Increasing American Bilingualism: Policies for Evidence-Based World Languages Education

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Abstract
The United States is undergoing a massive demographic and economic shift, and the global economy is increasingly competitive, interconnected and integrated. To stay competitive in this changing environment, the US must prioritize world languages education for all. Less than 20 percent of Americans are fluent in more than one language, and the current educational approach is inadequate to increase bilingualism to the level needed for global commerce and national security. A national world languages education policy is essential to incentivize world language education starting early and continuing through compulsory education. Funding should be allocated for teacher training and teaching assessments to ensure quality and effectiveness. Promising approaches, such as dual language immersion education and the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program, have been successful; however, a sustained and national world language education policy is essential for building a multilingual society.

Introduction
The US is undergoing dramatic change, both economically and demographically. At the same time, the global economy is becoming increasingly competitive, interconnected, interdependent and integrated (Breton, 1998; Fry & Lowell, 2003; Gambino, Acosta & Grieco, 2014). Less than 20 percent of Americans are fluent in more than one language, and this limited level of bilingualism in the American population compromises the nation’s global economic competitiveness, its national security and the ability of its citizens to communicate with each other (Duncan, 2010). The US lags far behind European countries in the level of bilingualism, and will fall further behind given the current attitudes regarding and approaches toward world language education. Studying, and developing fluency in, world languages is the key to the global understanding Americans must cultivate (Tochin, 2009). Drastic
changes are necessary to achieve the vision of Secretary of the Department of Education, Arne Duncan:

To prosper economically and to improve relations with other countries, Americans need to read, write and understand other languages. It’s absolutely essential for the citizens of the United States to become fluent in other languages — and schools, colleges and universities must include producing bilingual students as a central part of their mission. (2010)

This paper will first review economic and demographic changes in the US, and how those changes drive the need for increased bilingualism. Next is a brief review of the US population’s linguistic abilities and the current American approach to world language education. It is followed by a discussion of the benefits of learning additional languages. Then is a review of the sparse literature on employment outcomes for bilingual Americans, as well an examination of two areas of intense need for bilingual skills: healthcare and national security work. Two promising K-12 (kindergarten through twelfth grade) approaches for broadly expanding the level of bilingual proficiency are highlighted – dual language immersion education and the International Baccalaureate Diploma program. The paper concludes with a set of policy recommendations to move the nation toward the goal of a multilingual society.

**Changes in American Demographics**

The US population is rapidly diversifying. According to the US Census, the foreign-born population has exploded in recent decades – from 14.1 million people over age 5, in 1980, to 40.6 million in 2012 (Gambino, Acosta & Grieco, 2014). Within this group, the vast majority do not speak English at home, and their numbers are increasing – 85 percent speak another language at home, up from 70 percent in 1980. Fully half of them, more than 20 million people, have limited English proficiency (LEP) and over four million LEP people speak no English at all. In order to provide goods and services to the growing LEP population, the demand for bilingual employees will increase, likely resulting in wage premiums and enhanced employability for people who are proficient in both English and another language (Coomer, 2011).

**Globalization of the Economy**

Business is rapidly becoming more global and interconnected. With the proliferation of the Internet, businesses now operate in an increasingly integrated world economy that allows people to easily interact, virtually and instantaneously, from
anywhere in the world (Breton, 1998). The speed and scope of globalization shows no signs of slowing, and American organizations will need to adapt by increasing the languages spoken by their staff to remain competitive in the global marketplace (Breton; Fry & Lowell, 2003; Saiz & Zoido, 2002). Though English is one of the international languages of business, the vast majority of people in the world – 85 percent – do not speak English (Tochon, 2009).

In order to maximize the efficiency of worldwide export business, as well as to cater to LEP communities within the US, bilingual staffs are essential (Fry & Lowell, 2003; Saiz & Zoido, 2002). Internal linguistic and cultural competence with respect to an organizations’ target communities is a competitive advantage, and an American workforce with these market-driven skills is a strategic economic asset for the US (Saiz & Zoido; Wiley, Moore & Fee, 2012). Linguistic development is also essential to support US strategic and economic interests to prepare multilingual diplomats, foreign policy analysts and military leaders (Duncan, 2010). As businesses continue to expand internationally, and as technology puts more employees in direct contact with suppliers, customers and colleagues across the world, monolingu al speakers are facing increasing disadvantages in the domestic and international job market (Tochon).

While a multilingual staff confers a competitive business advantage, the lack of such linguistic ability actually hurts the bottom line. In the United Kingdom, the underinvestment in building language skills in the population costs businesses the equivalent of more than a three-and-a-half percent tax on British exports (Dulfano, 2013). Dulfano also described a European Commission study, which found similar results: Poor language skills across Europe resulted in lost contracts for 11 percent of small- and medium-sized businesses. A 2002 survey of large US corporations found that 30 percent were unable to take full advantage of opportunities due to employees’ insufficient international skills; 80 percent believed they would have had higher sales with a more internationally competent staff (Wiley, Moore & Fee, 2012).

Conducting business in countries and communities where English is not spoken is more costly and less efficient and effective without in-house skills, since translation and interpretation services are expensive and are of varying quality (Breton, 1998; Dulfano, 2013). Importantly, using the same language when conducting business diminishes psychological distances between parties, a key to forming business relationships (Dulfano).
Language Learning in the US

The United States population lags behind other countries in bilingualism. More than half of Europeans, 53 percent, speak a language in addition to English (Duncan, 2010). As previously mentioned, even this level is too low and businesses are suffering due to insufficient language skills (Dulfano, 2013). In the US, only 18 percent of adults speak a language in addition to English (Duncan).

This gap between the US and other nations begins in early education. The availability of world language classes is on the decline (Duncan, 2010). Significantly fewer elementary and middle schools offer a world language than ten years ago (Wiley, Moore & Fee, 2012). Lack of access is an equity issue; minority, low-income and rural students earn, and have access to, fewer credits in world languages (Duncan; NEA Research, 2007). Only ten states require world language study – not proficiency – as a graduation requirement, which leaves it as an optional elective across most of the nation (Duncan; Wiley, Moore & Fee). As a result, just 51 percent of public middle school students, and only 20 percent of high school students study a world language (NEA Research; Wiley, Moore & Fee). The access problem is further compounded by the shortage of world language teachers. Seventy-five percent of states reported shortages of teachers for world languages in the 2007–2008 school year, and teacher preparation programs are not meeting the demand for instructors (Duncan).

Among students who do study a world language, there is a troubling lack of diversity in languages learned. Spanish is the most commonly studied language in the US by far, with 72 percent of all K-12 world language enrollment (Wiley, Moore & Fee, 2012). While Latin America has a growing global market share and there are 500 million Spanish speakers worldwide – including millions in the US – China will soon be the world’s largest economy and Mandarin Chinese is the most commonly spoken language today (de la Garza, Cortina & Pinto, 2008; Wiley, Moore & Fee). Despite this fact, only four percent of high schools offer Mandarin Chinese courses (Wiley, Moore & Fee). The same trend occurs at the postsecondary level – 95 percent of college students studying a world language choose a European language, and less than one percent select a language the US Department of Defense deems critical for national security – such as Arabic, Urdu or Dari (National Security Education Program [NSEP], n. d.; Duncan, 2010).

The time spent interacting with a language is important; the standard US format – 30-60 minutes per week in elementary school, 300 hours across two years in high school – is woefully inadequate to achieve proficiency (NEA Research, 2007). Further...
In a dramatically different approach from the US, all member states of the European Union (EU) require world language study, and all but two mandate it throughout all the years of compulsory education (NEA Research; Tochon, 2009). This approach allows most European students to achieve communicative competency in two or three additional languages (Tochon). The vast majority of high-income countries begin world language education earlier than the US (early in elementary school), mandate it, and assess it regularly along with other core subjects (Klee, Lynch & Tarone, 1998; Wiley, Moore & Fee).

**Benefits of Bilingualism**

Research has demonstrated myriad cognitive and educational benefits from developing bilingual abilities (Dulfano, 2013; Kim, 2013). The process of building and maintaining additional language fluency results in enhanced communication, cooperation, empathy, problem-solving, and negotiation skills, as well as stronger mathematics and language arts capabilities (Dulfano; NEA Research, 2007). Additional skills central to effective cross-cultural communication, including global understanding and intercultural sensitivity are also fostered (Dulfano; Kim). Bilingualism actually changes the brain, creating larger language processing areas and greater adaptability (Tochon, 2009; Dulfano). The earlier bilingualism develops, the larger the language processing area becomes (Tochon).

Early childhood is the best time to commence learning an additional language (NEA Research, 2007; Tochon, 2009). Language acquisition that begins at four to six years old is characterized by fluency in adulthood with few grammatical errors, as well as flawless control over accent, pronunciation, and rhythm; young children are readily able to learn additional languages with native proficiency (Tochon). During early childhood, children's brains are very malleable. They are exquisitely responsive to experience, and a child's brain easily creates new and strengthens existing neural circuits with early world language education (NEA Research; Tochon). Without this exposure, existing pathways are eliminated, and the ease of recreating those pathways becomes more difficult as people age (NEA Research; Tochon).

Bilingualism confers three major areas of advantage: (1) higher academic achievement in both languages and other subjects; (2) cognitive benefits reflected in higher IQ scores, and (3) positive attitudes and beliefs about language learning and other cultures (Tochon, 2009). Specifically, bilingual children develop a sense of cultural
pluralism – an openness to and appreciation of other cultures – as well as an improved self-concept and sense of achievement at school (Tochon).

Employment Benefits of Bilingualism

Summary of the Literature. There is a dearth of research on the employment benefits for bilingual employees in the US, but it is logical to expect the many benefits of bilingualism would extend to employment outcomes (Kim, 2013). Currently, most research has focused on wages for US immigrants once they become fluent in English compared to their counterparts who do not gain fluency (Kim; Saiz & Zoido, 2002). The few studies that have investigated bilingualism in native English speakers are based on generic survey data, and the only outcome evaluated was wage premium. The results on wage premiums for bilingual abilities have been mixed, with some studies finding a positive benefit, and others finding none or even a wage penalty (Kim).

International research has shown a positive relationship between earnings and bilingualism in multilingual and multicultural settings, such as Quebec, Canada (Kim, 2013). This relationship has been documented in the EU as well, with higher returns for positions in management or business services (Kim). Two recent US studies also found positive relationships between wages and bilingualism (Kim; Saiz & Zoido, 2002). In one, a representative sample of recent bilingual college graduates earned a modest but significant wage premium of between two and three percent (Saiz & Zoido). Kim’s study focused on second-generation Korean-Americans, over half of whom worked in managerial or professional positions. Within this group, bilingual employees earned a 17-25 percent wage premium over their monolingual counterparts. In a study of second-generation Latino immigrants, those who were bilingual made $2000-3200 more per year than their limited Spanish, English-dominant peers (de la Garza, Cortina & Pinto, 2008).

Industry Highlight: Healthcare

Differences in language between the care team and the patient and family are a major barrier to high-quality healthcare (Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality [AHRQ], 2012). Linguistic barriers reinforce and extend health inequities through substantial decreases in the quality of care, patient safety, and patient satisfaction (AHRQ, 2012). Both the Joint Commission on the Accreditation of Healthcare Organizations and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act mandate language services for LEP patients, including the use of interpreters (at high cost, as well as variable quality and efficiency) and/or bilingual staff (Kalist, 2005). Given the potential risks to the health of LEP patients, there are imperatives, both legal and ethical, to take steps to
dramatically increase the language abilities of healthcare workers.

There is limited evidence that bilingual nurses earn a wage premium for this ability. Despite the risks to LEP patients attributable to widespread monolingualism in healthcare, just nine percent of nurses speak a language in addition to English, and a third of these bilingual nurses speak Spanish (Coomer, 2011). Three studies have been completed that analyze wage premiums for bilingual (Spanish and English) nurses, compared to monolingual nurses (Coombs & Cebula, 2010; Coomer; Kalist, 2005). Two (Coomer; Kalist) found a five- to 11-percent wage premium for bilingual nurses, while the third study (Coombs & Cebula) had mixed results.

There is mounting pressure to reduce the health inequities in LEP communities that result from compromised care in predominantly monolingual healthcare systems. Providing language-concordant healthcare to the growing number of LEP patients requires significantly more bilingual healthcare staff (Kalist, 2005). In addition, as nurses continue to expand their roles as client advocates and educators, bilingualism will be increasingly valued (Coombs & Cebula, 2010).

**Limitations of the Literature**

There are several limitations in the current literature. Because it is predominantly made up of analyses of previously-collected survey data, the results are not very nuanced, and many factors have not been sufficiently explored (Kalist, 2005; Kim, 2013). Gender, geographic location, race, ethnicity, occupation, work setting and specific job duties each affect wages (Kalist; Kim). Indeed, in the studies of wage premiums for bilingual nurses, differences based on these factors emerged (Coombs & Cebula, 2010; Kalist). Kalist found significant variation in the amount of wage premium for bilingual ability: Women earned eight percent less than men, rural nurses earned seven percent less than urban, and hospital-based nurses earned between four and 15 percent more than nurses in any other setting. Coombs and Cebula found non-Latino bilingual nurses earned a wage premium, while Latino bilingual nurses did not. Researchers have not yet uncovered the reason(s) for these differences. It may be due to supply-demand issues (in the case of Latino nurses living in an area with many bilingual Latinos) or employment discrimination based on gender or race/ethnicity (Coombs & Cebula; Kim).

Cultural expertise and linguistic skills are urgently needed to address economic challenges, strengthen the position of US businesses in the global marketplace, and enhance various professions’ ability to respond to a changing world, as well as an increasingly diverse US population (NEA Research, 2007). Americans’ pervasive
lack of knowledge about world cultures and languages threatens not only global competitiveness, but also the ability to deliver safe healthcare and protect national security (NEA Research).

**Industry Highlight: National Security**

Agencies involved with foreign affairs, such as nongovernmental organizations and governmental bodies (such as the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]), are in desperate need of bilingual employees (Duncan, 2010; NSEP, n.d.; Saiz & Zoido, 2002). The CIA consistently struggles with recruiting adequate numbers of bilingual staff, and in 2010 set the goal to double its bilingual staff within five years (Duncan).

In order to support national security efforts, a major federal initiative, the National Security Education Program (NSEP), was developed (NSEP, n.d.). The NSEP is made up of nine fellowships and other programs designed to build a broader and more qualified pool of Americans who possess both world language and international skills. The primary focus is on the less commonly-taught languages that are essential to economic and strategic interests. Even with the NSEP, however, the need for bilingual personnel knowledgeable in foreign affairs and national security work far outstrips the supply (Duncan, 2010). The need for bilingual personnel puts significant pressure on state and federal budgets to invest in world language education (Dulfano, 2013).

**Approaches to Develop Widespread World Languages Proficiency**

Two promising approaches for developing widespread bilingualism are two-way, dual language immersion programs beginning in elementary school and the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program in high school. Each program has the explicit goal of developing fluency in a second language, a global understanding and cultural competency.

**Two-way, Dual language Immersion**

Two-way, dual language immersion programs deliver other core content (e.g. mathematics) in the non-English language, rather than simply learning about the language for short periods several times a week, as in the typical American approach (Tochon, 2009). Immersion programs have received attention since the 1960s as one of the most effective approaches for second language acquisition in children, creating higher levels of proficiency than other types of programs (Tochon). In fact, many studies have confirmed this as an excellent approach for all
Two-way, dual language immersion programs begin in preschool, kindergarten or first grade for English-dominant students. Native speakers of the non-English immersion language, however, are able to enter the program at later grades (Alanis & Rodriguez, 2008). These programs require a balance of English-dominant and other language-dominant students, ideally half of each group, and no less than a third of the class from either. This is the critical balance for the success of immersion learning. Each group serves as a linguistic resource and model for the other, and provides real demonstrations of language use in a variety of contexts, as well as opportunities for extensive practice with the target language (Alanis & Rodriguez).

Several principles of effective, high-quality programs have been outlined in the literature (Alanis & Rodriguez, 2008; Collier & Thomas, 2004; Tochon, 2009). A central feature of two-way, dual language immersion programs is the use of the non-English language no less than half of the instructional time, and up to 90 percent of the time in earlier grades (Collier & Thomas). In addition, the following foundational elements are necessary (Collier & Thomas):

- Minimum of six years of bilingual instruction, with a blend of English-dominant and other language-dominant students,
- Focus on core academic curriculum,
- High-quality language arts instruction in both languages, which are integrated into thematic units,
- Separation of each language, with no translation or repeated lessons in the other language,
- Use of collaborative and interactive teaching strategies, and
- Specialized teacher training on the key principles of the two-way, dual language immersion approach.

The Seattle Public School District has several immersion programs in elementary schools. Setting up these programs provides a unique opportunity for collaboration with local area businesses to guide program development (Wallis & Steptoe, 2006). When John Stanford International Elementary School was exploring language offerings, the principal surveyed 1,500 business leaders and learned that Spanish, Mandarin and Japanese were the most in-demand languages (Wallis & Steptoe). The results not only reinforced the need for bilingual and globally-oriented education, but also revealed a demand for the development of skills in other disciplines, such as technology (Wallis & Steptoe).
**Program Outcomes**

Students in immersion programs consistently demonstrate positive effects on both first- and second-language skills – even when the second-language is used during 90 percent of the instructional time (Alanís & Rodríguez, 2008). Immersion students outperform non-immersion peers on measures of mathematics, as well as English reading and writing (Alanís & Rodríguez). Research also shows that the length of time spent in a dual language program is positively correlated with academic achievement (Alanís & Rodríguez).

**Equity**

Two-way dual language immersion programs support social justice and equity (Alanís & Rodríguez, 2008; Tochon, 2009). Rather than the typical remedial approach to LEP students – segregating them into separate classrooms and offering “watered down” instruction – immersion programs take a very different approach (Alanís & Rodríguez). LEP students are empowered through mainstream curricular content, taught in their native language and in the company of their English-dominant peers (Alanís & Rodríguez). This is not only critical in terms of equity in education, but also improves educational gains and outcomes, which confers benefits at the societal level as well.

**International Baccalaureate Diploma Programs**

The evidence-based International Baccalaureate Diploma Program (IB) was developed by a nonprofit organization in 1968 (International Baccalaureate [IB], n.d.). IB programs are in 1,400 US schools and 147 countries across the world. The IB can continue the linguistic training of immersion programs (though previous language courses are not a requirement), and builds upon it with the additional foci of international-mindedness and intercultural competence.

The IB is designed for 16 to 19-year-old high school students and consists of an academically rigorous two-year program. All coursework is studied through an international perspective. Students enroll in courses from five core areas for the duration of their final two years in high school: (1) language and literature, (2) language acquisition, (3) sciences, (4) individuals and societies, and (5) mathematics. Students select a sixth core area to study: visual arts, finance/economics, or an approved elective. At the end of the program, students take written and oral examinations to demonstrate competency in each subject, including a world language.

In addition to coursework and exams, students also study three central areas to broaden their viewpoints on academic, social and aesthetic issues, through applied
learning. The Creativity, Action and Service requirement is a 150-hour service project that further develops the student’s skills as a global citizen. The Theory of Knowledge requirement consists of an interdisciplinary year-long course, which analyzes how different domains of study establish accepted knowledge. This requirement also includes an externally assessed essay, which is evaluated by the IB organization. The final requirement is the Extended Essay, a 4,000-word research paper on a topic related to one or two of the six core areas.

Upon completion of the IB diploma program, students earn the International Baccalaureate certification. This certification satisfies entrance requirements for hundreds of domestic and international universities; many institutions also award up to two years of college-level credits for IB courses.

Program Outcomes
Surprisingly little research has been conducted on academic or employment outcomes for IB graduates (Bunnell, 2008). In one study comparing IB and matched students in Chicago, IB graduates reported feeling academically prepared to succeed and excel in postsecondary work (Coca, et al., 2012). They were also 40 percent more likely to attend a four-year college and 50 percent more likely to attend a selective school (Coca, et al.).

Policy Recommendations
Since responsibility for education is at the state level, there is no federal world-language education policy (Klee, Lynch & Tarone, 1998). Currently, most decisions about world-language teaching and learning are made at the local school district level. As a result, access to, priorities for, and the quality of world language programs are inconsistent (Klee, Lynch & Tarone). The lack of a nationwide guiding policy is a major impediment to achieving broad bilingualism in the US. The recent adoption of the Common Core standards suggests that the federal government may be poised to begin taking a more active role in guiding the linguistic education of the nation’s children.

The fundamental goal for a national policy would be to support and incentivize universal world language education, starting at the elementary level and continuing throughout compulsory education. Further, demonstration of proficiency in a second language as a high-school graduation requirement should be strongly encouraged (Saiz & Zoido, 2002). States and local school districts should be empowered to adapt programs to meet the area needs through collaboration with local language communities and businesses.
National World Language Education Policy:

Funding

A comprehensive model for federal world language funding is offered by Wiley, More, and Fee (2012). They propose a “Language for Jobs” initiative, a collaboration among federal Commerce, Labor, State, and Defense departments, and spearheaded by the Department of Education. They advocate funding on par with the National Security Education Program ($100 million annually) to invest in world-language skill development in order to support the nation’s economic competitiveness. Interagency resource sharing, as well as collaboration on goals, outreach and implementation, strengthen this approach.

National World Language Education Policy:

Teachers and Teacher Training

Additional responsibilities in the Language for Jobs initiative include funding for teacher training. As previously discussed, there is a significant shortage of qualified world language teachers. Teaching world languages in an immersion context requires additional specialized training to develop new skills. The dramatically increased supply of teachers needed to accomplish a “world language for all,” requires a significant investment at the federal level for the education of new teachers and immersion training for current teachers.

National World Language Education Policy:

Accountability and Evaluation

The Department of Education, under Language for Jobs, should also develop a set of world language education accountability measures for teachers and programs. All world language programs receiving federal funding should be required to demonstrate adequate student skill progression. Teaching quality and learning progress assessments should mirror those of the other core subjects—mathematics, reading and the sciences. Ideally, the assessment process should also address continuity during school transitions. Currently, without any standardized, widely-implemented assessment tool, students often must restart their studies in new classes after transitioning from elementary to middle school or middle to high school. Consistent assessment of progression in language acquisition will facilitate continuity across these transitions and avoid undermining student motivation and wasting instructional time on mastered content (Tochon, 2009).

Specific quality metrics are essential to elevate language learning to the level of other core subjects. Without this accountability, the influence of other standardized
testing and the desire to transition LEP students to English quickly can sabotage the quality of immersion programs (Alanís & Rodríguez, 2008).

**National World Language Education Policy: Equity**

Under this initiative, the Department of Education would also develop and promote world language immersion programs nationwide, leveraging the nation’s existing heritage language speakers (US residents whose native language is not English) to do so. Heritage language speakers are a large, untapped resource for immersion programs. Proficiency in heritage languages is often lost between the second and third generation in the US, but participation in immersion programs not only helps maintain heritage languages, it also honors them by utilizing speakers for classroom language practice. This is especially important given the historical practice of quickly moving LEP students to English-only proficiency rather than developing bilingualism and biculturalism (Dulfano).

World language education, begun in the early school years, also reduces several educational inequities. Minority and low-income students lag behind their white and higher-income peers in their linguistic, cultural and geographical knowledge and benefit greatly from globally-focused world language education (Duncan; NEA Research). Students of color and LEP and low-income students experience the greatest gains from early exposure to additional languages (NEA Research, 2007). As a result, early world language education narrows achievement gaps and supports educational attainment. (NEA Research).

**Conclusion**

In an increasingly connected and integrated world, fluency in world languages is critical for the US population. Predominant monolingualism and the lack of global knowledge disadvantages the US in global competitiveness and national security. It disadvantages individual Americans in job competitiveness and earnings. It hurts the bottom line of American businesses as well as compromises the health and safety of a large and growing segment of American society. While promising approaches exist for developing young students’ fluency in world languages, coordinated and sustained national educational policies are required to achieve a predominantly bilingual nation with the international knowledge and skills required to support US global economic competitiveness and national security. These policies will likewise enhance communication and collaboration with peoples around the world.
The next step toward building national standards and support for widespread world language proficiency is to look to the states that have begun the process. As of 2014, Utah had 118 active elementary- and middle-school dual language immersion programs, with the goal of making immersion programs universal throughout the Utah public school system (Utah Dual Language Immersion, n.d). The effort in Utah is ongoing. A recent senate bill, which did not pass the house, would have mandated proficiency in a world language as a graduation requirement (Utah State Legislature, 2015). As with many federal policies (e.g. the Affordable Care Act), work begins in the states. Utah provides a model to evaluate evolving best practices and areas where further refinement is necessary. Successes and lessons learned from Utah and other states’ implementation of widespread, evidence-based language programs, will lead the way for developing a national policy toward education that builds a multilingual society.

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