Building Language Teacher Awareness of Colonial Histories and Imperialistic Oppression Through the Linguistic Landscape

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Abstract This chapter considers the potential of the linguistic landscape to address the challenge of developing critical multilingual awareness in a predominantly English monolingual and white settler student body in a Canadian teacher education program. The chapter begins with a historical overview of colonial efforts to suppress multilingualism in the province through education, provides a review of relevant literature, and describes a teacher education linguistic landscape activity in relation to this literature. From there, the chapter provides details and findings from a small study of pre-service teachers. The chapter includes examples of student photo analysis as well as a discussion of the usefulness of "noticing" the textual practices of public spaces in helping student teachers to build their awareness of colonial histories and imperialistic oppression. In this way, the chapter addresses the question of how the linguistic landscape can become a productive site for project-based learning in language teacher education.

Keywords Teacher education · Indigenous languages · Multilingualism · Teacher language awareness · Project-based learning

1 Introduction

This chapter considers the potential of the linguistic landscape to address the challenge of developing critical multilingual awareness in a predominantly English monolingual and white settler student body in a four-year Canadian teacher education program in a comprehensive university (Cho 2010; Haddix 2008; Schick and

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St. Denis 2003, Sterzuk 2010). Specifically, this chapter presents a study of a pedagogical activity used in a linguistic diversity education course designed to build critical multilingual awareness for student teachers. Student participants in the study were all in year two of their 4-year Bachelor of Education university degree. The course is a required course in an undergraduate teacher education degree program with an explicit social justice orientation. The program strives to blend this priority with the overall goal of preparing teachers with expertise in matters of curriculum design and instruction. Students complete school practicum placements in all 4 years of the program. This design provides students with multiple opportunities to make connections between theory and teaching practice. Most graduates of the program will go on to teach through the medium of the English language in Canadian public elementary school classrooms (Kindergarten to Grade 8) to children from a range of religious, ethnic, racial and linguistic backgrounds.

Here and in other writing (Sterzuk 2011, 2015; Sterzuk and Hengen 2019), I highlight the relationship between educational institutions and the production of Canada as a white settler society. Razack (2002) describes this construct in the following way:

> A white settler society is one established by Europeans on non-European soil. Its origins lie in the dispossession and near extermination of Indigenous populations by conquering Europeans. As it evolves, a white settler society continues to be structured by a racial hierarchy (p. 2)

In this racial hierarchy, white settlers occupy a place of dominance, not necessarily through our individual choices but through the processes and institutions that serve us. As a term, *white settler* allows me to highlight the continuing role of colonialism in shaping teacher views of languages and language varieties in official spaces like classrooms.

As a teacher of teachers, and as a white settler educator (Sterzuk 2011), my objective is to help prepare future educators to meet the challenges of contemporary classrooms. From this perspective, this goal includes encouraging student teachers to interrogate their own cultural and linguistic location. This concern is not unique to the Saskatchewan context where I work as a teacher educator. As Haddix (2008) explains, "teacher education literature is replete with examples that highlight that teacher education programmes are filled with white, middle class, monolingual female students" (p. 255). Increasingly, this teacher profile does not mirror that of future students and this mismatch is no matter of small concern when it comes to the matter of multilingualism and schools:

> One of the most serious implications of the cultural and linguistic divide among prospective teachers and today's K-12 student population is that many White, middle-class pre-service teachers understand linguistic diversity as a deficit (Gutiérrez and Orellana 2006) and view cultural and linguistic differences as other people's issues" (Haddix 2008, p. 256).

Working to disrupt this understanding is important for social justice oriented educators. To this end, the course has four goals: (1) students will develop an understanding of what language is and how language differences work in the classroom to the advantage of some students and to the disadvantage of others; (2) students will

develop an understanding of first and second language acquisition and literacy development across social contexts; (3) students will develop an understanding of how classroom language instruction can help to constitute and maintain race, gender, and social class as categories of unequal power relations and 4) students will become familiar with some ways of teaching speaking and writing that work to foster equity and justice in the classroom and world.

2 Course Structure

Among the various course activities, one assignment entails students volunteering weekly in local English as an additional language classrooms in public schools as well as a series of three activities which have developed into something that I refer to as self-studies. These activities ask students to make connections between course content and their own lived realities. The reflective aspect of these assignments is necessary precisely because of the ways in which white settlers like me are produced as the educational norm. Systemic control of institutions and schools allows us to reproduce and reinforce our racial and colonial interests because white settlers and our interests are centered in all matters (DiAnglelo 2018). Self-study activities, then, are a deliberate attempt to push a predominantly white settler student body to understand themselves as historical and raced educators. Because of the way it forces students to pay attention to space, the linguistic landscape assignment discussed in this chapter is particularly useful for encouraging students to understand the settler identity as "forged through violence and displacement of Indigenous communities and nations" (Battell Lowman and Barker 2016, p. 2). From this perspective, the linguistic landscape has the potential to play a catalyst role in cultivating critical multilingual awareness in student teachers.

These self-study activities also correspond with what Malinowski (2015), drawing on the work of Lefebvre (1991) and Trumper-Hecht (2010), refers to as the three modes of being in the world – "perceived," "conceived" and "lived" – which interact to socially construct geographical and metaphorical spaces. The first assignment is the linguistic landscape activity which is the focus of this study. This activity orients learners toward meanings they can read in the signs of their neighbourhoods. Malinowski (2015) might categorize this assignment as a "perceived space activity" but it also holds some aspects of "lived space activities" because it asks students to interpret their own surroundings. The second activity is a family language profile assignment that asks students to make connections between family language stories and academic readings about Canadian language policy. This project is designed as a "conceived space activity" because it asks students to consider space as planned, designed, legislated and enforced (Malinowski 2015). The third assignment is designed to help students make connections from the two self-study assignments to their future classrooms. In this activity, students are asked to respond pedagogically to what they have noticed in their spaces. This activity corresponds with Malinowski's (2015) description of "lived space activities" because it requires a

response to the spaces they have studied throughout the semester. Note that whereas these projects focus on one aspect of Lefevbre's (1991) theory of space, it is primarily as a point of departure for students as all three dimensions are always in interaction with each other.

3 Pedagogical Context

As the first assignment in this series of critical language awareness activities, the linguistic landscape pedagogical activity is rooted in the assumption that Canada's colonial history is highly visible in the settler colonial linguistic landscape. Fixed and nonfixed signs are overwhelmingly English; street names like Albert, Victoria, and Prince of Wales reflect Canada's colonial past and present and Indigenous languages are largely rendered invisible or are reinvented as English. For this assignment, students begin by taking photos of neighbourhoods of their choice and analyzing them in writing. The only criteria for selection are that they either currently live in the area or have lived in it in the past. Some students choose neighbourhoods in the city where the university is located. Many students who are originally from rural communities travel home to analyse signs from their small towns. There are no minimum or maximum numbers of photos but students are required to include a selection of 4–6 photos in the assignment and explain their reasons why. In their analyses, they are asked to demonstrate their critical language awareness by responding to the following questions in writing:

> What meanings can you attribute to the linguistic landscape? What do the languages present in these images reveal about this city or town? Based on these photographs, what languages would you expect to hear spoken in this neighbourhood? Based on your own experiences, what languages do you hear spoken in this place? How does this linguistic landscape shape you? You might also ask yourself about the relationship between the photographs you've taken, the people who live in these spaces, and the status of official languages; languages of First Nations and Métis peoples, and languages brought to this location through immigration.

For many students, these reflections on their familiar environments are the starting point for critical multilingual awareness. They consider how their identities, and those of others, are shaped in interaction with diverse languages of print in the linguistic landscape in which they live. They consider whether the languages present in the photos represent their own linguistic identities as well as how this alignment, or lack thereof, reinforces or undermines their own identities. They also reflect upon which Indigenous languages are displaced from the landscape. This chapter, then, presents findings from a case study (Feagin et al. 1991) examining the usefulness of this activity for pushing students to make connections between colonialism and their own space. This research project seeks to explore the connections between student teachers' perception of their linguistic landscape and colonial histories, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to assess the potential of linguistic landscape as a productive site for project-based learning in language teacher education.

4 Historical Context

In order to convey the reasons why pre-service teachers might struggle to notice connections between their linguistic landscape and colonialism, I begin with an overview of the historical, racial and linguistic context of Saskatchewan, a Canadian province and the site of this study. The 2016 Canadian Census indicates that 89% of people living in Saskatchewan report English as the language most often spoken at home. This relative linguistic homogeneity is a recent phenomenon and has been produced, in large part, through language-in-education policy and public schools. Prior to European contact, Indigenous societies in Canada/Turtle Island had a high degree of diversity (Iseke 2013). Indigenous peoples have lived in this territory for tens of thousands of years. Saskatchewan was, and is, home to the Métis Nation; the Nêhiyawak (Cree); Anishinaabek (Saulteaux); Nakota; Lakota, Dakota and the Dene peoples. European settlers began to arrive in Saskatchewan in the eighteenth century. The population of western Canada grew significantly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as eleven Post-Confederation treaties with Indigenous peoples were signed (1871–1921), the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed, and the Dominion Lands Act, an 1872 law aimed to encourage settlement, came into effect. The Canadian government used promises of 160 acres of free land to recruit European immigrants, like my grandparents, to settle in the area. Almost half of these early settlers came from non-English-speaking countries. The government's efforts to introduce European settlement produced results but also led to the issue of creating a homogenous Canadian population out of a heterogeneous population with no shared history, language or ethnicity (Stasiulis and Jhappan 1995; Thobani 2007). As Joshee et al. (2016) explains, "for much of Canada's history, diversity has been a defining characteristic of the country and has preoccupied and bedeviled policy makers" (p. 37).

Saskatchewan educational institutions have traditionally served as homogenizing agents for a heterogeneous population. After Saskatchewan entered Canadian Confederation in 1905, English became the sole language of instruction in Saskatchewan schools (Mackey 2010). English monolingualism and family language shift were constructed and normalized through a number of interconnected practices including: Indian Residential schools; provincial language-in-education legislation; teacher education, school curricula, and pedagogical practices. The state push for family language shift was intense and created long-lasting effects and beliefs. In fact, it was not until 1974 that the School Act of Saskatchewan was amended to allow languages other than English to be taught or used as the language of instruction for a limited time of the school day.

At the same time when public education was being used to solve the issue of introducing English to European settlers, twenty Indian Residential Schools operated in the province of Saskatchewan (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015b). The result of colonial policy, these schools caused long-lasting and multigenerational trauma to survivors and their families, including in the area of Indigenous language loss (Ball and McIvor 2013; Battiste 1998). The loss of land,

language, spiritual ways and respect for Elders, and traditional ways continue to impact the resilience and well-being of Indigenous communities in North America (Whitbeck et al. 2004). The last residential school closed in Saskatchewan in 1996. These schools no longer operate and provincial legislation no longer forbids the use of language other than English for instructional purposes. Yet while educational goals might be less assimilationist, colonial discourses about language have not disappeared and educational decisions continue to be influenced by "common-sense" beliefs about language and schools. The result of this educational movement over the majority of the twentieth century is a provincial and educational community in which English monolingualism is normal, family language shift is understood as inevitable, and multilingualism and unofficial bilingualism are at best ignored and at worst viewed with suspicion, particularly when the speakers have brown skin.

My previous Saskatchewan-based studies of pre-service and in-service teacher views of language point to ongoing deficit understandings of English language variation (Sterzuk 2010, 2011). Working to shift this thinking is important because this province is once again undergoing a change in demographics. The 2011 census found 70 different languages spoken as mother tongues in Saskatchewan and 16 were new to the province. Similarly, languages other than English and French are also becoming more common across Canada. In 2016, 21.8% of Canadians reported speaking an unofficial language at home in 2016, compared with 20.0% in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2017). The pattern for Indigenous languages is also changing. The number of people who speak an Indigenous language at home (228,770 people) is higher than the number of people who have an Indigenous mother tongue (213,230 people). This difference, particularly significant among children younger than 14, is due to the growing acquisition of an Indigenous language as a second language, the result of the hard work of Indigenous educators (Statistics Canada 2017). With the Canadian government's introduction of an Indigenous languages act in 2018, this pattern is likely to continue. These demographic changes as well as the province's colonial past and present create implications for teacher education in Canada. One area is the need to determine ways to increase critical multilingual language awareness in teachers in an effort to protect against some of the colonial educational practices around language in the past. In my teacher education context, we address this need through the language education course described in this chapter.

5 Linguistic Landscapes, Language Awareness and Teacher Education

As a term, *language awareness* has been used in the field of language education since the 1980's to describe language knowledge (Andrews 2007; Svalberg 2007). In the early 1990's, critics of traditional language awareness projects expanded the discussion to include *critical language awareness*, or an understanding of the social,

political and ideological aspects of language (Fairclough 1990). More recently, Garcia (2008) has proposed the need for *critical multilingual awareness* (CMLA) which she describes as "the understanding that language is socially created, and thus, socially changeable to give voice and educate students equitably" (p. 6). One of the necessary knowledge areas identified in this framework is teacher awareness of colonial histories and imperialistic oppression (Garcia 2016). Linguistic landscape research tells us that the languages we see in print around us give us "information about the population of a neighbourhood, signal what languages are prominent and valued in public and private spaces and index the social positioning of people who identify with particular languages" (Dagenais et al. 2009, p. 254). Building teacher awareness of colonial histories is where linguistic landscape research becomes particularly valuable for language teacher education.

Broadly put, linguistic landscape research involves the study of languages on display in public spaces. Over the past 10 years, this field has grown rapidly (Gorter 2018) and a significant number of studies have focussed on the use of the linguistic landscape in educational contexts. For example, Dagenais et al. (2009) examines the usefulness of linguistic landscape pedagogy to teach children in Vancouver and Montreal about language diversity and literacy practices from a critical perspective. Similarly, Burwell and Lenters (2015) examine linguistic landscape pedagogy and its effectiveness for helping Grade 10 students to "read the linguistic, visual and spatial texts of the urban landscape" (p. 203). In this way, students were able to explore issues of language, identity and representation. The study provides support for what Burwell and Lenters (2015) call "the transformative potential of critical reflection paired with creative media production" (p. 219).

In addition to research that focuses on the experiences of language learners and adolescent students, a number of studies have also examined the value of the linguistic landscape for building language awareness in educators. Hancock (2012) explores student teachers on "camera safari" in Edinburgh. The study was designed to help the in-service educators engage in deeper thinking about the multilingual communities in which their future classrooms are located. The study ultimately concludes that drawing educators' attention to their linguistic landscape can lead to heightened awareness of linguistic diversity. Wiese et al. (2017) conducted a study of an anti-bias programme designed to change teachers' attitudes towards linguistic diversity in Germany. Eighty-six teachers from twelve institutions participated in nine workshops, including a linguistic landscape excursion. Results of this quantitative study reveal positive and enduring change in these teacher-participants. Finally, Domínguez Cruz (2017) explores critical awareness in a group of eight EFL preservice teachers in Colombia. In this qualitative case study, the linguistic landscape is used in a pedagogical intervention designed to push participants to critically reflect on the non-neutrality of linguistic landscape texts. This study indicates positive changes in student teachers' understandings of the hidden messages about language in the community around them.

Re-shaping settler dispositions towards linguistic diversity through linguistic landscape pedagogy is one area that offers possibilities and is worthy of further investigation. In a context where the shift to English monolingualism is ubiquitous,

this literature suggests that linguistic landscape activities offer possibilities for helping future teachers to see multilingualism as something positive as opposed to something that needs to be corrected through schooling.

6 Methodology

The objective of this research project is to answer the following two questions: (1) What connections do student teachers make between their linguistic landscapes and colonial histories? and (2) How might the linguistic landscape become a productive site for project-based learning in language teacher education? Using principles of discourse analysis, the research project examines student written reflections on the photos they took for their assignment. For this project, I emailed all former students in one section of the course to ask for copies of the assignments that were originally completed in fall 2016. Fifteen students gave me permission to use their photos and texts for analysis in my study. Thirteen of the fifteen students had the following profile: white settler, spoke English as a first language and, in some cases, spoke or understood some French. Two of these thirteen students were men and eleven were women. The remaining two participants included a Métis man who spoke English as a first language and a South Asian woman who had emigrated to Canada as an adult, worked elsewhere as a teacher, and spoke multiple languages.

The student texts vary in length but typically fall into a range of six to twelve pages (including photos and written text). My examination of the student text data focused on exploring participants' ideas, messages, values, beliefs, and ideological systems. I used thematic analysis (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006) to search for themes important to the description of the relationship between colonial histories, imperialistic oppression, and the linguistic landscape. This approach involves reading and re-reading data as a form of pattern recognition. These themes then became the categories for analysis. As I read through the student assignments for the first time, I took preliminary notes about comments on language that seemed to be frequently emerging and that triggered connections to relevant literature. After an initial analysis of the students' texts, I worked deductively by examining the selected documents for keywords related to my research question and theoretical framework (Gagnon 2010). Practically, this means looking for student references to words like English, Cree, Ukrainian or other languages. In particular, I looked for discussions of language shift or language loss, mentions of ethnic block settlements, discussions of Indigenous languages, or discussion of the absence of Indigenous languages in the linguistic landscape. This process allowed me to obtain relevant themes and focus on what is explicitly named in connection to language.

In the section that follows, I present selected student reflections in two areas: Reflections on English and Reflections on Indigenous Languages. In some cases, I include the student photo. In others, I rely solely on the students' texts. Working with student data can be challenging in terms of separating my instructor-evaluative voice from that of my researcher-interpretive voice. In a concluding subsection, I

include my narrative voice as instructor. In this way, I am able to share my own reflections on the activity on matters of course design and adaptations in response to changing social context.

7 Student Reflections

7.1 *Reflections on English*

As an instructor, I have been able to observe student engagement with this assignment over successive academic years. There are some patterns to how they initially interact with the linguistic landscape. First, students rarely, if ever, have any reservation or hesitation to engage with the line of questioning I propose to them in this assignment. They are engaged in their analyses and keen to understand how they can learn from the activity in terms of their own language awareness development. As students begin to take pictures, another pattern is that one of the first characteristics they notice is the overwhelming English-ness of their landscapes. For all the historical reasons identified early in this chapter, English is ubiquitous in Saskatchewan. For most students, the nature of English linguistic landscape is not something they may have consciously considered until this assignment. Similar to other studies of linguistic landscape activities in teacher education contexts (Domínguez Cruz 2017; Hancock 2012; Wiese et al. 2017), this assignment provides an opportunity to "read the linguistic, visual and spatial texts" of urban and rural landscapes (Burwell and Lenters 2015, p. 203) and students rise to this occasion. This new noticing of English becomes a focus of class discussions largely because many students initially set out to find examples of other languages because they misunderstand this to be the objective of the activity. This is likely due to an understanding of Canada's value as rooted in its multiculturalism. Indeed, the Canadian myth of a common multicultural destiny is promoted throughout multiple layers of the Canadian social imaginary. This understanding seems to shape the ways students approach this assignment. Once they settle into the understanding that they may not be able to locate non-English signs, their observations and efforts lead to interesting reflections, including the following excerpt from a student who participated in the study.

The following photo is of a post office sign in a small town in rural Saskatchewan. First settled by Scandinavian settlers in the early 1900s, the town now has a population of roughly 700 people and the primary industry is farming. This image is from the assignment of 19-year-old man in my course and his response to the image follows the picture (Fig. 1).

> My town has an abundance of English signs all over town, and by that I mean if you are not specifically looking for signs in another language then you will have difficulty finding them—if any at all. The only English-French bilingual signs present in town were that of the post office and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police building. This is very typical of a small town, as the only reason the post office has its hours of operation also in French is

Fig. 1 Canada Post counter hours

> because they are legally required to do so. My town is not a French-speaking town by any means. Twenty miles east is a French-settled village called Village which does have multiple families of French heritage. I bring up Village, because their school shut down long before I started school and because of that many of the children from there took their schooling in my town. While some of the parents of the students may have had the ability to speak French, none of the children I personally knew from there were bilingual.

This student's response shows an understanding of federal language policy, federal institutions, and an awareness of the overwhelming Anglo-dominance of his environment (Stasiulis and Jhappan 1995). He makes some connections between federal language policy and the linguistic landscape but also notices the law's lack of alignment with his community in contemporary times. His reflection almost takes on a tone of *too-little-too-late* when he discusses the absence of French in his town. The story he gives of the neighbouring Francophone town shifting to English is rather common in the history of Fransaskois communities (Denis 2006; Von Staden and Sterzuk 2017). School closures eventually led to partial or complete family language shift in many communities. In his comments, we see evidence of student reflections on language policy and the role schools can play in supporting family languages.

The following image was submitted by a mature student in my course who had returned to university after working as an educational assistant for several years. The following picture captures signs and brochures at newcomer welcome center in her community, a small city first settled by Europeans in the late 1800s. The student's reflections on the image follow (Fig. 2).

> Most telling of all were the signs outside and inside the Newcomer Welcome Centre. I was very surprised that every sign in this building had English on it. Important things to the functionality of all Canadians such as education, labour, citizenship and rights, were all in English. A definitive message to newcomers both denying how 'welcome' they are and at

Fig. 2 Newcomer welcome center

> the same time sending the message that in order to be welcome in my city, you need to learn to speak English. Acclimatizing people and assimilating them all in one building.

The student makes some interesting connections between citizenship and language. Morgan and Vandrick (2009) have made similar arguments about the relationship between English and becoming Canadian:

> There is a tendency in schools and society to misjudge immigrants and refugees as partially formed citizens based on their surface "errors" in English. Yet, the newcomer's or outsider's eyes and ears are alert to power in ways no longer available to habituated, domesticated insiders, who see but no longer perceive the beauty, horror and complacency around them. (p. 515)

From this perspective, we might argue, as the student does, that the newcomer welcome center display is designed to do more than simply inform. The student's reflections demonstrate an awareness that the monolingual use of English in these signs positions these newcomers as "partially formed citizens." Through English, the landscape shapes newcomers who will also become habituated insiders. The assignment provides this student with an opportunity to notice this connection between language and citizenship.

7.2 Reflections on Indigenous Languages

The current version of this assignment explicitly asks the students to consider the displacement of Indigenous languages. Initially, the assignment did not include this prompt and, not surprisingly, the topic was absent from student assignments, much

in the same way as Indigenous languages are also mostly absent from linguistic landscapes of Saskatchewan. After I introduced the prompt, students began to reflect on the issue of Indigenous languages but frequently with some difficulty. This area of the assignment is one where I receive many emails and questions from students. The following student reflections give some sense of the difficulty students often have with noticing (the absence of) Indigenous languages in their landscapes. The first reflection comes from a 19-year-old women. In the following excerpt, she describes challenges in searching for information about Indigenous languages in her community, a small town in southern Saskatchewan:

> Regarding First Nations languages, there was a total absence in the area. I searched, but was unable to locate any words in the common languages of Cree or Ojibway. Saskatchewan has a long history of the First Nations and Métis people living here. These groups speak a multitude of languages, such as Cree, Dakota, and Ojibway. The English language did not exist in the prairies hundreds of years ago, showing that a huge language displacement has occurred.

The terms this student uses for Indigenous languages in Saskatchewan lead me to believe she did some online investigation. Typically, *Ojibway* is not the word used to describe this Algonquian language in Saskatchewan; the word most commonly used in English would be *Saulteaux*. Still, the student's response shows evidence of noticing the absence of Indigenous languages in her landscape. She also reflects on the displacement of these languages by English. Finally, her noticing also leads to an accurate understanding of Indigenous peoples as living in the territory since time immemorial. This statement shows awareness of how the principle of terra nullius continues to influence how settlers discuss and think about Canadian history – as beginning with the arrival of Europeans (Thobani 2007). The student's reference to a "long history" of Indigenous peoples in Canada shows evidence of critical reflection and absence of the principle of terra nullius.

The following student excerpt about her small farming community includes similar reflections:

> I do not know for sure which First Nations group lived on my town land pre-contact, but I know my photographs reflect no recognition of their languages. The Government of Saskatchewan website shows that the X First Nation and X First Nation are the two closest First Nations people to my town. I know that there are no signs of their languages, or any other First Nation's language in our community, so perhaps that means that First Nations people were pushed out of our village when settlers arrived.

This part of the activity causes some problems for the student. In being asked to re-examine her context, she experiences some difficulties when asked to think about Indigenous languages in her space. Whether or not this is the first time she has ever considered that someone lived in her area prior to European settlement, is not possible to know. Because of her willingness to engage with the activity, she is able to move to the understanding that colonial activities might have affected Indigenous peoples in her area. In this way, the activity serves as a useful prompt for her critical reflections.

Finally, the following excerpt from another woman's reflections on the languages in her small semi-urban farming community in southern Saskatchewan shows greater accuracy in terms of Indigenous languages spoken in the area.

> As I mentioned earlier, the area of my town was once home to the Assiniboine people. They would have spoken Assiniboine, also known as Nakota, which is a member of the Siouan language family. Along with Assiniboine being heard, one might have also heard Stoney and Dakota-Lakota being spoken; relatives in the Dakotan Siouan language family. Something that I find disappointing is that I had to research this information to find out who lived in the area pre-contact. This goes to show that the relationship between the city and the Assiniboine people has become invisible and practically non-existent. In fact the photo included on page nine doesn't even mention which First Nations group originally created the stone formations. Whoever created that sign had the power to include a lot more information about Indigenous culture, but instead only chose to include minimal information.

A few things are worthy of attention in this student's assignment. First, she has researched the Indigenous languages and peoples displaced by European settlement in her area (Ball and McIvor 2013). This provides evidence of connection-making between her linguistic landscape and settler colonial efforts to produce linguistic homogeneity (Stasiulis and Jhappan 1995; Thobani 2007). Also noteworthy is her take on the power of the sign-maker. This critical reflection leads to a statement on the inclusion of accurate Indigenous history in her community's history. Understanding the gaps in historical depictions of rural Saskatchewan is a useful exercise for a future teacher.

7.3 Instructor Reflections

Initially, when I began teaching this course, which was first developed roughly a decade ago, I centered course activities around academic readings. This approach did not seem effective in terms of shifting thinking in any real or lasting ways. Roughly 7 years ago, I began experimenting with other types of experiential and project-based learning, including linguistic landscape pedagogy. Over the years, I have continued to make adaptations to better respond to the changing context of contemporary schools, teachers, and learners. Three influences are worth mentioning as I reflect on the usefulness of the linguistic landscape for instilling critical multilingual language awareness: (1) program reform in my Faculty of Education; (2) mandatory Treaty Education in the province of Saskatchewan and (3) the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.

In 2007, the Faculty of Education where I work specifically named matters of social justice, diversity, and equity as core principles of our program. This mandate means that all courses in my Faculty take up and integrate these principles. The effect has been that students arrive at my second-year course with increasingly nuanced understandings of matters related to these principles because they are learning about these principles throughout their courses. Their growing understandings enable me to push them more in their self-reflection and also likely account for

the absence of overt resistance in the data shared in this chapter. Students are engaged in their analyses and keen to understand how they can learn from the activity in terms of their own language awareness development. Next, in 2008, mandatory Treaty Education was introduced in the province of Saskatchewan. In the part of Canada where I live and work, Treaties were signed between Indigenous peoples and representatives of Queen Victoria in the late nineteenth century. The displacement and confinement of Indigenous peoples and the period of the Indian Residential Schools are understood today as failures to honor these Treaties. K-12 Treaty Education pushes students and teachers to examine the historical context and spirit and intent of Treaties but also our inherited Treaty relationships (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education 2013). As Treaty Education has emerged as an important educational focus in this province, its presence has also grown in teacher education programs (Tupper 2011, 2012, 2014; Tupper and Cappello 2008). What this means for my course is that I need to consider these same issues and curricular implications in my teaching in order to help future teachers learn how to do the same. Finally, in 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada made public its final report into the history and legacy of Canada's residential school system. The 94 Calls to Action in the report include calls that implicate universities and schools, including calls to educate teachers on how to integrate Indigenous knowledge and teaching methods into classrooms, calls that highlight Indigenous languages as fundamental and valued elements of Canadian culture and society, and calls to identify teacher-training needs in relation to building student capacity for intercultural understanding, empathy and mutual respect (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015a). What these calls have meant for my classroom is a growing responsibility to build future teacher knowledge and know-how in many matters related to the history and legacy of residential schools.

Against this backdrop, I have encountered a professional and ethical obligation to negotiate my own white settler fragility (DiAngelo 2018) in relation to languages and settler-colonialism and to devise learning opportunities that help my students do the same. In the linguistic landscape assignment in particular, I have worked at redesigning prompts, facilitating classroom discussions, and pushing learners in their own growth when they claimed ignorance or innocence and difficult dialogues ensued. What I have learned about instilling critical multilingual language awareness in teacher candidates (García 2016) is that it is not easily achieved through abstract activities and it requires patience but also the ability to push learners when they are struggling to see the mundane in new and critical ways. Activities that allow learners to move outside the classroom and engage with the realities of settler colonialism through the exercise of recognizing an English monolingual landscape as state-constructed create powerful and enduring opportunities for learning. These exercises, coupled with academic reading but also with other experiences like working with Indigenous Elders, engaging with English as additional students in public schools, and talking to their family members about state-mandated language loss, seem to create "aha" moments in ways that earlier iterations of this course did not achieve. Students value this path of discovery.

Since conducting the research described in this chapter, the Language and Literacies subject area of my faculty has introduced some changes to the course. First, the name has changed from *Linguistic Diversity and Teaching Language Arts* to *Multilingualism and the Classroom*, a title which better reflects the goals of the course as well as advances in language education research. The course calendar description has also been updated to explicitly name the development of critical multilingual language awareness as the central goal of the course. These changes will help students to understand their learning objectives. As an instructor, I will continue to develop and refine assignments that support student teacher engagement with the linguistic landscape because of the way this builds teacher awareness of colonial histories and imperialistic oppression. As an educational researcher, I am also committed to further research in this area in order to gather more classroom and on-site data to demonstrate the kinds of learning and self-reflective growth that this course seeks to promote.

8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I set out to answer two questions: (1) What connections do student teachers make between their linguistic landscapes and colonial histories? and (2) How might the linguistic landscape become a productive site for project-based learning in language teacher education? For many students in my classes, these reflections on their familiar environments are the starting point for critical multilingual awareness. They consider how their identities, and those of others, are shaped in interaction with diverse languages of print in the linguistic landscape in which they live, whether the languages present in the photos represent their own linguistic identities as well as how this alignment, or lack thereof, reinforces or undermines their own identities. They also reflect upon which Indigenous languages are displaced from the landscape (Ball and McIvor 2013; Battiste 1998).

As Indigenous communities work to reclaim traditional languages (McIvor and Anisman 2018) and schools work to respect and include newcomer languages, teacher education must be careful to not re-create sameness, but rather to imagine and prepare for a world where multilingualism moves beyond rhetoric and returns to being the force for decoloniality that it has always been (Khanam et al. forthcoming). Moving towards these goals is more likely to occur in project-based learning like the kind outlined in this chapter. Jarring students from their complacency requires more than readings and discussions, and linguistic landscape pedagogy offers the possibility to help educators engage in deeper reflection about the communities in which their future classrooms are located. Linguistic landscape activities can provide key sites for building heightened and enduring language awareness in pre-service educators (Domínguez Cruz 2017; Hancock 2012; Wiese et al. 2017).

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