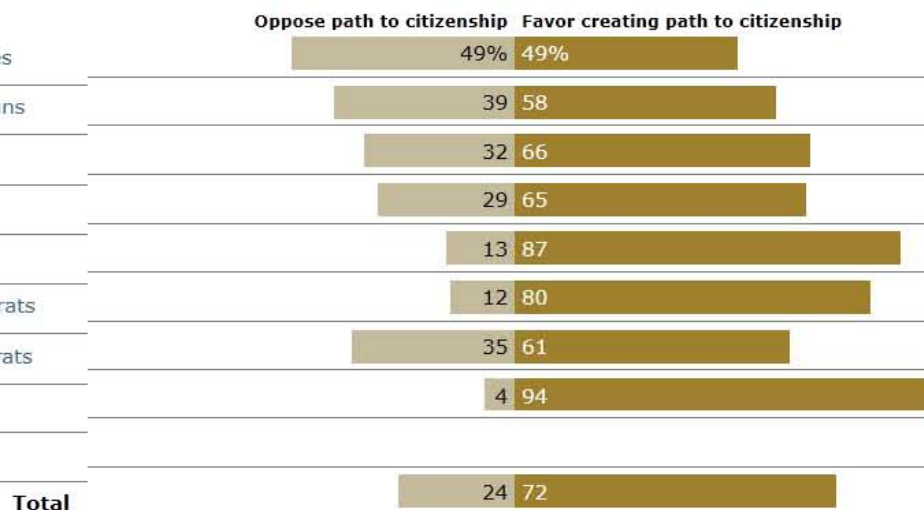
COMPARE THE TYPOLOGY GROUPS ON

ECONOMIC STRESS	POLITICS & ELECTIONS	GOVERNMENT & ECONOMIC POLICY	MILITARY & FOREIGN POLICY	SOCIAL & DOMESTIC POLICY	DEMOGRAPHICS
HEALTH CARE POLICY		SAME-SEX MARRIAGE		ABORTION	
IMMIGRATION REFORM		IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT		GUN RIGHTS	
MARIJUANA LEGALIZATION		ENERGY POLICY		REDUCING CHILDHOOD OBESITY	

Immigration reform

TYPOLOGY GROUP PROFILES

-  Staunch Conservatives
-  Main Street Republicans
-  Libertarians
-  Disaffecteds
-  Post-Moderns
-  New Coalition Democrats
-  Hard-Pressed Democrats
-  Solid Liberals
-  Bystanders



Question

Thinking about illegal immigration in the U.S., do you favor or oppose providing a way for illegal immigrants currently in the country to gain legal citizenship if they pass background checks, pay fines and have jobs?

Immigration Frames

Conservative Values

1. Law and Order / National Security
2. American Exceptionalism / Nativism
3. Profits from outsourcing to cheap labor abroad
4. Protecting American “resources” – eg., social services, public education
5. Illegal workers – prosecute, deport, “back of the line”

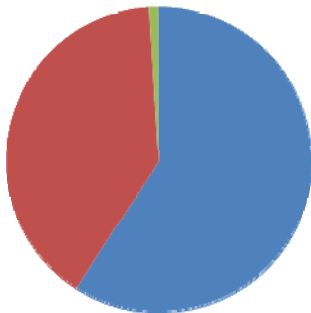
Progressive Values

1. Fairness and equal opportunity
2. Path to citizenship
3. Foreign policy reform through development economics
4. Wage supports
5. Illegal employers -- prosecute

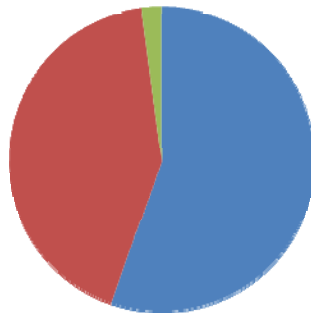
Cloture Vote

December 18, 2011

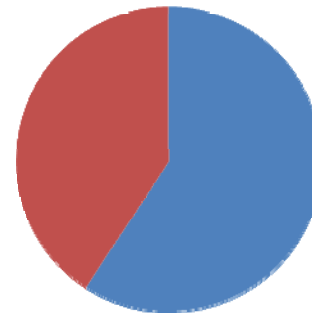
Senate Roll Call #268



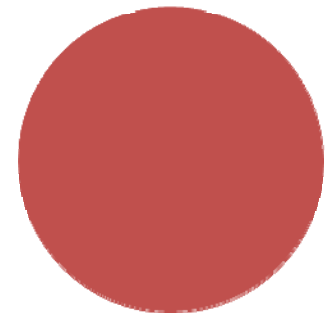
Aye Votes: 59**



Nay Votes: 40**



Abstain Votes: 1**



■ Aye ■ Nay ■ Abstained

■ Democrat ■ Republican ■ Other

■ Democrat ■ Republican

■ Democrat ■ Republican

<http://www.opencongress.org/vote/2010/s/268>

Obama's Immigration Message

Boone Iowa Town Hall:



Senator Jon Kyl's Floor Speech



Senator Richard Durbin's Floor Speech



Immigration Frames

Conservative Values

1. Law and Order / National Security
2. American Exceptionalism / Nativism
3. Profits from outsourcing to cheap labor abroad
4. Protecting American “resources”
5. Illegal workers


Progressive Values


1. Fairness and equal opportunity
2. Path to citizenship
3. Foreign policy reform through development economics
4. Wage supports
5. Illegal employers




United We Dream

Framing Your Message

- 
- *What are your values?*
 - *What is the problem? Why does it matter to you? Why should it matter to other groups? What should be done about it?*

- 
- *Who is your target audience?*
 - *What are the phrases, images, or concepts that express common values?*


- 
- *Does your message leave anyone out? If it does, is that a strategic choice?*

- 
- *Revise your message, create your central frame.*

Student Takeaways: Target Your Audience

- 
- Know your audience and key stakeholders.

- 
- Think about your intended audience; identify their values.

- 
- Are you trying to convince people who think like you or is your target audience opposed to a key aspect?

- 
- What are your shared values?

Student Takeaways: A Few Framing Rules

- 
- Values resonate.

- 
- Understand the importance of emotion.

- 
- Translate for your target audience.

- 
- Images matter.
 - Keep it simple.