

# **French Heritage Language Communities in the United States**

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## **Introduction**

French heritage language speakers in the United States are distinguished by the diverse origins of their communities, both historically and geographically. Some French speakers are descendants of early colonial settlers who have transmitted their French language through multiple generations for over two hundred years, beginning with seventeenth and eighteenth century refugees from Europe and Canada, including the Acadians of Maine and Louisiana. Other French speakers are more recent immigrants from such Francophone countries as Haiti, Senegal, and the Ivory Coast as well as from France and other European countries. In recent years these multiethnic communities have increasingly worked together to guarantee the long-term vitality of French as a heritage language in the United States by creating educational opportunities as well as real economic prospects to encourage continuing transmission of French to a new generation.

Efforts to maintain French as a living, spoken language in the United States have also faced challenges. These result not only from the constant pressures of assimilation experienced by so many heritage language speakers in this country, but also from effects of prior repression, especially in the French-speaking areas of Maine and Louisiana, where anti-French legislation and acts of violence drove French speakers underground through much of the early twentieth century. However, more current legislative acts, particularly in Louisiana in 1968 and Maine in 2012, have begun to reverse these trends. Additional support from Francophone organizations and governments has also helped to increase educational opportunities, and multiethnic communities in a number of urban centers have created initiatives that support heritage language learning and bilingualism as a complement rather than a threat to English language acquisition.

Another distinguishing feature of French heritage language communities is the significant presence of French as a foreign language in instruction in the United States (Rhodes & Pufahl, 2010) and the emphasis on a standard, “Parisian” variety reinforced by its use in schools. This has, at times, negatively affected the maintenance of local vernacular varieties. Thus, ironically, in regions with a historically large presence of French speakers such as Louisiana and New

England, there have sometimes been obstacles to French language maintenance within Franco-American communities whose home language is stigmatized, even at the same time that French is promoted for English speakers in public schools.

In urban centers, socio-economic factors and the strong need to acquire English skills have discouraged members of the Francophone immigrant community from maintaining and developing proficiency in French. This is particular true of recent immigrants from Africa, the Caribbean, North Africa, and the Middle East, who focus on acquiring English and also hope to preserve a home dialect. For instance, the Malian community in the Bronx, though dearly attached to the French language, is also eager to preserve Bambara at home, while striving to learn English and hope for greater opportunities.

Today, diverse French-speaking communities in the United States are working to maintain French as a language spoken in families, schools, cultural centers, expanded communities, and local organizations through formal teaching adapted to heritage speakers, and through public policies that have revitalized and encouraged French maintenance in multiple social and economic contexts (Ross & Jaumont, 2011). These include long-standing Franco-American communities in New England, Maine in particular; the Cajuns and Houmas in Louisiana, who have sought to revitalize French after years of neglect and persecution in their local communities; communities of expatriate French parents, who have successfully created dual language and after-school programs in public schools in urban centers such as New York City, Boston, and San Francisco; and Francophone immigrant communities from West Africa and Haiti, who have worked through schools, churches, and community centers in New York and Miami to provide opportunities for their children to maintain and develop French proficiency.

### **French as a Global Language**

The presence of French-speaking communities in the United States is not surprising. French is the fourth most common language other than English spoken in the country after Spanish, Chinese and Tagalog, and it is widely present in both traditionally French-speaking areas, such as Louisiana and New England, and urban settings with increasingly significant French-speaking immigration (Valdman, 2010). The diversity of these communities is not astonishing because, except for very small numbers of expatriate groups from France living in the New York area and major cities like San Francisco, Boston, Chicago, and Miami, French

heritage communities have been primarily renewed by a continual stream of immigrants from other Francophone countries. The sizeable Haitian diaspora in Boston, the New York tri-state area, and southern Florida totals nearly one million persons and accounts for a significant number of French heritage speakers, even though many of these immigrants, especially those newly arrived, are also speakers of Haitian Creole. Similarly, several waves of immigrants from Africa have brought more French heritage language speakers into the country, many of whom also have another home language.

It is precisely this diversity that renders determining the exact numbers of French speakers in the United States a complex task, because so many are also speakers of additional languages including Haitian Creole, Wolof, Bambara, and Arabic, as well as English, and also because many have been reluctant to report their home languages. The 2009 American Community Survey (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) reports that 1,305,503 people in the United States speak French at home. The figures for French Creole spoken at home are 659,053 in the United States and 106,020 in New York. Haitian expert Flore Zéphir (2004) estimates that approximately 20% of Haitians residing in the United States also speak French fluently. The concentration of French speakers in major urban centers such as New York City, Washington DC, and Boston is also interesting. We suspect that there are more French speakers in these areas than officially recorded, if the large number of undocumented residents were included. The Consulate of France reports about 70,000 French expatriates living in New York, and the Quebec Government Office reports nearly 100,000 Quebec immigrants living there. New York residents with family connections to various parts of the Francophone world include French speakers from Canada, Haiti, Senegal, Mali, Togo, the Ivory Coast, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Lebanon, Belgium, Switzerland, and Luxembourg.

Given the widespread presence of French as a global language, there is also every expectation that the numbers of French speakers in the United States will continue to grow through immigration. There are an estimated 220 million French speakers worldwide, including 72 million partial French speakers, whose native language is not French but who use it on a regular basis, in particular in the 32 countries where French is an official national language and where French may be the official language of instruction in schools (Charte de l'Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, 2012). The Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF) includes 56 member states and 19 observers (countries that are not necessarily French-speaking but which have a specific interest in being part of the Francophonie consortium) across the five continents, representing a total of over 870 million people and over one-third of the

United Nations' member states. (See the Appendix for a list of OIF members.) French speakers are also overwhelmingly young and often highly mobile. In most of the 70-member countries of the OIF, 60% of the population is under 30 years old. The OIF estimates that by 2050, there will be 500 million French speakers in the world, the majority of them coming from Africa (Interview with Abdou Diouf, February 1, 2012). Additionally, access to education in French is widely available internationally, thanks to a network of an estimated 900,000 French teachers worldwide. With 18.9% of world exports and 19% of world imports, French-speaking countries account for 19% of world trade in goods, a further incentive for heritage speakers to maintain and transmit their language (Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, 2012).

Many French and French-speaking immigrants to the United States, from the early Huguenots in New York; to the Royalists and Catholic refugees from the French Revolution; to later nineteenth century Alsatians, Corsicans, and Bretons maintained strong cultural and emotional ties to France, but they have largely abandoned their linguistic heritage. Multilingual French-speaking immigrant families from Africa, the Caribbean, and the Middle East have also struggled to maintain both their home language and French while also acquiring English. Many Lebanese and North African families will often avoid speaking French, as would other French heritage speakers who have not been in contact with the French language for a long time. However, in both Louisiana and in New England, French has endured as a heritage language among the Franco-Americans, Cajuns, and Acadians whose ancestors first settled these areas hundreds of years ago.

### **Re-officialization of French in Louisiana**

Louisiana represents a mosaic of the French-speaking world, and Louisiana French is a rich tapestry of the French that was spoken in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by Acadian and French immigrants and French and African Creoles, who came to Louisiana from the West Indies. According to the Lafayette Convention & Visitors Commission more than 260,000 Louisianans speak a form of French brought either to New Orleans by French nobility or to the bayous and prairies by Acadian immigrants (Lafayette Convention & Visitors Commission, 2012). Add some Spanish, a few words from the local Native American tribes, a little African vocabulary, and some English, and the result is the Louisiana French that is spoken by the majority of French heritage speakers in this state. As with all living languages that continue to evolve, the accent

and expressions of Louisiana French are unique, but the same thing can be said of the French spoken in places like Quebec, Dakar, and even Paris. A distinct culture and a dialect known as "Cajun" French was born in Nova Scotia between 1604 and 1756, and traveled to Louisiana, where it matured and developed further. There has been speculation concerning why Cajun French has survived as the dominant variety in Louisiana for over 200 years. Scholars such as Charles Mahaffie (1995) conclude that the geographic isolation of the Acadian settlements, the close-knit family structure, and the low socioeconomic status of the group have contributed to its endurance.

Over two centuries of robust use of French in Louisiana was abruptly disrupted in 1921, with the adoption of a new state constitution that de-institutionalized and de-officialized French throughout the state. Several additional factors contributed to the changes and near extinction of the language. In the 1930's, Governor Huey P. Long began a process to bridge the swamplands and lowlands with a network of roads, which brought an end to the Acadians' isolated existence. Another setback for the language occurred in the public school system, when children were coerced by punishment to abandon their language and speak only English. Soon, this generation became ashamed of their language and was convinced of their cultural inferiority.

Heritage French speakers lost the opportunity to be educated in French and to go to court in French, along with other rights to use French, thus losing many of the concrete guarantees that had made French a living social language in Louisiana. This de-officialization and de-institutionalization of French created a legacy of two or three generations of French speakers who were stigmatized by the very fact that they spoke French. As a consequence, parents often did not teach French to their children, fearing that they would not master the language of school. The belief that continuing to speak another language or other languages will impede progress in learning English is also common among recent immigrants. (See García, 2009, for discussion) and remains one of the major impediments to intergenerational transmission of heritage languages.

A major shift began in 1968, with legislation creating The Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL), a state agency whose purpose is to represent and meet the cultural and educational needs of all of Louisiana's French language populations. In its most recent mandate, CODOFIL has two very distinct roles: to support the development of French

immersion programs in schools across the state and to generate greater socio-cultural economic development in French-speaking communities. The two are linked to help combat the erosion of French in Louisiana.

French language promoters in Louisiana are seeking to extend their efforts beyond the classroom, so that French becomes useful, visible, audible, and an actual living language. This goal has required a paradigm shift for the many stakeholders in order to enhance the vitality and usefulness of French and help to position French as a tool for Louisiana's future. As Francois Grin and Joseph Lo Bianco have noted, the long-term vitality of a minority languages depends on the development of capacity, opportunity, and desire of language speakers (Grin, 1990; LoBianco & Aliani, 2010). A major effort to reverse the trend and restore the French language in Louisiana is synonymous with resurgence in cultural pride and the stabilization of the number of French speakers. A powerful initiative undertaken by CODOFIL to maintain and develop French in the state is the nation's largest French immersion program, in which most subjects are taught in French from kindergarten through eighth grade. Approximately 4,000 students in nine parishes are in the program, with classes typically taught by visiting teachers from France, Belgium, Quebec, and French-speaking African nations. Joseph Dunn, the director of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana recently stated that the focus has been only on school-based immersion programs for too long:

French is important because the culture is carried in the French language. But we [also] need to move that outside of the classroom setting, make it a social language, make it an economic language. (Cockerhan, July 5, 2012)

Nevertheless, French advocates in Louisiana are fighting an uphill battle. Socio-economic factors in recent years have not been favourable for the creation of new jobs in which speaking French is an asset (a sign of "opportunity" in the work of Grin and LoBianco, cited above).

Advocates of French heritage language maintenance in Louisiana claim that the connections between their language and their cultural heritage (food, music, way of life of their community) are inseparable. Cajun musician Zachary Richard's song *Réveille* has stood as a rallying cry. He founded *Action Cadienne*, a non-profit volunteer association dedicated to the preservation and promotion of the French language and the Cadien (Cajun) culture of Louisiana, whose manifesto declares:

Because it is impossible to conceive of a culture without being able to speak its language... Because our future is undeniably tied to our past, we wish to promote the teaching of Cajun history in order to ensure that all citizens can

obtain knowledge of their Cajun heritage. Because our identity is impossible to maintain without understanding our past, we demand that Cajun history be taught in the public schools of Acadiana in such a manner as to explain and to increase understanding of the Cajun history and to sustain the collective memory of the French experience of Louisiana. (Action Cadienne 1996 Manifesto)

Bureaucratic processes and educational policies have long sought to stamp out Louisiana French in the name of Americanization. Political battles can also jeopardize this fragile terrain as demonstrated by Governor Jindal's decision (June 2012) to cut CODOFIL's budget by 40 per cent. But these difficult situations are often rallying points for this community of resistant French speakers (Cockerham, 2012).

Adding to the diversity of French in Louisiana are the members of the United Houma Nation (UHN), an indigenous nation numbering approximately 17,000 along coastal, southeast Louisiana, which forms another specific French heritage community of Louisiana. The Houma, first encountered by French explorer Robert de LaSalle in 1682, has existed in the bayous and rivers of central South Louisiana long before Louisiana became a state and New Orleans became a French colony. Tribal citizens have been living, hunting, fishing, shrimping, crabbing, oystering, and trapping fur bearing animals in the coastal marshes and wetlands of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, Lafourche, Terrebonne and St. Mary Parishes in Louisiana before American recorded history began. Janie Luster who sits in the United Houma Nation Tribal Council, representing district number three, which includes Lower DuLac, Lower Bayou DuLarge, and the community of Grand Caillou declared:

I myself grew up speaking French; I never heard English until I finally was able to go to school. The language that we speak now as we call it is "La Langue Houma," and it is the French language. I look back at one of the elders, Reverend Roch Naquin, who was interviewed in the late 90's, who said that he was punished every time he spoke French in school. It was something that was hard for a child to understand: you could speak French at home and it was all okay, but you got to school and you were punished. So something must have been wrong with this language. (Statement made at the Heritage Language and Social Cohesion Conference, November 5, 2011, New York City)

The Houma Nation conducted a recent survey, which found out that over 40% of its tribal people still speak French. It is also interesting to note that the tribe has entered a dialogue with the French Embassy's Cultural and Education headquarters in New York to seek assistance with the construction of a bilingual school and cultural center in the town of Houma, Louisiana.

## **Reacquisition and Recognition of French in Maine**

The French presence in Maine dates back to 1604, with settlements along the St. Croix River. The complexities of the French cultural heritage in Maine reflect four centuries of changing political and economic realities in the state, where there continue to be robust communities of first-language French speakers including Governor Paul LePage (elected in 2010), who is from Lewiston and who used French in his campaign. French cultural heritage can be found in roughly two large groupings. In northern Maine, in the upper St. John River valley, live descendants of the Acadian refugees who were expelled from the Canadian Maritime Provinces by the British in 1755. The U.S.-Canadian border was drawn across that community, so there are French speakers with family ties on both sides. Further south and extending into other New England states are traditional mill towns, where French-Canadian immigrants came to work. About one million people left Quebec between 1860 and 1930 to work in these textile mills (Redonnet, et al., 2009). Because of the geographical isolation of these small towns and strong ties to the Catholic Church, the French language survived for many years in both of these regions, even withstanding a strong Protestant Nativist, anti-French movement. The “Petit Canada” people of the mill towns went to Catholic schools in French, their parents worked in the mills, and they used French on the factory floor and in the local shops until the 1950’s or 1960’s.

The census figures for French ancestry show an increase: 24.9% of U.S. respondents in 2010 said they had French or French-Canadian ancestry, whereas in 2000 only 22.8% said so (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Moreover, with 177 K-12 schools offering French study in schools in Maine, French is holding its place along with Spanish; 173 schools in Maine offer Spanish. Yet French, especially its traditional Maine variant, is an endangered language in Maine. Fluent, first-language French speakers are primarily over 55 years of age, and opportunities to use French in public remain limited. In a 2009-2010 state performance survey of school children with limited proficiency in English, French ranked fourth in the list of most commonly spoken languages in the state behind Somali, Spanish, and Arabic (U.S. Department of Education, 2010). Though this indicates that Maine is becoming more diverse, which can be seen as a positive phenomenon, it is also indicative of a shift in the number of children speaking French at home and requiring assistance with learning English, as compared to 100 years ago when French remained the language of the home in much of northeastern Maine (Nickerson, 1970).

As in Louisiana, French speakers in Maine faced enormous difficulties in maintaining their language in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The decline in French language use in Maine was more than a reflection of the assimilation of immigrants into the English-speaking majority. Many French speakers continued to have strong family ties in Quebec and often viewed their relocation to Maine as temporary. Anti-French legislation and intimidation drove the French language underground, beginning with a law enacted in 1919 that outlawed the use of French in schools and punished children for using French. Furthermore, there was a very active Ku Klux Klan movement against the French in Maine in the 1920's that resulted in traumatizing generations of French speakers in the state. According to language revitalization expert Julia Schultz, "Even today, many French speakers will say, 'I don't really speak French,' or 'I speak the wrong French.' They've been made to feel ashamed that their accent isn't 'correct'" (Schulz, personal communication, November, 2011). Willingness to speak French across several generations suffered a form of linguistic trauma, which many French speakers today are trying to untangle, sometimes painfully, via language revitalization efforts. This is best described by Ben Levine's touching documentary "*Réveil*" (Levine, 2003) which shows how French heritage speakers have attempted to reactivate their French. The documentary also shows several shocking scenes of Ku Klux Klan activity, including cross burnings in front of French speakers' homes.

In recent years the revitalization of French in Maine has also been encouraged by legislation and has benefitted from support from Francophone organizations and governments, including France and Québec. On March 6, 2002, the state Senate passed a joint resolution recognizing Franco-American Day and calling for the annual celebration of "the rich history of the French people in the State of Maine and the United States." Beyond the commemorative effort, the resolution (State of Maine (2012). 2nd Session Franco-American resolve. Resolve 2011 Chapter 102), which was published in French and English, recognized that fluent French-English bilingual people are a cultural and economic resource to the State of Maine; and that cultural tourism can be greatly enhanced by the genuine Franco-American centers throughout the State.

Franco-Americans in Maine have contributed much to the beauty and quality of this State... French is the primary language of thousands of Mainers and there has been a resurgence in the use of the French language and a heightened appreciation of the Franco- American heritage throughout the State; and clubs and organizations to promote French culture and language have sprung up throughout the State,

including the Francophone Caucus at the Capitol. (*Journal of the Senate of Maine*, March 6, 2002)

More recently, in 2012, the State of Maine passed a law creating a special task force to find “ways to promote and preserve the Franco-American heritage that is shared by a great number of Maine citizens” (125<sup>th</sup> Legislature). The task force is composed of 12 people, four of which are appointed by the President of the Senate, four by the Speaker of the House, and four by the Governor. It includes several State Senators and Representatives.

### **Building the Next Generation: The French Heritage Language Initiative**

In addition to the French speakers in Maine and Louisiana, hundreds of thousands of other French speakers are widely dispersed throughout the United States in immigrant populations from Haiti, West Africa, Canada, and Europe. For many of them, especially new immigrants and lower socio-economic status families, retaining access to instruction in French is a challenge. In the fall of 2005, the French Heritage Language Program (FHLP) was created through a public-private partnership in New York City to offer linguistic and cultural enrichment to recent Francophone immigrants, while also facilitating English language acquisition. The program is now offered in New York, Florida, Maine, and Boston.

In New York, FHLP currently serves 300 students at elementary, middle, and high school levels and in several community centers. The program has served hundreds of students in community centers and schools belonging to the Internationals Network for Public School (INPS), which specifically serves only new immigrants who are English language learners. (See the Appendix for a list of schools in the network.) Some of the students of INPS are refugees from African countries, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea, and the Ivory Coast, whose education has been interrupted by war. These students strive to acquire basic literacy skills in their home languages as well as in French, which according to high school staff will facilitate their learning of English.

A survey, which we conducted in 2005, of students and staff from these high schools sheds light on the importance of such a program for students. Many students mentioned that they believed they were losing their French or having trouble acquiring higher-level linguistic skills in French that would allow them to succeed in a French-speaking environment. Many students expressed their desire to return to their home country in the future. All hoped to pursue their studies after high school. (Transcript of meeting with Manhattan International School students,

New York, April 10, 2005) French proficiency can be a major asset for students who wish to continue their studies in Quebec, France, or in their French-speaking homelands, such as Senegal, Mali, or Haiti. The school was aware that in order for students to succeed in learning English, they also needed to master their home language such as Creole, Bambara, Wolof, Kikongo, Lingala, or French.

A partnership with the Miami Haitian Cultural Arts Alliance led to the creation of a French Heritage Language Program in Miami, Florida. The new FHLP programs also received the help and support of the City of Miami, the Little Haiti Cultural Center, and the French Consulate in Miami. On February 27, 2010, the first class was inaugurated at the Little Haiti Cultural Center in the presence of several dignitaries. Eighteen students from 8 to 10 years old registered for the class to learn, or brush up on, their French and explore the Haitian culture. As thousands of Haitian children sought refuge in Miami after the earthquake that hit their country in January 2010, the demand for education in French increased sharply in the Miami area. As a consequence, FHLP augmented its capacity to bring new classes to this population. These additional efforts initially focused on Miami due to its large existing Haitian diaspora, but the program has also reached out to other cities with sizeable Haitian communities, such as Washington DC, New York, and Boston. As public schools enrolled more Haitian students, the program started offering culture-based French language classes in public schools as well. These classes were intended to bring comfort to the students and to help them maintain a strong connection with their language and culture of origin during their stay in the United States.

In Maine, the creation by the French Heritage Language Program of classes for elementary school children in Lewiston and Augusta has triggered enormous interest in the Franco-American community. Following the success of the pilot French program “Le Soleil,” established in 2011 in two schools in Augusta, the FHLP joined with the University of Maine at Augusta, the Franco-American Heritage Center in Lewiston, and the *Centre de la Francophonie des Amériques* to launch an innovative heritage French program in three schools in Augusta and Auburn. The Maine FHLP is based on a curriculum specifically designed to meet the needs of Maine’s Franco-American community and aims to bridge the gap between generations and offer the younger generation the opportunity to access, maintain, and transmit their cultural and linguistic heritage. It is open to every child and also seeks to promote the diversity of French and Francophone cultures. At a time when the demand for French instruction is high, the program hopes that its efforts will serve as a model for other cities in Maine and New England.

## Conclusion

Throughout the much-disputed history of foreign language learning, bilingualism and heritage language maintenance in the United States, the French language has long enjoyed privileged status, and continues to be the second most commonly studied foreign language in US schools and universities (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). As we have indicated, however, 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 which French speakers are ensuring the future of their heritage language communities. Furthermore, it is notable that these efforts have been supported not only from France and Canada, but also by other Francophone countries and organizations.

Promoting heritage language learning benefits all learners. This principle has resonated particularly well in the context of Boston, Washington DC, San Francisco, and New York City's French-speaking communities, where parents from diverse backgrounds and ethnic communities have become builders of French language educational opportunities for their children. In New York City these include European and Canadian expatriates in Manhattan and West Brooklyn, West Africans in Harlem and the Bronx, Haitians in East Queens and East Brooklyn, and North Africans in West Queens. This diversity in national origins, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status make the French case unique (Ross & Jaumont, 2012). Importantly, collaborations between multiple partners of different socioeconomic, racial, and ethnic backgrounds, from government agencies to parent organizations have motivated this transformation in French heritage language education. Parent associations in particular have been of critical importance in promoting bilingual programs and language support and generating the larger community and governmental support necessary to sustain innovative programs in public schools. Thus, the combined efforts of multiple partners have helped to achieve a significant range of opportunities for French heritage speakers in New York and elsewhere.

In order to create and develop linguistic opportunities that will strengthen the communities, French bilingual and heritage programs in urban centers and in traditionally French areas like Maine and Louisiana have required a solid tri-partite partnership – strong commitment from the schools, qualified teachers who understand the needs of heritage speakers, and ceaseless involvement from the parents at all levels. Thus, from the collaboration of various governmental and nongovernmental partners has emerged a rich landscape of opportunities for French heritage

speakers in the United States. Successful community-led initiatives have been achieved through the willingness of different communities to work together – the fruit of multiple partners from local, national, and international organizations; private foundations; parent groups; and education officials.

## Appendix

List of IOF members:

56 Member States and Governments: Albania, Principality of Andorra, Armenia, Kingdom of Belgium, French Community of Belgium, Benin, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Canada-New-Brunswick, Canada-Quebec, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Cyprus, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Dominica, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Ivory Coast, Laos, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Republic of Macedonia, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Mauritius, Mauritania, Moldova, Monaco, Niger, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Seychelles, Switzerland, Togo, Tunisia, Vanuatu, Vietnam.

19 Observers: Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Czech Republic, Dominican Republic, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Montenegro, Mozambique, Poland, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Thailand, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates.

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