

The "English-Only" Debate:
The English Language Amendment and American Politics

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The United States has always been a country with a culturally diverse population. The "American Dream" brought many people from all over the world to a country which was built on the freedom and rights of all individuals. We were known as a "melting pot" where different nationalities came together and assimilated (or melted down). We were "one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." The American culture was unique because it was a melange of cultures. At least that's the perception. In reality, we are a "mono-lingual" society, with little tolerance for those who do not speak our language. Our "melting pot" image has become a "salad bowl" image, one in which each element has maintained or is attempting to maintain its own distinct flavor (or culture). But, how can this be true? How can one claim to be "mono-lingual" yet assert that our society has become one with distinct cultures, each maintaining its own heritage? How do we celebrate our diversity, while encouraging people to assimilate? It is this dichotomy which has caused the perception that "one nation, indivisible" is becoming a nation divided. This image of America, the notion that immigrants are not assimilating as they once did, has caused many to be concerned.

During the 1980's, a debate surrounding the issue of assimilation began to take shape. This debate has become known as the "English-Only Debate." It was suggested in a

letter I received from George Tryfiates, Executive Director of English First, that I reconsider the topic "The English-Only Debate" because, he says, "there really is no such debate." The term "English-Only" centers around the issue of whether or not it is necessary to recognize English as the official language of the United States. "English-only" is a term, Tryfiates says, "used for deceptive political purposes by our opponents." Since most of the literature I received from English First advocates a constitutional amendment making English the official language of the United States, and since it has not yet been done, it appears that there is indeed such a debate. If not, why the need for an organization, like English First, whose express purpose is to lobby both at the federal and state level to pass this legislation? On the other hand, there are many people and organizations who are working against this effort, claiming the "English-Only" issue is only a masked form of racism and xenophobia formally rooted in the highly controversial topic of immigration now hidden behind a more acceptable issue, language.

The "English-Only Debate" has many facets. Historically speaking, it has been an issue debated since the founding fathers and the colonists fought for independence from England. From the 1700's to the 1990's, the language issue has focused on such topics as making English the official language, recognizing other languages,

and even creating a universal language that everyone can understand.

A sociological perspective of the "English-Only Debate" addresses how members of American society, themselves immigrants have responded to the different ethnic groups who have settled in this country.

Linguistically speaking, the "English-Only Debate" brings forth issues dealing with communication, those issues dealing with semantics, syntax, and dialects. One could ask the question: If we recognize English as the official language, which English would it be?

In legal terms, English is not constitutionally the official language, although most would agree it is widely received as the language of the United States. Many court cases have raised the question of language in the workplace, using various civil rights issues and policies set forth by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The Supreme Court has ruled on a few cases, but avoids the issue of language, basing their rulings on issues such as civil rights and other freedoms protected by the Constitution of the United States which are not specifically stated in terms of language.

From an educational standpoint, the recent increase in non-English speaking students has given rise to such issues as Bilingual Education. Bilingual Education as well as bilingual ballots, voter assistance, etc. have become highly charged political issues. Political opponents have taken

sides and are debating the issue of whether to make English the official language of the United States through a constitutional amendment, the English Language Amendment (ELA).

The most recent campaign for the English Language Amendment began in the early 1980's and, at the federal level, has not yet found its way out of the many different committees to which it has been referred.

The "English-Only" question at the state level is a different story, with 19 states recognizing English as the official language. Some have done so through a state constitutional amendment, others through a statute (see Appendix I). The implication is that the "English-Only" supporters are gathering state voter approval in order to convince politicians at the federal level that their constituents are in support of making English the official language of the United States. Therefore, a constitutional amendment, an English Language Amendment at the federal level would be politically advantageous.

The political implications of the English Language Amendment appear to be the predominant issue fueling the "English-Only Debate" in America today. Political affiliations and relationships between the English Language Amendment at the federal level and the English Language Amendment at the state level raise some interesting questions: Who supports legislation at the federal level and what is their political affiliation? Is there a

relationship between those who support legislation at the federal level and the states which have passed English Language legislation? Does region or population play a role in determining support for an English Language Amendment, either at the state or federal level? The answers to these questions may provide us with some insight into the political aspect of the English Language Amendment. Because the political implications appear to be driving the "English-Only Debate," the focus of this paper will be to analyze these relationships in an attempt to determine what this debate says about American culture. I have divided this issue into three parts; background, federal, and state issues.

Fueled by a movement to officially recognize English as the official language of the United States, organizations, politicians, and others have joined in the debate. One side of the debate states that making English the "official" language of the United States would unite our country by incorporating the new immigrants into the mainstream. Opponents disagree, arguing that the English language is not threatened, that immigrants are learning English as fast, if not faster than their predecessors, and that official legislation would only serve as an assault on the rights of non-English speaking individuals. What are the issues, who supports it, who opposes it, and why?

It is almost impossible to ignore what has happened historically in our country when discussing this issue, yet

the history of the "English-Only Debate" would be an entire project in itself. Most people believe English is the official language of our country, although the founding fathers did not see the need to include it in the Constitution. It is not that there wasn't discussion surrounding the issue. In the early days as our country was struggling with independence from England, language was an issue. Throughout history there have been movements to either restrict or recognize different languages. I will briefly describe what has happened throughout the years, focusing primarily on what has happened during and since the 1980's.

Throughout the 1980's and the 1990's there has been legislation introduced at the federal level in both the Senate and the House of Representatives which would make English the official language of the United States (Appendix II lists each bill, who sponsored it, and the status of each). Although none passed, each was sent to committee.

As I began looking at the legislation, there were some interesting characteristics. These characteristics include the language of each bill, the political affiliation of the sponsor, and the state of the legislator sponsoring the bill. The state of the legislator elicits four questions pertaining to the relationship between the English Language Amendment and the sponsor of each bill. First, what is the partisan make-up of the state? Second, what regions of the United States are represented by sponsors of federal English

Language legislation. Third, does the state from where the legislator come from support English Language legislation? Fourth, what percentage of the population in each state does not speak English as a native language?

A look at the wording of the proposed legislation may provide an explanation of why it has not yet passed at the federal level. Based on the key words (such as recognize, express, proclaim, declare, propose), I have classified each bill or resolution as being either "symbolic" or "legal." "Symbolic" implies it is on record, but really has no legal significance. Legislation defined as "symbolic" is generally easier to pass. Legislation which is more legally binding is categorized as "legal" and could possibly challenge many of the laws and rights which are currently protected by the Constitution (Appendix III gives the wording and how each is classified). The second part of this paper will include a discussion of the wording and classification of these bills and the possible implications if such a bill is passed.

While providing information about each, I will also indicate the political party of those who proposed each bill or resolution. It is interesting that of the 13 Congressmen who introduced legislation, 11 were Republican.* It appears

*During the course of this project, one of the Democrats sponsoring legislation, Senator Richard Shelby from Alabama, changed his political affiliation to Republican.

that those supporting the English Language Amendment are primarily Republican and those opposing it are Democrat. Conversely, Bilingual Education and Bilingual Ballots/Voting Assistance, two issues related to the "English-Only Debate," but at the other end of the political spectrum, are supported primarily by Democrats while opposed by Republicans. Some of these related issues and implications will also be presented in order to give a broader view of the "English-Only Debate."

Besides political party affiliation, another aspect of this debate is the relationship between the federal sponsors of federal legislation and the states which they represent. In looking at the political affiliation, region, population, and whether the state has passed an English Language Amendment, some patterns indicate that it may be more than a random Senator or Representative who decides to tackle the language issue. As these patterns begin to be explored, it becomes necessary to take a closer look at the legislation at the state level in order to provide a comprehensive look at the "English-Only" issue and how this issue relates to American culture.

Making English the official language of the United States is one of the aspects of the "English-Only" movement. Through various forms of an English Language Amendment, the movement has been somewhat successful at the state level. Before 1980, only 4 states had English Language legislation. As of 1988, only 3 states (Alaska, Maine, and Vermont) had

not considered English Language legislation (Citrin et al, 1990). Vermont had one bill introduced in 1991, but it died in committee (Paul Donovan, Vermont Department of Libraries).

The third part will address the relationship between the states which have passed English Language Amendments or statutes, the partisan make-up of that state and the region in which the state is located. Because the "English-Only" movement has historically been fueled by waves of immigration, it might be interesting to look at the number of non-native English speakers living in each state to see if large immigrant populations affect state English language issues.

If there is a motive for English Language legislation at the state level (i.e. activity at the state level will influence activity at the federal level), what does this say about the language policy of our country, or more generally what does this say about American culture and how we deal with diversity?

When looking at the "English-Only Debate" from a historical perspective, and when analyzing the English Language Amendment at the federal and state level, there are patterns which begin to emerge that suggest this movement is fueled by a political agenda which represents the notion of what makes a "good American." This agenda is divided along political party lines with region and population playing a significant role. The dichotomy of our country as

"indivisible" versus our country as "divided," in terms of language issues may be just that. In trying to address, or accommodate this diverse population of ours, politicians are attempting to unite the country by way of an official language. By doing this, they may be alienating the ones who they believe they are trying to help. Furthermore, in looking at the United States in broader terms, it might be easier then to address the main topic: What is the role of the English Language Amendment in American politics? Or perhaps to answer the question: What does the current "English-Only Debate" say about American culture?

Part I: Background

The current "English-Only" movement began in 1981 when S.I. Hayakawa (then Senator of California) introduced S.J.Res.72 in the U.S. Senate (Appendix IV gives a list of abbreviations and definitions for Senate and House bills and resolutions). S.J.Res.72 would declare English the official language of the United States (Hornberger, 1990).

In 1983 Hayakawa and John Tanton, a Michigan ophthalmologist, began an organization known as U.S. English. This organization was an offshoot of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), whose goals were to establish English as the official language and to oppose bilingual education (Nunberg, 1989). According to Gary Imhoff (1990), in an article provided by U.S. English which questions the success of bilingual education, the goal

of U.S. English "...is to maintain the blessing of a common language-English-for the people of the United States"(p.49).

U.S. English claims 550,000 members, including Saul Bellow, Alistair Cooke, Arnold Schwarzenegger, Sen. Barry Goldwater, Charlton Heston, and Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy, who all serve on the advisory board (U.S. English Update, 1994). Recently the organization has become involved in political issues which go beyond basic language questions. Perhaps for this reason, former members Walter Cronkite and Gore Vidal have distanced themselves from the organization (Nunberg, 1989). Former organization president, Linda Chavez and co-founder, John Tanton resigned in 1988 after a memo from Tanton was published in which Tanton advocated forced sterilization as a means of population and immigration control (Baron, 1990). With the death of Hayakawa in 1992, it appears that U.S. English is losing some of its key supporters. Taking its place as a leading advocate in the "English-Only" movement is English First, a group based in Virginia.

The goal of English First, according to its informational pamphlet, is "to lobby to make English the official language of the United States." In order to achieve their goal, they have two political action committees, one which works on legislative races in California, and another which works on legislative races throughout the country. It appears its purpose is to gain

legislative seats for those who support their cause to make English the official language of the United States.

There are many reasons why these organizations support making English the official language. They feel that English is in danger of being displaced, and that recognizing other languages reflect a divided national unity which further prevents immigrants from entering the mainstream (Betancourt, 1992). According to S.I. Hayakawa (1985), "It is with a common language that we have dissolved distrust and fear" (p. 6). In a book sponsored by U.S. English, in which the Foreward was written by Alistair Cooke and the Introduction was written by S.I. Hayakawa, Fernando de la Pena (1991) believes that the policy of the United States should include an English Language Amendment in order to "preserve our families, our common humanity, and our diverse cultures" (p.128). These supporters believe that because our ancestors assimilated, so too can the new immigrants. Assimilation, "the process whereby a group, as a minority or immigrant group, gradually adopts the characteristics of another culture" (Morris, p. 80), is what becoming American is all about. However, "it is impossible to legislate assimilation...it is a process that happens gradually over time" (Betancourt, p.41). According to Baron (1990), "no nation has been able to achieve through legislation the kind of linguistic uniformity that the United States has achieved through 'natural social forces' and with minimal official intervention" (p.199). This is

one of the basic arguments which the opponents of the English Language Amendment use.

The supporters of an English Language Amendment believe that "...linguistic diversity threatens political cohesion and stability" (Citrin et al, p.538). They point to countries such as Canada and Belgium as examples of countries divided by the issue of language. Yet Switzerland is a multilingual country which most would agree is very stable. On the other hand, there are several Central and South American countries, such as Nicaragua, which are monolingual but are very unstable politically (Daniels, 1990). Furthermore, Russia forced the assimilation and suppression of minority languages in attempts to unify the different countries (Baron, 1990). The result was the break-up and subsequent recognition of individual countries, languages, and cultures. It is not language alone which unites a country.

Besides being a symbol of national unity and a force which creates political stability, supporters believe that the English Language Amendment would eliminate those things which only hinder people from learning English, such as bilingual ballots and bilingual education. They feel that with legislation to protect these issues, there is no incentive to learn English. Opponents of the English Language Amendment believe that this view is "based on undocumented fears of separatism and cultural fragmentation," and "passage of the ELA would insult and

alienate a significant portion of our society in the name of national unity" (Leibowicz, p. 549).

In 1986, the Linguistic Society of America (LSA) passed a resolution opposing "English-Only." The resolution states that "English-Only" is "based on misconceptions about the role of a common language and are inconsistent with basic American ideals of linguistic tolerance" (Nunberg, p.585).

Other groups who oppose this movement include:

National Education Association (NEA), American Jewish Committee, Chinese for Affirmative Action, Japanese American Citizens League, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), National Council of La Raza, The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), People for the American Way (Nunberg, 1989),

English Plus Clearinghouse (EPIC), National Puerto Rican Coalition, Inc., and Federation of Cultural and Language Communities, Modern Language Association (Hornberger, 1990),

National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), Spanish American League Against Discrimination (SALAD), Center for Applied Linguistics, Teachers of English and Speakers of Other Languages, National Coalition for Language Freedom (Daniels, 1990).

According to Citrin, et al (1990), movements such as "English-Only" occur in times of economic conflict, cultural resentment, and as mentioned before as a symbol of nationhood. The current "English-Only" movement has been directed towards Hispanics, whose most recent wave of immigrants have been Spanish speaking individuals who are heavily concentrated in a few areas. The closeness of the countries of origin, the growth of Spanish communications (t.v., radio), and the settlement in a few concentrated

areas have led to the perception that Spanish is threatening the existence of English (Bikales and Imhoff, 1985).

Historically, other groups have suffered the same xenophobia and apprehension. During the 1700's, when the country was fighting for independence from England, Ben Franklin expressed apprehension towards the growing German population in Pennsylvania. He was concerned that they worked for low wages, took jobs away from others, and refused to speak English (Baron, 1990).

In the early 1900's the "Americanization" movement grew out of a concern not only for the welfare of the immigrants but for conformity, causing a conflict over cultural pluralism v. conformity. As massive waves of immigrants from Southeastern Europe began arriving in our country, this movement had a single goal, "making Americans out of foreigners as quickly as possible" (Leibowicz, p. 533).

As we look at the "English-Only Debate" today, we see that there is also a concern over making "Americans out of foreigners," but the process by which we do that seems to be causing a great amount of upheaval and disagreement.

Part II: Federal Level

Although the question of a common language has been an issue for the past 200 years, it was not until the 1980's that the United States saw such a concerted, well-organized attempt to develop a language policy. During every session of Congress from 1981, when Senator Hayakawa of California introduced the English Language Amendment, until 1993, there

has been some type of legislation introduced that would declare English as the "official language of the United States Government" (Appendix II).

During the most recent session of Congress, 1993-1994, there were 5 bills and resolutions pending which would declare English the official language of the United States (Appendix II). The first one, S.426, was sponsored by Richard Shelby, a Democrat from Alabama.* It was co-sponsored by 8 Republicans and 2 Democrats (U.S. English Update, Winter 1994). It was sent to the committee on Governmental Affairs (Congressional Index, 1993-1994). The House version, H.R.123, was sponsored by Bill Emerson, a Republican from Missouri. It had as its co-sponsors 74 Republicans and 13 Democrats (U.S. English Update, Winter 1994). It was sent to the committee on Education and Labor (Congressional Index, 1993-1994).

Both S.426 and H.R.123 as well as H.R.739, sponsored by Toby Roth (R-WI)**, "declare English as the official language of the Government of the United States" (Congressional Index, 1993-1994). Besides sponsoring

*As of the 104th Congress (1995-1996), Sen. Shelby is a Republican, but because he was affiliated with the Democratic Party during the period being discussed, I will refer to him as a Democrat.

**I will use R to represent Republican, D for Democrat, and will indicate the state by the 2 letter abbreviation.

H.R.123, Rep. Emerson (R-MO), introduced H.Con.Res.13 (House Concurrent Resolution), which states that "recognizing the cultural importance of the many languages spoken in the United States and indicating the sense of the House that the United States should maintain the use of English as a language common to all peoples" (Congressional Index, 1993-1994). The co-sponsors of H.R.739 and H.Con.Res.13 included 17 Republicans and 3 Democrats (Congressional Index, 1993-1994).

The fifth piece of legislation, H.J.Res.171, (House Joint Resolution), by John Doolittle (R-CA), proposed a constitutional amendment "establishing English as the official language of the United States" (Congressional Index, 1993-1994). In the English First Members' Report (Winter 1994), Rep. Doolittle's bill was described as "the strongest legislation short of a Constitutional Amendment" (p. 2). This piece of legislation is designed to avoid turning the Washington Monument into the Tower of Babel* and is in response to "...how the bureaucrats of his home state [California] gutted its Official English law" (p. 2).

The wording of these bills and resolutions illustrates the difference between legislation that is "symbolic" and that which could be interpreted as "legal" (Appendix III).

*The Tower of Babel is a biblical reference often used in addressing the language problem. It describes a situation in which the building of a tower was interrupted by the confusion of tongues (Morris, p.95).

To make that determination, I used as key words, the verbs which indicate the action proposed.

The resolutions deemed symbolic use "recognizing" and "expresses" to indicate the type of action proposed to the Government. They are concurrent resolutions, which aren't really legislative, "but are used merely for expressing facts, principles, opinions, and purposes of the two Houses" (Willett, p. 7).

On the other hand the verbs "proclaim", "declare", and "propose" are mandating action by the Government to "legally" establish English as official. It is interesting to note that those bills which are classified as "legal" fall into two other categories, bills which are constitutional amendments and those which are not. Those which are constitutional amendments use the words "proclaim" and "propose." Those which are not constitutional amendments use the word "declare." Table 1 shows these bills and how they are classified.

Of the five most recent bills, only one is intended to make English the official language through a constitutional amendment, H.J.Res.171. It appears that most of the action which is referred to as "legal" would make English the official language by way of a constitutional amendment. This type of legislation was proposed mainly through the 1980's. By the beginning of the 1990's there is a shift to bills making English the language of the government, not by way of a constitutional amendment, but by a language of

government act. Even though both types of legislation are legally binding, a constitutional amendment would actually change the Constitution, the government act would not. Therefore, it might be argued that a language of government act would be easier to pass, but still remain legally binding.

Table 1

English Language legislation proposed in the Senate and House of Representatives classified by symbolic/legal and constitutional amendment/language of government act (compiled from Appendix III)

<u>"Symbolic"</u>	<u>"Legal"</u>	
	<u>const. amend.</u>	<u>lang.of govt.act</u>
S.Con.Res.43 (1985)	S.J.Res.72 (1981)	S.3179 (1990)
H.Con.Res.127 (1985)	S.J.Res.167(1983)	H.R.4424 (1990)
H.Con.Res.129 (1987)	H.J.Res.169(1983)	S.434 (1991)
H.Con.Res.13 (1993)	S.J.Res.20 (1985)	H.R.123 (1991)
	H.J.Res.96 (1985)	S.426 (1993)
	S.J.Res.13 (1987)	H.R.123 (1993)
	H.J.Res.13 (1987)	H.R.739 (1993)
	H.J.Res.33 (1987)	
	H.J.Res.60 (1987)	
	H.J.Res.83 (1987)	
	H.J.Res.656(1988)	
	H.J.Res.48 (1989)	
	H.J.Res.79 (1989)	
	H.J.Res.81 (1989,1991)	
	H.J.Res.171(1993)	

What is the significance of the wording? The resolutions deemed "symbolic" aren't legally binding and may be easier to pass (although none has passed yet). Legislation that I have defined as "legal" is legally

binding, and more difficult to pass, even though it appears that a shift to a language of government act may help its chances of passage. Legally establishing English as the official language of the United States may open the door for discrimination based on restricting some languages because of officially recognizing another one. The legal implications of such a restriction endanger many of the basic rights and freedoms granted by the Constitution of the United States. If you compare the legislation at the federal level with the legislation at the state level, you can make a similar conclusion. The states with statutes may be deemed more "symbolic" as a state bird or song would be (Balmer, 1992). Those states with constitutional amendments are considered more "legal" and may be challenged in court, as occurred in Arizona. Arizona's state constitutional amendment was passed by voter referendum in 1988, but ruled unconstitutional because it was too restrictive (North Carolina Law Journal, 1992). The comparison of the English Language Amendment at the state and federal level raises an interesting point in how language policy in the United States is determined. It has been argued that the failure of this type of legislation at the federal level has caused organizations such as U.S. English to focus on legislation at the state level (Citrin et al, 1990). Once states have passed English Language legislation, the hope is that legislators at the federal level will see a growing support for an English Language Amendment and go on to pass

legislation at the federal level. Therefore, is language an issue determined by the state? If so, what has happened with other English language legislation at the federal level?

Besides the English language bills there is other legislation which could prove crucial to the "English-Only" movement and which illustrates the partisan aspect of this debate. One significant piece of legislation, H.R.4312 extends and expands the bilingual assistance provisions under the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The Voting Rights Act protects the rights of all to vote under the 14th and 15th Amendments of the United States Constitution. It prohibits states from requiring voting materials in English only (Balmer, 1992). This recent piece of legislation passed in the House 237-125, in the Senate 75-20, and was signed by President Bush on August 26, 1992 (Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 1992). Of the total number of those who supported it in both the House and Senate, 241 were Democrats, 70 were Republicans, and 1 was Independent (Congressional Index, 1991-1992). The Voting Rights Language Assistance Act of 1992 "provides for coverage if 10,000 citizens in a political subdivision (such as a county) or Indian reservation do not speak English well, as determined by the Census" (EPIC Events, p. 7, Sept/Oct 1993). The chief sponsors and co-sponsors of this piece of legislation illustrate that legislation supporting bilingual services is generally supported by Democrats, while those who are

opposed to bilingual services or who are in favor of an English Language Amendment are Republican.

Other key legislation which involves the "English-Only" issue, H.R.2859/S.1678 provides that citizenship ceremonies be conducted in English. This bill was introduced in response to a ceremony conducted almost entirely in Spanish, held in July 1993, in Arizona. The sponsors were Bill Emerson (R-MO) and Lauch Faircloth (R-NC). Supporters of the two bills included 91 Republicans and 12 Democrats (U.S. English Update, Winter 1994). Both were sent to the Judiciary Committees (Congressional Index, 1993-1994).

To address the problem of limited English speaking employees in the workplace, a proposed tax credit is provided to employers for the cost of English instruction. This bill, H.R.124 was sponsored by Emerson, supported by 32 Republicans and 12 Democrats (U.S. English Update, Winter 1994). It was sent to the Ways and Means Committee (Congressional Index, 1993-1994).

Finally, Dale Kildee, a Democrat from Michigan, sponsored a bill, H.R.6 which reauthorized the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This includes Title VII, which provides for bilingual education and various immigrant programs. It was signed by the President on October 20, 1994. The House of Representatives voted 289 for and 128 against. To further illustrate the partisan aspect of these issues, of the 289 supporting this particular bill in the House, only 45 were Republicans and

of the 128 against the bill, 122 were Republicans. In the Senate, 94 voted in favor of the bill, and 6 were opposed. All 6 who opposed the bill were Republicans. (Congressional Index, 1993-1994).

Support for "English-Only" legislation seems to be predominately from Republicans. The partisan aspect of the "English-Only Debate" leads to the assumption that the current movement to declare English as the official language of the United States is not only a movement gathering support at the state level but a political movement aligning itself along party lines. How does this movement fit into American culture? A closer look at the English Language Amendment and who supports it could provide us with an explanation of what this issue reflects about our political system and what it says about American culture.

There are nine states represented by the sponsors of federal English Language legislation (Appendix II). Is there a relationship among these states in terms of partisan make-up (i.e. Republican legislators v. Democratic legislators), state support of English Language legislation, region, and population? If so, this relationship may provide some insight into the role of the English Language Amendment in American politics and the role of American politics in American culture.

Eight of the nine states have Republican sponsors and 11 of the 13 sponsors are Republicans. The two Democrats sponsoring federal legislation are from Alabama (Shelby) and

Kentucky (Huddleston). Even though it is quite obvious that the English Language Amendment, as other issues in the "English-Only Debate", seems to be supported mainly by Republicans (or Southern Democrats, who often support "conservative," or Republican issues), does the sponsor represent the partisan make-up of his state? In other words, even though it only takes one Congressman to sponsor legislation, do these nine states have predominately Republican legislators indicating state support of Republicans? Appendix V gives the legislators at the federal level and Appendix VI gives the legislators at the state level. Looking at just the nine states with federal sponsors, there doesn't seem to be a significant representation, either Republican or Democratic, for each state. However, the current political climate of the state does not necessarily illustrate the political climate during the year the legislation was introduced. Appendix VII shows the year during which federal legislation was introduced, the total number of Democrats and Republicans in the House and Senate, and for the nine states in question, the Democrats and Republicans from those states. Appendix VIII shows the year in which federal legislation was introduced and the state legislators from those states in question.

To get a better idea of the political climate of the states which had federal sponsors of English Language legislation, a comparison between Appendix V and Appendix VII, the federal legislators, and Appendix VI and Appendix

VIII, the state legislators, reveals a trend in the partisan make-up of each state represented. Alabama and Kentucky tend to be predominately Democrat as is California, which passed the English Language Amendment in 1986 by voter referendum. Idaho is predominately Republican. These states, with the exception of California, support the claim that those who support English Language legislation are Republicans or Southern Democrats. The situation in California further suggests that legislators did not want to tackle the issue, leaving it instead to a voter referendum.

The remaining six states reveal not only a trend in political affiliation but an interesting pattern when addressing the issue of region. All six states are in the midwest and all six states show a growing support for the Republican party at the state level.

From 1987-1994, Michigan has maintained a Democratic majority in both houses at the federal level, but a Republican majority in the state Senate, which has continued to increase from 20 in 1987 to 22 in 1994. The state House has been steadily gaining Republican support from 46 members in 1987 to 55 members in 1994.* Although these numbers don't seem like a big upset, the trend becomes significant

*While writing this paper Michigan elected a Republican Senator, splitting the U.S. Senate and increased Republican Representatives from 6 to 8, splitting the U.S. House 8-8. The state Senate stayed the same with a Republican majority, but lost the split in the House giving Republicans a majority 54-56.

when looking at the other midwestern states.

Ohio, like Michigan, has a Democratic majority in both houses at the federal level, but from 1987 to 1994 the Republicans have controlled the Senate at the state level and are increasing their numbers in the House, from 39 Republicans in 1987 to 46 Republicans in 1994.

Toby Roth from Wisconsin introduced his bill in 1993. Because the numbers given for 1993 in Appendix VIII are the same given for 1993-94 in Appendix VI it is necessary to look back to previous legislators to see if the the same trend occurs in Wisconsin as it has in Michigan and Ohio. Wisconsin's legislators at the federal level are controlled by the Democrats in the Senate (2-0) and the Republicans in the House(4-5). Between May 1992 and April 1994 the state legislature took a dramatic turn. Although the state Senate was controlled by the Democrats in 1992 (19-14), it lost 3 Democrats and gained 3 Republicans, giving Republicans a majority in the Senate (16-17). The state House, with a Democratic majority (58-41) in 1992, lost 6 Democrats and gained 6 Republicans (52-47). Although the Democrats maintained control of the House, the margin went from 17 more Democrats in 1992 to only 5 more Democrats in 1994 (The Book of the States, 1992, 1994).

These three states are not only in the midwest, but according to the U.S. Census Bureau they are identified as being in the East North Central Division (Appendix IX). The other two states in the midwest, Missouri and Nebraska are

located in the West North Central Division, and like Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin seem to establish a pattern when looking at political climate during the 1980's and 1990's.

Missouri has consistently held a Republican majority in the Senate at the federal level and a Democratic majority in the House. At the state level, the Senate has remained fairly stable, with a Democratic majority, but the House has lost 6 Democrats from 1989 to 1994 and gained 7 Republicans. Even though the Democrats maintain a comfortable majority, the margin is beginning to dwindle, from 46 in 1989 to 33 in 1994.

Nebraska's legislators at the federal level appear to be heading in the opposite direction. In 1987 there was 1 Republican and 1 Democratic Senator. In 1993 there were 2 Democratic Senators. In the House, there were 3 Republicans in 1987 and in 1993 there was 1 Democrat and 2 Republicans. legislation. Nebraska's state government cannot be analyzed since it is nonpartisan. The reason for this discrepancy when looking at the history of Nebraska and the language issue will be discussed later.

As noted earlier, state activity appears to be influencing the issue at the federal level. Here the growing trend in Republican representation most often occurs at the state level, suggesting the issue is most active at the state level. In looking at these patterns in state government, it doesn't necessarily explain why there aren't

other states with Republican majorities who have sponsored federal legislation. Appendix VI shows several states which have a majority of Republican legislators, but no federal sponsors. I believe this to be true for two reasons. First, it only takes one person to introduce legislation. It may not be related to the philosophical or political beliefs of the constituents in that state. Second, it appears that region becomes significant and the trend in political climate may determine what direction that state is going toward supporting English Language legislation. Kansas, for example, is in the midwest and has consistently held Republican majorities in both houses at the state and federal level. It doesn't appear that there is much change in the political climate of the state. The other states, however seem to be undergoing change, causing perhaps an upheaval in the political structure, thereby causing the legislators of that state to look for some issue which may appeal to their constituents. Sponsorship may not relate to a state being Republican but to a state that seems to provide opportunities for Republicans to gain strength. This correlation between changing political structure and the issue of language legislation can also be seen when looking at the trend in total numbers of federal legislators in the U.S. Congress (Appendix VII).

The majority in both houses for each year is Democrat, except for 1981, 1983, and 1985. During these three Congresses, there was a Democratic majority in the House,

but a Republican majority in the Senate. It appears that after 1985, the activity of English Language legislation at the state level as well as the number of bills and states with sponsors increased (Appendix I and Appendix II). Of the 19 states which have had some action on English Language legislation, 11 of them were passed after 1985. If you count only the 15 states that have had action in the 1980's, the number seems even more significant. At the federal level, during 1981, 1983, and 1985, there were 7 bills introduced represented by legislators from 3 states. During 1987, 1989, and 1991, those figures increased significantly to 12 bills introduced and 7 states represented. As with the midwest and the increase in Republican representation, the argument further maintains that political party dominance causes legislators to look for some issue that will appeal to their constituents. In this case, Republicans may be trying to win back support.

Besides looking at the overall number of legislators, it is interesting to look at whether the federal legislation was proposed by a Senator or Representative. The states which have Senate sponsored bills are Alabama, California, Idaho, and Kentucky. This is significant for two reasons. First, because Senators are elected state-wide, it raises an interesting question as to whether or not this issue has state support. Second, these four states and only these states represent two regions of the U.S. (see Appendix IX for a complete listing of the regions and divisions).

Together, these issues provide some insight into the correlation between federal legislation, region, and state support.

Table 2 shows the regions of these 9 states, the political affiliation of the sponsor, and those which have state English Language legislation. Political affiliation of the sponsor is a factor in the "English-Only" issue, even though, as we've seen, it may not always represent the partisan make-up of the state. Those who support it are Republicans and Southern Democrats.

Table 2

The nine states with federal ELA sponsors: political affiliation of sponsor, state action, and region (compiled from Appendix I, Appendix II, and Appendix IX)

<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>	<u>Midwest</u>
Alabama (1,2,b)	California (2,b)	Ohio(2,c)
Kentucky(1,a)	Idaho (2,c)	Michigan(2,c)
		Missouri(2,c)
		Nebraska(2,a)
		Wisconsin(2,c)

1. Democrat sponsored ELA
 2. Republican sponsored ELA
-
- a. State legislation
 - b. State ELA by voter referendum
 - c. No state legislation
-

Also, Table 2 shows that of the 4 states which have bills sponsored by Senators (Alabama, California, Idaho, and

Kentucky), three have state English Language legislation (CA, AL, KY). Alabama and California have constitutional amendments, both by voter referendum. This illustrates that state-wide support for English Language legislation is important as well as federal sponsorship of this issue. Alabama and Kentucky illustrate this relationship.

Both Alabama and Kentucky, the two states in the south and the two states represented by Democratic sponsors of federal English Language legislation, have state English Language legislation. It is interesting to note that Kentucky passed its statute in 1984, the year after it was introduced by Huddleston at the federal level. As stated earlier, a statute is more symbolic than an amendment which shows this issue did not become as highly charged until after 1985. Alabama introduced its state English Language Amendment in 1990, the same year Shelby first sponsored his bill. This further supports the position that as a result of the failure of the English Language Amendment at the national level, politicians have focused their attention to the states (Citrin et al, 1990).

Besides Alabama and Kentucky, the only other states with state English Language Amendments are California and Nebraska. Both of these states have interesting histories regarding their state English Language Amendments.

Nebraska passed its state legislation in 1920. During World War I, America was struggling with a sense of national unity. According to Perea (1992), a feeling of "'nativism',

takes aim at the ethnicity of 'enemy people'" (p.329). This nativism was directed towards the Germans, the largest group of immigrants in America at that time, as well as the largest non-English speaking group. It was during this time that Nebraska passed its English Language Amendment as well as a statute prohibiting teaching of any language other than English. Out of this statute came one of the few Supreme Court decisions involving language, Meyer v. Nebraska (1923). Robert Meyer had violated the statute by teaching German and was convicted. Although the Supreme Court of Nebraska affirmed the conviction, it was overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court, which stated, "the protection of the Constitution extends to all, to those who speak other languages as well as to those born with English on the tongue" (Perea, p.331).

It is important to note the unique history of Nebraska and its English Language Amendment, because when looking at some of the relationships, Nebraska seems to be an exception. Keeping in mind that its language amendment was the result of an entirely different movement than that of the 1980's, it begins to make sense.

California passed its English Language Amendment in 1986 by a voter referendum. Although the first state to have English language legislation in the 1980's was Virginia in 1981, ironically the home base of English First, it was Senator Hayakawa and the state of California who have led the way in the "English-Only" movement. California was the

first state to place a constitutional amendment on the ballot and continues today to struggle with the issue of immigration, one of the underlying issues in the "English-Only Debate." Most recently, in November 1994 the voters in California passed Proposition 187, which bars illegal immigrants from receiving state benefits, such as education and health services. Implementation of the proposition has been halted because of a temporary restraining order issued by a Federal judge who says it raises questions "as to due-process violations, liberty interests and also property interests" (Ayres, p.A16). Reaction to the proposition has ranged from increased acts of discrimination (Hornblower, November 28, 1994) to noncompliance from those who must implement the law (Hornblower, November 21, 1994). The impact of this proposition in California has and will be felt around the nation, as other states continue to deal with a large number of non-English speaking people who come into the country, legally as well as illegally.

Of the five remaining states who have federal sponsors (OH, MI, MO, NE, WI), four do not have state English Language legislation. Nebraska, as noted earlier, was not involved in the current movement of the 1980's and should be examined with this in mind. These five midwestern states also represent the states with Representatives as federal sponsors. None of these states had a Senator who sponsored legislation at the federal level, suggesting that these sponsors were representing interests of their constituents

in a particular district of the state, but not representing an issue with state-wide support.

What has been presented so far supports that: there is a relationship between those who sponsor legislation at the federal level and political affiliation (i.e. Republicans and Southern Democrats); trends in state legislators as well as support of English Language legislation may be important in determining federal legislation (i.e. those states with growing Republican representatives who support English Language legislation and states with Senate sponsored legislation who tend to support passage of a state English Language Amendment) and; the region of the nine states in question plays a role in federal sponsorship of English legislation as well as state legislation.

Continuing to look at the regions of the nine states represented by federal English language legislation, the two states located in the south (see Appendix IX for a listing of regions and divisions) are the two states with Democratic sponsors and two of the four states with Senators as sponsors. As stated earlier, Democrats in the south may tend to be more conservative, supporting Republican issues.

Further support that Southern Democrats tend to be more conservative is illustrated by the fact that in 1993, Senator Shelby from Alabama voted against the position of the current President, Bill Clinton, a Democrat on 54% of the votes. Consequently, he was the Democrat with the highest voter opposition (Congressional Quarterly Almanac,

1993). Therefore, it was not a surprise when he switched to the Republican party in 1994.

The two states in the west, California and Idaho had Senate sponsored legislation. California, as noted earlier, with Senator Hayakawa has led the way in the "English-Only" issue. Idaho, the only other state in the west to have a federal sponsor is a strongly Republican state.

In the midwest, the states with federal sponsors do not have state English Language legislation which leads to the conclusion that these representatives are merely attempting to find an issue that will appease a small district of that state, especially when you look at the trend in Republican support in this region. The lack of states in the northeast which have federal sponsors of English legislation, as well as state language legislation becomes even more intriguing when looking at population.

Up to this point, I have said little about population. In addition to political affiliation, state English Language Amendment support, and region, it is interesting to look at the population of the nine states with federal support of an English Language legislation, specifically those who speak a language other than English at home. Appendix X shows the percentage of people who speak English at home. I have chosen this category to give an indication of those who speak other than English at home. The inference is that those who speak another language at home have that language as their native language and therefore may be classified as

non-native English speakers. These figures come from the 1990 U.S. Census Bureau Statistics of Social and Economic Characteristics. They were derived by dividing the number of people 5 years and older who speak English at home by the total population 5 years and older. Table 3 shows, by region, the number of native English speakers who live in the nine states who have sponsors of the federal English Language legislation.

Table 3

The nine states with federal ELA sponsors: region and population (% of native English speakers, those who speak English at home), compiled from Appendix II, Appendix IX, and Appendix X

<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>	<u>Midwest</u>
AL-97.1	CA-68.5	OH-94.6
Ky-97.5	ID-93.6	MI-93.4
		NE-95.2
		MO-96.2
		WI-94.2

Those in the south, who have Democratic Senate sponsors and state English Language legislation have the highest percentage of native English speakers. Those in the midwest with Republican legislators as sponsors have fairly high numbers of English speakers. In the west, Idaho, with a Republican Senator sponsored bill, has a fairly high percentage of native English speakers. California, with the

smallest percentage of native English speakers of all will be addressed in more detail when discussing state English Language Amendments. It does not appear that population has a significant impact on federal sponsorship, but one is generally safe to say that where there's a high percentage of native English speakers, legislators (especially Senators who are elected state-wide) are not in danger of losing votes of non-native English speakers when they support a federal English Language Amendment. One cannot say, though, that a high percentage of native English speakers causes federal support for an English Language Amendment because there are states that have a high percentage of native English speakers who do not have federal English Language sponsors (i.e. W.Virginia).

The lack of states in the northeast, when talking about population, leads to an interesting conclusion. Some states in the northeast with high numbers of non-native English speakers do not have a state English Language Amendment (or statute), nor do they have any federal English Language Amendment sponsors. In fact, one could say that they can be virtually eliminated when it comes to discussing the English-Only question. Because of this, one can conclude that region does play a role in the "English Language Debate," but becomes even more important when discussing the state English Language Amendments.

Another way of looking at population is to rank the states with the highest and lowest native English speakers

and determine whether there is a relationship between those states with federal sponsors. Appendix XI shows what I have defined as the highest native English speaking populations, those above 90%, and the lowest native English speaking populations, those less than 90%. As stated earlier, I chose this particular indicator to determine who did not speak English at home, the assumption being that those who did not speak English at home were non-native English speakers, and therefore provided the best estimate of a foreign population of a state.

Table 4 isolates just the states with federal sponsors.

Table 4

States with federal sponsors according to percentage of native English speakers (compiled from Appendix XI)

Highest percentage:		Lowest percentage:	
<u>State</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Kentucky	97.5	California	68.5
Alabama	97.1		
Missouri	96.2		
Nebraska	95.2		
Ohio	94.6		
Wisconsin	94.2		
Idaho	93.6		
Michigan	93.4		

When you look at the states with federal sponsors you see all but California in the over 90% category. Furthermore, the two states with sponsors who are (southern) Democrats have the highest percentage of the nine states,

and are in the top five of all 50 states.

Table 4 also shows that of the four states with Senate sponsored legislation, three have significant English speaking populations, two with the highest. Because Senators are elected state-wide, support of an English Language Amendment wouldn't alienate a large number of the population, since all but California have a large number of native English speakers. California does have a large or significant non-native English speaking population which becomes important in the relationship between state action and population, which will be discussed later.

The lack of federal sponsors at the federal level from the northeast continues to be significant when looking at the rank of population. Of the 9 states in the Northeast Region, five of them are in the lowest category (New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts), and two of them (Maine, New Hampshire) are in the bottom of the highest category. Furthermore, Maine is one of two states to have had no action at the state level whatsoever. There are other states, too in different regions with a high percentage of non-native English speakers, but who have not had any federal sponsors. It appears that population plays a small role in the English Language Amendment at the federal level, but becomes more significant when you begin to look at state action.

Part III: State Level

When looking at the states which have passed "Official

English" legislation, it appears that most action has taken place during the 1980's. Before 1980, only four states, Hawaii, Illinois, Louisiana, and Nebraska had some type of documented action concerning the official language of the state. Each of these states has an interesting story behind their early legislation.

Hawaii, made Hawaiian as well as English official in 1978 (Citrin et al, 1990). Their current population has only 75.2% native English speakers. The largest number of Hawaii's population who speak other than English at home speak Japanese. There is also a large number who speak Tagalog as well as other languages. Although the Census Bureau doesn't include Hawaiian in its classification of languages, it would probably be included under the classification "other" languages. After Japanese, this is the category with the largest number of speakers followed closely by Tagalog (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).

Historically, Hawaii was not always tolerant of other languages. When Hawaii attempted to close Japanese supplementary schools, the case *Farrington v. Tokushige* (1927) found that this was an infringement on the 5th Amendment, which provides for due process, a similar clause to that found in the 14th Amendment (Corwin and Peltason, 1979). At that time, Hawaii was still a territory and the earlier decision *Meyer v. Nebraska* (1923) supported by the 14th Amendment didn't apply to territories (Baron,1990). Ironically, Hawaii's statehood (1959) was delayed in

part because of the racial and linguistic make-up of the state and prejudice towards the people who resided there (Baron, 1990). This was also the case in New Mexico from 1850 until its statehood in 1912, when, for the first time, a majority of its population spoke English (Perea, 1992). Language is also a key element in the issue regarding statehood for Puerto Rico. On November 14, 1993, Puerto Rico rejected statehood, with 52.8% of the ballots cast against and 46.2% voting in favor. In the English First Members' Report, (Winter 1994), the president of the pro-commonwealth party, Miguel Hernandez Agosto said, "it's a vote against assimilation and a vote in favor of all that Puerto Rican people love and value" (p.3). English First ran advertisements in newspapers countering the claim that Spanish would be protected, stating instead that English would be necessary in the acceptance of statehood as it has been in the past. It reminds its readers that Louisiana was once a French-speaking colony who now prints its laws in the same language of the United States, English (English First Members' Report, Winter 1994). When Louisiana joined the Union in 1812 it was the first (and so far the only) state to be granted statehood while a majority of its residents were non-native English speakers. Its large francophone population led Congress to insist on a state constitution which required that "...all laws and official records be published in the language 'in which the Constitution of the United States is written'" (Crawford, p.42). This wording

in the state constitution does not mean English "only." Except for a period of time during 1864 and 1879, the Louisiana Constitution did not exclude other languages since between 1804 and 1867, and later in 1881, the state laws were published in French as well as English (Perea, 1992). In fact, many sources do not even include Louisiana as an "Official English" state, perhaps because of the wording of their constitution, which "...asserts the right of the residents to preserve, foster, and promote their respective historic, linguistic and cultural origins" (Perea, p.326).

Louisiana has historically had a large French-speaking population, and this group continues to be a vital part of the Louisiana culture today. According to the 1990 census, 2/3 of the non-native English speakers in Louisiana speak French (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).

Throughout Louisiana's history, the influence of the French-speaking people fluctuated. During the first part of the nineteenth century the French influence reached its height in Louisiana culture and politics. After 1864, with the defeat of the South and the rise of the Republican party, the French influence declined, creating an anti-French feeling and therefore less protection under the constitution (Perea, 1992).

Similar to Louisiana, the "English-Only" law in Illinois, first passed in 1923, is considered to be symbolic and allows for recognition of minority languages as well as English (Daniels, 1990). Illinois has historically had a

diverse population, and currently has a fairly large non-native English speaking population, 85.8% (Appendix X). The original English-Only law in Illinois in 1923, "Ryan's Law" made "American" the official language of the state of Illinois.* It was challenged in 1928 in the Illinois Appeals Court, but was upheld because it didn't conflict with English, since they are virtually the same. In 1969, the law was amended to make "English" the official language (Daniels, 1990).

Nebraska's legislation, quite different from Illinois and Louisiana, was passed in 1920 as a reaction to the large German population and anti-German sentiment around the time of World War I. Unlike Louisiana, who has maintained its large French speaking population, Nebraska's largest non-English speakers today are not German but Spanish. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (1993), of the 69,872 non-native English speakers, 13,927 are German and 24,555 are Spanish. As evidenced in the Supreme Court case, Meyer v. Nebraska (1920), the threat of the German language as well as the growing German population was the prevailing attitude in Nebraska during the 1920's.

As one can see from the examples of these four states, the political and social climate during the period of

*That same year, U.S. Representative Washington Jay McCormick of Montana proposed a bill to make "American" the official language of the U.S. It received little attention and no action (Crawford, 1992).

legislation is quite different than that of the 1980's. It is because of this and because of the fact that the focus of this paper is the current "English-Only" movement, that I have eliminated these states from the discussion of the state English Language issue. I will look at the states from three perspectives; political party make-up, region, and population.

Looking at the partisan make-up in the state governments at the time of the action, Appendix XII shows the Senators and Representatives at the federal level for each state during the year that the English Language legislation was passed and Appendix XIII shows the Governors, Senators and Representatives for each state the same year.

At the federal level, Arizona and Virginia have a Republican majority in the House, and Indiana is the only state with a Republican majority in the Senate. It doesn't appear that the federal legislators are significant. Because legislators at the federal level are not involved in state issues, it is more important to look at the state legislators who make the decisions for the state. Since only four states out of 15 have Republican majorities (AZ, CO, IN, ND), it doesn't appear that state partisan make-up has much influence on state English Language legislation until you view this relationship with other aspects, such as region.

The regional aspect of state English legislation shows

a much greater tendency toward regional support of this issue. Table 5 and Map A show those states which have passed English Language legislation since 1980 according to their region, as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau (Appendix IX). As represented below, an overwhelming number of states with English Language legislation are located in the south, and none in the northeast. The only three states which are located in the West (AZ, CA, CO) are states which have passed legislation by voter referendum and two of these states (AZ, CO) have a significant number of Republican legislators at the state level. The other two states to pass an English Language Amendment by voter referendum, Alabama and Florida are located in the south. In the midwest, the only two states which have English Language

Table 5

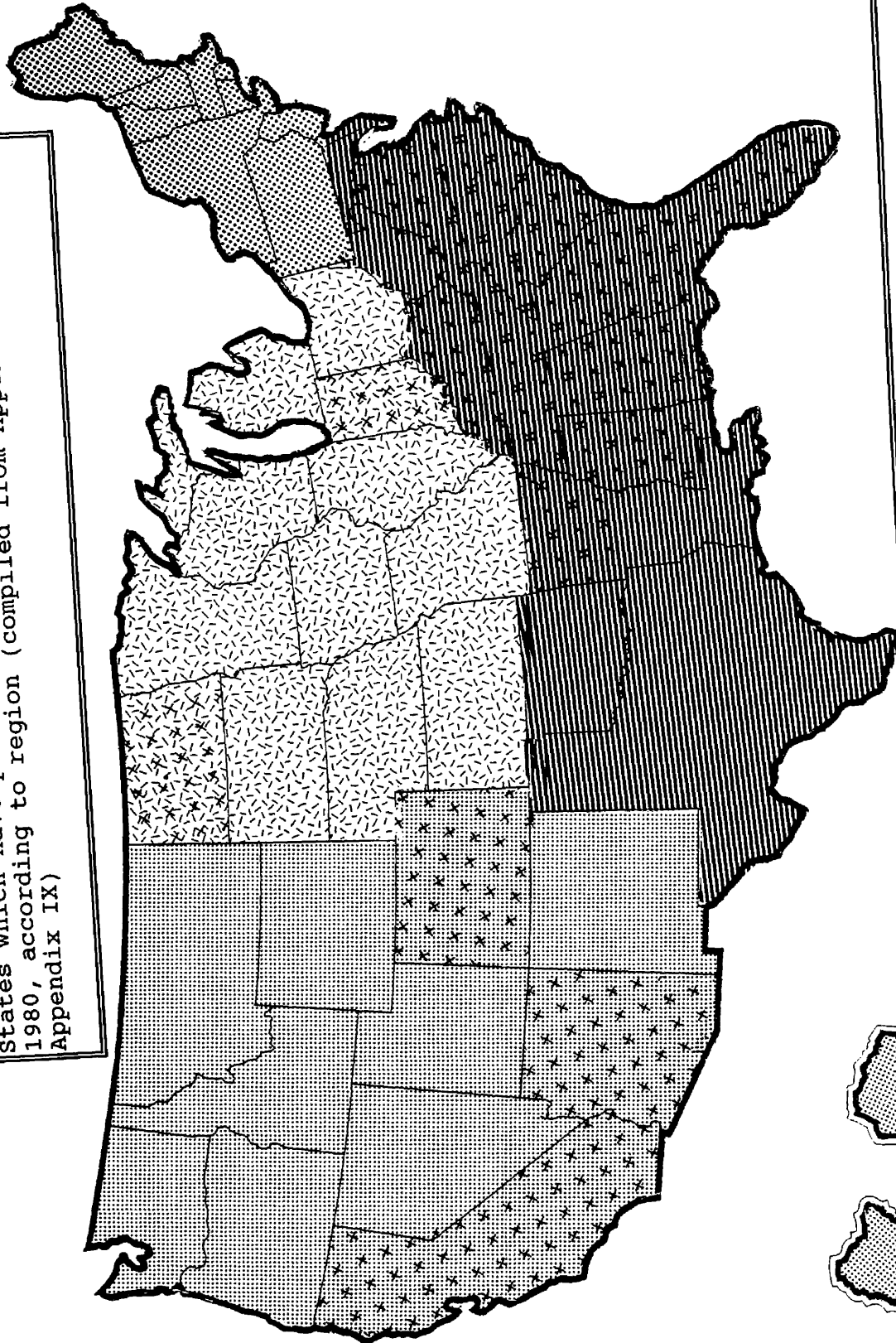
States which have passed English Language legislation since 1980 according to region (compiled from Appendix I and Appendix IX)






<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Indiana	Alabama	(Arizona)*
N.Dakota	Arkansas	California
	Florida	Colorado
	Georgia	
	Kentucky	
	Mississippi	
	N.Carolina	
	S.Carolina	
	Tennessee	
	Virginia	

*ruled unconstitutional

MAP A

States which have passed English Language legislation since 1980, according to region (compiled from Appendix I and Appendix IX)



 northeast	 midwest	 south	 west
 states with English language legislation since 1980			

legislation are Indiana and N.Dakota. Both have a large Republican representation at the state level of government. Perhaps partisan make-up of a state may influence state English Language legislation if looked at with other variables. But what about the other states in the midwest with Republican majorities in the House and Senate, that do not have state language legislation? Perhaps it is not primarily a partisan and regional issue. Furthermore, why don't any states in the northeast have legislation at the state level or federal sponsors? Why do some states in the west have legislation, but others don't? Why are there so many states in the south with legislation, virtually all those in the "deep south?" Another aspect of the language issue, and an important one when dealing with the states is that of population.

Table 6 shows the regions and native English speaking population of these states. Florida is the only state in the south with a significant non-native English speaking population, more than 17%. On the other hand, Alabama has one of the highest percentages of native English speaking populations, over 97%. Both states have constitutional amendments which were passed by voter referendum. Of the ten states in the south, nine are in the highest percentage of native English speakers. Conversely, the three states in the west (AZ, CA, CO), have high non-native English speakers and have passed their English Language Amendments by voter

Table 6

States with English Language legislation, according to region and percent of native English speaking population ranked according to highest and lowest (compiled from Appendix I, Appendix IX, and Appendix XI)

<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Indiana 95.2	Kentucky 97.5	Colorado 89.5
N.Dakota 92.1	Arkansas 97.2	(Arizona 79.2)*
	Mississippi 97.2	California 68.5
	Alabama 97.1	
	Tennessee 97.1	
	S. Carolina 96.5	
	N.Carolina 96.1	
	Georgia 95.2	
	Virginia 92.7	
	Florida 82.7	

*ruled unconstitutional

referendum. This may lead to the conclusion that a high non-native English speaking population causes a state to pass legislation, but some of the other states in the west as well as states in the northeast have very high non-native English speakers, yet no English Language Amendment. One of the states that has not yet considered official English legislation, Maine is located in the northeast and has a fairly high percentage of non-native English speakers as does Alaska, the other state to not yet consider legislation. However, if you look at the political representation in two of the states in the west with English Language Amendments, Arizona and Colorado, you see a

significant Republican majority. Even though there are other states in the west which have a significant Republican majority, they do not have a high percentage of non-native English speakers.

The two states in the midwest, Indiana and N.Dakota have a fairly high number of native English speakers, but as previously noted like Arizona and Colorado, have predominately Republican state governments.

What does all this say about legislation at the state level? It appears that the movement mainly involves the states in the south and those out west with high non-native English speaking populations and conservative political representation. But not all states in the west with a high percentage of non-native English speakers have official English legislation. In fact, New Mexico, the state with the highest number of non-native English speakers in the country officially recognized its bilingual heritage in 1989 (Perea, 1992).

In the midwest, the states with "official" English legislation, Indiana and N.Dakota are generally conservative, or Republican, but not all states with Republican legislators in the midwest have legislation to make English the official language of the state. As stated earlier, it appears that states in the Midwest are becoming more conservative, perhaps indicating the possibility of these states adopting some type of resolution or amendment in the future which will declare English the official

language of the state.

Because there are no federal sponsors from any state in the northeast, nor are there any states in the northeast with "official" English legislation, and because virtually all the southern states have some type of "official" English legislation, the argument that region plays a crucial role in the "English-Only Debate" becomes more persuasive.

Furthermore, if you look at the states in the west that do not have English Language legislation but have a majority of Republican legislators at the state level, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, and Wyoming, all have fairly high numbers of native English speakers, except Nevada. The states in the west that have a high native English speaking population, Washington and Oregon have legislation recognizing its cultural diversity (Betancourt, 1992). The remaining states in the west with a high percentage of non-native English speakers either have legislation approved by voter referendum (Arizona, California, Colorado), official recognition of other languages (New Mexico, Hawaii), or no action whatsoever (Alaska).

Conclusion

At the federal level, the movement to declare English the official language of the United States appears to be mainly generated by Republicans and a few Southern Democrats. Their intent does not necessarily represent the views of their constituents as it does not reflect the partisan make-up of the state. Likewise, region and the

percentage of native English speakers seems to have little if no impact on the movement at the federal level, unless you begin to look at those states with English Language legislation. Here, the discussion becomes more complex as you begin to look at the relationship that region and population have on state language issues. Supporting the hypothesis that the federal language issue is looking to state support, the relationship becomes clearer. States in the south support the English Language Amendment, regardless of non-native English speakers. States in the midwest support the English Language Amendment where governments tend to be dominated by Republicans or undergoing a change in political party dominance. The western states support the English Language Amendment where there are large numbers of non-native English speakers and Republican governments.

The "English Only Movement," in one form or another has weaved its way in and out of American politics throughout history. It has taken on issues such as immigration, education, and language, to name a few. Today the movement is attempting to address the language issue by declaring English the official language of the United States. Supporters of this movement say that in order to unite the country, one common language is necessary. How they are attempting to do this is cause for concern.

Throughout this paper, I have discussed the English Language Amendment and its different aspects. Historically, language has been an issue, but there was a good reason for

not including it as part of the United States Constitution. We are a country founded on the rights and freedoms of all individuals and opponents in this debate point to the fact that our ancestors assimilated without legislation, so too will the new immigrants.

So, why not say that English is the official language of a state, just as the robin is the official bird of Michigan? The danger of any legislation, and the argument used by opponents of the English Language Amendment, has to do with how far the recognition goes and is extent to which it is taken.

Part of this paper deals with the wording of legislation, and a discussion of that type of bill which is "symbolic" and that which is "legal." Legislation that is symbolic would tend to pass more easily, but if most would agree that English is recognized as the official language of the United States, what's the point of passing legislation? When legislation that is more legally binding is proposed, there are consequences to that legislation. There does not seem to be much controversy in the midwestern states which have legislation, but in the states which have legislation passed by voter referendum as well as a large non-native English speaking population there are allegations of a backlash toward non-native English speakers. In Colorado, after passage of the English Language Amendment, a bus driver forbade students to speak Spanish on the bus. In Florida, a cashier in Coral Gables was suspended (but later

reinstated) for speaking Spanish, and California has seen a dramatic increase in "English-Only" rules in the workplace (Daniels, 1990). Many of these incidents seem to be isolated and perhaps used merely as a political tool by certain interest groups to further gain support or opposition for their cause, but they symbolize an issue which is at the heart of the "English-Only Debate." That issue involves the implications of making English the official language. Here, the issue becomes a legal one, attempting to reconcile the difference between recognizing a certain language and restricting another. Are we establishing national unity with a common language or are we infringing on the rights protected by the Constitution of the United States? The current "English-Only" movement faces a constitutional debate, one which has arisen from time to time throughout history. Because most state laws are deemed symbolic, there are no real implications unless the law becomes too restrictive, as in the case in Arizona. Arizona's English Language Amendment was challenged and it was ruled unconstitutional based on the 1st Amendment. The 1st Amendment "prohibits government from abridging freedom of speech, expression, and association." However, the court did not have to decide whether the 1st Amendment encompasses all "English-Only" laws, ruling only on Arizona's case, which was seen as "overbroad" (North Carolina Central Law Journal, p. 75-76).

What does this say about other states' "English-Only"

legislation? Because Arizona's law was so restrictive, it's doubtful this case can be used to challenge other "English-Only" laws (North Carolina Central Law Journal, 1992). Because many of the states have statutes, as opposed to amendments and these statutes tend to be seen merely as symbolic and not legal, it's doubtful that any of these states will end up in court over the issue.

The Supreme Court has not resolved the question of whether language constitutes a "suspect"* class, and it has declined to decide on matters involving language issues. Decisions are generally determined using issues other than language as a basis for the decision (North Carolina Central Law Journal, 1992). In June 1994, they declined to decide the validity of an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) policy that states that "English-Only" rules in the workplace are discriminatory (New York Times, June 21, 1994). The EEOC was established to set rules and guidelines in accordance to the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, which is also known as Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Equal Employment Opportunity Act prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The EEOC generally upholds "English-

*"suspect" or protected groups are based on "an immutable characteristic determined solely by the accident of birth, or a class saddled with such disabilities, or subjected to such a history of purposeful unequal treatment, or relegated to such a political powerlessness as to command extraordinary protection from the majoritarian political process" (Peltason, p.201).

Only" laws in the workplace for valid business reasons, but do not allow them if they are restrictive or deemed discriminatory (Balmer, 1992).

The only cases involving language that the Supreme Court has ruled on were Meyer v. Nebraska (1923), Farrington v. Tokushige (1927), and Lau v. Nichols (1974). The Meyer v. Nebraska case was based on the due process clause of the 14th Amendment. The Farrington v. Tokushige case was based on the 5th Amendment. The Lau v. Nichols case involved the rights of Chinese students in the San Francisco Unified School District. The suit alleged that non-English speaking Chinese American students were not receiving any supplemental English instruction, therefore receiving no education at all. Even though the suit alleged violation of the 14th Amendment, the Constitution is vague concerning language rights (Baron, 1990). Therefore, the decision was based on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act which states "school systems are responsible for assuring that students of a particular race, color, or national origin are not denied the opportunity to obtain education generally obtained by the students in the system" (Balmer, p.436).

In these three Supreme Court cases, the decisions were based on discrimination based on national origin not on language. Although the court has not specifically stated that language is considered a "suspect" class as national origin is, it has generally been upheld in cases of blatant discrimination in terms of national origin (North Carolina

Central Law Journal, 1992).

The Constitution of the United States protects the basic rights and freedoms guaranteed to the citizens of its country. Throughout history, lawmakers have debated the issue of whether to include an amendment declaring English to be the official language. So far, all proposed legislation has died in the committees to which they were sent, never having reached voting status. Likewise, the Supreme Court has sidestepped the issue, basing their rulings on existing laws and rights already established in the Constitution and/or courts. Once it does make a decision regarding specific language rights, it sets a precedent which is sure to add to its already overwhelming caseload. (When the Supreme Court declined to validate the EEOC policy in 1994, there were 120 charges pending under that policy alone [New York Times, June 21, 1994]).

The activity at the federal level has given way to action at the state level, where various cases and state issues are being tested. While preparing the final draft of this paper, members of the 104th Congress began their term in office. With this new Congress came a Republican majority and a new English Language Amendment, H.R.1005 (Congressional Index, 1995). Furthermore, Senator Symms (ID) and Representative Broomfield (MI) have dropped their sponsorship of the English Language Amendment (Crawford, 1992). At the state level, this is also an on-going issue, and information is not as centrally located nor as readily

available as it is at the federal level. Because of this, the status of the English Language Amendment is constantly changing at the federal as well as the state level. Since I have chosen the *current* "English-Only" movement, one cannot say that the information provided here is conclusive. What is important to look at is the relationship between federal and state policy, the way in which certain factors affect this policy, and the implications of a policy such as this.

Legislation is implemented in two ways, according to Nancy Hornberger (1990), and implementation is provided for through the separation of powers. The legislative branch assigns the implementation to the executive branch who then sets guidelines for the implementation. The second way of implementing legislation is through the states (or smaller political units) who set guidelines which are then upheld by the judicial branch. This illustrates the two networks through which politicians and organizations are attempting to pass official English legislation. As I have maintained through this paper, the "English-Only Debate" appears to be working its way through the states in order to be upheld and later accepted at the federal level. But, as Hornberger clearly points out, "...the ELA would be the second attempt to amend the Constitution along restrictive lines, the first time being Prohibition; all other amendments have been intended to expand individual rights and freedoms" (p.23).

Both sides of the "English-Only Debate" have valid arguments. Those supporting English Language legislation

claim it is an attempt to unify a country which is quickly becoming divided along racial and ethnic lines. Those opposing the English Language legislation claim it is a xenophobic reaction to the recent wave of immigration currently underway in this country, primarily directed towards Hispanics. The issue of immigration is a sensitive one, seen in the recent incidents in California. Language provides a more "acceptable" way of addressing the concern over the increase of foreign people (legal and illegal) coming into this country. It has also become a political tool in the legislatures throughout this country, with political party, region, and population playing a significant role. Support for the English Language Amendment comes from Republicans and Southern Democrats. The region with the strongest support is the south, although there is scattered support in the west, where there is a large non-native speaking population and a majority of elected Republicans. The midwestern states are not generally supportive, but since the increase in Republican legislators, one may see a trend toward more conservative issues, perhaps more midwestern states with English Language Amendments.

In Brian Weinstein's book, Language Policy and Political Development (1990), Jonathan Pool states "political power can be used to bring about language change, while language change can be used to redistribute political power" (p.241). This would explain the current movement's

attack on Spanish and the Hispanics coming to this country. It appears that since most Republicans support English Language legislation and oppose bilingual education, which primarily benefits Hispanics, they do so because they feel threatened by their increasing political power. In other words, we are not trying to unite the country by a common language, just making sure others don't get too much power. In some states (Hawaii) and regions (Northeast) where the English Language Amendment is not an issue, the people are not of Hispanic descent but are Japanese, French, etc.

A 1990 Time article states that "...no one is more aware of the social, political, and economic importance of learning English than those who cannot speak it" (p. 82). Passage of a federal English Language Amendment would settle many of these issues, but it may perhaps create another set of problems. For example, currently there are 40,000 people waiting to take English classes in Los Angeles (Daniels, 1990). Might we leave ourselves open to legal action if we make it a requirement to learn English when we cannot provide the proper instruction to those who need or want it? Furthermore, does an English Language Amendment restrict certain rights, such as the First Amendment, or is it necessary to maintain national unity and stability?

When discussing the issue of language, is it a matter of restriction or tolerance? Do we force someone to speak our language in order for us to feel that person has accepted our notion of what constitutes an American. Or do

we accept people as they are, as we have for more than 200 years? Nancy Hornberger (1990) says that national language planning curtails freedom when it's restrictive, but not when it's expansive. It is more likely that immigrants will learn English because of the economic and/or cultural benefits and not because it is official. Or as Geoffrey Nunberg, a linguist from Stanford University puts it, "The English language needs official protection about as much as the Boston Celtics need elevator shoes" (Bryson, p.241).

When the founding fathers wrote the Constitution, they did not include the English language as the official language of the U.S. Our coins still bear the expression "E Pluribus Unum", out of many one (McCarthy, 1990). Isn't it interesting that the phrase is written in Latin?

While looking at both sides of the "English-Only Debate," it appears that it has become a political issue, chipping away at civil rights and further dividing, not uniting this country along racial and ethnic lines. America is known as the land of the free, not based on the language one speaks, but based on the idea of tolerance and acceptance of all people. I have discussed the various aspects of the "English-Only Debate." In doing so, I have shown that attempts to legislate something such as language not only has hidden motives, but also has far reaching consequences. Historically we have wrestled with the issue of language in order to protect our idea of national unity and stability. But does an English Language Amendment

protect or restrict? According to McCrum et al (1986), language...is always in flux, and its form and expression are beyond the control of schoolteachers and governments (p.11).

Opponents of the English Language Amendment claim that it has become a political issue. "The official English movement aims to regulate access to the political process through language" (Perea, p.354). I have shown that much of the language debate centers around political affiliation, with region and population playing a significant role. If this is the case, is establishing an official language necessary, or is it only a vehicle for those attempting to further their political agenda? We must remember our founding fathers and the creation of our Constitution. Chief Justice John Marshall believed in preservation, not change (Baron, 1982). However, his views were that "unique characteristics of American liberty, the exceptional geographical and social mobility of American people and their necessary intermingling, were sufficient to maintain identity of language" (Perea, p. 302). He also believed that language choice and endorsement (in response to Noah Webster's request for standardizing his dictionary), was an individual not a government decision (Perea, 1992). Because our country was founded and has been maintained on the basic principles of freedom and tolerance, the language issue may continue to flare up from time to time, but it should continue to be only an issue to be debated, not voted on.

Appendix I

States which have English as the official language
(CRS Report for Congress [1991], North Carolina Central Law
Journal [1992], U.S. English Facts & Issues [1992])

1. Alabama-constitutional amendment (1990)*
2. Arizona-constitutional amendment (1988)* [ruled unconstitutional in 1990]
3. Arkansas-statute (1987)
4. California-constitutional amendment (1986)*
5. Colorado-constitutional amendment (1988)*
6. Florida-constitutional amendment (1988)*
7. Georgia-resolution (1986)
8. Hawaii-constitutional amendment (1978) [provides for some official use of Hawaiian]
9. Illinois-statute (1923, 1969)
10. Indiana-statute (1984)
11. Kentucky-statute (1984)
12. Louisiana-constitutional amendment (1812) [under the Constitution of 1975, "asserts the right of residents to preserve, foster, and promote their respective historic, linguistic and cultural origins" (Perea, p.326)]
13. Mississippi-statute (1987)
14. Nebraska-constitutional amendment (1920)
15. N. Carolina-statute (1987)
16. N. Dakota-statute (1987)
17. S. Carolina-statute (1987)
18. Tennessee-statute (1984)
19. Virginia-statute (1981)

* In these states, initiatives were approved by voter referendum.

Appendix II

History of the English Language Amendment-Language of the Government Act to declare English the official language of the United States (Digest of Public General Bills and Resolutions 1981-1990, and Congressional Index 1991-1994)

97th Congress-First Session-1981
S.J.Res.72 by Hayakawa (R-CA) to Judiciary

98th Congress-First Session-1983
S.J.Res.167 by Huddleston (D-KY) to Judiciary
H.J.Res.169 by Shumway (R-CA) to Judiciary

99th Congress-First Session-1985
S.J.Res.20 by Symms (R-ID) to Judiciary
S.Con.Res.43 by McClure (R-ID) to Labor and Human Resources
H.J.Res.96 by Shumway (R-CA) to Judiciary
H.Con.Res.127 by Shumway (R-CA) to Educ. & Labor

100th Congress-First Session-1987
S.J.Res.13 by Symms (R-ID) to Judiciary
H.J.Res.13 by Broomfield (R-MI) to Judiciary
H.J.Res.33 by Miller (R-OH) to Judiciary
H.J.Res.60 by Smith (R-NE) to Judiciary
H.J.Res.83 by Shumway (R-CA) to Judiciary
H.Con.Res.129 by Shumway (R-CA) to Educ. & Labor

100th Congress-Second Session-1988
H.J.Res.656 by Shumway (R-CA) to Judiciary

101st Congress-First Session-1989
H.J.Res.48 by Emerson (R-MO) to Judiciary
H.J.Res.79 by Miller (R-OH) to Judiciary
H.J.Res.81 by Shumway (R-CA) to Judiciary

101st Congress-Second Session-1990
S.3179 by Shelby (D-AL) to Gov. Affairs
H.R.4424 by Emerson (R-MO) to Educ. & Labor

Appendix II (cont.)

102nd Congress-First Session-1991

<u>S.434</u>	by Shelby (D-AL)	to Gov. Affairs
<u>H.R.123</u>	by Emerson (R-MO)	to Educ. & Labor
<u>H.J.Res.81</u>	by Dickinson (R-AL)	to Judiciary

103rd Congress-First Session-1993

<u>S.426</u>	by Shelby (D-AL)	to Gov. Affairs
<u>H.R.123</u>	by Emerson (R-MO)	to Educ. & Labor
<u>H.R.739</u>	by Roth (R-WI)	to Educ. & Labor
<u>H.J.Res.171</u>	by Doolittle (R-CA)	to Judiciary
<u>H.Con.Res.13</u>	by Emerson (R-MO)	to Educ. & Labor

Appendix III

Listing of the English Language Amendments proposed in the Senate and the House of Representatives classified by wording (Digest of Public General Bills and Resolutions 1981-1990, and Congressional Index 1991-1994)

Legislation which is "symbolic"

- "Recognizing the cultural importance of the many languages spoken in the United States and indicating the sense of the House that the United States should maintain the use of English as a language common to all peoples" (p. 31,001).

H.Con.Res.13 (1993) Emerson

- "Expresses the sense of the Congress that 1) the English language is the official language of the United States; and 2) no language other than the English language is recognized as the official language of the United States" (p. C-4, G-9, G-11).

S.Con.Res.43 (1985) McClure

H.Con.Res.127 (1985) Shumway

H.Con.Res.129 (1987) Shumway

Legislation which is "legal"

- "Proclaims the English language to be the official language of the United States. Prohibits the United States, the States, and any Federal or State court from requiring the use of any other language. Stipulates that this article shall not prohibit educational instruction in a language other than English for the purpose of making students proficient in English" (p. B-5).

S.J.Res.72 (1981) Hayakawa

- "Proclaims the English language to be the official language of the United States. Prohibits the United States or any State from requiring the use of any other language. States that this article shall not prohibit educational instruction in a language other than English for the purpose of making students proficient in English" (p. F-11, F-7, B-2, F-5)

H.J.Res.169 (1983) Shumway

H.J.Res.96 (1985) Shumway

H.J.Res.13 (1987) Broomfield

H.J.Res.60 (1987) Smith

Appendix III (cont.)

- "Proclaims the English language to be the official language of the United States" (p. B-9, B-2, B-2, F-3, F-6, F-4, F-6)

<u>S.J.167</u>	(1983)	Huddleston
<u>S.J.Res.20</u>	(1985)	Symms
<u>S.J.Res.13</u>	(1987)	Symms
<u>H.J.Res.33</u>	(1987)	Miller
<u>H.J.Res.83</u>	(1987)	Shumway
<u>H.J.Res.48</u>	(1989)	Emerson
<u>H.J.Res.79</u>	(1989)	Miller

- "Proclaims the English language to be the official language of the United States. Prohibits the United States or any state from requiring the use of any other language. States that this article shall not prohibit any law, program, or policy to: 1) provide educational instruction in a language other than English for the purpose of making students proficient in English; 2) teach a foreign language to students who are already proficient in English; 3) protect public health and safety; or 4) allow translators for litigants defendants, or witnesses" (p. F-15, F-6).

<u>H.J.Res.656</u>	(1988)	Shumway
<u>H.J.Res.81</u>	(1989)	Shumway

- "Declares English to be the official language of the U.S. Government. States that the Government has an affirmative obligation to preserve and enhance the role of English as the official language. Prohibits anyone from being denied Government services because they communicate in English. Prohibits a Government entity from making or enforcing an official act requiring the use of a language other than English.

Deems anyone discriminated against for communicating in English to have been discriminated against for communicating in English to have been discriminated against on the basis of national origin. Makes available to a person so discriminated against all lawful remedies under the Civil Rights Act of 1964" (p. A-266, E-91)

<u>S.3179</u>	(1990)	Shelby
<u>H.R.4424</u>	(1990)	Emerson

- "Declares English as the official language of the Government of the United States" (p. 14,174; 28,158; 14,173; 28,193; 28,158).

<u>S.434</u>	(1991)	Shelby
<u>H.R.123</u>	(1991)	Emerson
<u>S.426</u>	(1993)	Shelby
<u>H.R.123</u>	(1993)	Emerson
<u>H.R.739</u>	(1993)	Roth

Appendix III (cont.)

- "Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States establishing English as the official language of the United States" (p. 30,505; 30,511).

H.J.Res.81 (1991) Dickinson

H.J.Res.171 (1993) Doolittle

Appendix IV

Abbreviations for Senate and House of Representatives Bills and Resolutions (Willett, 1980)

S.	Senate bill
S.J.Res	joint resolution* originating in the Senate
S.Res.	Senate resolution (considered only in Senate)
S.Con.Res.	concurrent resolution** originating in the Senate
H.R.	bill originating in the House of Representatives
H.J.Res.	joint resolution originating in the House of Representatives
H.Res.	House of Representatives resolution (considered only in the House of Representatives)
H.Con.Res	concurrent resolution originating in the House of Representatives

* there is little difference between bills and resolutions

** concurrent resolutions are generally not legislative and usually concern both the Senate and the House

Appendix V

The Legislators: Federal Level, 103rd Congress. See key to political affiliations at end of Appendix. (Congressional Index, 1993-1994, Vol. 1 & 2, [1993]).

State	Senate			House of Representatives		
	Dem.	Rep.	Other	Dem.	Rep.	Other
Alabama	2	-	-	4	3	-
Alaska	-	2	-	-	1	-
Arizona	1	1	-	3	3	-
Arkansas	2	-	-	2	2	-
California	2	-	-	30	22	-
Colorado	1	1	-	2	4	-
Connecticut	2	-	-	3	3	-
Delaware	1	1	-	-	1	-
Florida	1	1	-	10	13	-
Georgia	1	1	-	7	4	-
Hawaii	2	-	-	2	-	-
Idaho	-	2	-	1	1	-
Illinois	2	-	-	12	8	-
Indiana	-	2	-	7	3	-
Iowa	1	1	-	1	4	-
Kansas	-	2	-	2	2	-
Kentucky	1	1	-	3	3	-
Louisiana	2	-	-	4	3	-
Maine	1	1	-	1	1	-
Maryland	2	-	-	4	4	-
Massachusetts	2	-	-	8	2	-
Michigan	2	-	-	10	6	-
Minnesota	1	1	-	6	2	-
Mississippi	-	2	-	5	-	-
Missouri	-	2	-	6	3	-
Montana	1	1	-	1	-	-
Nebraska	2	-	-	1	2	-
Nevada	2	-	-	1	1	-
New Hamp.	-	2	-	1	1	-
New Jersey	2	-	-	7	6	-
New Mexico	1	1	-	1	2	-
New York	1	1	-	18	13	-
N. Carolina	-	2	-	8	4	-
N. Dakota	2	-	-	1	-	-
Ohio	2	-	-	10	9	-
Oklahoma	1	1	-	3	3	-
Oregon	-	2	-	4	1	-
Pennsylvania	1	1	-	11	10	-
Rhode Island	1	1	-	1	1	-
S. Carolina	1	1	-	3	3	-
S. Dakota	1	1	-	1	-	-

Appendix V (cont.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Senate</u>			<u>House of Representatives</u>		
	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Other</u>
Tennessee	2	-	-	6	3	-
Texas	-	2	-	21	9	-
Utah	-	2	-	2	1	-
Vermont	1	1	-	-	-	I
Virginia	1	1	-	7	4	-
Washington	1	1	-	8	1	-
W.Virginia	2	-	-	3	-	-
Wisconsin	2	-	-	4	5	-
Wyoming	-	2	-	-	1	-

I=Independent

Total

Senate:

Democrat=56

Republican=44

House:

Democrat=256

Republican=178

Independent=1

Appendix VI

The Governors and Legislators: State Level (as of April 1994). See key to political affiliations at end of Appendix. (The Book of the States 1994-1995, Vol. 30, [1994])*

State	Gov.	Senate			House		
		Dem.	Rep.	Other	Dem.	Rep.	Other
Alabama	D	27	8	-	82	23	-
Alaska	I	10	10	-	20	18	2(a)
Arizona	R	12	18	-	25	35	-
Arkansas	D	30	5	-	88	11	1(b)
Calif.	R	22	16	2(b)	47	33	-
Colorado	D	16	19	-	31	34	-
Conn.	ACP*	19	17	-	86	65	-
Delaware	D	15	6	-	18	23	-
Florida	D	20	20	-	71	49	-
Georgia	D	39	17	-	128	52	-
Hawaii	D	22	3	-	47	4	-
Idaho	D	12	23	-	20	50	-
Illinois	R	27	32	-	67	51	-
Indiana	D	22	28	-	55	45	-
Iowa	R	27	23	-	49	51	-
Kansas	D	13	27	-	59	66	-
Kentucky	D	24	14	-	71	29	-
Louisiana	D	33	6	-	88	16	1(b)
Maine	R	20	15	-	91	60	-
Maryland	D	38	9	-	117	24	-
Mass.	R	31	9	-	122	35	1(b)
Michigan	R	16	22	-	55	55	-
Minnesota	R	45(c)	22(d)	-	85(c)	49(d)	-
Mississippi	R	39	13	-	96	24	2(b)
Missouri	D	20	14	-	98	65	-
Montana	R	30	20	-	47	53	-
Nebraska	D	non partisan			unicameral		
Nevada	D	10	11	-	27	12	-
New Hamp.	R	11	13	-	138	254	5(e)
New Jersey	R	16	24	-	27	53	-
New Mexico	D	27	15	-	52	18	-
New York	D	26	35	-	100	50	-
N. Carolina	D	39	11	-	78	42	-
N. Dakota	R	25	24	-	33	65	-
Ohio	R	13	20	-	53	46	-
Oklahoma	D	37	11	-	68	33	-
Oregon	D	16	14	-	28	32	-
Penn.	D	24	26	-	105	98	-
RhodeIsland	D	39	11	-	85	15	-
S. Carolina	R	30	16	-	73	50	1(b)
S. Dakota	R	20	15	-	28	42	-

*vacancies not included

Appendix VI (cont.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Gov.</u>	<u>Senate</u>			<u>House</u>		
		<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Other</u>
Tennessee	D	19	14	-	63	36	-
Texas	D	18	13	-	92	58	-
Utah	R	18	11	-	26	49	-
Vermont	D	14	16	-	87	57	6(f)
Virginia	R	22	18	-	52	47	1(b)
Washington	D	28	21	-	65	33	-
W. Virginia	D	32	2	-	79	21	-
Wisconsin	R	16	17	-	52	47	-
Wyoming	D	10	20	-	19	41	-

a=Alaskan Independent
b=Independent
c=Democrat-Farmer-Labor
d=Independent-Republican
e=1 Independent, 4 Libertarian
f=4 Independent, 2 Progressive

Total

Senate:

Democrat=1,139

Republican=794

Other=2

House:

Democrat=3,193

Republican=2,219

Other=20

Vacancies=8

Appendix VII

The year in which federal legislation was introduced, total federal legislative body, and federal legislators from those states from which the sponsors of bills were elected (Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1981-1994).*

Year	Total		House		State	Senate		House	
	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep		Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep
1981	47	53	242	192	CA	1	1	22	21
1983	46	54	267	165	CA	1	1	28	17
					KY	2	-	4	3
1985	47	53	252	182	CA	1	1	27	18
					ID	-	2	1	1
1987	54	46	257	177	CA	1	1	27	18
					ID	-	2	1	1
					MI	2	-	11	7
					NE	1	1	-	3
					OH	2	-	11	10
1988	54	46	255	177	CA	1	1	27	18
1989	55	45	258	176	CA	1	1	27	18
					MO	-	2	5	4
					OH	2	-	11	10
1990	55	45	258	175	AL	2	-	5	2
					MO	-	2	5	4
1991	57	43	268	166	AL	2	-	5	2
					MO	-	2	6	3
1993	56	44	258	176	AL	2	-	4	3
					CA	2	-	30	22
					MO	-	2	6	3
					WI	2	-	4	5

*vacancies and other parties are not included

Appendix VIII

The year in which federal legislation was introduced and the state legislators of those states from which the sponsors of bills were elected (Book of the States 1980-1995).*

<u>Year</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Senate</u>		<u>House</u>	
		<u>Dem</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Rep</u>
1981	CA	25	14	50	30
1983	CA	25	14	48	32
	KY	28	10	76	24
1985	CA	25	15	47	33
	ID	14	18	17	67
1987	CA	23	15	44	36
	ID	16	26	20	64
	MI	18	20	64	46
	NE	nonpartisan		unicameral	
	OH	15	18	60	39
1989	CA	24	15	46	33
	MO	22	12	104	58
	OH	14	19	59	40
1990	AL	28	6	85	17
	MO	22	12	104	58
1991	AL	28	7	82	23
	MO	23	11	99	64
1993	AL	27	8	82	23
	CA	22	16	47	33
	MO	20	14	98	65
	WI	16	17	52	47

*vacancies and other parties are not included

Appendix IX

Regions and Divisions--States (U.S. Census Bureau [1990])

- I. Northeast Region
 - A. New England Division
 - 1. Maine
 - 2. New Hampshire
 - 3. Vermont
 - 4. Massachusetts
 - 5. Rhode Island
 - 6. Connecticut
 - B. Middle Atlantic Division
 - 1. New York
 - 2. New Jersey
 - 3. Pennsylvania
- II. Midwest Region
 - A. East North Central Division
 - 1. Ohio
 - 2. Indiana
 - 3. Illinois
 - 4. Michigan
 - 5. Wisconsin
 - B. West North Central Division
 - 1. Minnesota
 - 2. Iowa
 - 3. Missouri
 - 4. N. Dakota
 - 5. S. Dakota
 - 6. Nebraska
 - 7. Kansas
- III. South Region
 - A. South Atlantic Division
 - 1. Delaware
 - 2. Maryland
 - 3. District of Columbia
 - 4. Virginia
 - 5. W. Virginia
 - 6. N. Carolina
 - 7. S. Carolina
 - 8. Georgia
 - 9. Florida
 - B. East South Central Division
 - 1. Kentucky
 - 2. Tennessee
 - 3. Alabama
 - 4. Mississippi
 - C. West South Central Division
 - 1. Arkansas
 - 2. Louisiana
 - 3. Oklahoma
 - 4. Texas

Appendix IX (cont.)

- IV. West Region
 - A. Mountain Division
 - 1. Montana
 - 2. Idaho
 - 3. Wyoming
 - 4. Colorado
 - 5. New Mexico
 - 6. Arizona
 - 7. Utah
 - 8. Nevada
 - B. Pacific Division
 - 1. Washington
 - 2. Oregon
 - 3. California
 - 4. Alaska
 - 5. Hawaii

Appendix X*

Population 5 years and over that speak English at home
(percentage rounded to the nearest tenth, based on 1990 U.S.
Census Bureau statistics of social and economic
characteristics)

<u>State</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Alabama	97.1	Montana	95.0
Alaska	87.9	Nebraska	95.2
Arizona	79.2	Nevada	86.8
Arkansas	97.2	New Hampshire	91.3
California	68.5	New Jersey	80.5
Colorado	89.5	New Mexico	64.5
Connecticut	84.8	New York	76.7
Delaware	93.1	N. Carolina	96.1
Florida	82.7	N. Dakota	92.1
Georgia	95.2	Ohio	94.6
Hawaii	75.2	Oklahoma	95.0
Idaho	93.6	Oregon	92.7
Illinois	85.8	Pennsylvania	92.7
Indiana	95.2	Rhode Island	83.0
Iowa	96.1	S. Carolina	96.5
Kansas	94.3	S. Dakota	93.5
Kentucky	97.5	Tennessee	97.1
Louisiana	89.9	Texas	74.6
Maine	90.8	Utah	92.2
Maryland	91.1	Vermont	94.2
Massachusetts	84.8	Virginia	92.7
Michigan	93.4	Washington	91.0
Minnesota	94.4	W. Virginia	97.4
Mississippi	97.2	Wisconsin	94.2
Missouri	96.2	Wyoming	94.3

*The intent is to show the percentage of the population that speaks a language other than English at home. Since one generally speaks one's native language at home, the Appendix is designed to establish the number of non-native English speakers according to state.

Appendix XI

The states according to percentage of native English speakers, 5 years and over (compiled from Appendix X)

Those with the highest percentage:

<u>State</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Kentucky	97.5*
W. Virginia	97.4
Arkansas	97.2*
Mississippi	97.2*
Alabama	97.1*
Tennessee	97.1*
S. Carolina	96.5*
Missouri	96.2
Iowa	96.1
N. Carolina	96.1*
Georgia	95.2*
Indiana	95.2*
Nebraska	95.2*
Montana	95.0
Oklahoma	95.0
Ohio	94.6
Minnesota	94.4
Kansas	94.3
Wyoming	94.3
Vermont	94.2
Wisconsin	94.2
Idaho	93.6
S. Dakota	93.5
Michigan	93.4
Delaware	93.1
Oregon	92.7
Pennsylvania	92.7
Virginia	92.7*
Utah	92.2
N. Dakota	92.1*
New Hampshire	91.3
Maryland	91.1
Washington	91.0
Maine	90.8

Those with the lowest percentage:

<u>State</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
New Mexico	64.5
California	68.5*
Texas	74.6
Hawaii	75.2*
New York	76.7
Arizona	79.2*
New Jersey	80.5
Florida	82.7*
Rhode Island	83.0
Connecticut	84.8
Massachusetts	84.8
Illinois	85.8*
Nevada	86.8
Alaska	87.9
Colorado	89.5*
Louisiana	89.9

*States with state English Language legislation

Appendix XII*

The states with English Language legislation, and the legislative body at the federal level during the year the legislation was passed (Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1981-1990).

<u>State</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Senate**</u>		<u>House**</u>	
		<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>
Alabama	1990	2	-	5	2
Arizona	1988	1	1	1	4
Arkansas	1987	2	-	3	1
California	1986	1	1	27	18
Colorado	1988	1	1	3	3
Florida	1988	2	-	12	7
Georgia	1986	1	1	8	2
Indiana	1984	-	2	6	4
Kentucky	1984	1	1	4	3
Mississippi	1987	1	1	4	1
N. Carolina	1987	1	1	8	3
N. Dakota	1987	2	-	1	-
S. Carolina	1987	1	1	4	2
Tennessee	1984	2	-	5	3
Virginia	1981	1 (Ind.)	1	1	9

*Hawaii, Illinois, Louisiana, and Nebraska have been omitted because their legislative action took place prior to 1980.

**vacancies and other parties are not included

Appendix XIII*

The states with English Language legislation, the political affiliation of the Governor and legislative body at the state level during the year legislation was passed (The Book of the States 1980-1991)

State	Year	Governor	Senate**		House**	
			Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
Alabama	1990	Republican	28	6	85	17
Arizona	1988	Democrat	11	19	24	36
Arkansas	1987	Democrat	31	4	91	9
California	1986	Republican	25	15	47	33
Colorado	1988	Democrat	10	25	25	40
Florida	1988	Republican	25	15	75	45
Georgia	1986	Democrat	47	9	154	26
Indiana	1984	Republican	18	22	43	57
Kentucky	1984	Democrat	28	10	76	24
Mississippi	1987	Democrat	49	3	116	6
N.Carolina	1987	Republican	38	12	82	38
N.Dakota	1987	Democrat	24	29	42	64
S.Carolina	1987	Democrat	36	10	96	27
Tennessee	1984	Republican	22	11	60	37
Virginia	1981	Republican	31	9	66+1	33

(Ind.)

*Hawaii, Illinois, Louisiana, and Nebraska have been omitted because their legislative action took place prior to 1980.

**vacancies and other parties are not included

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