Research Square

Preprints are preliminary reports that have not undergone peer review.
They should not be considered conclusive, used to inform clinical practice,
or referenced by the media as validated information.

The Evolution of Ideas in South American Immigration Policy

Mayra Feddersen

mayra.feddersen@uai.cl

Adolfo Ibáñez University

Felipe Castro

Fiscalía Nacional Económica

Catalina Salas Pizarro

Adolfo Ibáñez University

Beatriz Quiroz

Adolfo Ibáñez University

Research Article

Keywords: Socio-Legal Research, Ideas, Immigration, South America, Anti-Immigration, Managerial, Human Rights, Large Language Models, Quantitative Content Analysis, Text as Data

Posted Date: October 8th, 2026

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21203/rs.3.rs-10692350/v1

License: This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.
Read Full License

Additional Declarations: No competing interests reported.

The Evolution of Ideas in South American Immigration Policy

Abstract:

South America is widely described as a rights-based leader in immigration governance, a reputation built on landmark statutes and constitutional reforms. This paper asks whether that reputation holds once the evidentiary base expands to the full body of enacted law, including the administrative regulations and decrees that make up most binding governance. Treating law as an institutional field that translates ideas into binding norms, we construct a corpus of immigration legislation across nine South American countries from 1900 to 2024 and classify 34,017 text blocks into three governance paradigms -anti-immigration, managerial-developmental, and rights-based- using an expert-validated large language model (design-weighted macro-F1 = 0.914). Managerial-developmental governance is the modal, durable paradigm, accounting for roughly 43 percent of classified content. Anti-immigration governance peaks not under Cold War dictatorships but during the interwar and early-1940s years, when exclusionary criteria were institutionalized through routine administrative rulemaking. Rights-based governance is the least prevalent paradigm, concentrated in statutes rather than administrative instruments, and its regional prominence partly reflects rapid growth from a small historical base rather than genuine displacement of the managerial baseline. These findings refine the region's rights-based reputation and demonstrate a reusable, auditable protocol for classifying large legal corpora with large language models.

Keywords: Socio-Legal Research, Ideas, Immigration, South America, Anti-Immigration, Managerial, Human Rights, Large Language Models, Quantitative Content Analysis, Text as Data.

1. Introduction

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, South America appeared to inaugurate a new regional architecture of migration governance — five mobility agreements, the proclamation of a right to migrate, and the non-criminalization of irregular entry marked the region as a progressive counterpoint to the restrictive turn in global migration governance (Acosta 2018; Cantor et al. 2015; Seele 2023; Geddes 2021). Whether this constituted a fundamental transformation or a more fragile realignment has remained contested (Doña-Reveco and Finn 2021; Vera Espinoza et al. 2021). The test came quickly: the displacement of over 5.5 million Venezuelans and the COVID-19 crisis produced a fragmented, unevenly inclusive patchwork of permits and visas (Hazán 2022), and policy openness proved contingent on domestic politics, as the deteriorating position of asylum seekers illustrates (Geddes 2021; Hammoud-Gallego and Freier 2022). Yet reversal has not been the norm: free trade commitments, human rights norms, and judicial activism have constrained conservative shifts (Gomes 2022), though translation into local implementation has been uneven (Fernández-Rodríguez and Freier 2024; Feddersen and Freier 2024). What is missing from this debate is the ideational background behind these changes- not whether the liberal turn will survive, but which ideas have been displaced and which have been left intact.

The broader literature on South American migration policy has grown substantially, but two gaps limit its purchase on this question. Existing systematic efforts remain narrow in scope. Hammoud-Gallego and Freier (2022) analyze asylum policies only for 1990-2020; Doña Reveco and Finn (2021) focus on recent decades; Geddes (2021) offers no systematic textual analysis of legal norms- and the literature that has drawn on ideational studies to document, and more recently explain, the gap between discursive commitment and policy implementation (Acosta

and Freier 2015; Zapata et al. 2023; Feddersen and Freier 2024; Vera Espinoza 2024) has not engaged with what those ideas mean once institutionalized, rather than merely invoked (Fernández-Rodríguez and Freier 2024).

Ideas are the structures that construct, interpret, and organize social and political reality, but they leave no direct material trace: scholars typically infer their existence from discourse (Schmidt 2008) or from the speakers who hold them (Geddes 2021). Law offers a different kind of evidence. It is neither a transparent record of ideational commitment nor a passive instrument of political will, but an institutional field with its own logic that translates, filters, and stabilizes ideas into binding norms (Bourdieu 1987)- a direct window onto governance rather than a proxy for it. Acosta (2018) used this window to trace how the legal figure of the foreigner was constructed across two centuries of South American law; FitzGerald and Cook-Martín (2014), how racial ideologies were written into, and eventually out of, American immigration statutes.

This paper responds to Fernández-Rodríguez and Freier's (2024) call by tracing, through a Bourdieusian lens, the ideational turn of South American immigration governance. We construct a corpus of immigration legislation and general regulations across nine South American countries -Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela- from 1900 to 2024. We trace the evolution of three policy paradigms adapted from Pécoud's (2020) governance philosophies -anti-immigration, rights-based, and managerial-developmental- and classify 34,017 text blocks with a large language model operating under a frozen, iteratively depurated codebook, adapting the researcher -LLM- researcher protocol of Than et al. (2025). On a stratified held-out sample of 100 blocks, this procedure achieves a design-weighted macro-F1 of 0.914 (95% CI [0.852, 0.962]). This allows us to study ideas as

they have been institutionalized in enacted law, rather than as they have been advocated in political discourse.

Three findings emerge. Managerial-developmental governance -the technocratic, utilitarian logic that treats migration as a phenomenon to be steered for mutual benefit- is the modal paradigm, accounting for roughly 43 percent of all classified blocks (about two-thirds of those expressing a substantive paradigm) and constituting the durable baseline against which rights-based and anti-immigration provisions have been inscribed. Anti-immigration governance peaks not under the Cold War dictatorships of the 1970s and 1980s, but in the interwar and early-1940s years, reflecting the institutionalization of exclusionary ideas through technocratic legal mechanisms prior to authoritarian consolidation. Rights-based governance is the least prevalent paradigm, concentrated around landmark reform moments but rarely displacing the underlying managerial architecture.

These findings do more than complicate the regional-leader narrative: they show that ideas are institutionalized unevenly by document as well as by paradigm, and they speak directly to the "reverse liberal paradox" debate over the gap between South America's liberal statutes and its illiberal practice (Acosta and Freier 2015; Hammoud-Gallego and Freier 2022). Paradigm shifts visible in landmark statutes are real, but they sit atop a managerial baseline the full corpus encodes and statute-focused analysis obscures; rights-based provisions are, tellingly, far more prevalent in statutes than in the decrees and resolutions through which most governance is actually produced. Part of the region's rights-based reputation, on this evidence, is a measurement effect: such provisions grow fastest relative to their own small historical baseline -a salient, bounded surge that can look like prominence without being it.

The paper makes a second, methodological contribution at the intersection of two literatures. From Than et al. (2025) we adapt the researcher–LLM–researcher workflow: an iterative codebook-depuration loop in which an LLM proposes a classification and justification, an expert verifies and corrects both, and the codebook is refined through general -rather than example-specific- rules until validity on a non-overlapping batch crosses a pre-specified threshold. From the literature on statistical quality control for annotated datasets (e.g., Daniel et al. 2018; Klie, Eckart de Castilho, and Gurevych 2024; Klie et al. 2024), we treat the resulting labels as a dataset whose validity must be estimated on a held-out sample and reported with confidence intervals, rather than presumed from inter-coder agreement. Two design choices distinguish our protocol from a Than-style implementation: the expert verifies and corrects the LLM's output rather than coding independently in advance, and the validation sample is released publicly so readers can audit the measurement themselves.

The paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 situates the analysis within the literature on ideas in public policy, develops the three-paradigm typology used throughout, and argues for enacted law as a direct window onto institutionalized ideas. Section 3 describes the corpus and the LLM-augmented content-analysis protocol used to classify it. Section 4 documents the evolution of the three paradigms regionally, by country, and by legal instrument between 1900 and 2024. Section 5 concludes.

2. Ideas and Immigration Governance

The analysis of ideas in public policy is hampered by a conflation that runs deeper than terminological disagreement: a tendency to treat ideas as substantive content and ideas as discourse as interchangeable. Campbell (2002) traces the conflation to a specific weakness: content-focused research left the causal mechanisms linking ideas to policymaking poorly

specified, and the turn toward discourse was a response to that gap. But claiming discourse carries these effects is one thing; demonstrating it is another -Swinkels (2020) identifies this as an unresolved structural weakness of the field, and Schmidt (2008) names its source: discourse is more encompassing than ideas, attending to what is said and also to where, when, how, and by whom it is said. The conflation leaves unspecified what data, methods, and change would count as evidence that ideas have shifted.

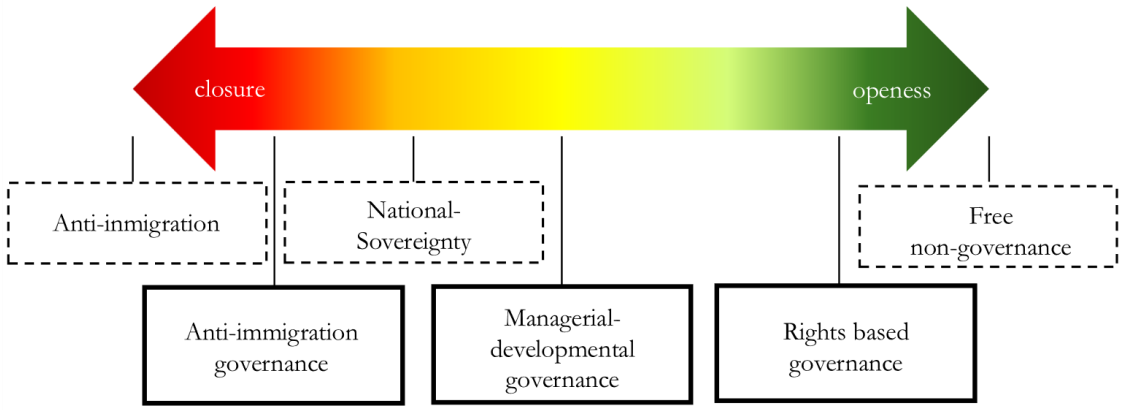
Schmidt's (2008) three-level framework, though developed for the study of discourse, is well suited to a content-focused approach because it organizes ideas by their substantive goals rather than by how they are communicated. In later work she restates the same framework as stand-alone policies, general programs, and deep philosophies (Schmidt 2026), each with a distinct dynamic of change: policies shift quickly, on credibility and timing; general programs -Hall's (1993) policy paradigms- change through paradigm shifts or incremental reinterpretation; and deep philosophies change slowest, through rare revolutionary breaks or gradual drift over long periods.

Public philosophies and worldviews supply the deep background assumptions within which policy debates take place, rarely debated explicitly but organizing the terms of more specific disputes. Dauvergne (2016, 2020) shows how the settler mythology -the assumption that migrants would settle permanently and assimilate- shaped a century of immigration policy in Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand; Natter (2018, 2022) finds a comparable role for assumptions about state formation and national identity outside settler societies, regardless of regime type.

These worldviews feed into policy paradigms. At the global level, Pécoud (2020) identifies five governance philosophies -national-sovereign, anti-immigration, rights-based,

managerial-developmental, and free non-governance- spanning the ideational horizon within which states position and justify their policies towards openess and closure. In Figure 1 we represent these philosophies.

Figure 1: The five philosophies of immigration governance ordered by their stance toward human mobility, from closure to openness (after Pécoud (2020)



Pécoud's categorization aligns intuitively with governance patterns in major receiving countries since 1945, but Adamson and Tsourapas (2020) question its fit for the Global South, where emigration states facing expulsions, population exchanges, and refugee flows have developed distinct ideational repertoires. Drawing on this critique, and on our analysis of the migration policies of nine South American countries from 1900 to 2024, we propose a refinement that consolidates Pécoud's five philosophies into three operationalizable paradigms -anti-immigration security (hereafter anti-immigration; coded ANTIMIG), managerial-developmentalism (hereafter managerial; coded MANAGERIAL), and rights-based governance (hereafter rights-based; coded RIGHTS) — plus a residual category (coded OTHER).

Anti-immigration seeks to immobilize immigrants through border controls, deportations, and precarious legal statuses conducive to labor exploitation, treating migration as a risk to be

managed and borders as the primary instrument of governance (Pécoud 2020; Menjívar 2014; Feddersen and Freier 2024). A substantial literature documents the resulting security shift, under which restrictions have expanded and irregular status has become a structural feature of contemporary societies (Bigo 2002; Hollifield, Martin, and Orrenius 2014; Triandafyllidou 2023). We collapse Pécoud's national-sovereign and anti-immigration categories into one: the distinction dissolves analytically once the state, rather than the migrant, is the primary subject of both.

Managerial-developmentalism connects security and rights concerns through the belief that migration can be steered to extract optimal results for sending, transit, and receiving states alike -a utilitarian, technocratic logic that also protects vulnerable groups and favors humanitarian response (Pécoud 2020; Geiger and Pécoud 2010, 2013). Mármora's (2010) "shared benefits model" is its South American articulation; for sending states it also means leveraging emigration for growth through remittances and diaspora engagement (Adamson and Tsourapas 2020).

Rights-based governance prioritizes migrants' human rights as universal entitlements independent of status, grounded in international and regional agreements, and operates empirically as a constraint on the anti-immigration paradigm (Pécoud 2020; Feddersen and Freier 2024; Hollifield, Martin, and Orrenius 2014). The tension between rights and control is, for Hampshire (2013), endemic to liberal democracies -and control has largely prevailed, as rights protections erode under economic and security pressures (Dauvergne 2016). Natter (2018, 2022) complicates this: the relationship between regime type and paradigm is contingent rather than structural, and rights and security do not map cleanly onto political regimes.

As ideal types, these three paradigms are "indicative, rather than exhaustive" (Adamson and Tsourapas 2020, 863). Pécoud stresses that in practice they "coexist... albeit with different weights" (2020, 11) -co-present building blocks rather than mutually exclusive positions- but offers no measurement of those weights. Recovering them across an entire legal corpus, and tracing their changing balance over time, is the task we take up.

Doing so requires a method able to examine the content of legal text and trace its weight over time -something the existing literature does not offer. Boswell and Hampshire (2017) show how political actors reinterpret and recombine competing paradigms through discursive strategies, but their analysis, like most in this tradition, spans a narrow window and few cases; a parallel literature measuring migration-regime liberality (Beine et al. 2016; Haas, Natter, and Vezzoli 2016; Haas et al. 2018) captures what policies do rather than what they mean. Neither tradition answers which programmatic idea is incorporated into the legal architecture of governance.

Law as the mediating layer: the juridical field and the institutionalization of ideas

Between worldviews and programmatic ideas, on one hand, and governance outcomes, on the other, sits the law — neither a transparent reflection of ideational commitment nor a passive instrument of political will, but an institutional field with its own logic that translates, filters, and stabilizes ideas into binding norms, and in doing so shapes what present and future governance can look like. Because law codifies the ideas that won, legal text captures institutionalization directly, not discourse about it.

Bourdieu (1987) supplies the theoretical foundation: the legal field's relative autonomy means legal actors translate political and social stakes through the specific conventions of legal reasoning, producing texts that outlast their authors' intentions and accumulate authority of their

own. Legal texts are sediments of ideational struggle -records of which worldviews and programmatic ideas survived legislative translation and administrative codification. Legislative power is, in Bourdieu's terms, a form of legitimate symbolic violence: the authority to impose classifications of the social world and have them recognized as binding rather than arbitrary (Bourdieu 1987, 816).

Immigration scholarship has begun to apply this directly. For Paul (2018), immigration policies are "preliminary codifications of meaning, temporary winner stories in the struggle over legitimate classification" (p. 62), and the legal distinctions between migrant categories reproduce hierarchies "structurally embedded in existing institutions" (p. 61). Cohen (2020) makes the complementary point that "undocumentedness" was not discovered but created by legislation -the "illegal immigrant" is "a recent and intentionally crafted invention" (p. 81), and the border that makes a person's presence illegal is a line legislation can move or erase.

Studying legal texts, then, is not a second-best substitute for studying "real" policy or discourse; it is a direct window onto the ideational architecture of governance, codifying which worldviews and policy paradigms about migration have accumulated enough force to bind and setting the frame within which subsequent policy proposals must operate.

3. Method: LLM-Augmented Content Analysis

Recovering the ideational content of the full corpus is beyond the reach of traditional human content analysis: independent expert coding of the full corpus would be prohibitively expensive, and any sample large enough to support country-by-period subgroup analyses would still strain the time of qualified annotators. Recent work in computational social science has shown that large language models, applied under explicit codebooks and validated against expert judgments, can replicate human-level classification accuracy at scale (Do, Ollion, and Shen

2024; Dávila Gordillo, Timoneda, and Vallejo Vera 2026; Chae and Davidson 2025; Törnberg 2025; Gilardi, Alizadeh, and Kubli 2023). Extended methodological detail, the full codebook, and per-category performance statistics are provided in the appendix.

Our method combines ideas from two literatures. From Than et al. (2025) we take the *researcher–LLM–researcher* structural workflow: an iterative codebook-depuration loop in which the LLM classifies a batch of excerpts (with free-text justifications) under the current codebook, the expert reviews the output, and the codebook is refined until classification performance on a fresh batch crosses a pre-specified validity threshold. From the literature on statistical quality control for annotated datasets (Daniel et al. 2018; Klie, Eckart de Castilho, and Gurevych 2024; Klie et al. 2024; Northcutt, Athalye, and Mueller 2021), we take the perspective that the full corpus is one annotated *batch* whose quality must be *estimated* -by inspecting a held-out random sample and reporting performance with confidence intervals- rather than guaranteed by inter-coder agreement, which gauges reliability but not validity (Krippendorff 2018).

Combining these, our protocol departs from a Than-style implementation in two design choices. First, the expert *verifies and corrects* LLM output rather than coding independently in advance: the LLM proposes a label and a justification, and the expert agrees or records the category she considers correct after reading the model's reasoning. Legal categories are interpretive but bounded, and structured reasoning connecting an excerpt to a general decision rule is itself diagnostic information that an independent coder cannot, by construction, use; verification lets the expert calibrate her dispositions against the rule the codebook articulates. Second, we release the validation sample -excerpt text, LLM classification, LLM justification, and expert verification (with corrected category where applicable plus her justification)- so that

researchers can audit how labels were arrived at and be more confident in our interpretation of the results

The corpus

To construct a comprehensive historical database tracing the evolution of South American immigration law (1900–2024), we selected a diverse array of countries, maximizing variability in migratory dynamics and histories: traditional immigration countries (e.g., Argentina, Venezuela), emigration nations (e.g., Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay), and countries with mixed migration patterns (e.g., Chile, Peru, Uruguay). Using official websites, and confirming with secondary literature, we collected primary immigration legislation from each country, including statutes, decrees, resolutions, and ratified international treaties.

Following Geddes (2021) and Adamson and Tsourapas (2020), we included norms addressing forced migration to ensure a comprehensive understanding of migration management. Constitutional provisions, international treaties, and bilateral agreements directly referencing migrants and refugees were also incorporated. We excluded extradition agreements and general sectoral laws applicable to all inhabitants (e.g., health, housing, education, labor, social security), focusing on regulations specifically targeting (or explicitly mentioning) foreign populations within the nine countries. The year 1900 was chosen as the starting point, allowing sufficient time post-independence (circa 1808-1824) for a level of maturity in national immigration regulation. Data collection concluded in 2024, capturing recent developments including those responding to the Venezuelan displacement crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic.

Table 1: Norm type by country

Country	Decree	Decree with Force of Law	Emergency Decree	Law	Resolution	Treaty	Total
Argentina	34	3	0	47	198	0	282
Bolivia	86	0	3	98	0	0	187
Chile	249	8	25	118	80	9	489
Colombia	98	0	0	67	55	11	231
Ecuador	39	9	1	39	37	31	156
Paraguay	41	0	4	177	13	0	235
Peru	43	7	6	73	114	4	247
Uruguay	37	0	1	140	3	0	181
Venezuela	64	0	0	65	21	0	150
Total	691	27	40	824	521	55	2158

Table 1 summarizes the resulting corpus: 2,158 norms across the nine countries, averaging about 240 per country. The distribution varies — from 489 in Chile to 150 in Venezuela. Laws are the largest type (n = 824), followed by decrees (n = 691) and resolutions (n = 521); treaties (n = 55), emergency decrees (n = 40), and decrees with force of law (n = 27) are comparatively rare.

Figure 2: Evolution of the number of issued norms over time (five year time periods). Note. Last five year period trimmed; the number of norms issued in 2020-2024 was 623.

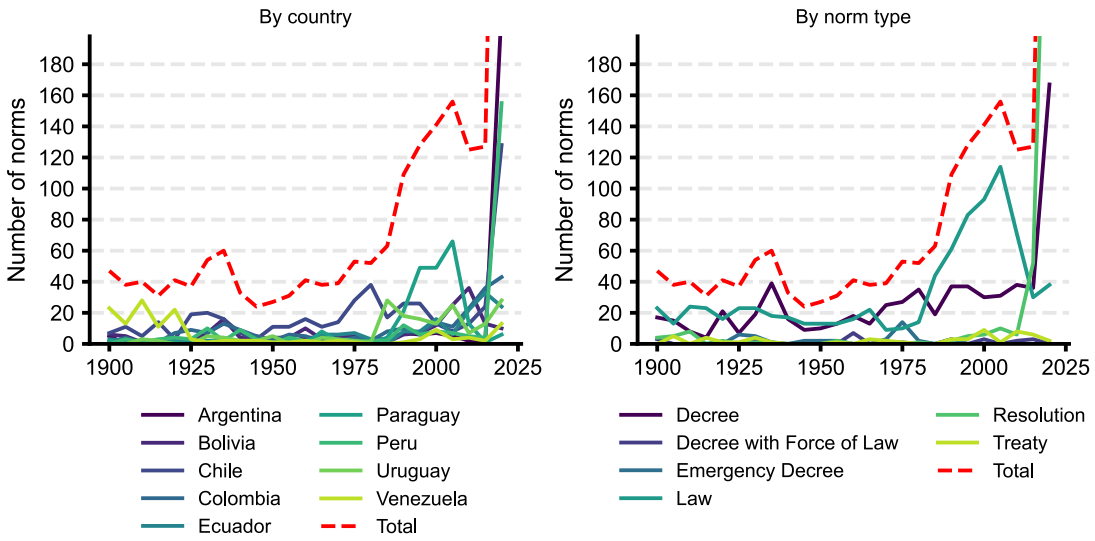


Figure 2 shows how norm production evolves over time. Low, sporadic activity in the early decades is followed by gradual intensification after mid-century and a sharp late surge concentrated in a few cases -most notably Argentina, Peru, and Chile around 2020. Resolutions rise markedly in the 2010s and dominate the 2020 spike, while laws and decrees account for most norms throughout the century.

Laws and general regulations typically exhibit a sectioned structure, with individual sections termed *articles* or provisions, each typically a paragraph of 3–5 sentences. In some cases an article contains several paragraphs encapsulating multiple ideas. To keep the unit of analysis aligned with a single idea, we subdivided articles into smaller units -*blocks*- each corresponding to a group of paragraphs with at most 350 *word-like tokens*,[1] except when a single paragraph exceeds this length, in which case it was kept as its own block. The majority of articles contained fewer than 350 word-like tokens; blocks of this length are also comfortably handled by the language models used in classification. The full database contains 35,715 blocks; restricting to norms issued from 1900 onward -the scope of this paper- yields the *raw corpus* of 34,766 blocks, decomposed from 30,141 articles.

Table 2: Distribution of article and block lengths (word-like token counts).

[1] A word-like token is a contiguous alphanumeric word-form (including numbers), allowing internal hyphens and apostrophes -for instance, “migración”, “artículo”, “2020”, “COVID-19”, or “O’Higgins”.

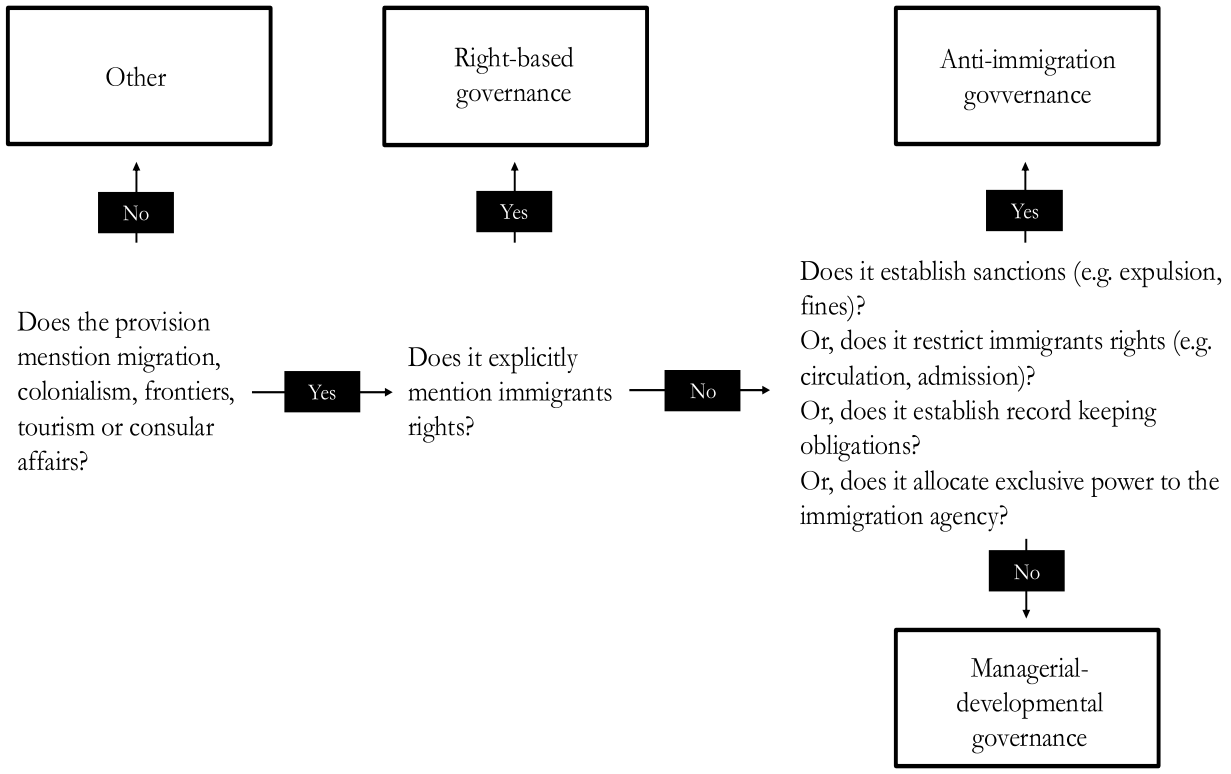
unit	count	mean	std	min	5%	25%	50%	75%	95%	max
articles	30141	115	374	2	21	41	66	114	316	32989
blocks	34766	100	89	0	7	39	67	133	300	3133

Table 2 compares the length distributions of articles and blocks in the raw corpus. Across the body of the data the two are nearly identical (medians of 66 and 67 tokens; comparable interquartile ranges; 95th percentile around 300), confirming that most articles already fall within a single block. They diverge only in thin tails — an upper tail of long articles (max ≈ 33,000 tokens) decomposed into shorter blocks (max ≈ 3,100), and a lower tail of very short blocks (markers, headings, signature lines) that the corpus-preprocessing step described next addresses.

The method we followed has three stages, preceded by a corpus-preprocessing step.

Corpus preprocessing. Two preprocessing steps precede classification. First, *block extraction from legal text*: legislative norms are distributed as PDF or HTML documents structured by *articles* but not natively by paragraph or *block*- units that are more likely to express just one paradigm. We parsed each norm to recover its article structure and split each article into blocks targeting at most 350 word-like tokens -preserving any single paragraph that exceeds that length as its own (longer) block, since splitting a paragraph would break a semantic unit, taking into account the heterogeneous typographic conventions of nine national legislatures (numbering schemes, footnotes, transitional provisions, signature blocks, scanning-artifact noise). Second, *non-propositional block exclusion*: because the classification target is the *paradigm a provision expresses*, blocks that merely name or delimit part of a norm -enacting markers, division headings, signature lines- state no normative content and cannot bear a paradigm. We filtered the corpus with three rules applied to the block text: a length floor (≤ 20 characters), a division-heading pattern (a Título marker whose remainder is < 20 characters), and a stacked-short-line pattern (exactly two non-empty lines, each < 20 characters).

Figure 3: Decision Tree for identifying Rights-Based, Anti-Immigration, and Managerial categories.



Stage 1: Iterative codebook depuration. An initial codebook v_1 was drafted from theory and prior literature, instantiating the four categories (RIGHTS, ANTIMIG, MANAGERIAL, OTHER) defined in § 2 and operationalizing them through a short decision tree (Figure 3) and a set of disambiguating questions. At each iteration k, a non-overlapping batch of n_k blocks was sampled from the corpus, the LLM classified each block under v_k and produced a free-text justification of its choice (temperature 0; codebook prompt-cached for efficiency), and an expert verified and corrected each (excerpt, predicted category, justification) tuple -agreeing, or recording the category she considered correct. Macro-F1 and per-category precision and recall were computed against the expert's corrected labels. When the metric fell short of a pre-specified threshold τ (set here at macro-F1 ≥ 0.9), the expert revised the codebook to v_{k+1}; revisions took the form of general rules changing the LLM's decision criterion, rather than example-specific

exceptions, to avoid overfitting to the current batch. The loop terminated at iteration 5, where the codebook v* crossed τ. The depuration of the codebook took a total of seven iterations.

Stage 2: Held-out validation. Stopping at the iteration where macro-F1 first crosses τ selects on positive sampling noise: each iteration's macro-F1 is a noisy estimate of the codebook's true population performance, and the iteration in which the threshold is crossed is the one whose noise happens to push the estimate above τ. The metric at the stopping iteration is therefore upward-biased as an estimate of the codebook's true population macro-F1. A fresh, non-overlapping sample with the codebook held fixed breaks this selection. We drew a stratified random sample of 100 blocks from the codable validation frame of 33,974 blocks (the 1900–2024 corpus minus the 43 worked codebook examples and the non-propositional blocks), stratified by country × period (9 countries × 4 periods: 1900–1930, 1931–1961, 1962–1992, 1993–2024), with proportional allocation and at least one block per non-empty stratum. We then classified the sample with the same LLM under v^* and temperature 0, the expert verified and corrected each label, and we computed design-weighted macro-F1 with 95% percentile stratified-bootstrap confidence intervals (5,000 resamples).

Two further notes on inference. First, point estimates use design weights $w_i = N_h / n_h$ (codable-corpus stratum size over sample stratum size), so they consistently estimate the population macro-F1 the LLM would achieve if applied to the full codable corpus rather than a sample-level summary. Second, 21 of the 36 strata have $n_h = 1$ -mostly countries with fewer or more succinct regulations in pre-1993 periods. Because a single sampled unit yields no within-stratum variance, we pool these strata into one pseudo-stratum for the resampling step (a standard collapsed-stratum rule for lonely PSUs), so they contribute variance rather than zero;

point estimates are unaffected and the reported intervals are conservative for these strata. Finite-population correction is negligible (overall sampling fraction ≈ 0.3%) and is not applied.

Stage 3: Full-corpus coding. With the codebook v* frozen and the Stage-2 statistics estimating its performance on the population, we applied the same LLM (temperature 0, v* as prompt context) to the 33,874 classifiable-corpus blocks that are neither codebook examples nor part of the held-out validation sample. The dataset analyzed in § 3 (corpus) pools these LLM classifications with the 43 expert-labelled codebook examples and the 100 expert-verified validation labels, for a total of 34,017 labelled blocks for the 1900–2024 period.

Reported performance

On the held-out sample, Claude (Anthropic, Claude Opus 4.6) achieved design-weighted macro-F1 = 0.914 (95% CI [0.852, 0.962]), with micro-F1 = 0.912 [0.858, 0.960] and accuracy = 0.912 [0.858, 0.960]. Per-category F1 (point estimates with 95% CIs) was 0.952 [0.840, 1.000] for RIGHTS (n = 12, weighted support 4,592), 0.931 [0.872, 0.976] for MANAGERIAL (n = 42, weighted support 13,768), 0.890 [0.751, 1.000] for ANTIMIG (n = 14, weighted support 4,029), and 0.884 [0.799, 0.952] for OTHER (n = 32, weighted support 11,584). As a robustness check, we ran the same protocol with OpenAI (GPT-5.4): macro-F1 = 0.859 [0.779, 0.927], with closely aligned per-category metrics. Inter-LLM raw agreement was 0.850 and inter-LLM Krippendorff's $\alpha = 0.785$, indicating that the codebook produces substantially the same classifications under two independently engineered model families. We retain Claude's outputs as the primary corpus coding.

We release this validation sample as a spreadsheet in the supplementary materials: for each of the 100 held-out excerpts it records the excerpt text, both models' classifications and

free-text justifications (Claude and GPT-5.4), and the expert's verified label, together with a written justification that she supplied only where she corrected the classification — that is, only where her label departed from at least one model. Readers can thus audit how every label was reached and inspect each case in which expert and model diverged.

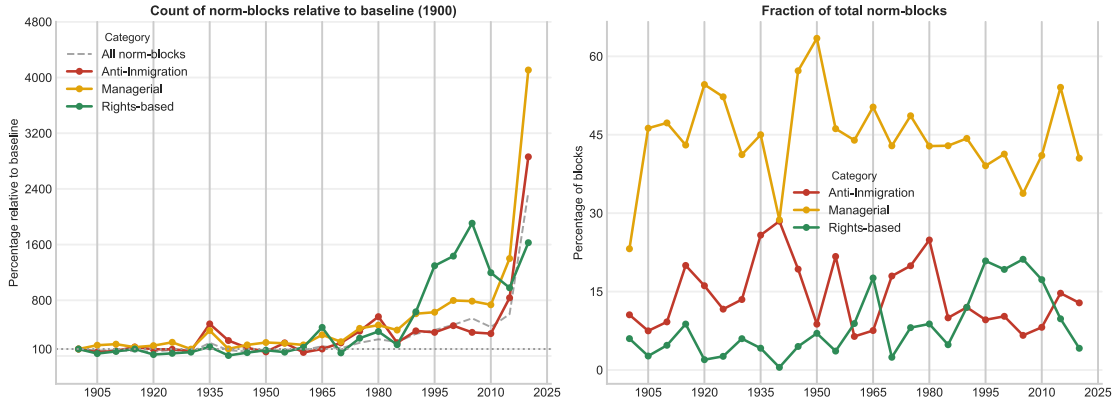
4. The Evolution of Ideas in South American Immigration Policy, 1900–2024

This section documents how the prominence of the three central paradigms -managerial, anti-immigration, and rights-based- has evolved over time in South American immigration policy. We proceed in three steps. First, we describe region-wide trends using five-year bins, focusing both on the volume of blocks and on the composition of paradigms (shares). Second, we disaggregate these dynamics by country (ten-year bins) to identify heterogeneous trajectories behind the regional aggregate. Third, we examine the same dynamics by type of legal instrument (ten-year bins), which helps clarify whether ideational change is primarily carried by statutes or by executive/administrative instruments, the latter reflecting different policy proposals.

Regional trends

Across the full corpus, the aggregate picture is one of a stable managerial baseline with episodic restrictive surges and only intermittent expansions of rights-based language. Figure 4 summarizes these dynamics: the left panel indexes the *counts* of blocks in each paradigm relative to the baseline period (1900–1904 = 100), while the right panel shows each paradigm's *share* of all blocks in each five-year period.

Figure 4: Evolution of the three central paradigms of governance over time.



Three aggregate findings stand out. First, the managerial paradigm is the modal category throughout. Period-weighted, managerial provisions account for about 43% of all blocks in the corpus -and roughly two-thirds (66%) of all blocks that express one of the three substantive paradigms (i.e., excluding the residual other category). Managerial is the single largest paradigm in nearly every five-year period, typically holding 40–55% of blocks, and dips below one third only twice (the 1900–1904 base period and 1940–1944). This pattern is consistent with the argument that managerial governance is a core mode of migration politics in the Global South (Adamson and Tsourapas 2020) and with historical accounts placing state-led development and population/territory management at the center of early nation-building (Acosta 2018). In Schmidt's (2008) terms, managerial governance behaves less like a programmatic idea -contested and displaced at reform moments- than like a deep philosophy: a background assumption durable enough to persist across regime types and able to accommodate rights-based and anti-immigration provisions without being displaced by them.

Second, anti-immigration ideas are persistent but largely episodic in their prominence. Region-wide, anti-immigration provisions represent about 13% of blocks (period-weighted). Their highest aggregate shares fall in the interwar and World War II years- 1935–1939 (25.8%)

and 1940–1944 (28.5%) -well above the century-long average[2]. A second, lower surge coincides with the region's major authoritarian episodes (an elevation across 1975–1984, peaking at 24.9% in 1980–1984), but it approaches without surpassing the interwar maxima. The data therefore support a view of restrictive ideational surges as punctuated and historically contingent rather than uniquely concentrated in dictatorship-era policy. The interwar and early-1940s peak is consistent with the institutionalization of exclusionary criteria -record keeping, national-origin exclusions, and the legal infrastructure for deportation- during a period of state-building and demographic anxiety, well before authoritarian consolidation.

Third, rights-based governance is the least prevalent paradigm in the regional aggregate, though more present than a landmark-statute reading would suggest, and its trajectory is markedly non-monotonic. Rights-based provisions average about 10% of all blocks (period-weighted) and exceed 10% in six five-year periods, all but one of them after 1990: the share climbs from the mid-1990s to a peak of 21.2% in 2005–2009 (with 20.9% in 1995–1999 and 19.2% in 2000–2004), echoed by an isolated earlier spike in 1965–1969 (17.6%), before receding sharply in the most recent periods (9.8% in 2015–2019 and 4.2% in 2020–2024). This reinforces the interpretation that rights in migration governance tend to appear as partial overlays on a predominantly state-centered field -concentrated around the rights-reform wave of the 1990s and 2000s- rather than as a fully dominant or durable paradigm.

This trajectory could also explain how the region acquired its reputation as a rights-based pioneer. Indexed to the 1900–1904 baseline (left panel of Figure 4), rights-based provisions are the fastest-growing paradigm by a wide margin -rising to roughly nineteen times their baseline

[2] We use "interwar" as shorthand for this combined 1935–1944 window throughout the paper, since the higher value falls in 1940–1944, three years past the conventional 1918–1939 endpoint of the interwar period.

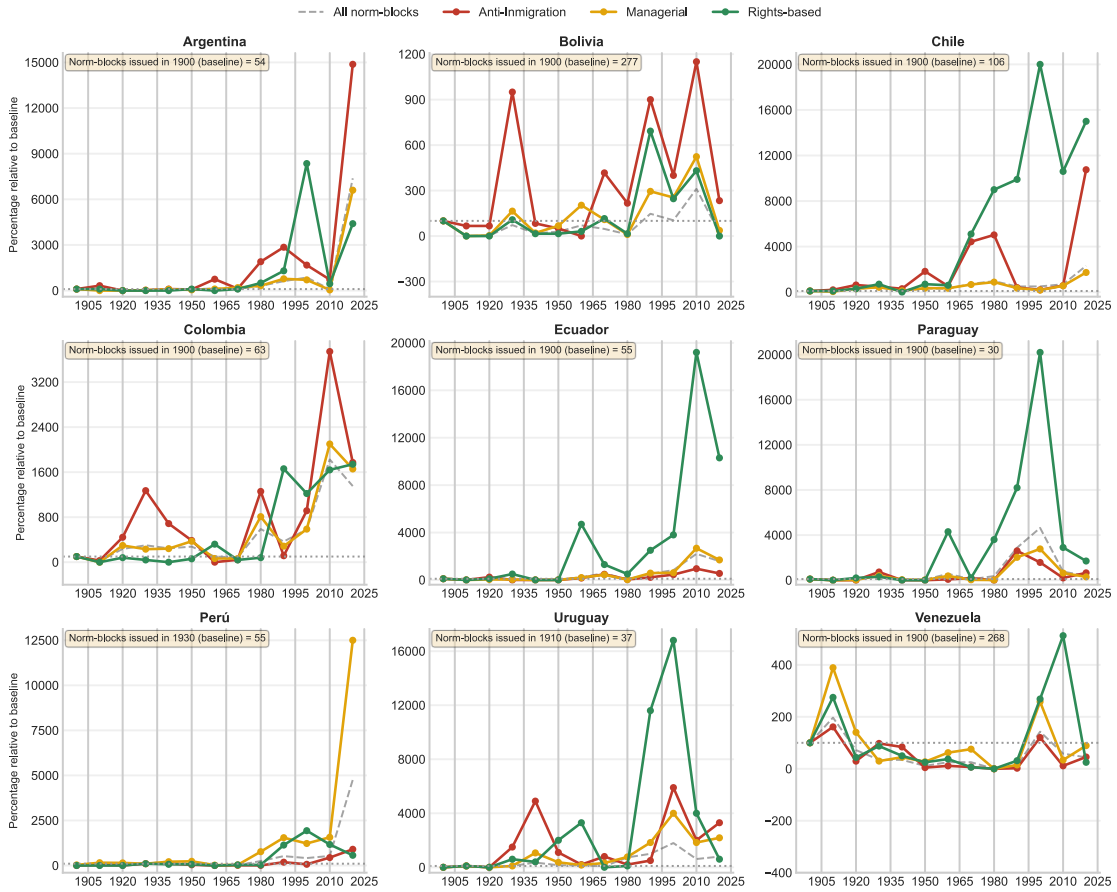
by 2005–2009 (index 1,907), against about eightfold for managerial and threefold for anti-immigration -and the rights-based index exceeds that of every other paradigm in each five-year period from 1990 to 2014. Over nearly the same span (1995–2014), rights-based provisions are also *more prevalent* than anti-immigration ones, their share surpassing the anti-immigration share in every period (21.2% vs. 6.6% in 2005–2009), reversing the corpus-wide ordering in which anti-immigration (12.9%) is the more common of the two (rights-based, 9.5%). This striking relative growth is partly an artifact of a very low historical base: rights-based blocks number roughly thirty in 1900–1904 and peak near 550 in 2005–2009, never approaching the managerial paradigm in absolute volume (over 4,600 blocks in the final period) or in share. The rights-based surge is therefore real but bounded, and concentrated in precisely the recent, landmark-reform decades the existing literature foregrounds -so that its prominence in baseline-indexed terms could be mistaken for overall importance. Read against the full corpus, rights-based governance remains an overlay on the managerial baseline rather than a displacement of it.

A final feature concerns scale: the production of blocks accelerates dramatically over time. The corpus grows from 483 blocks in 1900–1904 to 11,357 blocks in 2020–2024 -a roughly 24-fold increase. The 2020–2024 period alone accounts for about one third (33%) of all blocks in the dataset, underscoring that contemporary dynamics are heavily shaped by the recent expansion of regulatory output.

Country and legal instrument comparisons

We now turn to country-level dynamics, beginning with the evolution of block issuance (counts indexed to baseline) by paradigm and country (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Evolution of the three central paradigms by country. Note. Counts of blocks relative to baseline.



Two points emerge. First, the late-period expansion is highly concentrated. In 2020–2024, three countries -Argentina (3,986 blocks), Peru (2,616), and Chile (2,449)- together account for roughly 80% of all blocks issued in the region in that period. Second, when indexing each country's output to its own baseline decade (1900s = 100), the magnitude of change varies enormously: Argentina expands about 74-fold and Chile about 23-fold, while Peru -rising from a negligible early-century base- shows the steepest proportional increase of all; by contrast, a few countries produce *fewer* blocks in 2020 than in their early-century baseline (notably Venezuela and Bolivia). This cross-national heterogeneity implies that "regional" trends partly reflect the changing weight of countries in the production of migration policies and laws. Figure 6

complements this by showing each paradigm's *share* of all blocks within each country and decade (with the residual "other" category not plotted).

Figure 6: Evolution of the three central paradigms by country. Note. Fraction of blocks expressing each paradigm.

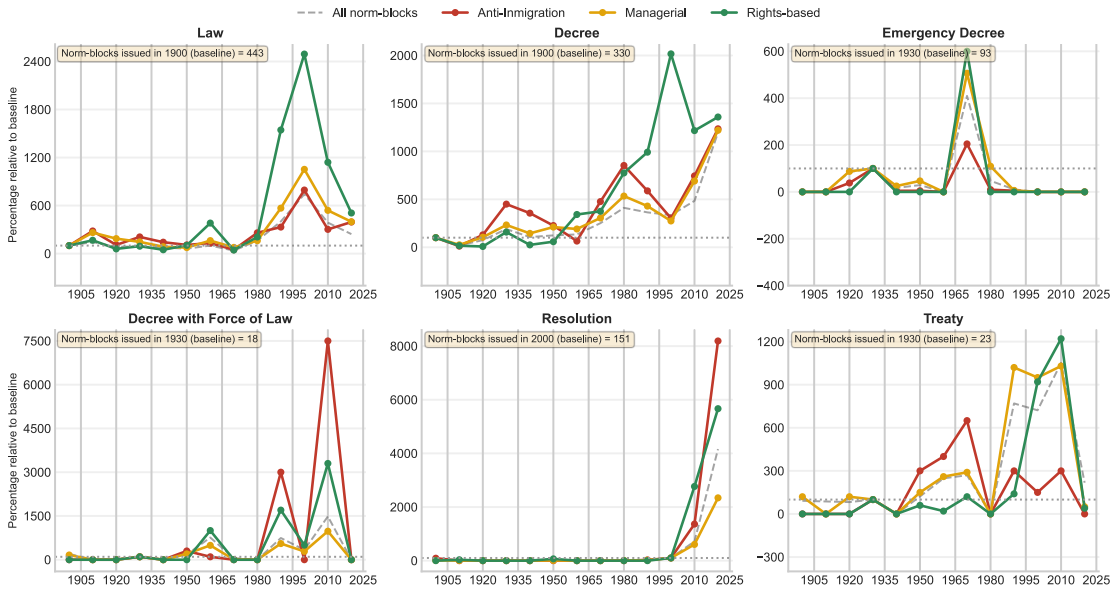


Three country level patterns are informative. First, managerial governance is the predominant paradigm across most countries. Although we observe significant lows for each country, it is usually above a constant of 30 percent of blocks. Second, anti-immigration ideas fluctuate considerably across countries and time and occasionally rival managerial governance, but rarely sustain leadership. Among country-decades with ≥100 blocks, anti-immigration shares reach 47.1% in Colombia (1930s), 45.8% in Argentina (1980s), 37.7% in Uruguay (1940s), 34.1% in Argentina (1990s), and 31.0% in Colombia (1940s)- ideationally consequential surges that

nonetheless remain episodic rather than settling into a regional paradigm. Third, rights-based language remains comparatively limited in most countries but can become prominent in distinct national "rights moments." Among country-decades with ≥100 blocks, rights shares rise sharply in Venezuela in the 2010s (52.2%), Chile in the 2000s (37.7%), Colombia in the 1990s (35.9%), Argentina in the 2000s (35.9%), and Ecuador in the 1960s (35.3%).

We finally examine whether ideational change is channeled through particular *types of legal instruments*. Figure 7 shows the evolution of block issuance by paradigm and norm type (indexed to each norm type's baseline decade); Figure 8 shows the corresponding shares.

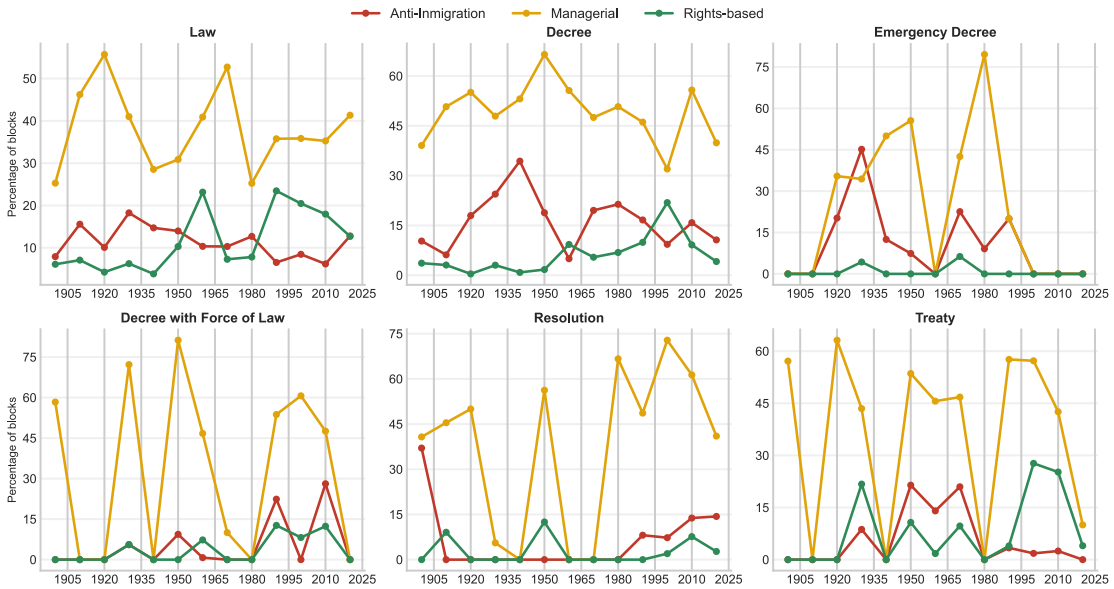
Figure 7: Evolution of the three central paradigms by norm type. Note. Counts of blocks relative to baseline.



The most striking instrument-level result is that the recent expansion of migration-related blocks is driven overwhelmingly by *administrative (decrees-resolutions) and treaty* instruments rather than by statutes. In 2020–2024, resolutions account for 55.3% of all blocks (6,282 blocks) and decrees for 34.7% (3,946 blocks), while laws represent only 9.5% (1,079 blocks) -a sharp shift from the early twentieth century, when laws and decrees were the main legal instrument to

regulate migration. Indexed to their baseline decades, resolutions expand by more than two hundred-fold (from a tiny early base), decrees by roughly 12×, and laws by only ~2.4×, indicating an increasing reliance on lower-level rulemaking and administrative governance in the contemporary period. Treaties are a recent addition. The growing use of executive regulations to govern migration could indicate a shift away from more durable ideas -worldviews and programmatic ideas- toward less stable, more flexible policy proposals (Schmidt 2008, 2026).

Figure 8: Evolution of the three central paradigms by norm type. Note. Fraction of blocks expressing each paradigm.



The composition plot suggests that instrument choice is associated with ideational emphasis as well (Figure 8). Decrees and resolutions are, on average, the most managerial instruments (around 45–46% managerial content when weighting by their number of blocks) and contain relatively little rights-based language (roughly 3–7% on average). Laws, by contrast, carry a markedly larger share of rights-based provisions (about 16% on average), with the rights share in laws peaking in the 1990s (23.5%) and remaining elevated through the 2000s and 2010s (20.5% and 17.9%). Exceptional instruments tend to be more restrictive: emergency decrees show the

highest anti-immigration content (about 24% on average), and decrees with force of law also carry elevated anti-immigration shares (about 16%). The managerial paradigm is thus reproduced primarily through executive and administrative rulemaking, while rights-based expansions -when they occur- are more likely to be embedded in statutory change than in routine administrative instruments. This split is consistent with Bourdieu's (1987) account of the juridical field: statutes are produced through the more public, contested register of legislative debate, where rights-based claims can prevail in what Paul (2018) calls "the struggle over legitimate classification," while decrees and resolutions are drafted further from that contestation, in the routine administrative register where the legal field defaults to its own established logic.

Taken together, the aggregate, country-level, and instrument-level evidence points to a regional ideational configuration in which managerial governance operates as the stable backbone of immigration policy; anti-immigration ideas surge episodically without becoming the dominant paradigm; and rights-based governance appears intermittently and unevenly across countries, often through statutory reforms rather than as a sustained regional shift. In the vocabulary developed in Section 2, managerial governance functions as the region's deep philosophy -the durable background logic of administrative governance- while anti-immigration and rights-based provisions behave as programmatic ideas, entering and receding at specific reform moments and specific instrument types without displacing that baseline.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The dominant paradigm in the South American legal corpus is not rights-based but managerial-developmental, accounting for roughly 43 percent of all classified blocks -and about two-thirds of those expressing a substantive paradigm- across the entire period. This is not a finding about recent restrictive turns or about backlash against rights-based reform. It is a finding

about the structural baseline of South American immigration governance -the paradigm that has been most consistently institutionalized in legal texts across countries, periods, and political regimes. Rights-based provisions exist, and they have grown in prominence particularly since the 2000s -faster than any other paradigm relative to their own small historical baseline- but they are inscribed atop a managerial architecture that neither the landmark-statute moments nor the discourse-based literature has adequately registered. This refines the region's well-documented "reverse liberal paradox" (Acosta and Freier 2015). Just as inclusive rhetoric can coexist with exclusionary practice, rights-based language can overlay the managerial-developmental baseline without displacing it -and part of the region's rights-based reputation rests on how fast that overlay grew, not how far it spread.

The finding on anti-immigration governance complicates the political history of the region in a different way. The peak of anti-immigration provisions occurs in the interwar and early-1940s years, not under the authoritarian regimes of the Cold War era, as a conventional periodization would predict. This suggests that exclusionary ideas were institutionalized through technocratic legal mechanisms -national-preference clauses, deportation infrastructure, record keeping obligations, exclusionary provisions- during a period of state-building and demographic anxiety, and that authoritarian regimes subsequently operated within a legal architecture that had already encoded exclusion rather than constructing it anew. This sequencing is itself evidence for the legal field's relative autonomy (Bourdieu 1987): the externalizing and internalizing border controls that securitization scholars locate in moments of overt political crisis (Menjívar 2014; Bigo 2002) were, in the South American case, already available as ordinary administrative machinery well before any crisis required them. The institutional durability of ideas, in other words, cannot be read off from their political salience at any given moment: what persists in the

legal corpus reflects not only which ideas are strongest at reform moments but which ideas survived the translation into administrative and regulatory norms.

These results carry a broader theoretical implication for the study of ideas in immigration governance. The existing literature has shown, convincingly, that ideas matter (Swinkels 2020); what it has left underspecified is how ideas become governance -how they survive or fail to survive the translation from discourse into the full regulatory architecture of a state's immigration system. This paper's approach- systematic classification of the ideational content of enacted law across the full corpus- provides a method for answering that question empirically. The managerial paradigm's durability, as Section 4 shows, is not simply a function of political will at reform moments but of its institutional embeddedness as the region's deep philosophy, capable of accommodating rights-based and anti-immigration provisions without being displaced by them.

The methodological contribution of the paper is best understood as a synthesis and adaptation rather than as a novel technique. The researcher–LLM–researcher loop is Than et al. (2025)'s; the chain-of-thought as a prompt-engineering device is standard; the distinction between reliability and validity is canonical (Krippendorff 2018). What the paper adds -expert verification and correction in place of independent coding, as well as public release of the validation sample- is a defensible and auditable protocol for applying LLM-augmented content analysis to legal corpora at scale. We expect the design to generalize to other social-science text corpora in which (i) the unit of analysis is too numerous for traditional content analysis, (ii) categories are interpretive but not infinitely contestable, and (iii) the disciplinary cost of failing to detect shared coder error would be high.

Three limitations should be noted. First, the analysis covers legislative texts and regulations; implementation and enforcement are not measured. The relationship between paradigmatic content in law and on-the-ground policy practice remains an open question. Second, the corpus is limited to nine Spanish-speaking countries in South America; Brazil and other non-Spanish-speaking territories in the hemisphere are excluded. Third, the dramatic surge in administrative instruments after 2015 -particularly resolutions- means that the most recent period is numerically dominated by a specific instrument type, which may shape observed paradigm shares in ways that partly reflect regulatory style rather than genuine ideational change.

Our contribution here is deliberately one of systematic measurement rather than causal explanation. The regional literature has been faulted for privileging description and normative critique over systematic, social-scientific analysis (Fernández-Rodríguez and Freier 2024). By recovering the ideational composition of the entire legal corpus, this paper supplies the measurement foundation on which the determinants and effects of paradigm change can subsequently be tested. Future research should examine the mechanisms that produce paradigm shifts: the roles of international organizations, regional agreements, migration crises, and domestic politics in driving the documented episodic surges. Country-level analyses could leverage the granularity of the dataset to examine how specific critical junctures -such as Argentina's 2004 Migration Law or the Venezuelan displacement crisis- correspond to detectable changes in ideational composition. What the paper demonstrates is that the claim to regional leadership in rights-based governance describes a real ideational aspiration -one that has produced genuine legislative change- but that it overstates the depth of that change when measured against the full institutional legal record. Understanding what ideas do to governance

requires studying where governance actually lives: in the legal texts that stabilize, bind, and reproduce the terms on which migration is regulated.

References

Acosta, D. (2018). *The national versus the foreigner in South America: 200 years of migration and citizenship law*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108594110

Acosta, D., & Freier, L. F. (2015). Turning the immigration policy paradox upside down? Populist liberalism and discursive gaps in South America. *International Migration Review*, 49(3), 659–696. https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12146

Adamson, F. B., & Tsourapas, G. (2020). The migration state in the Global South: Nationalizing, developmental, and neoliberal models of migration management. *International Migration Review*, 54(3), 853–882. https://doi.org/10.1177/0197918319879057

Beine, M., Boucher, A., Burgoon, B., Crock, M., Gest, J., Hiscox, M., et al. (2016). Comparing immigration policies: An overview from the IMPALA database. *International Migration Review*, 50(4), 827–863. https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12169

Bigo, D. (2002). Security and immigration: Toward a critique of the governmentality of unease. *Alternatives*, 27(1_suppl), 63–92. https://doi.org/10.1177/03043754020270S105

Boswell, C., & Hampshire, J. (2017). Ideas and agency in immigration policy: A discursive institutionalist approach. *European Journal of Political Research*, 56(1), 133–150. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12170

Bourdieu, P. (1987). The force of law: Toward a sociology of the juridical field. *Hastings Law Journal*, 38(5), 814–853.

Campbell, J. L. (2002). Ideas, politics, and public policy. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28(1), 21–38. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.28.110601.141111

Cantor, D. J., Freier, L. F., & Gauci, J.-P. (2015). Introduction: A paradigm shift in Latin American immigration and asylum law and policy? In D. J. Cantor, L. F. Freier, & J.-P. Gauci (Eds.), *A liberal tide? Immigration and asylum law and policy in Latin America* (pp. 1–10). Institute of Latin American Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London.

Chae, Y., & Davidson, T. (2025). Large language models for text classification: From zero-shot learning to instruction-tuning. *Sociological Methods & Research*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/00491241251325243

Cohen, E. F. (2020). *Illegal: How America's lawless immigration regime threatens us all*. Basic Books.

Daniel, F., Kucherbaev, P., Cappiello, C., Benatallah, B., & Allahbakhsh, M. (2018). Quality control in crowdsourcing: A survey of quality attributes, assessment techniques, and assurance actions. *ACM Computing Surveys*, 51(1), 1–40. https://doi.org/10.1145/3148148

Dauvergne, C. (2016). *The new politics of immigration and the end of settler societies*. Cambridge University Press.

Dauvergne, C. (2020). Revisiting the new politics of immigration. *International Migration*, 58(6), 96–107. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12739

Dávila Gordillo, D., Timoneda, J. C., & Vallejo Vera, S. (2026). Machines do see color: Using LLMs to classify overt and covert racism in text. *Sociological Methods & Research*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/00491241251412360

Do, S., Ollion, É., & Shen, R. (2024). The augmented social scientist: Using sequential transfer learning to annotate millions of texts with human-level accuracy. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 53(3), 1167–1200. https://doi.org/10.1177/00491241221134526

Doña Reveco, C., & Finn, V. (2021). Conflicting priorities in South American migration governance. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1111/blar.13333

Feddersen, M., & Freier, L. F. (2024). Unpacking the ideational foundations of South American migration governance: A systematic analysis of the South American Conference on Migration (SACM). *Globalizations*, 21(4), 590–611. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2023.2236886

Fernández-Rodríguez, N., & Freier, L. F. (2024). Latin American immigration and refugee policies: A critical literature review. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 12, 15. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-024-00377-0

FitzGerald, D. S., & Cook-Martín, D. (2014). *Culling the masses: The democratic origins of racist immigration policy in the Americas*. Harvard University Press.

Geddes, A. (2021). *Governing migration beyond the state: Europe, North America, South America, and Southeast Asia in a global context*. Oxford University Press.

Geiger, M., & Pécoud, A. (2010). *The politics of international migration management*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Geiger, M., & Pécoud, A. (2013). Migration, development and the "migration and development nexus". *Population, Space and Place*, 19(4), 369–374. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1778

Gilardi, F., Alizadeh, M., & Kubli, M. (2023). ChatGPT outperforms crowd workers for text-annotation tasks. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 120(30), e2305016120. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2305016120

Gomes, C. (2022). The migration state in South America. In J. F. Hollifield & N. Foley (Eds.), *Understanding global migration* (pp. 342–364). Stanford University Press.

Haas, H. de, Czaika, M., Flahaux, M.-L., Mahendra, E., Natter, K., Vezzoli, S., et al. (2018). International migration: Trends, determinants and policy effects. https://www.imi-n.org/publications/international-migration-trends-determinants-and-policy-effects

Haas, H. de, Natter, K., & Vezzoli, S. (2016). Growing restrictiveness or changing selection? The nature and evolution of migration policies. *International Migration Review*, 1–44. https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12288

Hall, P. A. (1993). Policy paradigms, social learning, and the state: The case of economic policymaking in Britain. *Comparative Politics*, 25(3), 275–296. https://doi.org/10.2307/422246

Hammoud-Gallego, O., & Freier, L. F. (2022). Symbolic refugee protection: Explaining Latin America's liberal refugee laws. *American Political Science Review*, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1017/S000305542200082X

Hampshire, J. (2013). *The politics of immigration: Contradictions of the liberal state*. Polity Press.

Hazán, M. (2022). International migration and refugee movements in Latin America. In J. F. Hollifield & N. Foley (Eds.), *Understanding global migration* (pp. 312–340). Stanford University Press.

Hollifield, J., Martin, P., & Orrenius, P. (2014). *Controlling immigration: A global perspective*. Stanford University Press.

Klie, J.-C., Eckart de Castilho, R., & Gurevych, I. (2024). Analyzing dataset annotation quality management in the wild. *Computational Linguistics*, 50(3). https://doi.org/10.1162/coli_a_00516

Klie, J.-C., Haladjian, J., Kirchner, M., & Nair, R. (2024). On efficient and statistical quality estimation for data annotation. In *Proceedings of the 62nd Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics* (Vol. 1, pp. 15680–15696). Association for Computational Linguistics.

Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Sage.

Mármora, L. (2010). Modelos de gobernabilidad migratoria: La perspectiva política en América del Sur. *Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana*, 18(35), 71–92.

Menjívar, C. (2014). Immigration law beyond borders: Externalizing and internalizing border controls in an era of securitization. In J. Hagan (Ed.), *Annual review of law and social science* (Vol. 10, pp. 353–369). Annual Reviews. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-110413-030842

Natter, K. (2018). Rethinking immigration policy theory beyond "Western liberal democracies". *Comparative Migration Studies*, 6(1), 4. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-018-0071-9

Natter, K. (2022). *The politics of immigration beyond liberal states: Morocco and Tunisia in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press.

Neuendorf, K. A. (2017). *The content analysis guidebook*. Sage.

Northcutt, C. G., Athalye, A., & Mueller, J. (2021). Pervasive label errors in test sets destabilize machine learning benchmarks. In *Proceedings of the 35th Conference on Neural Information Processing Systems (NeurIPS), Datasets and Benchmarks Track*.

Paul, R. (2018). How low skilled migrant workers are made: Border-drawing in migration policy. In C. Rijken & T. de Lange (Eds.), *Towards a decent labour market for low-waged migrant workers* (pp. 57–80). Amsterdam University Press. https://doi.org/10.5117/9789462987555

Pécoud, A. (2020). Philosophies of migration governance in a globalizing world. *Globalizations*, 18(1), 103–119. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2020.1774316

Schmidt, V. A. (2008). Discursive institutionalism: The explanatory power of ideas and discourse. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11(1), 303–326. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.060606.135342

Schmidt, V. A. (2026). *The power of ideas and discourse in political analysis: A discursive institutionalist perspective*. Oxford University Press.

Seele, A. (2023). Tested by massive inflows, a new era of migration policy emerges in Latin America and the Caribbean. Migration Information Source. https://www.migrationportal.org/insight/new-era-migration-policy-emerges-latin-america-caribbean

Swinkels, M. (2020). How ideas matter in public policy: A review of concepts, mechanisms, and methods. *International Review of Public Policy*, 2(3). https://doi.org/10.4000/irpp.1343

Than, N., Fan, L., Law, T., Nelson, L. K., & McCall, L. (2025). Updating “the future of coding”: Qualitative coding with generative large language models. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 54(3), 849–888. https://doi.org/10.1177/00491241251339188

Törnberg, P. (2025). Large language models outperform expert coders and supervised classifiers at annotating political social media messages. *Social Science Computer Review*, 43(6), 1181–1195. https://doi.org/10.1177/08944393241286471

Triandafyllidou, A. (2023). Irregular migration and migration control policies. In *Research handbook on irregular migration*. Edward Elgar Publishing. https://www.elgaronline.com/display/book/9781800377509/9781800377509.xml

Vera Espinoza, M. (2024). Migration governance in South America: Change and continuity in times of “crisis”. In H. Crawley & J. K. Teye (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of South–South migration and inequality* (pp. 631–652). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-39814-8_29

Vera Espinoza, M., Prieto Rosas, V., Zapata, G. P., Gandini, L., Fernández de la Reguera, A., Herrera, G., et al. (2021). Towards a typology of social protection for migrants and refugees in Latin America during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 9(1), 52. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-021-00265-x

Zapata, G. P., Gandini, L., Vera Espinoza, M., & Prieto Rosas, V. (2023). Weakening practices amidst progressive laws: Refugee governance in Latin America during COVID-19. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 21(4), 547–565. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2022.2163521

Supplementary Files

This is a list of supplementary files associated with this preprint. Click to download.

- Additionalfile1Appendix.pdf
- Additionalfile2codingrevision.xlsx
- Additionalfile3data.xlsx