Revue YOUR Review

Volume/Tome 4/5 (2017/2018)

York Online Undergraduate Research

La *Revue* **YOUR** *Review* se propose de mettre en valeur la recherche des étudiants de premier cycle et offre aux étudiants de l'Université York (Toronto, Canada) l'occasion de rédiger un article pour la publication. Cette revue annuelle à comité de lecture et à libre accès est pluridisciplinaire et bilingue (anglais/français).

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En couverture :
Marissa Magneson. (2017). *Frozen Chains of Childhood* [photographie, imprimée sur papier photo, 25″ x 15″]

À propos de la photographe :
Artiste d'origine crie et métisse, Marissa Magneson est photographe, éducatrice et animatrice d'ateliers. Elle détient un baccalauréat en beaux-arts de l'Université York (Toronto, Canada) ainsi qu'une maîtrise en études canadiennes et Autochtones de l'Université Trent (Peterborough, Canada). Ses recherches portent sur les méthodologies indigènes et elle se sert du perlage comme moyen de narration visuelle. Son travail est axé sur la décolonisation de l'éducation, le renforcement des liens communautaires et le regain culturel. Dans ses collaborations avec divers organismes, Marissa veille à photographier, à consulter, à éduquer et à créer des programmes sensés et pertinents. Elle est doctorant à la Faculté d'éducation à l'Université York, où sa recherche est centrée sur le perlage comme pédagogie—un pont envers la réconciliation et la réclamation culturelle. Marissa tient à remercier sa grand-mère maternelle, Elaine Jessop, dont les efforts déployés tout au long de sa vie pour soutenir les droits des femmes Autochtones ont inspiré son propre cheminement.

Instagram : @MagnesonStudios / @MarissaMagnesonPhotography
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Remerciements

La *Revue YOUR Review* offre à ses auteur(e)s une occasion unique d'apprentissage par l'expérience en écriture scientifique et en édition savante. Nous remercions vivement nos auteur(e)s-étudiant(e)s, qui ont participé avec enthousiasme au processus de révision des articles et qui ont reçu les commentaires avec grâce. Nous aimerions remercier Joy Kirchner, doyenne des bibliothèques de l'Université York, qui reconnaît la valeur d'offrir un forum à libre accès pour la production et la dissémination de la connaissance scientifique des étudiant(e)s et pour qui la conception d'une bibliothèque du XXI^{e} siècle comprend l'engagement communautaire et l'apprentissage expérientiel. Enfin, nous sommes infiniment reconnaissants aux membres du comité de rédaction de leur générosité, leur dévouement, leurs soins et leur engagement sans bornes à la réussite des étudiant(e)s. La *Revue YOUR Review* est née d'une vision, mais vit grâce au soutien actif de ces personnes.

Les rédacteurs en chef

Frozen chains of childhood (2017)

Éditorial

Photographie, imprimée sur papier photo, 25″ x 15″

La photographie sur la couverture *Frozen Chains of Childhood* a été prise en hiver 2017 lors d'une tempête de glace à Barrie, Ontario, Canada. La photographie est une réflexion sur les systèmes des pensionnats indiens, actifs au Canada de 1831 à 1998. Mis en œuvre par le gouvernement canadien et soutenu par l'Église catholique, les pensionnats indiens ont été conçus afin de « tuer l'Indien au sein de l'enfant », en enlevant de force des milliers d'enfants Autochtones à leurs parents et en envoyant ces enfants à ces soi-disant écoles. En 1920, le directeur général adjoint du ministère des Affaires indiennes Duncan Campbell Scott explique le but de ces pensionnats : « Notre objectif est de continuer jusqu'à ce qu'il n'y ait plus un seul Indien au Canada qui n'ait pas été intégré à la société et qu'il n'y ait plus de question indienne ni de ministère des Affaires indiennes ».

Il y avait plus de 130 pensionnats indiens en tout à travers le Canada. Or, ce nombre exclut les écoles de jour et les internats qui n'ont pas été classés dans la catégorie de pensionnats, bien qu'eux aussi avaient la même mission. Selon l'organisme de bienfaisance Réconciliation Canada, on estime que 150,000 enfants Autochtones vivaient dans ces pensionnats, dont plus de 90 % ont subi des abus graves—physique, mental, émotionnel et sexuel—ce qui a entrainé un traumatisme intergénérationnel ressenti par de nombreuses familles Autochtones aujourd'hui. Plusieurs enfants ont souffert de la malnutrition et des maladies telle que la tuberculose et plusieurs ont été soumis de force à la stérilisation aux pensionnats ou utilisés dans des épreuves expérimentales, sans le consentement de leurs parents. La recherche montre que la malnutrition enfantine peut mener à des complications de santé entre générations comme, par exemple, le fort taux de diabète que l'on voit chez les communautés Autochtones. De plus, les études démontrent que la violence physique et les traumatismes subis pendant l'enfance ont laissé une marque indélébile sur l'individu et se sont fait sentir sur de multiples générations.

Tout comme la balançoire dans la photographie de couverture, ces enfants Autochtones se sentaient isolés, gelés, négligés et immobilisés aux pensionnats. Ils

étaient enfermés dans ces institutions et bien que quelques-uns comme Chanie Wenjack ont tenté de s'échapper, d'autres n'ont pas pu. Il y avait un taux de mortalité des enfants de 40–60 % dans les pensionnats indiens (Réconciliation Canada). Au moment où j'écris cet éditorial, on retrouve des milliers de cadavres d'enfants enterrés dans des tombes non marquées à ces pensionnats à travers l'Amérique du Nord—les corps enfin réclamés et les esprits au retour chez eux. Les Survivants ont parlé de ces tombes depuis longtemps, mais ce n'est que maintenant que l'on admet la vérité et la diffuse largement pour que les canadiens la confrontent. La vérité provoque non seulement la douleur mais aussi la guérison. Pour moi, ce processus commence à faire fondre les chaînes gelées de l'enfance et à libérer ces jeunes enfants qui, au fur et à mesure que l'on rapatrie leurs corps, reviennent enfin chez eux.

Il est important de souligner que cette vérité n'est pas simplement un chapitre noir de l'histoire canadienne, mais plutôt un chapitre en cours. On continue à séparer les enfants indigènes de leurs familles : d'abord il y avait les pensionnats, ensuite la rafle des années soixante et aujourd'hui il y a le système de placement dans les familles d'accueil. Selon les données du Recensement de 2016, plus de 52 % des enfants pris en charge était Autochtones même si les enfants indigènes âgés de moins de 15 ans ne représentent que 7.7 % de la population canadienne. Aujourd'hui, il y a plus d'enfants Autochtones en foyer d'accueil qu'au plus fort du système de pensionnat. Bien que le dernier pensionnat ait été fermé en 1998, les systèmes qui les ont créés sont toujours bien vivants.

Le commissaire en chef de la Commission vérité et réconciliation du Canada, le sénateur Murray, a dit : « c'est l'éducation qui nous a mis dans ce pétrin et c'est elle qui nous permettra d'en sortir » (Débats du Sénat du Canada, 2017). C'est grâce à l'éducation que j'ai commencé à faire fondre les chaînes de ma communauté et à éclaircir mon identité en tant que femme Métisse-crie qui a passé par le système d'éducation public sans jamais avoir appris que ces pensionnats existaient. Ce n'est qu'en troisième année de mes études universitaires—lorsque je me suis inscrite dans un cours sur la santé et la guérison Autochtone avec le professeur Jon Johnson (Université York, Toronto)—que j'ai pris connaissance de cette vérité. Jusqu'à ce moment-là, je n'avais pas compris pourquoi, dans ma famille, notre identité Autochtone était un secret bien gardé et pourquoi les membres de ma famille se sentaient forcés de passer pour des personnes blanches, pour leur sécurité et celle de leurs enfants. Découvrir cette vérité a changé ma vie à tout jamais. Je suis maintenant sur un chemin d'apprentissage, de désapprentissage et de réapprentissage pour que je puisse réclamer ma culture et la léguer aux générations futures. Alors que, pour mes ancêtres, être indigène n'était pas sécuritaire, j'espère que mes enfants futurs pourront grandir dans un monde ou être Autochtone est non seulement sécuritaire mais célébré.

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MONICA EMODE

Terms of Endearment

The effect of racial epithets on internalized racial oppression

Early research on racism traditionally focused on measuring beliefs and attitudes towards racial and ethnic groups. There is a need to examine internalized racial oppression and the mechanisms that seek to maintain and reproduce prejudice among Black populations. The objective of the current study was to gain insight into how usage of racial epithets among Black populations might influence the internalization of white racism. This study examined changes in scores on a post-internalized racial oppression measure after exposure to the racial epithet "nigger" among Black and white female participants. In this study, female York University (Toronto, Canada) students (n=30) were randomly assigned to one of three experimental vignette conditions. Pre-post scores of internalized racial oppression were assessed for each participant. The relationship between psychological resilience and internalized racial oppression was also explored. On average, Black participants obtained higher scores on a post-internalized racism measure ($p < .001$) but retained lower psychological resilience scores compared to their white counterparts. Results from this study suggest that exposure to the racial epithet "nigger" may unknowingly strengthen internalized racial oppression among Black female participants. Moreover, these findings demonstrate that Black participants with high levels of resilience are better able to mitigate the psychological and emotional discord associated with internalized racial oppression, compared to those with low levels of resilience.

Keywords: Racial epithet, internalized racial oppression, Black psychology, resilience, discrimination

Racism is a pervasive and entrenched problem in our society. Yet, racial discourse has focused on the interpretation of traumatic public events, rather than the acknowledgment of the insidious and deleterious effects of white racism on oppressed persons (Doane, 2003; Doane, 2006; Pyke, 2007; Pyke, 2010). Understanding how systems of inequality reproduce and promote internalization of

oppression is integral to dismantling racist structures and ideologies, advancing anti-racism, and understanding Black identity.

Internalized racial oppression refers to a process by which oppressed groups accept the inaccurate myths and negative stereotypes created by the dominant white culture's actions and beliefs (Barlow, 2003; Bailey et al., 2011; Schwalbe et al., 2000; Osajima, 1993). Previous research from the United States has shown that internalized racial oppression is associated with increased depressive symptoms and psychological distress among African Americans, US-born Caribbean Blacks, and foreign-born Caribbean Blacks (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000; Mouzon & McLean, 2017). Additional studies have found that internalized racial oppression is associated with increased levels of psychological stress, blood pressure, cortisol secretion, and abdominal obesity in African Caribbean women, and glucose intolerance among Black women living in Africa (Butler et al., 2002; Tull et al., 1999; Tull et al., 2005; Williams & Mohammed, 2013; Chambers et al., 2004).

These studies demonstrate that perceived racism can cause significant stress for Black individuals and contribute to adverse health and psychological outcomes in Black populations (Clark et al., 1999; for "minority stress theory," see Meyer, 2003a, 2003b, and Schwartz & Meyer, 2010). Available evidence suggests that psychological resilience is a buffer to minority stress (Masten et al., 1990; Szalacha et al., 2003). For the purpose of this study, psychological resilience is defined as the ability to mitigate the internalization of structural and interpersonal discrimination and to adapt effectively when faced with prejudice (Zimmerman et al., 1999; Meyer, 2003a; Wagnild, 2009). Individuals with high levels of resilience may be more likely to circumvent the effects of internalized racial oppression in a way that minimizes stress and negative health outcomes (Zimmerman et al., 1999).

The first study of internalized racial oppression in the psychological literature was conducted by two African American psychologists whose research demonstrated a strong association between identity and internalized racial oppression. Clark and Clark (1939) published a series of doll studies and determined that racial self-hatred was common among African American school children, who preferred white dolls over Black dolls. A study conducted by Steele and Aronson (1995) demonstrated that when African Americans were in a condition that was to elicit stereotype threat—a situation where individuals are at risk for confirming the negative stereotypes of their in-group—they tended to perform worse on standardized measures than Caucasian Americans.

Taken together, these studies demonstrate how hegemonic myths and racial ideologies can be internalized indirectly without "conscious consent," which in turn influences how Black individuals view themselves and others (Osajima, 1993; hooks, 2003; Pyke, 2010). The implications of these early research studies are twofold. First, these studies demonstrate that Black individuals unknowingly participate in racist practices and must continuously work to dissociate themselves from white stereotypes

about Black people. Second, these findings highlight the importance of examining experiences of everyday racism—racist practices or behaviours that are normalized and infused in our daily interactions with others—among Black populations (Essed, 1991). Understanding race-based behaviours, such as the use of racial epithets—derogatory terms or expressions used to characterize a person in relation to their race—is necessary to explore ways in which Black individuals may unconsciously reproduce and maintain white racism through everyday "race talk" (Croom, 2008, 2013a; Hom, 2008; Doane, 2006; Myers & Williamson, 2001).

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis or linguistic relativity theory posits that our worldview and thought processes are shaped by the language we use (Black, 1959; Whorf & Carroll, 1942). This theory is useful for examining ways in which Black individuals view themselves and others after exposure to the racial epithet "nigger." The pejorative term "nigger" has been historically used to label Black populations as inferior to other races (Easton, 1837; Kennedy, 2003). Today, common variations of the term include, but are not limited to, "the n-word," "nigga," "niggar," "niggah," and "nigguh" (Kennedy, 2003; Lighter, 1994). Regardless of the nuances in orthography, the original meaning of the term was meant to disparage and derogate Black populations. In recent years, the racial epithet "nigger" has been used exclusively by in-group members to symbolize reclamation of the term (Anderson & Lepore, 2013); however, there is disagreement about whether racial epithets can be reappropriated for use among Black populations. Current linguistic theories propose that racial epithets by nature are offensive (Hedger, 2013; Camp, 2017; Anderson & Lepore, 2013; Croom, 2014). Given its abhorrent historical past, some are skeptical that the protean word can be reclaimed or whether there is utility in reclaiming it (Easton, 1837; Kennedy, 2003; Cervone et al., 2021). Others argue that "nigger" or variations of the epithet can be used as a term of endearment among friends to signify kinship and group affiliation (Walton et al., 2013; O'Dea & Saucier, 2020; Jeshion, 2020; Galinsky et al., 2013). If the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis proves correct, exposure or usage of the epithet "nigger" plays a largely determinative role in how Black people internalize their individual experiences with white racism.

THE CURRENT STUDY

The current research was intended to gain insight into how usage of racial epithets among Black populations may influence the internalization of white racism. The objective of the current study was to examine changes in scores on a post-internalized racial oppression measure after exposure to the racial epithet "nigger." A secondary objective was to investigate the relationship between psychological resilience and internalized racial oppression. There were three hypotheses for this study. First, it was hypothesized that Black participants' scores on a post-internalized racial oppression measure would be higher than those of white participants when compared to the baseline scores. Second, it was hypothesized that Black participants

would score higher on the psychological resilience measure compared to white participants. Third, it was hypothesized that there would be no difference in the post-internalized racial oppression scores between white participants and Black participants with high psychological resilience.

METHODS

Participants

Data were collected from female students at York University (Toronto, Canada) between February 1 and May 31, 2015. Participants were Black and white university students between the ages of 18 and 23. The average age of participants was 20.5 years. All Black participants were members of an African, Black, or Caribbean cultural club at York University.

Materials

The experience of racism questionnaire is a four-item questionnaire adapted from Mills (1990) to assess participants' previous experiences of racism. It consists of four questionnaire items that focus on beliefs, observations, and personal experiences. Each question is answered on a four-point Likert scale with options including "never," "sometimes," "frequently," and "all the time."

The 14-item resilience scale (RS-14) was designed to evaluate psychological resilience in a general population (Wagnild & Young, 1993; Wagnild, 2009). The reduced scale contains various items measuring self-reliance, meaningfulness, equanimity, perseverance, and existential aloneness. Items are rated on a Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

The Nadanolitization scale was used to measure internalized racial oppression (Bailey, 2008; Bailey et al., 2011). The 49-item scale was developed in the United States to measure Black individuals' internalization of white stereotypes about Black people. The scale is split into two components: the racialistic contents, which consist of 24 items that examine the white prejudice and social stereotypes that may be internalized by African Americans (Jones, 1996), and the social component, which consists of 25 items that ask questions about how African Americans are viewed in society. The range of the racialistic component (M = 1.80) was between 0 and 200, and the social component (M = 3.39) was 0–194. All items are rated on a scale of 0–8, from "not-at-all agree" to "entirely agree." For the current study, the scale was split in half by the different content sections to make up the pre-post internalized racism measures.

Three vignettes were developed for the purpose of this study. The vignette dialogue described a social interaction between two individuals over text message of unidentified race and names. The three experimental vignette conditions included 1) racism content and profanity; 2) no racism content and profanity; or 3) no racism content and no profanity. The racial epithet "nigger" was manipulated using

profanity with differing levels of offensiveness. The vignettes included the non-racial and non-gendered slurs "fucker" and "shit." In addition, participants' reaction to the vignette was measured using a five-item vignette rating scale that was developed specifically for the purpose of this study. The purpose of the rating scale was to help respondents reflect on the dialogue that they read, while ensuring that participants read the vignette.

Study Design

The current study was conducted using a 3 (vignette condition) x 2 (race) between-subjects factorial design. Factorial designs are advantageous for detecting interaction effects among variables, are adept at preventing carry-over effects, and allow for simultaneous examination of multiple independent variables (Baker et al., 2017; Collins et al., 2009). Participants were asked to read the vignette and then rate the interaction using the vignette rating scale. The racism content included in the vignettes was the first independent variable included in the study. The second independent variable was participant race, defined as Black or white. The continuous dependent variable was the overall score on the post-internalized racial oppression measure. Pre-internalized racial oppression scores were obtained before exposure to the vignette conditions to collect baseline data. Finally, a continuous variable was utilized to measure psychological resilience (moderator variable).

Procedures

Eligible female participants were sent an electronic invitation via Facebook to complete a survey about social attitudes and social perceptions of profanity usage. Black participants were recruited from African, Black, and Caribbean cultural clubs at York University. White participants were invited electronically but were recruited from the general York University student population. When participants clicked on the link, they were instructed to provide basic demographic information including age, sex/gender, race, where the participant attended school, what ethnic/cultural groups they held a membership in, and a self-rating of how often they use profanity. The specified order of the test battery included a baseline measurement of internalized racial oppression (the social component), the experience of racism questionnaire, and the resilience scale (RS-14). Upon completion, respondents were randomly assigned to one of three vignette conditions. Participants were randomly assigned to a vignette dialogue where either both a racial epithet and profanity were used, where only profanity was used, or where neither was used. Participants were asked to read the vignette and then rate the conversation using the vignette rating scale. A post-internalized racial oppression measure (the racialistic component) concluded the study. After completion, respondents were directed to another screen, which listed a debriefing message and contact information. This study was approved by York University's Research Ethics Board.

RESULTS

This study consisted of 30 female participants (14 Black students and 16 white students) randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions: the racism content and profanity condition (n=10; 4 Black, 6 white), the no racism content and profanity condition (n=10; 4 Black, 6 white), and the no racism content and no profanity condition (n=10; 6 Black, 4 white).

Analyses

A 3 (vignette condition) x 2 (race) factorial repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to measure differences between pre-post internalized racism scores (dependent variable). On average, Black participants received higher scores than white participants on the post-internalized racism measure compared to the control groups (see Appendix C for Figure 1). This difference was statistically significant, $F(1, 24) = 26.98$, $p = <.001$, partial $n^2 = .529$. Neither vignette condition ($F(2, 24) = 2.091$, $p = .145$, partial $n^2 = .148$) nor race ($F(1, 24) = 2.189$, $p = .152$, partial $n^2 = .084$) had a statistically significant impact on post-internalized racism scores. The interaction between vignette condition and race was not statistically significant ($F(2, 24) = .229$, $p = .797$, partial $n^2 = .019$). The descriptive statistics for these analyses are presented in Appendix A, Tables 1 and 2.

A 3 (vignette condition) x 2 (race) univariate factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to examine differences in psychological resilience (dependent variable). On average, Black participants scored lower on the psychological resilience measure compared to white participants (see Appendix D for Figure 2). Moreover, vignette condition ($F(2, 24) = 4.27$, $p = .026$, partial $n^2 = .262$) had a statistically significant impact on psychological resilience scores. Race did not have a statistically significant impact on psychological resilience scores ($F(1, 24) = .469$, $p = .50$, partial $n^2 = .019$). The interaction between vignette condition and race was not statistically significant ($F(2, 24) = .379$, $p = .69$, partial $n^2 = .031$). The descriptive statistics for these analyses are presented in Appendix A, Table 3.

A 3 (vignette condition) x 2 (race) x 2 (psychological resilience) univariate factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to examine the association between levels of psychological resilience with internalized racial oppression. Black participants with high psychological resilience received lower scores on a post-internalized racism measure when compared to participants with low psychological resilience (see Appendix E, Figures 3 and 4). Vignette condition ($F(2, 19) = 8.18$, $p = .003$, partial $n^2 = .463$), race ($F(1, 19) = 4.49$, $p = .047$, partial $n^2 = .191$), and psychological resilience ($F(1, 19) = 10.83$, $p = .004$, partial $n^2 = .363$) had an impact on post-internalized racism scores; however, there was no significant difference between levels of psychological resilience, race, and vignette condition ($F = (1, 19) = 2.120$, $p = .162$, partial $n^2 = .100$). There was an interaction between psychological resilience and vignette condition ($F(2, 19) = 12.84$, $p <.001$, partial $n^2 = .575$). This

difference was statistically significant and accounted for a large effect size. The interactions between psychological resilience and race ($F(1, 19) = 3.29$, $p = .085$, partial $n^2 = .148$) or race and vignette condition ($F = (2, 19) = .947$, $p = .405$, partial $n^2 = .091$) were not statistically significant. Descriptive statistics for these analyses are presented in Appendix B, Tables 4 and 5.

DISCUSSION

To my knowledge, this is the first study to demonstrate that exposure to the racial epithet "nigger" was associated with an increase in internalized racial oppression among Black female students in Canada. One possible explanation for this finding is that use of the racial epithet "nigger" was perceived as derogative and may have triggered a negative affect among Black participants. This finding is consistent with previous literature demonstrating that exposure to homophobic epithets activated stereotypes and reproduced prejudice, even among individuals who were not the target of discriminatory language (Fasoli et al., 2016; Bianchi et al., 2019). Additionally, while the vignette conditions in this study did not allow for the examination of the relationship between the two individuals, it is possible that the context in which racial epithets were used in this study influenced perceived offensiveness (Walton et al., 2013; O'Dea et al., 2015). A recent study has found that slurs used among strangers are perceived as more offensive than slurs used among friends, which were likely to be perceived as promoting group cohesion and affiliation (O'Dea & Saucier, 2020).

These findings have important implications for understanding reappropriation of racial epithets—the process of altering the meaning of derogative terms for use among in-groups (Bianchi, 2014; Croom, 2013b; Galinsky et al., 2013). Past studies have found that individuals derive a positive self-identity from self-labelling with pejorative terms, a finding that implies that reappropriation is an act of resistance used to reduce the stigma associated with derogatory labels (Galinsky et al., 2003; Galinsky et al., 2013; Pyke, 2007). However, previous research examining "defensive othering"—the creation of a racial hierarchy within one's in-group—suggests that developing a positive self-identity requires oppressed persons to accept that negative stereotypes associated with pejorative terms may be true of others in their in-group, but not of themselves (Pyke & Dang, 2003; Schwalbe et al., 2000). These results suggest that in intragroup environments, racialized individuals can use epithets to create negative sub-ethnic identities that disparage "others" in their in-group, while distancing themselves from the dominant stereotypes (Pyke, 2010; Pyke & Dang, 2003). Findings from the current study demonstrate that exposure to racial epithets both reminds racialized individuals of their own oppression and forces acknowledgement of the fixed identities created by the dominant white culture.

A unique contribution of this study was the examination of resilience and its moderating role on internalized racial oppression, following exposure to a racial

epithet. In the current study, Black participants scored lower on psychological resilience compared to their white counterparts when exposed to the racial epithet "nigger," a finding not substantiated by the second hypothesis. However, this finding is in line with our understanding of minority stress, a theory that describes racism as a unique stressor that can reduce individual resilience (Meyer, 2003a, 2003b, 2015; Franklin et al., 2006; Schwartz & Meyer, 2010; Spence et al., 2016). It is important to note that there were no significant differences in levels of resilience among race, a key finding that demonstrates that racism, not race, is the cause of significant stress among Black individuals.

Additionally, this study found that higher psychological resilience was associated with lower internalized racial oppression among Black participants. These findings suggest that psychological resilience is important in shaping individual responses to race-based behaviours (Meyer, 2015). From a clinical perspective, there is a need for additional therapeutic interventions targeted at reducing internalized racial oppression (Watts-Jones, 2002; Boyd-Franklin, 2003; Semmler, 2000). Findings from the current study suggest that psychological resilience may act as a therapeutic buffer to internalized racial oppression. Future research should examine how clinical interventions can be targeted to enhance individual and community-level resilience in racialized populations (Meyer, 2003b, 2015; Herrick et al., 2014).

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The results of this study should be interpreted with the consideration of some limitations. This was a small preliminary study conducted at a Canadian university. The sample is not representative of the York University student population, and thus the results should not be used to make strong assertions about the population at large. Second, this study included only females between the ages of 18 and 23. Future research should examine if findings are similar among their male counterparts. Third, the racial epithet "nigger" contains many different nuances in orthography, whereas this study only focused on one variant of the pejorative term. More research is needed to understand how nuances in orthography may influence the results of the study.

To date, much of the race scholarship, originating from the United States, has centred on understanding racism within an American context. To my knowledge, this research is the first to empirically study the relationship between common usage of the racial epithet "nigger" and internalized racial oppression among Black female students in Canada. Future research should seek to better understand internalized racism among Black populations living in Canada. Moreover, the use of racial epithets has been adopted by other ethnic groups, yet only a few studies document the insidious effects of internalized racial oppression among these populations. Future research should examine how internalized racial oppression may affect other racialized populations. In addition to racial epithets, much of our cultural lexicon uses gender-based slurs that target women. There is a large variety of women-centric

pejorative terms compared to pejorative terms used to describe men. For this reason, it is imperative to understand intersectionality and examine the complexities of the multiple oppressions (i.e., internalized gender oppression and internalized racial oppression) that women experience. Finally, there are no current psychometric measures used to assess resilience among marginalized populations. Future research can support the development and validation of resilience measures that can account for responses to racism-related stressors.

CONCLUSION

Language plays a pertinent role in determining how we perceive ourselves and others. This study found that exposure to the racial epithet "nigger" was associated with an increase in internalized racial oppression in Black female participants. Additionally, this study found that Black females with high levels of resilience were better able to mitigate the psychological and emotional discord associated with internalized racial oppression, compared to individuals with low levels of resilience. Internalized racial oppression is a symptom of the social and political structures that perpetuate prejudice. Additional research is needed to better understand internalized racial oppression among Black and other racialized populations.

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APPENDIX A

Table 1. Average Baseline Measurement of Internalized Racism Grouped by Race and Vignette Condition

	Black		White	
Internalized Racism	Means	SD	Means	SD
Racism and Profanity	31.50	26.10	34.00	23.89
No Racism and Profanity	57.00	25.39	52.33	15.93
No Racism and No Profanity	44.33	20.59	40.50	25.96

Note: SD: standard deviation

Table 2. Average Post-Internalized Racism Scores Grouped by Race and Vignette Condition

	Black		White	
Internalized Racism	Means	SD	Means	SD
Racism and Profanity	21.75	6.55	14.50	17.25
No Racism and Profanity	22.75	15.28	7.83	8.77
No Racism and No Profanity	32.67	39.95	4.50	4.12

Note: SD: standard deviation

Table 3. Average Psychological Resilience Scores Grouped by Race and Vignette Condition

	Black		White	
Psychological Resilience	Means	SD	Means	SD
Racism and Profanity	74.00	16.99	80.67	12.68
No Racism and Profanity	74.75	10.18	72.67	8.80
No Racism and No Profanity	86.17	11.39	90.25	4.34

Note: SD: standard deviation

APPENDIX B

Table 4. Mean Post-Internalized Racism Scores Grouped Among Participants with Low Psychological Resilience by Race and Vignette Condition

	Black		White	
Psychological Resilience	Means	SD	Means	SD
Racism and Profanity	30.00	4.36	6.67	5.13
No Racism and Profanity	0.00	2.31	5.80	8.07
No Racism and No Profanity	107.00	.001	0.00	0.00

Note: SD: standard deviation

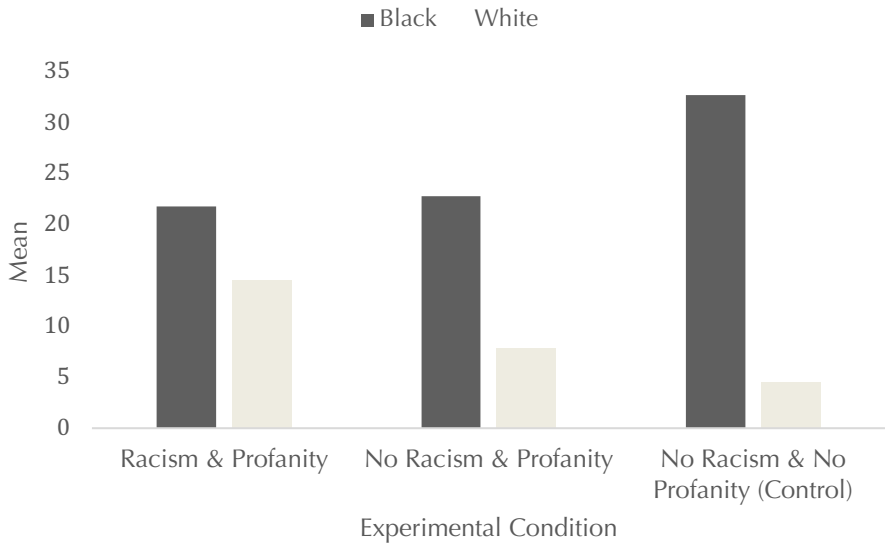
Table 5. Mean Post-Internalized Racism Scores Grouped Among Participants with High Psychological Resilience by Race and Vignette Condition

	Black		White	
Psychological Resilience	Means	SD	Means	SD
Racism and Profanity	19.00	.001	22.33	23.12
No Racism and Profanity	30.33	0.00	18.00	0.00
No Racism and No Profanity	17.80	18.39	4.50	4.12

Note: SD: standard deviation

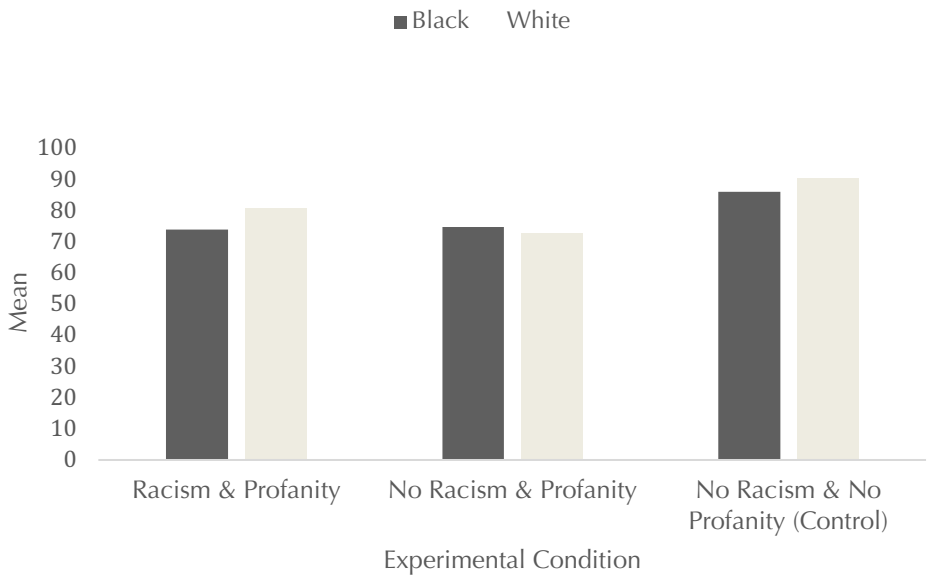
APPENDIX C

Figure 1. Mean Internalized Racial Oppression Scores by Race and Vignette Condition (n=30)



APPENDIX D

Figure 2. Mean Psychological Resilience Scores by Race and Vignette Condition (n=30)



APPENDIX E

Figure 3. Interaction Effects Between Level of Psychological Resilience and Vignette Condition on Post-Internalized Racial Oppression Scores Among Black Female Participants (n=14)

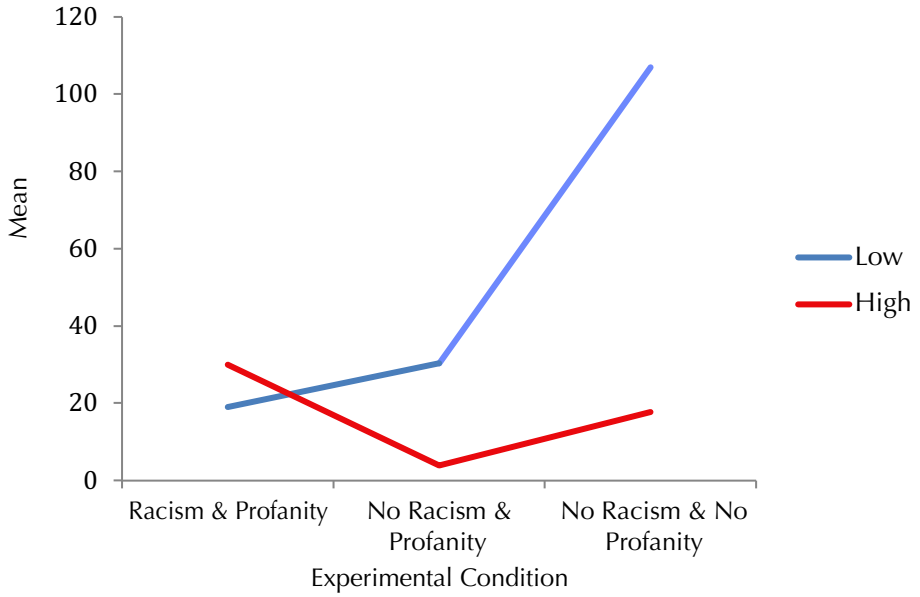
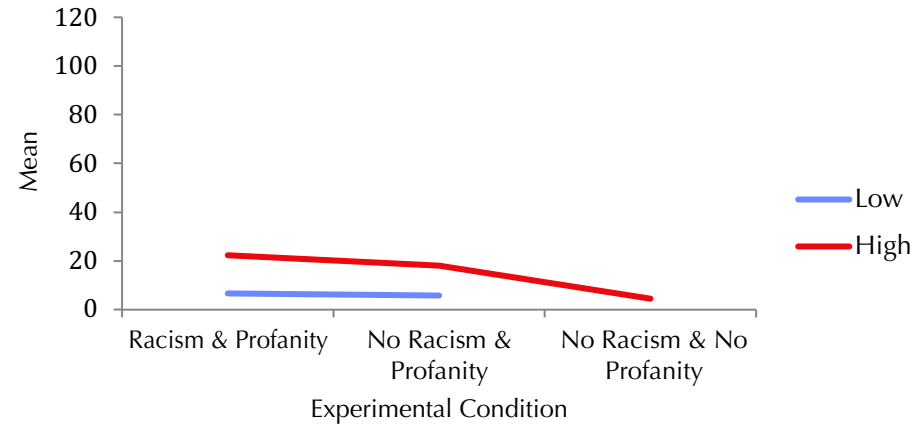


Figure 4. Level of Psychological Resilience by Vignette Condition on Post-Internalized Racial Oppression Scores Among White Female Participants (n=16)



SANDRA ROY

Incredibly Close Yet Extremely Far

The juxtaposition of utopia and reality in Expo 67 and Montréal

Expo 67 was a powerful cultural symbol that represented a utopic and futuristic view of the civilized community. The event, originally sought as an addition to the centennial celebration for the country, took on a life of its own and changed its host city, Montréal. Exploring the event through period photographs of the site and the city; memoirs of the principal administrators of Expo 67; the official guide to exhibitors; and the souvenir book, this article examines how the ideals of Expo 67 immediately influenced the creation of the site and its layout and compares it to the urban planning philosophy of the wider city in the 1960s. It is proposed that the site and its planning were in complete symbiosis with the ideals and values put forth by the organizers of the event, but in the city of Montréal the integration was more diluted. On the newly created island, organizers could shape the nature and the environment that tourists saw and tailor it to reflect an idealized version of a city. The reverberations of the model on the city were more ambiguous as the built infrastructure and the larger scale of Montréal put up challenges to the transfer of the ideals.

Keywords: Expo 67, Montréal, Canada, Québec, urban history, environmental history, world fair

When Canada turned 150 years old in 2017, Montréal celebrated its own 375th anniversary and Montrealers remembered the 50th anniversary of Expo 67. The event, originally sought as an addition to the centennial celebration for the country, took on a life of its own. It was "the best place to be" (Lownsbrough, 2012). It changed Quebecers and Montrealers and it altered Montréal.

In the 1960s, Québec saw an explosion of light after the Great Darkness of the earlier decades. Previously, the province was under the tight, conservative control of Maurice Duplessis and of the Catholic Church. The '60s saw the liberalization of society, culture, and politics, as well as a fast secularization (C. Brown & Linteau, 1990). Québec changed from a backwards society to a modern society, from a

survival economy to a growth economy (Marsan, 1983). But the lights were sometimes dimmed. The popularization of Québec nationalist ideals was accompanied by the rise of a radical branch seeking independence for Québec in more violent ways (C. Brown & Linteau, 1990). These troubles did not, however, stop Montréal's mayor, Jean Drapeau. He had big ideas and modernized Montréal at an accelerated rhythm (Choko, 2001). Expo 67 would be Drapeau's crowning achievement. It brought the world to Montréal and Montréal onto the world stage (C. Brown & Linteau, 1990).

Materially, the event served as a driving force for the renovation of the city's infrastructure. Culturally, Expo 67 presented values and ideals the organizers hoped would be recognized and followed. So, how did the ideals of Expo 67 influence the creation of the site, its layout, and Montréal in the '60s? For the scope of this article, it will be necessary to limit ourselves to points of convergence between Expo 67 and Montréal while the event was being planned or ongoing, not its influence at large or in time.

The site and its planning were in complete symbiosis with the ideals and values put forth by the organizers of the event, but in the city the integration was more moderated. On the newly created island, organizers could shape the nature and the environment that tourists saw and tailor it to reflect an idealized version of a city (Kenneally & Sloan, 2010). But the reverberations of the model on the city were more ambiguous. It will be necessary to first delve into the history of Expo 67 to understand what it represented so that we can examine how this one-time event shaped a new city utopia.

THE HISTORY OF AN EVENT AND ITS SITE

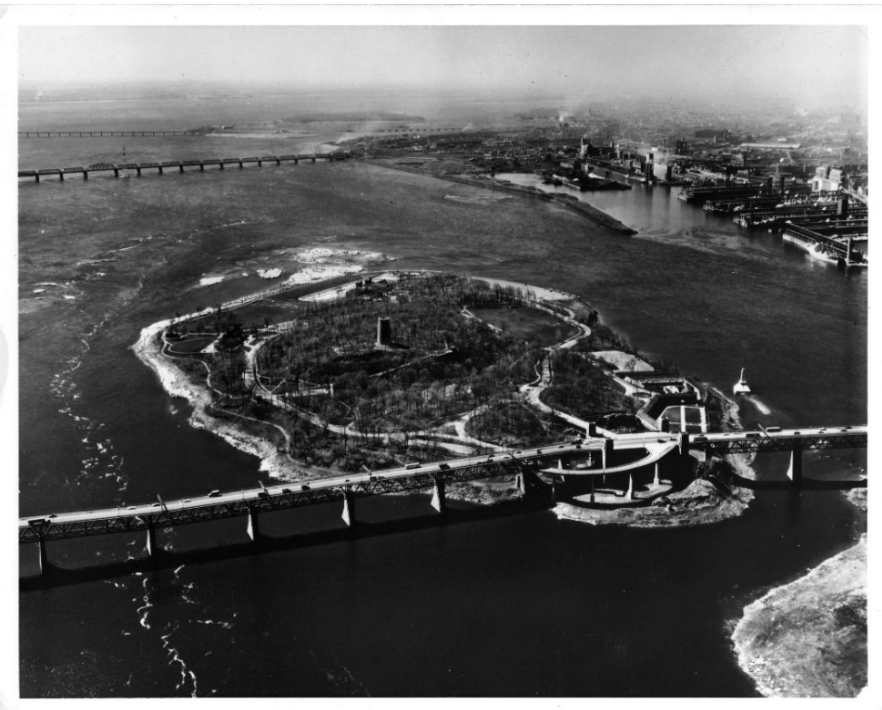
An international exposition is a transnational event whose goal is to encourage co-operation, innovation, and progress, and to educate the public (Bureau International des Expositions, n.d.-a). After countries present bids to host an exposition, a host country is chosen by the Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), the international governing body that oversees all international exhibitions (Bureau International des Expositions, n.d.-b). The host country is then responsible for planning the event and invites "other countries, companies, international organizations, the private sector, the civil society and the general public to participate" (Bureau International des Expositions, n.d.-a). The BIE is also responsible for classifying the exhibitions they regulate. Montréal's Expo 67 was classified as a first-category universal and international exhibition. A first-category fair simply means that it must cover "the full range of activities of contemporary man." It was Canada's first hosting experience and North America's debut "first category" fair (Lambert, 2015, para. 2).

Expo 67 was to be held in a year that was special for both Canada and Montréal. The year 1967 was the year of the centenary of Confederation and the 325th anniversary of the city. But the exposition almost didn't happen. The fair was

originally awarded to Moscow but when the Soviets backed out in 1962, Drapeau swooped in and secured the exhibition for his city.

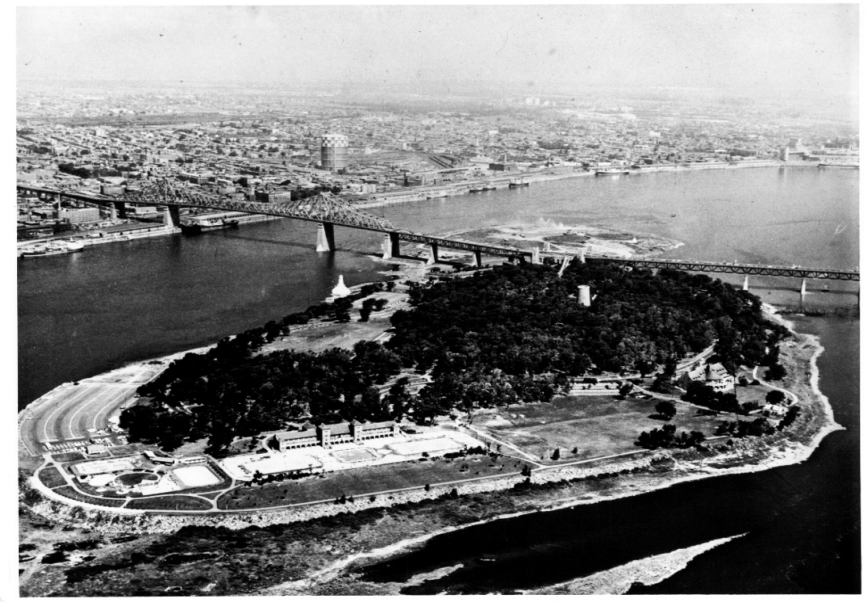
The Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition was created by the Government of Canada to build and run the exhibit, but the City of Montréal was responsible for finding and preparing the site (Lambert, 2015). With two years of lost time, time was of the essence, yet the mayor decided to create a completely new site, on islands on the St. Lawrence River (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1968). Sainte-Hélène Island had existed previously but was enlarged. The river was filled in to incorporate other smaller islands surrounding it. The artificial Notre-Dame Island was completely created for the event, while MacKay Pier, a narrow peninsula created to protect the Port of Montréal from currents in the river, was enlarged to become Cité du Havre (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1964; "Cité du Havre—Grand répertoire du patrimoine bâti de Montréal," n.d.). Against all odds, and all skeptics, the city delivered the site on time to the Corporation, which in turn delivered Expo on time to the public (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1968; Dupuy, 1972; Legault, 2002).

Figure 1. Sainte-Hélène Island Before Construction. 1962. Private Collection of the Author, Montréal



Note. Aerial view from the east of Sainte-Hélène Island before enlargement.

Figure 2. Sainte-Hélène Island Before Construction. 1962. Private Collection of the Author, Montréal



Note. Aerial view from the west of Sainte-Hélène Island before enlargement.

Figure 3. Expo 67 Site After Construction. 1966. Private Collection of the Author, Montréal

Note. Aerial view from the west of the site while the structures are being erected on each of the three locations. MacKay Pier is in the front, Sainte-Hélène Island in the middle of the river, while Notre-Dame Island delimits the St. Lawrence Seaway and faces the South Shore.

Figure 4. Expo 67 Site After Construction. 1966. Private Collection of the Author, Montréal

Note. Aerial view from the west of the site, showing the agricultural nature of the South Shore, at the top, and the density of buildings in Montréal. The wave of new mega-buildings preceding and accompanying Expo 67 is visible at the bottom of the picture. Among others, Place Ville-Marie, Place des Arts, Place Bonaventure, the Queen Elizabeth Hotel, and the CIBC tower are visible.

The Corporation broadcasted ideals of civilization and humanity through Expo 67. It was a chance to show to the world and to Canadians that Canada could realize a masterwork. Pierre Dupuy, the Commissioner General of Expo 67, believed that before anything else, world exhibitions were a demonstration of national pride. He considered the Expo a necessary rite of passage, to show that Canada and Montréal could fully and brilliantly participate in international cultural life (Dupuy, 1972).

In the quest to impress the international public, and perhaps distract locals from current events, Expo 67 ended up changing the images of the country, the province, and the city (Marsan, 1983). Hosting an event of this calibre propelled Canada from second-rank status into the upper ranking of nations. Québec no longer seemed backwards and focused on its past. It was a modern, technological society. Montréal, from a provincial big city, became a great, cosmopolitan city (Marsan, 1983).

According to Dupuy, the principle of a world exhibition was to put the focus on what humankind had achieved since the last exhibition took place (Dupuy, 1972). It was also to explain the world we live in, and the beauty and harmony of the site were the medium to carry the message (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1968). Expo 67 marked the triumph of design and the total environment, which is an environment completely designed as one, where the whole of the infrastructure is thought of as one integrated system (Jasmin, 1997; Lownsbrough, 2012). The site had style. It was beautiful, dramatic, and efficient. It was the glorified alter ego to the bigger city across the river, a demonstration of what it could become if it followed the new trends in architecture and urban planning (Lortie et al., 2004). The selection of a theme and four sub-themes for the event showed the strong role that planning played in the event.

The framework used to showcase the ideals and values of the exposition was "Man and his World," a theme organizers believed highlighted the interdependence of humankind, en route to a common civilization. The theme was to convey the same idealist notions as the Saint-Exupéry novel of the same name, a tale of a non-factional and co-operative brotherhood for all humankind (Kröller, 1997). In the context of the centennial celebration, it was also understood as a means of supporting the myth of Canada as a bicultural and bilingual nation (Kröller, 1997). Expo officials wanted humankind to realize that in a world where new technologies made faraway lands your neighbours, what united humanity was stronger than what separated it. They wished to create an all-inclusive event, inviting all religions, the smallest and newest nations, and youth, who also had their own pavilion (Dupuy, 1972).

The main theme had four sub-themes highlighting the ideals. "Man the Explorer" was to explore the environment humankind lived in. "Man the Creator" surveyed the creative genius of humans, the aesthetics they surrounded themselves with. "Man the Producer" explored how humanity studied and refined the raw materials of the world to better use them. And finally "Man and the Community" was to explore the problems posed by population growth in urban centres (Dupuy, 1972, p. 38).

THE CONFRONTATION OF IDEALS ON SITE AND IN THE CITY

In a feat of engineering, the city created 59,120 feet of dykes to shape the islands (Grenier, 1965). Then, 28 million tonnes of earth were moved (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1968). The earth came first from dredging the bottom of the river, then from an endless flow of trucks bringing earth to the site from the South Shore and from the digging of the subway. That was still not enough: existing small islands on site were excavated into lakes and lagoons to provide more fill, and then canals were created, saving the city seven million tonnes of fill (Grenier, 1965). The mayor of Montréal describes the islands as "a man-made exhibition site,

fashioned to order for maximum beauty, interest and functional convenience" (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1964, "Canada at Home to the World" brochure, "Office of the Mayor of Montreal" page).

The landscaping effort was equally impressive. The original Sainte-Hélène Island was a 135-acre park and was kept as such for Expo, a rest area from the high-culture and permanent activity around the site (Lownsbrough, 2012). Once enlarged, the island took up 330 acres. Notre-Dame Island added 310 acres to the total, and MacKay Pier became a 148-acre site from its original 48 acres (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1964, Yellow booklet; Grenier, 1965). The lakes, canals, lagoons, and the 27 bridges built to cross them added to the landscape. On this newly fashioned land, nature needed help growing fast for opening day. Sixty-five tonnes of grass were installed in one month. About 186,000 trees and plants were laid out, and 700,000 flowers were planted. All this greenery was then adorned with 58 fountains, 198 outside sculptures, and 6,200 public benches for pedestrians to sit, rest, and admire the scenery (Jasmin, 1997).

Civilization

The choice of creating land in such a vast, underpopulated country as Canada was questioned. Plenty of land was still available to construct such a site, and the city would be in a better position to recuperate it for other purposes (Grenier, 1965; Legault, 2002; Lownsbrough, 2012). For Drapeau and Dupuy, it was a civilizing act. The city was proving it was no longer backwards by proving it could create a new world. It also re-established a link between the city and the city's waterway, which were blocked off from one another by the port and industrial neighbourhoods (Quintric, 1971).

The St. Lawrence, in Dupuy's obviously Eurocentric view, was the all-important river through which "la civilisation est arrivée en notre pays"; it was "au coeur de notre histoire" and was still "la grande artère de notre prospérité" (Dupuy, 1972, pp. 24-25). A great focus was put into the capacity of the city to create and modify nature, to make it comply with the needs and expectations of humans. It was a point of pride discussed abundantly, with many statistics included throughout official documentation from the Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition and private memoirs of organizers such as Yves Jasmin and of journalists such as Raymond Grenier.

This demonstration of civilization needed to be easily accessible to all. The road and highway system of the city was improved at an accelerated rate. Links to the United States highways were created, paths of local highways were changed, lanes were added, and roads were converted into highways and expressways. Bridges were created to link the city and the islands, or modified to better serve the site. The new subway system was extended to stop on site (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1964, Yellow booklet). Vast parking lots were created and

linked to the site by Expo-Express, a rapid transit system on a continuous loop around the perimeter of the site, designed for external access (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1964, Yellow booklet; Jasmin, 1997; Lownsbrough, 2012).

The newly extended road system in and around Montréal was also a point of pride. It made Montréal modern, a motor city. The premier of Québec, in his letter welcoming exhibitors to Québec, suggested they visit not just Montréal, but also the province and its "fine highways and quaint by ways" (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1964, "Canada at Home to the World" brochure, "Bienvenue dans la Province de Québec" page).

Figure 5. Map of Expo 67 Site. 1966. Private Collection of the Author, Montréal

Note. This map showcases the layout of the event and the path of Expo-Express, two parking lots, one west of Victoria Bridge, the other, on the South Shore, and the location of the subway station on Sainte-Hélène Island, west of the wooded area.

The Total Environment

While the islands and the accesses leading to them were built by the city, the federal and provincial governments and the Corporation were responsible for the layout of the site and overseeing building construction. Colonel Edward Churchill was in charge of all construction. He used the latest construction planning techniques, known as the critical path method, to minimize construction delays and problems

and deliver the finished site on time (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1968). The chief architect was Edouard Fiset. He worked to create a major city park and an extension of the city centre (Lortie et al., 2004). One relatively small team not only supervised the construction but also dictated rules and regulations exhibitors had to follow in the design and building of their pavilions. The use of certain materials and shapes, such as the tetrahedron, were recommended. Additionally, the way exhibitors could use the land allotted to them was regulated (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1964, Purple booklet). For example, 40% of the lot of the pavilion had to be grass (Lownsbrough, 2012). Pavilions were dispersed throughout the site to promote circulation and prevent congestion. Permanent buildings were to be set up on the Cité du Havre, to not jeopardize the future of the islands (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1968, p. 48). Expo 67 was to be a utopia, but a very pragmatic one (Lortie et al., 2004).

Planning in the city was not as integrated. The city planning department had to deal with more challenges. Their area of supervision was bigger and the built environment was more extensive. They also had to deal with the population. They had to make do with what existed and deal with private investors. While they could regulate to a certain degree, they could not be as dictatorial as the Expo planners were (Vanlaethem, 2008). The city was the real world; the site, a case study.

The goal of the site planning was ultimately to remove irritants, such as congestion, long wait lines, and inadequate services. The islands had their own water, electricity, gas, and communications systems (Jasmin, 1997). The site also had its own fire station and its own treatment plant for waste water (Legault, 2002). Philippe de Gaspé Beaubien, Director of Operations (dubbed Mayor of Expo), had at his disposal during the event an operations centre at the leading edge of technology. The centre was equipped with a multitude of screens, maps, and other technology to keep an eye on everything, including keeping the public safe and Expo running smoothly. The men designing and running the site thought of it as a beautiful city, and their city was to be kept not only safe, but spotless. And clean it was: trash cans were installed everywhere (Lownsbrough, 2012).

The flow of visitors was to be smooth, therefore, they decided to limit the number of entrances to the site. Deliveries were to take place only at night, and emergency vehicles had isolated access roads (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1964, Yellow Booklet; Lownsbrough, 2012). As for transit, roads, the subway, and Expo-Express moved visitors only from the city to the site. On site, a variety of transit options were available including the mini-rail, the trailer-trains, the sky-ride, hovercrafts, and the canal boats. These were designed primarily as amusement or for sightseeing purposes but were all planned to be fully integrated with one another (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1968).

Figure 6. MacKay Pier, Scale Model. 1966. Private Collection of the Author, Montréal

Note. Scale model of Cité du Havre, where the permanent buildings were located. The stadium is located where the Goose Village neighbourhood used to be.

Figure 7. Sainte-Hélène and Notre-Dame Islands, Scale Model. 1966. Private Collection of the Author, Montréal

Note. Scale model of the two islands with pavilions. This picture shows the thoughtful layout. Major pavilions, such as the Canadian (inverted pyramid at the tip of Notre-Dame Island), U.S. (the big bubble on the south side of Sainte-Hélène Island), and Soviet (facing the U.S. pavilion, across the pedestrian bridge to Notre-Dame Island), were spread out to facilitate circulation. We can also see the track of the mini-rail, the on-site circulatory system, zig-zagging between buildings, and even entering the U.S. pavilion.

Figure 8. Sainte-Hélène Island, Scale Model. 1966. Private Collection of the Author, Montréal

Note. Scale model of the east-end tip of Sainte-Hélène Island, the amusement area of the site, where the amusement park La Ronde was built, and the marina. The track of the mini-rail is more discernible in this photograph.

Aesthetics

The pedestrian was to be king at Expo. The streets were designed for the walker's benefit. Planners tried to isolate pedestrians as much as possible from mechanized transport systems, and offer them rest areas and beautiful vistas (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1968). As the Architectural Record magazine said, Expo 67 was "a brilliantly ordered visual world" (cited in Lownsbrough, 2012, p. 64). The beautiful views were provided in part by the monumental and innovative architecture of the pavilions, showcasing the latest styles, such as the iconic geodesic dome of the United States, designed by Buckminster Fuller; Habitat 67 by Israeli-Canadian architect Moshe Safdie

(Lownsbrough, 2012); and Katimavik, the Canadian pavilion, deemed spectacular enough to be visited by Daredevil and thus reproduced in a comic by Stan Lee (Kenneally & Sloan, 2010).

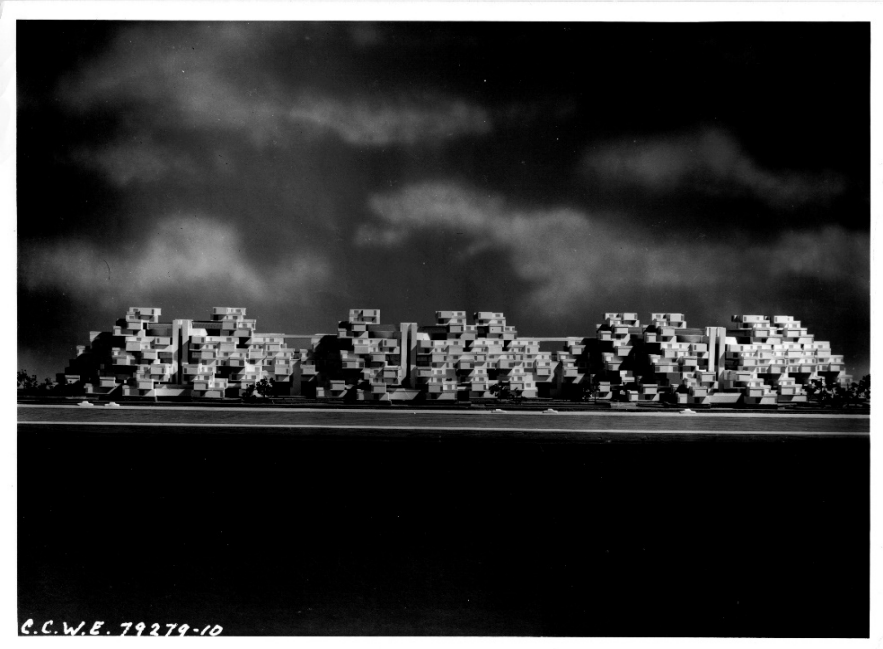
Pierre Dupuy was particularly proud of his team's ability to manipulate what people thought of nature. He remembered in is memoir that "visitors had no idea they were on an artificial site" (Dupuy, 1972, p. 131). The new urban park created by his team not only re-linked the city to its waterway, but it mirrored the other major park of Montréal, Mount Royal. The parks faced each other and sandwiched downtown between them, offering views of each other, of downtown, and of the water.

Architecture in the city was already oriented towards the modern monumental International style (Lortie et al., 2004; Marsan, 1983). In the 1960s, Montréal was home to the mega structure, constructions of massive scale or a complex of many buildings, and if Expo changed anything, it was the pace of construction in the years leading up to the event (Lortie et al., 2004).

Figure 9. U.S. Pavilion. Scale Model. 1966. Private Collection of the Author, Montréal

Note. United States pavilion, a massive dome of 250 feet across and 187 feet high, with the mini-rail track crossing it.

Figure 10. Habitat 67, Scale Model. 1966. Private Collection of the Author, Montréal



Note. Habitat 67 on Cité du Havre. The pyramidal cluster was an experimentation in low-cost and high-density residential housing.

Figure 11. Canadian Pavilion, Scale Model. 1966. Private Collection of the Author, Montréal

Note. Katimavik, the Canadian Pavilion, a giant inverted pyramid.

Figures 12 and 13. Québec Pavilion, Scale Model. 1966. Private Collection of the Author, Montréal

Note. The Québec Pavilion, giving a new image to the province that was in the process of shedding its traditional image. Day view and night view.

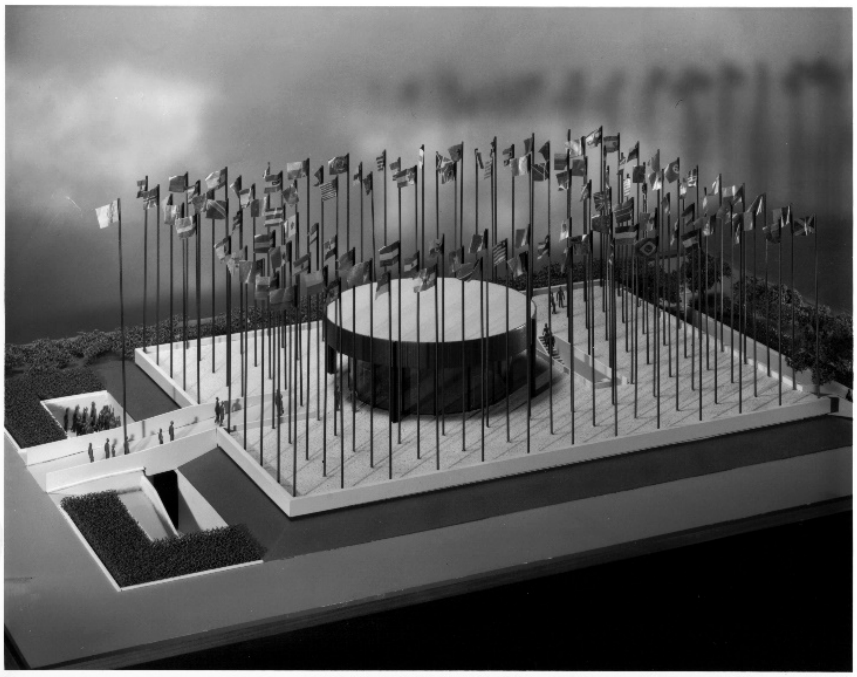
Unity

The Exhibit was located on built islands on the St. Lawrence River, neither in the English part of town, nor in the French neighbourhoods, a good way to avoid a quarrel over prestige between the two populations of the city. It was new ground for a new equal co-operation. The site was isolated from the core of the city but gave a dramatic view of downtown, allowing visitors a moment of reflection on the division of the city (Quintric, 1971). The organizing committee was also made up of both Francophones and Anglophones, presenting an image of inclusion. Pierre Dupuy was Commissioner General, Robert F. Shaw, his Deputy. The General Manager was A.G. Kniewasser. Jean-Claude Delorme was in charge of the Secretariat while Dale Rediker oversaw Finance and Administration. Colonel Edward Churchill was in charge of Installations, while Pierre DeBellefeuille took care of Exhibitors and Philippe de Gaspé Beaubien took over Operations (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1964, Red booklet). The reality there may have been different from the image, with meetings reportedly held in only one language when unilingual persons were present (Kröller, 1997).

The choice of building a new site in neither Francophone nor Anglophone territory prevented further clashes in the city. It also prevented land speculation (Quintric, 1971). New roads and mass transit allowed for better communications between neighbourhoods, suburbs, and the city. Roads also allowed the development of new communities on the South Shore, now better linked to Montréal. But because of the roads, communities were also divided and relocated, such as the Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (NDG) neighbourhood when the Décarie expressway was built (Castonguay & Dagenais, 2011). The event also caused communities to be destroyed. The working class neighbourhood of Goose Village, for no other crime than being deemed unsightly, was demolished and the population dispersed (Bednarz, n.d.; [Montréal], n.d.).

The quest of organizers to have the largest possible variety of exhibitors provided a more active example of inclusion, where different groups interacted and co-operated with each other. The goal was to have each religion represented during Expo 67, and while this could not be achieved, many Catholic churches co-operated to help create an ecumenical pavilion. The Canadian Jewish community built the House of Judaism and Thailand built a Buddhist shrine. Co-operation between nations was promoted by the presence of the United Nations and the European Economic Association (Dupuy, 1972; Lambert, 2015).

Figure 14. UN Pavilion, Scale Model. 1966. Private Collection of the Author, Montréal



Note. The United Nations Pavilion included a "Restaurant of All Nations."

The sense of unity was further provided by the pedestrian nature of the site and the preference of planners for mass transit. Visitors were never truly isolated from one another, like they would have been if they were in cars. They could discuss with one another, exchange, and share on their experiences. On the precepts of the urban park, the site had areas of relaxation and contemplation, as well as amusement. The amusement was found in the pavilions, of course, especially the Youth Pavilion, but even more so in La Ronde, the amusement park built on the edge of Sainte-Hélène Island, and the marina built next to it. It was also found in the events of the World Arts Festival, the Montréal Film Festival, special sporting events, and performances offered throughout the duration of the world fair (Lambert, 2015).

These sportive and cultural events happened not only on the site of Expo 67, but in the city as well. While no venues were created specifically for these events on the main island, the entire population could share in the experiences they provided. Montrealers could tell the tale of when the Bolshoi Opera of Moscow, La Scala of Milan, or The Supremes performed in their town (T. C. Brown, 2015).

CONCLUSION

Expo 67 was a powerful cultural symbol that represented a utopic and futuristic view, designed to alter perceptions of both Canada and Montréal (Kröller, 1997). The key

concepts of the event were civilization defined by progress and modernity; the total environment shaped by planning and technology; aesthetics, both natural and cultural; and finally unity created by a sense of community between all peoples and the celebration of diversity. They all found an expression in the site. The site showed great control over the environment. The coordination of multiple transit systems was modern and technological, while one team handling all design decisions allowed the establishment of a utopia on site. Nature was shaped to cultural standards, while at the same time, culture was located in nature. All this effort was taken to invite the world to a big party celebrating diversity but highlighting the unifying factors of all.

These ideals were not all transferred to the city. The trend towards modernity and progress was already present, but Expo 67 reinforced it. While the aesthetic revolution towards the modern style of architecture was already ongoing in Montréal prior to the site's design, the total environment of the site was not as feasible on as large a scale as Montréal, with more uncontrollable variables and a large built environment already present. In this case, it would appear the event mirrored the city and not the other way around. The addition of over 640 acres of land on the water helped the city redefine its link to the St. Lawrence.

But the biggest impact was on the community. Even if it irrevocably damaged some communities, such as Goose Village or NDG, the goals of the organizers were achieved: Canada put on a great show, Québec and Montréal were modernized, and an incredible sense of community was created among participants and visitors of the event.

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LAURA M. GALIN-CORINI & ANA JANIC

The Cognitive Benefits of Multilingualism on the Executive Function of Inhibition

Multilingual individuals have been observed to possess enhanced cognitive capabilities in comparison to monolingual individuals. In this study, we compared the abilities to inhibit automatic, obvious answers between monolingual and multilingual individuals. It was hypothesized that monolinguals will have more difficulty inhibiting automatic correct answers than multilinguals. Forty-five monolinguals and 44 multilinguals were assessed for cognitive control. Participants were shown 24 individual images of a coloured object (e.g., shown a green apple) and were simultaneously told the colour of the depicted object (e.g., the experimenter said, "green apple"). For half the shown objects, the colour mentioned was the same as the colour shown (e.g., a green apple is shown and the experimenter relays "green apple") and for the other half, the colour depicted was different from the colour relayed (e.g., a red apple is shown and the experimenter relays "green apple"). Participants had to evaluate whether the image matched the verbal description and say the incorrect answer; if the image depicted matched the relayed statement, the participant had to say "false" (e.g., seeing an image of a green apple and hearing "green apple") and if the image depicted did not match the relayed statement the participant had to say "true" (e.g., seeing an image of a red apple and hearing the statement "green apple"). Multilingual individuals performed significantly better on the inhibition task compared to monolingual individuals ($t_{(87)}$ = 9.8, $p < 0.0001$, $d = 2.08$). These results corroborate past findings that multilingual individuals show enhanced cognitive control required in inhibition. The acquisition and maintenance of many languages appear to be of significant benefit to cognitive abilities.

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Keywords: Multilingualism, inhibition, executive function, cognitive control

BACKGROUND

Executive function is a set of higher-order functions that optimize and schedule lower-order functions necessary for cognitive control (Miller, 2001). A type of cognitive control is inhibition; it is defined as the resistance to interference from attention-capturing processes or contents (Lustig et al., 2007; Harnishfeger, 1995). The executive function system directs attention, allowing us to maintain focus, switch focus, and hold information. Inhibition is the method by which one is able to attend, process, and respond to selective stimuli when many other sources of information must be suppressed in order to avoid undesired responses or behaviours. This type of cognitive control is an intrinsic daily requirement of multilingual individuals. This study examines whether multilingualism confers an advantage to the cognitive control of inhibition even when dealing with visual stimuli.

Research conducted by Marian and Shook (2012) has shown that, compared to monolinguals, bilingual individuals have more effective attention and task-switching capacities. When a multilingual person is using one language, their other known language(s) are not in cognitive use and models of bilingual language processing have postulated that active cognitive inhibition occurs to suppress the non-target language (Green, 1998). The multilingual brain frequently accesses cognitive control mechanisms while switching between different languages (Marian & Shook, 2012; Bialystock, 2009). While inhibition is necessary for all individuals, its necessity for multilingual individuals is constant and recurrent as it is exercised every time an individual engages in verbal or auditory actions in either language.

Within the surveyed research, studies on multimodal inhibition in multilingual individuals have not been widely explored. The present study aims to add to the previously discussed body of literature by examining whether the suggested inhibitory advantages of multilinguals can be generalized to cognitive domains, such as the visual and auditory domains.

This article examines whether multilingual individuals have enhanced cognitive inhibitory mechanisms as measured by an inhibitory control task. The inhibition task chosen is inspired by Knott et al. (2011) who used a true and false recall mechanism as a measure of cognitive inhibition in adults and children as it pertains to memory. In their study, participants were shown flash cards of matched events—viewed an image and heard its correct description (e.g., viewed a grocery list and heard "this is a grocery list")—or of unmatched events—viewed an image and heard a description providing an incorrect description (e.g., viewed a grocery list and heard "this is a price tag"). Participants were asked to answer "false" to the matched events, and "true" to the unmatched ones; spontaneous, correct answers had to be inhibited in order for the incorrect answers to be relayed. The researchers concluded that although adults inhibited more correct answers better than children, children over the age of 5 still possess the inhibitory mechanisms needed to succeed in the task.

Presumably, multilinguals would do well at a similar task. It is postulated that this will be the case for multilinguals who have been using their non-native languages for a long time and do so frequently in their activities of daily living. Luk and Bialystok (2013) show that multilingualism is a multidimensional construction with two linked parts: language proficiency and language use. These two parts would interplay for good inhibitory control. Indeed, Heidlmayr et al. (2014) suggest that the efficiency of bilinguals' inhibitory control is impacted by the frequency of use of their second language in their daily life. In this study, the multilingual participants will be individuals who speak English as their first language in addition to having been speaking one or more non-English languages for at least eight years at home, school, or work (language proficiency) and have been speaking more than one language regularly and consistently in their daily life (language use).

Multilingual brains may have more efficient inhibitory control function due to years of maintaining conversations in one target language while reducing interference between languages. Heidlmayr et al. (2014) concluded that multilinguals were better able to suppress interfering information to complete the task at hand. If multilingualism results in an increased efficiency of the executive cognitive control of inhibition, it is here predicted that multilingual participants will be more accurate at giving the incorrect answer instead of the automatic, obviously correct one in comparison to monolingual participants (e.g., stating "false" when seeing a red apple and hearing "red apple").

METHODOLOGY

Participants

Undergraduate students from Glendon College, York University in Toronto, Canada, were recruited. Forty-five monolingual English-speaking students (21 females; 24 males) between the ages of 18 and 26 years old (M=22.08, SD=2.30), and 44 multilingual students (26 females; 19 males) between the ages of 18 and 26 years old (M=20.93, SD=2.37) participated. To be classified as multilingual, participants had to match the following definition: "A multilingual individual is someone who has been consistently speaking more than one language for the last eight years in a home, school or work environment." The mother tongue of all multilingual participants was English and they additionally identified all other languages in which they were fluent. Out of the multilingual students who participated, 27 were fluent in two languages, 15 in three languages, two in four languages, and one in six languages.

Materials

Six simple objects (a heart, a chair, a shirt, a pencil, a book, a flower) were drawn on flashcards. Each object was shown twice—each time in a different colour (red, green, black, or blue)—for a total of 12 flashcards. Each flashcard had an illustration of a coloured object on its front (e.g., a red apple) and a written description of what the experimenter would say on its back side, which would not be visible to the

participant. The back always described the object shown (e.g., an apple) but with a matched (e.g., red, Figure 1) or unmatched (e.g., green, Figure 2) colour. Two flashcards were used during practice trials (Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1. Example Flashcard of a MATCHED Scenario

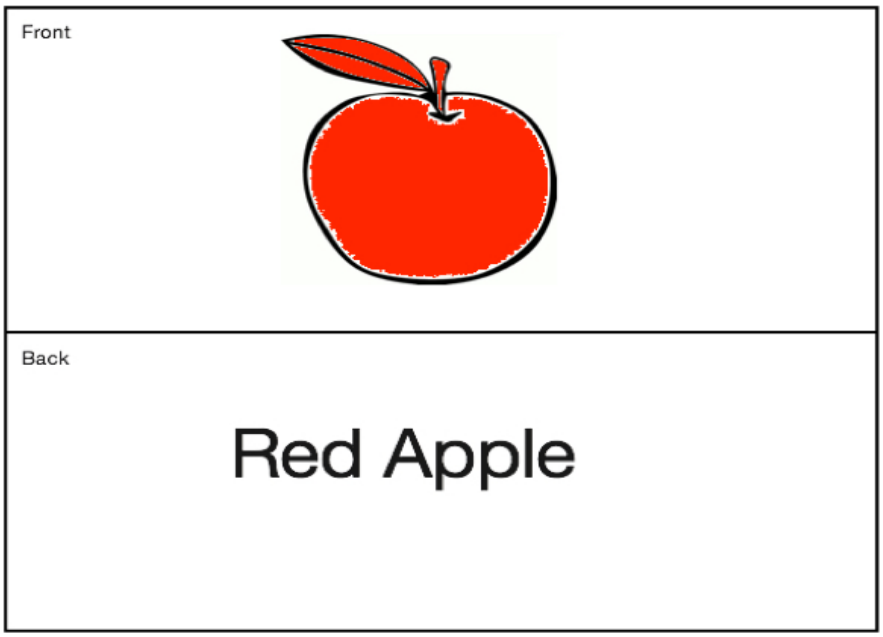
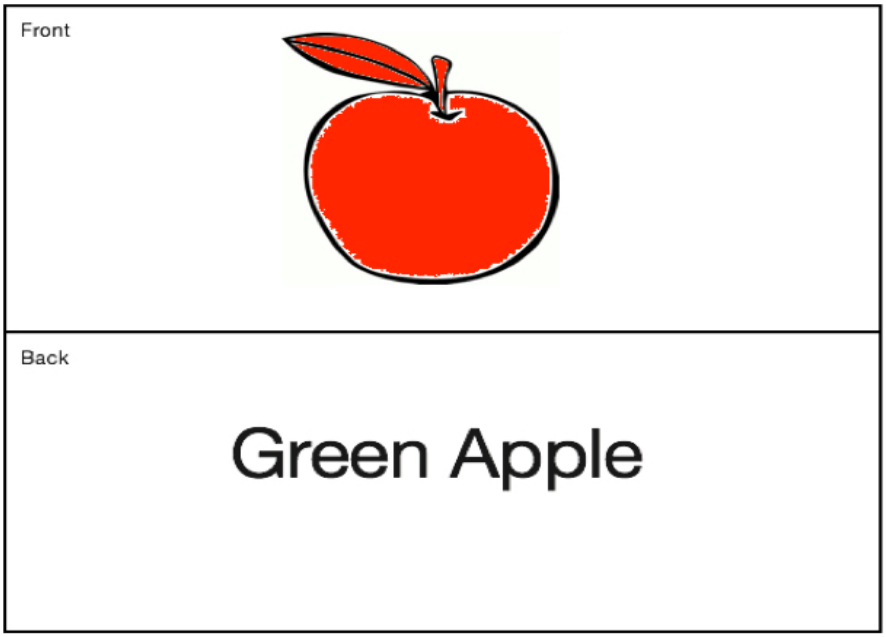


Figure 2. Example Flashcard of an UNMATCHED Scenario



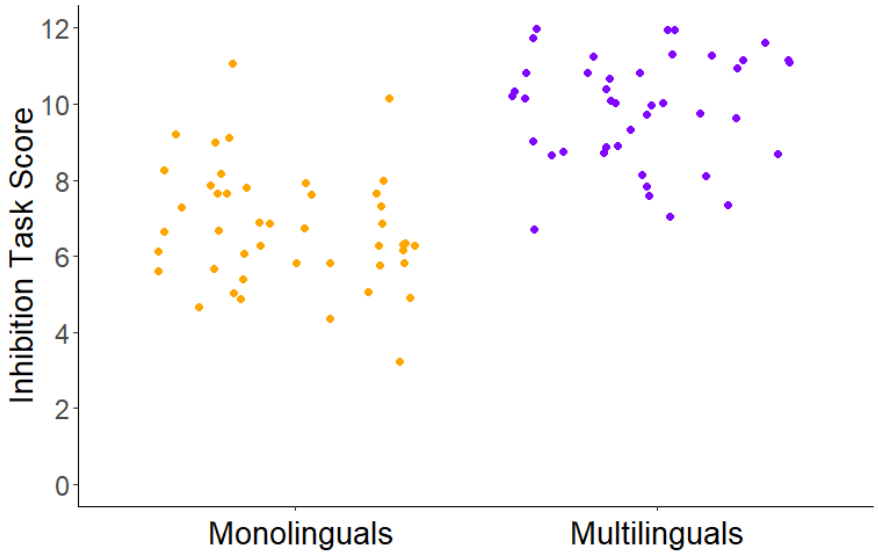
PROCEDURE

Each participant was shown the 12 flashcards in a different randomized order. After seeing each card and hearing its description, they had to say the reverse from the automatic, obviously correct answer—that is, if the description matched the object, they had to say "false" and if the description did not match the object, they had to say "true." Thus, for example, counter-intuitively, when a red book was seen and described as a red book, participants had to say "false," and when a black chair was seen and described as a green chair, they had to say "true." Participants had two seconds to state their answer. One point was awarded for each given answer that was the reverse from the automatic, obvious one. No point was given if an answer was not provided within two seconds. The participant total score was out of 12 and will be hereafter referred to as the inhibition task score.

RESULTS

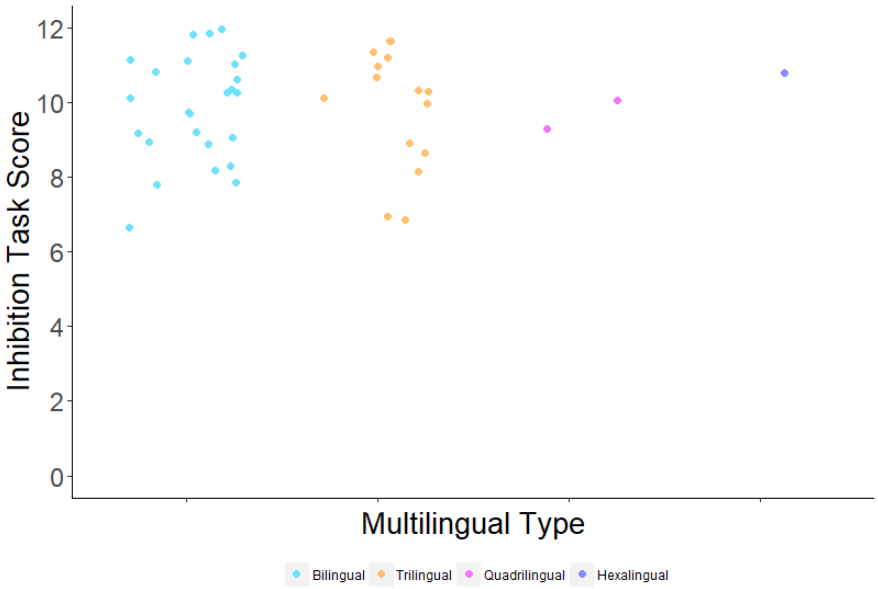
Forty-five monolingual and 44 multilingual participants were compared on their inhibition task score (Figure 3). One multilingual male participant was excluded from the analysis due to obtaining an extremely low score of 3 out of 12 on the inhibition task. A one-tailed t-test was conducted to compare the two samples. Inhibition task scores of monolingual participants (M=6.778, SD=1.565) were significantly lower than that of multilingual participants (M=8.326, SD=1.444), $t_{(87)} = 9.8$, $p < 0.001$, $d = 2.08$. This analysis rendered a large effect size.

Figure 3. Individual Participant Scores on the Inhibition Task, of Both Monolingual and Multilingual Participants Presented Separately



The results of the multilingual participants were further analyzed (Figure 4). The inhibition task scores of bilingual participants (n=26) were compared to those of participants who spoke three or more languages (hereafter referred to as "trilingual-plus"; n=18).

Figure 4. Individual Participant Scores of the Multilingual Sample, on the Inhibition Task, Separated by Degree of Multilingualism



A one-tailed t-test was conducted to compare the bilingual participants and the trilingual-plus participants. Inhibition task scores of bilingual participants (M=9.923, SD=1.440) were not significantly different from those of trilingual-plus participants (M=9.889, SD=1.491), $t_{(42)} = 0.08$, $p = 0.468$, $d = 0.023$. However, bilingual individuals did achieve a slightly higher average score compared to trilingual-plus individuals on the inhibition task.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The results indicate that multilinguals are better at inhibiting the automatic correct response and relaying the incorrect response when compared to monolingual individuals. This suggests that multilinguals have enhanced inhibitory control mechanisms.

This cognitive advantage may be due to training of executive control in multilinguals. Marian and Shook (2012) suggest that due to the essential switching between languages and/or maintaining communication in a specific one, the multilingual brain is constantly engaging in various cognitive control mechanisms, such as attention and inhibition. Since these control mechanisms are being used

more frequently in multilingual than monolingual individuals, multilingual individuals may benefit from a training effect due to the frequent exercise of this type of executive function.

There is no doubt that in the current task, participants needed to use inhibition in order to relay the incorrect answer instead of the automatic and obvious answer. Monolingual individuals who do not have equivalent continuous daily demands of inhibitory control would have less practice at inhibiting some spontaneous answers. In agreement with our results, the previously mentioned work by Heidlmayr et al. (2014) determined that bilinguals perform better than monolinguals on the Stroop task—which clearly requires inhibition—when conducted in their first language.

Nevertheless, it is important to consider that inhibition may not be the only function required in these tasks, nor trained in multilinguals. Other higher executive cognitive functions such as selecting, shifting, and/or updating, are also superior in multilinguals compared to their monolingual counterparts. Indeed, research by Prior and MacWhinney (2010) demonstrates that enhanced executive functions in 47 bilingual individuals extend beyond inhibition into the realm of mental flexibility and shifting. This has also been confirmed by several other empirical studies (Costa et al., 2006; Philipp et al., 2008).

The richness of our multilingual sample allowed for further analysis, enabling us to look for a possible significant effect of number of known languages on inhibitory control. We analyzed whether increased cognitive gains are associated with a larger number of known languages. Due to the small sample size of the trilingual (n=15), quadrilingual (n=2), and hexalingual (n=1) samples, participants who spoke three or more languages fluently were classified as trilingual-plus. In this study, no significant difference was found between the performance of individuals who spoke two languages and those who spoke three or more on the inhibition task. A small effect size was obtained for this part of the analysis, suggesting that an increasing number of known languages does not render a more effective inhibitory mechanism. It is important to keep in mind the limitation of the sample size available in this study for investigating this avenue of research. Perhaps increasing the number of languages is not the best method of increasing one's inhibitory control. It is possible that in order to further improve executive control, multilingual individuals must practice tasks that require different cognitive demands than the ones involved in their language skill sets, such as learning to play a musical instrument and/or becoming an expert at playing chess.

Without a doubt, our data show that knowing two languages or more renders advantages of cognitive function such as enhanced inhibitory control. In fact, being bilingual seems to benefit performance in language-independent tasks such as working memory (Blom et al., 2014). Strong empirical evidence confirms that multilingualism comes with cognitive advantages. Multilingual education needs to be supported, whether at home or in schools, through immersion programs or other

curricula that emphasize learning in more than one language as learning many languages leads to cognitive enhancement as suggested by Bialystock et al. (2004). Moreover, it has been shown that bilingual individuals have an onset of dementia on average four years later than monolinguals (Bialystock et al., 2012). Not only does multilingualism enhance cognitive functions but it may also provide some cognitive reserve. Further research could explore the relationship between the number of known languages and inhibitory control. It would also be interesting to see whether bilingualism can help individuals with atypical cognitive development.

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ELIZABETH WANSTALL

Music to the Survivors' Ears

The role of music in mitigating neurocognitive impairments of childhood acute lymphoblastic leukemia survivors

Childhood acute lymphoblastic leukemia (ALL) is the most common form of childhood cancer and, due to high survival rates, there is an ever-growing population of survivors. Many childhood ALL survivors experience neurocognitive late effects that can affect intelligence, working memory, and processing speed, and which may be linked to chemotherapy received during treatment. Some clinical interventions have been tested in this population, but with minimal success. Music has been suggested as a therapeutic intervention for childhood cancer survivors at large, but not specifically for childhood ALL survivors. A review of the literature suggests that music may provide important benefits in all areas of neurocognitive difficulty for childhood ALL survivors. Therefore, music may be a promising form of intervention for the late effects of childhood ALL survivors, and it is necessary to develop and pilot such an intervention for this population.

Keywords: Childhood acute lymphoblastic leukemia, neurocognition, late effects, music

There are approximately 10,000 children currently living with cancer in Canada, 30% of whom have been diagnosed with leukemia. Acute lymphoblastic leukemia (ALL) accounts for 75% of all cases of childhood leukemia. ALL has a high survival rate, with a large number of ALL survivors consequently attempting to reintegrate into academic and work life; however, a growing number of these survivors also experience important neurocognitive impairments, often referred to as late effects (Iyer et al., 2015). Some remediation programs have been piloted to aid these survivors (Butler & Copeland, 2002; Conklin et al., 2007), but with limited success, leaving a great need for more effective clinical interventions. Music has been shown to generate important cognitive benefits (Hiscock et al., 2013), which suggests that it may help to mitigate the neurocognitive impairments experienced by childhood ALL

survivors. This review aims to assess the specific mechanics of ALL, the resulting neurocognitive impairments, and the potential healing role of music.

CHILDHOOD ACUTE LYMPHOBLASTIC LEUKEMIA

Acute lymphoblastic leukemia is a type of cancer that affects the bone marrow and the blood and is characterized by the over-production of immature lymphoblastic cells (Orkin et al., 2009). ALL is often called a childhood disorder, as two thirds of cases arise during childhood or adolescence (Pui & Evans, 2006), with a peak prevalence between the ages of two and five years old (Pui et al., 2008). Given this high frequency of occurrence, ALL is in fact the most common form of childhood and adolescent cancer (Pui & Evans, 2006). Due to the fact that treatment has evolved dramatically since the 1950s, the survival rate is currently estimated around 90%. Thus, there is an ever-growing number of childhood ALL survivors (Simon, 2019).

Several treatment options currently exist for children suffering from acute lymphoblastic leukemia, the most common being chemotherapy. Patients are given a cocktail of various chemotherapy agents, which include methotrexate, vincristine, glucocorticoids, anthracyclines, and L-asparaginase (van der Plas et al., 2015). These agents must be given in fairly high doses, and directly into the central nervous system via the cerebro-spinal fluid in order to eliminate all of the cancerous cells and prevent relapse (Pui et al., 2008). In addition to chemotherapy, some children with high risk ALL may also undergo a stem-cell transplant in order to help promote the healthy regeneration of lymphoblasts (Pui et al., 2008). Another option for patients in the high-risk group is to receive prophylactic cranial irradiation, a form of radiation therapy, although it is discouraged due to harmful side effects (Pui et al., 2009). Finally, the newest type of treatment available is targeted therapy, which aims to eliminate specific cancer cells using drugs or other substances, without harming normal surrounding cells. This is still a relatively rare form of treatment that is still being studied heavily to be further developed in children with ALL (National Cancer Institute, 2016).

LATE NEUROCOGNITIVE EFFECTS IN ALL SURVIVORS

Given the growing number of childhood ALL survivors, it has become increasingly possible to study late effects that may develop in these individuals. Late effects can be defined as adverse health consequences that appear two or more years after the completion of treatment (Moleski, 2000). Today it appears that 40–60% of childhood ALL survivors who were treated with chemotherapy only experience late neurocognitive impairments. These impairments can be quite serious, affecting a variety of components in a survivor's life, such as mental health, academic performance, success in a work environment, and overall quality of life (van der Plas et al., 2015).

When neurocognitive impairments were first studied in ALL survivors in the 1970s and 1980s, they were initially evaluated within a psychosocial framework. Research at the time pointed to the traumatic experiences that children with ALL had to endure, such as long-term hospitalization and painful treatments (Kellerman, 1980). Even though some researchers did find significant neurocognitive deficits in ALL survivors, particularly in verbal intelligence (Stehbens et al., 1981), these deficits were quite often attributed to psychosocial factors, or even discredited as statistical artifacts (Kellerman et al., 1982). Although these psychosocial interpretations are still valued and recognized, contemporary research now links the neurocognitive impairments in ALL survivors to treatment methods (van der Plas et al., 2015). It was established that cranial irradiation consistently caused impairments in intellectual and neuropsychological functioning, among other negative effects on the survivor's health (Butler et al., 1994). Chemotherapy is now the most common form of treatment, and researchers have established that this too may be linked to neurocognitive impairments, although less so than cranial irradiation (Moleski, 2000).

Iyer et al. (2015) conducted a review of the neurocognitive impairments of childhood ALL survivors who were treated with chemotherapy only. Survivors experience a decrease in IQ of 6–8 points lower than healthy controls. Although both verbal and verbal IQ scores seem to be affected, the most pronounced effect was found in the verbal IQ score. Childhood ALL survivors were also found to show a significant decrease in working memory and in information processing speed. Attention/concentration, verbal and visual memory, fine motor functioning, visual construction, and executive function were also examined. The literature remains inconclusive on these neurocognitive impairments, although certain studies do identify these as potential issues (Iyer et al., 2015).

Additionally, certain brain abnormalities have been detected in ALL patients and survivors, and have been linked to various neurocognitive late effects. Up to 80% of ALL patients who have been treated with chemotherapy experience lesions in the white matter of the brain, whether transient or persistent (Bhojwani et al., 2014). Reddick et al. (2014) found that ALL survivors had an overall reduced volume of white matter, which was correlated with lower scores in intelligence, attention, and academic success. Recent studies have also identified abnormalities in the grey matter of childhood ALL survivors who were treated with chemotherapy, with smaller cortical surface area and reduced cortical thickness in certain areas (Tamnes et al., 2015). In addition, survivors who displayed reduced cortical surface area in the prefrontal cortex experienced significant problems in executive functioning (Tamnes et al., 2015).

INTERVENTIONS FOR NEUROCOGNITIVE LATE EFFECTS

In order to aid survivors of childhood ALL and other forms of childhood cancers that experience late neurocognitive impairments, Butler and Copeland (2002) created a Cognitive Remediation Program (CRP). This program combines elements from the areas of brain injury rehabilitation, educational psychology, and clinical psychology. The CRP utilizes several different techniques including drill practices, learning skills and strategies, and cognitive-behavioral therapy; however, the CRP was designed primarily to improve attentional difficulties, so it does not address all of the neurocognitive impairments that survivors of childhood ALL may experience. In addition, a multicentre clinical trial of the CRP method in childhood cancer survivors showed that although participants showed some improvement in academic success and their parents rated their attention abilities as improved, the neuropsychological batteries did not reveal significant improvement (Butler et al., 2008).

In addition to this cognitive training approach, researchers have attempted to treat these neurocognitive impairments pharmacologically. Conklin et al. (2007) completed a double-blind cross-over clinical trial of methylphenidate, which appeared to have promising effects on attention, cognitive flexibility, and processing speed; however, certain children fared better with this pharmacological intervention, particularly males with a higher level of intelligence and who were treated at an older age (Conklin et al., 2007). Thus, there seems to be a necessity to develop more effective clinical interventions for all childhood ALL survivors.

MUSIC AND THE BRAIN

Music has been shown to improve many abilities, such as spatial-temporal reasoning, numerical reasoning, phonemic awareness (Rauscher & Hinton, 2011), attention, processing speed (Roden et al., 2014) and linguistic abilities (Moreno et al., 2009). In this field of study, the direction of causality is often questioned: are the bright children taking music lessons or can music cause an increase in cognitive function? Causal studies—rather than correlational studies—are now being conducted, such as Schellenberg's (2004) study on intelligence and a 2011 study (Roden et al.) on attention and processing speed. Such studies provide further support for the cognitive benefits that music offers.

Music training has also proven to alter a variety of brain structures. Even at an amateur level of musicianship, music training is associated with an increase in grey matter, notably in the motor, auditory, and visual-spatial areas of the brain (Gaser & Schlaug, 2003). Grey matter appears to increase in the ventral premotor cortex, which is the area of the brain that integrates sensory and motor information (Bailey et al., 2014). Also, the corpus callosum is more developed and larger in musicians, particularly in area 3, but only if they began musical training before the age of seven (Schlaug et al., 2009). Musicians with at least ten years of formal training are also found to have increased cortical thickness, especially in the superior temporal and

dorsolateral frontal regions, which are implicated in the processing of complex sounds (Bermudez et al., 2009).

The blooming field of music therapy takes advantage of the various benefits that music may offer in order to apply them to individuals with a variety of physical or psychological issues. In essence, music therapy is the prescribed use of music administered by a certified professional used to improve or maintain health. This can be an effective strategy for individuals with traumatic brain injury, developmental disabilities such as autism, physical disabilities, pain management, dementia, and many more (Canadian Association for Music Therapy, 2014). The effectiveness of music therapy with such individuals helps to support the fact that music may provide benefits not only for healthy individuals but also for those with brain abnormalities (LaGasse, 2014; Ridder et al., 2013; Weller & Baker, 2011).

MUSIC FOR CHILDHOOD ALL SURVIVORS

Music currently plays a role in childhood ALL patients; however, this musical engagement takes place primarily pre-remission while the child is still being treated in hospital (Tucquet & Leung, 2014). An Australian national review of the usefulness of music therapy during childhood cancer treatment conducted by Tucquet and Leung (2014) revealed that music therapy plays a significant role in parent-child bonding, emotional support, self-expression, pain management, and anxiety management during treatment.

Hiscock et al. (2013) reviewed existing literature on the topics of late neurocognitive effects in childhood cancer and the cognitive benefits of music, and concluded that a music-based intervention would likely help alleviate survivors' neurocognitive impairments. The article provides a strong foundation in this field, but it is important to look specifically at the neurocognitive impairments of childhood ALL survivors, as they can differ significantly from impairments in other types of childhood cancer.

First, it is crucial to examine whether music may aid the three most pronounced cognitive impairments of ALL survivors: intelligence, working memory, and information processing speed (Iyer et al., 2015). Schellenberg's (2004) revolutionary causal study demonstrated that 36 weeks of music training in children at age 6 led to an increase of 2.7 IQ points in comparison to the control group. In terms of working memory, musicians outperformed non-musicians on tasks of this ability both behaviourally and on an electrophysiological level (George & Coch, 2010). To assess information processing speed, Roden et al. (2014) compared two groups of children who received either musical training or natural science training for 18 months. At the end of this period, children who had received musical training showed a significant increase in information processing speed. Thus, evidence suggests that these three common neurocognitive impairments in childhood ALL survivors—

intelligence, working memory, and information processing speed—could potentially be aided with music.

In addition, five potential neurocognitive impairments in childhood ALL survivors that were identified by Iyer et al. (2015) are worth considering: attention/concentration, verbal and visual memory, fine motor function, visual construction and executive function. Several studies have shown that music can improve attention and concentration, including visual attention (Roden at al., 2014) and auditory attention (Dege et al., 2011). Verbal memory (Dege et al., 2011) and visual memory (Ferreri et al., 2013) have also been shown to improve with music training. In terms of improvements in fine motor functioning, Weller and Baker (2011) found that music in physical rehabilitation programs could aid certain aspects of physical functioning, such as fine motor functioning. Visual-construction skills involve the ability to perceive a picture or an object as a set of individual parts and then to reconstruct it from this set of parts. This skill essentially combines visual-spatial abilities and fine motor functioning (Mervis et al., 1999). Although the impact of music on visual-construction abilities has not been studied directly, music has been proven to improve visual-spatial abilities (Tai, 2010). In combination with the effect of music on fine motor functioning, it appears promising that music may also increase visual-construction abilities. Finally, there is evidence that music also seems to improve executive functioning abilities (Moreno et al., 2011). Overall, evidence indicates that music could improve any of the neurocognitive impairments that childhood ALL survivors may experience.

Additional benefits that music training or music therapy may provide for a child are also worth considering. In general, music is a natural and important part of a child's life and is thus quite enjoyable (O'Callaghan et al., 2011). Children may also benefit from other components of music education, such as the development of creativity. It can also help the child survivor cope with certain traumatic experiences associated with their cancer (e.g., long-term hospitalization, medical trauma) as well as any persistent stress or anxiety (Tucquet & Leung, 2014). Therefore, music is a harm-free form of treatment and may be beneficial to the child survivor of ALL in more ways than intended.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, music appears to be a very promising form of treatment for mitigating the known neurocognitive impairments of children who have survived ALL. The ultimate goal for childhood acute lymphoblastic leukemia is to develop less harmful treatment methods, and music has the potential to alleviate the harm current treatment may cause. To confirm this method of treatment, a music therapy or music instruction program created specifically for ALL survivors should be devised, to target the particular impairments that these children experience. Such a program should then be tested with survivors in order to prove the efficacy of a musical intervention

in this population. It is important to note that a program of this nature highlights the value of interdisciplinary work: the neuroscientist and the musician can work innovatively and productively together rather than independently.

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SANDRA ROY

Mission et démissions dans la création identitaire d'une institution collégiale nationale

Le Collège Glendon (Toronto, Canada), entre 1966 et 1976, est fondé en tant que collège dispensant une éducation bilingue de type arts libéraux. Les deux premières administrations ont façonné le collège et lui ont imposé les fondations sur lesquelles elle repose toujours. À l'aide de documents produits par l'administration, le corps professoral et les étudiants, ainsi qu'à l'aide d'entrevue avec employés et étudiants du collège, l'évolution des descripteurs de Glendon pendant ces 10 années est examinée dans le but de cerner comment le collège se définit. Il est proposé que l'identité de Glendon est constamment remise en cause due à la confrontation entre rêves et réalités. Si le collège est petit physiquement et dans ses corps étudiants et professoral, ses administrateurs voient grands. Ils rêvent d'un collège national bilingue formant de nouveaux citoyens intéressés par les problèmes contemporains du pays. La taille de Glendon et son éthos est à contrecourant des tendances en éducation à l'époque, portant vers la multiversité et la formation spécialisée. Finalement, le désir de fournir un environnement et une éducation bilingue fait face à des problèmes structurels et crée des tensions avec les étudiants. Si Glendon a survécu ces 10 premières années, c'est que ces principaux ont su adapter ses rêves de grandeur et la réalité de ces moyens, au prix d'une redéfinition identitaire constante et non sans tumultes. L'étude du patrimoine identitaire de Glendon permet ainsi de mieux comprendre les problèmes auxquels le collège fait face aujourd'hui.

Mots clés : Identité institutionnelle, Collège Glendon, Université York, bilinguisme, années 60, années 70, éducation

Le Collège universitaire Glendon à l'Université York (Toronto, Canada) a, en 2016, 50 ans. Pour lui refaire une jeunesse, un nouveau principal lui impose une nouvelle structure, rafraichie ses buts dans l'enseignement supérieur et réaffirme son bilinguisme en désirant augmenter la présence francophone sur le campus (Ipperciel, 2014). Chacun des principaux a ainsi marqué Glendon de son empreinte.

L'administration mise en place par un principal reflète non seulement la vision et les ambitions de celui-ci, mais porte également la facture de son époque.

Glendon a été inauguré en 1966. Son enfance correspond donc à la fin des années 1960s et aux années 1970s. Ce fut une époque mouvementée autant au niveau international que national, où règnent la revendication et l'activisme sur fond de Guerre froide (Brown & Linteau, 1990). Au Canada, le Québec sort doucement de sa Révolution tranquille et se radicalise pour son indépendance et pour la protection de la langue française (Brown & Linteau, 1990). Le Canada prend note de l'insatisfaction du Québec et à travers l'euphorie des célébrations du centenaire de la Confédération et d'Expo 67 ils cherchent à restaurer leur relation (Comité pour l'étude du coût du bilinguisme, 1973 ; Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme à Glendon, s. d.).

L'éducation est au cœur même de la tourmente. Mai 1968 enflamme d'abord la France, mais le feu se propage dans tout l'Occident. Les étudiants demandent une révision complète du système d'éducation supérieure afin de mieux refléter les nouvelles réalités. Les étudiants se font de plus en plus nombreux et proviennent de milieux différents. Le curriculum est figé et ne correspond plus à ce que le marché du travail exige (« Événements de mai 1968 », s. d.).

C'est dans ce contexte que les deux premiers principaux de Glendon, M. Escott Reid, de 1966 à 1970, et M. Albert Tucker, de 1970 à 1976, mettent en place les rouages de Glendon. Dans cette première décennie Glendon cherche à se situer, à faire sa place au soleil, à survivre dans le monde de l'éducation supérieure en tant que petit collège dispensant une éducation bilingue de type arts libéraux, avec accent sur les affaires publiques (Reid, 1965).

Les visions qu'entretenaient M. Reid et M. Tucker pour Glendon reflétaient l'air du temps ; une recherche de renouveau universitaire et la mise en place d'une nation bilingue. Ces premières administrations imposent les fondations sur lesquelles Glendon repose toujours. Il est donc important de s'attarder sur l'impulsion qu'elles ont donnée au collège pour ainsi sonder l'héritage laissé au Glendon d'aujourd'hui. Parfois, les défis rencontrés sont communs à toutes les universités et collèges, mais parfois ils sont uniques à Glendon, à cause de son projet singulier.

À l'aide de documents administratifs, nous examinerons l'évolution des descripteurs de Glendon pendant les deux premières administrations, c'est-à-dire la taille, l'éducation civique et libérale et le bilinguisme. Le but est de cerner comment Glendon se définit. Il est proposé qu'entre 1966 et 1976 l'identité de Glendon est constamment remise en causes dues à la confrontation entre rêves et réalité.

GLENDON RESORT: WHERE EVERYBODY KNOWS YOUR NAME

Glendon est un petit campus, mais petit à quel niveau et à quel point ? Le corps étudiant est limité à Glendon, de même le corps professoral et l'empreinte physique du collège, mais la notion de grandeur est non seulement relative, elle est évolutive.

À l'automne 1966, dès les premiers mois d'ouverture, M. Reid annonce que le collège est trop grand : « Glendon College has started with a total of about 1060 students. Unlike most colleges and universities, we do not want to become bigger. We intend to become smaller ». Le nombre d'étudiants désiré est de 800 ou 950 étudiants (Reid, 1965, p. 8 ; 1966, p. 3). Rapidement, ce nombre est révisé à la hausse face à la réalité financière (Reid, 1968a). En 1968, la cible est de 1200, voire 1250 étudiants (Reid, 1968b, 1968c, 1969b). Ces chiffres sont dans la norme des collèges américains, tels Amherst et Swarthmore, mais supérieurs à ceux des collèges britanniques de 600 étudiants qui ont été donnés comme modèle pour Glendon (Horn & Pietropaolo, 2009 ; Reid, 1968b, 1968c). En novembre 1970, le nombre de 1600 étudiants est mentionné comme plafond possible (McNee Jr & Foucault, 1970). Malgré ce bond du simple au double, Glendon est toujours considéré comme petit dans l'esprit des administrateurs.

L'étudiant idéal est studieux, désir apprendre une deuxième langue et est préoccupé par les affaires publiques. Il est préférable que l'étudiant habite en résidence, il faut donc qu'il en ait les moyens (« Glendon Publicity Appeal », 1973 ; Reid, 1966, 1968a [Annex C]). Ce type d'étudiant tend à rester au collège pour finir son diplôme et privilégie un diplôme spécialisé de quatre ans (Reid, 1966, 1968a, 1969a). Ils sont donc plus sûrs et profitables, la rétention des étudiants étant un problème. En 1968, Glendon perd 60 % de ses étudiants de première année.

Les efforts de recrutement sont alors dirigés vers les écoles privées d'Ontario, du Québec, des forces armées canadiennes, et vers l'Europe. Les corps diplomatiques canadiens sont aussi sollicités (Reid, 1968a). Le problème, dont l'administration n'est que trop consciente, est que le déséquilibre du corps étudiant donne une allure élitiste au collège, et ce en dépit de l'ambition d'avoir un collège représentatif de tous les « income groups, the ethnic groups, the regional groups » du pays (Reid, 1966, 1968b, 1969b ; Trepanier & Englebert, 2014).

D'autres mesures sont prises pour combler les déficiences budgétaires. Comme les résidences ne sont pas pleines, elles accueillent des étudiants externes en quête de logis (Reid, 1967). Le Collège Atkinson College et l'École de formation continue sont encouragés à utiliser les installations de Glendon (Reid, 1968c). Les difficultés financières ont été entrevues dès le départ et ont été partie prenante de la décision de limiter le nombre de disciplines enseignées. Bien sûr, l'administration travaille à obtenir un financement supplémentaire pour Glendon, se justifiant de son statut d'institution émergente, bilingue et de haute qualité, mais la compétition est féroce à un moment où plusieurs autres institutions naissent (Reid, 1968c).

S'il est ardu de recruter suffisamment d'étudiants, il l'est également de recruter des professeurs. Glendon recrute 41 professeurs dans ces deux premières années d'existence. Le corps professoral est assez diversifié, les professeurs proviennent des universités du Canada, des États-Unis, de la France, de l'Allemagne, de l'Iraq et du

Sri Lanka (Comité pour l'étude du coût du bilinguisme, 1973 ; Reid, 1967). Les professeurs sont aussi jeunes, très près en âge de leurs étudiants (Hopkins, 2016 ; Reid, 1969a ; Tucker, 2016).

M^me^ Elizabeth Hopkins, professeure émérite au département d'Anglais, se souvient que s'il n'existait pas de politique d'embauche à cette fin, la parité homme–femme arriva de façon naturelle. Glendon, selon elle, était même en avance sur le reste de York et les autres universités. Les besoins de Glendon étaient grands et beaucoup de jeunes femmes fraichement diplômées étaient disponibles (Hopkins, 2016). L'embauche de jeunes professeurs, surtout de femmes, est doublement opportunisme. Elles aident Glendon à équilibrer son budget déséquilibré. Lorsque Glendon compare le salaire moyen de ses professeurs avec ceux de la faculté des arts et sciences, la moyenne de Glendon est inférieure, ce qui s'explique par le fait que les femmes en éducation supérieure en Ontario à ce moment sont classées le plus souvent dans des niveaux inférieurs aux hommes et payées moins cher (Boyd & Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1979, pp. v–ix ; Comité pour l'étude du coût du bilinguisme, 1973, p. 10).

Parce qu'il est près en âge de ces étudiants, parce qu'il n'a que des étudiants de 1^er^ cycle sous sa charge, parce que les deux groupes travaillent en collaboration pour créer et améliorer les cours, la relation entre l'étudiant et le professeur est intime et informelle (Reid, 1968b, 1968c, 1969a ; Reid et al., 1968 ; Sabourin, 1972). L'environnement du campus amplifie cet effet. Glendon est établi sur le campus fondateur de York, originalement en possession de l'Université de Toronto suite à un don de la famille Wood. Le terrain est grand, 84 acres, et possède boisés et jardins. Cependant, l'ensemble est séparé en deux par une falaise et délimité par une rivière et l'environnement bâti autour. Exacerbant l'effet d'isolation le site est, à cette époque, difficilement accessible sans auto (Horn & Pietropaolo, 2009 ; Reid, 1966). Le tout donne une impression de monde à part, indépendant de la grande ville qui l'entoure, surtout qu'un grand nombre d'étudiants sont en résidence sur le campus (Reid, 1966, 1968b). L'effet est renforcé par la disponibilité sur le campus d'une bibliothèque, un centre sportif, une boutique, une galerie et bientôt un théâtre. La vie sociale est active à Glendon entre le café étudiant, les soirées de poésie et boîtes à chansons. Même le principal M. Albert Tucker participe à cette ambiance conviviale et invite des professeurs et étudiants dans sa résidence au deuxième étage du manoir (Baudot, 2016 ; Hopkins, 2016 ; Reid, 1969a ; Tucker, 2016 ; Vallée et al., 2007).

Ajoutons à l'ensemble l'impression de créer conjointement une nouvelle institution, de travailler à une nation canadienne plus unie, et il devient facile de comprendre comment sont créés à la fois une forte impression de communauté, et un effet de country-club (Reid, 1968b ; Sabourin, 1972).

FORMER UN COLLÈGE, RÉFORMER UNE NATION

En plus d'être petit, M. Murray G. Ross, président de l'Université York lors de la fondation de Glendon, et M. Reid ont décidé que Glendon enseignerait les arts libéraux avec emphase sur les affaires publiques (Horn & Pietropaolo, 2009 ; Reid, 1966). La nomination de M. Escott Reid comme principal fondateur de Glendon donne déjà une mesure de cette volonté. M. Reid était un diplomate et homme d'affaires avec une longue expérience de fonctionnaire, son expérience en administration est ample et son éducation de première classe (Donaghy & Roussel, 2004 ; Reid, 1967).

Pour lui, une éducation avec emphase sur le service civil signifie simplement « the development by [the] students of an informed and active interest in public affairs » (Reid, 1966, p. 4), pas nécessairement la formation de politiciens, diplomates ou fonctionnaires. Le désir est de former une nouvelle génération de citoyens au fait et intéressée par les problèmes contemporains du pays, voire du monde (Reid, 1968a [Annex C]). Pendant les premières années, cet éthos de sensibilisation civique est répété sans cesse, puisqu'il fait partie de l'effort de distinction de Glendon face aux autres institutions (Reid, 1966, 1967, 1968a [Annex C], 1968b, 1969a, 1969b).

Pour arriver à ses fins, M. Reid décide d'un curriculum distinctif. L'étudiant devra être en mesure de s'exprimer avec éloquence et élégance, autant à l'oral et à l'écrit, dans les deux langues officielles du Canada (Reid, 1966). Pour ce faire, le français et l'anglais sont obligatoires dans les deux premières années d'études (Reid, 1967, 1968b). Finalement, les étudiants recherchés pour Glendon sont d'une nature particulière, intelligents et sinon politisés, du moins engagés. M. Reid associe le haut rendement académique des étudiants et leur implication politique, leur activisme et leur rébellion (Donaghy & Roussel, 2004 ; Reid, 1967, 1968c).

La biographie de M. Tucker est très différente de celle de M. Reid. Albert Tucker se retrouve très jeune orphelin de père. Il s'engage dans l'armée lors de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. À son retour, il s'empresse de terminer ses études secondaires afin de profiter du programme d'accès à l'université pour les vétérans. Diplômé de l'Université de Toronto et de Harvard, il fut professeur à l'Université de Western Ontario, York et Glendon (Tucker, 2016).

Son expérience dans un environnement d'éducation libérale sur un petit campus à Harvard le marque profondément. C'est de pouvoir répliquer cette expérience qui l'attire à Glendon et forme la base de son ambition pour le collège. Pour lui, une éducation en arts libéraux implique la liberté des étudiants face au curriculum et un sentiment de communauté (Tucker, 2016). Cette vision reflète les raisons qui poussent les étudiants à choisir Glendon. Selon un sondage mené en 1974, les étudiants choisissent une institution postsecondaire pour des raisons de stimulation intellectuelle, d'amélioration personnelle, et un intérêt personnel pour l'étude plutôt

qu'une nécessité vocationnelle. La raison citée pour le choix de Glendon est le petit campus et l'orientation bilingue (Schoenfeld, 1974).

L'orientation de Glendon, et le choix que les étudiants en font est à contre-courant de ce qui se passe dans le monde de l'éducation supérieure à cette période (Donaghy & Roussel, 2004 ; Reid, 1967). La mode est à la multiversité, définie comme une large université contenant des départements dans toutes les disciplines, à la fois dans les humanités et les sciences (Brick, 1998). Elle tend à offrir beaucoup de choix de cours, mais tend aussi vers la surspécialisation au détriment d'une éducation générale (Reid, 1969a). Ce type d'université, dont fait partie le campus principal de York, est né afin de faire face à l'afflux important d'étudiants à l'université suite au baby-boom, à une augmentation des moyens et à la démocratisation de l'université (Brick, 1998 ; Economic Council of Canada, 1967). Cependant, dans ces universités géantes, les étudiants peuvent se sentir pris « in a bureaucratic monolith » avec une « impersonal atmosphere » ; Glendon se pose comme l'alternative du petit et du personnel, tout en offrant la sécurité d'être attaché à York (Reid et al., 1968, pp. 4–6).

Les programmes offerts sont un mélange de flexibilité et de contraintes. Le français et l'anglais sont obligatoires ainsi que deux séminaires spécialisés. Un des séminaires porte sur les études canadiennes, l'autre sur l'éthique sociale (Reid, 1966, 1967, 1969a). En plus, l'étudiant doit suivre quatre cours d'éducation générale. Six des vingt cours qu'un étudiant doit suivre pour obtenir son diplôme doivent être dans un même domaine afin que l'étudiant ne se sous-spécialise pas. Le tout semble contraignant, mais le curriculum est très flexible selon l'administration puisque l'étudiant garde le droit d'explorer toutes les disciplines disponibles (Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme à Glendon, s. d. ; Reid, 1969a). Il faut cependant garder en tête que seulement sept programmes sont offerts à Glendon, et que l'offre de cours est relativement petite afin de minimiser les coûts supplémentaires du bilinguisme (Reid, 1968b).

BILINGUISME À DEUX VITESSES

Qu'entend-on par bilinguisme à Glendon ? La définition est changeante, ce qui n'aide pas à fournir aux étudiants les outils nécessaires pour arriver à la maîtrise d'une langue seconde.

Dans un environnement anglophone, puisque le collège est situé « in the traditional heart of English Canada » (Reid, 1967, p. 13), l'aspect bilingue est axé sur l'apprentissage du français : « All students will be required to learn to speak and to read French with reasonable facility » (Office of the principal, 1968, p. 1 ; Reid, 1965, p. 1). Le but est que d'ici 1976 le nombre de cours donnés en français et anglais soient paritaires et qu'aucun cours ne soit enseigné dans les deux langues en même temps (Reid, 1968b ; 1968c). À Glendon, non seulement tous les étudiants apprendront les deux langues, mais ils devront prendre des cours dans les deux

langues indifféremment, contrairement à ce qui se passe à l'Université Laurentienne ou d'Ottawa où les cours sont donnés en parallèle dans les deux langues, un étudiant suivant son programme au complet dans celle qu'il préfère—« a sort of apartheid policy » affirme M. Reid (Office of the principal, 1968 ; Reid, 1969a, 1969b).

En 1970, il devient nécessaire de réviser les buts visés par le bilinguisme face au peu de progrès des étudiants et la faiblesse des inscriptions, attribuée à l'obligation de bilinguisme. Certains suggèrent un but plus réaliste : l'étudiant comprendra le français, mais ne le parlera pas nécessairement (Foucault, 1970). D'autres suggèrent un but encore plus extrême, le bilinguisme spontané ; c'est-à-dire que l'étudiant aura une maîtrise complète de sa deuxième langue, autant à l'écrit qu'à l'oral (Beringer, 1970). Une option retenue est d'ouvrir un courant unilingue. Cette mesure doit être temporaire, tant que le nombre d'inscriptions n'augmentera pas (Tucker, 2008).

Les cours de langues font peu pour l'apprentissage du français. Le problème est triple. Premièrement, deux cours ne sont pas suffisants pour la maîtrise d'une langue. L'administration reconnaît ce fait lorsqu'il mentionne que les étudiants en échange au Québec en troisième année ne seront pas adéquatement préparés pour un cours dans une université francophone, et même rarement prêt pour un cours de même niveau à Glendon (Office of the principal, 1968 ; Tucker, 1970). Deuxièmement, plus de cours sont donnés en anglais qu'en français et les cours disponibles sont plutôt des cours *de* français, il y a peu de cours *en* français. L'étudiant francophone a ainsi plus d'opportunité de devenir bilingue que son homologue anglophone. Finalement se pose aussi la question du français à enseigner : l'européen, le québécois, le franco-ontarien ? Tous se retrouvent à Glendon, mais ne s'entendent pas nécessairement (Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme à Glendon, s. d.). Les Franco-ontariens déclarent parfois ne pas parler le français de France (Baudot, 2016). Les étudiants préféreraient pouvoir comprendre les Québécois autant que les Français. Un certain nombre de professeurs sont impatients ou même moqueurs avec les étudiants anglophones ou québécois pendant les séminaires (Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme à Glendon, s. d.).

Les professeurs pouvant enseigner en français sont difficile à enrôler (Tucker, 1970). C'est qu'il est difficile d'aller recruter au Québec. Le milieu de l'éducation supérieure et le mouvement nationaliste sont en pleine effervescence, ce qui encourage les professeurs à rester au Québec. Pour y pallier, l'on propose de donner des cours de français aux professeurs (McNee Jr & Foucault, 1970 ; Office of the principal, 1968 ; Reid, 1969a). Certains professeurs prennent en effet des cours intensifs comme Ian Gentles, mais le budget est déficient pour généraliser ces mesures (Tucker, 1970, 2016).

Les étudiants reconnaissent les manquements dans l'offre, et nous permettent d'en apprécier les lacunes, lorsqu'ils déclarent : « C'est nécessaire pour les anglophones de comprendre et d'apprécier la culture de leurs compatriotes francophones pour Glendon à réussir son but biculturel » (Commission sur le

bilinguisme et le biculturalisme à Glendon, s. d., p. 4). Ce qu'ils expriment c'est que l'ambiance bilingue fait défaut à Glendon. L'informalité serait plus conductrice à un apprentissage de la personnalité francophone, si différente de l'anglaise, ce qui à son tour amènera une meilleure compréhension de la langue (Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme à Glendon, s. d.). L'atmosphère reste anglophone à Glendon. Les employés, l'administration, les professeurs et même la signalisation et les services sont en majorité anglophone et la bibliothèque contient peu de livres en français (Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme à Glendon, s. d. ; « Résolution », 1969).

La majorité des étudiants sont anglophones (Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme à Glendon, s. d.). Le dynamisme du milieu de l'éducation au Québec est un facteur dans cette difficulté autant pour les étudiants qu'elle l'est pour les professeurs. De plus, étudier en Ontario est plus couteux et le système de prêts et bourses du Québec ne rembourse pas l'étudiant québécois en Ontario (Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme à Glendon, s. d.). Le rapport pour la commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme à Glendon, en 1968–1969, recommande d'augmenter l'effort auprès de la communauté francophone dans le reste du Canada pour compenser, mais prévient que cette communauté est « anglicisée en partie » et se pliera donc plus facilement à l'utilisation de l'anglais hors des classes (Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme à Glendon, s. d., p. 3).

L'administration souhaite un sixième d'étudiants francophones pour que le français devienne une langue de conversation naturelle (Reid, 1969a). Pour augmenter la présence francophone, il est aussi question d'échanger des étudiants avec des universités francophones pendant la troisième année du diplôme (Reid, 1969a). Le Rapport du comité pour l'étude du coût du bilinguisme affirme qu'en 1972–1973, les étudiants francophones représentent seulement 10 % du total des étudiants de Glendon. La suggestion est faite d'amener ce nombre à 33 % d'ici 1976–1977 (Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme à Glendon, s. d., p. 3). Mais il ne faudrait pas dépasser ce nombre puisque « Glendon's main linguistic objective is to help Anglophones to improve their knowledge of French, and only secondarily to assist Francophones to become proficient in English » (Reid, 1969a, p. 14).

Le rapport ne précise pas si c'est parce que l'on assume que le francophone maîtrise déjà en partie l'anglais, mais une image de la présence francophone en tant qu'outils d'apprentissage et non d'étudiants se dégage de cette affirmation. Malgré les dénégations de l'administration, des étudiants et professeurs perçoivent l'apprentissage du français à Glendon comme un outil politique pour le moins opportuniste, et cela dérange (Beringer, 1970 ; Reid, 1966, 1969a ; Vallée et al., 2007).

Le client premier de Glendon, c'est l'anglophone. Le francophone est en minorité, n'est pas la priorité, et le sais (Joyal, 1972). Le « French-Canadian yeast » (Reid, 1969b, p. 6) est encouragé à habiter sur le campus où il aura « the largest possible impact on the College community » (Reid, 1969a, p. 22). S'il reçoit une

bourse, ce sera en échange de travail au laboratoire de langue et d'enseignement formel qu'il devra prodiguer afin de supplémenter l'offre (Office of the principal, 1968). Le francophone sent qu'il « fait partie du programme de bilinguisme de Glendon. . . . Il a cessé d'être un individu indépendant » (Joyal, 1972, p. 3).

Les activités parascolaires, qui se veulent une occasion de réunion, peuvent aussi être l'occasion de heurt. Les activités francophones sont comprises différemment, délassement pour l'un, extension de la salle de classe pour l'autre (Foucault, 1970). Les différences culturelles posent aussi problème dans la nation et à Glendon, les deux groupes appréhendent et comprennent le monde différemment (Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme à Glendon, s. d.). Le documentaire *If Not…* en offre un exemple lorsqu'est montrée en parallèle une soirée entre anglophones, où l'on discute sobrement et calmement et une soirée francophone où l'ambiance est endiablée. Seul le sport semble mettre les deux solitudes de Glendon sur la même longueur d'onde (Joyal, 1972).

CONCLUSION

Les occupants du collège forment une petite communauté due à son petit nombre d'étudiants, à la nature expérimentale de son éducation, mais aussi grâce à l'environnement du campus. Si le collège est petit dans sa taille physique et dans son nombre d'étudiants et de professeurs, il l'est moins dans les grands problèmes budgétaires que sa petitesse lui occasionne. Si le budget est restreint, les ambitions des principaux sont grandes.

En tenant ainsi compte de la nature flexible de l'éducation libérale et de la primauté de ce facteur dans le choix des étudiants d'une université, il est plus facile d'appréhender les décisions d'éliminer les obligations de cours de français qui seront prises pendant l'administration de M. Tucker, aussi controversées furent-elles dans le cadre d'un collège national qui tend au bilinguisme.

Une des idées derrière la création de Glendon est d'œuvrer pour un Canada plus juste et uni (Reid, 1968b, 1968c, 1969a). Le collège doit devenir « un Canada en miniature » et être un exemple de bon accord pour le Canada (Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme à Glendon, s. d., p. 2 ; Reid, 1969b, p. 7 ; « Résolution », 1969, p. 3).

Malheureusement, la communauté est aussi divisée en deux classes. Les anglophones sont la priorité de Glendon. Pour arriver au bilinguisme, il faut beaucoup d'étudiants dont la première langue est le français pour que cette langue devienne une langue d'usage commune à travers le campus et ne soit plus réservée aux salles de classes et activités parascolaires organisées. Glendon n'y arrive pas et revoit ses attentes à la baisse. Le francophone, client secondaire de Glendon, devient l'outil linguistique du collège, pressé de toute part d'offrir son français dans un environnement où cette langue ne semble pas encore naturelle. Cependant, c'est peut-être lui qui gagne le plus. Plongé dans une ambiance anglophone, forcé par la

réalité de l'offre à suivre ces cours presque exclusivement en anglais, le bilingue spontané, c'est lui qui le devient.

Si Glendon a survécu ces 10 premières années, c'est que ces principaux ont su adapter ses rêves de grandeurs et la réalité de ces petits moyens au prix d'une redéfinition identitaire constante et non sans tumulte.

Alors que débute le deuxième cinquantenaire du collège, il serait intéressant de confronter l'analyse de la première décennie avec les quatre suivantes afin d'établir si elles ont toutes été aussi tumultueuses et si les problématiques rencontrées sont permanentes ou cycliques. La question du bilinguisme en tout cas semble aussi à l'ordre du jour aujourd'hui qu'il y a 50 ans.

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