

The current status of hybrid learning platforms for allophones within the province of Québec: A critical analysis of policies aimed at generating economic stability for recent immigrants in Québec.

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Abstract

This paper will investigate issues that immigrants in Québec navigate when learning either French or English within the current educational infrastructure provided by the provincial government. In comparison to other provinces, Québec faces the least success with integrating allophones¹ immigrants into the labour market. Québec is also currently managing massive shortages in various fields of work within the provincial economy. With immigration targets set by the Federal Government of Canada and Government of Québec, current educational infrastructure must be enhanced for allophones to be better accommodated and trained to join the work force. For this paper, information on Québec's retention rate for allophones in the labour market is drawn from Statistics Canada, the Government of Québec, two CÉGEPs on the island of Montréal (Dawson College and College d'Ahunatic), as well as academic publications. The analysis of this show that currently, educational policies within Québec are inadequate towards educating and integrating allophones into the labour market.

Resumé

Cet article examinera les problèmes auxquels les immigrants du Québec sont confrontés lorsqu'ils apprennent le français ou l'anglais au sein de l'infrastructure éducative actuelle fournie par le gouvernement provincial. Comparativement aux autres provinces, le Québec connaît le taux de rétention le plus faible lors de l'intégration des allophones au marché du travail. Le Québec gère également actuellement des pénuries massives dans divers domaines de travail au sein de l'économie provinciale. Avec les cibles d'immigration fixées par le gouvernement fédéral du Canada et le gouvernement du Québec, les infrastructures éducatives actuelles doivent être

¹ An allophone is a person whose first language is a foreign language in the community they inhabit. In Canada, an allophone is a resident whose first language is neither French nor English.

améliorées pour que les allophones soient mieux accueillis et formés pour rejoindre le marché du travail. Pour cet article, les données sur le taux de rétention des allophones sur le marché du travail au Québec sont tirées de Statistique Canada, du gouvernement du Québec, de deux cégeps de l'île de Montréal (Collège Dawson et Collège d'Ahunatic), ainsi que de publications académiques. L'analyse de cette situation démontre qu'actuellement, les politiques éducatives au Québec ne contribuent ni à la formation ni à l'intégration des allophones sur le marché du travail.

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“The measurement of a country’s greatness is the treatment of its minorities.” – The Rt Hon.

Lester B. Pearson PC OM CC OBE

Glossary

Allophone - an immigrant whose first language is neither French nor English

ALPA - an organization in Québec that helps immigrants with challenges they may face when integrating and establishing employment upon arrival

Anglophone – an individual whose first language is English

Asynchronous Learning – when students access materials at an individual pace, while interacting with their instructor and other students over longer periods of time. This form of learning can be delivered in both a virtual and in-person learning environment.

Attestation d'études collégiales (AEC) - is a diploma issued by a CÉGEP; the AEC is a shorter program than a DEC in which the coursework is pre-university coursework

Canada- Québec Accord (1978) – a federal bill that gave the power of immigration criteria from the Federal Government of Canada to the province of Québec

Carrefour BLÉ – unique organization in Québec that bridges between agri-food professionals of immigrant origin and the production, processing, and agri-environment sectors

CÉGEP à Distance – is a distance- education CÉGEP that offers services which are complementary to those offered through the CÉGEP network in Québec

Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) – enacted in 1977, this law made French the official language of Government and the courts in Québec. Implemented by the René Lévesque's Parti Québécois government to support nationalism amongst francophones in Québec

College d'Ahunstic – a publicly funded French CÉGEP located in the Ahunstic-Cartierville borough on the island of Montréal

College d'enseignant general et professionnel (CÉGEP) – a publicly or privately funded college system in Québec that provides technical, vocational, academic programs for individuals to launch their careers

COVID- 19 - was a severe acute respiratory syndrome, beginning with an outbreak in Wuhan, China in December 2019. It spread worldwide by early 2020, being declared a pandemic by the World Health Organization on March 11, 2020. The pandemic caused severe social and economic disruption around the world.

Dawson College – a publicly funded English CÉGEP located in Downtown Montréal

Diplôme d'études collégiales (DEC) - is a diploma issued by a CÉGEP in which the education received is pre-university coursework

Diplôme d'études professionnelles (DEP) - is a diploma issued by a CÉGEP in which the coursework is vocational studies

Economic stability – when people have the financial resources to live a healthy and satisfying life

Fluency – refers to smoothness, rate, and effort in speaking a language

Francisation - is the expansion of French language use, through wilful adoption or coercion.

Francophone – an individual whose first language is French

Free market economics – an economic system that is controlled by the forces of supply and demand, as opposed to government regulation

Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) - are individuals who received support on their arrival from the provincial or federal government

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) – the total value of goods produced, and services provided in a country for one year

Hybrid learning – an educational model in which students can attend a class in-person or virtually from another location.

Inflation – measures how much more expensive a set of goods and services has become over a certain period of time

Labour Market – the supply and demand for labour, employers are offering the demand, and the employees are offering the supply

Language Policy and Planning (LPP) – a field of linguistics that studies how languages are used, managed, and developed in different contexts and domains

Microeconomics – study of economics that looks at the behaviour of decision makers within the economy (individuals, households, businesses)

Macroeconomics – study of economics that looks at large scale factors of an economy such as national output (GDP), unemployment, and price stability (inflation)

National Occupational Classification (NOC) - is a Canadian federal system for describing occupations to collect data for labour market information and employment-related program administration

Neoliberalism – an approach that favours free market capitalism, deregulation, and reduction in government spending

PROMIS – an immigrant and refugee support organization in Montréal

Québec Education Program (QEP) – the provincial curriculum that is taught across all accredited primary and secondary schools in Québec. This curriculum is meant to teach individuals the cultural, economic, geographical, historical, social, and political realities of contemporary Québec society

Québec Experience Program – a language program offered in Québec to provide a fast track for foreign graduates and individuals with work experience to obtain permanent residency in the province

Remote Learning – a system of education where students study off campus and communicate with their instructors virtually

Second- Language Acquisition (SLA) – when an individual learns a second language after they have acquired competency in their first language.

Self-determination theory – a motivational theory of personality, development, and social processes that examines how social contexts and individual differences facilitate different types of motivation to complete tasks

Synchronous Learning – when both the instructor and the student gather at the same time (whether it be virtual or in person) and interact in real time with one another in an educational space

Working Population – any individual who is 15 to 64 years old

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Introduction

1.1 Immigration targets by the federal government of Canada

The federal government of Canada plans to implement immigration policies that will increase the Canadian population, with an estimated number of 500,000 immigrants by 2025 (Government of Canada, 2022). This growth will be felt across all of Canada's major cities including the Greater Toronto Area in Ontario, the Greater Montréal Area in Québec, and the Metro Vancouver area in British Columbia. It will have a wide range of impact including but not limited to an increase in demand for housing, education, and labour. It is expected that governments in Canada (federal, provincial, and municipal) are aware of the pending arrivals and are developing strategies to help affected communities adapt.

In a province with a majority population of francophones, who represent a language minority in Canada, and a significant population of anglophones, (who represent a language minority in the province of Quebec) language is a factor which must be considered in this immigration and adaptation strategy. Anglophones are individuals whose primary language is English, while francophones are individuals whose primary language is French. Allophones for the purposes of this critical analysis are individuals who reside in Québec first language is neither French nor English. This paper will look at allophones, both currently residing in Québec and also those expected to arrive in the coming years, and how they can best be helped to adapt

to attaining employment in the labour market, through the development of language skills in French and English.

In Québec, the Greater Montréal Area is expected to receive the lions' share of newcomers to the province, but other municipalities will be affected too including Québec City, Gatineau, Sherbrooke, and Trois-Rivières. In 2016, 23.4% of the total population of the Greater Montréal Area were immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2016). The Greater Montréal Area has continued to be a region that has experienced tremendous growth in both economic development and population growth. Both Laval and the island of Montréal hold a huge portion of the provinces' gross domestic product ²(GDP), as well as employment opportunities. The Greater Montréal Area has received an influx of foreign labour for decades with individuals who enter the labour market with distinguishable skills. The origins of immigrants to the Greater Montréal Area, and other regions of Québec vary greatly. The province of Québec has allophones settle primarily from the People's Republic of China, Iran, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, and Colombia (Hanley, 2016). Comparatively, immigrants from other Canadian provinces are mainly from the Philippines, India, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Republic of Korea, and Mexico (Hanley, 2016). Some immigrants that come to Québec already have French as a first or second language, while many more allophones in the province are from Arabic, Farsi, Cantonese, or Mandarin speaking regions of the globe and do not speak French as a first language.

In Québec, the College d'enseignement general et professionnel (CÉGEP)³ caters to a significant population of allophone students. These colleges act as a means for Québec residents

² Gross domestic product is the total value of goods produced and services provided in a country for one year

³ College d'enseignement general et professionnel are publicly and privately funded colleges in Québec that provide students with technical, academic, vocational following their graduation from a secondary school.

to receive a tertiary education in French or English. Completion of programs at CÉGEPs leads to either vocational training or future university attendance, both increasing job prospects as well as economic stability. Across Québec, approximately a third of all CÉGEP student populations are allophones (Rowe, 2023). Two prominent English CÉGEPs on the island of Montreal; Vanier College and Dawson College, have almost fifty percent of their student population identified as allophone students (Auhthier, 2021) in comparison to the provincial average of approximately a third (Rowe, 2023). This is about to change with new restrictions on English CÉGEP attendance in the coming years for individuals in Québec (MacDonald, 2023).

The impact of language use is not limited to the personal or cultural spheres – it extends to economics and wealth inequity among households. Data on individual and household income shows that allophones in the Greater Montréal Area earn approximately 17% lower wages than those who live in Ottawa-Gatineau or Québec City (Bousmah, 2013). This conclusion on earnings for allophones highlights the socio-economic difference that allophones experience in Montréal versus other Canadian metropolitan centers nearby.

Evidence from Canadian economic literature over the past several years emphasizes the significant income gap between anglophones and francophones in the region of Greater Montréal. With the implementation of provincial language policies in Québec during the 1970s, the wage gap between anglophones and francophones has decreased. Findings from Greiner and Nadeau (2011) determine that anglophones do not benefit from speaking French in the workplace in Montréal. Francophones on the other hand, do benefit from speaking English in their workplace within the Montréal area. English language use is an element that leads to success in the labour market in Montréal and Laval. Grenier (2001) takes this discourse further by determining that the economic integration of immigrants in Canada has led allophones to choose

English over French. Findings from a separate study (Solati et al., 2022) conclude that French is just as valuable as English for immigrants to learn, but attaining a speaking proficiency in English continues to have a greater impact on employability across the country. This has translated into a preference for allophones to learn English when coming to settle in the Greater Montréal area, hindering the provincial government's efforts to increase the use of French across the province.

1.2 Québec's immigration targets

Québec's immigration plan in response to the federal government projected population growth figures remains to be determined. What is certain is that the province will continue to accept residents through government planning based on Language Policy and Planning (LPP)⁴. In Québec, approximately 13.8% of the population is foreign born (Donovan, 2010). Additionally, data collected by Statistics Canada (2005) determined that 42% of immigrants upon arrival in Québec had taken some language training in French, while 37% had taken classes in English.

Immigration policies in Québec have always closely aligned with language policy; French and learning of French are prioritized. Québec's immigration policies have favoured francophone immigrants for this reason since 1978, when the *Canada – Québec Immigration Accord*⁵ was signed. This particular piece of legislation is unique as other provinces in Canada do not have a similar agreement. These policies have been implemented to improve the status of

⁴ Language Policy and Planning (LPP) is the field of applied linguistics that studies how language are used, managed, and developed in different contexts and domains.

⁵ Canada-Québec Accord (1978) is a federal bill that gave the power of immigration criteria from the Federal Government of Canada to the province of Québec.

French to assure the adoption as a common public language by all Québécois, as well as to enrich the French language and attend to its quality.

From previous data regarding immigrants settling in Québec (Conrick & Donovan), it is evident that the ability to speak French and English are two skillsets that motivate allophone students in schools. Once fluency in either language is attained, it is far easier to integrate into the workforce. Currently, Québec is experiencing notable shortages in various industries across the province (see figure 1.2). This emphasizes the importance of giving immigrants accessible language education to gain economic stability. As stated by current provincial policy (Québec Immigration Act, 2016), for a foreign national to be successful in their application for permanent residency, they must contribute to the needs of the regional labour market. In addition, the individual's knowledge of French contributes greatly to achieving residency by Québec's Ministry of Immigration.

1.3 Literature Review

This thesis does not follow traditional conventions in having a stand-alone literature review, rather it weaves the relevant literature into each chapter of the thesis as it analyzes and critically evaluates policies and their effect on the allophone populations of the Greater Montréal Area. In addition, much of this paper will refer to permanent residents in the province of Québec as allophones, or immigrant allophones. It is also important to distinguish that there are many individuals who are allophones who hold Canadian citizenship. Various terms will be interchangeable throughout this analysis, as literature and reports on this subject use definitions such as 'allophone', 'permanent resident', and 'landed immigrant' interchangeably. As

mentioned earlier in this review, allophones are individuals who reside in Québec whose first language is neither French nor English.

To understand the background of language laws in Québec, *The Charter of the French Language*⁶ otherwise known as Bill 101 must first be explained. This legislation was implemented by René Levesque's Parti Québécois government in 1977 to protect and strengthen the French language in Québec. One of the main provisions of the charter was that children would attend school in French (Bourhis, 2018). The impact of this was that all allophone children that settled in Québec following 1977 were to be instructed in French, despite the fact that prior to this the vast majority of immigrant families in Québec enrolled their children in English institutions (Conrick, 2005).

There were several exceptions to this law. First, if a child had attended their last year of school in English prior to August 26, 1977, they could continue to receive English instruction, as could their siblings (Publications Québec, 2024). Another exception to this law was that a child with at least one parent who had completed their elementary education in English within Québec or another province in Canada, could also continue to attend an English school.

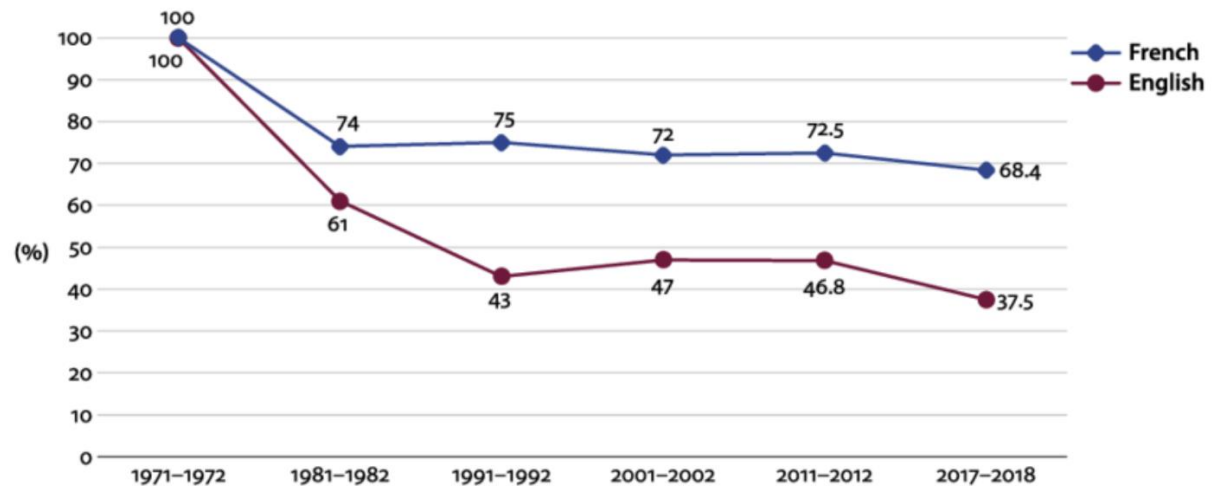
These exceptions allowed for some eligible Anglophone minorities to continue attending and receiving education in English. The impact of Bill 101 was dramatic, as indicated in figure 1.1. In the time period from 1971 to 2016, attendance by children in the English school system had only 37.5% of the original attendance recorded in 1971 (Bourhis, 2019), amplifying a significant decrease in English school attendance. This figure outlines that Bill 101 was successful in ensuring that allophones who came to Québec after the charter was enacted

⁶ *Charter of the French Language (Bill 101)* was enacted in 1977, this law made French the official language of Government and the courts in Québec. Implemented by the René Lévesque's Parti Québécois government to support nationalism amongst francophones in Québec

attended French public schools. The result was that the only way for a child to receive English schooling as an immigrant was through English private schools as these were not part of the legislation enacting *the Charter of the French Language (1977)*.

Figure 1.1

Percentage decline of student attendance in English and French school boards within Québec (1971- 2016)



◆ French Schools	1,378,788	1,026,951	1,035,358	997,358	999,976	943,381
● English Schools	256,251	155,585	111,391	121,225	119,974	96,235

French/English school enrollments

Note: From “Evaluating the impact of Bill 101 on the English- speaking communities of Québec” by R.Y. Bourhis, *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 43(2), p.217

<https://www.jbe-platform.com/content/journals/10.1075/lplp.00042.bou>. Copyright 2019 by R.Y.

Bourhis.

As figure 1.1 suggests, the policy was a success for the preservation of French as Québec’s official language. What figure 1.1 fails to show is where allophone students received their post-secondary education and training. Educational provisions within *the Charter of the French Language* (1977) did not apply to CÉGEPs in Québec until the implementation of Bill 96. From

1977 until Bill 96 (2022) there were no registration and attendance limits set on English CÉGEPs. Bill 96 is an amendment to *the Charter of the French Language (1977)* that requires all businesses and schools to operate in French. This means that prior to 2022, the provincial government was not limiting access to post-secondary education (CÉGEPs and universities) offered in English. This amendment has served to extend previous limitations on the English language, as discussed above, for access to English education in *The Charter of the French Language (1977)*.

It is important to note that the process to immigrate to Québec is quite selective and prioritizes French speakers and French-speaking allophones. When an individual applies for residency within the province of Québec, they are ranked on a point system. This system is meant to provide an equitable and well-rounded assessment of the individual. Categories for this include knowledge of French and English, education, training, work experience, age and adaptability and employability. These variables provide criteria upon which to determine whether an individual is permitted to live in Québec and be part of the work force (Government of Québec, 2024). Economic stability is a major concern for many new immigrants to Canada, especially for allophones who are not fluent in French or English (Kazemipir & Nakhaie, 2014). The ability to communicate in these languages contributes to a successful integration into Canadian society (Étémé et al., 2016). Additionally, gaining fluency in English or French allows for economic stability through consistent work opportunities and higher earning potential.

Today, there are four measures that the Québec government enforces to attract and retain allophones in rural areas and small towns throughout the province (Government of Québec, 2024). The first measure is the resettlement of government-assisted refugees (GARs)⁷, where

⁷ Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) are individuals who received support on their arrival from the provincial or federal government

selected residents are placed in small towns and cities. Local groups and services receive these immigrants and help them settle in these smaller cities and rural areas. The second measure is direct overseas recruitment, where Immigration Québec puts an emphasis on settling outside of the Greater Montréal Area. The third measure is the provision of programs in the Greater Montréal Area that attract Montréal-based immigrants to smaller cities and communities throughout the province of Québec. Some of these organizations include PROMIS⁸, Carrefour BLÉ⁹ and ALPA¹⁰. Carrefour BLÉ is unique to the province as it caters to jobs specifically in Québec's agribusiness industry that immigrants can integrate into. As mentioned in the third chapter, the *Québec Experience Program* was also developed as a fourth measure to retain highly skilled temporary foreign workers and international students (Hanley, 2016). This program mandates in- person synchronous French classes to assimilate allophones into French language and culture.

While these four measures have seen some success in retaining workers to specific industries and regions of Québec, the main issue relates back to educational opportunities for allophones. Allophones must have access to educational programs that allow them to gain a fluency in French. In regions of Québec that are outside of the Greater Montréal Area, French skills are central to attaining economic stability and integrating socially into a community (Hamers & Hummel, 1994). Not only this, but youth and adult allophones may seek further educational upgrading as they gain a fluency in French or English. This can lead to individuals wanting to stay in the Greater Montréal Area to improve their fluency in French or English as the

⁸ PROMIS is an immigrant and refugee support organization in Montréal

⁹ Carrefour BLÉ is a unique organization in Québec that bridges between agri-food professionals of immigrant origin and the production, processing, and agri-environment sectors

¹⁰ ALPA is an organization in Québec that helps immigrants with challenges they may face when integrating and establishing employment upon arrival.

urban area provides an environment best suited to attain Canadian educational credentials, Canadian work experience and Canadian social networks (Fortin, 2002).

The relationship between economic stability and education must be addressed by the provincial government of Québec, if the goal is for allophones to not only immigrate, but also to properly integrate into the work force of Québec. The importance of language fluency cannot be understated. As discussed earlier, it is critical in determining employability and earnings for allophones. In Québec's labour market, many sectors are facing shortages that allophone residents are able to fill (Tomesco, 2023). Below in figure 1.2 (Hajoui & Bergeron, 2023), the data shows the sectors currently experiencing shortages in Québec: teaching services in education, agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, and gas production, as well as finance and health care. This information shows that, with programs and educational pathways that currently exist, allophones in Québec have the potential to take advantage of these gaps in various sectors of labour. Language fluency in French and English must be attained and developed more thoroughly in Québec's population, in order to fill these necessary roles that are vital to a healthy and vibrant economy. The *Canadian Federation of Independent Business* (Larivière, 2022) states that by facilitating access to immigrant workers, Québec's small businesses will be able to address the labour shortage. By providing educational opportunities for allophones to become fluent in French or English, access to integrating into the workforce of Québec will become attainable to individuals who are not able to communicate in either language.

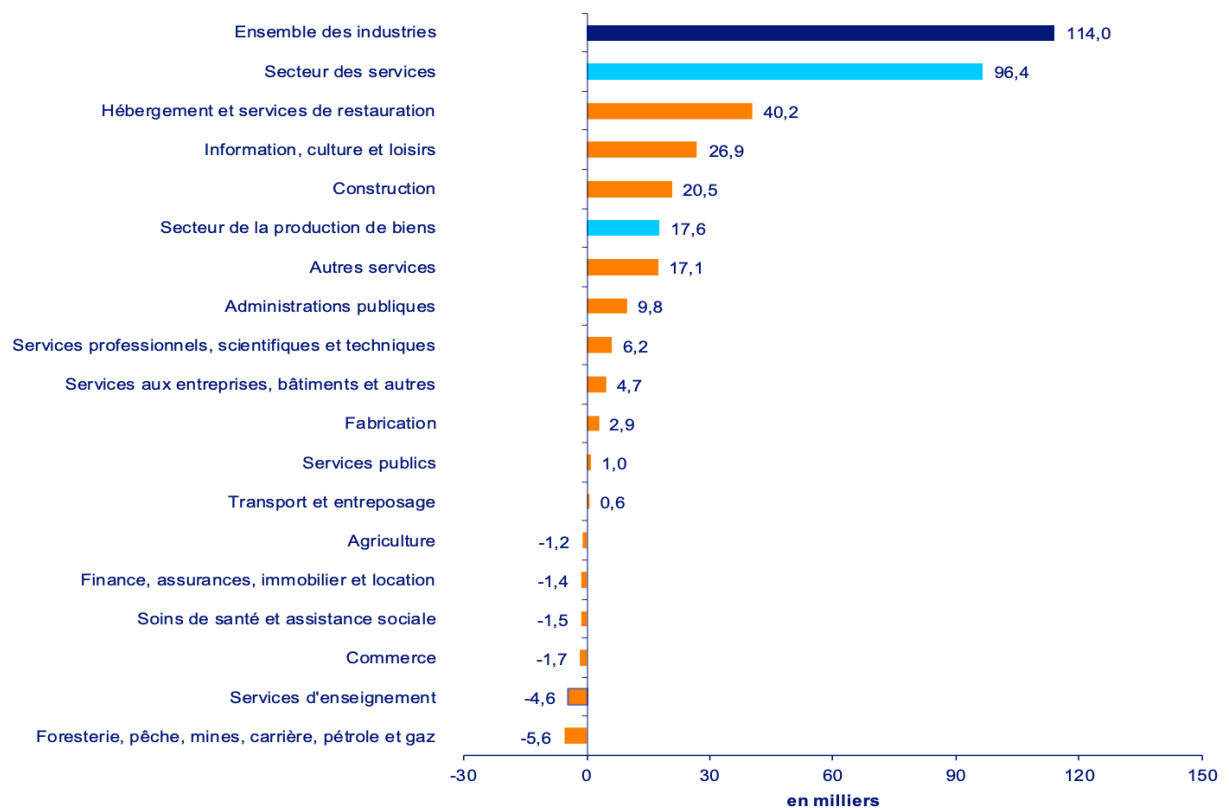
Currently the educational infrastructure in Québec is missing an easily accessible online learning platform that is both free and allows allophones to work while completing their language training. Allophones who are both students at CÉGEPs as well as working full time

within Québec would be able to attain language fluency in French or English resulting in higher labour retention rates.

Figure 1.2

Variation in employment history by industry in Québec between 2022 and 2023, average from January to September¹¹

Graphique 2 : Variation de l'emploi selon l'industrie au Québec entre 2022 et 2023, moyennes de janvier à septembre



Source : Statistique Canada, Enquête sur la population active, tableau 14-10-0355-01 (données désaisonnalisées).
Compilation : Secteur de l'emploi.

¹¹ Translation of Figure 1.2: Variation in employment by industry in Québec between 2022 and 2023, average from January to September. The graph represents the categories in declining order; from the top are service sector, accommodation and catering services, culture and leisure, construction, goods production sector, other services, public administration, professional scientific and technical services, fabrication, public services, transport, agriculture, finance, insurance, real estate and rental, health care and social assistance, commerce, teaching services, forestry, fishing, mining, quarrying, oil, and gas. The x-axis (en milliers) refers in thousands, and the y-axis being services.

Note: From the *Bulletin Mensuel: Du marché du travail au Québec* by the Government of Québec. <https://cdn-contenu.quebec.ca/cdn-contenu/adm/min/emploi-solidarite-sociale/publications-adm/imt/bulletins-mensuels/00-ensemble-quebec/2023/00- imt-bmt-2023-09.pdf>. Copyright 2023 by Hajoui, Y. & Bergeron, M.

The final element to consider in this review is the relation that critical thinking has to success in the work force. Critical thinking is a skillset that allows an individual to analyze information and develop a response or view based on the information given to them. Within the *Québec Education Program (QEP)*¹², cross curricular competences are interrelated areas that contain skills, values and processes that are important to the developing of students in all age groups. By using critical thinking as a skill, allophones are able to communicate effectively in the workplace and retain information that is important on job sites. Critical thinking is one of the many cross curricular competencies that is mandated across various subjects covered by the *QEP* at the primary and secondary school level. It allows individuals to make superior decisions by weighing options, assessing outcomes and choosing the best path forward to solve or address issues in society. The role of critical thinking in learning and applying a new language is important to assuring economic stability for allophones (Penkauskiene et al., 2019). By learning another language, an individual can advance their cognitive abilities to problem solve, raise personal productivity, cultural awareness and adaptability (Newman, 2023). This skillset of critical thinking positively impacts not only a region's economic output, but a country's as well.

¹² The Québec Education Program (QEP) is the provincial curriculum that educators must follow when teaching students. This curriculum is followed from kindergarten all the way to Grade Eleven. After graduating, students have the option to attend a CÉGEP as it not mandatory to do so.

There are various sources to support the notion that critical thinking strengthens the potential for an individual's economic prosperity. First, Rhodes et al., (2018) states that students become far more productive in society when they have the knowledge and skills that the job market demands. Second, in the *Québec Education Program* (Québec Ministry of Education, 2023); language classes teach students to be able to use information and communicate through second-language acquisition (SLA)¹³. Second- language acquisition as a process allows for allophones to not only gain fluency but assimilate into the community in which they live in. Education systems provide allophones with a framework to motivate advanced language fluency attainment by providing monetary, social and cultural incentives (Teltemann et al., 2022) that leads to integrating into Québec's workforce. While these are important issues, a broader and deeper discussion of language and integration that SLA theorists are beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it is important to note there are numerous scholars; (Li et al., 2022), (Hummel, 2021), (White, 2020) that have highlighted its significance by exploring how allophone immigrants can be better integrated into society.

1.4 Research Design

This thesis will primarily examine the prominent center of economic activity and growth in Québec, the island of Montréal. As mentioned previously, this work addresses two key areas: 1) The impact of educational policy on labour economics in Québec; and 2) Current online learning programs at CÉGEPs. This analysis will focus on how certain Québec educational policies for immigrant allophones could better integrate and accommodate these individuals into the labour market. Specifically, this work will highlight how recent immigrants in Québec will be

¹³ Second- Language Acquisition (SLA) is when an individual learns a second language after they have acquired competency in their first language.

better situated to achieve economic stability if language education is made available in hybrid learning ¹⁴formats. This study will account for two different groups, allophones who have already been integrated into Québec's educational system as well as allophones who have arrived as adult immigrants. It will also look at the differences in the administration of language classes in both French and English CÉGEPs, linking this to Québec's current labour shortage in various essential sectors of the economy. The choice of Dawson College and College d'Ahunstic is based on several factors. These are that they both support a similar sized student population; they are entirely publicly funded institutions and that they have significant allophone student demographics. The key difference being that one offers instruction in English (Dawson College), while another in French (College d'Ahunstic).

If the Québec economy is to benefit from the economic contributions of allophones, it will be important for the province to ensure adequate resources to prepare them, including developing their critical thinking skills. With the ever-growing presence of technology and online learning opportunities for students in Quebec, there needs to be parameters established in schools and language centers to ensure that students receive adequate training to enhance their critical thinking capabilities. Ideally for adult immigrants, this would be a CÉGEP system that is online, free, and that allows individuals to work while completing their language training. This will allow allophones from lower socio-economic backgrounds to develop critical thinking skills that will benefit them in Québec's labour market.

¹⁴ Hybrid learning is an educational model in which students can attend a class in-person or virtually from another location.

1.5 Research Questions

This thesis plans to uncover and gain a better understanding of where allophones experience difficulties when integrating into the labour markets of the Greater Montreal Area and Québec. In order to integrate into the Québec workforce successfully, immigrant allophones must become fluent in French, and in some regions such as Montréal, English. The questions that will be answered throughout this study are the following:

1. What are the main challenges faced by immigrant allophones in Québec when they are receiving a hybrid education online in French or English?
2. What actions can be taken by the provincial government in Québec to accommodate allophones working to achieve language proficiency in order to integrate quickly into the workforce?

1.6 Methodology

This thesis addresses my research questions through a critical policy analysis and review. As such, the methodology is explored throughout the entire thesis in each of the subsequent chapters by evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of sources, official reports and findings that government bodies and academics have contributed. Sources of information include language policies from past and current provincial governments in Québec, as well as statistical information on labour performances for allophones who have integrated into the labour market of the Greater Montréal Area. Additionally, information around synchronous and asynchronous learning options for students is provided by the two CÉGEPs (Dawson College and College d'Ahunatic) used in this study. This methodology facilitates a greater understanding on how

language acquisition can be bettered for allophones in Québec, but also provides a structured approach to critically interpret existing data and findings.

1.7 Implications for this study

The data to be collected will encompass the experiences of allophones who have already been integrated into Québec's education system as well as allophones who arrive as adults. As graduates with a DES (Diploma of Secondary Studies), younger allophones will be at an advantage compared to individuals who have not attended a secondary school within the province. The reason for this being that these younger allophones have been immersed in an educational setting that is predominantly French and offers instruction and a milieu that is francophone. In this respect the study aims to inform policy development in secondary schools and CÉGEPs that will best meet the needs of allophone immigrants.

Past studies and policies on student and full-time working allophones in the Greater Montréal Area could inform Québec's Ministry of Education and other education bodies in their development of accessible language learning opportunities. This research also has the potential to inform educational policy makers in Quebec and other parts of Canada to better facilitate online learning platforms for allophone immigrants.

Recognizing educational costs for adult allophone immigrants when considering labour economics in Québec

This portion of the thesis will look at the history of Québec's educational policies and their impact on post-secondary institutions and ultimately the job market. The history of immigration in Québec has had a direct impact on the educational opportunities of both Quebecers and immigrants. This chapter will look at neoliberal policies ¹⁵in Québec and their effect on the cost of education.

Currently, it is very expensive to receive a post-secondary education as an adult allophone without residency in Québec, which create financial barriers for allophones. The current cost of education poses an issue for filling shortages in required labour across the province of Québec. A statement released by the provincial government proposed that by 2030, 1.4 million jobs will need to be filled, and that approximately twenty percent of these will be by immigrants (Government of Québec, 2023). To meet this need, in Québec, allophones should be given an educational pathway that allows them to integrate into the workforce, which would reduce the province's labour shortages. This is not to say that university should be an abandoned priority, but instead that vocational programs should be emphasized as viable paths when

¹⁵ Neoliberal policies refer to market-oriented reform that eliminates price control, deregulates markets, lowers trade barriers and reduces state influence in the economy through privatization

allophone individuals are looking at options for integrating into Québec's labour market (Bellemare, 2015).

Québec differs from other regions in Canada, as it is an area that is primarily French speaking surrounded by English-speaking regions of North America. Québec is the only province in Canada that holds the French language and the usage of French at such a high priority. With an access to greater hybrid language learning, allophones in Québec would be able to work while learning a new language. By being able to work, adult allophones are able to cover their own living costs while attending costly post-secondary classes (whether it be CÉGEP, university or a trades college). The following chapter will explore how the facilitation of better learning opportunities in French or English would encourage allophones to remain and work in Québec.

2.1 Québec's history of immigration policy

For much of the twentieth century, immigration in Québec was aligned with business cycles. During periods of recession, the provincial government would cut back on admitting residents from overseas. During periods of lowering birthrates or other forms of demographic decline, the Government of Canada and Québec would increase annual immigration. This cycle exists to this day, and as main actors in the process of immigration, allophones expect that they will participate in Québec's labour market as they settle in regions of the province (Étémé et al., 2016).

Québec relies heavily on relocation from other provinces and immigration from other countries to support the growth of the province's population and workforce. To access most employment opportunities in Montréal, French fluency is required (Solati et al., 2022). The goal of Québec's immigration framework is to ensure that French remains the dominant language

across all economic sectors of the province, as discussed in the first chapter. Québec's labour market is far less accessible to immigrants with no higher education, "In 2010, the unemployment rate in Québec of those with no degree, certificate or diploma was 20.5%, in contrast to 15.8% in British Columbia and 17.9% in Ontario." (Boudarbat, 2011). These findings suggest that in comparison to predominantly English-speaking provinces, Québec has trouble in integrating low-skill labourers into their workforce. Figure 2.1 points to this by comparing Ontario and British Columbia to Québec with participation rate, employment rate, and unemployment rate. The graph in figure 2.1 concludes that Québec has the greatest difference in unemployment rates between Canadian born, permanent residents and landed immigrants.

Figure 2.1

Labour-market participation, employment, and unemployment rates for individuals in the provinces of Québec, Ontario, and British Columbia

Table 1 – Labour-market participation, employment, and unemployment rates for individuals aged 15 to 64, by province of residence (%)

	Participation rate*		Employment rate**		Unemployment rate***	
	Canadian born	Immigrants	Canadian born	Immigrants	Canadian born	Immigrants
Quebec	77.8	75.3	72.1	66.0	7.3	12.4
Ontario	78.5	76.1	72.2	68.2	8.1	10.4
British Columbia	78.3	74.0	72.5	67.5	7.4	8.8
Canada	78.5	76.2	72.6	68.7	7.6	9.9

Notes: (*) the participation rate, or labour-market participation rate, represents the proportion of the total population that is working or seeking work; (**) the employment rate represents the proportion of the total population that currently has a job; and (***) the unemployment rate indicates the percentage of the labour force (i.e. those who are working or seeking work) that is unemployed.

Source: Computed by the author from Labour Force Survey data.

Note: This table was from *Labour market integration of immigrants in Quebec: a comparison with Ontario and British Columbia* by B Boudarbat, 2011, CIRANO: Centre interuniversitaire de

recherche en analyse des organisations. <https://www.cirano.qc.ca/files/publications/2011RP-09.pdf>. Copyright 2011 by CIRANO.

The employment retention¹⁶ in Québec is also much lower than other large provinces, such as Ontario or British Columbia (Boudarbat, 2011). As already stated, most work opportunities in Québec require French language fluency, with the exception of Anglophone enclaves throughout the province, such as Montreal. A collection of studies (Gazzola et al., 2019) conducted in Poland, Spain, Switzerland, and Canada found that minority groups who are given proper language training produce a stronger work force and economy. In the case of Poland, it was noted that attaining fluency in English, French or German led to a higher income for the individual, but being fluent in Russian did not increase income. What this study (Gazzola et al., 2019) affirmed is that there is a preference in terms of which language should be learned by individuals seeking employment. In the case of allophones in Montréal, the two languages that are dominant are French and English. Knowing that French is the official language of the province, and that the participation rate in the workforce of Québec is extremely low for immigrants, it can be concluded that the current learning infrastructure for French needs to be improved upon to assist allophones in becoming fluent. In undertaking the initiative of improving French language learning for landed adult allophones, we could anticipate that access to employment and earning potential of allophones may increase and also that gaps in Québec's labour market would decrease.

¹⁶ Employment retention is when an organization's ability to prevent the number of people who leave their job in a certain period, either voluntarily or involuntarily

2.2 Neoliberalism and the impact it has had on the cost of education in Quebec, and the provincial economy

In the latter half of the twentieth century, major economic reforms began to take place across the globe that affected many developed countries, including Canada and the United States. Understanding neoliberalism within the process of globalization leads to a better understanding of how higher education has changed in the past few decades (Brenner & Theodore, 2005). The focus of this neoliberal reform was to support fiscal austerity, deregulation, free trade, privatization, and a reduction in government spending (Albo, 2002). Governments were meant to achieve greater financial productivity with far fewer state funded programs. This led to an immense change in how higher education was and continues to be delivered, viewed, and practiced in North America and other parts of the globe (Schuetze et al., 2011). Neoliberal educational reform shows that universities have turned into businesses that are selling education (the product) for individuals to purchase. Within this system, the attainment of post-secondary education places the purchaser in a more secure position to attain employment and economic stability over a long term (Shaienks et al., 2008).

One of neoliberalism's priorities with respect to education is to generate human capital for the labor market globally (Lanzi, 2007). The premise of a neoliberal economic structure is that human capital is best created through education and training and that the personal investment made by individuals to attend post-secondary institutions allows for better productivity for the regions they serve, and the economic stability of the state they inhabit (Jehn et al., 2021). With increased numbers of job participants with college attendance and degrees, holding a degree from a university no longer makes an individual stand out amongst applicants in the job market. As seen in figure 1.2, Québec needs to generate human capital that can meet

the needs of the labour market. By providing clear pathways for adult immigrant allophones to attend and complete language training programs for professional and trade certification, Québec's labour shortages can be addressed.

Additionally, job markets in both Canada and the United States view college and university completion as the bare minimum to attain job placement (Ferrer & Riddell, 2002). Barriers such as time commitment and the cost to attend prohibit many allophones from being able to attend post-secondary.

Neoliberalism's effect on higher education can be traced from a set of policies developed in the 1990s known as the Washington Consensus. The Washington Consensus focused on restructuring how public spending was attributed into different sectors within the United States, while also enforcing strict cuts to funding for education. (Klees, 2008). Higher education's purpose is no longer focused on developing an individual's comprehension and analytical skills. Instead, post-secondary institutions act as spaces in which people are prepared for the workforce. Spring (2015) states; "The economization of education shifts the concerns from schooling for such things as civic participation, protecting human rights, and environmentalism to economic growth and development".

Based on a report conducted in 2021, almost a quarter of the American working population ¹⁷holds an undergraduate degree (United States Census Bureau, 2022). In Canada, the percentage of Canadians with an undergraduate degree is approximately a third of the working population. It is worth mentioning that Canada has the highest portion of university graduates for a G7 country (Friesen, 2022). What occurs after graduation for many is that their degree does not equate to a vocational designation. No longer can university graduates simply achieve

¹⁷ Working population refers to any individual between the ages of 15 to 64.

employment based on a bachelor's degree. Both permanent residents and newly landed allophone immigrants must follow up their post-secondary education with specific vocational training to gain a competitive advantage and become more employable in the workforce. The value of post-secondary programs in Québec and other parts of Canada provide individuals with a much lower likelihood of unemployment in various fields (Fenesi & Sana, 2015).

2.3 The commercialization of post-secondary education in the developed world

The liberalization of markets globally has led economic synergy to be based entirely on market competition (Sparke, 2020). Post-secondary enrollment is now associated with an individual's likelihood of finding economic stability within the global competitive market. Global competition amongst markets has created a demand for education that universities must supply. With this demand comes a high cost for attending higher educational institutions as mentioned earlier in this chapter. Commercialization and marketing of universities has led students both domestic and international to pay immense sums of money to attend and graduate from post-secondary institutions (Lillis & Tian, 2008).

In Québec, most universities and colleges are publicly funded¹⁸. Tuition rates for domestic and international students vary depending on the school as well as the program they are enrolled in. The increase in tuition for international students in Canada follows the privatization pattern that the Washington Consensus established as discussed earlier in this chapter. Lewis (2008) explains that within the Canadian province of Ontario, governments over the past decades have slowly removed funding to post-secondary institutions, "The proportionate government funding has decreased, student tuition has increased, and the search for private sources of

¹⁸ Québec's CÉGEP system consists of public and privately funded colleges, all universities in the province are publicly funded

funding- as a matter of policy- is in high gear.” (p. 56). This economic trend has been copied across many Canadian provinces for funding public universities and colleges. A response to generating revenue for universities has been to increase international students’ tuition (Galarneau & Gibson, 2020). Illustrating this, at McGill University in Montréal, international student tuition rates for a four-year undergraduate engineering program have risen from \$42,921.84 in 2018 to \$58,949.94 in 2022 (McGill University, 2023). This increase is substantial and perpetuates social inequality for international students that wish to pursue a post-secondary education, and positions universities and colleges as actors of neoliberal economic policies within Québec. This pattern of steadily increasing international tuition costs is replicated across Canada, particularly in other provinces with significant adult allophone immigrant populations. In Ontario and British Columbia, for example, market internationalism has led to increased tuition at institutions in the last decade (McCartney, 2020). At the University of British Columbia, international student tuition paid \$34,857 a year for a full course load in 2017 (Neatby & Yogesh, 2017), whereas in 2024, the cost of tuition is \$63,793 a year (UBC- Student Services, 2024). Comparatively, at the University of Toronto, international students paid 25,000 dollars a year for a full course load in 2010 versus 60,000 dollars a year for a full course load in 2023 (Uzunović, 2023). These exorbitant increases in tuition for international students highlight the neoliberal commodification of education in Québec and across Canada, where universities have become comfortable subsidising their budgets through inequitable financial barriers for allophone students.

Both American and Canadian universities have turned towards selling their programs based on ranking and prestige, where private universities are seen as vastly superior to community colleges. This is seen with global ranking systems, such as Quacuarelli Symonds

(QS), Times Higher Education or U.S. News and World Report. In Canada, this is done through the magazine *Macleans*. Each of these media outlets publish yearly reports on both American and Canadian universities, focusing on how they compare in prestige, student life and job outcomes. This competitive system of post-secondary institutions is a by-product of neoliberalism, wherein competition drives the desire and demand to attend American and Canadian institutions of higher education. Across hundreds of institutions in the United States, international students at post-secondary institutions are spending approximately fifteen billion dollars yearly (Kim & Zhu, p.163). Higher educational institutes in the United States of America and Canada behave in similar ways that financial firms do, where the main objective is to secure capital to continue expanding their campuses.

Universities in the United States and Canada have created brands that attract international students to their campuses and programs (Drori et al., 2013). This also generates inequality as higher education develops into a hierarchy of networking for graduates and labour options. With universities that have larger endowments, larger faculties and connections to employers, graduates of these notoriously competitive school become far more likely to attain economic prosperity (Taras et al., 2020). This branding acts as way for higher educational institutions to further compare and compete against one another. To claim a spot of admission for these brand name schools, people across the globe must compete against one another at the secondary level through standardized testing to receive admission. This leads to a system in secondary schooling where individuals are focused on achieving admission, "...collective responsibility [by higher education] is denigrated and education is reduced to a system where everyone competes for the best schools..." (Hursh & Martina, 2014, p.35). This is further compounded by a competition for

job security, as there is a sense that attending one of these ‘name brand’ universities garners career opportunities that other institutions may not hold.

These inequities which emerge from neoliberal economic policies impacting education further compound the importance of adult allophone immigrants attaining language fluency in French and English. The commercialization of post-secondary institutions in Québec has led to higher education becoming more expensive and inaccessible. As fees rise and institutions prioritize commercialisation of their services, there is far less emphasis on accommodating adult allophone immigrants who may not have access to financial aid or support. Commercialization in Québec exacerbates existing inequalities by making it far more difficult for allophone immigrants to receive equitable educational opportunities and ultimately integrating into the labour market of the Greater Montréal Area.

2.4 Oversaturation of post-secondary graduates in various fields across Québec

Variables such as unemployment and over-qualification contribute to competition amongst large groups of over-qualified individuals in the current economies of Québec (Cornelissen & Turcotte, 2020). With a large percentage of the working population holding an undergraduate education in Canada (Friesen, 2022), difficulties for certain individuals arise amongst a competitive global market. It is more and more challenging to reduce unemployment for immigrants and in particular allophones unless language ability is improved. A census from the United States found that approximately four in ten recent American graduates with a bachelor’s degree had attained employment, while seven in ten employed had advanced degrees (Spren, 2013). In Canada, a similar trend is noticed amongst over-qualified individuals. Approximately four in ten Canadian men and women experience over-qualification in the

Canadian job market after graduating (Uppal & LaRoche-Côte, 2014). This variable differs from the unemployment statistic seen in the United States, but still contributes to the current reality of university graduates under neoliberal economic policies and the education reform that has occurred. What this stresses is that allophones in Québec must have equitable and easier access to learning in French to achieve and secure economic stability. Prioritizing educational pathways for certain job markets allow universities and post-secondary programs to fast-track allophones into economic stability.

2.5 Microeconomic impacts on Québec's job market from oversaturation

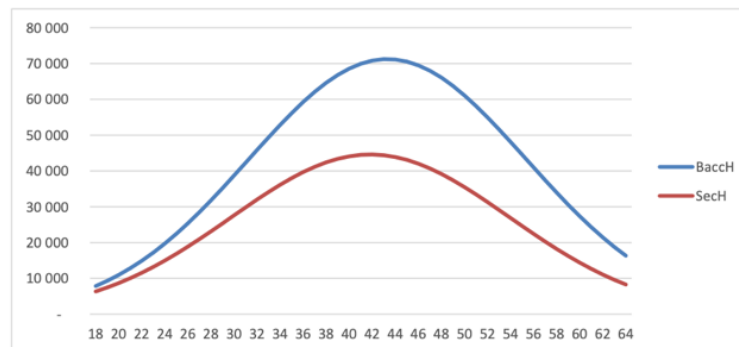
The oversaturation that has occurred in Québec has led to new labourers being in temporary jobs that have low pay and usually no benefits (Means, 2017), a reality which applies to allophones as well. At a microeconomic¹⁹ scale, when a specific sector has too many applicants for the jobs available, this creates an extremely competitive job market. To attain economic stability, well-paying vocations require training or schooling at a post-secondary level. In Québec, there is evidence to support the reality that individuals who gain a bachelor's degree or a trade equivalent have a greater salary than those that do not. In figure 2.2 (Montmarquette et al., 2021), data from a census in 2015 shows that with a wide age range, those with an undergraduate education are far more financially secure. This data includes Canadian citizens, permanent residents as well as those with working visas in Québec.

¹⁹ Microeconomics is the study of economics that looks at the behaviour of decision makers within the economy (individuals, households, businesses).

Figure 2.2

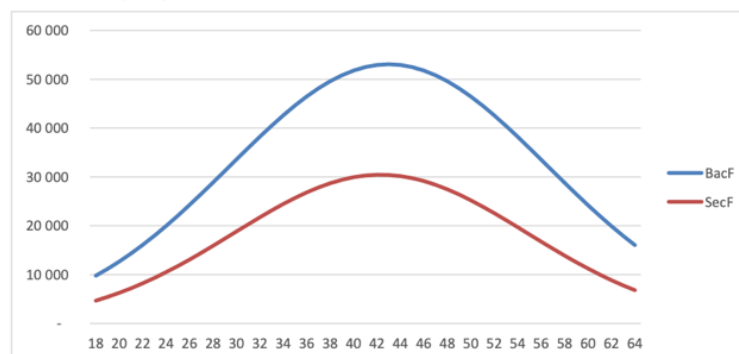
Pre-tax earnings profiles for men and women, secondary education, and undergraduate education in Quebec (2015)

Graphique 1a - Profils de gains avant impôts pour les hommes, études secondaires et baccalauréat, par âge, Québec, 2015



Source : Calcul des auteurs, d'après les régressions fondées sur l'échantillon microdonnées du Recensement de 2016.

Graphique 1b - Profils de gains avant impôts pour les femmes, études secondaires et baccalauréat, par âge, Québec, 2015



Source : Calcul des auteurs, d'après les régressions fondées sur l'échantillon microdonnées du Recensement de 2016.

20

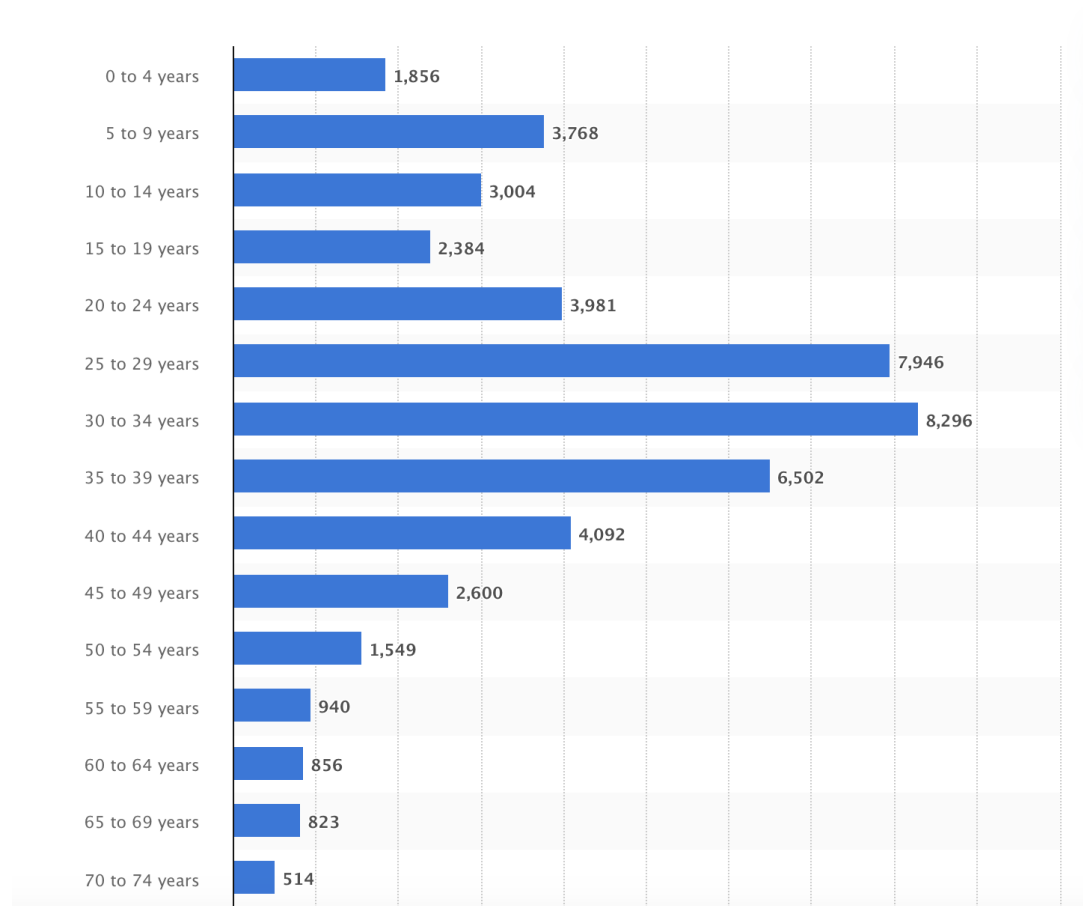
²⁰ Translation of Figure 2.2: Graph 1a) Pre-tax earnings profiles for men, secondary education, and bachelor's degree, by age, Québec 2015. Graph 1 b) Pre-tax earnings profiles for women, secondary education and bachelor's degree by age, Québec 2015. The x axis is the age of individuals, the y axis is the yearly salary.

Note: From a report called *Le rendement privé et social de l'éducation universitaire au Québec en 2015* by Montmarquette, C., Vaillancourt, F. & Milford B.,
<https://cirano.qc.ca/files/publications/2021RP-05.pdf> . Copyright 2021 by CIRANO: Centre interuniversitaire de recherche en analyse des organisations.

Data from figure 2.2 clarifies that people in Québec begin to earn their peak earnings around the age of forty-five, and most allophones who are seeking employment are under the age of forty years old (figure 2.3). Allophones on average are arriving at an age between twenty-five to thirty-five in Montréal (figure 2.3). To maximize an adult allophone immigrant's peak earning potential, language learning policies must be put in place to ensure that language acquisition is attained as quickly as possible upon arrival.

Figure 2.3

Number of people immigrating to Montréal, Québec in 2022, by age groups



Note: This graph was developed by Statista with information collected from Statistics Canada called *Number of people immigrating to Montréal, Québec in Canada in 2022 by age groups 2022*, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1338623/immigrants-montreal-canada-age/#:~:text=Between%20July%201%2C%202021%20and,the%20immigrant%20population%2C%20at%208%2C296>. Copyright 2022 by Statista [Statistics Canada].

Within two to four years of settling in a province, fifty four percent of adult allophone immigrants are still looking for work (Dean & Wilson, 2009) and of those who can find a job, approximately sixty percent of them are overqualified for the work that they do. A study

conducted in Mississauga; Ontario (Dean & Wilson, 2009) concluded that adult allophone immigrants experienced great difficulties integrating into the workforce of the Greater Toronto Area with foreign credentials. When considering the earnings of individuals in Québec (figure 2.1), many adult allophone immigrants with foreign credentials or university training earn less than Canadian-born individuals (Raihan et al., 2023). Policies pertaining to various professional colleges in Québec, and other provinces bar immigrants from transferring their credentials without some sort of educational upgrade or language fluency test.

In Québec, a comparative evaluation (Government of Québec, 2023) must be completed where an individual's credentials and their fluency in French or English is assessed. In some extreme cases, post-secondary and professional credentials are dismissed entirely, and the individual is forced to work in a new field. A study conducted on immigrant engineers in Canada led to a few findings (George et al., 2012) in terms of impacts on the individuals as well as the cost of underemployment in Canada. The engineers that participated in this survey were not satisfied with the employment they had attained in Canada. Two major factors were the cost of living in Canadian cities and their foreign credential not being recognized. Some of the participants that had not had their engineering credentials approved made the decision to leave Canada. What this study (George et al., 2012) found is that there is a strong relationship between job satisfaction and satisfaction with life in Canada. Another study conducted on skilled African immigrants in Québec (Amin Ngami, 2023) found that although these individuals were from primarily French speaking countries in Africa, their foreign credentials were not recognized. With this, the nonrecognition of foreign credentials left many francophone immigrants being underemployed, unemployed, and poor.

Considering the variables discussed in this chapter, it is evident that there is a relationship between the cost of education in Québec and the impact it has on job prospects for allophones. This discussion mapped out the fact that current provincial policies implementing neoliberal principles in the education system do not set up allophones for successful integration into the workforce of Québec, because a systemic failure to equip allophones with relevant language skills. This leads to limited access to employment, an oversaturation in jobs, as well as an overqualification for certain sectors of work, which pushes allophones to seek employment and residence elsewhere in the country.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter of the thesis has uncovered that employment retention in other provinces of Canada is higher in comparison to Québec, further emphasizing that educational policy groups in Québec need to redirect their efforts to ensure that language fluency is reached by a greater number of allophones. With a workforce that understands what they are doing with a complete language fluency, Québec's employment retention rate will most likely increase (Solati et al., 2022). The provincial government is already doing this by offering training and subsidies in construction trades (Government of Québec, 2023). However, this program does not offer language training on site, which highlights the issue that allophones may not comprehend what is being taught at these job sites. As a result, without fluency in French or English, allophones cannot be successful in high vacancy job markets.

An increase in employment would also allow for allophones in Montréal and other parts of Québec to attain sustainable livelihoods and gain economic stability (Bouffard, 2015). In turn, this would assist with reducing labor shortages in various sectors and industries seen across Québec (see figure 1.2).

Adult allophone immigrants face various challenges when accessing post-secondary education in Québec. Neoliberal policies have raised the cost of education at post-secondary institutions in Québec, significantly so for international students. This places financial obstacles for adult allophone immigrants who are settling in the Greater Montréal Area who are experiencing financial challenges. The commercialization of post-secondary institutions in Québec and other provinces of Canada has led to prioritizing financial concerns over ensuring equitable educational opportunities for adult allophone immigrants. This has contributed to adult allophone immigrants experiencing difficulties gaining domestic educational qualifications, professional advancement in the labour market and economic stability in the Greater Montréal Area.

Online language learning policies in CÉGEPs and their effect on allophone residents in Québec

The two prominent CÉGEPs for this study are situated on the island of Montréal, Dawson College²¹ and College d'Ahunatic²²; both have significant allophone demographics. At both of these colleges, synchronous learning²³ environments are offered for French and English classes to students. But they are cost-prohibitive and are not asynchronous²⁴ for adult allophone immigrants. Synchronous learning refers to having instructors and students get together at a fixed time and place (virtual and physical) and interact in real time. In contrast, asynchronous learning refers to students accessing materials at their own pace and interacting with each other over longer periods of time. Within Québec, a francisation²⁵ program is offered known as *the Québec Experience Program*. This operates as an in-person synchronous educational space for temporary foreign workers or foreign students who have graduated in Québec.

²¹ Dawson College is a publicly funded English CÉGEP located in Downtown Montréal.

²² College d'Ahunatic is a publicly funded French CÉGEP located in the Ahunatic-Cartierville borough on the island of Montréal.

²³ Synchronous learning is when both the instructor and the student gather at the same time (whether it be virtual or in person) and interact in real time with one another in an educational space.

²⁴ Asynchronous learning is when students access materials at an individual pace, while interacting with their instructor and other students over longer periods of time.

²⁵ Francisation is the expansion of French language use, through wilful adoption or coercion.

Accounting for the socioeconomic needs of allophones (see chapters one and two), there is a need for a language training platform that is online, free of cost, and that allows allophones to work while enrolled in higher education. Learning is complex and the delivery of education to facilitate learning is multi-faceted. Synchronous learning refers to having instructors and students get together at a fixed time and place (virtual or physical) and interact in real time. In contrast, asynchronous learning refers to students accessing materials at their own pace and interacting with each other over longer periods of time. For allophones in Montréal and other parts of Québec, learning environments need to be improved for language fluency, as well as critical thinking skills. This will not only improve the economic wellbeing of allophones working full time or as students, but likely lead to a more productive and wealthier economy for the province of Québec (Tosic, 2011).

Asynchronous and synchronous language learning opportunities in Québec lack accessibility with current barriers in place that make it difficult for allophones to complete language training in French or English. However, online learning platforms have created access to language learning (Walker et al., 2011), allowing language training to benefit anglophones, francophones and allophones.

3.1 The importance of critical thinking when training a workforce in a new language

Critical thinking is a skillset that allows an individual to engage with material and their surroundings and generate a response that solves the problem or finalizes a decision or response (An Le & Hockey, 2022). The ability to think critically is a skillset that employers look for in graduates, and this is important for allophones to develop if they hope to integrate and succeed in Québec society (Rhodes et al., 2018). Hanushek et al. (2020), highlight that national economies

that go forward with a less skilled labor force face lower economic growth which subtracts from the overall welfare of society. When given language training and a foundation of critical thinking, allophones become eligible for far more employment opportunities in the province (Banshak et al., 2021). Once allophones become fluent in French or English, educational opportunities for further career enhancement can give allophones a clear direct route to pursue employment and integrate into the labour market.

Various sources in the literature support the idea that there is a disparity between academic critical thinking and lack of choice placed upon regional communities regarding the education offered. A study by Henderson et al. (2014) looked at the national approach to standardized testing in the United States, where it was observed that when economic policy is left to experts that neoliberalism removes democratic dialogue and community participation from decision making. Thereby the shift in educational policy goes from addressing the needs of local regions to creating a curriculum that is implemented across an entire nation. Another paper (Sellars et al., 2018) concluded that critical thinking is an important skillset to integrate in curricula as it enables students to succeed in integrating with the communities they inhabit. A third study (Lai, 2011) relays how integrating critical thinking allows for metacognition (the thinking about thinking) to evolve in individuals, this allows people to monitor and evaluate their own development, leading to higher quality work.

Broadly, however, in the case of teachers (Henderson et al., 2014), they are suddenly put in positions where their own job autonomy is minimized through standardized testing and curriculum designed at the national level. This in turn provides students with little opportunity to engage with material critically and participate in political discourse regarding contemporary and controversial issues. This discourse on national curriculums highlights the importance of

integrating critical thinking into learning spaces at regional levels. By giving adult allophones in Québec the opportunity to critically engage with materials through French or English, this will allow them to integrate into the cultural and social networks within the job market of the Greater Montreal Area (Bousmah & Grenier, 2021). Allophones should continue to be given the materials to engage with an education that prepares them to work with a full critical mindset, while also achieving a language fluency that is appropriate for their workplace. Ensuring that a critical thinking foundation is implemented into language learning leads to immigrants experiencing greater success integrating into society through employment (Kazemipur & Halli, 2001). This will also allow the retention rate for employment in Québec to increase as discussed previously in the second chapter.

3.2 CÉGEPs in Montréal; Dawson College and College d’Ahunstic

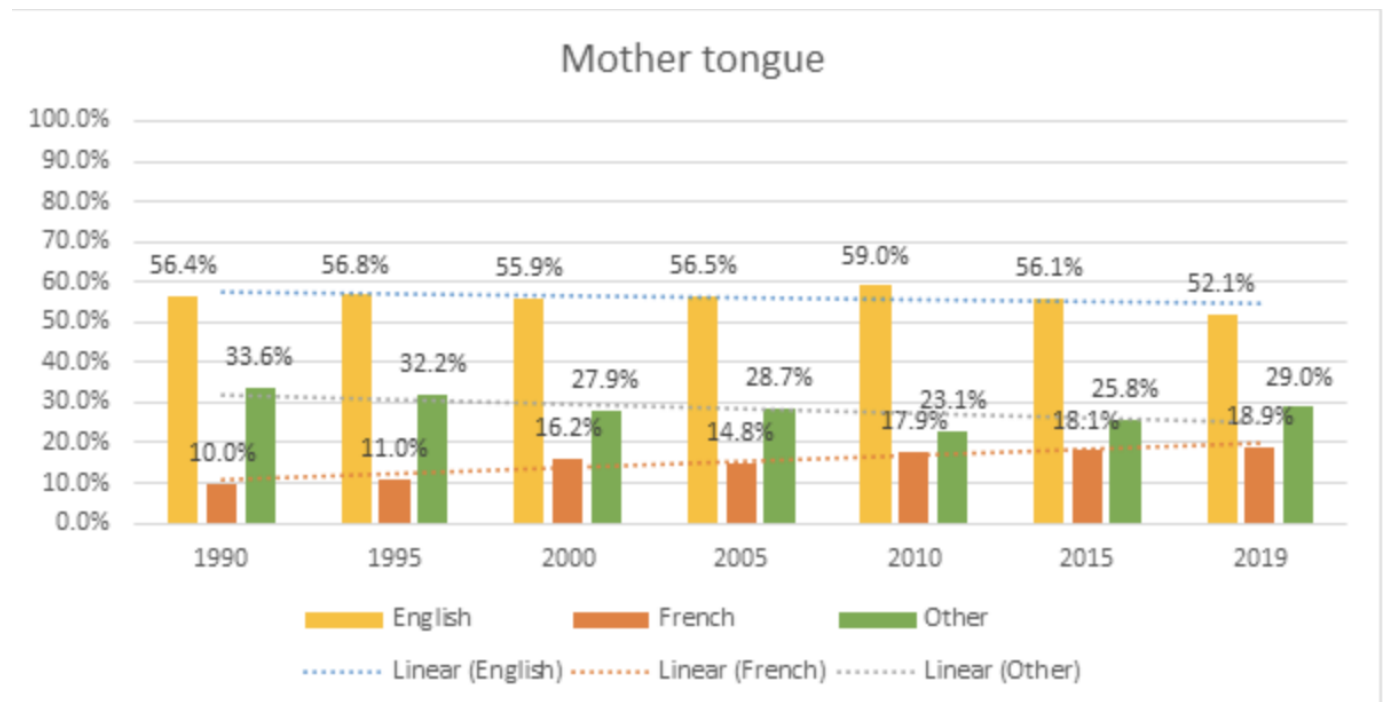
In this portion of the chapter, two CÉGEPs will be used to compare the current learning environments that are offered. Dawson College and Collège d’Ahunstic. Both post-secondary institutions each support a student body of over ten thousand students on the island of Montréal. Additionally, these institutions have full and part-time students, who commute from various parts of the Greater Montréal Area with significant allophone demographics attending. The key difference between these two institutions is that Dawson College offers coursework primarily in English, while College d’Ahunstic offers coursework primarily in French. Using these two institutions, a comparison of the current infrastructure for hybrid learning will be explored, providing a better idea of how allophones are receiving language training coursework in both an asynchronous and synchronous learning environment.

CÉGEPs are an integral part of the educational system in Québec that exist to allow individuals to further their employment prospects (Turcotte et al., 2009). By creating further barriers to completing a diploma at a CÉGEP, the current educational policies towards language classes make it more difficult for adult allophone immigrants to not only attend, but also complete their programs. Further, these individuals do not have permanent residency or Canadian citizenship and are paying an international student tuition. By being put into an educational pathway that is costly, allophones will experience more difficulty integrating into the labour market of Québec as the cost and time associated with French language accreditation continues to increase. With an easily accessible remote platform to learn French and English, allophones would be given the opportunity to learn languages that would be appropriate to integrating into the labour market of Montréal.

In Québec, attendance has decreased for allophones in English CÉGEPs while the allophone attendance in French CÉGEPs has increased over the last few decades (see the first chapter). French CÉGEP attendance by allophones has gone from 18% in 1980 to approximately 60% in 2006 (Lamarre, 2008). Despite this, Dawson College still has a large allophone population within their student demographic. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 (Dawson College, 2023) point to the difference seen in Dawson College over the past few decades. Currently, one quarter of Dawson College's student population identify as allophones (Dawson College, 2023), this percent has decreased from approximately a third of the total student population in 1990. As mentioned in the first chapter, Bill 101 was implemented to limit allophones from attending English primary and secondary educational institutions in Québec. The implications of this are that upon graduation, a significant number of allophones choose to attend English CÉGEPs in comparison to French CÉGEPs within the province.

Figure 3.1

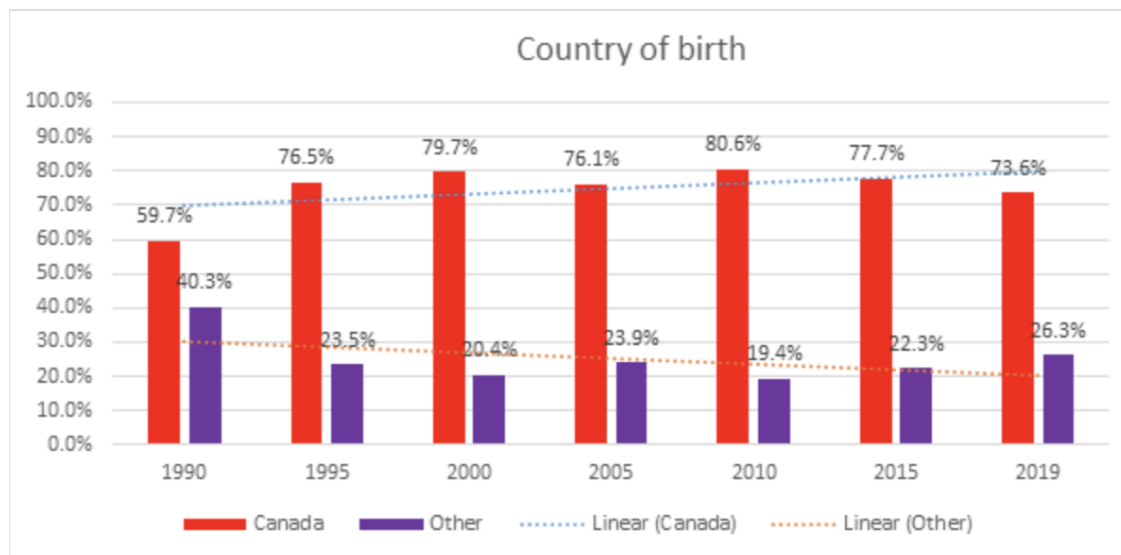
Student Population at Dawson College (CÉGEP), their mother tongue, 1990-2019



Note: This table was produced by Dawson College for a webpage called *the changing student profile*, 2023. <https://www.dawsoncollege.qc.ca/academic-matters/articles/the-changing-student-profile/>. Copyright 2023 by Dawson College.

Figure 3.2

Student Population at Dawson College (CÉGEP), their country of birth, 1990-2019



Note: This table was produced by Dawson College for a webpage called *the changing student profile*, 2023. <https://www.dawsoncollege.qc.ca/academic-matters/articles/the-changing-student-profile/>. Copyright 2023 by Dawson College.

All programs at Dawson College require a completion of language coursework in both French and English (Bussi res McNicoll, 2023). To graduate from any C GEP students must complete a mandatory language fluency exam known as the  preuve uniforme de fran ais ²⁶, otherwise known as the French Exit Exam (Dawson College Admissions, 2024). This province wide examination is offered by all C GEPs to ensure that graduates are capable of communicating in the official language of Qu bec (Government of Qu bec, 2024). This policy acts a further barrier for allophones attending post-secondary colleges in Qu bec, as it enforces the completion of five mandatory French classes (Vanier College, 2024) for an allophone to receive a diploma from a

²⁶  preuve uniforme de fran ais (Uniform French Test) is a mandatory test used to obtain a college diploma (DEC), all C GEP students must pass the uniform French test in order to graduate from their C GEP program

CÉGEP. This policy also makes allophone students who are already learning a second language go through an assessment in a third language that they are not studying. To accommodate this issue, there must be language teaching infrastructure in place that allows allophones to learn French and English thoroughly, as a means to complete their studies at CÉGEP.

Most of the online coursework at Dawson College is facilitated through a synchronous learning space. This is to say that students at Dawson complete language training through an online classroom that is schedule and not self-paced. All French language coursework is mandatory for an individual to receive a diplôme d'études collégiales (DEC)²⁷, diplôme d'études professionnelles (DEP)²⁸ or an attestation d'études collégiales (AEC)²⁹. Studies on synchronous (both in person and online) classrooms have shown that students experience far less foreign language anxiety (FLA) ³⁰with online classrooms (Côté et al., 2021). Additionally, when students learn a new language in an online setting that they are more likely to interact more with the written materials than a face-to-face classroom setting.

In comparison to Dawson College, Collège d'Ahunatic offers coursework entirely in French. As shown in figure 3.3, approximately two thirds of the student population are registered in programs that lead to jobs upon graduation in a technical field. Similar to Dawson College, Collège d'Ahunatic offers a distance learning program, where online synchronous classes are offered to students for various subjects (College d'Ahunatic, 2024). The data used for Dawson College and College d'Ahunatic did not offer statistics that were comparable. As such, the

²⁷ DEC is a diploma issued by a CÉGEP in which the education received is pre-university coursework

²⁸ DEP is a diploma issued by a CÉGEP in which the coursework is vocational studies

²⁹ AEC is a diploma issued by a CÉGEP; the AEC is a shorter program than a DEC in which the coursework is pre-university coursework

³⁰ Foreign Language Anxiety (FLA) is the feeling of unease, worry, nervousness and apprehension experienced in learning or using a second or foreign language.

information provided in the tables of the two colleges offer insight on their respective student populations.

Figure 3.3

Student Population who are full-time at CÉGEP d'Ahunatic (Fall 2021)

POPULATION ÉTUDIANTE À L'ENSEIGNEMENT RÉGULIER

AUTOMNE 2021

Secteur / Famille du programme	Total temps plein	Total temps partiel réputé temps plein	Total temps partiel	Total
PRÉUNIVERSITAIRES				
Arts, lettres et communication	200	6	13	219
Sciences de la nature	754	12	34	800
Sciences humaines	1 413	43	87	1 543
SOUS-TOTAL	2 367	61	134	2 562
TECHNIQUES				
Techniques administratives	958	30	55	1 043
Techniques artistiques	230	8	4	242
Techniques biologiques	1 185	35	59	1 279
Techniques humaines	1 203	24	37	1 264
Techniques physiques	877	52	38	967
SOUS-TOTAL	4 453	149	193	4 795
TREMPIN DEC				
Mise à niveau / préalables	225	2	24	251
Orientation / exploration	63	1	15	79
SOUS-TOTAL	288	3	39	330
TOTAL POPULATION ÉTUDIANTE	7 108	213	366	7 687

Note: This table was created for a report called *Annual Report 2021-2022*, 2022.

<https://www.collegeahuntsic.qc.ca/documents/42070eec-a062-490f-94a5-3c19217580bd.pdf>.

Copyright 2022 by Collège d'Ahunatic.

3.3 Synchronous and Asynchronous learning: The issues that it presents for language learning

With differing learning platforms, rather than providing one delivery method or another, it is more common for post-secondary institutions to offer a combination of learning methods to ensure the highest number of desired recipients as possible have access to the education at an affordable cost. Online synchronous learning includes activities such as attending live-stream lectures and participating in video-conference discussions. At the asynchronous end of the spectrum, activities such as reading pre-prepared materials, attending pre-recorded lectures, and participating in separate discussion groups are offered. For allophone students in Québec learning French, asynchronous learning spaces make more sense. These asynchronous spaces allow the individual to prioritize working and generating income, while devoting time that works with the rest of their schedule to complete studying and coursework. With respect to providing effective language training in a way that is available at a reasonable cost and has the highest uptake of those that need it the most (allophones), it is necessary to look synchronous and asynchronous models that are used in classrooms within Québec. Policies must be adapted so that asynchronous learning be available for adult allophone immigrants who need to fulfill language requirements to gain permanent residency or require it for further education in post-secondary (Morse, 2003). Removing the cost of receiving language courses (whether it be French or English) gives agency to allophones who are putting time aside to learn a new language.

Success with synchronous as well as asynchronous learning is based on self-determination theory³¹. This is to say that if an individual is motivated to finish their work they

³¹ Self-determination theory is a motivational theory of personality, development, and social processes that examines how social contexts and individual differences facilitate different types of motivation to complete tasks.

can. This theory further states that in order for an individual to find success and wellness with their education, they must establish autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Thompson et al., 2021). Social inequality also exists within the usage of technology in schooling, as students who have access to technology and similar resources tend to find greater success in their academics and gain access to better career opportunities. Whereas students who cannot afford or access technology, do not attain similar success in their academics. Synchronous learning alone does not generate equitable learning for allophones in Montréal as this limits access to learners who can prioritize an asynchronous schedule above all other commitments. Equitable learning is impeded by a variety of factors including inconsistent access to a device or internet, living in a rural area or far away from the physical location of the school, or the discomfort that comes with using cameras and speakers in the digital world today (Salazar-Márquez, 2017). Currently, a new system beyond synchronous learning platforms is needed to ensure gaining knowledge and proficiency in either French, English or both. As many allophones fall under a socioeconomic status of lower income and advantages, having the ability to put time aside for coursework at specific times can be problematic while ensuring they are working enough to cover living expenses. With an asynchronous learning environment, allophones would be able to apply themselves while accounting for their daily schedule and commitments (Fadde & Vu, 2014).

3.4 *Québec Experience Program*, a provincial francisation course

Completion of the *Québec Experience Program* allows you to obtain a Québec selection certificate to settle permanently in the province (Government of Québec, 2023). This further emphasizes the issue of time restraints that allophones may have while working to gain a basic income to cover living expenses as they settle in Québec. This program also discourages

allophones from choosing Québec as a place to settle because if an allophone who arrives in Montreal sees opportunity elsewhere in Canada for schooling and work that does not require French language proficiency, they will move to a different province (Serebin, 2017).

Another study (Zagrebina, 2022) conducted a survey amongst participants of the *Québec Experience Program*. It was concluded from these interviews with allophones that this program allowed them to increase their social capital through making friends and socializing but did not aid them in integrating into the workforce. As shown in figure 3.5, less than half of all students found the Québec Experience Program to be helpful in finding a job in Québec, integrating into the society of Québec, or helping their children (if they had any) with schoolwork in French. Most notably, the lowest positive response rate from the *Québec Experience Program* was towards studying at university or CÉGEP. Less than ten percent of applicants said that the *Québec Experience Program* was helpful and beneficial to completing and understanding course work at the post-secondary level (Zagrebina, 2022).

Figure 3.4

Practical Use of Benefits Received during the Francisation (Québec Experience Program)

Rating	Responses to the question “Explain how the things obtained during your participation in the program can help you in life.”	Frequency (n = 73) and % (73 = 100%)	% Women (52 = 100%)	% Men (21 = 100%)
1.	find a job	25 (34.2%)	40.4	19.0
2.	integrate into the host society	23 (31.5%)	34.6	23.8
3.	help children with homework	8 (11.0%)	13.5	4.8
4.	study at university or college	7 (9.6%)	9.6	9.5

Note: This chart was from “Meanings of Québec’s linguistic integration program as perceived by recent immigrants: Education, socialization, encouragement, and personal development through language courses”. *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, 34(1), (pp.33-47), <https://www.erudit.org/en/journals/cjsae/2022-v34-n1-cjsae07206/1091540ar.pdf>. Copyright 2022 by Zegrebina.

These findings contradict the purpose of the *Québec Experience Program*, as it is meant to give allophones a pathway into the civic integration of Québec’s society. Although it allowed recent adult allophone immigrants to find a social space to practice and learn a new language, it did not aid these same allophones in integrating into the labour market of Québec. As indicated (Zegrebina, 2022), this program has not been able to equip adult allophone immigrants with the French language skillset to integrate into the labour markets of the Greater Montréal Area as well as Québec.

3.5 CÉGEP à Distance, an unreliable asynchronous solution

There is an asynchronous learning environment for CÉGEP students in Québec that allows students to complete their language requirements for graduating with a diploma. This program is offered through a French CÉGEP in Montréal called Collège Rosemont. The program is known as *CÉGEP à distance*.³² This online school has facilitated coursework for CÉGEP students across Québec since 1991. This self-paced asynchronous model works to benefit students by allowing them to work at their own pace and complete coursework within six

³² CÉGEP à Distance is a distance- education CÉGEP that offers services which are complementary to those offered through the CÉGEP network in Québec.

months, and then take another three months to complete final assessments for each course (CÉGEP à Distance, 2023). The main underlying issue with this online school for allophones is that it requires self-directed learning for all its coursework. This means that there is no instructor helping students through the materials. In a study (Varkey et al., 2023), it was determined that the most important aspect of asynchronous learning for students to retain knowledge was having consistent and clear feedback on assessments throughout coursework. With the current model of *CÉGEP à distance*, feedback is limited to each student with coursework and the lack of internal accountability towards student experience has led to its decline in enrollment since 2011 (Bates, 2018).

Another issue with *CÉGEP à distance* is that although the courses are recognized and accredited by Québec's Ministry of Education and Higher Education, students registered at another CÉGEP may not necessarily be able to transfer their credits over to a program they are pursuing. To study at *CÉGEP à Distance*, a permit must be authorized by the administrations of the CÉGEPs that a student is attending (CÉGEP à Distance, 2023). As this is the only online provincial asynchronous platform for students attending colleges, this poses an issue that speaks to the current state of education policy as well as the economic impacts it is having on the job market. A significant portion of allophones fall under a demographic who face disadvantages financially upon settling and arriving in Québec (Statistics Canada, 2018).

A study on intracity allophone post-secondary participation shows that non-French speakers in Montreal are more likely to attend post-secondary institutions than French speakers (Ledent et al., 2013). Additionally, the data in figure 3.4 (Ledent et al., 2013) shows that in Toronto and Vancouver, non-English speaking youth are far more likely to attend post-secondary school than English speakers.

Figure 3.5

Participation rate (%) in a selective or university-bound course: Target group by subgroup and comparison group

Montreal		Toronto		Vancouver	
Subgroup	Rate	Subgroup	Rate	Subgroup	Rate
Non French Speakers	32.4	Non English Speakers	55.8	Non English Speakers	54
Spanish	18.2	Chinese	76.7	Chinese	77
Arabic	41.8	Tamil	67.0	Punjabi	37
Creole	6.4	Urdu	54.7	Tagalog	36
Chinese	67.3	Russian	60.4	Hindi	22
Vietnamese	63.2	Persian	42.7	Korean	68
Portuguese	16.8	Spanish	22.0	Spanish	19
Persian	32.0	Vietnamese	52.5	Vietnamese	41
Tagalog	13.5	Arabic	46.0	Persian	47
Romanian	60.0	Portuguese	19.4	Russian	55
Tamil	23.5	Somali	30.3	Arabic	39
French Speakers	31.9	English Speakers	39.8	English Speakers	28

Note: Graduation in province for Montreal and Vancouver but in jurisdiction for Toronto.

Note: This chart is from “Academic performances and educational pathways of young allophones: A comparative multivariate analysis of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver” Ledent, J., Aman, C., Garnett, B, Murdoch, J., Walters, D. & McAndrew, M. *Canadian Studies in Population* 40 (1-2), <https://doi.org/10.25336/P67C80>. Copyright 2013 by Ledent, J., Aman, C., Garnett, B, Murdoch, J., Walters, D. & McAndrew, M.

It should be clear by now that Québec’s current educational policies towards language acquisition in French or English are failing allophones and needs to be reconfigured in order to promote French language use (as indicated in figure 3.5). In figure 3.5, the subgroup of adult allophone students in Toronto had far more English speakers in comparison to Montreal’s French speakers. There is far more economic benefits associated with fluent French speakers who can participate in the labour market of Québec (Ortega & Verdugo, 2015). Considering the gaps in

various sectors of Québec's labour market (figure 1.2) as well as labour retention mentioned in the second chapter of this analysis, language learning is a priority to equip allophones for employment

3.6 Conclusion

Choosing to attend post-secondary institutions is a decision that revolves around the costs and benefits of achieving employment (Boudarbat, 2006). Allophones in Québec seek higher education to attain a vocational, professional designation, and the critical thinking skills to attain economic stability. Online learning language platforms can make fluency of a new language more accessible and attainable through increasing asynchronous settings in English or French in Canada (Chen, 2021).

In order to accommodate the mandates, set out by provincial governments in Québec, changes will have to occur with regards to adult allophone immigrants practicing and becoming fluent in French. A study on intracity allophone post-secondary participation shows that non-French speakers in Montreal are more likely to attend post-secondary institutions than French speakers (Ledent et al., 2013). Additionally, the data in figure 3.4 (Ledent et al., 2013) shows that in Toronto and Vancouver, non-English speaking youth are far more likely to attend post-secondary school than English speakers.

Language policies in Québec must evolve so that educational bodies such as CÉGEPs and the Ministry of Education can modify and address the lack of asynchronous educational opportunities for allophones. In turn, this will help reduce the gaps that currently exist across the labour market of Québec and will allow allophones to integrate faster into the workforce.

Language training's role in shaping better access to job placements in industries across Québec's labour market

As proposed in Chapter Three, the current asynchronous and synchronous for language learning platforms - both virtual and in person- should be more accessible for allophones settling in Québec. The impact that this will have on accessibility to Québec's labour market cannot be understated. Allophones who immigrate to Québec need to have access to language training to fulfill the gaps in labour that currently exist in Québec (see figure 1.2). This chapter will outline and establish incentives for the Government of Québec to redirect language learning policies for allophones who come to integrate into the labour market.

4.1 Labour shortages in Québec, the macroeconomic consequences

Labour shortages have negative implications on the macroeconomic ³³scale for both public and private employers as well as workers that inhabit a region (Fougère, 2009). Within the area of Montréal and Laval, the sectors that are currently facing labour shortages include healthcare, education, retail, customer service and transport drivers (Québec Statistics Institute, 2023). In Québec, the shortages in these sectors of work are exacerbated by challenges related to

³³ Macroeconomics is the study of economics that looks at large scale factors of an economy such as national output (GDP), unemployment, and price stability (inflation).

salary, credentials required and language fluency in either French or English. A study conducted on labour relations and industry (Jalette, 2023) found that Québec's job vacancy rate is extremely high in comparison to other countries that also were primarily English speaking with a constitutional monarchy. The countries used for this were Australia, New Zealand, Canada, with Québec considered as another separate economy. Figure 4.1 provides an overview of the job vacancy rates through a quarterly analysis in the years 2015-2023. This figure shows that Québec has a significantly higher job vacancy on average than other comparable regions. An important difference between Québec, Australia, New Zealand, and other Canadian provinces is that the official language in Québec is not English. Currently, Québec's language policy towards integrating allophones does not cure the contemporary issues that the regions faces when it comes to addressing labour shortages (Paquet & Xhardez, 2020).

Figure 4.1

Job vacancy rates between Québec, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada 2015-2022

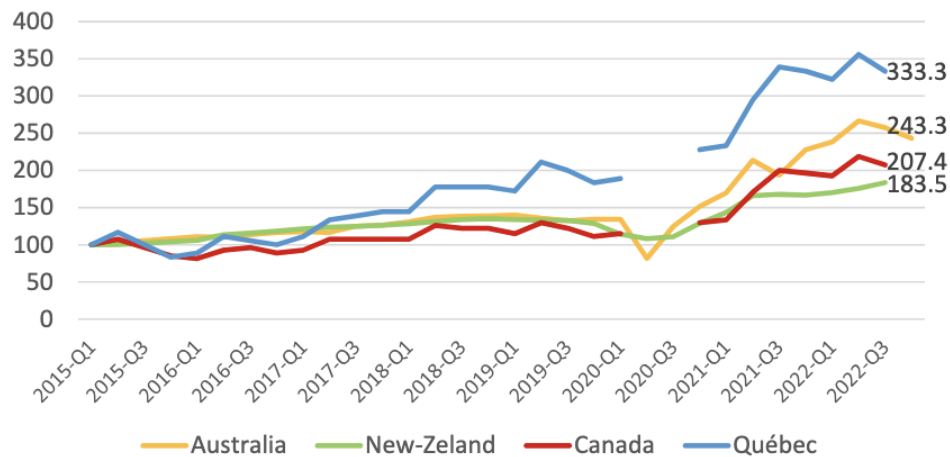


Figure 4. Job vacancy rates, quarterly, Québec, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, 2015–2022 (2015Q1=100).

Sources: Statistics Canada; Australian Bureau of Statistics; New Zealand’s Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment.

Note: Data for the 2nd and 3rd quarters of 2020 were not collected by Statistics Canada.

34

Note: This graph was produced in “Labour shortages: a game changer for industrial relations?”, By P. Jalette, 2023, *Labour and Industry: A Journal of the Social and Economic Relations of Work* 18, (pp.1-15). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10301763.2023.2230953> Copyright 2021 by Jalette.

As shown in figure 4.1, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Québec have experienced varying degrees of job vacancies, with Québec experiencing the highest rate of job vacancies. The province of Québec has experienced various political decisions that have led to high job vacancy rate. This critical analysis put forward in this thesis has already provided numerous

³⁴ For figure 4.1, the x- axis represents two quarterly segments of time from each calendar year (Q1 = January to March, Q3 = July to September). The y-axis represents the number of job vacancies at several firms collected through employer surveys.

examples of policies enforced by governments in Québec, in which language and possession of foreign licensing prevent many allophones from participating in the job market, particularly in the second chapter. In the third chapter, the role in which educational policies and institutions have on making language acquisition attainable for allophones was discussed, highlighting how improvements can be made in asynchronous language online platforms, better preparing allophones to integrate into the labour market of Québec.

4.2 Free Market Economics and Labour Shortages in Québec

The premise of free market economics ³⁵is that market demand and supply always rebalance which means that when an element of the economy is in high demand, supply of this entity will be provided (Maselli, 2012). On the other hand, when an element of the economy is in low demand, the supply of this entity will decrease to match the demand. This rebalance is applied to labour surplus and shortage, domestic and international trade, inflation³⁶, fiscal policies and the national and provincial levels of income. Particularly addressing labour shortage (Peireira, 2007), it is clear that in order to maximize human potential in the labour market, immigration must increase. It is further evident (Peireira, 2007) that the increase in skills, training and education acquisition must also accommodate the market's needs. From this same action plan (Peireira, 2007), the Federal Government of Canada released a three point strategy to enhance Canadian workforce gaps; quantity, quality and efficiency of the workforce. While this initiative allowed for funding to be allocated to various programs across the country, the power

³⁵ Free Market Economics is an economic system that is controlled by the forces of supply and demand, as opposed to government regulation

³⁶ Inflation measures how much more expensive a set of goods and services has become over a certain period of time.

to allow for changes to be implemented and seen in various job markets rests with provincial governments in Canada (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2022).

One study (Boudarbat et al., 2010) found that immigrants who arrived before the age of twenty years old fare far better than immigrants who are older. Data from this study reinforced the observation that immigrants in Québec were at a greater disadvantage compared to other provinces in Canada with regards to attaining economic stability and participating in the labour market. Figures 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 show that with high job vacancies and Québec's selective immigration process (see first chapter), there are issues towards unemployment that are not being properly examined regarding language fluency when integrating allophones into the labour market (see figure 1.2). Of particular note is the issue that allophones who immigrate to Québec after the age of twenty experience far higher rates of unemployment than people born in Canada or allophones who immigrate to Québec who are younger than twenty years old. This does not include allophones who graduated from a secondary school in Québec. It is also worth noting in figure 4.2 that immigrants under the age of twenty experience almost as much success integrating into the labour market as people born in Canada when it comes to employment.

Figure 4.2

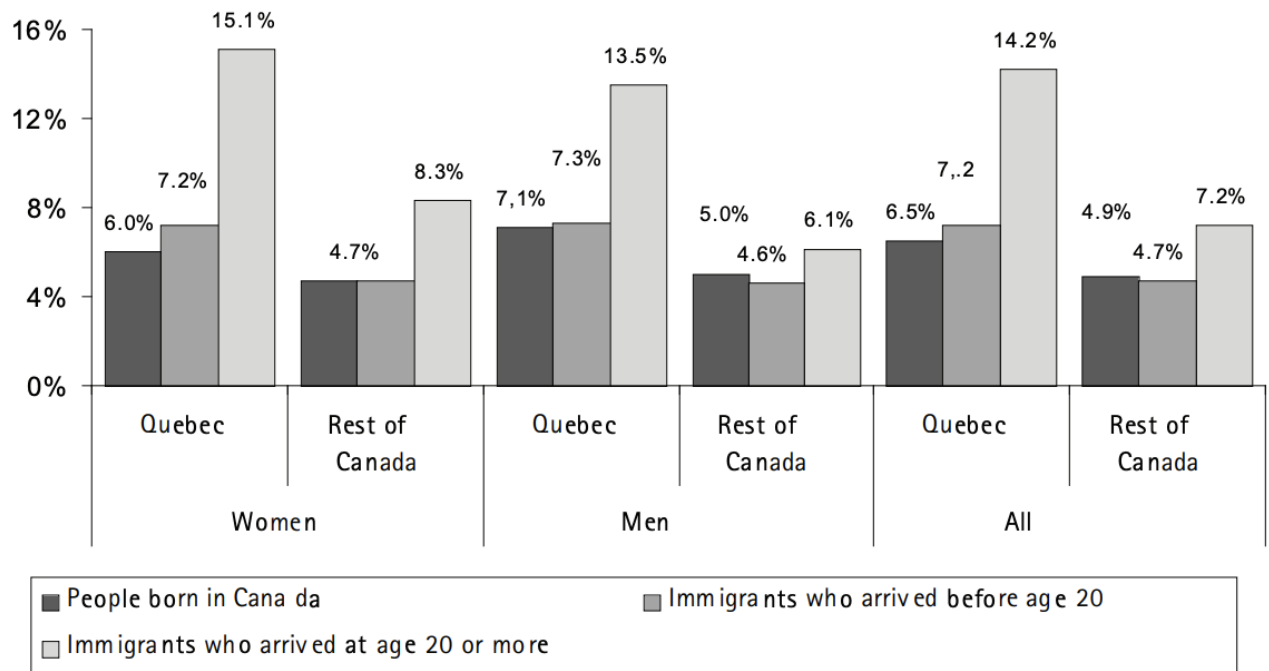
Employment rate in Québec and Canada by sex, region and immigration status

	Women		Men		All	
	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Reste of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada
People born in Canada	75.0%	78.2%	84.8%	87.5%	79.8%	82.8%
Immigrants who arrived before age 20	73.6%	76.8%	81.8%	87.1%	77.7%	81.8%
Immigrants who arrived at age 20 or more	57.4%	67.0%	75.0%	83.5%	66.2%	74.7%
Years since immigration* :						
1 to 5	43.3%	54.4%	63.1%	77.0%	53.3%	65.2%
6 to 10	58.5%	66.2%	78.2%	83.6%	67.8%	74.1%
More than 10	66.4%	75.2%	81.3%	87.6%	74.0%	81.0%

* For immigrants who arrived at age 20 or more.

Note: This chart is from an article titled; Labour Market participation and employment income among immigrants in Quebec compare with those in the rest of Canada. *Immigration and Diversity* (7). (pp.54-60). <https://www.amssa.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Our-Diverse-Cities-Quebec.pdf#page=56>. Copyright 2010 by Boudarbat, B., Boulet, M. & Zhu, N.

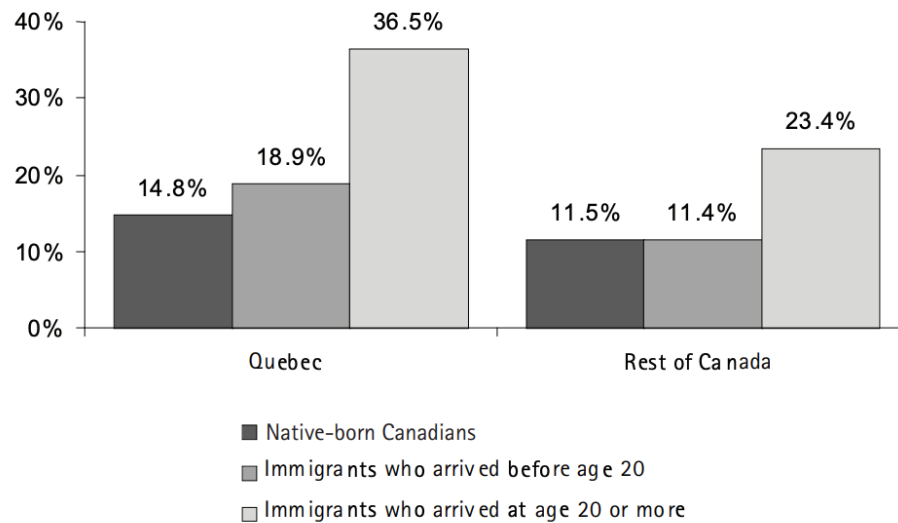
Figure 4.3
Unemployment rate by sex, region and immigration status



Note: This chart is from an article titled; Labour Market participation and employment income among immigrants in Quebec compare with those in the rest of Canada. *Immigration and Diversity* (7). (pp.54-60). <https://www.amssa.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Our-Diverse-Cities-Quebec.pdf#page=56>. Copyright 2010 by Boudarbat, B., Boulet, M. & Zhu, N.

Figure 4.4

People whose total economic family income in 2000 was below the corresponding low-income cut-off



*Population between the ages of 25 and 54 only.

Note: This chart is from an article titled; Labour Market participation and employment income among immigrants in Quebec compare with those in the rest of Canada. *Immigration and Diversity* (7). (pp.54-60). <https://www.amssa.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Our-Diverse-Cities-Quebec.pdf#page=56>. Copyright 2010 by Boudarbat, B., Boulet, M. & Zhu, N.

Figures 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 provide further evidence to conclusions made about the lack of accessibility to language education in Québec. These figures also point to a conclusion that Statistics Canada (2023) found from surveying allophones in Québec. It was determined that 72.1 percent of people who used English regularly at work lived in the Greater Montreal Area. Additionally, 67.7 percent of adult allophone immigrants could converse in English was higher

than the proportion of the non-immigration population, which was 48.9 percent (Statistics Canada, 2023). In each of these graphs, the allophone population in Québec is shown to be less financially stable than allophones who settle in other provinces in Canada. In figure 4.2 it is shown that immigrants under twenty years old who participated in this survey were graduates of the secondary school system in Québec. By the age of twenty, a percentage of youth in Québec have graduated or are attending a CÉGEP (Fortin et al., 2022). These same graduates are beginning to find stable income in a field of their choosing or are continuing their studies to attain economic stability. These statistics establish that allophone who integrate into secondary school in Québec and are immersed into classes in either French or English will find more success in integrating into the labour market (Mady et al., 2017).

A report titled *New measures to address Canada's labour shortage* (2022) stated that former international students who are in Canada and have a post-graduation permit will qualify for an additional open work permit of eighteen months. While this initiative benefits immigrants who were living in Quebec and Canada already with a student visa, this does not address the issue of immigrants and allophones who have already achieved permanent residency and are actively seeking a form of employment that will give them economic stability with a higher income.

In 2022, Employment and Social Development Canada developed a report outlining a strategy for addressing labour shortages in Quebec. This report detailed a new inclusion of National Occupational Classification (NOC)³⁷, where employers under the temporary foreign worker (TFW)³⁸ program were given flexibility in retaining low-skilled labour (Employment and

³⁷ National occupational classification (NOC) is a Canadian federal system for describing occupations to collect data for labour market information and employment-related program administration.

³⁸ The temporary foreign worker (TFW) program allows Canadian employers to hire foreign workers to fill temporary jobs when qualified Canadians are not available.

Social Development Canada, 2022). In August 2021, Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada extended work permits for foreign nationals who were already working temporarily in the province of Québec. This allowed workers to continue working in their fields while waiting for their permanent residency applications to be finalized (Employment and Social Development Canada, 2022). Neither of these initiatives support enhancing language training for workers as a means for them to attain residency in Québec or to situate themselves into a vocational line of work that is needed in the province (Gross, 2017). These initiatives have created a gap by the federal government and should be addressed in order to fulfill the labour demands of the Greater Montréal Area and surrounding regions in Québec.

4.3 Montréal, Laval, and their labour markets

Montréal and Laval are two municipalities in Québec that face some of the highest labour shortages. Respectively these regions face a 7.7% and 5.5% unemployment rate, while also being the two most densely populated regions of Québec (Statistics Canada, 2024). Montréal and Laval are the two regions in Québec that experience the highest levels of settlement by immigrants as seen in figure 4.5 (Vézina & Houle, 2017). For the past decade, Montreal and Laval have consistently held a combined unemployment rate that is well above the provincial average of Québec (Institut de la statistique du Québec, 2024).

Figure 4.5

Percentage of total and recent immigrants in the metropolitan area of Montréal by municipality (census subdivision) with over 40,000 inhabitants, from 2001 to 2011

Municipality	Total population	Immigrant			Recent immigrant		
	2011 thousands	census year					
		2001	2006	2011	2001	2006	2011
		percentage					
Brossard	78.8	27.9	33.4	36.6	3.3	5.3	5.4
Boucherville	40.1	4.1	4.8	5.6	0.4	1.0	0.7
Longueuil	228.0	9.1	12.7	14.7	1.4	3.4	3.9
Repentigny	81.4	2.3	4.0	6.7	0.1	0.6	1.1
Terrebonne	105.6	2.6	4.0	6.5	0.2	0.5	0.9
Mascouche	41.9	2.2	3.1	3.5	0.2	0.4	0.4
Laval	392.7	15.5	20.2	24.6	1.2	2.5	3.4
Montréal	1,612.6	27.6	30.8	33.4	6.0	7.9	8.8
Dollard-des-Ormeaux	49.1	34.6	37.1	39.5	3.6	4.2	3.9
Châteauguay	45.2	8.1	10.0	13.7	0.5	0.8	1.8
St-Eustache	43.5	2.9	3.2	4.9	0.2	0.8	0.5
Blainville	53.1	4.2	5.4	6.4	0.5	0.9	0.7
Mirabel	41.6	2.3	2.2	2.5	0.3	0.4	0.3
St-Jérôme	66.5	2.0	2.8	3.0	0.4	1.0	0.9

Source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011, and Census of Population, 2006 and 2001.

Note: From Settlement patterns and social integration of the population with an immigrant background in Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver metropolitan areas. *Statistics Canada: Ethnicity, Language, and Immigration Thematic Series*. https://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/201/301/weekly_acquisitions_list-ef/2017/17-19/publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2017/statcan/89-657-x/89-657-x2016002-eng.pdf.

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Figure 4.6 shows these unemployment rate across all seventeen regions of Québec. Notably, from the time period of 2015-2023 Montréal remains well above the yearly average unemployment rate in Québec, and that in most of the years Laval is above or close to the average. Considering that Montréal and Laval receive the majority of immigrants that come to Québec, this further raises concern around these two regions of the province experiencing higher

unemployment rates in comparison to other populated regions such as Capitale-Nationale (Québec City) or Outaouais (Gatineau).

Figure 4.6

Labour Market Characteristics, annual data, administrative regions and all of Québec, 2006-2023 – unemployment rates

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
	%								
Bas-Saint-Laurent (01)	7,9	8,2	6,2	5,5	5,5	7,6	5,5	4,8	4,4
Saguenay--Lac-Saint-Jean (02)	8,8	8,2	7,1	6,2	5,6	9,6	5,8	3,8	3,3
Capitale-Nationale (03)	4,6	4,7	4,6	4,1	3,5	7,1	4,9	3,6	2,9
Mauricie (04)	7,9	7,0	6,0	5,2	5,8	8,8	5,7	4,5	4,7
Estrie (05)	6,5	6,2	5,1	4,6	4,1	7,0	5,3	3,4	4,4
Montréal (06)	10,7	9,5	8,1	7,3	7,2	11,3	8,3	5,7	6,2
Outaouais (07)	7,4	7,6	5,6	5,0	5,1	8,1	5,4	3,6	4,1
Abitibi-Témiscamingue (08)	6,9	6,7	5,2	3,6	4,1	6,8	4,8	3,3	3,1
Côte-Nord (09) et Nord-du-Québec (10)	10,3	8,5	6,0	5,1	5,0	7,6	4,4	4,6	2,9
Gaspésie--Îles-de-la-Madeleine (11)	15,2	15,2	12,1	13,2	13,2	13,0	12,9	10,3	7,6
Chaudière-Appalaches (12)	5,3	5,7	3,6	3,2	3,3	5,9	3,5	2,0	2,4
Laval (13)	7,9	7,5	6,3	5,3	4,7	8,3	6,8	4,4	5,7
Lanaudière (14)	8,1	6,6	5,7	5,5	3,9	7,7	5,2	4,9	4,7
Laurentides (15)	6,8	5,9	6,0	5,6	4,4	10,6	5,4	3,7	3,9
Montréal (16)	5,8	6,2	4,7	4,4	4,0	8,5	5,5	3,8	3,9
Centre-du-Québec (17)	7,1	5,5	5,6	5,1	4,0	6,5	5,2	2,6	2,5
Ensemble du Québec	7,7	7,2	6,0	5,5	5,1	8,9	6,1	4,3	4,5

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Note: From *Labour market characteristics, annual data, administrative regions, and all of Québec, 2006-2023*, Institut de la statistique du Québec

https://statistique.quebec.ca/en/document/labour-force-employment-and-unemployment-administrative-regions-cma-quebec/tableau/caracteristiques-marche-travail-donnees-annuelles-regions-administratives#tri_es=8 . Copyright 2024 by the Government of Québec.

A recent study (Pis, 2019) on job accessibility for allophones in the Greater Toronto Area and the Greater Montréal Area found that allophones living outside the urban core areas of the two cities

³⁹ Translation: Ensemble du Québec means ‘All of Québec’, this refers to the provincial unemployment rate of each year in the chart

were 11.8% more likely to gain full-time employment. This relates back to the importance of offering asynchronous language learning platforms for allophones within major urban areas such as the Greater Montréal Area to access (see the third chapter). Providing distance language learning would offer allophones the opportunity to work and then access language training on a schedule that is most convenient to them. A notable difference between Montréal and Toronto that is highlighted in this study was that immigrants who knew only English were less likely to attain employment in Montréal compared to Toronto, whereas having a fluency in French gave positive marginal benefits to both groups in either city. Pis, (2019), concluded that for immigrants completing post-secondary studies in Canada had the largest positive marginal effect on likelihood for full time employment. In Montréal, there was a 2.5% increase for attaining economic stability by landed immigrants if they completed post-secondary training or studies in the city. This provides further evidence that access to an effective online language learning platform in Québec would allow allophones to have better employment opportunities.

4.4 Integration of allophones outside of the Greater Montréal Area

The challenge for the provincial government is to not only make these areas seem attractive to live in (Simard, 2007), but also to promote educational opportunities for regions that suffer from labour shortages. This will allow allophones to gain language fluency quicker and hence be capable of working in a French or English-speaking environments.

4.5 Job placements for allophones in the province of Québec

To ensure that allophones undergo the process of francisation, Québec implemented the *Québec Experience Program*. As mentioned in the third chapter of this thesis, the mandate of this

provincial language course is to enforce a basic understanding of French to settled immigrants. For participants in this program, it is expected that all individuals reach at least a level seven of French proficiency. For this level of proficiency to be recognized, it is expected that a person understands conversations, productions, and cultural expressions on specific topics (Government of Québec, 2023). The idea is that, upon completion of this program, an individual who was not previously fluent in French has a general understanding of the French language and can communicate effectively in a workplace.

4.6 Conclusion

Allophones who arrive in Québec after the age of twenty find themselves having to generate income in a labour market that communicates in a language in which they are not fluent (Xu & Hou, 2023). The issue of language training for allophones who did not attend a secondary school in Québec is of utmost importance, as argued in this thesis. The province of Québec and its Ministry of Education and Higher Education must consider reforming how language classes can be made more accessible for allophones to address this disparity. For decades now, the province has enforced and mandated an immigration system that does not match what is currently needed by its labour market in relation to competency in both official languages and critical thinking skills.

The *Québec Experience Program* caters to the language policy of Québec, ensuring that Québec remains and fosters a francophone society. However, it is important to consider how Québec can modify its language programs for allophones so that all regions of the province can fulfill in their employment vacancies. Additionally, Québec must assess where changes can be made so that immigrants can retain both French and English, ensuring that participation in

employment increases significantly for the province of Québec. Until language training delivery is adapted to the needs of its immigrants, gaps in the labour market will persist. Further, French-centred language policy will continue to limit economic growth, leaving allophones who wish to work unable to easily access the tools they need. While the existing language policies may fulfill the current government's desire for a francophone province, they hinder economic opportunity for the province in comparison to other regions of Canada, and in this way prevent the population from achieving their potential.

There is also a need for coordinating an asynchronous language learning platform for regional and rural development policy for allophones in Québec outside of the Greater Montréal area. This learning platform must address not only the labour demands of the region, but also the social and cultural factors of the province. Immigrants will not want to live in an economically depressed area, particularly as many immigrants move to Québec to upgrade their living conditions. Asynchronous language learning platforms will provide a flexible and accessible way for adult allophone immigrants to attain fluency around individual schedules. By removing the barriers of commuting, adult allophone immigrants will develop essential language skills, improving their employment prospects and integration into the labour market of the Greater Montréal Area. This will not only allow individual economic advancements to be made by adult allophone immigrants, but remove vacancies in various job markets across Québec

Concluding comments on educational policy and its impact on the future of Québec's economy

This thesis thus far investigated the issues that Québec language policies pose for language learning among allophones in order to integrate into the labour market of Québec. It focused on what online language learning education can provide to newly landed immigrants in Montréal. If the economy of Québec is to benefit from the economic contributions of allophones, asynchronous language learning platforms must be more accessible to ensure that allophones receive adequate language training to be equipped for the Québec labour market.

5.1 The uncertainty of Québec's economic future regarding labour retention

The province of Québec is experiencing far less economic growth than other regions of Canada (Desormeaux, 2021). The slowdown in economic development and the aging population of Québec will continue to have negative effects on the labour market's momentum in the coming years. Québec also has the most strained labour market in Canada, where economic activity is stagnating (see first chapter). In July 2023, there were 1.2 unemployed workers per vacant position in Québec (Québec Ministre des Finances. 2023). Comparatively, across Canada, there were 1.7 unemployed workers per vacant position and in Ontario there were 1.9. Therefore,

Québec has fewer potential workers for the jobs that are available in comparison to Ontario and also compared to the average seen across other provincial and territorial regions of Canada.

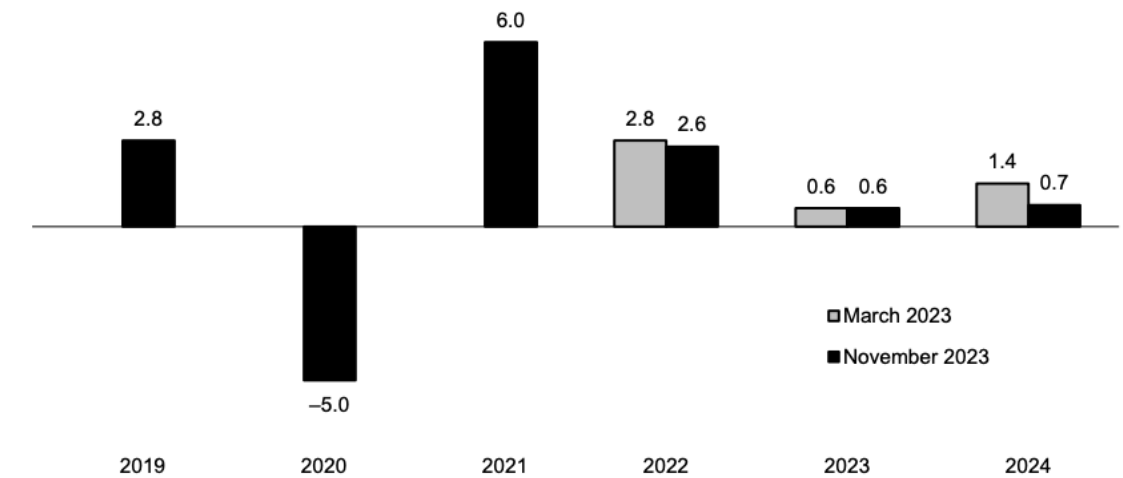
Between January and September 2023, Québec's population grew by 0.8%, while Ontario saw 2.1% growth (Ontario Ministry of Business, Workplace and Economy, 2023). If these trends continue, even though Québec remains one of the largest provinces in terms of population and gross domestic product, the province's aging population and lack of population growth will have a negative impact on this in the coming decades.

Figure 5.1 illustrates that Québec's gross domestic product has not recovered from the setback of COVID-19⁴⁰; it is still not at its pre-COVID levels. In contrast, by the second quarter of 2023, Ontario's gross domestic product was 4.9% above the pre-pandemic levels seen in 2019 (Ontario Ministry of Business, Workplace and Economy, 2023). This highlights the fact that in Ontario the dollar value of goods and services produced following the COVID-19 pandemic have recovered and strengthened while Québec's economic output continues to experience difficulties with recovery and growth.

⁴⁰ COVID- 19 was a severe acute respiratory syndrome, beginning with an outbreak in Wuhan, China in December 2019. It spread worldwide by early 202, being declared a pandemic by the World Health Organization on March 11, 2020. The pandemic caused severe social and economic disruption around the world.

Figure 5.1

Economic Growth in Québec (real GDP, percentage change)



Sources: Institut de la statistique du Québec, Statistics Canada and Ministère des Finances du Québec.

Note: From the Update on Québec's Economic and Financial Situation – Fall 2023, Moderation in economic growth will continue in 2024 (p. 98),

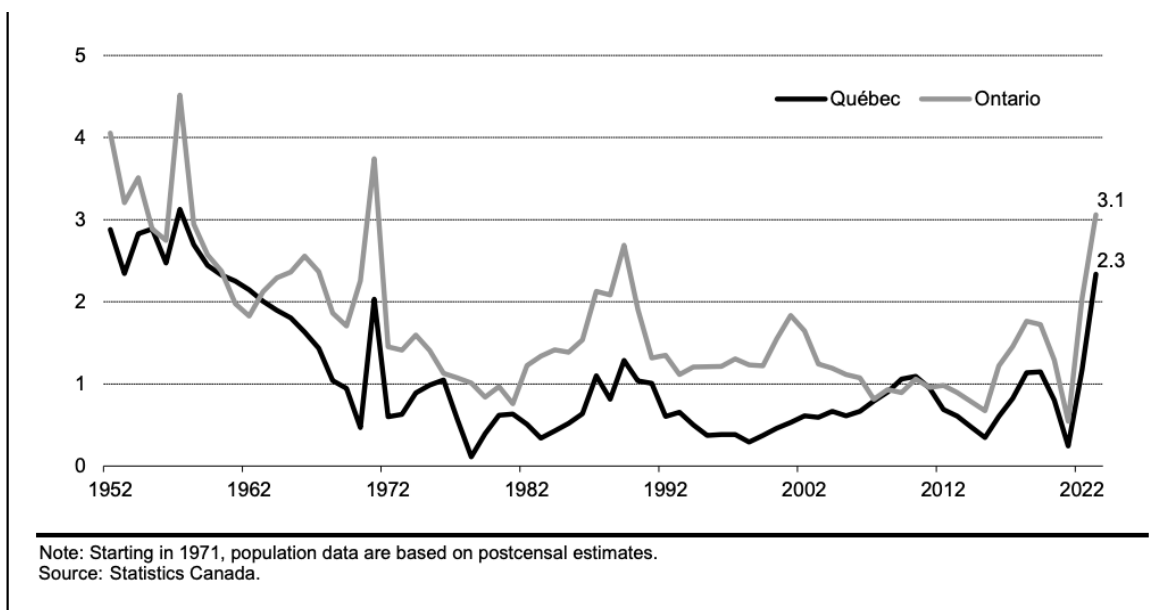
https://www.finances.gouv.qc.ca/Budget_and_update/maj/documents/AUTEN_updateNov2023.pdf#page=98. Copyright 2023 by Government of Québec.

Additionally, the province of Québec welcomed only 18% of newly landed immigrants to Canada in 2023, while Ontario received 43% (Québec Ministère des Finances, 2023). Québec also has the second lowest population growth in the country (Statistics Canada, 2024). If the Québec government increases new accessible language learning programs for allophones, then those individuals who choose to settle in Québec will experience greater success in attaining economic stability as newcomers to the provincial labour market, making them more likely to choose to settle in Québec and remain in Québec long term and contribute to the provincial economy. Immigration is a necessary tool for Québec and Canada to continue growing and sustaining its wealth. The labour market of Québec is dependent on allophones and the human

capital they provide to the micro and macroeconomic settings of this province (Desormeaux, 2021). Québec's immigrants make up approximately seventeen percent of the working age population. If these individuals were absent from the labour market, Québec's real gross domestic product (GDP) would be thirty-six billion CAD ⁴¹below the current output levels. This supports the need for enhancing immigration to the province of Québec, making it essential to strengthen the labour market as well as the regional economy.

Figure 5.2

Population growth rate (population change, per cent)



Note: This graph was taken from the Update on Québec's Economic and Financial Situation – Fall 2023, Moderation in economic growth will continue in 2024 (p. 97),

⁴¹ CAD refers to Canadian Dollars

5.2 The need for online educational platforms and better accessibility for adult allophone immigrants

The various points of discussion throughout this thesis have shown that there is an urgency to change how current policy and related infrastructure is facilitating language learning for allophones in Québec. In Québec, 68.3 percent of recent adult allophone immigrants reported a first language that was not French or English (Statistics Canada, 2017), while only 26.6 percent of individuals who immigrate report French as their first language (Statistics Canada, 2017). Currently, the language learning opportunities for allophones in Québec fail to meet the needs and realities that many non-French speaking individuals face. The current point system (Chemin & Sayour, 2016) aims to maintain the French speaking profile of the province by prioritizing European nationals who are already fluent in French and making it more difficult for allophones to gain permanent residency.

Additionally, many new immigrants in Québec face financial uncertainty (Pitt et al., 2015), and because of this, they cannot attend in-person classes as required by the provincial government's *Québec Experience Program* (as mentioned in previous contents of this thesis). The time that allophones spend in these classes is needed instead for generating personal revenue to assist with the costs of moving and settling in a new country. While the current priority of the provincial government is to ensure language fluency in French and French alone, this could be accommodated through online asynchronous learning platforms that have lower accessibility barriers. This is an option that CÉGEPs such as Dawson College and Collège d'Ahunatic are

offering for post-secondary students. This system of online learning platforms do not currently allow language credits to automatically transfer between CÉGEP. This puts allophones at a greater disadvantage as many fall under a categorical classification of lower social economic standing (Doung, 2021). Allophone students should be able to transfer language credits between CÉGEPs; this will allow individuals to learn French and English online while completing other classes. By not being given the option to attend an online asynchronous language class, allophones are restricted to putting aside parts of their day to attending language classes which may have minimal impact on their earning potential. Moreover, it can add a further burden on their time which is at a premium as they navigate all that comes with settling in a new country, including working to afford their basic needs.

The need for a restructure of current educational policy is evident to ensure that Québec does not experience further compounding negative economic effects as result of the province's current language policies. With an online language learning platform, allophones will be able to complete their language training entirely online and asynchronously.

The other provincial economic strongholds in Canada such as Ontario (Government of Ontario, 2017), British Columbia (Government of British Columbia, 2023) and Alberta (Government of Alberta, 2023) do not require mandatory courses for all temporary foreign workers or foreign student graduates. Yet, these provinces manage to provide economic stability for their allophone demographics without enforcing mandatory language classes (See Figure 4.3). After reviewing past studies and policies on language education and hybrid learning platforms in Québec, greater accessibility needs to be facilitated for learning French and English. The incentive for the Government of Québec to ensure this is with an immigrant population that

is fluent in both English and French, allophones will be able to contribute to greater economic success and productivity across all regions of the province.

5.3 Conclusion

Due to challenges faced by allophones in Québec when receiving hybrid education and due also to the actions taken by the provincial government, allophones are not well prepared for successfully integrating into the labour market of Québec. Education language policy holds an important role in shaping the future of Québec's labour force by directly influencing the province's economic output (GDP). The impact on Québec's GDP is significant, a workforce that is linguistically integrated can contribute more effectively to the economy. French nationals benefit greatly as language barriers are removed, allowing for better social and economic integration into Québec. In contrast to this, non-French speaking adult allophone immigrants face challenges of engaging with a labour market that communicates in a language that many are not fluent in.

Moreover, Québec's laws on language usage contrast with the policies of other Canadian provinces. None of the other anglophone provincial economic regions mandate language courses or fluency tests to gain permanent residency. This distinction makes Québec's approach to integration for adult allophone immigrants exclusive. The current attempts by provincial governments in Québec for integrating adult allophone immigrants have led to inferior economic opportunities in comparison to other provinces in Canada.

Recommendations for future research for online learning opportunities for adult allophone immigrants in Québec

As argued in this thesis, future governments of Québec must act on facilitating online learning opportunities for adult allophone immigrants. By recognizing the critical need for integrating adult allophone immigrants into the labour market, the hope is that the Ministry of Education and Higher Education look for a more successful path forward.

The contributions that this thesis has made is significant as it has examined the issues of language learning in Québec for allophones, drawing on primary and secondary sources. By providing an historical and contemporary account of language learning opportunities in Québec, data from government agencies, educational institutions, and non-government organizations (NGO's) has shed light on existing gaps in providing an equitable language learning experience for allophones. Notably, the poor employment retention rate of allophones is not being solved by the current mandatory language programs (Boudarbat & Adom, 2024). Additionally, language courses that are offered by CÉGEPs across the province are both costly and are synchronous.

This means that allophones must invest time that could be otherwise put towards generating income.

This thesis has challenged the purpose of current language laws in the province of Québec. It also compared Québec to anglophone provinces in Canada that experience greater employment retention by allophones. An important distinction to recognize between these contexts is that language classes are still offered in these English-speaking regions of Canada but are not mandatory as is the case for the *Québec Experience Program*. The present study encourages educators, policy makers, and others in Québec to reassess how, with improved accessibility to language learning, individuals from immigrant backgrounds can be better integrated into the communities throughout the province. The relationship between economic stability and education must be addressed by the provincial government of Québec, if the goal is for allophones to not only immigrate, but also to properly integrate into the work force of Québec.

As an educator in the province of Québec, I have observed that the educational experiences of allophones in institutions at the secondary and tertiary level is currently not benefiting individuals or the economy of Québec. Additionally, as an anglophone who is bilingual (English and French), with familial origins in the province of Québec, it is important to me that language learning can be improved for allophones who reside in Québec.

My knowledge prior to this study was limited to the experiences of allophones who were receiving French language training, as most of my teaching experience has been in English second language learning spaces. It was not surprising to me to see that restrictive language policies in Québec have led to resentment towards French by allophone students. I have seen this firsthand in my professional workspace (English Montréal School Board), the community I live

in (Le Sud-Ouest of Montréal), the post-secondary institution I attend (McGill University), and the students I teach, many of whom are allophones.

Other provinces in Canada offer language learning that benefits the settling and employment opportunities for allophones. Québec is and will remain a French speaking region of Canada that should be teaching allophone residents to communicate in French. CÉGEPs in the province need to begin to facilitate asynchronous language learning courses in both French and English. This effort will create more equitable access to sectors of Québec's labour market that need workers, by enhancing allophone's ability to excel in post-secondary education and employment training. Not only will this benefit Québec, but it will benefit Canada (Costigan et al., 2016). It is crucial that Québec adapts and modifies its language learning opportunities for allophones so that individuals who wish to reside and participate in the labour market can do so successfully.

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