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THE POLITICS OF OFFICIAL ENGLISH:
EXPLORING THE INTENTIONS AND THE OUTCOMES BEHIND
ENGLISH-ONLY POLICIES IN THE UNITED STATES

A Dissertation Presented

by

DAVID GONZÁLEZ NIETO

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,
University of Massachusetts Boston,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

December 2015

Public Policy Program

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ABSTRACT

THE POLITICS OF OFFICIAL ENGLISH: EXPLORING THE INTENTIONS AND THE OUTCOMES BEHIND ENGLISH-ONLY POLICIES IN THE UNITED STATES

December 2015

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Although the Constitution did not declare English the official language of the United States, its complete linguistic dominance in such a linguistically diverse nation is unparalleled. Despite its supremacy, the last three decades have witnessed a renewed nationalistic movement that claims the role of English is threatened and that its establishment as the official language of the United States is crucial to protect the language and the unity of the nation.

So far, attempts to institutionalize English at the federal level have failed, but 28 states have adopted English as their official language and/or legislation that limits the use of languages other than English in public schools, 25 of them since 1980.

The present dissertation, which draws from critical discourse analysis as a theoretical framework and methodological approach, analyzes the discursive and generic structure, and the rationale and stated outcomes, of official English policies. These policies are examined in relation to the socio-historical context in which they were approved, the strategies of legitimation of those policies, the definition and interpretation of key terms, and the implications for the mutual respect and understanding of the social groups affected by the legislation and for society at large.

Using a logistic regression model, this dissertation captures relevant social, economic, educational, and geopolitical indicators that show a statistical relation to official English policies and may shed light on the reasoning behind them. Finally, the dissertation compares the state expenditures on language programs for linguistic minorities in K-12 public schools and the outcomes of English learners in the two groups of states— those with and without official English policies.

Consistent with findings from previous studies, the results of this study indicate that official English legislation seems to respond to a conservative ideology that seeks to establish a mechanism of internal colonization. In contrast to its stated outcomes, the legislation does not have any relation to increasing access to English in terms of funding for the education of linguistic minority students or to their academic results. In sum, the official English movement may serve, in effect, as an instrument to protect the status quo and thus to perpetuate the privilege of some groups and the subordination of others.

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It has been such a journey! Back when I started, it almost seemed like a chimera. Although I often thought I might not make it, little by little this little project took shape. But if you are reading this dissertation now, you should know this is not just the result of my own efforts. On the contrary, the fingerprints of many other hands are on this work—so many that it is impossible to list them all here. However, there is a piece of those hands in between every single word. Many storms, some good, some not so much, crossed my path, and I know I would not have completed this task without the love, the respect, and the care of so many true friends along the road. To all of you, my humblest, most grateful and sincere thank you.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
CHAPTER	Page
1. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem.....	1
Overview and Significance of the Study	4
Research Questions	8
Researcher Subjectivity and Reflexivity	10
Definitions: The What and Why of Language Policy	11
Dimensions of Language Policy	14
Organization of the Dissertation	20
2. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT OF LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES	23
The Official English Policy Debate	23
Social, Historical, and Political Context of Language Policy in the United States	29
3. THE CONSTRUCTION OF LANGUAGE POLICY: THE LITERATURE REVIEW.....	44
Definitions of Language	45
Language and Ideology.....	53
Literature Review on Language Policy.....	62

CHAPTER	Page
4. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF OFFICIAL ENGLISH POLICIES: DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS, AND FINDINGS, PART I	72
Conceptual Framework	74
Methodology: Critical Discourse Analysis	87
Data Collection, Sample Selection, and Analysis.....	98
Analysis of Question 1: Findings of the Critical Discourse Analysis.....	103
5. FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE ADOPTION OF OFFICIAL ENGLISH: DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS, AND FINDINGS, PART II	137
The Core Theoretical Framework	137
Data and Sources, Measures and Procedures.....	145
Descriptive Statistics of the Data	156
Analysis of Question 2: Preponderant Characteristics of States that Adopted Official English	163
Analysis of Question 3: Relationship between K-12 State Expenditures for ELs, the Outcomes of EL Students, and Official English.....	167
6. SUMMARY, DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS, AND CONCLUSION	171
Summary and Discussion of Results.....	171
The Stated and Unstated Outcomes of Official English:	
Assimilation vs. Incorporation.....	176
The Impetus for English-Only	180
Reconciling Goals and Actions in Official English Policies .	183
Limitations of the Study.....	185
Recommendations for Further Research.....	186
Conclusions and Policy Implications.....	188

APPENDIX

A. STATES' ADOPTION OF OFFICIAL ENGLISH BY YEAR OF ADOPTION	196
B. EXAMPLE OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS PROCESS	198
C. TABLE OF STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CORRELATIONS	203
REFERENCE LIST	204

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Examples of language policy categories	19
2. Coding	101
3. Variables associated with language policy decisions	149
4. Official English states: Descriptive statistics (28 observations)....	156
5. Non-official English states: Descriptive statistics (23 observations)	157
6. Test of homogeneity of variances	159
7. Correlations between the variables included in the analysis	162
8. Classification table.....	164
9. Logistic regression	166
10. Independent t-test results	169

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Conceptual map: Variables related to official English policies	147

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Language is power, life and the instrument of culture, the instrument of domination and liberation. —Angela Carter, *Notes from the Front Line*, in Michele Wandor (Ed.), *On Gender and Writing*, 1983, p. 77

Statement of the Problem

Unlike many other nations, the United States has never established a national or official language, and it did not assign an official role to any language in the Constitution. These facts may have contributed to the popular notion in the United States that language and policy are two unrelated constructs and that language policy is a foreign concept only relevant for countries where language may have been in dispute.

But is this really so? Is language policy such an alien concept in U.S. politics? The fact that no official language was identified in the U.S. Constitution may not indicate that the founding fathers believed all languages should have an equal role in the incipient nation. Nor does it mean that the United States has been exempt from deep and lengthy linguistic conflicts throughout its history (Crawford, 1998; Schmid, 2001). If language policy is understood as the conscious effort of a government at any level—federal, state, or local—or of an institutional authority to shape, form, or influence the use of, learning

of, or access to any language, then language policy is without question a significant part of U.S. politics (Schmidt, 2000).

Language policies have been consistently present in the United States. Policies and practices that have the intention to influence the use of and access to language have been part of U.S. history. Indeed, whether to establish English as the medium of instruction in schools, as a form of national affirmation, or to regulate access to public information, resources, and services, a significant number of policies—some quite accommodating and some rather restrictive—have been designed and implemented to regulate the use of language (Crawford, 1998; Tsui & Tollefson, 2007).

These policies were conceived around socio-political and economic factors that have little to do with language itself. Typically wrapped in the argument that English is an essential device for social progress and integration, the main purpose of language policies in the United States was to establish, with varying degrees of intensity, the primacy of English, and to promote its exclusive use (Crawford, 2004; Schmid, 2001).

However, in this process of assimilation into English, not all languages have been treated equally. From the inception of the nation, two divergent standards were adopted to classify linguistic variations. Whereas languages from Northern European countries were commonly tolerated, strong attempts were made to discourage the use of languages from other parts of the world, including pre-colonization Native American languages and languages spoken by enslaved Africans (Crawford, 2004).

In fact, those efforts to institute assimilation into the exclusive use of English have been extremely successful, despite not making it the official language. Previous

research has documented that, in the United States, it typically takes three generations to complete the cycle of linguistic assimilation or a “language shift” to English. This means that, by the third generation, children are not expected to speak or understand the language of their ancestors (Hakuta, 1986; Lieberman & Curry, 1971).

More recent studies indicate that this pattern of linguistic assimilation may actually be accelerating. Only a small fraction of Spanish-speaking immigrants’ children are able to speak Spanish by the second generation; in contrast, non-official languages are used much more persistently in other countries (Pew Hispanic Center, 2002; Schmidt 2000; Tienda & Mitchell, 2006).

This uniquely swift language shift was described by linguist Einar Haugen (1972) as “Babel in Reverse.” More recently, U.S. linguistic assimilation patterns have been described as a “graveyard for languages” (Rumbaut, Massey, & Bean, 2006, p. 448). What forces are at work behind this unique and “voluntary” linguistic assimilation? How is this unprecedented language shift possible in a nation where no consistent attempt has been made to assign official status to any language?

Actually, there were no serious attempts to make English the official language of the United States until the 1980s. That decade bore witness to the start of a legislative movement to grant English official status in every state and at the federal level. As a matter of fact, of the 28 states that have passed official English legislation, only three did so before 1980; Nebraska in 1920, Illinois in 1969, and Hawaii in 1978 (see Appendix A).

The impetus to regulate language at this particular point in time, together with the dearth of empirical knowledge about the factors that contribute to or encourage the enactment of official English policies, raises a series of questions about language in the United States that the present dissertation will examine. Is the status of English as the major language in the United States threatened? Have there been any significant changes in language use in the nation? What evidence or reasoning has been used to support the “officialization” of English? What outcomes or goals do the enacted policies pursue? Have the policies achieved their goals? What is the relation of those policies, if any, to states’ political, educational, social, economic, and linguistic characteristics? By examining the official English policies adopted at the state level, this study attempts to answer some of these questions.

Overview and Significance of the Study

In light of the context described above, the present dissertation critically examines the policies that have established English as the official language and/or mandated the exclusive use of English as the medium of instruction in public schools at the state level. Specifically, the present study attempts to find relations between the characteristics of official English policies and socio-political, economic, and educational variables in the states where the policies were passed. The research approach chosen for this study is a mixed methods approach, using critical discourse analysis (CDA), logistic analysis regression, and an independent samples t-test.

Mixed method studies are characterized by the use of quantitative analysis for one stage of the study and qualitative analysis for another stage. Combining these two methods of analyses enables the final research to neutralize potential bias and achieve a deeper understanding of the questions being analyzed (Creswell, 2009; Maxwell, 2012). The rationale for combining quantitative and qualitative analyses methods is that the qualitative approach will provide a detailed map of the official English movement, thus establishing a general picture of the research problem, while the quantitative data and results will refine the policy analysis by identifying factors that have a statistical relation to the adoption of official English policies (Creswell, 2009; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998).

To examine the official English policy movement, I chose to use both a qualitative and a quantitative approach in order to strengthen the results a single design approach would have yielded. Using a mixed methods approach will confirm, cross-validate, and corroborate the findings of the present study. The first question of the present dissertation may be responded more suitably by means of a qualitative approach, especially because of the critical nature of the present study. A qualitative approach allows for an open and honest discussion that helps to identify and examine the strong ideological nature of official English policies, which is something difficult to unveil via quantitative methods. However, the second and third questions need to be addressed using a quantitative approach. Measuring the differences in social, economic and other characteristics of the states, as well as their expenditures and student outcomes, is better accomplished through a quantitative approach to determine its strength and influence. Furthermore, the analysis of the theoretical claims for and against official English at

different levels, qualitative and quantitative, will enhance the validity of the present study.

In this dissertation, I use a sequential transformative strategy, which involves a first phase of qualitative data analysis and a second phase of quantitative analysis. The quantitative analysis builds on the qualitative results in order to explore the variables that appear to have a relationship with official English, and to gain a more refined understanding of the socio-political and economic perspectives involved in a phenomenon that is rapidly changing (Creswell, 2009).

In the first, qualitative phase of the study, using a critical discourse approach, the present dissertation centers on the discourse analysis of the stated goals and outcomes, the roles, the symbolism, the discursive elements of the legislation, and the ideological concepts engulfed in the process of adopting English as an official language. The critical discourse analysis design mirrors the work of James Paul Gee (2011) by using the five theoretical tools he designed: the situated meaning, social languages, the intertextuality, the figured Worlds, and the big “D” Discourse tools.

In the second, quantitative phase, by comparing educational and socioeconomic indicators in the states that enacted official English laws with those that did not, this dissertation aims to determine which socioeconomic characteristics may be related to the likelihood of adopting official English policies at the state level. I also compare the expenditures for the education of linguistic minority children in K-12 schools and their academic outcomes, including progress in acquiring English, to establish statistically significant differences between the two groups of states.

Data for this study have been collected from the following sources: the actual texts of the legislation adopted by each state, data reported to the National Center of Education Statistics, the U.S. Department of Education's annual Consolidated State Performance Report (CSPR) collection, and data from the U.S. Census and the American Community Survey, as appropriate.

Above all, the present study aims to contribute not only to the identification and discussion of key discriminatory discursive practices within the legislation, but also of political and socioeconomic factors related to the adoption of official English policies. In the absence of solid evidence of the economic and social factors that contribute to the adoption of or are affected by language policies, arguments in favor of language rights generally fall within the category of "humanism" or "personal preference" (Tollefson & Tsui, 2014; Wiley, 2013). That is to say, respect for other languages is considered merely a matter of individual choice. Furthermore, as Ricento (2005) declares, the bond between language policy, language perception, language rights, and language use can never be fully determined as long as questions about the socioeconomic status quo remain unanswered.

Because language policy is such a broad concept, the present dissertation will focus on the context of the United States. Language policy will be considered in particular with regard to the establishment of English as the official language in each state and the limitations on and prohibition of using languages other than English in the public schools.

Research Questions

This study addresses three research questions: the first primarily uses qualitative analysis methods, and the last two primarily use quantitative analysis methods. For the qualitative phase of this dissertation, the research question is:

- *What are the characteristics, similarities, variances, and stated outcomes, if any, of official English policies enacted in the United States?*

The data to respond to this question were extracted from the official English legislation enacted by the respective states, whether a constitutional amendment or a statutory change. Legislation that limits the use of languages other than English in public schools, such as in Arizona, California, and Massachusetts, has been used to address this question as well.

A CDA approach has been used to address the question. It proceeds from a description and analysis of the language included in the policy texts to an interpretation and explanation of these findings in relation to the wider historical, social, political, and institutional context in which the policies were enacted. Particular attention has been paid to the order of the discourse, the dissemination of the policies, and their stated goals and outcomes, drawing from a variety of methodological resources.

For the quantitative phase of this study, the two research questions are:

- *What factors are associated with the likelihood of passing official English policies at the state level?*

- What is the relationship between official English policies and the education expenditures for linguistic minorities in K-12 public schools and their educational outcomes at the state level, if any?

The quantitative portion of the study uses a state-level dataset that includes observations for the 50 U.S. states, plus the District of Columbia. These data are self-reported by each state. The main sources of data are the National Center for Education Statistics and the U.S. Department of Education's Consolidated State Performance Report (CSPR). The CSPR is the required annual reporting tool for each state, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, as authorized under Section 9303 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Data have also been collected from the U.S. Census and the American Community Survey, and from each state's website, especially with regard to budget.

A logistic regression model has been used to respond to the first quantitative question. Logistic regression is one of the most effective methods for quantifying the effects of explanatory variables on one dependent dichotomous variable, as is the case in the present study. An independent sample t-test has been used to answer the second quantitative question. The t-test is one of the most reliable statistical procedures to determine if the variance of the means of each group is statistically significant (Agresti, 2007).

The questions in this study will not only help to attain a more nuanced understanding of the discursive characteristics of official English policies, but also to unveil the relations between state characteristics and the likelihood of adopting official

English. Ultimately, these research questions will help to identify factors that are connected to official English policy decisions.

Researcher Subjectivity and Reflexivity

To ensure the validity and integrity of the present study, I have adhered to practical standards researchers have found appropriate to address objectivity, reliability, internal and external validity. Being aware that my background and position has an influence on every aspect of my research – topics, methods, findings, and conclusions (Malterud, 2001), I have systematically reflected on and made explicit how my position influences my understanding of official English policies.

First and foremost, I am aware of my own potential bias. As a non-English speaking immigrant to the United States and administrator at two state educational agencies, I am in favor of bilingual education programs that aim to maintain literacy in two (or more) languages and against policies that may limit the possibility of learning and using languages other than English. My past research and personal experiences have definitely shaped my predisposition and understanding on official English. However, as Creswell (2009) claims, the awareness and display of my own subjectivity may reduce bias by contributing to develop an open and honest narrative within the study.

I understand that, beyond unrealistic promises of objectivity, the role of the social researcher is to contribute to the understanding of a given fact by providing well-supported findings and conclusions based on explicit positions or perspectives (Malterud, 2001). Official English is an ideologically loaded and complex phenomenon, making

validity a challenging endeavor. However, the mixed methods approach and strategies employed in the present study are instrumental to provide a richer understanding of the phenomenon and ensure its validity.

Having explicitly disclosed my potential subjectivity and described the layout of the study, I will define in the next section key terms used in the present dissertation starting with language policy. The definition of these terms is essential to fully understand the scope of the study.

Definitions: The What and Why of Language Policy

Finding a comprehensive definition that captures the varied nuances of the meaning of language policy and the contexts to which it applies is not a simple task. Traditionally, language has not been considered a political issue. Although governments have intervened in the use of language for centuries, the political nature of those interventions has been acknowledged only recently (Beacco & Byram, 2003). In fact, terms such as language planning, language management, or language development have frequently been used in lieu of or in close connection with language policy (Ricento, 2005). These terms were used, particularly in the former European colonies, with regard to language decisions that established the official use of a specific language, at times defined as the *lingua franca*. This process was also defined as “language modernization” (Wright, 2004).

In an attempt to be all-encompassing, Geneva Smitherman (2000), renowned scholar of African American studies, defined language policy as “laws, rules, or precepts

designed to bring about language change” (p. 288). Schmidt (2000) narrowed the scope of language policy by describing it as the attempt by any government—federal, state, or local—or other institutional authority to influence, regulate, restrict, promote, manage, or alter the use and/or form of language any given population may employ, have contact with, or have access to in any form or fashion. Schmidt’s definition denotes that not all language policies are approved with the intention to produce change and in fact may be enacted precisely to impede or restrict change; in other words, they may seek to preserve the status quo.

James Crawford (n.d.) drafted a more detailed picture of language policy, which I believe captures the essence of the concept more appropriately. He defined language policy as (a) an official action by the government, whether through legislation, court decisions, executive action, or other means, to regulate how languages are used in public contexts, to cultivate language skills to meet national priorities, and to establish the right to learn, use, and maintain languages; and (b) government regulation of its own use of language to facilitate communication, guarantee due process, foster political participation, and provide access to public services, proceedings, and documents.

This distinction between language as the object of a particular policy and language as “the vehicle” to implement other policies, rules, and regulations is certainly not a trivial one. Language can be regulated to prevent the use of any particular dialects or language variations. The use of language and its management by policy also may serve as a bridge, or an obstacle, to accessing rights, services, and/or privileges.

Therefore, language policy may be considered a political action that seeks to intervene in language with regard to either (a) its form—for instance, defining grammatical rules; (b) the social function it serves—such as establishing an official language or languages; and/or (c) determining the role of language education—for example, establishing a given language as the medium of instruction in schools (Beacco & Byram, 2003).

The present dissertation will delve into the latter two aspects of language policy in the context of the United States of America. That is to say, the focus of the study is on language policy as an official action to regulate the use of language in the United States, in particular establishing English as the official language, and the limitation or prohibition on using languages other than English as the medium of instruction in U.S. public schools.

In the United States, policies that attempt to influence the use of language are typically referred to as “language education policies,” “official language policy,” “official English policy,” and “English-only language policy.” These terms have connotations that highlight the purpose of the policy. For example, language education policy refers to language use in schools (e.g., languages permitted in the instruction of linguistic minority students; foreign language education, etc.); English-only policy refers to restricting the use of languages other than English, whether at school or in the workplace. I will refer to the language policies included in this study as official English policies, as I believe that all these policies attempt to institutionalize the primacy of English.

Other terms frequently used in this dissertation are English learner (EL) and linguistic minority. English learner is a definition for students in kindergarten through twelfth grade who have been identified as not yet fully proficient in English and therefore eligible for linguistic services at school (e.g., bilingual education programs, ESL instruction, English sheltered immersion, etc.). Different terms have been used to define these students, such as limited English proficient, English language learner, or emergent bilingual (Nieto, 2009). The preferred terms for this dissertation are EL and linguistic minority students, which are used interchangeably. I use the terms linguistic minority and ethnolinguistic minorities to refer to groups in the United States who speak primarily a language other than English.

As may be inferred from the difficulty in finding a proper definition of language policy, the focus of this study is a multifaceted concept with myriad social and political dimensions that are present in significantly different types of policies. In an attempt to offer a more comprehensive perspective and characterize the many forms language policy may take, I will next flesh out the dimensions of language policy as articulated in political theory. Understanding these dimensions of language policy will help situate and analyze official English policies within the larger context of the public policy process and the goals of public policy in general.

Dimensions of Language Policy

To further explicate the political nature of language, in this section I will discuss the alternative categorizations of language policy identified in previous studies. These

categorizations demonstrate that language policy shares some characteristics with other types of policies. The nature, origin, context of adoption, and goal may be used to classify language policies.

In the classic categorization of policy developed by Theodore Lowi (1972) and completed by T. Alexander Smith (1975)—regulatory, distributive, redistributive, constituent, and emotive symbolism—language policy has conventionally been included among symbolic policies. Political science theorists have in general concluded that language policies do not have many practical functions and effects, and that they typically respond to symbolic nationalistic sentiments (Tatalovich, 1995).

Based on the assumption that different types of policies produce different types of political conflicts, Theodore Lowi (1972) argues that a classification of policies contributes to a better understanding of the structure of political interests and how those interests influence the policy-making process. He defines regulatory policies as those that “limit the provision of goods and services to one or a few designated deliverers, who are chosen from a larger number of competing potential deliverers” (Lowi, 1972, cited in Birkland, 2014, p. 211). Distributive policies intend to benefit the greatest number of people and reduce potential conflict. Redistributive policies “intend to manipulate the allocation of wealth, property, personal or civil rights, or some other valued item among social classes or racial groups” (Lowi, 1972, cited in Birkland, 2011, p. 214). Constituent policies establish the formation of any given group. In 1975, Alexander Smith added the emotive symbolism category for policies considered to have no practical effects but that represented the general symbolic values and beliefs of a given society.

Language policy was initially viewed as a condition in the founding of new nations or as one ingredient in the construction of national unity. It was later considered that the fundamental goal of language legislation was to resolve possible conflicts in language choice and status—a way to settle disputes between competing languages within the same nation-state (Citrin, Reingold, & Green, 1990; Turi, 1994). To maintain “national peace,” the problems stemming from such language conflicts and inequities were resolved by legally establishing the status and use of each language involved in a particular case. Language policy, considered merely a matter of rational choice, was defined as language management (Cooper, 1989; Turi, 1994).

Language policy categories based on their goal. Regardless of the political theory that may substantiate the adoption and implementation of language policy, Schmidt (2000) identified four language policy categories—centralist, assimilationist, pluralist, and nationalistic—each of which is dependent on the linguistic objective.

Centralist policies are aimed at protecting one central dominant language. The other languages used in the nation are mainly ignored, if not proscribed, and their use is openly disapproved of. Assimilationist policies intend to establish different mechanisms to ease the transition for speakers of other languages to using a given dominant language. Policies of pluralism respect and maintain all languages spoken within a nation. Policies of linguistic nationalism tend to divide any given territory into autonomous areas, with each area given full control over its language matters.

Language policy categories based on the form and context of adoption. Tollefson (2002a) classified language policies by considering the form they have taken or the

context in which they were approved. Null policies, which represent the absence of policy, leave an open space for informal practices. Although the absence of policy may be considered positive, not enacting policies may occasionally disadvantage the most vulnerable groups. The groups that are in power and have more resources are allowed to establish practices that exclude others from resources and decision-making processes.

Covert or de facto policies also may be established as “informal practices,” which make no explicit mention of language in any document or legal code. They have also been defined as “gatekeeping policies” because they are frequently used to establish a threshold that limits access to resources for non-speakers of the dominant language. In opposition to covert or de facto policies, overt or de jure policies explicitly establish rules, rights, and practices for any or all languages in whatever capacity the legal documents specify.

Promotion-oriented policies encourage the use of one or several languages through administrative or other legal codes. These policies assign or guarantee resources for a language, and also specify and reserve domains of use for a specific language. These policies may be de jure or de facto.

Unlike promotion-oriented policies, tolerance-oriented policies do not explicitly assign any resources or domains of use to any language. However, tolerance-oriented policies allow the use of different languages. They can also be de jure or de facto.

In some instances, a mix of promotion- and tolerance-oriented policies may be observed. A de jure or de facto promotion-oriented policy may still tolerate other minority languages for compliance in bureaucratic systems, such as having signs in

different languages to ensure public safety. Few or no public resources are used to promote these languages; they are only tolerated (Tollefson, 2002a).

Finally, egalitarian policies treat the languages of even small minorities as completely equal, thus putting all languages on equal footing. In contrast, restrictive policies are directed at limiting, or even banishing, the use of any language in public domains other than the language that is considered the official one.

Language policy categories based on the origin of the policy. Cloonan and Strine (1991) add another layer to the analysis of the dimensions of language policy by identifying the origin of the policy as a substantial factor. Thus they define constituency-based language policies as those determined by legislation. These are comprehensive, highly formal policies that are shaped by pressure from the majority or a specific constituency and directed at a specific language population.

State-benefit-based language policy is also determined by legislation; it is formal, comprehensive, and designed to benefit the state or nation. It represents a response to governmental concerns. Once a government office regards aspects of a specific language a “concern,” the response is typically a new statute or rule that is formally enacted and incorporated into the legal documents of the state, such as the constitution or formal regulations.

Clientele-based language policy is determined by the administrations of government agencies, is generally not comprehensive but ad-hoc and informal, and is shaped by administrative standards and pressure from citizens for services. Practices consistent with these policies typically occur in the absence of formal guidelines.

Pressure from specific groups is significant as long as the groups have some power in the decision-making process.

Table 1 provides examples of policies that have been implemented, in the United States and elsewhere, for each of the categories identified by Tollefson (2002a), Schmidt (2000), and Cloonan and Strine (1991), as described above. These categories help frame the discussion of official English policies in this dissertation.

Table 1. Examples of language policy categories

Policy	Context of Adoption	Origin	Goal
No policies (pre-affirmative action practices, i.e.)	Null	Clientele-based	Centralist
English literacy requirements for voting or access to education	Covert (or de facto)	Clientele-based	Centralist
Any formally state-adopted official English legislation	Overt (or de jure)	State-benefit-based	Centralist
Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Bilingual Education Act of 1968	Promotion-oriented	Constituency-based	Assimilationist
German language policies in Pennsylvania in the 19th century	Tolerance-oriented	Constituency-based	Pluralist
Policies implemented with Native Americans in the 19 th century; Proposition 227 in CA; 203 in AZ; and Question 2 in MA	Restrictive	State-benefit-based	Centralist
French use policies in Canada	Egalitarian	Constituency-based	Nationalistic

Understanding that language policy, like many other policies, is a multidimensional phenomenon that includes an ideological or theoretical conception, origin, objective, and context of adoption helps identify the political nature of language

issues. As Spolsky (2004) argues, language policy functions in complex relationships with a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic elements. In the present dissertation, the categories discussed in this section will be used during the analysis of the policies' structure to help establish the relation between the policies to their stated outcomes.

Organization of the Dissertation

The first chapter has provided an overview of language policy and the purpose and significance of the present study. It has also presented the research questions and definitions that contextualize the present dissertation. The rest of the dissertation is structured as follows: Chapter 2 establishes the socio-historical and political context relevant for this dissertation. Based on a discussion of the perspectives of each group that either supports or opposes the adoption of official English policies in the United States, it provides a general introduction to the ideological frameworks that shape the debate about these policies. These perspectives ultimately inform the theoretical and conceptual framework of the present dissertation. The chapter then outlines a brief socio-historical analysis of language policy in the United States, including key U.S. legislation and court decisions from the inception of the nation.

Chapter 3 describes the scholarly literature on the theoretical groundings of language policy, their central elements, and their main implications. The chapter begins by outlining a working definition of language and describing how different views of language relate to different ideological positions on language policy. The literature

review will focus in particular on what previous studies have identified as connections between language policy and education.

Chapter 4 delineates the qualitative component of the study. It describes the methodological approach employed, including the critical discourse analysis (CDA) conceptual framework and analysis. This chapter also specifies the data collection, analysis, and findings of the qualitative phase of the study. The results of the CDA suggest that states construct their policies based on the experience of other states, and that the main goal of official English policies is to preserve and strengthen the English language.

The quantitative component of the dissertation starts in Chapter 5, which includes the quantitative theoretical framework, the data and their sources, the procedures, the descriptive statistics of the data, and the preliminary analysis and findings. The chapter describes the preponderant characteristics of the states that adopted official English legislation and compares them to those of states that did not. It also describes the statistical differences between expenditures and students outcomes in each group of states. Three characteristics seem to be statistically correlated to the adoption of official English legislation: conservatism, as measured by right-to-work policies in the state; geographical location; and Hispanic population percentage. There are no statistical differences in the K-12 expenditures for linguistic minority students or their academic and linguistic outcomes.

Chapter 6, the final chapter, brings the qualitative and quantitative parts of the study together by discussing the results as a whole. The chapter also lays out policy

implications, contextualizes the significance of the results in light of the study limitations, and makes recommendations for possible future research.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT OF LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES

We have room in this country but for one flag, the Stars and Stripes. We have room for but one loyalty, loyalty to the United States. We have room for but one language, the English language. —Theodore Roosevelt, message to the American Defense Society, January 3, 1919

I start this chapter by discussing the opposing views that shape the official English policy debate in the United States. These perspectives provide the base for the theoretical framework in the present dissertation. I then examine the socio-historical and political context of U.S. language policy. I finish with a synthesis and discussion of the significant legislation and court decisions passed since the nation's inception.

The Official English Policy Debate

In the United States, the justification for official English policies has been built around the claim that linguistic minorities must assimilate into using English and abandon their native languages. English is regarded as a dominant nationalistic component of life in the United States and a natural indicator of “belonging to the United States.” Languages other than English are identified simply as foreign elements (Kloss,

1971). This justification has shaped the debate about official English policies around two supposedly antagonistic positions: (a) Identity politics, or the use of language as a force to strengthen the cohesiveness of a given social or national group; and (b) respect for the rights of all groups, especially language minorities, and the attempt to achieve greater equality.

In Favor of Official English: Language as a Force to Strengthen the Cohesiveness of the Nation

The argument for adopting English as an official language is based on the premise that the United States was founded by overwhelmingly white, Anglo, and Protestant settlers. Supporters of official English perceive the maintenance of any other language as a threat to the unity of the United States. Samuel Huntington (2004), a conservative political scientist and one-time director of Harvard's Center for International Affairs, affirmed that, although immigration from other cultures enriched the diversity of the country, the essential principles that

include the English language; Christianity; religious commitment; English concepts of the rule of law, including the responsibility of rulers and the rights of individuals; and dissenting Protestant values of individualism, the work ethic, and the belief that humans have the ability and the duty to try to create a heaven on earth, a "city on a hill [remained] the bedrock of U.S. identity." (p. 2)

Huntington (2004) went on to argue that current immigration trends from Latin America, especially Mexico, challenge previous immigrants' voluntary integration into

American values. According to Huntington, recent immigrants from Mexico refuse to assimilate, and this refusal includes an alleged resistance to learn English, which supposedly threatens to transform the United States into a country with two languages and two cultures.

Huntington argued further that the end of Mexican immigration would result in improved wages for low-income U.S. citizens, and would end the debate about the use of Spanish in public spheres or the convenience of adopting English as an official language. He claimed that immigrants from Mexico are less qualified, and that if their immigration were halted the education level and diversity of immigrants entering the United States would be significantly higher. Furthermore, he declared, the controversy about bilingual education in public schools would no longer be an issue. Most importantly, Huntington (2004) asserted that eliminating Mexican immigration would reduce the threat of a divided country and the need to protect English as the official language of the United States.

Anti-Mexican arguments like Huntington's led Senator S. I. Hayakawa to found the organization U.S. English in 1983. U.S. English is self-described as a "citizen's action group dedicated to preserving the unifying role of the English language in the U.S." (U.S. English, n.d.).

U.S. English declares that a significant proportion of immigrants do not even have access to the common language of the nation, and thus the language and the essence of the United States are endangered. Under these conditions, and because of the supposed threat a lack of English proficiency presents to American unity, U.S. English launched an

unprecedented campaign to promote legislation to establish English as the nation's official language (Crawford, 1998).

According to U.S. English, establishing English as the country's official language will not only result in a stronger nation but will also expand opportunities for immigrants by providing them the opportunity to learn and speak English. U.S. English defends the call for English to be the official language of the United States by arguing that

declaring English the official language is essential and beneficial for the U.S. government and its citizens. Official English unites Americans, who speak more than 322 languages (U.S. Census, 2000), by providing a common means of communication; it encourages immigrants to learn English in order to use government services and participate in the democratic process; and it defines a much-needed common sense language policy (U.S. English, n.d.).

However, behind these "good-faith arguments," other scholars have denounced the connections between U.S. English—and the theoretical underpinnings behind its official English discourse—and anti-immigration white supremacist groups, such as the Federation for American Immigration Reform, Americans for Border Control, and Californians for Population Stabilization. These scholars claim that behind the seemingly innocent intention of declaring English the official language of the United States there is an agenda of hate and discrimination against linguistic minorities, especially Latinos. They argue that, despite efforts by U.S. English to hide and manipulate historical facts, the United States has embraced its multicultural and multilingual origins since its inception. From this viewpoint, making English the official language represents an

attempt to further marginalize minorities by silencing their languages (Crawford, 1989; Giroux, 2001; Macedo, 2000; Padilla, Lindholm, Chen, Durán, Hakuta, Lambert, & Tucker, 1991). I will now discuss the arguments of those who emphasize the need to respect linguistic rights in the United States, rather than to establish English as the official language.

Against Official English: Respect for Language Rights and Greater Equality

Opponents of official English legislation claim that what is truly divisive among the diverse populations of the United States is trying to establish, artificially and unnecessarily, an official language. It is also claimed that doing so violates the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution by abridging freedom of speech and denying equal protection to citizens whose native language is not English (Schmidt, 2000; Tollefson, 2002a).

One organization that has challenged the arguments made by U.S. English is English Plus (1987), which maintains that English is and will remain the primary language in the United States. However, in their view, the status of English as the primary language does not mean opposing the use and promotion of other languages as well. English Plus portrays language diversity not as a threat to an English-only American identity but as an opportunity to capitalize on the multilingual resources that exist in the United States. English Plus claims further that the ability to communicate in several languages enhances U.S. economic, political, and cultural prospects.

English Plus argues that policies that foster multilingualism would increase the quality of language education for all students in the United States, and that such policies would strengthen programs that teach English as a second language for both K-12 and adult students, while also encouraging pedagogies that maintain native language skills, such as dual bilingual programs (Crawford, n.d.).

Policies that respect multilingualism would also provide better access to essential government services for a population whose English proficiency is not yet fully developed by protecting their rights and ensuring due process in a language they can understand. Ultimately, this type of legislation would guarantee language rights—“both freedom from language-based discrimination and freedom to speak, learn, and maintain the language of one's choice” (Crawford, n.d.).

Understanding the ideological imagery behind official English legislation is essential in order to shed light on the policy arguments. The discourse of the policies closely aligns to one or the other version. Considering these perspectives, in the next section I will describe the socio-historical and political contexts within which various views on language and policy in the United States have developed. The next section will present key policy decisions and sentiments about language in the United States since establishment of the nation. The historical analysis reveals that the most prominent approach to language policy in the United States has been to exclusively impose assimilation into English.

Social, Historical, and Political Context of Language Policy in the United States

Despite the fact that popular discourse portrays immigration as a nearly exclusive source of languages other than English (Macías, 2014), the United States represents a unique case of linguistic diversity and linguistic change. Immigration from all corners of the world has created a range of multilingual communities that often have existed side by side. However, it is important to note that, before the arrival of Europeans, more than 200 Native American languages were already being spoken in the territory that today constitutes the United States (Crawford, 2004; McCarty, 2002).

The number of languages spoken in the newly founded United States was significantly increased by the multitude of immigrants from all over the world, who brought their native languages into the country. In addition to English, over 130 languages, including Italian, German, Polish, French, Spanish, Chinese, and several African languages, have been introduced into the United States. Moreover, it is important to remember that Spanish was spoken in the territories of Texas, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and California long before the Mayflower arrived in Massachusetts (Crawford, 2004; Nieto, 2009).

According to current U.S. Census data, in 2011, 25.6 percent of the population reported living in a household where a language other than English was spoken; Spanish represented almost 62 percent of these households. At approximately 37 million, or 14 percent of the population, Spanish-speakers represent the largest linguistic minority group in the United States. Other important linguistic groups in the United States include Chinese (all varieties), with approximately three million speakers; Hindi, Urdu, and other

Indic languages, with two million speakers; French and French Creole, with two million speakers; and Korean and German, with approximately one million speakers each (Wiley, 2014).

The percentage of the population that speaks a language other than English at home has increased by more than 150 percent since 1980 (Ryan, 2013). The increase in the non-English-speaking population corroborates Crawford's (2004) assertion that, although it reached its lowest level in the middle of the 20th century, language diversity has been a constant in the history of the United States.

It may have been due to this complex linguistic configuration that the founding fathers decided not to adopt an official language in the U.S. Constitution. The issue of language was not even debated in the Continental Congress. Although there is little agreement among historians about the reasons why English was not designated the official language in the Constitution, scholars seem to agree that the most plausible explanation is that the founding fathers regarded language as a personal matter, and that it was assumed most individuals eventually would voluntarily adopt the English language (Crawford, 1998; Schmid, 2001).

From a modern vantage point, it was probably necessary for the founding fathers to take a pragmatic approach to language, since it was more important to promote an American national spirit than to accentuate differences within the incipient nation's diverse population. Dealing with questions of language at that time could have eroded the support and loyalty of the sizeable French- and German-speaking populations (Schmid, 2001). However, that does not mean language behavior was regarded as a minor issue in

the process of constructing the United States of America, as the new government would soon begin to take steps to reward the use of English (Crawford, 2004; Hakuta, 1986; Schmid, 2001).

Despite the lack of an official language policy, of the more than 300 languages once spoken in the United States, only 175 remain in active use, and only 20 of these are being passed on to the next generation. This means that 90 percent of all native languages spoken in the United States are at risk of disappearing within the next 20 years (Crawford, 2004; McCarty, 2002). Lieberman, Dalton, and Johnston (1975), comparing language diversity in 35 nations, declared that it would take 350 years for a typical nation to reach the same degree of language loss experienced in the U.S. in one generation. Crawford (1998) has argued that the speed of the language assimilation process in the United States is not due to random forces alone. He stated that official English policies that favor using English and eradicating non-English languages in the United States have accelerated this transition. Moreover, these policies have ranged from repression to restriction to tolerance to accommodation.

Early Approaches to Language Policy in the United States

In the 1800s, early attempts to pass official English legislation by the Bureau of Indian Affairs implemented a policy of forced Anglicization for Native Americans. Thousands of children were sent to boarding schools to be assimilated and were taught exclusively in English. Crawford (1998) asserted that such policies not only succeeded in eradicating the children's native language, it also instilled in them a sense of shame about

their Native identities that guaranteed English-only education would be passed to future generations. McCarty (2002) added that the forced Anglicization of Native American children resulted in an internalized feeling of ambivalence about their own culture and an imprint of subordination that led them to fully believe that “[their] language was second best” (p. 289).

Other historical experiences that illustrate different attitudes toward language are found in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed after the Mexican-American War, and the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, which incorporated Mexican territories into the United States. Both treaties included provisions that granted automatic U.S. citizenship to the inhabitants of the newly surrendered territories, purported to guarantee land-ownership rights, and aimed to protect the religious, linguistic, and cultural freedoms of the people already living in those regions. In practice, however, the rights stated in the treaty tended not to be respected by the U.S. government (Acuña, 2014; MacGregor-Mendoza, 1998).

For instance, Spanish-language schooling was discontinued in California in 1855, only seven years after the treaty was signed; the California Land Act of 1851 had already established that landowners needed to prove title of their holdings in English-language courts. The Land Act resulted in one of the largest transfers of property and wealth in U.S. history: it is estimated that more than 40 percent of Spanish-speaking landowners had to sell their properties to the colonizers in order to pay English-speaking lawyers to defend their cases (Crawford, 1998).

Despite having signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the U.S. government adopted two different and very effective strategies to ensure linguistic and cultural dominance in these territories. The first one entailed defining state borders to favor an English-speaking majority by splitting Spanish-speaking communities. The second delayed the recognition of statehood until English-speaking settlers had colonized the new territories and were able to favor the interests of the English-speaking population. For this reason, California was accepted as a state in 1850, Nevada in 1864, Colorado in 1876, and Utah in 1896. In the case of New Mexico, which at the time of its incorporation as a territory in 1848 included Arizona, it took 60 years for the federal government to grant statehood, as it took that long for the English-speaking settlers to colonize the territories of the state (MacGregor-Mendoza, 1998).

In public schools, verbal reprimands, physical punishment, and other penalties were imposed on children who used Spanish. Efforts to erase their linguistic and ethnic background have been equated in previous literature with apartheid-type measures (Crawford, 1998, 2004). In fact, Spanish monolingual students were classified using tests administered exclusively in English, which resulted in the misplacement, disengagement, lack of education, and psychological damage of many Spanish-speaking children (Acuña, 2014; MacGregor-Mendoza, 1998).

The same policy of colonization by language was implemented in Puerto Rico after the United States bought it from Spain in 1898. The American school system was imposed early on, which included a “no Spanish” rule. However, the Spanish-speaking population of Puerto Rico vehemently rejected the new system. Their resistance to the

colonial imposition of English led to the dismantling of the original education system on the island. Although the English-only policy was eventually eliminated, the education system in Puerto Rico continues to suffer the scars of colonization (Crawford, 1998).

Another example of the harmful effects of language policies in schools is the case of Hawaii, as described by Benham and Heck (1998). After its annexation by the United States, English was given a primary role in the Hawaiian school system. English was identified with the minority white upper classes, whereas Hawaiian Creole English was associated with lower-status schools and the native working-class population. This system created an extreme social division between those who spoke English and those who spoke Hawaiian. Hawaii is an example of how language and language policy cross linguistic borders to mark socioeconomic distinctions in any given community.

The 20th Century Begins: The Nativist Movement

Unlike other languages spoken by non-whites in the United States, German was long tolerated in most Midwestern states. German schools were funded with public monies, and journals and books were published in German. That was true until World War I. The nativist movement (or Native American Party), a nationalistic and xenophobic movement that had its heyday from the mid-19th century to the first years of the 20th century, although focused primarily on ethnicity and religious questions, adopted the English language as an element in their concept of the “pure American” identity. The nativist movement advocated for a return to the “true” American values, understood as the values of the original British colonizers. Nativists also demonized adopting customs

and practices from abroad, including “foreign” Eastern and Southern European languages (Tatalovich, 1995).

The Know-Nothings, a secret fraternal organization that emerged from the nativist movement and represented its most reactionary side, started a crusade in the 20th century to “purify” the United States. This purification effort included defending the exclusive use of English as the “true American language” (Anbinder, 1992; Curran, 1966; Tatalovich, 1995). Taking to an extreme the anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic values of the nativists, the Know-Nothings’ campaigns resulted not only in a ban on speaking German in schools but also prohibited its use in any public sphere. As a consequence, the use of German, a language that was spoken by a sizable speaking population in the beginning of the 20th century, especially in the Midwest, almost disappeared by the end of the 1920s (Hakuta, 1986).

In 1923, the first U.S. Supreme Court decision against restricting foreign-language education was made in *Meyer v. Nebraska* (262 US 390). Meyer, a parochial instructor who taught German to a ten-year-old child, was accused of violating a Nebraska law enacted in 1919 that prohibited instruction to students in any foreign language before eighth grade. In the end, the Court held that the Nebraska state law violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution by limiting individual inalienable rights (Tollefson, 2002a). However, Nebraska’s English-only law was only one among many similar policies that had already decimated the teaching and use of languages other than English. Furthermore, the Supreme Court decision happened too late, as the use of German had been almost eradicated in the state (Hakuta, 1986).

In this socio-political scenario, Nebraska was the first state to amend its constitution to establish English as the official language in 1920. In Illinois in 1923, “American” was established as the official language, which in 1969 was changed to “English” (Tatalovic, 1995). All these actions against the use of languages other than English occurred at the state rather than the national level.

Gilbert (1981) explains that the social and institutional climate against the use of languages other than English was so powerful and pervasive at the time that “the concerted and speedy action to drop German which was taken in unison by independent local and state school boards across the country is truly frightening. An educational decree issued from a centralized dictatorship could have hardly done it better” (p. 262, as cited in Hakuta, 1986, p. 168). The result of this period is that so-called foreign languages (i.e., languages other than English spoken by recent immigrants and minorities) were portrayed as suspicious signs of anti-patriotism, in keeping with the arguments of the nativist movement. Their representation of English as the only language that should be spoken in the United States was ultimately to shape U.S. public policy (Anbider, 1992; Tatalovich, 1995).

The movement against the use of languages other than English was also applauded in the academic world. In the first half of the 20th century, the field of psychology published numerous studies documenting the damage bilingualism supposedly inflicted on children. Although these studies were later discredited, their claim that learning two languages confused children and manifested in learning delays

and disabilities contributed further to the campaign against foreign languages and bilingualism in the United States, which persists to this day (Baker, 2011; Hakuta, 1986).

According to Crawford (1998), the effort to discredit bilingualism and the use of languages other than English had two goals. The first was to frustrate worker solidarity by dispossessing a minority of its rights and eliminating a means of communication among them. The second was to promulgate a perception of the United States as an exclusively white, Anglo, English-speaking nation.

However, World War II brought a different perspective about language acquisition in the United States. The need to communicate with other nations and the expansion of international trade made apparent some of the benefits of having access to other languages (Castellanos, 1983). These new circumstances brought about changes that will be discussed in the next section.

A “Softer” Approach to Assimilation

After World War II, the new global role of the United States and other international events resulted in a renewed interest in language instruction, which helped to soften the tone toward the use and acquisition of foreign languages in the United States. This resulted in a more flexible approach to English language assimilation that was defined as “missionary-style” (Castellanos, 1983). Foreign language teaching and English as a second language (ESL) methods, previously used with foreign diplomats and university students, were now to be used with linguistic minority students. However, these methods were not widespread, they did not do enough to ensure that linguistic

minority students were able to succeed academically, they still neglected the acknowledgment of their cultural heritage, and the end goal was still exclusive assimilation into English (Castellanos, 1983; Escamilla, 1989; Gonzalez, 1979).

In 1963, beginning as a Spanish-for-Spanish-speakers program, the first public school bilingual and bicultural education program was created in the Coral Way Elementary School in Dade County, Florida. This program, developed to accommodate the children of affluent white Cuban refugees who were former members of that country's ruling class and had arrived in the United States after the communist revolution in 1959, incorporated Spanish as the language of instruction for subject matter and as a resource to acquire literacy in both Spanish and English. The Coral Way program, which helped to establish the feasibility of additive bilingual programs in the United States, was intended to develop full biliteracy for both English and Spanish speakers. Similar programs were then created in Texas, New Mexico, and California (Escamilla, 1989; Gonzalez, 1979). The program ultimately influenced federal legislation regarding the education of English learners, especially Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968, known as the Bilingual Education Act (Stein, 1985; Hakuta, 1986).

The Bilingual Education Act has been the most important legislation in the history of the United States in terms of recognizing minority education language rights. The law did not force school districts to offer bilingual programs, but it encouraged them to experiment with new pedagogical approaches by funding programs that principally targeted low-income and non-English-speaking populations (Ricento, 1998; Stein, 1985).

Thus, the current belief that linguistic minority students have a long history of native language instruction is a fallacy, as the programs labeled “bilingual education” varied in terms of how much native language was actually used. The bilingual education program was started in the Coral Way Elementary School for upper-class students; unfortunately, when it was applied to non-white student populations with low socioeconomic status, bilingual education became considered compensatory and assumed a subtractive language function (Escamilla, 1989; Gonzalez, 1979).

The 1974 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols* (414 US 563, 565) reinforced the mandate that it was the school district’s responsibility to provide the programs and accommodations necessary to enable children who did not speak English to achieve academically. In this case, a group of Chinese parents had sued a California school district for not educating their non-English-speaking children under the same conditions as English speakers. The Chinese parents argued that, by being taught in classes and with textbooks they could not comprehend, their children were left in a “sink or swim” situation (Wiley, 2002). The Lau decision did not include any specific pedagogical recommendations or mandate the use of the student’s native language; in fact, native language instruction has never been legally required at the federal level. However, the Lau decision did represent a significant change from a 1973 decision in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. In that decision, which freed school districts of any responsibility, it was argued that

the discrimination suffered by these children [linguistic minority students] is not the result of laws passed by the state of California, presently or historically, but is

the result of deficiencies created by the children themselves in failing to know and learn the English language. (as quoted in Wiley, 2002, p. 55)

Another legal decision that had a significant impact on the education of linguistic minority students was *Castañeda v. Pickard*. In this 1981 case, the Court ruled that programs for linguistic minority students must be based on sound research, properly equipped with human and material resources, and evaluated from time to time to ensure their validity. However, none of these decisions established that students have a right to be taught in their native language or even to learn their native language. The goal of the bilingual programs established under these rulings was to provide temporary support in the native language while students transitioned into English as quickly as possible, often in no more than three years. Therefore, bilingual education has tended to be a misnomer in pedagogical terms, and it has often been used as an ethnic marker, mainly for Latino students (Escamilla, 1989; Stein, 1985).

More Recent Approaches to Official English Legislation

In the 1980s, during the Ronald Reagan administration, Secretary of Education William Bennett cut the bilingual education budget nearly in half (Crawford, 1998). In a 1985 speech, Bennett attributed the failure of so many children to become fluent in English to bilingual education. He depicted bilingual education as “an emblem of cultural pride,” and “not as a means to ensure students learned English.” He also blamed “bureaucratic interests” for having “lost sight of the goal of learning English as the key to equal educational opportunity” (as cited in Tatalovich, 1995).

In addition to disapproving the use of languages other than English, nonstandard versions of English were deemed illegitimate, especially the African American vernacular. The alleged undersupply of qualified and certified bilingual teachers for all possible languages was used as an argument against bilingual education, along with an unproven claim of the “high cost” of bilingual programs. Moreover, the idea that there would not be sufficient resources to accommodate language privileges in all official situations was an excuse to cut funding for all languages other than English (Wiley, 2002).

In 1996, the U.S. House of Representatives passed the Emerson English-Language Empowerment Bill (H.R. 123), whose purpose was to establish English as the official language of the United States and eliminate the language minority provision of the 1965 Civil Rights Act. However, the Senate did not act on this bill and it finally died without a vote. Thus, the United States continue without a federal official English language mandate (Schmidt, 2000).

In 2001, during the George W. Bush administration, the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, commonly known as the No Child Left Behind Act, eliminated any reference to bilingual education. The new law was grounded on standards-based education principles and infused with accountability measures that required standardized testing in English. Thus, in practice, the No Child Left Behind Act discouraged any form of bilingual education or instruction in languages other than English in U.S. schools. Arne Duncan, the Obama administration’s secretary of education, has continued the consolidation of an educational context that disfavors

bilingual education and favors neoliberal measures for public schools, such as the promotion of charter schools and vouchers for private schools (Crawford, 2012; Wiley, 2014).

In this brief historical review, I have depicted the connection between language and policy in the United States from the inception of the nation. The period of relative tolerance and acceptance of other languages as represented by the Bilingual Education Act was a short-lived exception in the political and historical context of the de facto U.S. English-only policy. As Bartolomé (2008) argues, “the practice of forbidding the use of non-English languages has constituted the more prevalent contemporary language practice in the U.S.” (p. 378). We can also observe, as Wiley (2014) points out, that in the U.S. context, racism and language discrimination are intimately related.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the educational and language policy literature relevant to this study. This literature review will inform the present dissertation in terms of previous research findings about language policy and official English. In the process of evaluating and discussing this literature, the place of the present research project in the field of language policy will be discussed. In order to situate existing research, and given the importance of the concept of “language” to fully understanding language policy, I begin with a succinct description of language and ideology and its relation to language policy. I later explore the factors that the previous literature has considered fundamental in the analysis and research of language policy. The literature review will focus in particular on implications for the education of linguistic minority students, including potential effects for school practices and outcomes, and the possible relations between

language policy and official English and a set of given social and economic variables identified by the research literature.

CHAPTER 3
THE CONSTRUCTION OF LANGUAGE POLICY:
THE LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I will discuss the research literature most relevant to language policy. Because the interpretation of what language is and the purposes it serves can lead to quite different approaches to and justifications for its inclusion, or exclusion, in policy, I will begin by reviewing definitions of language, followed by a discussion of the potential ideological implications of each of those definitions. I will group the definitions of language in three broad categories: the institutional view, the generative grammar view, and the critical sociolinguistics view. I do so with the understanding that the categories serve as heuristics and may overlap, or even fail to capture all the subtleties of each possible definition of language.

The literature review will subsequently examine the findings of studies that have broadly explored the connections between language policy and education, and then focus on the context of the United States. Previous literature has highlighted not only the importance of the use of the native language for instruction, but also the value that the respect of the native language in the school setting has for the socioemotional and educational development of the student (August, & Shanahan, 2006; Baker, 2011;

Bartolome, 2008; Escamilla, 2003). Finally, I discuss factors that have been associated with language policy in the context of U.S. public policy, in particular studies that examine the relationships between language policy, democracy, and indicators of socioeconomic prosperity. The studies that have identified factors significantly related to adopting language policy will contribute to the selection of variables for the quantitative phase of the dissertation. I conclude this chapter by providing a brief synthesis of the literature.

Definitions of Language

Williams (2003) stated that “a definition of language is always, implicitly or explicitly, a definition of human beings in the world” (p. 21). However, when talking about language, many concepts lack a clear understanding of the phenomenon of language itself. Commonly used terms, such as dialect, structure, pidgin, sentence, word, and even language, fail to account for a complex reality and socio-historical evolution, and thus tend to be used incongruously (Holm, 2000). For that reason, this literature review explores the different definitions assigned to language and their evolution. These definitions have led to critically different ideological understandings and implications for language policy.

For clarity, I have grouped different views of language into three general categories. These categories overlap in some areas and are not intended to be comprehensive or exhaustive, but they constitute a heuristic to help the reader understand perceived nuances with regard to the origin and the use of language. I have produced the

definitions using theoretical approaches from the fields of philology and linguistics. Each of these definitions reflects dominant schools of thought at different historical moments in time.

The field of linguistics does not view all definitions of language as equally legitimate or as constituting different versions of the same concept. The contributions Noam Chomsky has made to linguistic theory and his vision of language still prevail as milestones in the field. Chomsky (1965) argued that humans are born with an innate mechanism for understanding language properties. These properties are composed of principles, which are universal to all human languages—what he defined as “universal grammar”—and parameters, which vary across languages. The main implication of this theory is that no language is superior to or more developed than others, as all languages are rule-bound and determined by principles. At the same time, languages are highly creative systems. However, Chomsky looked at language from a purely theoretical perspective, as an abstract system to communicate effectively. In other words, he focused on the notion of “linguistic competence,” or the theoretical knowledge of a given language code.

Drawing from Chomsky’s concept of language, Dell Hymes (1972), considered the father of sociolinguistics, coined the term “communicative competence,” which emphasizes the social component of language use. Chomsky’s and Hymes’ definitions both represent a historical evolution from an initial, more simplistic conceptualization of language as an ideal, “pure,” unchanging, and fixed system of communication. The most acceptable version of a given language, considered the standard, was the variety spoken

by the ruling classes in a given society (e.g., Queen's English). All other varieties were considered lower versions of said language and derogatively labeled dialects (Holm, 2000; Shohamy, 2006).

However, this simplistic definition seems to be at least as influential, if not more, as the other two, since it is disseminated by specific ideological political agendas and widely accepted by the public (Shohamy, 2006). Despite the significant progress made in the field of linguistics in terms of a comprehensive and unbiased definition of language, stagnant and simplistic views of language still play a crucial role in language policy today.

Early Philologists and Grammarians: The Institutional View of Language

The prescriptive teaching of Latin grammar and the association of language and state in the rise of the modern European nation-states engrained in early language theories the notion that there could only be one supreme correct form of any given language. A relatively uniform variety, used by the educated and the ruling classes, was considered the standard, whereas dialects were viewed as uncultivated local variations of the dominant standard (Holm, 2000).

Early philologists, in pursuit of a positivistic approach to language as an object of study, conceived languages as fixed stable entities, which were described as “natural organisms that come into being, develop, age, and die according to laws that are quite independent of man's will” (Schleicher, 1863, cited by Holm, 2000 p. 2). Language was thus reified so that it could be used as a “researchable” entity. The functional role of

language was emphasized as an element or tool for effective communication (Holm, 2000).

The transformation of language into a scientific object of study led to the creation of a number of established categories and the compartmentalization of languages into families, standards, and varieties. This categorization contributed to an artificial division of language between good language (standard/grammatical) and bad language (dialect/ungrammatical). These categories would later be intrinsically coupled with ethnic groups and national entities (Shohamy, 2006).

Shohamy (2006) claims that the group of languages labeled Indo-European came to be associated with white European Caucasians, and the languages grouped in the Semitic family were regarded as those of Hebrews and Arabs. This idea provided a framework for the institutionalization of language. At a time when nation-states were embarked on a crusade for homogenization, which included the language and education in their territories, the thought that each nation was “naturally” connected to a single language was well received. Shohamy (2006) further states that, for this reason, most nation-states gave the name of their nation to the languages they spoke.

In fact, Peñalosa (1981) explains that nation-states, especially in their origins, were to be organized around a centralized power whose main interest was to reach as far as possible in its dominancy. To strengthen this centralized power, linguistic unity was used to increase the influence of the core regions of the nation-state and to decrease the possibilities of development of the peripheral areas, which used other languages.

In the early years of the 20th century, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic determinism also contributed to such a vision of language. The hypothesis states that one's thought process is completely determined by one's language, or in Whorf's (1956) words, "the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which have to be organized largely by the linguistic systems in our minds." Ultimately, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis was understood to imply that the shared values in any given society can only be transmitted through the language of the majority, which served as a justification for language policies that favored that one language (Kibbee, 1998).

The Evolution of Theoretical Linguistics: Generative Grammar

Building from Saussure's structural concepts of "langue" and "parole," Chomsky (1965) introduced linguistic theory to a distinction between "competence" and "performance."¹ Competence refers to a speaker's knowledge of his language as manifested in his ability to produce and to understand a theoretically infinite number of sentences, most of which he may have never seen or heard before. In contrast, performance refers to specific utterances, including grammatical mistakes and non-linguistic features, such as hesitation, that accompany the use of language (Chomsky, 1965).

Following such a distinction, descriptive or theoretical linguistics have traditionally been concerned only with linguistic competence, or the human mind's

¹ Saussure defined "langue" (the language) as the abstract whole system of language and "parole" as the actual utterance or the real manifestation of language.

internalized knowledge of language as a pure body of structures and signs. In this vein, grammar is basically a set of mental structures that includes the linguistic rules that are part of our linguistic competence. Performance is considered unreliable as a source of scientific evidence, and therefore is disregarded as an object of analysis (Hymes, 1972; Pinker & Bloom, 1990).

Language within this paradigm is defined as a scientific focus of study and presented as an organized, structured, rule-governed system of communication. All languages are deemed legitimate and no language, standard or nonstandard, can be argued to be better, of higher status, or in any way superior to any other. The systematic and structural elements of language, which form its core, are highlighted in this definition. This consistency, along with the human mind's ability to detect and build patterns in linguistic habits, defines language. Any judgment of the value of language is beyond the scope of this vision in the discipline of linguistics (Chomsky, 1972; Pinker, 1994).

Sociolinguistics and Critical Language Theory

The field of sociolinguistics emerged in the 1960s to claim the social role of language. Sociolinguists accept the above definition of language, with one criticism: a perfect linguistic definition isolates language from its social function. Sociolinguists are interested principally in the concept of performance, or pragmatics, which is concerned with language in context, or how speakers use language in social situations. It is the

social realm of language and deals with the structures that rules create as used in real social settings (Fasold, 1990; Hymes, 1972).

According to these theories, the attempt to reduce the role of language to a mere instrument for communication conceals its most important feature—that language itself is created and renovated and reconstructed in the same process of communication. In this sense, we understand written and spoken words not only because language is a shared instrument of communication, but also because language is a representation of our shared identity. Within this framework, language is a symbolic element, an element of representation beyond words (Hymes, 1972).

Following Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory, language is best understood not as a tool for communication but as a tool of mediation that cannot be regarded in isolation from its specific context. Language mediates between thoughts and actions, and it is the medium for environmental stimuli and individual response—for example, in school settings. To such a vision of language, Russian linguist Bakhtin (1981) adds that

language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated—overpopulated—with the intentions of others. Expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process. (p. 71)

Furthering this concept of language, Macedo, Dendrinis, and Gounari (2003) make explicit two essential elements of language. The first is that meaning carried by language can never be analysed in an isolated fashion because that meaning and the historical and social context are mutually constitutive of each other. A word takes its

particular meaning from a determined context; should the context change, the meaning may also change.

The second is that language cannot exist apart from its speakers. It is impossible to isolate language as an entity unto itself. Language can only be understood in relation to its users: the speakers. Following this argument, language, though conceptually an organized, systematic, recurrent body of grammatical structures, cannot be reduced to a neutral mechanism of communication because it embodies culture. As Macedo et al. (2003) write:

Language cannot be seen as a neutral tool for communication. It should be viewed as the only means through which learners make sense of their world and transform it in the process of meaning-making. (p. 23)

One derives from this definition of language that meaning, embedded in language, is continually being redefined in the process of communication. In this sense, learning to speak (or read) not only entails learning words but also, and more importantly, learning a particular vision of the world (Freire & Macedo, 1987).

Freire and Macedo (1987) argue that language can never be understood as a stagnant category. On the contrary, language is in a constant process of transformation that results from contact between different groups or because of other historical, social, political, or economic influences. Languages are a continuous hybrid mix and fusion of languages. Viewed in this light, language change is a natural process that does not necessarily involve language decline or decay. Shohamy (2006) argues that the concept of language as a fixed entity organized around discrete and distinct boundaries defined by

institutions can only be regarded as an artificial invention. He claims that the true elements of language are dynamism, evolution, and an expression of freedom as a constituent of an individual's identity.

Ricento (2006) reasons that concepts involved in the language policy process cannot be fully understood if language is merely regarded as an isolated object of study or a tool for communication that acts as a living organism. Because it is not feasible to separate language from its use and function, as described in previous literature, any intervention in how language may be used has a significant impact on language itself.

In the next section, I will explore the ideological alignment of the theories of language and the political purposes that may be broadly associated with each vision. I believe that the definitions I previously introduced may align with the three approaches in language planning as defined by the influential work of Richard Ruiz (1984): "language-as-problem," "language-as-right," and "language-as-resource." Each of these definitions emphasizes elements that fit within in each of Ruiz's categories of language planning because, as I will argue, the perceptions of language have different ideological implications that result in particular approaches to language policy.

Language and Ideology

In this section, I will discuss three main ideological perspectives on language. Because matters of culture, identity, power, and hegemony are deeply intertwined with definitions of language (Macedo et al., 2003), the definitions outlined in the previous section lead to different ideological visions of language and language policy.

Since language policy represents a means by which to further specific political interests and/or ideological considerations, as described in the previous chapter, ideology is important to understanding the scope of language policy. According to previous literature, ideology and discourse are the two central elements in understanding the production, dissemination, reproduction, and/or resistance of ideas, values, and assumptions (Fairclough, 1995; Giroux, 1984; Macedo, 2006). It is for that reason that the analytical tools that unmask the ideology behind seemingly commonsense discourses are needed. Here I use ideology as defined by Althusser (1971), who described it as a representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence, or, in Van Dijk's (1995) words:

Ideologies are basic frameworks of social cognition, shared by members of social groups, constituted by relevant selections of sociocultural values, and organized by an ideological schema that represents the self-definition of a group. Besides their social function of sustaining the interests of groups, ideologies have the cognitive function of organizing the social representations (attitudes, knowledge) of the group, and thus indirectly monitor the group-related social practices, and hence also the text and talk of members. (p. 248)

The Linguistic Assimilation Perspective: Language as a Problem

The assimilationist perspective emphasizes the concept of "one country, one language." Based on the notion that multilingualism leads to internal conflicts and misunderstandings, linguistic minorities are asked to integrate into the dominant

linguistic, social, and cultural standards (Modood, 2007). Furthermore, some argue that it is to the advantage of these linguistic minorities to fully integrate, as maintaining a minority language leads to social isolation and economic impoverishment (May, 2014).

The Marxist definition of nationalism, actually conceptualized by Stalin (1954, p. 307) but inspired by Lenin's thought, explains that "a nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture." Lenin made clear that the capitalist economic structure strives to have a common language within a common configuration of united territories so as to establish an initial "home market." This home market, identified with the concept of nation-state, would later be used as a platform for the further development of capitalism. Language, therefore, is considered an element that solidifies and holds the "home market" together (Nieto, 2007).

In fact, linguistic assimilation is part and parcel of the economic liberalism theories that favor the maintenance and promotion of the nation-state as a whole (May, 2014). Linguistic and other minority rights are regarded as "ethnic privileges" and therefore harmful to the interests of the collective nation-state. Linguistic and cultural diversity therefore must be limited to the private sphere (Kymlicka, 1989; May, 2014).

This view of language is tantamount to the argument that language unity is necessary for national security, national progress, and/or to maintain a cohesive state. The reasoning behind these viewpoints is based on three ideological assumptions that McGroarty (2002) describes as follows: (1) being proficient in a language, in this case English, is a valid and reliable indicator of national loyalty; (2) the established standard

variety of a given language, such as standard English, is presumed to be neutral; and (3) determination is the only requisite to master a language.

Linguistic assimilation advocates defend the unifying official English policy, since they consider ethnic diversity in a given nation-state to be inherently destabilizing.

Their argument is that

to serve separate political needs of minority groups and to facilitate the development of leadership elites in such groups is risky and ultimately dangerous.

Thus the support of general policies for distinct mother tongue language maintenance, and the specific funding of bilingual education in any form, undermines the peace and security of the state. (Donahue, 2002, pp. 141-142)

Authors who defend declaring English the official language in the United States emphasize that all ethnolinguistic groups within a nation must make an effort to understand each other and must be willing to overcome barriers, including linguistic ones. From this perspective, linguistic diversity is an obstacle to democratic participation and equality. Situations in which two languages are used, for example English and Spanish, are believed to generate confusion and frustration and end up in conflict (Archibugi, 2005; Huntington, 2014; Imhoff, 2006).

Other scholars have equated bilingual education with child abuse. They argue that “forcing” one’s children to speak and maintain a language other than English, referring mainly to Spanish, limits those children’s social and economic mobility in the long term. According to these authors, having one’s children speak a language other than English helps to perpetuate inequality. Therefore, it is in the best interest of the children to be

placed in English immersion programs (May, 2014). Language assimilationists argue that, if individuals choose to continue to speak a minority language, they will be responsible for their own social isolation and their limited access to economic resources, given their nonexistent or limited English proficiency (Laitin & Reich, 2003; Pogge, 2003).

Later in this chapter I will discuss the perceived association between language and economic success. Suffice it to say at this point, as Donaldo Macedo (1994) argues with respect to those who correlate speaking English with social and economic success, that other minorities in the U.S., such as African Americans, continue to be discriminated against, socially isolated, incarcerated in disproportionate numbers, and limited in their social and economic mobility, despite having spoken English for the past 200 years. Thus, the belief that there is an automatic correlation between English proficiency and economic success for minorities is an unproven one that reflects dominant culture myths rather than facts.

The Centrist or Cultural Pluralist Perspective: Language as a Resource

Based on the understanding that the reasoning behind language policies in the United States is invariably related to discourses on immigration and assimilation that involve complex narratives of the “melting-pot” ideology in American history (Spolsky, 2004; Tollefson, 2002b), the cultural pluralist perspective argues that the language policy conflict may be resolved by finding a balance between the argument that favors greater equality and rights for ethnolinguistic minorities and the argument that claims

multilingualism threatens national unity. In fact, there are two important domains that condition change for language policy in the United States: greater acceptance of pluralism, and greater emphasis on choice and individualism as expressions of individual uniqueness (McGroarty, 2002). For this reason, cultural pluralism asserts that the justification of language policy is related more to questions of group identity than to objective criteria of “communicative efficiency” and the reasonable need for a common language (Spolsky, 2004).

The cultural pluralist perspective acknowledges that, in a state with a strong and well-developed legal culture, diverse identities and separate ethnolinguistic affiliations constitute an immensely strong social resource (Donahue, 2002). It is further argued that the attempt to remove any citizen’s linguistic background violates the principles of democracy on which the U.S. system is based. On the other hand, cultural pluralists also claim that any language policy that hinders or delays the acquisition of English in an English-hegemonic country like the U.S. puts those individuals at a great social and economic disadvantage in terms of fully participating and thriving in society (Schmidt, 2000).

Understanding language as a set of communication habits deeply shaped by social experience and guided by an innate ability to master language that can shift to some degree if one individual’s social circumstances also change, the cultural pluralist perspective advocates policies that favor the maintenance of native languages, while also promoting the integration of new immigrants by supporting policies that encourage the acquisition of English. Language is viewed as a resource that benefits society at large and

must be maintained. However, the legitimacy of language policies that may limit the access and use of language is not questioned (Holm, 2000; Hudson, 1980).

Critical Language Theory: Language as a Right

Critical language theory goes beyond the two previous conceptions of language and language policy. Critical language theory emphasizes the connection between language, power, and inequality in language policy. Hence, language policy is considered a “modern-day prohibition” that restricts the possibilities of minorities and ensures their subordination (Bartolomé, 2008).

Critical theory challenges many of the popular beliefs about language and policy. First, it asserts that the notion that national unity depends on a common language is false. The belief that one nation-state corresponds with one language is a fallacy that has no real representation in the world. Multilingualism is something common in nearly all nation-states. It is actually extremely hard to find fully monolingual nation-states. It is not difficult to infer why this is so, considering that linguists estimate that between 5,000 and 8,000 languages are spoken in the world today, but there are only 180 autonomous nation-states (Wiley, 2002). The world can be considered a multilingual global community in which languages borrow from and lend to one another. Most people around the globe live in countries whose borders house more than one language or what are considered multiple varieties of a language (Schmidt, 2000; Tollefson, 2002a).

Second, critical language theory asserts that language policies, especially in education, are an important mechanism for managing social and political conflict. Critical

theorists maintain that language policy in all nation-state institutions, and especially in schools, serve the purpose of reproducing dominant culture ideologies and indoctrinating oppressed groups in English monolingualism. Imposing English monolingualism equates with negating the cultural experiences not only of linguistic minorities but also of the poor and disenfranchised (Macedo, 2006).

Third, critical language theory asserts that conflicts about language policy usually have their source in group conflicts in which language symbolizes some aspect of a struggle over political power and economic resources (Tollefson, 2002a). Thus, it is not language differences per se that may result in conflict but the use of language as a tool to repress and subordinate ethnolinguistic communities. In the United States, ethnolinguistic minorities are not only comprised of recently arrived immigrants and their children, but also former enslaved peoples and conquered indigenous peoples, including in territories annexed by the U.S. Wiley (2002) also noted that most language behavior and rights in the U.S. have been shaped by implicit and covert policies and by informal practices, which denotes that language planning has been used as an instrument of discourse, nation-state, and ideological power.

Fourth, critical language theory asserts that there is a close and complex relationship between language policy and ideology. Languages are acutely marked by accents, intonations, syntaxes, and literacies that often indicate an individual's membership in a stigmatized ethnolinguistic group and his/her place on the socioeconomic ladder. Therefore, language policy may represent a way to label or stigmatize a particular ethnolinguistic population and make that same population

responsible for their own stigmatization (Shohamy, 2006; Tollefson, 2002a). In this sense, language policy is cultural policy, and as such its intention is the formation of knowledge and the promotion of a culture that favors the dominant group's interests. As Pennycook (2002) argues,

in language policy, therefore, the issue is not so much one of mapping out the formal policies that promote or restrict the use of certain languages, but instead how debates around language, culture, and education produce particular discursive regimes. (p. 92)

Critical language theory corresponds with a core-periphery perspective, which argues that an elite core has as its mission the further disempowerment and disenfranchisement of people who are already marginalized through their membership in minority language cultures (Donahue, 2002). As an example, in the United States, the discourse of monolingualism attempts to portray minorities as a threat to the American way of life and a base from which to attack multiculturalism, bilingual education, affirmative action, welfare reform, or any other sign of diversity and "the other" (Giroux, 2001).

These three perspectives on language ideologies, as identified and described by the previous literature, have been used to propose, promote, and critique language policy. Opposing approaches to understanding language and its use lead to radically different conceptualizations and implementations of language policy. That is why the previous sections have delved into the relationship between language attitudes, beliefs, and ideologies. In the next section, I will examine the relation between language policy and

education. Previous research has found that schools are the location where most language policies are exercised and where they have the most impact (Bartolomé, 2008; Menken & Garcia, 2010; Ricento, 2006). The connection between language policy and education is also especially significant for the present study, as education is one of its central variables.

Literature Review on Language Policy

In this section, I synthesize and evaluate the literature research on education and language policy that is relevant to the present study. Previous literature has identified factors that may be affected by the adoption of language policies. Although there are consequences for the integration or assimilation of recent immigrants, such as these populations' access to government or other resources, the most relevant consequences of language policies are felt at schools (Menken & Garcia, 2010). For this reason, I begin by discussing the connections between education and language policy. I then identify other social, economic, and political areas also affected by these policies.

Education and Language Policy

Between 2000 and 2010, the number of students eligible for English language development and support services grew by more than 50 percent across the nation. By the end of the previous decade, according to the U.S. Census, more than one in four school-aged children lived in homes where a language other than English was spoken (National Education Association, 2011; U.S. Department of Education, 2010). The population of

children entering school who grow up with two languages has increased by 40 percent in the last decade (Garcia & Jensen, 2009). U.S. schools are educating approximately 11 million children of immigrants; about 5.3 million, or 10 percent of public school enrollment in PreK-12 in U.S. public schools, are ELs (Migrant Policy Institute, 2012).

These students, labeled “limited English proficient” in the last reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, have the lowest performance of all demographic subgroups and the largest gap in achievement compared to their white peers. Only 4 percent achieved proficiency on the reading test of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), versus 31 percent of all students. These students also have significantly higher dropout rates (Capps, Fix, Murray, Ost, Passel, & Herwanto, 2005). Fifty-nine percent of Latino ELs drop out of high school, whereas 15 percent of Latinos proficient in English drop out of high school. Overall, ELs are 20 percent more likely to drop out than non-EL students (Fry, 2003).

English learner students have been caught in the crossfire of two opposing theoretical alternatives. Whereas some studies claim that maintaining the students’ native language and cultural identity results in a greater academic achievement, others argue that complete linguistic and cultural assimilation is an important factor in educational success (Blackledge, 2005; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, & Christian, 2006; Huntington, 2004; Valenzuela, 1999; Wiley et al., 2009; Wilson & Hughes, 2006).

Whatever the case, there is a wealth of research indicating that using the student’s first language as a bridge to the second is educationally more effective and has better implications for the child’s social, cultural, and educational development (August &

Shanahan, 2006; Cummins 2000; Krashen, 1996; Nieto, 2009). Furthermore, no studies suggest that maintaining or developing a language other than English has a detrimental effect on academic achievement. However, heritage language development has been shown to enhance identity formation and social relationships, which in turn foster academic success (Lee & Suarez, 2009).

Critical theorists regard schools' education language policies as being imposed by hegemonic powers that reflect privilege and socioeconomic status (Bourdieu, 1991; Foucault, 1980; Gramsci, 1988; Habermas, 1985; Tollefson, 2006). Historically, the use of language education in schools has primarily been a response to socio-political and economic pressures, instead of being part of a pedagogically sound strategic plan (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Ovando, 2003). Education language policies have often been determined by the attitude of a majority toward a particular minority group or groups (Leibowitz, 1976).

In such a political landscape, bilingual and dual-language school programs—programs that either provide instruction in the students' native language or foster biliteracy and bilingualism—have often been presented as affirmative ethnicity programs and thus antithetical to the American spirit and a threat to national unity. Bilingual programs are also regarded with distrust because, in the high-stakes, test-taking educational environment we live in, they take time and resources away from tutoring, remedial courses, and other specific test-taking preparation (Freeman & Freeman, 2011; Wright, 2004).

So far, three states—Arizona, California, and Massachusetts—have adopted specific education policies that limit the use of bilingual instruction in schools in favor of total English immersion programs. In the United States in general, the number of English learners who received instruction in their native language was only 40 percent by the 2001-2002 school year (Zehler, Fleischman, Hopstock, Stephenson, Pendzick, & Sapru, 2003); I expect that percentage is less today.

The lack of use of native language as a medium of instruction in schools raises questions about the possible significant losses ELs may incur while learning English. In fact, federal legislation requires that schools take every measure to keep EL students from losing ground in acquiring academic content, such as math or science. Language minority children certainly need not only English language instruction but also the appropriate academic content in order to meet the high standards of subject-matter testing in today's schools (Wiley, 2009). A report from the New York City Board of Education released in 2000 considered English learners' high dropout rates a direct result of the lack of school readiness in an English language environment, and of the lack of native instruction support in the development of their academic skills (Cortina, 2009).

Another question in dispute relative to adopting language policies in schools is the time it may take a student to learn English and participate fully in mainstream classrooms. Whereas the general approach in restrictive policies is to consider a year long enough, research has sufficiently documented that it may take between five and seven years for a student to acquire the necessary academic language skills to be successful in subject-matter classes (Cummins, 2001; Hakuta, Butler, & Witt, 2000; Krashen, 2000).

Some studies present evidence that restrictive policies and inadequate educational programs for English learners represent a form of segregation that may cause EL students to lose interest in school. In these programs, EL students are virtually excluded from college preparatory tracks, and they instead receive watered-down instruction that erodes their social and cultural capital (Callahan, 2005; Cortina, 2009; Valenzuela, 1999). Paradoxically, these programs not only reduce the students' chances of succeeding academically, they also reduce their ability to learn English (Valdez, 2001).

In 1991, the United Nations Declaration on Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic Minorities declared that "states should take appropriate measures so that, whenever possible, persons belonging to National or Ethnic minorities may have adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue" (as cited in Spring, 2000, p. 31). However, as stated above, language policies in U.S. schools are moving away from providing not only instruction but also support in the native language. Previous literature has linked learning conditions that fail to meet the needs of EL students with the widening achievement gap between English learners and white English monolingual students (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Wright & Li, 2008).

As mentioned in the beginning of this section, language policies have a significant impact at school, especially when they restrict students' language use. Previous research also has explored the connections between language policy and other socio-economic variables, as I will discuss in the next section.

Language Policy, Socio-Economic Success, and Democracy

One important argument of theorists who support the adoption of official English policies is that these policies serve as a bridge to globalization, especially for communities that remain beyond the social and economic benefits of the mainstream (Archibuggi, 2005). Hirsch (1988) stated that “linguistic pluralism enormously increases cultural fragmentation, civil antagonism, illiteracy, and economic-technological ineffectualness” (p. 91, cited by Lo Bianco, 2014, p. 312). Others have argued that language rights and minority language education, including Native American languages, represent political projects that have the intention of destabilizing America’s democratic system (Bernstein, 1994; Lo Bianco, 2014).

These claims combine social, political, and economic variables with language and language education, and identify elements of socio-political conflict that are directly associated with linguistic diversity. However, Tollefson (2002c) asserts that such a relationship depends not on the degree of diversity but on the particular “local” connections between language and various forms of social and economic inequality.

From a different perspective, Wiley (1998) states that language remains a strong marker for social and economic differentiation and discrimination. He argues that policies that enforce English-only mandates are not designed to improve linguistic minorities’ chances of assimilation and instead represent a kind of “ethnolinguistic domestication” (p. 194), which is the reason these policies gather so much resistance among minority groups.

Wiley (1998) also predicts that, if English were declared the official language of the United States, it would accentuate social ascription based on the variety of English any given individual or group speaks. It would also exacerbate gatekeeping encounters, depending on an individual's level of English proficiency. In both cases, Wiley predicts an intensification of the struggle between groups. In a similar vein, Tollefson (2002c) argues that the promotion of language rights has a positive effect on reducing the potential for language conflict.

Still other scholars associate diversity with conflict, arguing that language diversity creates opportunities for miscommunication and division. The role of one dominant language is emphasized as a predictor of economic success, social integration, and greater opportunity. According to these scholars, perpetuating minority languages can only perpetuate inequality, and parents who choose to teach their children a language other than English are similar to the "happy slave." Most of these authors identified not speaking English very well or "resisting" English as characteristic of the Hispanic community (Huntington, 2004; Imhoff, 1990; Laitin & Reich, 2003; Pogge, 2003).

This association between speaking English and social and economic success has been questioned from many directions, especially in analyzing the situation of other oppressed English-speaking minorities in the U.S., such as African Americans, but also in comparing the percentage of Latinos who stated on the U.S. Census that they do not speak English well to the percentage who live at or below the poverty line; it is revealing that the percentage of Latinos living below the poverty line is twice as high as those who declare they do not speak English well (May, 2014).

These facts may indicate that language policy is correlated to a larger extent with racism, prejudice, and discrimination than with economic success. In fact, a large body of literature suggests that these policies' actual intention is to preserve the privileges of an elite that speaks a specific variety of English, which is considered the standard, whereas all other variations or languages are regarded as inferior (Macedo, 1994; May, 2014; Wiley, 2006).

Synthesis of the Literature Review

As described in this literature review, language policy is affected by many different fields. The definition of language and the ideological implications behind those definitions to a large extent impact the possible interpretations and motivations of language policy. Whether language is regarded as a problem, as a right, or as a resource, following Ruiz's (1984) categorization, it generates dissimilar perspectives in the justification for and implementation of language policy.

Each definition of language is substantiated by heavily charged ideological considerations of language: its origin, function, and role in society. Therefore, language policy cannot be properly understood unless it is connected to the vision of language within the ideological considerations of the larger political spectrum. The role and motivation of language policy is connected to beliefs about language, multilingualism and multiculturalism, the rights of minority groups and their integration and/or assimilation, the ideal social cohesion and division, pluralist education, democracy, empowerment, and social and economic success.

Language policies have a particular impact on education policies, as they influence how linguistic minority children are perceived and educated in U.S. schools. For those who favor official English policies, questions about integration have a special consideration when using English as the exclusive medium of instruction, which is coupled with arguments about economic efficiency and long-term opportunities for students. However, those opposed to official English policies consider that eliminating a language students already speak represents a form of violence that will impact their possibilities for real integration and their long-term socio-economic status. Previous studies show that, because EL students have not yet mastered English, receiving instruction at school in a language they do not understand leads to lower performance and higher dropout rates (Menken & Garcia, 2010).

Although previous research seems to identify instruction or socio-economic factors that are affected by language policy, there is still not much quantitative evidence to support those findings. There also are no in-depth analyses of the official English legislation that identify patterns and stated or desired goals. The present study attempts to fill that void by (1) critically analyzing official English policies, (2) determining socio-economic factors that are statistically related to the adoption of official English legislation, and (3) examining the differences in funding for linguistic minority students in K-12 education and their educational outcomes.

The next chapter begins the qualitative analysis of this dissertation, combining critical discourse analysis and critical theory in language policy. It describes the conceptual framework used in this phase of the study, which delves into the concepts of

science and knowledge and then links them to language and policy. I will provide an exhaustive description of the methodology used to respond to the qualitative question. Finally, I will detail the data collection and analysis process and summarize the findings. This analysis in particular examines the official English policies adopted at the state level in the United States in the 20th and early 21st centuries. It identifies the characteristics of the policies, the stated outcomes, and any aspects of the policies that are indicative of the construction of a similar discourse. The findings indicate that, despite the stated beliefs in the benefits of acquiring English, most official English policies just declare the promotion and strengthening of the English language as their outcome. Official English policies largely share the same structural and procedural characteristics.

CHAPTER 4

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF OFFICIAL ENGLISH POLICIES: DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS, AND FINDINGS, PART I

In this chapter, I introduce the first qualitative part of the analysis conducted for this dissertation. Building on the socio-political and historical framework and guided by the literature reviewed in the previous chapters, this phase of the study addresses the question: *What are the characteristics, similarities, variances, and stated outcomes, if any, of official English policies enacted in the United States?*

The following sub-questions will also be addressed, using the critical discourse analysis model:

1. What kind of generic structures do official English policies display? Are these structures commonly found across this type of policy and other policies? Are there particular models that states follow to draft official English policy?

2. How are key concepts, such as language, communication, identity(ies), and social interrelations, theorized and construed? Are alternative theories taken into account? How is the policy's contribution to greater understanding established?

3. Who is represented and who is omitted in the process of establishing English as the official language of the state? Whose perspective(s) are taken into consideration and

for whose benefit is official English advocated? How is language diversity considered? Is dissent tolerated? What ethical understandings can be drawn from the policies enacted?

To contextualize the research design, I first present the conceptual framework that informs this study: critical theory in language policy. The chapter also includes a comprehensive description and rationale for the methodology used: critical discourse analysis. CDA is an ideal strategy, not only to identify the grammatical and structural characteristics of the policies but also to unveil the ideological discursive elements embedded in the language of the legislation. Then, I describe the data and their sources, as well as the process undertaken to analyze them, and I end up with a brief report of the overarching findings of the analysis. The findings section includes a detailed description of the preponderant models and exemplars of official English policies adopted at the state level.

I argue that the models of legislative wording that have become official English law in the United States have similar characteristics and patterns. Official English legislation seems to follow specific policy models that have been constructed from previous ones. In most of the legislation, the stated outcome is the protection, promotion, and strengthening of the English language, although the legislation does not necessarily clarify how such a goal is attainable. The policies in effect serve to institutionalize the primacy of English and to discriminate not against other languages but against those who speak them.

Conceptual Framework

The theoretical framework I draw from is critical theory in language policy. Theory is still relatively underdeveloped in the field of language policy (Tollefson, 2006; Williams, 1992), so the present study also attempts to contribute to the strengthening of critical language policy theory.

From critical theory, the present study borrows the following assumptions:

(1) a critical examination of epistemology and methodology is inseparable from social science; (2) structural social categories, especially class, race, and gender, and their relation in terms of power and hegemony, are central elements in understanding socio-political constructs.

The following is a discussion of how these two assumptions are integrated into the theoretical base of the present research and how they apply to language policy. First, I discuss the need for a critical examination of scientific knowledge and, in particular, how knowledge is produced in social science. A traditional and naive view of science, like that in an aseptic laboratory where the researcher is merely an impartial observer of facts and devoid of all bias, is unapproachable and, I would argue, undesirable in the real world.

Then, to provide a better understanding of the second assumption in the conceptual framework, I discuss how language as an element of power is linked to socio-political constructs such as class, race, and gender. Understanding how connections between language and power can be articulated through policy is essential in order to properly evaluate and capture the implications of official English policies, especially for ethnolinguistic social groups.

Science and Knowledge: An Examination of Neutrality and Objectivity in Scientific Inquiry

The present study is guided by the notion that neutrality and objectivity are not equivalent terms. Every theory or perspective reflects a set of values attached to it, whether or not it does so explicitly. Social scientists are, by nature, socially, historically, and politically positioned. Therefore, the values of the observers and their ideological stance inevitably influence their perception and evaluation of the world (Sayer, 2000). In this sense, it is not feasible for the researchers to obliterate any traces of their own persona during the process of research analysis.

Foucault (1985) has shown that the idea that it is possible, through rigorous research methods and techniques, to weed out ideology, defined as the researcher's subjective beliefs, from knowledge, understood as pure truth, is a fallacy. Indeed, one of Foucault's main contributions to the epistemology of science was his criticism of the dualism of ideology and the belief that there is an intrinsic reality or "truth" once said ideology is removed. Foucault argues that, in reality, truth, power, and knowledge are intrinsically connected and the challenge is to determine the role of power in the production of knowledge (Mills, 2003).

For Foucault, the challenge is not necessarily to separate which observations may be categorized as science or "truth" and which as ideology, as this is a false divide. Instead, the challenge for scientific inquiry is in observing how social, economic,

historical, and cultural hegemonic discourses of truth are produced, disseminated, and resisted within those observations (Mills, 2003). In Kumar's (2005) words,

Foucault believed that ideas, theories, world-views, moral codes and ways of thinking and "problematizing" generally, are historically conditioned by, and have no meaning apart from, a historical background of social practices, traditions, customs, institutions, all pervaded by relations of control, domination, power and resistance. (p. 42)

Foucault (1985) claimed that these discursive "formations of knowledge" or "regimes of truth" were internalized, embodied, and enacted not necessarily by the establishment of an imposed ideological belief-system, but through subtle techniques and coercive practices executed by those in power. For example, the concept of language constructed and disseminated by governmental institutions as a representation of the establishment and history of a given nation is ultimately accepted as "truth." Fairclough (1992) also refers to these as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (p. 42).

The argument that knowledge and understanding and discourses are built by practices of power implies that contexts and pieces of evidence of any social reality can never be completely self-explanatory or fully understood in isolation. Social facts need to be interpreted and explained in light of specific socio-political and historical conditions. Therefore, social analysis is often a sort of projection of potential outcomes and an evaluation of the desirability of those outcomes, given a series of established parameters. Because of the interpretive condition of any knowledge claims, the nature of research

tools is necessarily social and historical (Sayer, 2000). Such analysis presupposes a specific perspective on the nature of social science or, in Foucault's terms, on notions of truth, knowledge, and values.

The view that ideology is systematically and unavoidably part of knowledge has implications for the selection and use of methodological instruments. However, rather than being a disadvantage—as often portrayed—the intimate connection between ideology and knowledge makes it possible for social sciences not “merely [to] discover and name practices which already exist but [to] be implicated in the construction of practices, thereby bringing new ones into being” (Sayer, 2000, p. 44).

Obviously, this view directly opposes the notion of social science as an objective, “pure,” and “neutral” tool that provides access to the material and social world “as it truly exists.” This positivistic position assumes that facts stand for themselves and that reality, and its truth, exists in some sort of idealized form independent from the observer's view (Foucault, 1985).

However, the fact that our perception and evaluation of the world have both subjective and objective aspects does not imply support for an “anything-goes” attitude in scientific inquiry. Instead, scientific findings must be debated and evaluated whether or not they are appropriate to the issues they intend to explain, and this includes an explicit reference to the conceptual framework on which those findings are based (Sayer, 2000). It is for this reason that CDA is a particularly good conceptual approach and method for the present study. CDA serves to both contextualize the discourse within which the object of study, policy in this case, operates at the time of adoption, while explicating,

deconstructing, and debating the theoretical grounding that informs the findings in the analysis (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Policy changes involve objective, subjective, and normative issues, and CDA analysis is a well-grounded interpretative and explanatory exercise that, in Fairclough and Wodak's (1997) words, "is never finished and authoritative [but] dynamic and open, open to new contexts and new information" (p. 279).

Drawing from this understanding of social scientific knowledge, language policies are understood as an interpretive and evaluative socio-political practice that not only regulates how social norms are put into place but also establishes the conduct of entire communities. In the case of language policy, references to a given status quo or a set of beliefs regarded as "natural" are generally used to justify specific policy decisions. These policies result in the implementation of social structures and educational demands that not only shape the policy process itself but also feed back into wider perceptions and dynamics of the social change in question (Pennycook, 1994, p. 225). It is precisely the ultimate goal of this research to clarify how the discourse within official English policies not only rules out the use of languages other than English, but also creates the conditions in which presenting any alternative linguistic scenario in the United States is seen as "false" or "wrong," thereby perpetuating the exclusion of a given population.

Next I will discuss the second assumption of critical theory in relation to the present study, and how class, race and ethnicity, and power are deeply connected to language and language policy.

Language and Power: The Structures of Hegemonic Discourse(s)

In 1492, Nebrija produced the first document that explicitly linked language and power by developing a Spanish grammar compendium that was to be used as a “*weapon* in the colonization of the Indies” (Nieto, 2007). However, it was in Johann Gottfried Herder’s (1772) “Treatise on the Origin of Language” that the connection was conceptually established between the foundations of comparative philology and the realm of politics.

During the nationalist movements in Europe, where territories were occupied by heterogeneous groups of people, it was of the utmost importance to find common signs with which those people could identify so the various groups could bond within the incipient nations. Statists had to generate specific symbols and myths about common founding events and distinguishing features to create the idea of a shared history and a shared destiny (Anderson, 1983).

Herder (1772, cited in Edwards, 1985), immersed in the quest for a German nation, encouraged other Germans to “spew out the ugly slime of the Seine [and] Speak German, O You German” (p. 24). Obviously, Herder was figuratively asking Germans not to speak French, but more importantly, he was agglutinating all the dialects that at the time were part of the Germanic territories—then an incipient nation-state—as part of the German language and nationality.

Although Herder (1772) was able to envision a culturally and linguistically pluralist world, he did not seem to believe that a culturally and linguistically pluralist nation was possible. Furthermore, by degrading French to the category of “ugly slime,”

he reinforced the notion that nations are formed in opposition to outside foreign traits (Edwards, 1985).

Language then became a central element in the construction of national identities, a primary marker of national homogeneity and an indelible source of national identification. As a consequence, nation-states became regarded as “essentially groups of people speaking the same language” (Lo Bianco, 2000, p. 95), while languages became discrete and distinct entities that expressed the culture and the worldview of people from a particular nation-state. In fact, this imagined connection between language and national identity seems so universal that, to this day, it is taken as self-evident and commonsensical.

However, the association of language and nationalism had an even more insidious effect. As a result of such association, the notion of “the ideal native speaker” was invented, along with the view of culture and language as a set of discrete and isolated values that belong to a specific national group. Both of these myths reinforced an artificial identification of a given nationality with “natural” positive categorical attributes and served to denounce the deficient or lesser category of “the other” under the scientifically sanctioned label of logical positivism (Ederson, 2002).

This reasoning served as a basis for imposing explicit language policies that mandated the use of one dialect and marginalized the rest of the languages that may have been used by minorities. These policies were accompanied by a variety of practices and policies to suppress differences, and to marginalize, exclude, and persecute “others” (Baumann, 1999, p. xxvi).

Later on, in the 1950s-1960s, language policy was presented as a symbolic measure to resolve conflicts and settle the status of different languages and dialects, especially within developing nations. Still, nation-building was deeply associated with language policy introduced as a process of modernization (Hornberger, 2006). However, identifying language policy exclusively as an instrument for settling disputes between competing languages and achieving modernization assumes that economic progress and social peace can only be accomplished by using only one language (Cooper, 1989). Moreover, modernization was to be achieved in former colonies by adopting European standard language models (Shohamy, 2006).

Categorizing language policy as symbolic policy or status policy minimizes or even disregards the power struggle behind it. In both cases, language policy is presented as a symbolic element without many practical implications, or as a mechanism to unite or modernize a nation-state around a “common” language in which two groups play a tug-of-war from different ends of a linguistic spectrum (Shohamy, 2006). The notion that language policy is a mechanism to resolve linguistic problems was contested by Tollefson (2002b), who argued that language policy is actually not trying to resolve, as in coming to a final solution, but to settle, as in to establish rules and mechanisms of action, a conflict about power and the hegemony between different groups.

The present study is guided by a notion of language and language policy that is based on the postmodernist interpretation of Alastair Pennycook (2006): “Postmodern language policy is about mapping language policy against changing economic and political conditions” (p. 61). Critical language policy theory considers language as a

vehicle for the construction, the replication, and the transmission of social and cultural values, as defined in chapter 3, and as such deeply linked to social, political, and economic conditions (Pennycook, 2006). Therefore, attributing status or functions or values to languages ultimately implies favoring one social group over another. In this regard, language policy is a social construct that involves not only the overt rules or policies enacted but, more importantly, the implicit practices that become entrenched in the culture, the belief system, attitudes, and myths of a given nation (Schiffman, 1996). As a result, language policy may be used in the establishment or maintenance of the hegemonic structure putting one group over others.

In beginning to flesh out the relation between language, policy, and power from a postmodernist perspective, it is necessary to understand that the attempt to represent culture and language as objective categories as if they were homogeneous and fixed entities is, in the end, a question of power: in defining culture and language “objectively,” who has the power to define? Who is meant to be excluded by being defined as “the other”? From a critical perspective, culture and language are not discrete entities with fixed meanings but representations of active construction of meanings (Street, 1993; Macedo & Bartolomé, 2001).

Culture and language are socially constructed. In other words, they are reproduced but also created by people. Actually, it may be argued that human beings are the result of linguistic and socio-cultural circumstances (Kalantis, Cope, & Slade, 1989, cited in Nieto, 1999). Culture and language, therefore, cannot be neutral. Culture, as language, depends on particular geographical, historical, and sociopolitical contexts and

is thus susceptible to issues of power; or, rather, language and culture are always imbricated in power relations (Macedo & Bartolomé, 2001; Nieto, 1999).

Antonio Gramsci (1971) stressed that culture, as a tool of hegemony, is not merely a symbolic force exerted by those in power but a subtle and multifaceted combination of coercion and consent. Hegemony originates in a given social class from an awareness of its lack of homogeneity, and it reflects the intent to create larger alliances and gain the support of the majority to legitimize their ascent to power (Heywood, 1994). Through a process of integration and a synthesis of political, social, cultural, and moral elements based on an apparently autonomous institutional system (i.e., civil society and education), an alleged universal culture or universal set of values is produced although these values are actually specific to a particular social class or group (Swingewood, 1998).

Gramsci (1971) explains that these universal values are established through a process by which a population consents to the attitudes and interests of the ruling class. Once established, society at large accepts those values as its own and in its own interests. The transformation of a partial and limited worldview into a universal state of being—in other words, as “the way things are”—is vital to the maintenance of economic and political hegemony (Brooker, 1999).

However, hegemony requires the continuous suppression and dehumanization of “the other” (i.e., those in opposition to the universal culture) in order to prevent resistance and dissent. For that reason, hegemony is a never-ending process (Swingewood, 1998). As an element of this process, language policy is part of the ongoing effort to eliminate

dissent. Gramsci (1971) asserted that, when the issue of language comes to the forefront, the underlying question is always about the reorganization of cultural hegemony (as cited in Bartolomé, 2008).

The understanding of language that is the basis of this study is in opposition to the previous description of language as a reified good that is equally accessed and shared by all members of a supposedly homogeneous community. Language is not conceived as a fixed structure of morphological, phonological, syntactical, and semantic norms established with the sole intention of facilitating communication, and it certainly is more than a shared means of communication between different actors involved in a given social, economic, or political process (Macedo et al., 2003).

The theory of language and language use for the present study is aligned with Bourdieu's (1991) detailed analysis of the relationship between power and language. Language can never be only a means of communication because it is primarily a social practice, and as such a form and source of social and cultural capital. Bourdieu (1986) defined social capital as the potential or actual resources generated by the social networks and/or institutionalized relationships to which a given individual has access. He also defined cultural capital as the advantages an individual has due to the transmitted knowledge, skills, education, attitudes, and other traits considered to provide higher social status.

For that reason, there is a world of negotiated meanings and understandings behind language constructs that represent social structures as much as grammatical structures. Language serves the dual purpose of social identification and social

classification. That is to say, a particular language, dialect, or accent identifies an individual as belonging (or not) to a particular social group and, at the same time, categorizes the individual into a specific cultural and economic status within such social group. As a result, language policy is the element that “unlevels” the field for intrinsically linguistic beings (Bourdieu, 1991).

Critical language policy research challenges the assumption that legally regulating the use of a language enhances linguistic minorities’ opportunities for economic growth. In fact, language policies that are enacted in the name of economic efficiency are often employed to create and sustain social inequity through artificial barriers. Policymakers, masking their true intentions behind benefit-maximization arguments, are pivotal in promoting the interest of dominant groups (Macedo, 2004; Pennycook, 2006).

Similarly, language can be used to disenfranchise some groups and reward others. As John Forester (1989) argues, policy-planning organizations “selectively channel information and attention, systematically shape participation, services, and (often problematic) promises. Every organization reproduces a world of promise, hope, expectation, frustration, dependence, and trust, just as it may shape the natural or material world” (p. 20). In this case, language is not only an instrument of communication but also *the instrument of delivery*. Language, as an integral part of the policy-making process, can be used to encourage democratic participation and public dialogue, thus enabling “citizens . . . not only to find out about issues affecting their lives but also to communicate meaningfully with other citizens about problems, social needs, and alternative policy options” (Forester, 1989, p. 22). Language may also be used as a tool to

restrict or exclude public understanding and participation through what Forester calls “noise and flak,” ingredients that are purposefully intended to confuse and intimidate.

This is why it is so important to observe the stated outcomes of these policies, to situate them socio-historically, and to identify social and economic indicators to determine if their values are associated with the desired policy outcomes. Following this reasoning, it is the intention of this study to measure the degree to which the language policy enacted up to now responds to its original stated intent, and to assess how it aligns with the aforementioned theories that equate language assimilation with economic and social progress rather than domination—or, as Wiley (2002) and Bartolomé (2008) put it, “assimilation for subordination.”

The fact that some language groups are often displaced in favor of others is obscured by concepts of benefit maximization, rational and neutral means of communication, as well as economically “more advantageous” strategies (Ricento, 2006). In order to unveil that relationship, the present dissertation aims to observe how official English policies benefit the nation as a whole, including the protection of the intrinsic rights of linguistic minorities, and how much they reinforce prejudice, racism, and colonization.

In this section, I have discussed the conceptual framework that informs this dissertation. In particular, I have explored the relation between science and objectivity in social science. I believe that no social science research can be value-free or “neutral.” I have also examined the connections between language, policy, and power. Because language is deeply connected to personal, social, and cultural identity, language policy is

a mechanism to establish and sustain relations of power among different linguistic groups. In the present study, those two assumptions ground the analysis of the official English legislation that has been enacted at the state level in the United States. In the next section I will describe critical discourse analysis, the method used in the present dissertation, to respond to the first research question: *What are the characteristics, similarities, variances, and stated outcomes, if any, of official English policies enacted in the United States?*

Methodology: Critical Discourse Analysis

In the present section, critical discourse analysis is presented as an ideal method to capture and analyze the dialectical relationship between language, power, and policy. CDA, on the one hand, examines the morphologic, syntactic, and semantic structures of the text that was adopted as official English legislation. On the other hand, CDA also facilitates access to the meaningful representations of social and economic structures beyond the actual text by situating it in relation to the normative beliefs of the United States at the time in which the policy was adopted.

The CDA results also inform the analysis used to respond to the two quantitative questions. Drawing from the text analysis of the policy, the second phase of the study will look for statistical evidence of the representations of the policy in those characteristics and outcomes that are salient in the discourse of official English policies. Merging both qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a deeper perspective into the reasons for and the goals behind official English language policies.

Departing from the understanding of language policy as a discursive practice, the use of CDA as a valid and reliable method of analysis in this study is substantiated by the fact that CDA is a textually oriented method of analysis. CDA endeavors to detail and explain the ways in which socially shared knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies can be produced, disseminated, and reproduced or resisted through established discourses (Van Dijk, 1993).

Van Dijk (1993) claims that representations of social practices are constructed first upon the means by which those practices are built or, in the case of policy, by the political actors. However, the power to utilize words to depict one particular reality over another and the power to convey that a certain reality aligns with a particular ideological framework, which reinforces or devalues a given societal cultural trait, is an essential element in the construction of social practices as well. In this fashion, English may be represented as the language of the United States, whereas other languages are depicted merely as foreign languages challenging the role of English, regardless of the real historical circumstances of those representations.

As I argued previously in my conceptual framework, it is my understanding that no social science research can be value-free or “neutral.” A critical discourse analysis in particular, by its very nature, is normative and critical; it was in fact developed out of a critique of the structuralist conception of language (Fairclough, 2003). Structuralism, as was explained earlier, interprets language as an abstract system of signs devoid of any contextual considerations. Language is considered a grammatically closed system based on fixed structures without consideration of how it is used or for what purposes.

In opposition to the structuralist concept of language, CDA departs from a view of language as deeply connected to personal, cultural, and social identity. As such, CDA analyzes discourses (representations of social practices from a specific perspective) and genres (interaction in its textualized form) in official English policies in a wider historical, political, social, and educational context (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999; Fairclough, 1995). CDA, as part of the field of applied linguistics, delves into the role of language in social life. It focuses not on “language or the use of language in and for themselves, but upon the partially linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 271).

The understanding that social science is conceptually and theoretically driven, and that all methodologies depart from implicit or explicit theoretical assumptions, explains the reason for using CDA in the present dissertation. The ultimate intention is to avoid “theoreticism,” that is, to develop theory for theory’s sake, or “methodologism,” the fetish of the method, that method is what matters, regardless of theory. Instead, theory and method are developed simultaneously in a reflexive manner in order to produce new findings (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). The term “method” is therefore not employed here in the sense of a unique, infallible set of tools for linguistic analysis. Rather, it means a system for collecting, interpreting, and discussing evidence under an explicit theoretical understanding (Fairclough, 1995).

The CDA approach adopted for the present study follows the general framework described by Fairclough (1995). The CDA framework proceeds from identifying the social problem to be investigated in its specific socio-historical context through an

analysis of the specific role text plays. The final analysis contains a three-dimensional framework comprised of text, discourse practice (i.e., analysis of processes of text production, consumption, and distribution), and sociocultural practice (i.e., sociocultural analysis of the discursive event). Such analysis allows for a profound exploration and discussion of potential alternative perspectives and discourses on the respective policies.

It is useful to clarify, following Fairclough (1995), that discourse is a form of social practice, and that discourse analysis is defined as the analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice. The purpose of this framework is to include in the analysis the processes of text production, distribution (chain relationships or paradigmatic), and consumption. Our analysis intends to capture how official English policies were initially produced, how they were made known to other actors in the political process, and, finally, how they were offered to the public in general.

The term “discourse” has been used widely and in a number of vague and sometimes confusing forms. In general, discourse is understood as language in use. Van Dijk (1993) defined discourse as “talk and text in context.” However, for the present study, I use the term following James Gee’s (2012) definition: discourse is a perspective of language in use that acknowledges that the contexts of production and reception of a specific act of speech include not only the language being used, but also the whole process of communication, which includes nonverbal cues, and the social, political, and historical interpretation of the specific act of speech. The most important aspect of discourse in this sense is that it is a set of habits recognizable by most members of a particular social class, cultural group, or any other social institution or organization. In

this sense, discourse may serve as a marker to determine the inclusion or exclusion of particular individuals or groups in a given social context.

While discourse refers to the representational function of language, the term “genre,” as defined by Bakhtin (1986), describes the conventional forms of language use and interaction associated with particular social institutions and communities of practice. Bathia (2004) defined genre in relation to particular professional communities, such as lawyers or academics, as a “rhetorical strategy used within a professional culture to organize knowledge in the form of professional action to achieve the objectives of professional communities” (p. 179).

Fairclough (1995) views the order of discourse as a reflection of the social order—in other words, the historical impression of socio-cultural practice on discourse. He further argues that any discursive event necessarily positions itself in relation to its historical legacy, selectively reproducing or transforming it. In addition, the connection between text and sociocultural practices is mediated by discourse practice. In this case, the term “order of discourse” connects discourse to social structure and emphasizes the relational and dynamic nature of discursive practices (Fairclough, 1995, p. 62), including the interpretation and reinterpretation of both external and internal causes and effects. This implies a dual perspective on texts. Texts are considered a product in the moment they are written, but also a process, a social interaction that involves possible audiences and ongoing processes of interpretation.

One of the goals of CDA is to capture specific changes in the order of discourses, which may reveal social changes. To identify changes in the order of discourses, the

CDA relies on analytical concepts to explore discourses, such as genre and genre integrity, order of discourse, hybridity, intertextuality, and interdiscursivity. Hybridity is defined as the mixing of discourses and genres, whereas intertextuality and interdiscursivity refer to the several ways texts and discourses relate to each other—how they are connected and how they differ, whether in natural (as a result of logic causality) or artificial ways (Fairclough, 1995, 2003). Fairclough (2003) also points to the details of the text, such as how cohesion is produced—repetition, links, arguments, references—but also to the incoherencies, contradictions, silences, and hidden representations as sources of the ideological stances in any given context as part of the discourse of the text at hand.

Following this reasoning, by using a CDA approach, language policies are regarded as discursive instances of broader social practices, such as the regulation and establishment of socio-political norms about communication, education, property, and more. These social practices overlap and mutually influence each other and also influence the socio-political space in which they were produced. After all, “texts would be redundant if they changed nothing” (Fairclough, Jessop, & Sayer, 2002, p. 2). That is to say, every text is produced with a definite goal to alter, continue, or amend any specific social and/or cultural practices.

Through a CDA model, I map the discursive make-up of language policy by identifying the key concepts used, the political and ethical values produced (or reproduced), and the consequences these conceptualizations entail for the representation of the object of the policy and its general understanding. I also examine the generic

properties of the policies, particularly the purposes and functions they serve, whether or not they are stated in the texts.

The CDA approach developed by Fairclough (1995) was methodologically based on the functional systemic form of linguistic analysis introduced by Halliday (1985). Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) classifies linguistic features in relation to the function they play in specific context. That is to say, language is considered a social semiotic system (Halliday, 2000).

SFL focuses on what language “does,” viewing it as “a system of phonological, lexico-grammatical, semantic and textual/organizational resources which are chosen and assembled in order to achieve different effects in the respective social context” (Halliday, 2000, p. xvi). Therefore, linguistic choices are not random, and a particular language is related to specific social circumstances and the communicative intentions of those circumstances. However, SFL generally focuses on the micro-textual aspects of any given communicative situation, whereas CDA relates the micro-textual with the macro-social aspects (Fairclough, 1995).

In this sense, CDA not only analyzes the discursive elements of a particular discourse or genre, it also observes the order established in those discourses in relation to each other as social events. It may also be used as a tool to find possible alternatives as an agenda of emancipation (Beaugrande, 1997). In this vein, Sayer (2004) states, “There is no point in critique if it doesn’t contribute or at least point toward the reduction of illusions and improvements in well-being” (p. 12).

CDA pays special attention to, but is not limited to, a legislation's stated outcomes and the definition of success. Examining these two attributes of the letter and the spirit of the law will help identify the policies, common or diverse, that have been followed in passing language policy in the United States. Both stated outcomes and measures of success will inform the initial justification of purpose and the original motive for enacting the law.

The final intention of this model is to consider how the text is associated with the particular social activity to which it belongs, in this case the legal-democratic system, and how its language responds to this particular activity. In other words, no text should be analyzed in isolation. The social dimension of texts is of particular importance in understanding how they respond to, or generate, a social preference. It is for that reason that I analyze the nature of the (dis)connections between these texts. In the present study, identifying the text connections to look into the order of discourse provides insights into how linguistic preferences are established in the United States.

Theoretical Tools

The CDA model employed in the present dissertation employs the five theoretical tools described by Gee (2011):

The Situated Meaning Tool. Departing from the concept that words have meaning beyond general dictionary-type definitions, Gee (2011) states that words' meanings actually vary according to the specific and different contexts in which they are used. The situated meaning tool may be used to identify meanings that are attributed to a text in a given

context and how such context is construed. In order to do so, it is important to consider the fact that meaning-making is an active process and that there are assumptions made in any communicative situation about shared knowledge and experience. In the present study, the purpose of the situated meaning tool is to help reveal the assumptions behind words and text structures that in the policy context help the reader interpret and/or agree/disagree with these policies in a particular manner.

The Social Languages Tool. Speaking a language means speaking a specific social and regional variety of a language; sometimes these varieties involve two languages mixed together, such as “Spanglish.” In this case, Gee (2011) defines social languages as varieties of a language (registers) that are associated with and represent a particular social identity. In Gee’s words, “To know a particular social language is either to be able to ‘do’ a particular identity or to be able to recognize such an identity when we do not want to or cannot actively participate” (p. 156). An important aspect to note when using the social languages tool is how different word and grammatical structure choices are combined to signal a particular social language, as frequently happens in academic discourse. For the present analysis, the social language tool will attempt to capture the ethical problems that arise because of the proposed officialization of English. In particular, the use of specific language(s) may contribute to exposing or muffling questions about those ethical dilemmas. In addition, language in the policy may invite or exclude “outsiders.”

The Intertextuality Tool. Intertextuality (see Fairclough, 1992, 2003) refers to the idea that texts in a general sense, such as written or spoken “text,” are connected through explicit or implicit quotes, allusions, or other references to other texts. The intertextuality

tool will help define the references to other texts in the official English legislation, including switching of voices and language styles.

The Figured Worlds Tool. Words are used not only based on their definitions, as mentioned previously, but also on their models and theories of what is “normal” or “typical” (Gee, 2011). These “typical” stories or figured worlds are described by Gee as simplified versions of socially and culturally bound theories of the world. Holland (1998) defined “figured worlds” as

a socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others. Each is a simplified world populated by a set of agents who engage in a limited range of meaningful acts or changes of state as moved by a specific set of forces. (as cited in Gee, 2011, p. 170)

Policies may be representations of what can and cannot be contested in society, or they may represent doors to said contestation and resistance. In the present study, the figured worlds tool will help to determine which “worlds” official English policies are inviting to be uncontested or assumed, and also to determine the boundaries with other possible or alternative “worlds.”

The Big “D” Discourse Tool. Based on the fact that both language and conventions about how to perform and interpret language are inherited, Gee (2011) asserts that individuals talk, write, and act not just as individuals, but also as members of social and cultural groups and communities. Gee refers to these groups and communities as “Discourse(s)” as separate from “discourses,” understood as language in use. Language is not enough to

properly understand a given Discourse, which combines discourses, social tools, places, times, deeds, values, feelings, and other elements in what Gee defines as a “dance.” It is important to place official English policies within the “Discourse” that they represent and potentially support and disseminate as the norm.

However, it is equally important to note that, while language is regarded as one element of social practice, other social, economic, and historical components must be accounted for (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Therefore, although discourse plays a crucial role in social life, it depends on other contextual features and powers to be effective. It is equally wrong not to acknowledge the relationship between text and context, because reality cannot be completely understood only by analyzing discourses. In other words, the totality of social life is more than discourse, and the task of research using a CDA framework is to produce an adequate theory and explication of how these elements of social life relate to each other in the context of social and institutional change around language (Fairclough, 2003).

In consideration of the previous argument, I engage not only with the respective texts of official English policies as discourses constructed in a particular socio-historical and political moment, I also examine the validity of the claims embedded in those policies by examining the rationale behind those claims. As far as discourses have an informative function, CDA may determine in what respects, if any, those policies are untruthful or inappropriate (Sayer, 2000).

The fact that CDA attempts to determine the validity of discursive claims implies that CDA results are stronger when assessing knowledge about the discourse in question.

That is why the present study combines two forms of analysis: a CDA of official English policies, and an empirical, quantitative analysis of the validity of those claims.

Data Collection, Sample Selection, and Analysis

In this section, I present the data collection and analysis process for the CDA component of this study. Official English legislation has been analyzed, as stated in the previous methodology section, by looking not only at its discursive and generic form but also by engaging in the claims to validity that the legislators imply in the purpose or intended outcomes of the legislation. Doing so allows the study to capture the ideological spectrum and the nature of the legislation embedded in its discourse.

The data collection process began by identifying every state that had established English as its official language. Official English legislation had been passed in 28 states. All legal documents approved and published by each state that has established English as the official language were collected. (For a list of states that have passed official English legislation, see Appendix A). Seven states amended their constitutions to establish English as their official language, whereas 21 states modified or added sections to their statutes or legislation so that English would be declared the official language. In Massachusetts, although the state has not passed any official legislation, the ruling of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in *Commonwealth v. Olivo* (1975) has been interpreted as establishing English as the official state language. Massachusetts also has passed legislation that heavily limits the use of languages other than English in its public schools. Only two other states, Arizona and California, have passed such stringent

legislation, which is why I have included Massachusetts among the states that passed official English statutes. Those states were referenced on both the Institute for Language Policy's website (<http://www.elladvocates.org/english/legislate.html>) and the U.S. English organization's website (<http://www.usenglish.org/view/364>).

The sample for the present study was comprised of all the language in the final texts adopted by the 28 states that established English as their official language, plus the text of the three states that banned the use of a language other than English as a medium of instruction in public schools, namely, California, Arizona, and Massachusetts. The final sample was comprised of 31 legislative pieces, a total of 60 pages of legislation, which included 19,616 words. The data were collected from publicly available resources, such as each state's website, public policy centers' websites, and, in some cases, from online databases (LexisNexis). The analysis was performed using the QSR International's NVivo qualitative data analysis software, version 10.

Analysis of the Data

The process of analyzing the data followed the method described by Altheide (1996). Each piece of legislation was categorized to respond more effectively to the research question, using the theoretical tools described by Gee (2011) as coding. Gee's theoretical tools were used to identify the codes to guide the data collection and draft a data collection sheet. The codes used are (1) representations of attitudes and behaviors (whether expected or real), (2) type of language used, (3) connections or references to

other texts, (4) representations of values and beliefs, (5) representations of social, economic, and ethnolinguistic groups, and (6) goals and objectives of the legislation.

The data collection tool was tested and refined throughout the analysis process, which allowed integrating not only the defined categories in each tool, but also adding emergent codes that had not been anticipated theoretically. One of those emergent codes was the inclusion of limitations in the legislation. Creswell (2009) describes coding as a step in qualitative research that occurs after data collection and prior to interpretation of the data. I initially used the approach described by Flowerdew and Martin (1997) as open coding: “As ideas emerge about the topics in the material they are jotted down alongside the text” (p. 67). Once completed, I aligned each of the codes to the theoretical tools described in the previous methodology section.

Each piece of legislative text was analyzed looking for explicit and implicit references to the outcomes and benefits of adopting English as an official language. The discourse used in justifying the officialization of English was also critically examined, such as the message being communicated, thoughts and reflections about the role of English, and alternatives, if any, to the use of English. I evaluated the stated and desired versus the potential goals of official English legislation and the mechanisms established to attain those goals. I also considered variations in language policies that had been enacted, and the socio-historic situations that surrounded such processes. Special attention was paid to the models followed at the time official English statutes were passed. The analysis of these models proceeded on two tracks: first, determining how states have considered their specific necessities and circumstances, or, alternatively,

determining whether states tended to endorse legislation previously approved in other states, following a common or established pattern for ideological purposes. Any additional information extracted from the sample was also noted on the data collection sheet. An example of the process of the data analysis is included in Appendix B. The findings have been reported using examples from the data sample.

Table 2. Coding

The Situated Meaning Tool		
Code Name	Description/Interpretation	Example from data
Attitudes and behaviors	Representations and assumptions of social, historical, political, or any other context, whether real or expected.	Whereas, in recent years, the role of the English language as a common language has been threatened by governmental actions that either ignore or harm the role of English or that promote the use of languages other than English in official governmental actions, and these governmental actions promote division, confusion, error and inappropriate use of resources. (Arizona, proposition 103) The English language is the common public language of the United States of America and of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It is spoken by the vast majority of Massachusetts residents, and is also the leading world language for science, technology, and international business, thereby being the language of economic opportunity. (Massachusetts, Chapter 71A)
The Social Languages Tool		
Languages	Varieties of language used in the legislation to create a given perception (i.e., example (a) a socially advocacy language that denotes closeness and (b) is written in a more formal, legalese, authoritative tone).	Whereas, the public schools of California currently do a poor job of educating immigrant children, wasting financial resources on costly experimental language programs whose failure over the past two decades is demonstrated by the current high drop-out rates and low English literacy levels of many immigrant children. (CA Education code 300-340) The provisions of this act are hereby declared to be severable and if any provision of this act or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance is declared invalid for any reason, such declaration shall not affect the validity of the remaining portions of this act. (Idaho, Senate Bill 1172)
The Intertextuality Tool		

Connections	Implicit or explicit connections to other texts.	<p>Subject to the prohibitions enumerated in the Constitution of the United States and in laws of the state (Iowa SF 165)</p> <p>This section is intended to preserve, protect, and strengthen the English language, and not to supersede any of the rights guaranteed to the people by the Constitution of the United States or the Constitution of North Carolina.” (NC General Statutes)</p>
The Figured Worlds Tool		
Values and beliefs	Representations and theories of the world purported in the legislation.	<p>Whereas, throughout the history of the United States, the common thread binding individuals of differing backgrounds has been the English language, which has permitted diverse individuals to discuss, debate and come to agreement on contentious issues. (Arizona, proposition 103)</p> <p>Immigrant parents are eager to have their children become fluent and literate in English, thereby allowing them to fully participate in the American Dream of economic and social advancement. (Massachusetts, Chapter 71A)</p>
The Big “D” Discourse Tool		
Discourse(s)	Representations of social, cultural, historical, economic, academic groups.	<p>Idaho was able to build a state from this widespread and diverse background because of a binding common thread...The English language. A common language has allowed us to discuss, debate, and come to agreement on difficult issues. The need is just as great today. The purpose of this bill is to have an official language become our common language. (Idaho, Senate Bill 1172)</p> <p>Whereas, Young immigrant children can easily acquire full fluency in a new language, such as English, if they are heavily exposed to that language in the classroom at an early age. [...] Therefore, It is resolved that: all children in California public schools shall be taught English as rapidly and effectively as possible. (CA, Education code 300-340)</p>
Outcomes		
Goals	References to targets, objectives, and goals.	<p>A state statute, local government ordinance, or state or local government policy may not require a specific foreign language to be used by government officers and employees acting in the course and scope of their employment or for government documents and records or require a specific foreign language to be taught in a school as a student's primary language. (Montana, Act 319)</p> <p>School boards shall have no obligation to teach the standard curriculum, except courses in foreign languages, in a language other than English. (Virginia, Chapter 829)</p>
Limitations in the legislation		

Limitations	Areas that are explicitly excluded from being provided only in English as mentioned in the policies.	<i>Exceptions</i> (a) The government, as defined in Section 4 of this Act, may use a language other than English when necessary for the following purposes: (1) to communicate health and safety information or when an emergency requires the use of a language other than English, (2) to teach another language to students proficient in English, (3) to teach English to students of limited English proficiency, (4) to promote international relations, trade, commerce, tourism or sporting events (AK, Ballot measure 6).
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Table 2 presents an example of the coding process described above. The table includes the codes used to analyze the legislative texts, the interpretation or description of the code, and examples of the wording used for each of those codes extracted from states' enacted policies. In the language of the legislation, I have looked for representations of each of the main constructs derived from the theoretical tools. At times, these representations may not be explicit but embedded in the discursive practices surrounding the legislation. For example, in some cases, when referring to "America," the legislation may not explicitly disaggregate the concept as a white, Anglo-Saxon, English nation, but given the political and socio-historical context and the shared representations embedded in the legislation with regard to the English language, I understand that those notions are implied in the concept of America.

Analysis of Question 1: Findings of the Critical Discourse Analysis

Before I begin my report of the findings, it is important to bring back two important considerations from the conceptual framework of this dissertation. The first one is that CDA, which requires engaging with the text on an analytical debate, is a method of inquiry based on the premise that science is, for the most part, a process of

analysis and interpretation through a theoretically informed examination of facts. The second one is that discourses and genres are considered linguistically mediated actions designed by specific communities and employed to attain some specific goals (Bathia, 2004; Bazerman, 2004; Fairclough, 2003; Swales, 1990).

This qualitative analysis addresses this question: *What are the characteristics, similarities, variances, and stated outcomes, if any, of official English policies enacted in the United States?* The five theoretical tools—the situated meaning tool, the social languages tool, the intertextuality tool, the figured worlds tool, and the big “D” discourse tool—as defined by Gee (2011) and described in the methodology section, will help to explain how the language of official English ties to the world and to culture.

The following group of sub-questions was also addressed in the analysis:

1. What kind of generic structures do official English policies display? Are these structures commonly found across this type of policy and other policies? Are there particular models states follow to draft official English policy?
2. How are key concepts, such as language, communication, identity(ies), and social interrelations, theorized and construed? Are alternative theories taken into account? How is policy’s contribution to greater understanding established?
3. Who is represented and who is omitted in the process of establishing English as the official language of the state? Whose perspective(s) are taken into consideration and for whose benefit is official English advocated? How is language diversity considered? Is dissent tolerated? What ethical understandings can be drawn from the enacted policies?

In this section, I will present the overarching findings of the CDA in the following manner: first, I respond to the research question and sub-questions succinctly. Then I proceed with a full description of the official English policies enacted in the United States to highlight their most salient characteristics and contextualize the policies within the process of approval for each state. It is for that reason that I organize the description of the policies according to the type of legislation adopted: constitutional amendment, state statutory changes, and educational regulations. Finally, I present other findings identified through the application of Gee's five theoretical tools.

Response to Research Question

To provide some socio-political context before delving into the first research question, it is important to consider that the official English movement gained momentum after the 1980s. Only three states had declared English their official language before that year: Nebraska, in a constitutional amendment in 1920; Illinois, through a statutory enactment, established "American" as the state's official language in 1923 and amended the statute to read "English" in 1969; and, in 1978, also by constitutional amendment, Hawaii made English and Hawaiian the official state languages, although primacy was given to English. Four states, New Mexico, Oregon, and Washington in 1989 and Rhode Island in 1992, passed legislation that promoted the defense or/and recognition of multilingualism. These states are referred to as "English-plus" states. However, for the purposes of the present study, the states were clustered only in two groups: those that have passed official English legislation and those that have not.

To respond to the qualitative question: According to the dimensions of language policy described in chapter 1, a typical official English policy may be categorized as centralist, restriction-oriented, state-benefit-based policies. These policies intend to protect one central dominant language, namely, English. They restrict the use of any language other than English and they are typically initiated by state representatives rather than by a majority of the population of the state.

In this regard, it is worth mentioning that only six of these legislative actions originated with ballot questions by popular initiative. The margins of approval were generally quite large: Proposition 63, the first official English measure passed by ballot initiative, passed in California with 73 percent of the vote. The following states approved amendments to their constitutions that established English as their official language: Arizona by 50.5 percent to 49.5 percent, Colorado by 61 percent to 39 percent, and Florida by 84 percent to 16 percent in 1988; and Alabama by 89 percent to 11 percent in 1990. In 1998, in a 69 percent to 31 percent vote, Alaska amended its statutes to establish English as its official language. The rest of the amendments were proposed by members of the legislature in their respective states. In the six states that adopted official English via a legislative ballot question, the overwhelming majority of the voters, which does not equal the majority of the state's population, voted in favor of the initiative; some of those initiatives were later declared unconstitutional. Nevertheless, this rate of approval may be a sign that, for most people, the notion that language is a fixed entity attached to the United States' national identity is completely reasonable, even obvious. Later in the chapter I will provide more evidence for this argument.

The analysis revealed that there is a recurring discourse in the policies that associates English with the idea of America. The legislation identifies English as the only language that represents the reality of the United States. A constant in the language of the legislation is the notion that speaking English is not just part and parcel of the identity of this nation, but also a beneficial instrument without which it is impossible to integrate and be successful and be part of the American Dream. Furthermore, other languages are viewed as a challenge to the integration of individuals and the well-being of the nation.

The policy characteristics are very similar in all the legislation, as if legislators had built on previous examples. In the next section, a description of the policies, I will detail those characteristics using some exemplars. There are three main models of official English legislation, which I will discuss next, depending on the extent to which they enforce the use of English. Some are quite restrictive, and some just state that English is the official language of the state. In general, official English policies convey the message that the use of English must be reinforced and that policies encouraging the use of other languages may represent a sign of challenging or diminishing the role of English.

Regarding the characteristics of the legislation, the CDA revealed:

1. There are three types of states, based on the depth of the legislation: (a) states that only declare English as the official or common language of the state (5 states); (b) states whose official English legislation includes implications for access to government, language use for official acts and/or documents, and education (8 states); (c) states that drafted detailed official English legislation that includes specifics about the background

and rationale of the policy, implementation, enforcement, and limitations and/or exclusions (15 states).

In terms of the stated outcomes, official English legislation primarily includes the following:

1. To promote, strengthen, and protect the English language (the most common goal)
2. To encourage non-English speakers to acquire and be more proficient in English and to provide greater opportunities to learn the English language
3. To protect the rights of people who use the English language
4. To provide services, documents, and programs exclusively in English

Through these goals, the legislation establishes structures to ensure that the voluntary transition to English does in fact happen. There is an initial contextualization, followed by a set of actions the state may adopt to protect English. Moreover, some specific elements that are linked to the traditional “American way of life” are referenced in these policies as especially connected to English, such as opportunity, self-reliance, and better quality of life.

This section further describes the themes that emerged in the analysis of the official English legislation and identifies the language, symbolic references, and metaphors used to convey the significance of the primacy of English. I will next provide an in-depth description of the policies to both situate the analysis and identify specific elements in the legislative texts that serve to solidify the findings of the analysis with regard to the characteristics of the policies.

Description of the Policies

To organize the analysis of the official English legislation, I divided the states according to the type of legislation they enacted: (a) constitutional amendments; (b) modification/additions to state codes, statutory changes; (c) English-only education legislation. Seven states amended their constitutions. Nineteen states modified their statutes. Under “English-only education legislation” I have included Massachusetts, Arizona, and California, whose legislation limits or bans the use of languages other than English in the public schools. This legislation works as de facto official English legislation. In the description, I have ordered the legislation enacted in chronological order to emphasize the most salient features and to capture new elements in the policies that may have been introduced over time.

Constitutional amendments

Seven states included a section in a constitutional article that declared English to be their official language. The first to do so was Nebraska, in 1920. A brief section in Article I of its constitution declared that English was the official state language. This article also mandated that all official proceedings, records, and publications be in English and that all schools (public, private, denominational, and parochial) teach “the common school branches” in English.

In 1978, Hawaii declared both English and Hawaiian to be the official state languages; however, the legislation conceded primacy to English. Hawaiian was to be used only as provided by law.

In 1986, California stated that the intention of its amendment was “to preserve, protect, and strengthen the English language.” It also emphasized that, in order to enforce this section of the constitution, the legislature shall “take all steps necessary to insure that the role of English as the common language of the State of California is preserved and enhanced,” and that no other law shall be enacted that “diminishes or ignores the role of English as the common language of the State of California.” It is important to emphasize this particular wording, as it was to become a model for other legislation.

Florida and Colorado each added a section to their constitution in 1988 that established English as the official state language. These are possibly the simplest of the amendments; they stated that English is the official language of the state and that their legislature may enact legislation to implement that article. No other context or purpose was declared.

Alabama adopted Amendment 509 in 1990, which followed the model established by California in 1986, although it was not as detailed. The Alabama amendment did not express an explicit purpose for the legislation in a separate section, as did California’s, but it did declare that “the state of Alabama shall take all steps necessary to insure that the role of English as the common language of the state of Alabama is preserved and enhanced” and that “the legislature shall make no law which diminishes or ignores the role of English as the common language of the state of Alabama,” which reproduced the

language of the California model. The amendment also opened the door for any person in Alabama, whether resident or visitor, to sue the state to ensure that this amendment was enforced. It was the first time that this possibility was explicitly included in official English legislation.

Arizona's is without a doubt the most controversial of all official English constitutional amendments. Arizonans voted in favor of Proposition 103 in the election of November 2006. This new proposition was to replace the previously approved Proposition 106, which passed in 1988. However, Proposition 103 was declared unconstitutional in 1998 by the Arizona Supreme Court in *Ruiz v. Hull* on the grounds that it violated the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution. According to the final sentence of the ruling, the official English amendment impeded non-English speakers' access to government and limited their political speech. It also violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment by burdening a specific class (non-English speakers) without advancing a state interest (for a full summary of the case, see <http://www.azcourts.gov/Portals/23/pdf1998/cv960493.pdf>).

The preamble to Arizona's proposed amendment is truly revealing of the purpose of the legislation. Recognizing the cultural and linguistic diversity of the U.S., the text of the amendment identifies the English language as the common thread that binds these diverse individuals and allows them to come to agreement "on contentious issues." The preamble further states that government actions have threatened and harmed the role of the English language and that these actions promote "division, confusion, error, and inappropriate use of resources." It is therefore the first and foremost intention of the

amendment “to preserve, protect, and enhance the role of English,” which includes (a) avoiding any official actions that ignore, harm, or diminish the role of English as the language of the government; (b) protecting the rights of people in Arizona who use English; (c) encouraging greater opportunities for individuals to learn the English language; and (d) providing services, programs, publications, documents, and other materials in English to the greatest extent possible under federal statute.

There is no other constitutional amendment as detailed as Arizona’s, which also includes a definition of official action (in contrast to personal action) and government representation. According to Arizona’s constitution, there are only three situations in which any local government or the state could act in a language other than English: (a) if required by federal law, (b) when teaching languages other than English or to preserve Native American languages, (c) for tourism or international trade.

Statutory changes

In 1969, Illinois amended chapter 5 of its statutes to repeal a 1923 law that designated “American” as the official language of the state, and then established English as its official language. Nothing else is included in that section. The same model was chosen by Indiana and Kentucky in 1984, and by Tennessee, which established English as the legal and official language of the state; statutes in Mississippi and North Dakota simply designated English the official state language in 1987.

Arkansas declared English the official state language in 1987 and explicitly declared that said statute “shall not prohibit the public schools from performing their duty

to provide equal educational opportunities to all children.” The use of the word “prohibit” raises a few questions: Why was this section added? Could it be interpreted as a way to avoid violating federal civil rights mandates? Why prohibit but not discourage or promote?

North Carolina, also in 1987, declared through statute that “English is the common language of the people of the United States of America and the State of North Carolina.” North Carolina stated that the purpose of this statute was to preserve, protect, and strengthen the English language. That same year, South Carolina also declared English the official state language. South Carolina’s statute states clearly that the sections “do not prohibit any law, ordinance, regulation, order, decree, program, or policy requiring educational instruction in a language other than English for the purpose of making students who use a language other than English proficient in English or making students proficient in a language in addition to English.”

In 1995, Montana established English as the “official and primary language of state and local governments.” The statute prohibited requiring a specific foreign language to be used by government officers or employees or to be taught in a school as a primary language, which technically prohibited any type of bilingual education, as it could be interpreted as providing instruction in languages other than English as a primary language. The statute allows “the teaching of other languages in a school for general educational purposes or as secondary languages.”

New Hampshire revised its statutes in 1995 to declare that the official language in the state shall be English. New Hampshire defines “official public documents and

records” as “all documents officially compiled, published, or recorded by the state,” and “public proceedings and nonpublic sessions” as “those proceedings and sessions as defined in RSA 91-A, and includes the information recorded at such proceedings and sessions.” A specific exclusion in New Hampshire’s statute was made for proceedings conducted with the province of Quebec, which could be wholly or partially in French.

In 1995, South Dakota declared English the common language of the state. The statute required that the cost of translations be identified in a separate budget line item, and that no person be denied employment based on their inability to speak a foreign language, with some bona fide exceptions. Not intending to start a discussion about semantics, South Dakota is the first state to declare English the common language of the state, and not the official language. In 1998, Missouri did the same. Other states had declared that English was the common language of the state and the United States to then establish it as the official language. Some researchers argued that “common” represents a more open approach than “official” (Linton, 2009). In South Dakota’s case, the rest of the statute is not particularly more flexible than others. However, Missouri, as I will describe later, includes a strong clause to support English as a second language courses for non-native speakers. Also, “official” was becoming a loaded term at that point in time and the state may have chosen to use a more acceptable expression in order to gain consensus. Other states had in fact reinforced the role of English by declaring it not only the official language but also the legal (Tennessee in 1984) or primary (Montana in 1995) language.

Georgia designated English the official language in 1996 and established that each public record and act shall be written in English. As in Arkansas, Georgia added a

section to make it explicit that establishing English as the official state language “shall not be construed in any way to deny a person’s rights under the Constitution of Georgia or the Constitution of the United States or any laws, statutes, or regulations of the United States or of the State of Georgia as a result of that person’s inability to communicate in the official language.”

Also in 1996, the Virginia legislature designated English the official state language, replacing a chapter in the legal code that was approved in 1986 to include the following section: “School boards shall have no obligation to teach the standard curriculum, except courses in foreign languages, in a language other than English. School boards shall endeavor to provide instruction in the English language which shall be designed to promote the education of students for whom English is a second language.” This section de facto limited or excluded the use of bilingual education instruction in Virginia public schools. In 1996, Wyoming also officially designated English the official language of the state. Wyoming’s legislation included a set of exclusions, which I reference below, that became customary among all the official English legislation.

Alaskans voted and approved ballot measure number 6 in 1998, which declared “English is the common unifying language of Alaska and the United States of America.” The main purpose of the legislation was presented as “a compelling interest in promoting, preserving, and strengthening” the use of English. In its applicability section, the legislation explicitly identifies the University of Alaska, which implies that the university should provide all documents in English. However, the statute was declared unconstitutional in 2002.

In 1998, Missouri's general assembly, recognizing that English is the most widely used language in the state and that fluency in English is necessary for integration into American culture, established "English as the common language of the state." The statute also included several sections requiring that adult basic programs administered by the Missouri department of education include assistance in learning English for non-natives, and, subject to appropriation from general revenue, established a grant program to assist local school districts and other community-based organizations in providing instruction in English. The statute specifically declared, "As funds are appropriated by the Missouri general assembly, the Department of Elementary and Secondary Education shall implement classes and provide instructional material for all age groups to assist individuals who are not proficient in the English language."

The case of Utah is unique among the official English propositions. A proposed ballot initiative to declare English the official state language was defeated in the 1999 election and brought back in 2000. The final legislation enacted in 2001 included a section about the education of both students and families, which reads as follows:

- (4) The State Board of Education and the State Board of Regents shall make rules governing the use of foreign languages in the public and higher education systems that promote the following principles:
 - (a) non-English speaking children and adults should become able to read, write, and understand English as quickly as possible;

- (b) foreign language instruction should be encouraged;
- (c) formal and informal programs in English as a Second Language should be initiated, continued, and expanded; and
- (d) public schools establish communication with non-English speaking parents of children within their system, using a means designed to maximize understanding when necessary, while encouraging those parents who do not speak English to become more proficient in English.

At the same time, Utah Representative Pete Suazo, the man who presented the official English proposal, presented an English Plus resolution to the state to recognize the economic and cultural benefits of proficiency in English and other languages. Said proposition included the following language:

Whereas, according to the 1990 U.S. Census, 94% of U.S. citizens speak English; whereas, English is the unifying language of the United States, and the nation's citizens recognize the importance of the English language to national prosperity and individual accomplishment; whereas, the people of Utah promote the spirit of diversity with harmony represented by the various cultures that make up the fabric of our state; whereas, Utah was part of Mexico until the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo of 1845 wherein the United States insured protection of former Mexican citizens, made United States residents by the treaty, and protected their linguistic rights to continue to speak Spanish; whereas, multilingualism has historically been an essential element of national security, including the use of Navajo in the development of coded communications during World War II, the Korean War,

and the Vietnam War; whereas, multilingualism promotes greater cross-cultural understanding and benefit between different racial and ethnic groups; whereas, many Utah residents are multilingual due to their participation in the worldwide missionary work of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints whose members, among others, founded the state; whereas, the people of Utah acknowledge that “English Plus,” or proficiency in English and one or more additional languages, best serves the national interest since it promotes the concept that all members of society have full access to opportunities to effectively learn English plus develop proficiency in second or multiple languages . . . Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Legislature of the state of Utah reaffirm its advocacy of the teaching of other languages in the United States and its belief that the position of English is not threatened. Be it further resolved that proficiency in more than one language is to the economic and cultural benefit of Utah, its citizens and the nation, whether proficiency derives from second language maintenance plus English acquisition by speakers of other languages. Be it further resolved that proficiency in English plus other languages should be encouraged throughout the state. Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the United States Department of Education, the State Board of Regents, and the state’s nine institutions of higher education.

Interestingly, Utah manages to include in this legislation not only the English language but the uniqueness of the state, such as the presence of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and their missionary work abroad. The legislation also

acknowledges the benefits the state may obtain by encouraging multilingualism and encourages the promotion of programs that develop bilingualism and biliteracy in Utah's schools. Such explicit legislation is an exception in the United States. The legislation has created the space for Utah to multiply the number of dual language programs offered in the state. These programs that attempt to develop skills in two languages are, however, mainly directed at middle- and upper-class students acquiring a second language, rather than at providing quality services for linguistic minority students (Escamilla, 2003).

In 2002, Iowa declared English the official state language in an effort to encourage the assimilation of "Iowans into Iowa's rich culture," and to urge every citizen to become more proficient in English in order to facilitate participation in the economic, political, and cultural activities of the state. The legislation also identified the English language as the common thread that binds individuals from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Idaho declared English the official state language and the sole language of government in 2007. The statement of purpose of this legislation said that "in the beginning" Idaho was comprised of individuals from diverse cultural, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds, but the English language was the "common thread that enabled Idaho to build a state."

Kansas also declared English the official state language in 2007. Its legislation explicitly stated that nothing in the act would expand or diminish existing rights related to services or materials provided by the government in languages other than English. But if this were so, why was it necessary to designate English the language of the government

and establish that “no state agency or political or taxing subdivision of the state shall be required to provide any documents, information, literature or other written materials in any language other than English”?

Kansas included a section recognizing the importance of establishing and promoting English language classes and training or citizenship classes for non-native speakers. However, it did not identify or provide specific resources to fund those classes or training, stating instead that the local entity designated by the state must seek assistance from local subdivisions and other organizations to make “non-natives” aware of those opportunities, without mentioning whether or not they exist.

The states that passed official English legislation, after having a few sections challenged due to questions of constitutionality, included the following set of limitations:

1. To provide information orally to individuals in the course of delivering services to the general public
2. To comply with federal law
3. To protect the public health or safety
4. To protect the rights of parties and witnesses in a civil or criminal action in a court or in an administrative proceeding
5. To provide instruction in foreign and Native American language courses
6. To provide instruction designed to aid students with limited English proficiency so they can make a timely transition to use of the English language in the public schools
7. To promote international commerce, trade, or tourism

8. To use terms of art or phrases from languages other than the English language in documents.

Iowa included the following clarification:

Nothing in this section shall be construed to do any of the following:

- a. Prohibit an individual member of the general assembly or officer of state government, while performing official business, from communicating through any medium with another person in a language other than English, if that member or officer deems it necessary or desirable to do so
- b. Limit the preservation or use of Native American languages, as defined in the federal Native American Languages Act of 1992
- c. Disparage any language other than English or discourage any person from learning or using a language other than English.

Not all codes included all these limitations, some just mentioned a few of them, and others did not establish any limitations. However, they comprise all the limitations included in any of the codes that were approved.

English-Only Education Legislation

Three states, Arizona, California, and Massachusetts, passed English-only education legislation between 1998 and 2002. The three states approved their legislation through popular initiatives that were voted on in state ballot questions.

California amended chapter 3 of its code (sections 300-340)—English Language Education for Immigrant Children—as a result of the success on ballot question

Proposition 227 in 1998. The legislation first described the English language as the national public language of the United States; as the leading world language for science, technology, and international business; and the language of economic opportunity. The legislation also declared that immigrant families are eager to have their children learn English in order to participate in the “American Dream of economic and social advancement.” Literacy in English is identified as the most important skill to become a productive member of society and one that the government and the public schools of California have a moral obligation and a constitutional duty to provide to all of California’s children, regardless of their ethnicity or national origin. It stated that California public schools have done a poor job educating immigrant children and wasted resources on “experimental” programs proven ineffective by the dropout rates and low literacy of many immigrant students.

The proposed legislation further stated that young immigrant children can easily acquire full fluency in a new language if they are heavily exposed to that language, and therefore resolved that all children must be taught English as rapidly and effectively as possible. As a result, all children must be taught English by being taught *in* English.

Arizona, in a manner similar to California, amended its school code under Title 15, Chapter 7, Article 3.1: English Language Education for Children in Public Schools, after passing a ballot initiative in 2000, known as Proposition 203: English for the Children.

Many concepts not used before by policymakers were introduced through that legislation. Concepts such as “English language classroom,” “English language

mainstream classroom,” “limited English proficient student,” and “sheltered English immersion” or “structured English immersion” were included in the new rules.

The new legislation in Arizona mandated that all children in public schools be taught in English, and that those identified as English learners be educated using sheltered English immersion for a period of time not to exceed one year under normal circumstances. Schools were encouraged to group students according to their proficiency levels rather than their ages, and to mix students with different language backgrounds. Once the students were deemed able to do regular work in English, they were to be transferred to mainstream English language classrooms. The legislation also encouraged the state to maintain supplemental funding for English learners “as much as possible.”

The law allowed parents to request waivers under some circumstances, such as a student’s age, disabilities, or English proficiency. The law required the Arizona State Board of Education to use research-based models of structured English immersion (SEI) programs or to develop and adopt new research-based SEI programs. The programs adopted had to be the most cost-efficient models that complied with state and federal legislation, and be limited to the regular school year and school day. Services beyond those times were to be considered, and funded as, compensatory instruction. The board was also required to identify the minimum amount of English language development per day for all models, and to develop separate models for the first year in which a student was classified as an English learner, when their program had to include a minimum of four hours per day of English language development.

Models chosen by the state board of education had to be reviewed by the legislature and the legislative budget committee. School districts were required to report annually on the SEI program they were implementing, along with their budget requests, and the state board was given the authority to approve, approve with stipulations, or reject said program.

Massachusetts established Chapter 71A, English language education in public schools, after Question 2 passed on the 2004 election ballot. Massachusetts' legislation is overwhelmingly similar to California's and Arizona's, with just one aspect not present in Arizona's—that districts not performing appropriately may apply for a waiver to implement a program for ELs, other than an SEI program.

While the language in these three states' legislation is mostly the same, each implemented its policies in radically different ways. For that reason, I will next discuss the implementation in each state.

Proposition 227: California. The California Department of Education (CDE, 2014) reports that, in school year 2013-2014, 22.7 percent of the total student population in California were English learners, approximately 1.5 million students, and about 43.1 percent of the state's public school students spoke a non-English language in their homes. California's ELs represent almost one-third of the EL students nationwide.

Proposition 227 significantly changed the education these students received in California's public schools. Two important requirements of the legislation were that ELs be taught “overwhelmingly in English” through a sheltered English immersion program

not to exceed one year (Parrish, Merickel, Perez, Linquanti, Socias, Spain, & Delancy, 2006).

This requirement represented a significant policy change with respect to the education of ELs. For the first time, a state policy made explicit not only that teaching English to ELs must be a goal of public schools, but also that the only acceptable way to teach ELs is using the English language. The new legislation also established a threshold of just one year in which students were expected to become proficient (Orellana, Ek, & Hernandez, 1999).

Advocates for Proposition 227 presented bilingual education as a waste of time and resources (Orellana et al., 1999). Adoption of the legislation resulted in the removal of nearly all bilingual programs in the state of California (Park, 2014). The year before the implementation of Proposition 227, 29 percent of ELs were enrolled in primary language programs throughout the state. In the first year under the new law, only 12 percent continued in bilingual programs, and in school year 200620-07, 5.6 percent of EL students were reported to be receiving primary-language instruction (Matas & Rodriguez, 2014; Wentworth, Pellegrin, & Hakuta, 2010).

This extreme change in policy was implemented fully without delay in the next school year, which reportedly caused confusion among educators. Districts throughout the state interpreted the new legislation differently and ended up implementing significantly different programs for ELs. Actually, this also occurred in Arizona and Massachusetts (De Cos, 1999; Gandara, Maxwell-Jolly, Stritikus, Curry, Garcia, Asato, & Gutierrez, 2000).

To clear the programmatic confusion, the California Department of Education clarified that all ELs must receive English language development (ELD) instruction and released new ELD standards in July 1999, which were updated in 2012. It later would mandate that ELs must receive adequate academic instruction in one of three types of instructional settings, depending on their level of English proficiency:

a) Structured English Immersion. This is a setting for ELs with the lowest proficiency level. All instruction in English is supposed to be adapted for students who are learning the language too.

b) English Language Mainstream. Once students have reached a “reasonable” level of proficiency, which is determined by the district, they receive supplementary instruction in addition to ELD instruction in order to recoup any academic losses they may have incurred while learning English.

c) Alternative Program (Alt). ELs receive ELD instruction and academic content instruction, which is taught in their primary language, as determined by the district. Parents must submit an exception waiver in order for their children to be placed in an Alt program (see <http://www.cde.ca.gov/ds/sd/cb/cefelfacts.asp>).

Any teacher assigned to provide ELD, specially designed academic instruction delivered in English (SDAIE), or content instruction delivered in the students’ primary language was required to have the appropriate credential or authorization. Depending on the type of instruction, these teachers were required to obtain either a Cross-cultural Language or Academic Development (CLAD) certificate, a Language Development Specialist certificate, and/or a Bilingual Authorization. These credentials require

completion of coursework, an official examination, or a combination of both (<http://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/elteachersfaq.asp>).

Proposition 203: Arizona. Arizona's English-only instructional policies may have been the toughest to implement of the three states. The policy to some extent separated ELs from the English proficient students. It was not until 2006 that the Arizona Department of Education put together a task force to clarify some of the legislation components that had caused confusion in the implementation of Proposition 203. Although adoption of the legislation was followed by an aggressive dismantling of bilingual education programs, districts and educators were not clear about their responsibilities under the new model.

The Arizona task force released a document in 2013 that identified the components of an SEI program, and also tried to calm some concerns the U.S. Department of Justice had shared with the state about its educational model for ELs. Despite the lack of empirical evidence, the task force claimed that all SEI models were research-based and included three major components: policy, structure, and classroom practices.

The policy in Arizona required ELs to be grouped together in an SEI setting, with the aim of becoming English proficient in one year. In the first year of a program, ELs receive a minimum of four hours per day of ELD instruction, which is defined as instruction that emphasizes the English language itself. The legislation allows school districts, if there are not enough ELs per grade, to combine students from different grade levels who have the same proficiency level in SEI classrooms, except for kindergarten students. Class size ranges from 20 to 28 students, depending on their proficiency levels.

Arizona also outlined specific expectations for classroom practices, such as language use (all in English), classroom objectives (aligned with the Discrete Skills Inventory for each proficiency level), and materials and testing (aligned with Arizona ELP teaching standards; <http://www.azed.gov/wp-content/uploads/PDF/SEIModels05-14-08.pdf>).

All EL teachers were required to hold an Arizona teaching certificate and a Structured English Immersion endorsement, English as a Second Language endorsement, or a bilingual endorsement. Teachers and administrators were required to receive training in the following areas: implementation training, discrete skills inventory training, and discrete skills inventory teaching methods training (<http://www.azed.gov/wp-content/uploads/PDF/SEIModels05-14-08.pdf>).

Question 2: Massachusetts. Like California and Arizona, Massachusetts swiftly implemented the requirements of its “English for the Children” ballot question after it was approved, which generated a great deal of confusion while the bilingual education programs were being dismantled. It was reported that it took Massachusetts a good decade to fully implement the bilingual education laws enacted in 1971, but just one year to dismantle them all.

The implementation of SEI in Massachusetts was uneven at best. Massachusetts determined that SEI programs had to have two components: ESL instruction, with a range in the number of hours of ESL instruction required per week, depending on the students’ proficiency level; and sheltered content instruction, which was defined as academic content instruction adapted for students learning English. However, districts implemented

the requirements as they thought appropriate, and as a result a variety of programs were being considered SEI (Nieto, 2009).

The Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education developed a series of trainings, called category trainings, so that content teachers could acquire the necessary skills to teach sheltered content instruction. These trainings focused on Introduction to Second Language Acquisition (category 1), Sheltering Instruction for ELs (category 2), Assessment for ELs (category 3), and Reading and Writing for ELs (category 4). The total duration of all trainings was approximately 70 hours. However, the trainings were recommended but not mandated, which led the U.S. Office of Civil Rights and Department of Justice to question the state's policies in 2012.

As a result of the Department of Justice intervention, the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education launched an initiative named Rethinking Equity and Teaching for ELLs, or RETELL, which revised the category training and qualifications for EL teachers. Teachers of ELs and their administrators are now required to earn an SEI endorsement, which is roughly equivalent to one graduate course. All teachers renewing their licenses must complete a minimum of 50 professional development points on education for EL issues (www.doe.mass.edu/retell).

Nebraska, the first state to declare English the official language, already intended to establish legislation beyond a purely symbolic element. For that reason, the constitution of Nebraska states that “the common school branches shall be taught in said language in public, private, denominational and parochial schools.”

Illinois and Hawaii only mention English as the official language, but Hawaii includes a brief clarification that gives English higher status than Hawaiian: “Hawaiian shall be required for public acts and transactions only as provided by law.” These initial pieces of legislation provide enough evidence to question whether proponents of official English only want a symbolic/official recognition of English as the common state language, as they includes elements that could certainly have an impact on language use in both schooling and public acts.

States passing later legislation usually followed models similar to those proposed by other states in each of the above categories, with a few exceptions, such as Missouri, which focused on the education of those not yet fluent in English. In general, states proposed what was successful in other states and made changes or corrected aspects of the legislation that proved controversial.

One significant change was the addition of language about exclusions and limitations in legislation enacted by South Carolina, Montana, and New Hampshire to ensure that the legislation could not be challenged at the federal level. Montana’s legislation clearly stated that “this section is not intended to violate the federal or state constitutional right to freedom of speech of government officers and employees acting in the course and scope of their employment.”

As I previously mentioned, Arizona’s legislation was, without a doubt, the most controversial. Its official English legislation passed in 1998 was declared unconstitutional, yet it was passed again in 2006 under Resolution 2036. In both cases, the people of Arizona voted overwhelmingly in favor of the official English proposals.

The previous has been an in-depth description of the official English policies in the United States and the context in which they were adopted. Next, I will report the findings in each of the coding categories, as described in Table 2, based on the theoretical tools.

Five Theoretical Tools Analysis

The following are the most prominent findings in each of the categories represented by Gee's (2011) five theoretical tools:

a) The Situated Meaning Tool. The meaning attributed to language in official English legislation is similar to the concept of language that Herder had utilized when advocating for the unification of Germany. English is defined as "the common language of the peoples of the U.S." or "the glue that holds us together." Using this same image of English as a bonding element in the United States, the campaign to approve English-only legislation in public schools chose the slogan, "English for the Children."

English is represented in the majority of the legislation as "the common language of the people of the United States." The assumption that English was the common language minimizes the fact that immigrants to the United States actually came from very different backgrounds. However, English is referred to in the legislation as the sole tool (and the glue) that allowed individuals to discuss and come to agreement "on contentious issues."

English is often represented as the key to being successful in the U.S. and, in general, as the concept that exemplifies the American identity. This definition matches

the ideology described in the literature review of language as the assimilationist perspective. Language is credited with having almost magical properties, such as the power to solve conflicts, and to be an indelible condition of a nationality or country.

In the case of official English policy, the assumption is that there is no America without English, and that opposing making English the official language is to some extent opposing the country. Language therefore serves as the marker of identification for the whole group. The words “common” and “unifying” are used frequently in the preambles of official English legislation and to contextualize the need for these policies. The use of this word represents a significant expectation of attitudes and behaviors toward the English language in the United States. Furthermore, it may portray bilingualism or multilingualism as an example of anti-patriotic attitudes and as a sign of detachment from American values. And, finally, describing English in this light implies that there is only one standard or “right” U.S. language, and that one language equals one people or one nation.

b) The Social Languages Tool. As mentioned previously, it is important to observe how different structures and discourses are mixed to signal a particular social language. In proposing official English policy, the legislator adopts two voices, as in the adoption of two social languages. One is a caring, knowledgeable, but authoritative entity that explains the importance of English in the construction of the nation and in enabling every individual to become a successful resident of the U.S. The other voice represents the authoritative policymaker and the lawyer who pays attention to the interests of the state, the details of implementation, and safeguards the success of the policy.

The combination of these two social languages creates a discursive atmosphere in which there is no possible ethical dispute about the need for and the strict observance of the policy, and any potential challenge is muted. The result is the elimination of any alternative to the proposed model of language integration. No mention is made of the value of other languages or the role they may play in the transition to a new language or in the construction of the United States. The legislation silences any possibility of understanding between groups, in this case the native (as idealized English speakers) and the non-native (immigrant non-English speakers or native imperfect English speakers).

c) The Intertextuality Tool. Official English policies make implicit or explicit reference to a good number of previous texts. Some of them belong to the nation's collective memory. For example, there are numerous allusions to the U.S. Constitution. References to "in the beginning" associate policy with the founding fathers and the documents that established the United States. More explicit references are made to federal statutes, which hierarchically are a step above state legislation. They serve as a guide for limitations in official English policies, but also present them as part of a cohesive and consistent body of legislation.

The other set of references made in official English legislation is to specific governmental units or divisions within the control of the state, such as education or human services. Connecting official English legislation with other areas helps to situate the policy among other legislative actions. Furthermore, these references serve as links between the legislation and further implications for implementation, as they signal the

expectation that those governmental units act in a determined manner, such as not using a language other than English in schools or not translating documents for official purposes.

d) The Figured Worlds Tool. As to the models or theories of what is “reality,” official English legislation builds on the shared notion of the melting pot. Individuals from myriad backgrounds came to the “new world” to “climb into” the pot to dissolve their native cultures and identities and become English speakers. Diversity, therefore, is necessarily transient and a characteristic to be overcome in order to integrate.

Official English policy embeds such a notion in the legal structure of the proposal to ensure that the premises of the policy are uncontested, because the idea of “the melting pot” is such a common concept in the imagery of identity in the United States. The idea is that the legislation helps outsiders do precisely what they are supposed to do, according to the popular notion of assimilation: “to melt in the pot.”

Diversity is repeatedly represented in official English legislation as a situation that developed almost exclusively during the initial stages of the nation, or as a transitory step. Examples of statements from official English legislation that acknowledge diversity include the following: “The U.S. is comprised of individuals from diverse ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and continues to benefit from this rich diversity” and “In the beginning, Idaho was comprised of individuals from many ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds, and as a people we continue to benefit from this rich diversity.”

However, diversity is typically presented in official English legislation as something contentious and in opposition to the unifying role of the English language. The message seems to be that diversity ultimately needs to be transcended. In order to

integrate and participate in U.S. society, individuals must discard their cultural and ethnolinguistic backgrounds and become part of the world of English. No reference, implicit or explicit, is made to the value of languages other than English.

e) The Big “D” Discourse Tool. The closest definition of the discourse of official English is the discourse of assimilation. Official English legislation combines all the elements of discourse, from a paternalistic position to a stern legal one, to enforce the assimilation into English-speaking culture as a condition for belonging.

The legislation makes no substantial reference to promoting greater understanding between different linguistic communities in the United States, other than to help immigrants learn the language. There is no mention of the possible consequences of not promoting other languages, such as fewer economic opportunities or greater understanding in a globalized world. Almost no official English legislation mentions that teaching foreign languages is encouraged or that the legislation does not interfere with the right to learn or use a foreign language.

The perspective of those who speak languages that cannot be considered foreign, such as Native American languages or Spanish, is also not established in the legislation. Although the use of Native American languages is explicitly excluded in some of the policies, the fact that these languages are endangered and that government actions have harmed and threatened their use is not even mentioned. The role of Spanish in the development of the United States is not acknowledged either. The languages spoken by the enslaved African population, which gave birth to African-American Vernacular

English, are not on the map of these policies. English, however, is portrayed as an endangered language whose role may be challenged or diminished by other languages.

The next chapter continues with the second, quantitative phase of this dissertation. The present study, using a logistic regression model and a sample t-test analysis, measures the significance of socio-economic factors in the probability of adopting official English policy. Taking into consideration the qualitative analysis of the legislation, those factors have been selected and compared to determine if the stated outcomes are significantly represented in the quantitative analysis.

CHAPTER 5

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE ADOPTION OF OFFICIAL ENGLISH: DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS, AND FINDINGS, PART II

Aiming to move the present research beyond a theoretical description of the policies, the present dissertation evaluates the extent to which factors identified in the legislation, through CDA and previous research, prove to be statistically significant at the time official English policy was adopted at the state level. To do so, the present study uses a logistic regression model, which makes it possible not only to identify variables that are statistically significant but also to rank the power of their significance. In addition, the study compares the level of expenditure in public schools for linguistic minority students and the outcomes of EL students in states that adopted the legislation to those that did not in order to estimate differences between the two groups of states.

To begin presenting the quantitative analysis, I will describe the theoretical framework in which the analysis is grounded.

The Core Theoretical Framework

There are two main theoretical perspectives that attempt to explicate the adoption of official English policy in the United States. One of them portrays official English as a

right of the state and a benefit to the nation, while the other one questions the legitimacy and true intentions of such a measure. Although both perspectives consider that the same factors are related with the adoption of official English policy, they differ in the justification and the implications of those factors. For example, both theories regard immigration as a significant factor in the adoption of official English legislation. However, whereas those in favor of official English consider immigration to be positively affected by the adoption of official English policies, those that oppose it deem it a measure against immigrants. Ultimately, both of them attempt to portray official English policies as a greater or a lesser evil. In this section, I will first detail the factors that these perspectives identify as being related to official English legislation. Those factors will determine which variables may be included in the quantitative analysis for the present dissertation.

In Support of Official English Policies

Supporters of adopting official English legislation argue that English has traditionally been an element to avoid linguistic, cultural, and political divisiveness in the United States. They reason that maintaining a language other than English hinders the assimilation of immigrants and the socioeconomic advancement of society (Aleman, Bruno, & Dale, 1997). They argue further that allowing the maintenance of native language will eventually result in social isolation, lack of economic progress, and/or internal national conflicts (Archibugi, 2005; Huntington, 2004; Imhoff, 1990). In this fashion, language decisions are portrayed as a matter of individual or social rational

choice. People must “choose” the language that is rationally more advantageous to them, and it is clear that English is essential to participate fully in American society. The supporters of official English policy assume that language is a neutral object shared equally by members of a community that offers free and open access to anyone who chooses to speak that language (Archibugi, 2005; Imhoff, 1990).

Supporters of official English legislation also claim that the increase in immigration and access to multilingualism represents a threat to the bonding role that English has played so far. In this regard, immigration is identified as the exclusive source of languages other than English in the United States, and the assumption is that immigrants to the U.S. must give up part of their cultural assets, including language, in order to reap the rewards of belonging to this country (Kloss, 1971).

Archibugi (2005) claims that the fact that “American citizens with a good knowledge of English have (1) higher incomes; (2) less risk of being unemployed; (3) less risk of being imprisoned; and (4) better hopes for a longer life” (p. 548, cited in May, 2014, p. 217) substantiate support for “English for all” programs in school. Archibugi argues, for example, that linguistic minorities are kept out of the socio-economic mainstream due to conditions they create for themselves by “choosing” to speak a language other than English, rather than because of any social or economic structures imposed on them.

Huntington (2004) would argue that, precisely because of those choices and due to the absence of strong assimilation policies in the United States, it is necessary to develop policies and plans that build avenues and bridges to bring those groups into the

mainstream. In the same manner, U.S. English (n.d.) argues that the successful model of integration used for previous waves of immigrants cannot be duplicated today and, therefore, it is necessary to implement active policies to promote the English language, including establishing it as the official language.

Huntington (2004) also cautions about the dangers of allowing a language such as Spanish to “compete” with English. Huntington predicts that if Spanish were to continue to be a growing presence in the United States it would eventually break the nation in two and cause grave internal conflicts. It is important to note that Huntington, like other authors, identifies Spanish and/or Hispanics as the potential source of such conflicts (Archibugi, 2005; Imhoff, 1990).

While adopting the English language as a canon of American idiosyncrasy is not new—the nativist movement already has argued that English is the “true language in America”—the push to adopt official English legislation in recent years is unparalleled (Anbinder, 1992; LeMay, 2012; Tatalovich, 1995). However, in this case language policy is presented as a mechanism to solve communications problems and increase social and economic opportunities for ethnolinguistic minorities by ensuring that all citizens have access to the dominant language (Eastman, 1983).

Opposed to Official English Policies

Those who oppose official English legislation use some of the same arguments as the advocates, but they argue that social isolation, lack of economic progress, and/or internal national conflicts are precisely the result of official English policies. Opponents

of official English legislation claim that English is already overwhelmingly used for the majority of government business, and that official English policies are open efforts to restrict ethnolinguistic minorities' language use and result in social and political conflict by creating intolerance and encouraging resentment to speakers of other languages (Aleman, et al., 1997). Furthermore, they claim that official English policies are a means to subordinate ethnolinguistic minorities and to attack Hispanics in particular (Wiley, 2014). Draper and Jimenez (1996) present an internal memorandum by Dr. John Tanton, one of the chairmen of U.S. English at the time, which surfaced in the press in the 1990s, warning that Hispanic immigrants could be importing unwanted traits such as “the tradition of the *mordida* (bribe)”; “low educability”; Catholicism, which could “pitch out the separation of church and state”; and high birthrates. They state that further investigation linked Dr. Tanton’s funding to a eugenics foundation and a distributor of nativist propaganda. As a result of this memorandum, several U.S. English leaders resigned.

Opponents of official English policies point out that today’s immigrants are actually learning English at the same rate as or even faster than immigrants in the past. They therefore describe official English as part of a radical conservative agenda and a form of internal colonialism that has gained the support of a wide spectrum of society (May, 2014).

Wiley (1998) states that language remains a strong marker for social and economic differentiation and discrimination, and that policies enforcing English-only mandates are not designed to improve linguistic minorities’ chances of assimilation,

representing instead a kind of “ethnolinguistic domestication” (p. 194). Wiley argues that this is why official English policies garner so much resistance among minority groups and impede rather than facilitate the assimilation of immigrants.

Opponents of official English policies consider that institutionalizing one language and one culture as a fixed category that is meant to reflect a superior or more advanced standard is an act of power and violence in itself, one that suppresses the diverse nature of language and culture and presents a deficient vision of “the other” (Pennycook, 2006). They consider that official English policies more often than not represent an obstacle to or limit access to English, rather than a bridge (Wiley, 2014). These policies also result in non-English speakers being denied services, opportunities, and rights. Ultimately, opponents of official English policy argue that the issue of language policy is not about which language an individual should or should not speak but about a preconceived notion of how society should be structured and who should have access to what status and privileges (Tollefson & Tsui, 2014). One final argument from opponents is that establishing English as the official language in the United States is actually incompatible with the nation’s tradition of cultural diversity (Aleman et al., 1997; May, 2014).

Figure 1 presents a conceptual map of how both sides view which factors are involved in the decision making, the establishment of goals, and the areas affected by official English legislation. Paradoxically, as I have argued, both sides of the debate identify some of the same factors as highly related to the adoption of official English policies, such as immigration and integration. However, each side of the spectrum

contemplates these factors under a different light. Some of these factors are included in both the factors that are affected by the adoption and those that have some relation to the causes of adoption.

Previous literature identifies three different rationales in support of official English policy: maintaining the status quo and strengthening the unity of the nation on the one hand, and as a practice of hegemonic imposition on the other. The analytic model to be used in this chapter, logistic regression, though unable to establish causal relationships and determine the success or failure of the goals can still identify factors that are statistically related to the policy. These findings, together with the qualitative analysis in this study, will provide insight into the reasons behind official English policies in the United States.

Based on this theoretical framework and on the review of previous literature research, this dissertation will respond to the following research hypotheses:

1. Supporters of official English policies claim that the lack of access to English may represent a challenge to the unity of the United States and also to the opportunity for economic growth and integration for immigrants who do not speak English (Archibugi, 2005; Imhoff, 1990). Therefore, one goal of the legislation ought to be to increase/promote access to the English language. If the main goal of official English legislation is to guarantee access to the English language for non-English speakers, it would increase support for official English legislation from both the population in general and also from non-native speakers who may feel they need to acquire higher proficiency

in the English language. For that reason, I anticipate that access to English will be one of the most salient stated goals of enacted official English policies.

2a. Based on the theoretical argument that official English policies are a measure against non-English-speaking foreign-born populations, Hispanics in particular (Wiley, 2014; May 2014), official English policies may be perceived as an attempt from the dominant English-speaking group to institutionalize their ethnic and cultural features as the norm and assign a second place to ethnolinguistic minorities. In communities where ethnolinguistic minorities have been established and obtained political participation, their linguistic and ethnic roots are displayed with a positive attitude and pride. Therefore, the chances of passing official English legislation may certainly be slimmer. I anticipate that states with higher percentages of foreign-born and Hispanic residents will be less likely to pass official English legislation. However, this tendency will be curtailed by the political tendency of the state.

2b. Arguments in favor of official English are closer to a more traditional and conservative political rationale (Huntington, 2004; Imhoff, 1990). Therefore, politically conservative states will be more likely to adopt official English policy, regardless of their social composition.

3. Proponents of the legislation claim that official English policies may help to reduce wasteful expenditures at the state level because of the savings due to not translating official documents and the elimination of expensive education programs, such as bilingual education (May, 2104). However, achieving the goals of promoting English and increasing opportunities for the integration of those that have not yet mastered the

language would require some increased funding to support outreach and English as a second language instruction. If official English legislation has a negative effect on both the expenditures and the education outcomes for linguistic minorities, legislation could be seen as contrary to such a goal. I anticipate that enacting official English legislation does not have a significant impact either on the expenditures for linguistic minority students or the academic outcomes of ELs, as compared to states that did not enact official English policies. In this case, critical language theory would be corroborated by exposing structures that are strategically implemented to prevent minorities from accessing any position of power.

Despite assimilationist ideologies and rationales that propelled the passing of English-only laws, the educational results may not demonstrate that linguistic minority and immigrant students are learning English, succeeding in school, and/or being prepared to become literate and highly functional U.S. citizens. This analysis may show instead that funding is limited, instruction is mediocre, and the push for official English legislation is harmful to minorities and to new immigrants in general.

Data and Sources, Measures and Procedures

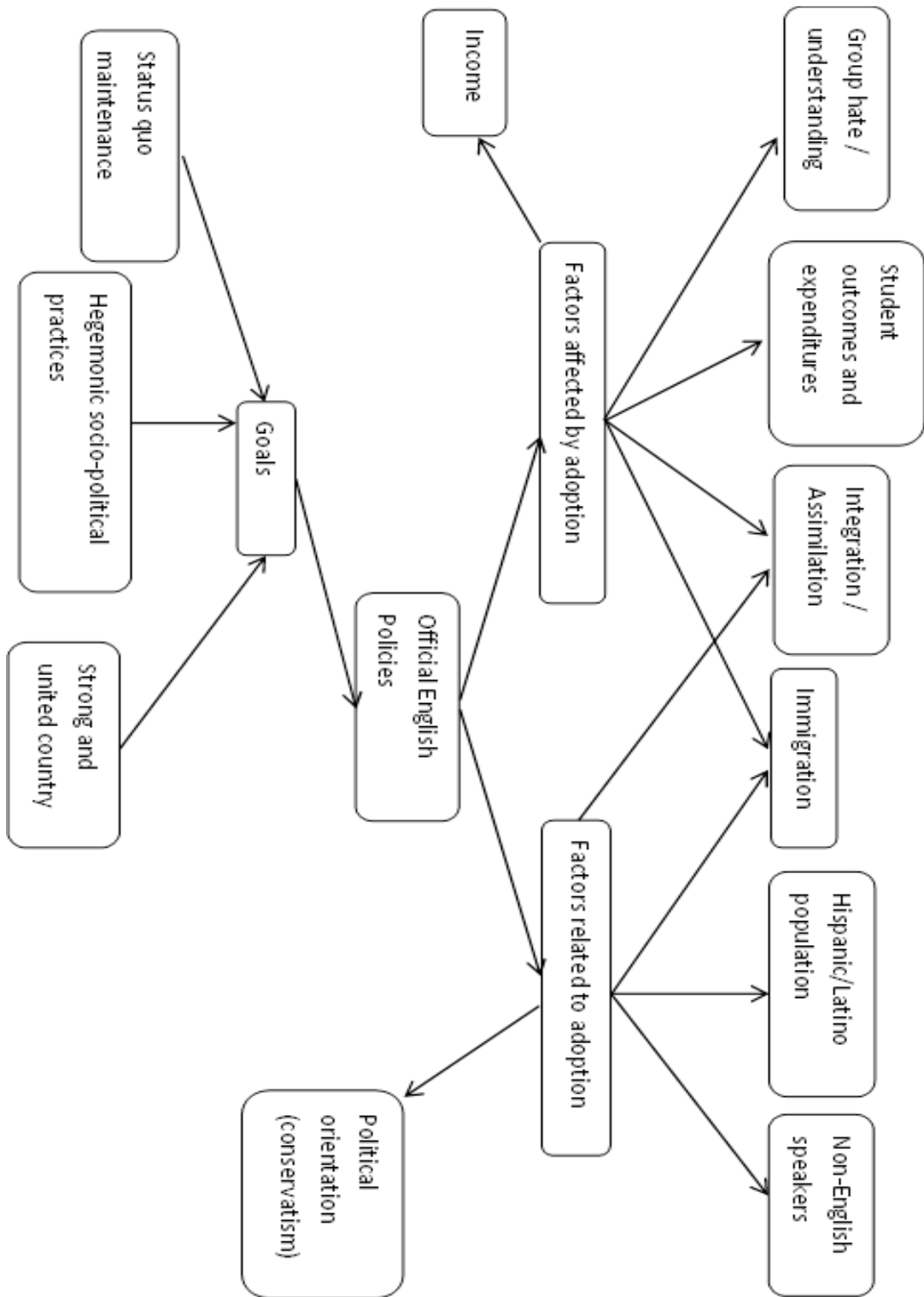
To answer the second and third research questions about the factors associated with the likelihood of passing official English legislation, as well as the relationship between these policies and the educational expenditures for and educational outcomes of linguistic minorities, it is necessary to construct a model that allows a comparison of the states that did and did not pass official English policies.

The data used in this project were collected from the U.S. Department of Education's Consolidated State Performance Report (CSPR), Part I, for school year 2011-2012. The CSPR, which is approved by the Department of Education, reflects data reported by each state; it is required annually under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). The CSPR consists of two parts. Part I collects data about the ESEA goals, established by each state in a Consolidated State Application, including data on the performance of English learners.

Additional variables have been obtained from the U.S. Census, the American Community Survey (ACS), the Current Population Survey (CPS), and the official webpage of each state's educational agency. Data about crime rates have been obtained through the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS).

The U.S. Census is a nationwide survey conducted and disseminated every ten years, and it is by far the most complete and accurate source of population and housing variables. Both ACS and CPS represent a portion of the U.S. Census. CPS is a monthly survey that includes a sample of approximately 50,000 households, which provides estimates of data for both the nation and individual states. ACS produces one-year and three-year estimates about the U.S. population. The NCVS is the United States' primary source of information on criminal victimization. The data, which are collected from a national representative sample of households, include information about the frequency, characteristics, and consequences of criminal activities, including, for example, hate crimes. Data from the previous sources were collected for every state, when available. These are the most reliable and up-to-date sources of data for this study.

Figure 1. Conceptual map: Variables related to official English policies



Measures

The following variables were collected to be used in the statistical analyses. The variables were chosen because of their identification in the previous literature as relevant to the adoption of official English policies (see figure 1). These variables also represent a description of the linguistic composition of each state, which may be associated with official English decisions.

Table 3 includes all the variables collected for this dissertation. The variables have been grouped into four clusters, which align with what previous literature has identified as areas related to official English legislation: social composition, and economic, geopolitical, and student achievement (May, 2014; Wiley, 2014). Population variables include the number of the total population and the immigrant population as a percentage of total population residing in the state, as reported in the U.S. Census. Per-capita income and per-pupil funding are reported in dollars. “Right-to-work” states are those that have adopted right-to-work legislation. Right-to-work laws prohibit agreements between labor unions and employers that require employees to join the union and pay dues or fees as a condition of employment; 25 states have passed such laws (<http://www.mnaflcio.org/news/right-work-laws-get-facts>). The present dissertation places states in the nine regional divisions of the United States, as determined by U.S. Census Bureau: New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, West North Central, South Atlantic, East South Central, West South Central, Mountain, and Pacific. The political tendency of each state was classified in three categories—blue state, red state,

and undecided, as reported by the Gallup poll, which is a reliable national survey that collects historical data on voter tendencies per state and nationally.

To determine student academic achievement, I collected the percentage of EL students scoring basic and above on the NAEP math and reading tests, as reported by the National Center of Education Statistics. I also collected from CSPR students’ progress in and attainment of English language proficiency, as reported by each state to the U.S.

Department of Education.

Table 3. Variables associated with language policy decisions

Social composition variables	Economic variables	Geopolitical variables	Student Academic Achievement
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total population • Immigrant population as a percentage of total population • Race and Ethnicity of Population (in percentages) • English learners in school as a percentage of the total student population 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unemployment rate (November 2012 seasonally adjusted US Department of labor) • Per capita income (inflation adjusted, 2012) • Population density • K-12 per pupil allocation for the education of EL students as determined by each state • Funding type (line allocation, weighted student formula, or other) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hate Crime rates • Political Tendency (Red vs. Blue States) • “Right-to-work” States • Geographical location 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EL NAEP, Math, Grade 4 and Grade 8, Basic and Above Percent • EL NAEP, Reading, Grade 4 and Grade 8, Basic and Above Percent • EL Percent Showing Progress and Attainment as determined and reported by each state

Procedure

The purpose of this analysis is to develop a model that explains the relationship between social composition, economic, geopolitical, and student academic achievement variables, and the adoption of official English policies. This requires a comparison of different groups of states. However, an experimental design is infeasible, since state policies are already predetermined and thus not random, thus the most practicable research design in this case is non-experimental. Wooldridge (2009) describes the differences between the two designs: “Unlike a true experiment, in which treatment and control groups are randomly and explicitly chosen, the control and treatment groups in natural experiments arise from the particular policy change” (p. 165).

An experimental design is thought to be the standard for any research study that attempts to avoid alternative explanations. The fundamental characteristic of an experimental design is randomization, which guarantees that both the control and the treated group are comparable. However, in some instances, it is impossible, unpractical, unfeasible, or unethical to randomize treatment assignments. Comparing a treatment group with a non-experimental group could yield biased results, due to selection bias (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002). For this study, substantially different states could choose alternative language policies.

In the present study, to control for the lack of randomization and mitigate the risk of omitting variable bias, I have included major demographic control variables in a logistic regression analysis. Regression analysis is one of the most functional and most frequently used statistical methods. The goal of using regression is to describe the

relationship between a response variable and one or more explanatory variables (Efron & Tibsirani, 1993). I use robust estimates of standard errors, control for both within variance and variance between states, and ensure that the data is mostly normally distributed. These measures should enable the parameters I used to be internally, externally, and statistically as valid as possible. Nonetheless, the findings of the present dissertation are correlational and not causal.

Under certain conditions, linear regression is generally one of the most effective methods of quantifying the effects of explanatory variables on one dependent continuous variable (Agresti, 2007). However, in this case, the dependent or outcome variable, “having passed language policy,” is a dichotomous categorical variable that has two possible outcomes (yes or no). In cases where the dependent variable is categorical, Menard (2002) and Pampel (2000) recommend using a logistic regression analysis instead.

The logistic regression model, which is a special case of a generalized linear model, is an important tool for analyzing the relationship between several explanatory variables and the outcome variable. Logistic regression has wide application to the correlated binary data, including repeated measurement, longitudinal studies, and clustered data (Stiratelli, Laird, & Ware, 1984). This method not only facilitates the determination of a given set of variables related to passing official English policies, it also helps to estimate the magnitude of the overall effect the independent variables have on the fact of establishing, or not, said policies.

Although it originated in the fields of applied mathematics, experimental statistics, and economic theory, logistic regression has also been widely used in social sciences and education studies (Cramer, 2003). One advantage of logistic regression is the fact that it does not assume a linear relationship between the dependent and independent variables or a cluster effect in the data. Furthermore, the dependent variables need not be normally distributed and there is no assumption of homogeneity of variance, which means that the variances do not have to be the same within categories. Furthermore, normally distributed error terms are not assumed, and the independent variables do not have to be interval or unbounded (Dyke & Paterson, 1952; Wright, 1992). The logistic regression analysis is typically comprised of two steps: the estimation of the model parameter and the determination of the data's goodness-to-fit (Agresti, 2007).

In a logistic regression model, probability is obtained from the parameter for a binomial distribution. That is to say, a distribution that takes the values one and zero with probabilities π and $1 - \pi$, respectively. It is then necessary to transform the probability in order to remove range restrictions. To do so, probability is first transformed to the odds, and logits are then calculated (Agresti, 2007).

The final logistic regression model has a linear form for the logit of probability, as follows:

$$\text{logit} [\pi(x)] = \log[\pi(x)/1 - \pi(x)] = \alpha + \beta x,$$

where α and β are the regression parameters estimated by the maximum likelihood method and x represents a vector of covariates (Agresti, 2007). The maximum likelihood

estimation, considered a standard approach to parameter estimation and inference in statistics (van der Vaart, 1998), is the most prominent general method of estimation procedures.

In these regression models, the unit of analysis will be the state ($n = 51$, 50 states plus the District of Columbia). The dichotomous dependent variable is whether a state has or has not passed language legislation (where 1 = yes, 0 = no). For the regression models, the potential explanatory variables were examined to determine whether or not they were significant enough to be used in the logistic models. The final model was comprised of all the variables understood by previous theory to have a relation in the decision of adopting (or not) official English legislation. I used a univariate analysis to identify significant covariates that were associated with the response. In addition, a backward elimination stepwise selection procedure and factor analysis was used to determine the significant combination of factors in the model.

Employing stepwise selection is considered an acceptable practice for predictive and exploratory research, and backward elimination is preferred to forward selection because it reduces the risk of not identifying a relationship when one exists (Menard, 2002). The basic premise of stepwise backward elimination is to remove variables from the model as a result of their statistical significance in predicting the variance in the outcome variable— that is, official English policy.

The process begins with the full model, and each variable (predictor) is evaluated for possible elimination. In the course of this process, individual variables are eliminated one at a time if their omission has a positive impact on the predictive strength of the

model. Ultimately, variables will remain in the model based on their contribution to the -2 log likelihood, and according to their p-value. They will be removed from the model if it is determined that the contribution of the predictor has weakened to a point of non-significance. Non-significance is determined by a p-value of the -2 log likelihood greater than .10. The most important variable in the model is the one that is observed to produce the greatest statistically significant change in the log likelihood. As a result of this process, the final model is a refined and more efficient version of the initial model (Pampel, 2000).

Because the aim of the analysis for this dissertation was to identify, from the selected predictors, what variables are statistically significant predictors of a state's decision to adopt official English policies, the procedure helps to strengthen the final model. The initial predictors were selected based on the variables identified by previous theory. The selection is refined by the elimination of variables that are not, or that are less, statistically significant, according to the established p-value.

In fitting a logistic regression model, we initially assume that the relationships between the independent variables and the logits are equal for all logits (Agresti, 2007). The regression coefficients are the coefficients of the following equation:

$$\text{Logit}[\pi(x)] = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_p X_p$$

The results would therefore be a set of parallel lines for each category of the outcome variables. This assumption can be checked by allowing the coefficients to vary, estimating them, and determining if they are all equal (Agresti, 2007). Thus our

maximum likelihood parameter estimates, diagnostic and goodness of fit statistics, residuals and odds ratios were obtained from the final fitted logistic regression model.

The results are presented in odds ratio form, especially because the present study intends to estimate the impact of each variable, controlling for the effect of other predictors, on the outcome (official English policy). The study also reports the effect of a unit change in a given variable on the outcome variable, as recommended by previous literature (DeMaris, 1995; Morgan & Teachman, 1988).

However, the aim of this study is not only to determine the characteristics that contribute to the decision to adopt (or not) English as the official language at the state level, but also to estimate the differences, if any, between the states that passed language legislation and those that did not. The empirical strategy to evaluate differences in state outcomes is to compare the group of states that passed language legislation (treatment group) to those that did not (comparison group). For this purpose, I will use an independent samples t-test.

To perform the data analysis, I used the IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 19.0 for Microsoft Windows. IBM SPSS is a statistical package that meets all research requirements and is cited as one of the software packages typically used in the social sciences that involve statistical calculations (Creswell, 2002; Menard, 2002; Pampel, 2000).

Descriptive Statistics of the Data

Table 4 presents the descriptive statistics for the variables utilized in the different estimations for states that have adopted official English legislation.

Table 4. Official English states: Descriptive statistics (28 observations)

Variable (logs)	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Percent English Attainment	19.75	11.79	7	64
Percent English Progress	52.25	17.27	13	84
Percent Change Foreign-Born 2000-11	48.61	21.19	14.5	96.6
Geographical Location	5.79	2.132	1	9
Hate Crime Rate	0.002218	0.0015754	0	0.00705
K12 EL Per Pupil	160.3	189.7	0.79	514.86
Percent EL Math Basic and Above, Grade 4	58.64	13.75	36	83
Percent EL Math Basic and Above, Grade 8	33.22	12.1	18	57
Percent EL Reading Basic and Above, Grade 4	29.42	11.59	9	56
Percent EL Reading Basic and Above, Grade 8	37.27	12.33	22	63
Per Capita Income	26,333.68	3,245.38	20,521	33,040
Percent Black	10.79	10.48	0.6	37.4
Percent EL Population	6.13	4.36	0.8	21.7
Percent Foreign-Born	7.66	5.98	2	27.1
Percent Hispanic	10	8.69	2.5	38.2
Percent Other	6.746	9.38	1.6	48.8
Percent White	70.94	15.96	22.8	91.9
Political Tendency	1.82	0.39	1	2
Population Density	105.38	91.23	1.2	350.6
Total Population	5,873,639	7,430,753	563,626	37,253,956
Unemployment Rate	6.79	1.77	3.2	9.9
Right-to-work State	0.68	0.476	0	1

Notice that some variables are similar for both groups of states. For instance, the mean of NAEP results in the two groups are close. However, reading grade 8 is noticeably higher for states that adopted official English legislation, and the mean of

students in English language progress and attainment is higher for states that did not adopt official English policy.

It is worth mentioning that the percentage of the population from different races is similar in both groups. The percentages of the Hispanic and Black populations are slightly higher in states that did not pass the legislation. The mean of the foreign-born population is higher in the states that did not adopt official English legislation. However, the percentage change of the foreign-born population is higher in states that did adopt the legislation.

Table 5. Non-official English states: Descriptive statistics (23 observations)

Variable (logs)	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Percent English Attainment	24.57	11.93	10	52
Percent English Progress	59.52	18.34	31	95
Percent Change Foreign-Born 2000-11	36.90	18.51	1.6	72.5
Geographical Location	4.3	2.787	1	9
Hate Crime Rate	0.003059	0.00206	0.00045	0.00947
K12 EL Per Pupil	823.41	1,051.48	5.18	3,134.04
Percent EL Math Basic and Above, Grade 4	56	12.10	39	76
Percent EL Math Basic and Above, Grade 8	30.68	12.66	14	63
Percent EL Reading Basic and Above, Grade 4	31.29	10.74	14	53
Percent EL Reading Basic and Above, Grade 8	27.73	9.38	17	48
Per Capita Income	29,287.9	5,333.23	22,010	43,993
Percent Black	12.45	11.74	1.1	50.1
Percent EL Population	6.81	5.11	0.7	20.2
Percent Foreign-Born	10.25	6.06	1.3	22.2
Percent Hispanic	12.21	11.5	1.3	47
Percent Other	5.65	3.28	0.9	12
Percent White	69.05	16.61	35.5	94.1
Political Tendency	1.43	0.728	1	3
Population Density	724.07	2020.32	17	9856.5
Total Population	6,273,20	6,162,52	601,723	25,145,56
Unemployment Rate	7.41	1.45	5	10
Right-to-Work State	0.22	0.422	0	1

Table 5 represents the descriptive statistics of states that have not adopted official English legislation. The per-capita income is higher in states that did not adopt official English legislation, but so is the unemployment rate. In terms of population, there are no significant differences. However, in terms of population density, states that passed the legislation are significantly less densely populated, which means that they are less urban.

Two variables that appear highly dissimilar are K-12 per-pupil funding, which is almost seven times more in states that did not adopt official English policy, and right to work, as only 22 percent of states that never passed official legislation are right-to-work states, compared to 68 percent of states that did establish official English policy. I will later conduct further analysis to determine if the differences mentioned are statistically significant.

It is relevant to ask if both groups of states, those that did and did not adopt English as their official language, have similar characteristics (variance and mean) for the variables that will be included in the analysis. A test of homogeneity of variances indicates that the variances in most variables for both groups of states are similar, except for per-capita income, population density, political tendency, and per-pupil spending. Per-pupil spending is also non-normally distributed, so I performed a log transformation (log funding), which was included in the test of homogeneity. The log transformed variable has a similar variance for both groups.

Table 6. Test of homogeneity of variances

Variable (logs)	Levene Statistic	P-value	Conclusion
Total Population	0.003	0.958	Variances are equal
Percent Foreign-Born	0.513	0.477	Variances are equal
Percent Change Foreign Born 2000-11	0.104	0.749	Variances are equal
Percent White	0.096	0.758	Variances are equal
Percent Hispanic	0.866	0.357	Variances are equal
Percent Black	0.074	0.786	Variances are equal
Percent EL Population	0.384	0.539	Variances are equal
Percent Other	2.235	0.141	Variances are equal
Unemployment Rate	1.654	0.205	Variances are equal
Per Capita Income	4.211	0.046	Variances are different
Population Density	5.4	0.024	Variances are different
Hate Crime Rate	1.541	0.22	Variances are equal
Political Tendency	12.174	0.001	Variances are different
Right to Work	2.808	0.1	Variances are equal
Geographical Location	3.322	0.074	Variances are equal
K12 EL Per Pupil	11.719	0.003	Variances are different
Funding Type	1.549	0.219	Variances are equal
Percent EL NAEP Math Basic and Above, Grade 4	0.016	0.899	Variances are equal
Percent EL NAEP Math Percent Basic and Above, Grade 8	0	0.984	Variances are equal
Percent EL NAEP Reading Percent Basic and Above, Grade 4	0.005	0.944	Variances are equal
Percent EL NAEP Reading Percent Basic and Above, Grade 8	1.915	0.177	Variances are equal
Percent EL Attainment	0.289	0.593	Variances are equal
Percent EL Progress	0.206	0.652	Variances are equal
Log Funding	0.04	0.843	Variances are equal

Table 7 provides an example of the analysis and presents correlations between the variables included in the empirical exercise. It is noteworthy that the percentage of the foreign-born population is negatively correlated with the adoption of official English policies; that is, as one variable increases, the other decreases. But the percentage change in the foreign-born population is positively correlated with it; that is, as one increases the

other increases too. Although the percentage change in foreign-born population is significant (p-value .043), it would require further analysis to state if it is really a significant factor in the likelihood of adopting official English legislation at the state level. However, one may claim that, when the foreign-born population is settled, the likelihood of passing official English legislation decreases, and that when the foreign-born population is transient or recently arrived, the likelihood increases. Since the previous literature also identifies immigration (foreign-born population), especially new immigrants that need to learn English, as a significant factor in the adoption of official English legislation, I will add percentage change in the foreign-born population as one predictor in the logistic regression model (May, 2014; Wiley, 2014).

Previous literature identifies the Hispanic population as one of the factors in adopting official English legislation (Ricento, 2005). Looking at the figures, there seems to be a negative correlation between the percentage of the Hispanic population and official English policy. However, this correlation is not statistically significant. Income is considered a relevant factor by previous literature as well. There is a negative correlation between per-capita income and the legislation. This correlation is highly significant (p-value .019), and I will include it in the logistic model as well.

Three correlations that are important to observe, due to its preponderance in the theoretical model for the present study, are the political tendency, right to work, and geographic location. All of them are statistically significant and positively correlated with official English legislation. Political tendency and right to work also seem to be correlated (p-value .000), so I will include right to work in the model, as it seems to have

a higher correlation with official English policy and is an indication of conservatism. I will also include geographic location to control for any neighbor effects.

Although proponents of official English policy claim in the theoretical model that the legislation eliminates wasteful spending on translations, programs that teach English to new students must be increased to align with the stated goals of the legislation: to expand access to the English language. This increase in English programs will also increase expenditures. However, K-12 funding is negatively correlated (p-value .054) with the legislation. I will determine how this variable is distributed, and if the means between groups are statistically different or not. In terms of academic achievement, it is curious that none of these variables is correlated with official English legislation, except for reading grade 8 (p-value .024), which is positively correlated with official English legislation. It is also important to note that both English attainment and progress are negatively correlated with official English legislation, although the theoretical framework of proponents of the legislation argues that the policy promotes and strengthens the English language (Archibugi, 2005). However, these correlations are not statistically significant, at .05.

Table 7. Correlations between the variables included in the analysis

Pearson Correlation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Official English	1											
2. Total Population	-0.029	1										
3. Percent Foreign-Born	-0.214	.611*	1									
4. Percent change Foreign-Born 2000-11	.285*	-0.155	-.336*	1								
5. Percent White	0.059	-.393*	-.691*	0.149	1							
6. Percent Hispanic	-0.111	.525*	.704*	-0.177	-.618*	1						
7. Percent Black	-0.076	0.13	0.095	0.178	-.480*	-0.105	1					
8. Percent EL Population	-0.073	.479*	.651*	-0.2	-.628*	.872*	-0.087	1				
9. Percent Other	0.076	0.042	.439*	-.314*	-.571*	0.242	-0.226	.351*	1			
10. Unemployment Rate	-0.189	.387*	.454*	0.017	-.359*	.301*	.386*	0.26	-0.096	1		
11. Per Capita Income	-.329*	0.049	.523*	-.355*	-.283*	0.102	0.204	0.145	0.2	0.124	1	
12. Population Density	-0.226	-0.08	0.205	-0.219	-.335*	0.004	.530*	0.068	-0.026	0.199	.609*	1
Pearson Correlation	1	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1. Official English	1											
13. Hate Crime Rate	-0.229	1										
14. Political Tendency	.327*	0.052	1									
15. Right to Work	.460*	-.324*	.499*	1								
16. Geographical Location	.294*	-0.199	0.334	0.222	1							
17. K12 EL Per Pupil	-0.437	-0.15	-0.326	-0.273	0.27	1						
18. Percent Math Basic and Above, Grade 4	0.103	-0.171	0.243	0.239	-0.193	0.283	1					
19. Percent Math Basic and Above, Grade 8	0.105	-0.07	0.027	0.312	-0.229	0.042	.592*	1				
20. Percent Reading Basic and Above, Gr.4	-0.084	-0.157	0.117	0.178	-.419*	0.123	.855*	.603*	1			
21. Percent Reading Basic and Above, Gr.8	.411*	-0.182	0.095	.565*	-0.182	-0.059	.568*	.802*	.481*	1		
22. Attainment	-0.202	0.028	-0.133	0	-0.102	-0.154	-0.247	-0.194	-0.124	-0.26	1	
23. EL Progress	-0.203	-0.114	-0.263	0.018	-0.16	0.277	0.193	0.257	0.194	0.043	-0.068	1

* Statistically significant at .05 (For statistical significance, see Appendix C)

Based on previous research, I added two variables to the analysis. Since both sides of the theoretical framework argue that official English policy contributes to either understanding or intolerance between the mainstream and ethnolinguistic groups (Imhoff, 1990; Wiley, 2014), I observed the hate crime rate and population density, which are correlated between them. However, one is positively and the other negatively correlated with official English policy, although only hate crime is statistically significant, at p-value .10. Hate crime will be included in the logistic regression model as a predictor. Hate crime is also mentioned in previous literature as being a result or a consequence of official English policies.

Analysis of Question 2: Preponderant Characteristics of States that Adopted Official English Legislation

This study only inquires about the variables (or predictors), as identified by previous literature, significantly related to the adoption of official English policy at the state level (Archibugi, 2005; Imhoff, 1990; May, 2014; Wiley, 2014). Although the logistic regression controls for factors that may influence the adoption of said policies, it is not intended to and will not establish the determinants of causality.

Logistic regression analysis was used to determine the preponderant characteristics of states that passed official English legislation by predicting the probability that a state would approve such legislation. The predictor variables used in the model, which were selected based on the previous literature and through the previous univariate analysis, are:

- Geographic Location
- Hate Crime Rate
- Percent Change Foreign-Born Population
- Percent Hispanic Population
- Right-to-Work State
- Unemployment Rate

Given the number of observations, 51, used in this analysis, it is appropriate to use no more than six predictors, as statistical theory recommends approximately one predictor per ten or eleven observations (Agresti, 2007). A test of the full model versus a model with intercept only was statistically significant ($F(6, n = 51) = 52.620, p < .005$). The model correctly predicted 23 of the 28 states that adopted official English policy, for an 82.1 percent correct classification rate, and 17 out of 23 cases, or 73.9 percent, of states that did not. The overall percentage correct for the model was 78.4 percent (see table 8 for complete details of the classification). This is an indication of an acceptable goodness-of-fit of the model to the data, as models with an overall percentage of 60 percent or higher are considered acceptable (Agresti, 2007).

Table 8. Classification Table

Observed		Official English		Percentage Correct
		Predicted No	Predicted Yes	
No	23	17	6	73.9
Yes	28	5	23	82.1
Total	51			78.4

Another indication of goodness-of-fit are the results of the Hosmer and Lemeshow test, for which the chi-square measure (13.028) is not statistically significant (p-value .111). This indicates that the null hypothesis that there is no difference between observed and model-predicted values is accepted. These results imply that the model's estimates fit the data at a satisfactory level. However, these tests only confirm whether the model fits or not, but they are not an indication about the extent of the fit. The Cox & Snell R-square (.292) and the Nagelkerke R-square (.390) indicate that this model has explained about 40 percent of the variation in the outcome. Although it may be considered acceptable, the results indicate that there are a number of significant factors to be identified in the process of adopting official English policies.

Table 9 shows the logistic regression coefficient, Wald test, and odds ratio for each of the predictors. Using .05 as a reference for statistical significance, only right to work had significant effects. Using .10 as a reference for significance, geographic location becomes statistically significant. Table 9 also includes all the steps in the stepwise backward elimination procedure. As reflected in the -2 log likelihood, the model that includes all variables has greater explanatory power than any of the other models excluding these predictors. However, the predictors gain statistical strength as the weaker variables are removed.

The model that seems to have most explanatory power while showing statistic strength of the predictors is the one that includes right-to-work states, geographical location, and percentage of the Hispanic population, which indicates that these variables seem to be highly related the adoption of official English legislation.

Table 9. Logistic Regression

Step	Predictor	Constant	Right to Work	Geographical location	Percent Hispanic	Foreign-born percent change	Unemployment rate	Hate Crime rate
1	OR	0.3	5.07	1.3	0.96	1.02	0.89	0
	Wald	0.38	5.17	2.9	1.07	1.25	0.24	0.18
2	B	-1.22	1.62**	.26*	-0.04	0.02	-0.11	-86.6
	OR	0.23	5.43	1.3	0.96	1.02	0.89	
3	Wald	0.6	5.88	3.02	1.03	1.29	0.28	
	B	-1.46	1.69**	.26*	-0.04	0.02	-0.12	
4	OR	0.1	5.75	1.31	0.95	1.02		
	Wald	4.11	6.41	3.28	1.56	1.21		
5	B	-2.27	1.75**	.27*	-0.05	0.02		
	OR	0.23	6.49	1.32	0.95			
6	Wald	3.25	7.58	3.52	2.1			
	B	-1.48	1.87**	.28*	-0.05			
5	OR	0.19	6.6	1.2				
	Wald	4.31	8.19	2.23				
6	B	-1.64	1.89**	0.19				
	OR	0.5	7.6					
6	Wald	2.9	9.8					
	B	-0.69	2.03**					

** Significant at a 5% level. * Significant at 10%.

The odds ratio for right to work indicate that, when holding all other variables constant, a state that adopted right-to-work policies is almost six times more likely to adopt official English policy than a state that did not. States whose neighbors in their geographic region adopted official English policy are also more likely to enact such policies as well. States whose population has a higher percentage of Hispanic seem less likely to adopt official English policy, although this measure is not statistically significant.

Analysis of Question 3: Relationship between K-12 State Expenditures for ELs, the Outcomes of EL Students, and Official English

The third question in this dissertation deals with the difference between school expenditures for linguistic minority students (K-12) and their academic outcomes. To answer this question, I performed an independent samples t-test. The independent t-test is an inferential test designed to compare the means of a given variable between two groups. The t-test helps to determine whether the difference between the means of the two groups is due to the effect of the sample (random factors) or to an underlying true difference between the populations. Ultimately, I am trying to determine if the means of educational expenditures for K-12 linguistic minority students and their academic outcomes are significantly different between states that adopted official English policies and states that did not.

In order for the t-test to be considered valid and reliable, the data need to fit the following assumptions:

- a. Continuous dependent variable
- b. Binomial/categorical independent variable

- c. The observations are independent for each group
- d. There are no significant outliers—although a good number of states are not included in the calculations for expenditures, no outliers have been identified
- e. The data are approximately normally distributed—I performed a Shapiro-Wilk test of normality and I visually inspected the histograms of the variables involved. K-12 per-pupil funding, NAEP reading basic and above grade 8, and attainment did not seem to be normally distributed. I log transformed the variables to bring the distribution of these variables closer to a normal distribution.
- f. Variances are homogeneous—I performed a Levene’s test for homogeneity of variances, which was reported previously (see table 6). Only the K-12 per-pupil funding variance is different. However, the variances for the log transformed variable are equal.

Table 10 reports the results of the independent samples t-test. As a first observation, the number of observations may compromise the validity of the test. The only case in which the test results indicate that the means in both groups are statistically different are for the percentage EL NAEP reading, basic and above at grade 8, at least at a .05 level. The mean of the states that adopted official English legislation is higher in this case. I established the p-value (column P) at .05; any value higher than that indicates that there is no statistical difference between the means of both groups. However, it is worth mentioning that, at level .1, EL English proficiency progress, attainment, and funding are also statistically significant. The means of these variables are higher in the states that did not adopt official English policy.

After reviewing these results, I may assert that passing official English legislation, including that which particularly affects education, does not seem to have a strong correlation with improving English acquisition for students in public schools, or with the academic achievement of linguistic minority students, with the possible exception of reading at grade 8. Additionally, it is important to note that the means of students progressing and attaining in the proficiency of the English language is higher in states that have not adopted official English, which further questions the goals and outcomes behind these policies.

Table 10. Independent t-test results

Variable	T-test	P	Conclusion
Log Funding (n=20)	1.670	0.1	Accept equality of means
Percent EL NAEP Math Basic and Above, Grade 4 (n=46)	-0.685	0.5	Accept equality of means
Percent EL NAEP Math Percent Basic and Above, Grade 8 (n=37)	-0.623	0.5	Accept equality of means
Percent EL NAEP Reading Percent Basic and Above, Grade 4 (n=47)	0.566	0.5	Accept equality of means
Percent EL NAEP Reading Percent Basic and Above, Grade 8 (n=30)	-2.383	0.02	Reject equality of means
Attainment (n=51)	1.443	0.1	Accept equality of means
Progress (n=51)	1.455	0.1	Accept equality of means

The results indicate that there is also no correlation between adopting English as the official language and increasing the level of resources to ensure that individuals, in particular

school-age children, have more opportunities to learn the English language. As is the case with attainment of English proficiency, it is states that have not adopted official English policies that seem to devote more resources to teaching the English language in K-12 public schools. It therefore is questionable how official English policies promote and strengthen the use of the English language, other than by repressing and suppressing the use of other languages.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS, AND CONCLUSION

I have traveled more than anyone else, and I have noticed that even the angels speak English with an accent. —Mark Twain, 1894, “Following the Equator,” in *Pudd’nhead Wilson’s New Calendar*

Summary and Discussion of Results

The purpose of this dissertation was to determine the characteristics and stated goals of legislation that has established English as the official language in 28 states, and that banned the use of native languages in public schools in three states. The present study also looked into determining the social, economic, cultural, and political characteristics of states that adopted official English and the possible relation of these policies to expenditures in teaching English in K-12 public schools and the outcomes of students categorized as English learners in those schools. The following were the research questions:

- *What are the characteristics, similarities, variances, and stated outcomes, if any, of official English policies enacted in the United States?*
- *What factors are associated with the likelihood of passing official English policies at the state level?*

- What is the relationship between official English policies and the education expenditures for linguistic minorities in K-12 public schools and their educational outcomes at the state level, if any?

In the qualitative phase of the research, I used CDA as a research method and analytical framework to respond to the first question, finding that most of the official English policies adopted follow a standard pattern. Regardless of the fact that they may have been adopted as statutory changes or constitutional amendments, the states either (1) exclusively mention English as the common or official language of the state; (2) indicate that a few implications of the law, whether in a specific area such as education or translations, establish that further legislation will be promulgated to ensure the implementation of official English, or/and mention enforcement mechanisms; or (3) enact a more sophisticated version that includes a preamble that states the reasoning behind the policy, applications, and exclusions, which invariably refer to federal legislation that limit the scope of the policy, and enforcement. This last is the formula adopted by a majority of states.

Overall, as stated by Ricento (2006), the legislation embraced three overarching assumptions:

1) Language is a finite, stable, standardized, rule-governed instrument for communication that is equally accessible to everyone.

2) Monolingualism and cultural homogeneity are the most common “way of being” and represent a condition for social and economic progress, national unity, and modernization.

3) Language use is a simple matter of rational choice. Individuals and societies make the most advantageous decisions for themselves in their choice of language. Embedded in this assumption lies the notion that learning a language can be done as long as an individual is strongly determined to do it.

In terms of content, most of these policies use the social, cultural, and linguistic diversity in the United States to contextualize the adoption of official English legislation. However, diversity is always presented as a starting point, something that needs to be transcended and eliminated in order to enter the successful world of English only. The previous argument seems to establish that any newcomer must abandon their ethnic, racial, social, and linguistic baggage to even have a chance of succeeding in the United States.

In the second phase of the study, I used logistic regression and an independent sample t-test analysis to respond to the second and third research questions. This phase of the analysis tested the social composition, economic, geopolitical, and student achievement variables of states through a logistic regression analysis to determine factors that may predict the adoption of English language policy. Three main characteristics have proven to have a significant statistical correlation with the variable that indicates whether a state has passed official English legislation. The first characteristic is political tendency. Most states that adopted official English policies have a strong conservative political tendency, as measured by the adoption of right-to-work policies. The second is geographic location, which may indicate a possible neighbor effect at the time a state decides to implement official English. The third characteristic, although not statistically significant at .05, is the percentage of the

Hispanic population, which seems to be slightly smaller in the states that adopt official English legislation.

Finally, to respond to the third question, in view of the stated goals of official English legislation, especially considering that a logical consequence of such goals implies increasing expenditures for the acquisition of English, the present dissertation intended to measure whether there was a statistical significance between the adoption of official English policies and (1) expenditures for linguistic minorities in K-12 school settings, and (2) the academic outcomes of students who are learning the language, typically referred to as English learners. The test revealed that there are not any significant differences between the means of both groups of states. In fact, average expenditures and English proficiency outcomes in the English language are higher in states that did not adopt official English policy, although such differences are not statistically significant.

Three hypotheses were tested in the present dissertation. The first hypothesis was that one of the main stated outcomes of this legislation was to encourage and facilitate the use of English for speakers of other languages. After examining the legislation using a CDA approach, the hypothesis is partially confirmed. The legislation that mentions goals and outcomes definitely includes access to English as a goal. However, the legislation more prominently establishes the protection, strengthening, and promotion of the use of the English language as its main goal.

The second hypothesis stated that, in states with higher percentages of foreign-born and Hispanic populations, the likelihood of adopting official English policies would decrease. However, in more ideologically conservative states, the likelihood would increase.

Actually, states with a higher percentage of Hispanics were less likely to adopt official English legislation, but the results are not statistically significant. More conservative states, as measured by the adoption of right-to-work policies, were significantly more likely to adopt official English legislation. The third hypothesis stated that there was no statistical significance between expenditures and student outcomes in states that adopted official English policies and those that did not. The statistical analysis of the results, using a t-test, confirmed the hypothesis.

Overall, the present study corroborates the assertion supported by previous literature that language policy has been a constant in the history of the United States. For the most part, English was made official by covert policies and practices that informally established the minimum threshold of English needed to prevent being excluded from society (Bartolome, 2008; Ricento, 2006; Wiley, 2014). In fact, the “no-language-policy” strategy has had results that many countries with explicitly restrictive policy wish they could have achieved. However, there were times when overt coercion was used profusely, especially with Native American populations or Mexican Americans and other Spanish-speaking populations (Bartolome, 2008; Schmidt, 2001; Wiley, 2104).

In the 1980s, a powerful movement originated to officialize these restrictive practices related to language, race, and culture. Although this movement intended to portray itself as a grassroots movement, the reality is that most of the policies were backed by groups and elected officials that were supported by powerful elitist groups, which were or had been related to questionable extreme right forums, as is the case of U.S. English (Genesee et al., 2006; Wiley, 2014).

The Stated and Unstated Outcomes of Official English: Assimilation vs. Incorporation

Official English legislation is built on theoretical assumptions that, in principle, may seem quite reasonable. The desire to “protect” the use of English so that everyone has a chance at the American Dream, the mention of English as the most common language in the U.S., and the assertion that everyone in the U.S., to further their own interests, should have access to English all appear to be very well-intended objectives. It is significant that the number one declared goal of official English is to “protect, promote, and strengthen the role of English” in the respective states. Equally significant is the fact that four states, in addition to the three (California, Arizona, and Massachusetts) that passed “English for the children,” explicitly include clauses about the use of English as the exclusive medium for instruction of schoolchildren in official English policies. However, it is necessary to pay attention to what this means in practical terms. At what cost do proponents of official English expect assimilation into English? For what purpose are non-native speakers assimilated? Behind the apparent curtain of good intentions there may be an agenda of exclusion that seeks to censure entire communities so they do not threaten the status quo.

Weiss (1982) differentiates between behavioral assimilation and structural incorporation. Behavioral assimilation seeks to subordinate, to make “the other” a servant of those who set the standard and whose behavior must be replicated. Structural incorporation represents full participation, cultural integration, and respect.

Which is the model for integration proposed by official English, based on the analysis of the legislation—behavioral assimilation or structural incorporation? Despite the seemingly

good intentions that having official English is common sense and promotes unity, and that it empowers immigrants by serving as a bridge to success in America, there are no mechanisms embedded in the legislation to facilitate that transition. Therefore, official English legislation intends to remove the linguistic identity of non-English speakers, without adding any value for the affected population. As such, official English policies can only be considered behavioral assimilationist policies.

In the United States, proponents of official English legislation, in apparent alignment with the symbolic politics model, center their agenda around two main ideas. The first is that English is the language that constitutes an integral part of the “American” identity, “the glue that holds us together.” This belief was shared by 76 percent of the U.S. population, according to the General Social Survey analyzed by Rumbaut and Alba (2003) in 2000. However, in this same study, 67 percent of the respondents disagreed with the statement, “English is threatened if other languages are used frequently in large immigrant communities in the United States.”

Official English policies presume that government policies and expectations actually encourage new citizens to maintain (or learn) their own native language instead of English, which represents a risk to the state. That is the reason to promote the move to make English the official language of the United States. Supporters of official English further claim that the term “English only” is misleading, as they are not against any foreign language and that citizens have the right to use and learn any language they wish (U.S. English, n.d.). However, based on the analysis of the policies enacted, speaking languages other than English is highly discouraged in the legislation, either by openly banning the use of languages other than

English at school or by ensuring that these languages are assigned a lesser status when used in public.

Despite proclaiming that the intention is to promote English and not to campaign against any other ethnolinguistic group, proponents of official English language policy in the U.S. have centered their attacks in particular on the Latino community, portraying them as a selfish separatist “Spanish-only” group that is a threat to American identity (Buchanan, 2006; Lawton, 2008). All non-native English speakers, Native Americans, Asians, and African-Americans, but especially Spanish-speakers, are targeted by the imagery and discourse of official English proponents. They are denounced as a threat to a “common American culture,” which equates with white Anglo, Protestant ideology and values and is defined in terms of a “unifying, dynamic, cosmopolitan culture that opposes the supposed invasion of ethnic groups, which are “separatist, atavistic, changeless, and exclusive” (Imhoff, 1990, p. 55).

In fact, one of the arguments in favor of Proposition 103 used by Don Goldwater, a candidate for governor of Arizona in 2006, was that

if legal immigrants must learn to speak English prior to full participation in our society, then the performing of government official functions in another language is being used for those here illegally. It is unconscionable to increase the cost of government to all taxpayers to make it convenient for the lawbreakers who have invaded our state . . . I ask you join me in support of this ballot measure that protects the Arizona taxpayers from another insulting cost of the illegal invasion of our state.

(Goldwater, comments on Proposition 103)

It seems that official English proponents have identified specific groups that they believe embody the threat to English, namely, Latinos and illegal immigrants, which often are one and the same. In this vein, English-only legislation seem to follow a strategy described by Hilberg (2003) to control ethnic minorities, which consists of four steps: identification, ostracism, confiscation, and concentration.

Identification is the first step in this process, in which “the other” is explicitly identified as the source of the problem. In our case, it is other languages, in particular Spanish, that are threatening the strength and use of English. In short, Spanish is the enemy. Ostracism is the second step, in which the actions of the other are outlawed and criminalized, making it illegal to use your own language in public spaces or to further your personal interests. The third step is confiscation. Possessions and resources are taken away from some groups and assigned to others, the intention being to remove any sign that corresponds, through language, with a given ethnicity. The fourth and final step is concentration, which involves the physical removal of those who are identified with the other, now the enemy.

Hilberg (2003) asserts that each of these steps represents a radicalization of policy. Each sets the stage for the next one in a dangerous spiral that ultimately blames the individuals in these groups for their inability to conform to the “norm.” The failure to live a “normal” life, as prescribed in the regulations, is used as a justification to take more action against these willingly “uncompliant” individuals. However, the fact that they are being identified and ostracized, that their identities and property are being confiscated, and that they are forced to concentrate in ghettos is hidden from the public view, and it is not exposed

as the reason for the social dysfunction in these populations for which they are discriminated against.

In sum, the outcomes behind those officially stated in the legislation represent a complete disregard for the characteristics and needs of the population affected by those measures. Implicitly, official English policies question the validity of using a language other than English and portray speakers of non-standard English or languages other than English as a potential threat to society that need to be removed.

The Impetus for English-Only

Three cases deserve special attention in the attempt to eliminate the use of any language other than English. These are the legislation adopted in Arizona, California, and Massachusetts, three radically different states that adopted practically the same legislation, which was heavily sponsored by multimillionaire Ron Unz. Unz focused his efforts on promoting official English, and in particular on propositions to ban bilingual education in U.S. public schools. Unz has a background in promoting policies against immigrants, such as Proposition 187 in California (May, 2014).

Two striking facts about these three policies are (a) it was the first time that such an important decision about educational programs was left to the public through an election ballot, rather than based on expert opinion (Parrish et al., 2006); and (b) the decision to adopt English for the children was overwhelmingly decided by voters whose children were not affected by their vote. The opinions of the parents whose children would be affected were overpowered (Nieto, 2009).

From a critical language policy standpoint, the strict observation of democratic principles requires that those who will suffer the consequences of political decisions be included as primary decision-makers (Habermas, 1986; Tollefson, 2006; Williams & Morris, 2000). In the case of official English policies, although linguistic minorities are intended to receive the benefits of those policies, they are fundamentally excluded from the decision-making process. Thus, the population such policy directly affects is silenced, and silencing can never be equated with bonding the people of a nation or guaranteeing equal access. Freire (1970) made the argument that “to glorify democracy and to silence people is a farce; to discourse on humanism and to negate people is a lie” (p. 91). He further (1970) claimed that denying people’s ability to communicate, to prevent them from making sense, understanding, and questioning the world in which they live, is one of the cruelest forms of violence against any human being (Nieto, 2007).

Policies, such as official English, that ultimately limit an individual’s use of their own language through laws or other coercive means fulfil two main purposes. The first is to obliterate the possibility of any response. To ensure that a given structure, whether unfair or not, is not questioned by those who are oppressed by such structure, it is not enough to merely control or to manage the productive processes of those who are subordinated. It is necessary to exert domination over every aspect of those now oppressed. They must be re-civilized, and to do so effectively they must lose their own identity, thus impeding any possibility that they will develop into anything different from what is wanted and expected (Nieto, 2007). Fanon (1967) defined this state as the impossibility of expansion: the

colonized have been dispossessed of their culture, of their civilization, of their history, thus they lack the power to create and transform (p. 67).

The second purpose of limiting the use of a language is to create a vacuum around the oppressed to make possible the internalization of their subordination, or what Frantz Fanon (1967) defined as “the epidermalization” of the inferiority. Developing an original idea of Rene Menil, Fanon argued that the lack of an identifiable language generates the empty space necessary so that a symbol of authority can be established as a garrison to maintain control of the consciousness of the oppressed (Nieto, 2007). As Paulo Freire (1970) emphasizes, “for cultural invasion to succeed, it is essential that those invaded become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority” (p. 153)—not that they feel ashamed because they are slaves but, as Fanon (1967) clarifies, because of their own appearance, so they can feel nothing but shame and self-contempt.

Official English policies have many elements that resemble strategies of colonization. They establish a required criterion, namely, standard English, and closely align it to a vision of the identity of the United States and many of its most conservative values—us versus them. In the case of official English policy, no external enemies are being colonized, but ethno-linguistic minorities are being so within the borders of the nation. From this standpoint, it may not seem surprising that the main three characteristics shared by states that have adopted official English policies are their conservative political ideology, their geographical proximity, and a somewhat lower Hispanic population percentage.

Reconciling Goals and Actions in Official English Policies

The idea that for citizens, especially new ones, to fully integrate, to be part of and succeed in American society they must speak English is thoroughly represented in official English policies. In this regard, language skills are both a productive asset, since they enhance a person's abilities, and costly to acquire. Learning a language requires time, effort, and other resources. Therefore, it is my understanding that official English policies should include explicit measures to make learning English more accessible to newcomers. A measure of such availability would be the funds dedicated to teaching English to this population through direct subsidies or public language training programs.

However, as the t-test analysis reveals, there is no statistical difference in the means of the expenditures for K-12 English learner students between states that adopted official English and states that did not. Actually, the average expenditures for these students is higher in states that did not establish English as their official language. Furthermore, Rumbaut (2008) stated that, in the Los Angeles Unified School District, more than 40,000 immigrants were denied ESL instruction in 1998, after California passed a proposition, number 6, declaring English its official language. This fact raises reasonable questions about how well immigrants are integrated in the states that pass official English policies and, most of all, about the purported goals of the legislation.

U.S. English (n.d.) estimates that the cost of providing services in more than one language is more than \$2.2 billion annually in the U.S. They argue that declaring English the official language would mean that official government business at all levels must be conducted exclusively in English, which includes all public documents, records, legislation

and regulations, as well as hearings, official ceremonies, and public meetings (U.S. English, n.d.). However, there is no estimate of how much money this would actually save, and no reference to the supposed costs of increasing access to English for the people official English legislation is purportedly trying to help to integrate and succeed. In any case, although not statistically significant, states that did not pass language legislation have a higher rate of funding for linguistic minority students in K-12 public schools. This fact indicates that official English proponents may not in fact facilitate English acquisition, contrary to assertions included in the adopted policies.

In terms of the outcomes of students learning English in states that adopted the legislation, the results indicate that they do not perform better in one group of states than the other. Statistically significant at 10 percent, English language acquisition is higher in states that did not pass official English. Statistically significant at 5 percent, EL students perform better in reading at grade 8 in states that adopted official English legislation. In the states that limited the use of languages other than English in their schools, after more than ten years of implementation, numerous studies have documented the failure of the policies, not only in narrowing the achievement gap for ELs in the three states but also in raising their academic success, whether in terms of higher test scores, lower dropout rates, or any other indicator of academic engagement (Gandara, 2010; Wentworth et al., 2010; Wright, 2006).

Taking into consideration all the factors discussed in this section, it may seem that these policies may in fact represent a mechanism for the internal colonization of linguistic minorities in the U.S., based on racial prejudice—a mechanism not to integrate but to

subordinate. Official English policies are a mechanism of behavioral assimilation, and they definitely do not seek the structural incorporation of ethnolinguistic minorities.

Limitations of the Study

The following is a list of the potential limitations of the present study. To begin, I would point out that in the CDA model, as already discussed in the methodological approach section, the theoretical approach of the researcher is fundamental in the interpretation of the results. Although some may interpret that connection as a flaw, enough evidence has been presented to demonstrate the tight connection between the discourses in the different legislations and the ideological, economic, and socio-political arguments they were connected to, and the representation of the world these policies are trying to reproduce. Overall, CDA has proven to be a strong tool for unmasking policy intentions and could potentially be used with other federal, state, and local policies.

Another limitation is the fact that these are not the only language policies that have been enacted in the United States at the state level. States and local governments have also supported and implemented policies that limit the use of languages other than English, either in the services they provide or in the workplace. The policies analyzed in the present study are a mere starting point for some of these states; in fact, the policies may encourage state governments to develop guidelines and further policies to ensure that official English policy is implemented. Including those policies in the CDA model may shed more light on the ideology and intended outcomes of the official English movement.

As for the quantitative component, the present dissertation compares two groups that were not randomly selected but are a result of predetermined decisions. Although different measures have been taken into account to minimize the variable omission and selection bias, the results should be interpreted with caution. This dissertation intends to find relationship between the variables and the outcome, but it falls beyond the scope of the study to determine causality.

The second limitation of the present study is the number of observations. Since I used only state-level data, I collected only 51 observations per variable—50 states and the District of Columbia. The low number of observations limits the robustness of the results. Although some of the predictors yielded strong robustness in the design, many others did not meet the criteria for statistical significance. Adding observations to the experiment may serve to establish statistical significance or discard any relation with the outcome variable. It could be feasible to build panel data using the same sources for several years.

Recommendations for Further Research

Language policy is a complex phenomenon and there are many factors involved in the decision to adopt such a policy. It is also not simple to establish the actual consequences of the policy itself. These policies may affect behaviors in unpredictable ways, such as encouraging people to move out of a state or causing complete identification with the prerogatives of the policy. Factors and behaviors that may be the result of the policy are hard to isolate. However, the present study can be extended by capturing and observing trends. Collecting and analyzing data trends in states that passed and did not pass official English,

which in some cases may include some pre- and post-observations, will add significant value to the study and may help to identify other factors correlated with official English policies.

This dissertation has looked at the 50 states and the District of Columbia as two separate and all-encompassing groups, but there are more nuances in the policies adopted that may make it advisable to further break down the groups of states that adopted official English legislation and those that did not, such as those that have established more than one official language in their state, which includes New Mexico, Oregon, and Rhode Island.

It would be advisable to select a smaller group of states to observe the spinoff legislation, if any, and the implementation patterns of official English legislation. As we have established by looking at California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, very similar policies are often implemented in extremely different ways.

Most previous studies and this one recognize language as a potent force for mobilizing public opinion to affect not only language policy but broad issues of state formation, politics, ethnicity, social integration, and administration. However, as Ricento and Hornberger (1996) argue,

none of the theoretical approaches to language planning can predict the consequences of a particular policy or show a clear cause/effect relationship between particular policy types and observed outcomes . . . Language policy must be evaluated not only by official policy statements or laws on the books but by language behavior and attitudes in situated, especially institutional contexts. (p. 26)

It therefore is necessary to develop further studies that will investigate particular language policy scenarios, the actors involved, and their contexts, including a detailed trend analysis of socioeconomic variables.

Overall, it is necessary to take an empirical approach to language policy that looks at all of its facets, as language is present in all realms of life. It is necessary to further our understanding of the causes and effects of passing such policy, not only in economic terms but also socially and historically. In this sense, it is possible to build a more robust dataset that collects variables over several years and draws trends in the states. It would also be possible to collect data at the local level that look at expenditures and outcomes of students in order to delve further into potential educational issues, such as limiting the use of language in schools. Doing so would no doubt yield more robust results.

Conclusions and Policy Implications

There is still a lot to be revealed about the underlying causes and effects of language policy. There is also a need to further develop theoretical models that contribute to the understanding of how and why these particular factors are associated with adopting language policy. Because so many factors are involved in these complex phenomena, it is not an easy task to identify and explicate causal relations (Ricento, 2009). However, it is evident that official English legislation, and language policy in general, is much more than symbolic policy that merely emphasizes one language.

The present dissertation has analyzed a set of official English policies produced and adopted by 28 states at different points in time between 1923 and 2007, although the majority

of these policies (25) were approved after 1980. This dissertation also has built a logistic regression model to observe the social, geopolitical, educational, and economic variables that may be associated with official English policies. Finally, an independent sample t-test was conducted to determine if there are significant differences in expenditures for K-12 linguistic minority students and school outcomes between states that adopted official English policy and states that did not.

The results of this dissertation indicate that a conservative ideology, as in those states that adopted right-to-work policies, has a strong statistical correlation with the success of official English policy in a given state. The correlation with a conservative ideology was also observed during the CDA analysis of the legislation, which reflects the figured worlds of the most conservative melting-pot ideology and portrays language as a nationalistic building tool. The legislation obliterates the role of the many languages that were spoken in this nation before English and that have helped to shape the nation's socio-historical blueprint. The legislation explicitly establishes as its goals (a) to protect and strengthen the role of English, and (b) to extend opportunities to access and learn English.

However, the present dissertation has not found that the performance of students or the monies dedicated to teaching English in K-12 are higher in states that adopted official English. On the contrary, evidence seems to indicate that the average expenditures are higher in states that did not adopt the policy, and that students also report higher levels of English acquisition in these states. However, these results were not statistically significant. In any case, these findings seem to contradict or at least question the stated outcomes of official

English policies, and they open the door to other intended outcomes not explicitly mentioned in the legislation but reflected in the spirit of these laws.

The following policy recommendations are based on the quantitative and qualitative analysis:

1. Any policy recommendation should be driven by the desire to improve a given situation or further the interests of the state, which is comprised of every single individual who resides there. As such, policies must have clear goals that are aligned to potential implementation measures. All policies have an array of effects on their surroundings; some of them are intended and some are unintended. Making explicit the intended outcomes may alleviate unintended negative consequences. Hiding or disguising the goals of policies behind rhetorical artifacts aggravates its negative effects. In this sense, policies that are proposed and adopted precisely with the intention of silencing those who may not even be able to participate in the decision-making process make a mockery of the principles of democratic participation. Official English policies, especially the ones that restrict the language of instruction in schools, are intrinsically anti-democratic, as the people that must endure the results of the policies are unable to participate in the process of adoption.

These policies also cause friction, as in Arizona and Utah, and ultimately do not contribute to the advancement of the state. Awareness of the multiple ways language policies produce and/or reproduce exclusionary social practices and how they may demean specific languages, identities, and relations is essential to ensuring political deliberation and a policy of emancipation that gives communities the tools they need to develop and thrive.

2. It is without doubt of great benefit to strengthen the role of English and to expand the possibilities for acquiring English. However, it should be noted that English is ubiquitous in the United States and in much of the rest of the world, which challenges the notion that a policy is needed to strengthen and protect the role of English. More troubling is the fact that it seems the ultimate goal of official English policy is to prevent individuals and groups from using and maintaining their own language, forbidding them to speak their native language in public spheres, and limiting the languages used for public services. In this regard, language policies may contribute to reducing or eliminating programs designed to meet the educational needs of EL students, such as bilingual education, and they may ultimately restrict access to quality education for the very students who need it the most (McGroarty, 2013; Tollefson & Tsui, 2014). Actually, in the name of high-quality twenty-first century education, the goal should be that all students are fully literate in more than one language and doing so is easier if we value and strengthen the languages students bring into our schools.

3. Given the current context of social and economic relations at the international level, language policy should serve as a reflective tool, one that contributes to the development of global citizens and encourages dialogue and understanding among the diverse groups that make up the social tapestry of the United States, rather than being an implement of exclusion and ignorance.

A final reflection begs the question of what the ulterior motive of official English may be. Is it to eliminate any language other than English, and Spanish in particular, from the nation? If so, would that be advantageous to the U.S. in general, or to certain groups within the U.S.? If this is not the intention, it may well be one of the unintended results. For

example, instruction in world languages has decreased in the U.S. during the past decade. Only half of high school students take even one year of a world language, and the vast majority will be exposed to only one language in school: English. It seems that language is not considered an important subject area. In fact, most students who come to the U.S. speaking another language are forced to abandon it and make the transition into English-only academic settings. The fact that ever fewer individuals in the U.S. are able to speak a second language puts the country at a disadvantage in an increasingly globalized world (Wiley, 2014). Understanding other languages, participating in others countries' socio-cultural structures and practices enhances and enriches an individual's future and increases their chances of success (May, 2014).

There are more than 6,000 languages spoken across the world, and more than 200 nations recognize two or more official languages without compromising the unity of their territory or the stability of their political structures. Ten nations link or mention languages of higher use or wider communication in their policies—Arabic, Bengali, English, French, Hindi, Malay, Mandarin, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish—and encourage their populations to become fluent in them (Wiley, 2014). These are examples of successful experiences of ethnolinguistic populations sharing the same nation-state.

It is also important to remember that language does not merely represent a set of grammatical structures and rules, it is deeply linked to personal and social identity and serves as a mechanism for accessing the vast richness of other cultures and ways of being (Gee, 2011; Macedo & Bartolome, 2001). For this reason, there is one more risk worth noting; official English policies may be regarded as a threat by populations that are unable to so

much as express their sentiment publicly about said legislation. These groups will feel further disenfranchised and isolated from the English-only world. As previous research consistently demonstrates, immigrant communities do not oppose learning and using English, and they understand that it is to their advantage to do so (Hakuta, 1986; Rumbaut & Alba, 2003). However, they may feel that the ultimate goal of these policies is not to help them to integrate, but to point to them as a problem and force them to subordinate to structures they are not even able to question.

These policies may result in educational programs and practices that are especially harmful for children in public schools. The education of students who are not yet fluent in English may consist primarily of English as a Second Language instruction, often decontextualized, which deprives students of exposure to a high-quality curriculum and instruction in the academic content areas they will need to succeed in school and society (Escamilla, 2003; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Genesee et al., 2006).

A substantial body of research has shown that the most effective way to acquire a language is through meaningful interactions (Freeman & Freeman, 2011; Genesee et al., 2006; Hakuta, 1986; Krashen, 2000). Moreover, there is ample evidence that programs that use students' native language as the medium of instruction, especially those that have the goal of acquiring and maintaining both languages, significantly reduce barriers to education access and promote equity (Baker, 2011; Tollefson & Tsui, 2014). These school practices not only represent a barrier to quality schooling for linguistic minority students, they are also insensitive to students' personal and socio-cultural personas and deprive them of a critical understanding of their own identity and that of others.

In what it may seem a paradox, the assumptions, worldviews, practices, beliefs, values, and discourse of an exclusionary monolingualism can only be challenged through the acquisition of other languages. The act of learning about “the other” interrupts the cycle of stereotyping and dismantles prejudices. Of all the misrepresentations derived from the official English movement, without a doubt the most harmful is the idea that bilingual education does not work. Ultimately, behind such an assertion is a fear of respecting the roots of other peoples. Portraying bilingual education, in whichever form, as a gratuitous advantage for families who refuse to speak English or as a source of conflict by maintaining a language other than English is an attempt to conceal an uglier motive.

In fact, school districts and state education boards have found in dual language programs – programs that attempt to develop literacy in English and another language typically comprised of students who are English monolinguals and non-English speakers – a promising practice that benefits all students academically (Baker, 2011; Tollefson & Tsui, 2014). A large number of white middle and upper class families are advocating for their school districts to implement dual language programs, which will result in their children mastering two languages. Although, these programs are without doubt beneficial to monolingual students, dual language programs are a promising instructional design for bilingualism, biliteracy, and equity for linguistic minorities.

Another recent initiative that questions official English impositions is the Seal of Biliteracy legislation. It is somewhat paradoxical that California, having implemented one of the most restrictive English-only educational policies, was the first state to adopt the Seal of Biliteracy legislation in 2011 (www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/sealofbiliteracy.asp). The Seal of

Biliteracy is a recognition given by a school, district, or a regional office of education to students who demonstrate a high level of proficiency in English and another language by high school graduation. So far, thirteen states have adopted and implemented this type of legislation and fourteen more are either in the early stages of adoption or considering adopting the Seal of Biliteracy. The institutionalization of biliteracy as a desirable achievement in high school and beyond will not only enhance the role of foreign language programs in the United States, but also will serve as a recognition of the importance of acquiring languages and understanding cultures.

Both of these educational initiatives represent opportunities to validate and honor the language and culture of ethnolinguistic minorities. Furthermore, they may significantly increase the academic outcomes and experience of students whose native language is not English. However, it is still necessary to continue to denounce the discourse of racism and exclusion behind any movement or policy that questions the legitimacy of speaking languages other than English. In this process of unmasking bigotry and discrimination, it is indispensable to unequivocally identify malignant effects of discriminatory practices. Because in the absence of socio-economic analysis and a solid examination of discourse, research for social justice may be represented as a futile exercise of naming general human goodness as a desirable target. In the end, prejudice, ignorance, colonial practices, and “biased geographical knowledge, deliberately maintained, provide a license to pursue narrow interests in the name of universal goodness and reason” (Harvey, 2001, p. 301).

APPENDIX A

STATES' ADOPTION OF OFFICIAL ENGLISH BY YEAR OF ADOPTION

State	No legislation	Official English Legislation	English Plus Legislation
ALABAMA		1990	
ALASKA		1998	
ARIZONA *		2006	
ARKANSAS		1987	
CALIFORNIA *		1986	
COLORADO		1988	
CONNECTICUT	X		
DELAWARE	X		
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	X		
FLORIDA		1988	
GEORGIA		1996	
HAWAII**		1978	
IDAHO		2007	
ILLINOIS		1969	
INDIANA		1984	
IOWA		2002	
KANSAS		2007	
KENTUCKY		1984	
LOUISIANA	X		
MAINE	X		
MARYLAND	X		
MASSACHUSETTS*		2004	
MICHIGAN	X		
MINNESOTA	X		
MISSISSIPPI		1987	
MISSOURI		1998	
MONTANA		1995	
NEBRASKA		1920	
NEVADA	X		
NEW HAMPSHIRE		1995	
NEW JERSEY	X		
NEW MEXICO	X		1989
NEW YORK	X		

NORTH CAROLINA		1987	
NORTH DAKOTA		1987	
OHIO	X		
OKLAHOMA	X		
OREGON			1989
PENNSYLVANIA	X		
RHODE ISLAND			1992
SOUTH CAROLINA		1987	
SOUTH DAKOTA		1995	
TENNESSEE		1984	
TEXAS	X		
UTAH		2001	
VERMONT	X		
VIRGINIA		1996	
WASHINGTON			1989
WEST VIRGINIA	X		
WISCONSIN	X		
WYOMING		1996	

* Arizona, California, and Massachusetts have passed legislation promoting the exclusive use of English in their schools.

** Although Hawaii's legislation claims that both English and Hawaiian are official languages, primacy is given to English and for that reason is included in the English-only list.

APPENDIX B

EXAMPLE OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS PROCESS

IOWA SF 165

Section 1. NEW SECTION.

1.18 IOWA ENGLISH LANGUAGE REAFFIRMATION.

1. The general assembly of the state of Iowa finds and declares the following:
 - a. The state of Iowa is comprised of individuals from different ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. The state of Iowa encourages the assimilation of Iowans into Iowa's rich culture.
 - b. Throughout the history of Iowa and of the United States, the common thread binding individuals of differing backgrounds together has been the English language.
 - c. Among the powers reserved to each state is the power to establish the English language as the official language of the state, and otherwise to promote the English language within the state, subject to the prohibitions enumerated in the Constitution of the United States and in laws of the state.
2. In order to encourage every citizen of this state to become more proficient in the English language, thereby facilitating participation in the economic, political, and cultural activities of this state and of the United States, the English language is hereby declared to be the official language of the state of Iowa.
3. Except as otherwise provided for in subsections 4 and 5, the English language shall be the language of government in Iowa. All official documents, regulations, orders, transactions, proceedings, programs, meetings, publications, or actions taken or issued, which are conducted or regulated by, or on behalf of, or representing the state and all of its political subdivisions shall be in the English language.

For the purposes of this section, "official action" means any action taken by the government in Iowa or by an authorized officer or agent of the government in Iowa that does any of the following:

 - a. Binds the government.
 - b. Is required by law.
 - c. Is otherwise subject to scrutiny by either the press or the public.
4. This section shall not apply to:
 - a. The teaching of languages.

- b. Requirements under the federal Individuals with Disabilities Education Act.
- c. Actions, documents, or policies necessary for trade, tourism, or commerce.
- d. Actions or documents that protect the public health and safety.
- e. Actions or documents that facilitate activities pertaining to compiling any census of populations.
- f. Actions or documents that protect the rights of victims of crimes or criminal defendants.
- g. Use of proper names, terms of art, or phrases from languages other than English.
- h. Any language usage required by or necessary to secure the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America or the Constitution of the State of Iowa.

5. Nothing in this section shall be construed to do any of the following:

- a. Prohibit an individual member of the general assembly or officer of state government, while performing official business, from communicating through any medium with another person in a language other than English, if that member or officer deems it necessary or desirable to do so.
- b. Limit the preservation or use of Native American languages, as defined in the federal Native American Languages Act of 1992.
- c. Disparage any language other than English or discourage any person from learning or using a language other than English.

Sec. 2. NEW SECTION. 4.14 GENERAL RULES OF CONSTRUCTION FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE LAWS.

It is presumed that English language requirements in the public sector are consistent with the laws of Iowa and any ambiguity in the English language text of the laws of Iowa shall be resolved, in accordance with the ninth and tenth amendments of the Constitution of the United States, not to deny or disparage rights retained by the people, and to reserve powers to the states or to the people.

Sec. 3. CITATION. This Act may be cited as the "Iowa English Language Reaffirmation Act of 2001".

(b) Discourse Content Analysis: Item # 1

Source: <https://coolice.legis.iowa.gov/Cool->

[ICE/default.asp?category=billinfo&service=IowaCode&input=1.18](https://coolice.legis.iowa.gov/Cool-ICE/default.asp?category=billinfo&service=IowaCode&input=1.18)

Date: Signed into law, March 1, 2002

Other remarks: Proposed by Senator Steve King (R) and it was passed by a House vote of 56-42. Opponents mentioned the bill was proposed without input from state residents. In 2008, a judge held that non-English voter registration cards violated the Iowa English Language (Seite et al. (2010). Language Legislation in Iowa: Lessons learned from the enactment and application of the Iowa English Language Reaffirmation Act Reaffirmation Act. Iowa law Review, 2010. 95(4): 1369-1399

Analysis:

Description	Quote	Theoretical tool element code
References to goals and outcomes	<p>“In order to encourage every citizen of this state to become more proficient in the English language, thereby facilitating participation in the economic, political, and cultural activities of this state and of the United States.”</p> <p>“the English language shall be the language of government in Iowa. All official documents, regulations, orders, transactions, proceedings, programs, meetings, publications, or actions taken or issued, which are conducted or regulated by, or on behalf of, or representing the state and all of its political subdivisions shall be in the English language.”</p>	Outcome
Expected attitudes or behaviors	<p>“Among the powers reserved to each state is the power to establish the English language as the official language of the</p>	Situated Meaning

	state, and otherwise to promote the English language within the state.”	
Varieties of languages used in the legislation	Section 1 compared to Section 2. From a friendlier and more common language to a more legal description.	Social Languages
References to other texts	<p>“Limit the preservation or use of Native American languages, as defined in the federal Native American Languages Act of 1992.”</p> <p>“Any language usage required by or necessary to secure the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America or the Constitution of the State of Iowa.”</p>	Intertextuality
Values and beliefs	“Throughout the history of Iowa and of the United States, the common thread binding individuals of differing backgrounds together has been the English language.”	Figured Worlds
Social, historical, economic, political groups	“The state of Iowa is comprised of individuals from different ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. The state of Iowa encourages the assimilation of Iowans into Iowa's rich culture.”	Big “D” Discourse
Exclusions and limitations	<p>“This section shall not apply to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. The teaching of languages. b. Requirements under the federal Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. c. Actions, documents, 	Limitations

	<p>or policies necessary for trade, tourism, or commerce.</p> <p>d. Actions or documents that protect the public health and safety.”</p>	
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APPENDIX C

TABLE OF STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CORRELATIONS

Sig. (2-tailed)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Official English	----											
2. Total Pop	0.838	----										
3. Percent Foreign-born	0.132	0	----									
4. Percent Foreign-born change 00_11	0.043	0.278	0.016	----								
5. Percent White	0.68	0.004	0	0.296	----							
6. Percent Hispanic	0.437	0	0	0.214	0	----						
7. Percent Black	0.598	0.363	0.505	0.212	0	0.464	----					
8. Percent EL population	0.612	0	0	0.159	0	0	0.542	----				
9. Percent Other	0.597	0.768	0.001	0.025	0	0.088	0.112	0.011	----			
10. Unemployment rate	0.184	0.005	0.001	0.906	0.01	0.032	0.005	0.065	0.502	----		
11. Per capita income	0.019	0.731	0	0.011	0.044	0.478	0.151	0.309	0.16	0.386	----	
12. Population Density	0.111	0.577	0.15	0.122	0.016	0.978	0	0.636	0.855	0.162	0	----

Sig. (2-tailed)	1	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1. Official English	----											
13. Hate Crime rate	0.106	----										
14. Political Tendency	0.019	0.718	----									
15. Right to Work	0.001	0.02	0	----								
16. Geographical location	0.036	0.162	0.017	0.118	----							
17. K12_EL_per pupil	0.054	0.529	0.161	0.245	0.25	----						
18. Percent Math Basic + 4	0.497	0.256	0.103	0.109	0.198	0.241	----					
19. Percent Math Basic + 8	0.538	0.68	0.872	0.06	0.172	0.877	0	----				
20. Percent Reading Basic + 4	0.574	0.292	0.433	0.231	0.003	0.605	0	0	----			
21. Percent Reading Basic + 8	0.024	0.334	0.617	0.001	0.335	0.841	0.001	0	0.007	----		
22. Attainment	0.155	0.843	0.351	0.998	0.477	0.516	0.098	0.251	0.408	0.166	----	
23. EL Progress	0.152	0.425	0.062	0.898	0.263	0.237	0.198	0.125	0.192	0.821	0.635	----

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