Thinking of the World:

Examining the growing popularity of French Immersion in the United States

Jensen Edwards Communications Specialist - Summer Student

Canadian Parents for French, British Columbia & Yukon Branch

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Executive Summary

From Finlandⁱ, down to Australiaⁱⁱ and New Zealandⁱⁱⁱ, and back to our neighbours in the USA^{iv}, the international demand for multilingual education is booming.

The surge in popularity of second language learning is credited to the unavoidable global nature of today's economy, and the ensuing necessity for transnational communications. Perhaps not surprisingly then, Canada, given its predisposition to bilingualism, is and has been leading the charge for quality second language learning for over 40 years. Since Canada's first French immersion class emerged in 1965 in St. Lambert, Quebec, v educators and governments from around the world have researched and replicated our immersion model to teach a variety of languages to hundreds of thousands of students worldwide. Yet despite carrying such weight, Canada's impact in shaping language education programs globally is not well understood, nor well recognized.

The United States in particular has taken a liking to our programs, implementing variations of the Canadian model in places like New York City and New Orleans, Salt Lake City and San Diego, Hawaii and Alaska. Immersion programs across the US have been multiplying exponentially over the past 3 decades, amounting to, as of July 2014, **1032** programs being taught in over 20 languages. Furthermore, full and partial immersion programs have nearly doubled, sustaining a **95% increase since 2006**. Vi Spanish is by far the most popular immersion program (684 programs); French, interestingly is the second most popular program (126 programs); followed by Mandarin (97 programs).

This report focuses on the adoption of the immersion program in the United States. Examined are: the initiatives for immersion in America, the various structures immersion can take and the popularity of the education style. Further, this report looks particularly at French immersion in the United States and its growth.

While demand for all language immersion programs is on the rise across the US, the demand for French immersion appears particularly profound. There are reported waiting lists for French immersion in: Montgomery County, Maryland; Gwinnett County, Georgia; Louisiana; Portland, Oregon; New York City; Fairfax County, Virginia; Boston, Massachusetts, and many other districts across the country.

A French Ambassador to Canada once said that French, for English speaking Canadians, is the language of ambition. From our discussions with educators and

parents in the United States it appears that French, for English speaking Americans, is the language of global opportunity and international mobility.

Immersion in the United States

Immersion programs in the United States, while following the Canadian model's philosophy of linguistic and cultural immersion, are generally found to be formatted in one of three ways:

Total/Full Immersion – Programs in which all or almost all subjects taught in the lower grades (k-2) are taught in the foreign language; instruction in English usually increases in the upper grades (3-6) to 20%-50%, depending on the program.

Partial Immersion – Programs in which up to 50% of subjects are taught in the foreign language; in some programs, the material taught in the foreign language in reinforced in English.

Two-Way [Dual] Immersion –Programs that give equal emphasis to English and a non-English language and in which one to two thirds of the students are native speakers of the non-English language, with the remainder being native speakers of English.vii (CAL)

Two-way, TWI, or Dual immersion programs were once hotly debated in the United States because of what some argued to be a system that unfairly benefits the non-English native speakers. Staunch opponents continue to argue that in America, English fluency ought to be the first priority of educators, and to delay teaching would English

1.1 - States with Most Language Immersion Programs in USA ^{viii}			
State	Percentage	Total	
California	18.1%	187	
Texas	7.3%	75	
Utah*	5.9%	61	
Minnesota	5.5%	57	
Oregon	5.1%	53	

Source: Center for Applied Linguistics (2014) *According to a Utah State source, Utah had 92 programs as of Sept. 2013.ixThis discrepancy is indicative of the self-reported nature of CAL's directory.

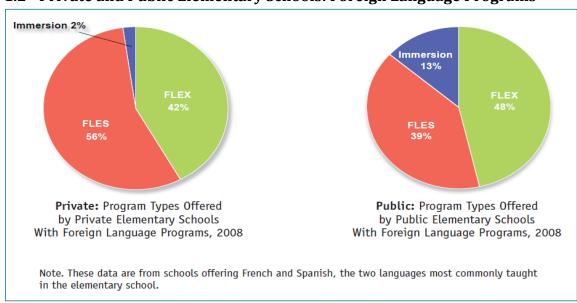
detrimental to the student's education, and the school's coffers. However, with opposition subsiding, TWI programs are rapidly gaining popularity in states with high Latin-American immigrant populations such as California, where 126 of its 187 immersion programs are Spanish TWI.* They are so popular in fact, that according to Professor Alejandra Favela of the Lewis & Clarke Graduate school of Education, "[TWI] is the fastest growing trend in [American] schools."xi

While Canadian influence permeates all three models, it is most apparent in the total/full immersion model, which is structurally based off of the successful Canadian program. It is so successful in fact that the Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition observes that "students from full immersion [Canadian-based] programs are generally more proficient in reading, writing, listening, and speaking the second language than those from partial immersion programs;" that said, they go on to say that in a well developed partial immersion program, children can acquire "skills most similar to those of full immersion students." xii

While some argue that immersion is an elitist program, according to the Center for Applied Linguistics, immersion programs in the United States for the elementary grades are in fact more popular in free public schools than in tuition-based private schools; and when the relatively few private schools that offer French immersion are charging upwards of \$24,000 for one year of immersion education, this is welcome news to many parents seeking immersion programs within their means.

There are many initiatives being taken by public school decision makers to make foreign language learning accessible, such as the creation of magnet schools—schools in a district which offer specialized programming and transportation for students outside the neighbourhood catchment areas, xiv as well as charter schools—public schools that are independently run on the basis of a proposal that its board of directors put forth to the school board, which generally focus on specialized programming.xv Both types of schools try to provide transportation for out-of-neighbourhood boundary students.

1.2 - Private and Public Elementary Schools: Foreign Language Programs



Source: Center for Applied Linguistics (2011)

Note: Other popular forms of language education in the United States (as seen in table 1.2) are:

Foreign Language In Elementary Schools (FLES)

- 5-15% of classtime – k-6

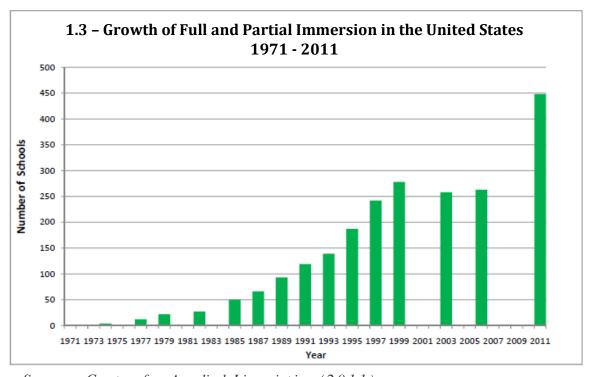
Goals: To acquire proficiency in listening and speaking, an understanding of and appreciation for other cultures, and some proficiency in reading and writing. xvi

Foreign Language Exploration (FLEX)

- 1-5% of classtime – K-6.

Goals: To develop an interest in foreign languages for future language study, learn basic words and phrases in one or more foreign languages, develop careful listening skills, and a cultural and linguistic awareness.**

There is no general demographic that gravitates towards immersion education in the United States. Two-way immersion draws from English and other language speakers alike, and is often freely accessible through the public school system (as seen above). Immersion programs draw from a wide span of socio-economic backgrounds, thanks to their lottery-style acceptance systems.



Source: Center for Applied Linguistics (2011)

In General, immersion programs in America have been booming as of late, as Table 1.3^{xviii} (above) demonstrates. The graph shows the growth of full and partial

immersion (no TWI included) in the USA between 1971 and 2011. The spike seen between years 2006 and 2011 could be partially attributed to *The National Security Languages Initiative*, a 2006 Federal Government implementation that focused on foreign language education.xix

The initiative set out to "develop a comprehensive national plan to expand U.S. foreign language education beginning in early childhood and continuing throughout formal schooling and into the workforce, with new programs and resources." The push, spurred by then-President George W. Bush, aimed to develop a globally-conscious generation (that) would be able to apply their language skills in business, international relations, and national security. *xxi

Having set out to achieve ambitious goals, "the program [was] redesigned to target critical needs languages and replicate the spread of innovative foreign language programs"—such as the Canadian model—"in critical needs languages."xxii

While much of the money allocated to the program went towards post-secondary education, xxiii there is no doubt that this development pushed foreign language education to the forefront of grade-school educators' priority lists as well.

Another significant contributor to the recent surge would be the immersion streams recently founded in Utah. Since their State Senate Bill 41 passed in 2008, declaring bilingual education a necessity for producing globallyconscious citizens, Utah has added 50 programs to their public schools

1.4 - U.S. Top 5 Immersion Programs ^{xxiv}				
Language	# of Programs	% of Total		
Spanish	684	66.3%		
French	126	12.2%		
Mandarin	97	9.4%		
Japanese	35	3.4%		
Hawaiian	34	3.3%		

Source: Center for Applied Linguistics (2014)

alone since 2008, propelling them from 12th-place amongst states with immersion programs, to first (not counting two-way immersion programs).^{xxv} Utah's immersion programs have become the envy of educators across the country, as well as willing model for those who wish to share in its successes.^{xxvi} Minnesota has also encouraged foreign language education in with their laws, while California, having passed in 1998^{xxvii} a law that crippled bilingual education, is now embracing the concept.

Note: The Center for Applied Linguistics builds its directories and statistics with a reliance on schools' self-reporting. Therefore, all statistics gleaned by CAL may not perfectly reflect the actual numbers. Furthermore, private schools are potentially under-represented in CAL's numbers.

The Reported Benefits

Research shows that "bilinguals demonstrate more mental flexibility and perform better on tasks requiring mental manipulation." In addition, bilinguals have been shown to "answer open-ended questions more feely than monolinguals." XXIX

Administrators are predicting cohorts of high-achieving students to go through their programs: Jon Valentine, Director of Foreign Languages for Gwinnett County Public schools says that his district is "hoping to see many [immersion students] taking the AP test by ninth grade," and going on to "complete college minors by the time they finish high school."xxx

Research has also shown the following cognitive and developmental benefits for youth learning an additional language:

- Developed listening skills, focus and concentration;
- Learn organization, self-discipline and resourcefulness;
- Increased cognitive abilities to understand complex and abstract concepts;
- Enhanced their ability to communicate in their first language;
- Ability to acquire a third or fourth language much more easily;
- Strengthened problem-solving skills.xxxi xxxii

Benefits are seen beyond the academic sphere as well: "through exposure to cultural differences [immersion students] may become more respectful of differences between people and their cultures,"xxxiii a trait that Gwinnett County's report says "will ultimately make them valuable in a global workforce."xxxiv "It's the way the world is moving," says Colorado Springs mother Tracy Aung, "[immersion] opens up the whole world to [the students]."xxxv

Waiting Lists for Immersion

The demand for immersion programs in the United States is making headlines in many states: when 400 students are put on a waitlist at a school like Chula Vista Learning Community Charter School, a San Diego elementary school that teaches Spanish, English, and Mandarin immersion classes, heads start to turn.xxxvi

Waiting lists are not unique to Chula Vista either. Parents all over the United States are seeking ways to circumvent the lengthy line-ups to get their children into an immersion program.

For instance, in 2012 Colorado's Durango Herald reported that there was "a waiting list at all 29 of [Louisiana's] public French immersion programs;"xxxviii and as of March 2014, Louisiana boasts an exorbitant waiting list of over 500 students, with many more whose parents "simply give up when they hear there is a waiting list."xxxviiii

Furthermore, last year twelve students were put on a waiting list for entry into a rare K-12 French immersion program in Boston, while parents in Montgomery County, Maryland were "out of luck" with wait lists "a mile long [at least 328 students – 2014]. To avoid this waitlist, one parent even suggested: "I might actually move into [a neighbouring county] if I could get my daughters into a French Immersion program. Parent in Virginia, Fairfax County's waiting lists for all 11 of their programs (1 French) make up roughly 60% of all original applicants.

Further south in Gwinnett County, Georgia, three new dual-language immersion programs (two Spanish, one French), are being introduced this fall 2014, and already there is a waiting list for the French program. Elsewhere the desire for French immersion has parents in Edina, Minnesota panicking 3 years ahead of registration—a parent of a two-year old was encouraged by a sympathetic blog commenter to "start talking to the school [immediately]!"xliv because most French immersion programs would be full by the time their child was ready for kindergarten. Further, because of high demand, all four of Park City, Utah's elementary schools now offer immersion programs (2 French): "since the program was first introduced [to Park City], the number of students enrolling and the number of students on the waitlist has increased."xlv

Meanwhile on the West Coast, waiting lists have been the norm at Oregon's Canby's Trost Elementary since immersion's inception there, 7 years ago, as well as at other schools in the state. xlvi Elsewhere, Colorado has had 4 charter schools open immersion programs since 2006, which now teach over 2,000 students French (waitlist 2014), Mandarin, Spanish or German. xlvii

Note: See appendix I for school board contacts in counties with immersion.

French Immersion

It would seem intuitive that the United States would default to having Spanish immersion programs, given their significant population of Hispanic-Americans, xlviii but this is not necessarily the case.

Durango Herald reporter Stacey Plaisance writes of Louisiana's immersion programs: "demand for Spanish language education remains strong, both for local use and as a language of inter-American commerce;" continuing, "but even some Spanish-speakers are seeking French-language education for their children."xlix

Spanish immersion continues to be America's most popular language immersion program, while French immersion is the nation's second-most popular immersion program.

1.5 - French Immersion Programs in USA			
Year	2007	2014	
Total #: Immersion Programs	310	591	
% of Total: FI Programs	29%	20%	
Total #: FI Programs	90	119	

Source: Center for Applied Linguistics
*Data does not include two-way immersion

New York in particular has been a hotbed of French immersion growth, expanding from 24 students in 2007, to over 1,200 today.

Collaboration between

multiple partners of different socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds, from government agencies to parent organizations, have motivated this transformation in the French English bilingual education landscape in New York.

Working with parents and schools, education attaché Dr. Fabrice Jaumont from the French Embassy's Cultural Service has helped New York get its immersion program off the ground, investing much of his energy into promotion their

1.6 - States with Most French Immersion Programs				
State	Percentage	Total		
Louisiana	45.9%	17 (37)		
Maryland	42.3%	11 (26)		
Massachusetts	33.3%	9 (27)		
Minnesota	12.2%	7 (57)		
Utah	11.5%	7 (61)		

Source: Center for Applied Linguistics (2014)
*This table accounts for all full, partial, and two-way immersion programs in CAL's directory.

planning, as well as putting together a campaign that hopes to raise \$2.8 million dollars to put towards bilingual education in New York City's public schools. Jaumont helps connect interested parents with decision makers, to provide them the sway they need to get French immersion programs in their local schools. That said, location does not hinder some parents, explains Léa Joly-Sloan—a mother who worked with Jaumont to bring French immersion to New York City in 2007: she knows parents who have moved simply to fall within a French immersion school's catchment area.

This transformation in New York's language education landscape has been dubbed by Jaumont and Ross a virtual 'French Bilingual Revolution'. Iiv

Elsewhere, Louisiana's Council for the Development of French in Louisiana reports impressive growth in that state's K-8 FI enrollment as well, seeing it grow from 3,453 students in 2011-2012 to over 4,000 students as of 2013-2014.

As table 1.5 demonstrates, there is a steady expansion of French Immersion in the US. Therefore the likely explanation for the decrease in percentage could come from the sudden surge of Mandarin Immersion programs. Between 2007 and 2014, Mandarin grew from 3.9% of full and partial immersion programs, to 17%.\(^{\mathbf{Ivi}}\) *These numbers do not include two-way immersion.

French does not intuitively seem the second language choice for many Americans. After all, the overall native French speaking population, roughly 2.1 million—0.7% of the total American population over five years of age, makes up a relatively small proportion of the general population in comparison to Spanish speakers, who total 37.6 million—12.9% of the total American population over 5 years of age. Viii French education programs—immersion, afterschool courses, and pre-k, are present in over 31 states we well as Washington, D.C. In fact the French Embassy in the United States counts over 231 schools across the country, offering such programs. Viiii With such evident demand the question then arises: why are so many American families seeking access to French immersion?

The French Connection

America has a rich history with France and the French language, dating back precolonial times. Through the 17th and 18th centuries, before many of the English expats had settled on the Eastern Seaboard of what is now the United States, French fur trappers—"les courreurs des bois"—had, having set out from modern-day Quebec and Montreal, established outposts in much of the Great Lakes, Mississippi, Vermont, and Virginia regions.

In the mid-1700s, Britain began to encroach on what was New France, and took possession of much of the previously French-claimed territory. In their annexation, Britain took what is now New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and demanded of the long-standing French-speaking, Catholic residents—the Acadians—to either pledge allegiance to England and the Anglican church, or lose their homes. In 1755 Acadians were flushed from their long-time settlements by the English in what is

known today as *Le grand dérangement*, and sent to settle in the Louisiana and Maine regions of what today is the United States. Many of the displaced Acadians refounded a rich culture—linguistically and otherwise—in the bayou, marsh, and prairie regions of Louisiana. The culture, known to many today as "Cajun," gets its name from a mispronunciation of the word "Acadien" by the English, who first dropped the initial 'a', giving way to "Cadien," and ultimately "Cajun."

When British ex-pats finally did want to cut ties with England in the Revolutionary War, newly-founded America's primary supporter and ally was France. In fact, the war ended in 1783 with the signing of the Treaty of Paris. Save for disagreeing views on America's involvement in Iraq, The United States and France have since proven to be staunch allies, supporting one another through the many wars of the 20th century, and continuing strong trade allianceslix.

In 2010, 11 million individuals—3.5% of the total American population—reported "French" or "French Canadian" as their ethnic origin.lx In addition, today French is the second most spoken language in four states. Excluding Spanish, it becomes the second most spoken language in 12 states.lxi

Of the two countries' relationship, U.S. President Obama recently said: "France [is] not only America's oldest ally, but also one of our closest allies." lxii

While French is a popular second language choice for many schools in the United States, Jaumont and Ross (2014) indicate that access to these classes is often difficult for heritage French speakers. Initiatives such as CODOFIL and the French Heritage Language Program are two examples of ways in

1.7 - States with Most French Speakers				
By Total # of French		By % of Non-English		
Speakers		Speakers		
State	#	State	%	
Florida	405,449	Louisiana	83.5%	
Louisiana	144,374	Connecticut	73%	
Maryland	58,842	Florida	70%	
Maine	52,425	Delaware	59.4%	
Connecticut	47,161	Maine	56.3%	

Source: American Community Survey (2010)
*Numbers include French and French Creole speakers

which French speakers are ensuring the future of their heritage language communities. Furthermore, it is notable that these efforts have been supported not only by France and Canada, but also by other Francophone countries and organizations.



Source: Slate.com

*Note the high concentrations of French speakers down the Eastern Seaboard. This is no doubt a lasting effect of the Acadians' displacement from New Brunswick (North of Maine), towards Louisiana in the mid-1700s.

Why French?

The American Government^{lxiv}, Forbes Magazine^{lxv}, and the Business Insider^{lxvi} all argue that French is a vital language to have for entering the international arena of business and foreign affairs. In fact, French and French-speaking countries can be credited for contributing one fifth, or 20% of the world's trade goods.^{lxvii}

In addition to being a prominent language of business, French is also the language of international relations. "It is used as [a] working language of the United Nations..., as one of three procedural languages of the European Union, and the sole language used for the deliberations of the Court of Justice of the European Union." Along with many other prominent international organizations, The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) also have French as one of their official operational languages.' Ixix

Further, learning French welcomes a student into a world-wide conversation and community of *La Francophonie*, counting as of 2010, 220 million francophones—a figure that is expected to rise to between 370 to 770 million my 2060. lxx

Parents' Motivations

Parents' reasons for enrolling their children in immersion range from family heritage—such is the case with many students in Louisiana, to the academic benefits seen through immersion students' superior test performances in later elementary and high school years. The latter was reiterated in a report done by Gwinnett County Public Schools in Georgia, which stated that "by the fifth grade [dual language immersion] students perform the same or better than their monolingual peers on all standardized tests." lxxi

Credit for the decision is also given to the benefits of bilingualism in the student's adult years, opening their world to more opportunities. "It was the best thing I could have done for my son," mother Gayle Perez from New Orleans, Louisiana says of her decision to place her already bilingual son (Spanish and English) in French immersion: "he's not just learning a new language. He is learning that there's another part of the world out there, one that's not only English-speaking or only Spanish-speaking. It will make my son more interested in the world and make him more relevant in the world. He will be able to do anything he wants to do." lexitic language.

French Immersion Advocacy

Because of the lack of a nation-wide French immersion-promoting group, much of the advocacy for FI programs is taken on by passionate parents, hence In Maryland, for example, a group formed under the name *The Parents Coalition of Montgomery County* can be found lobbying their local decision makers to expand their immersion programs further; While in New York City, the emergence of French immersion was an altogether grassroots initiative brought on by parents, and later backed by the French Embassy's Cultural Service in the city. Parent groups and community-based organizations like Éducation en Français à New York (EFNY); Éducation Française in Boston, San Francisco, Houston, Austin, and Miami; along with many other groups, have played an instrumental role in initiating or developing day-time or after-school French bilingual programs and French heritage language programs in the United States. Thus, while there may lack a nation-wide, or even state-wide unifying body to promote French immersion in the United States, there are like-minded community organizations and individuals that work together to put second language learning at the forefront of education.

Notable Organizations

The American Association of Teachers of French is an organization counting nearly 10,000 members, nearly three quarters of which are secondary school teachers, the remaining quarter being post-secondary teachers. The association's website explains that they "also have a growing number of French teachers in immersion settings." lxxiii While the organization focuses primarily on teacher resources, they have organized some nation-wide initiatives such as National French Week, which encourages teachers to "take French out of the classroom and demonstrate all the reasons to learn French." lxxiv AATF also holds various contests for teachers and students alike, such as essay and video competitions. The staple of AATF's involvement in French language education is *Le Grand Concours* or, *The National French Contest*, where "students of French in grades 1-12 in all 50 states... take a written test and compete against students with similar educational background for prizes." lxxv In 2014, the contest had over 93,000 participants.

Contact:

Jayne Abrate – Executive Director abrate@frenchteachers.org

Phone: (618) 453-5731

The French Embassy in the United States is also a major force in bilingual-learning advocacy. With consulates covering nearly every region of the continental U.S., their influence cannot be understated. The French Embassy works with teachers as well, funding specialized training in France and Québec, as well as helping to purchase French teaching and learning materials for the classroom. lxxvi

Contact:

Director, Education Department - Jean-Claude Duthion jean-claude.duthion@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Phone: (202) 944 6031

The French American Cultural Exchange—FACE—has also had a resounding impact on the state of the French language in New York, and consequently, in America. The non-profit organization works as an outreach branch of the French embassy, and is involved with the development of a sharing of culture between France and the United States. In 2005 FACE implemented the *French Heritage Language Program* to serve francophone immigrants. The program, deemed "one of the most advanced heritage language programs in the United States" by the National Heritage Research Center at UCLA, provides free French classes to francophone youth in New York. Spinoffs of the program have also emerged in Florida, Maine, and Massachusetts. Jaxviii

Contact:

Program Coordinator - Benoît Le Dévédec heritageprogram@facecouncil.org

Phone: (212) 439-1438

The Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) is a national resource for information on immersion programs in the United States. While they rely on schools' self-reporting, they have compiled directories of all (reported) immersion programs in the United States. From their data, CAL produces reports on the state of immersion in the US.

Contact:

Language Education Consultant - Nancy Rhodes

nrhodes@cal.org

Phone: (202) 362-0700 ext. 557

The Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (CARLA), based out of the University of Minnesota, is a US Department of Education-commissioned research center "whose role is to improve the nation's capacity to teach and learn foreign languages effectively." lxxviii Hence, much of CARLA's energy focuses on developing new and innovative teaching methods for prospective teachers who go through the University of Minnesota's Immersion Teacher program.

Contact:

Immersion Program Director – Tara Fortune

fortu001@umn.edu

Phone: (612) 626-8826

National Education Policy Center (NEPC) produces high-quality, peer-reviewed research to inform education policy discussions. NEPC asserts that democratic governance of public education is strengthened when policies are based on sound evidence. While focusing on a multitude of issues affecting education, the NEPC maintains concentrated efforts for research and development of language education. The NEPC works with professors at various universities across the United States, one of whom has been seen as a vocal advocate for language education. Dr. Patricia Gándara of the University of California – Los Angeles says of the many languages spoken in the US: "this growing linguistic diversity, that is just simply a reality." She sees language education as a therefore natural and beneficial step for students entering a globalized workforce.

Contact: Contact:

Director – Kevin Welner Professor of Education – Patricia Gándara

kevin.welner@colorado.edu pcgandara@gmail.com

Phone: 802-383-0058 Phone: 310-267-5562

The Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) works as a state monitor for French education in Louisiana. The organization is "dedicated to the development of French in Louisiana by giving scholarships, implementing the French immersion program, and encouraging widespread use of French culture, language, and traditions." lxxx CODOFIL tracks French immersion growth in Louisiana, and undertakes projects to expand and refine the program.

In 2009, CODOFIL was able to lobby and implement an ingenious way to promote French and Cajun culture as well as French immersion, all in the same initiative. The organization got the Louisiana government to introduce French-language license plates. Reading "Louisiane" instead of Louisiana, along with the tag line "Chez nous autres" and the state flower—la glaie bleue—plates were priced at \$60, half of which went to the promotion of French immersion. Laxxi

Contact:

Exchange Programs Development Manager – Jean-Robert Frigault jfrigault@crt.la.gov
Phone: (337) 262-5764

The National Association for Bilingual Education advocates on behalf of Bilingual and English Language Learners in America. Because "language-minority children make up the fastest growing sector of the American school-aged population," NABE sees it as their duty to ensure that these students are offered the resources they need to excel in school. Their focus then—bilingual education—is an effort to ease the transition for these students, allowing them to learn in both native and English languages so as to ensure the preservation of the students native culture and language abilities, all the while ensuring that they do not fall behind academically or socially. lxxxiii

Contact:

 $\label{lem:condition} \begin{tabular}{ll} Executive \ Director - Santiago \ V. \ Wood \\ drsantiagow@gmail.com \end{tabular}$

Phone: (240) 450-3700

Appendix I:

Contacts in counties with waiting lists

Maryland - Montgomery County Public Schools

Françoise Vandenplas Supervisor of World Languages Francoise_Vandenplas@mcpsmd.org

Phone: (301)279-3911

Georgia - Gwinnett County Public Schools

Jon Valentine
Director of Foreign Languages
Jon_valentine@gwinnett.k12.ga.us
Phone: (678)301-7020

Utah - Park City School District

Ellie Gallagher Dual Language Immersion Coordinator egallagher@pcschools.us (435)645-5600 ext. 1420

California - Chula Vista Learning Community Charter School

Dr. Jorge Ramirez
Director
cvlearning.office@cvesd.org
(619)426-2885

Louisiana - Lafayette Parish School System

Nicole Boudreaux Foreign Language/Immersion Specialist nsboudreaux@lpssonline.com (337)234-8289

Massachusetts - Milton Public Schools

Martine Fisher Director mfisher@miltonps.org 617-696-4470 ext. 5532

Virginia - Fairfax County Public Schools

Gregory Jones World Languages Coordinator gjones@fcps.edu 571-423-4603

Minnesota - Edina Public Schools

Superintendent Ric Dressen Ric.Dressen@edinaschools.org (952)848-3912 ext. 4000

Oregon - Portland Public Schools - Le MondeInterim Head of School

Lynn Prince lemondeimmersion@gmail.com (503)208-3198

"By choosing French immersion for their children, parents in the U.S. not only offer the gift of bilingualism to the next generation, they also give children a passport to the entire Francophone world."

-Dr. Fabrice Jaumont – Education Attaché, Embassy of France to the United States

Endnotes

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^v "French-Immersion Education in Canada." *Lessons in Learning* (2007): Canadian Council on Learning, 17 May 2009. Web. 11 July 2014.

vi Center for Applied Linguistics. *Directory of foreign language immersion programs*. (2014).

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