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Abstract
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Pedro,[1] a Kichwa[2]-Spanish bilingual teacher, begins his Spanish lesson by telling students, "*aquí hablamos el kichwa 100 por ciento, el problema está en castellano*"[3] (Fieldnotes, 2013-06-26). The previous week, his colleague Eric ended a Spanish lesson by telling his third and fourth graders, "*nuestra lengüita está todavía dura*"[4] (Fieldnotes, 2013-06-20). Pedro and Eric grew up in the Alto Napo region, located in the northern Peruvian Amazon, home to the Kichwa people and to a network of six bilingual intercultural schools where the ethnographic monitoring engagement we will describe took place. Pedro and Eric identify strongly as Kichwas and bilingual teachers and share a sincere concern for supporting students' learning in both Kichwa and Spanish for academic and political reasons. Both of them also identified students' shyness[5] as a primary challenge when teaching Spanish. As their statements suggest, both responded to this concern through their classroom practices.

One major challenge in Latin American educational systems remains opening spaces for multiple languages and identities within societies that have long

[1] All names herein are pseudonyms.

[2] Kichwa is a variety of Quechua spoken in some regions, including the Alto Napo of Peru.

[3] Here we speak 100 percent Kichwa, the problem is with Spanish.

[4] Our little tongue is still resistant.

[5] A quote from Pedro captures how teachers talked about this: "*La dificultad mas allí observo que los niños tienen osea mucho tienen vergüenza de expresar, tienen timideces e incómodo allí*" ("The difficulty I see most is that children are very ashamed to speak, they have shynesses and are uncomfortable in that moment"; Interview, 2013-06-28). "*Miedo de hablar*" ("fear of speaking") was another phrase teachers often used.

subscribed to a one nation-one language ideology and promoted discourses of linguistic and cultural homogeneity (Hornberger, 2002). Such challenge has been and continues to be pressing in the Peruvian Amazon, where exclusionary educational systems have prohibited or limited the use and role of local languages, literacy practices, and knowledges while privileging literacy in Spanish (Aikman, 1999; Trapnell, Calderón, & Flores, 2008).

In this paper we focus on the classroom experiences of Kichwa teachers like Pedro and Eric to provide insights into the challenges, tensions, and possibilities of Spanish biliteracy teaching, in this case the teaching of Spanish as a second language in contexts of Indigenous bilingualism in Latin America. Scholars have highlighted how the teaching and successful learning of Spanish remains a pressing demand from community members and Indigenous organizations in the Amazon and throughout Latin America, while professional development that offers pedagogical support in this area is a constant source of concern (Aikman, 1999; Hornberger, 1988, 2002; Jung & López, 2003). Here, we argue for ethnographic monitoring (Hymes, 1980) as a method and the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 1989) as a heuristic for mapping and redirecting biliteracy teaching of majoritized languages in Indigenous contexts of postcoloniality[6] towards pedagogies of voice. We begin by introducing our conceptual framework and research setting, participants, and methods.

Conceptual Framework

> Hymes proposed not only a vision but a set of ways of doing ethnography in education—from ethnographic monitoring and ethnography of communication to ethnopoetics of oral narrative and ethnography of language policy… [He argued for E]thnography as theory and perspective, as description and analysis of messy and complex social activity, as counterhegemonic and democratic, accessible to expert and novice alike, and its companion ethnology as comparative, cumulative, and cooperative. (Hornberger, 2009, p. 355)

In particular, ethnographic monitoring of bilingual education programs could help (a) describe local communicative practices, (b) analyze and interpret patterns and social meanings of implementation, and (c) evaluate the educational effects and political consequences of programs with the goal of advancing educational success as well as questioning taken for granted notions of linguistic inequality (Hymes, 1980; Hornberger, 2014). Hymes saw ethnographic monitoring as a type of evaluation that was respectful of and responsive to local goals of bilingual education and could "go beyond tests and surveys to document and interpret the social meaning of success and failure to bilingual education" (Hymes, 1980, p. 117). He urged monitors to capitalize on the democratizing potential of ethnography, which provides opportunities for local actors to become participants in the monitoring of bilingual education programs, as those with "the firmest grasp possible of the workings of the program" (p. 115), who decide if and how to use ethnographic findings.

[6] With the terms postcoloniality and ongoing coloniality, we refer to both the colonial past which is part of the legacy of independent nation-states like Peru (postcolonial) and ongoing forms of exploitation and oppression (ongoing coloniality; Quijano, 2000).

Van der Aa and Blommaert (2011) review Hymes's (1981) report on a three-year ethnographic monitoring project in Philadelphia's public schools, emphasizing that Hymes "proposes a continuing mutual inquiry, not just 'reporting back,' because intensive and genuine co-operation is at the heart of ethnographic monitoring" (p. 324). They emphasize the report's insistence on making "findings the possession of the school people who have contributed to their discovery" (Hymes, 1981, p. 6); and they underline, as did Hymes, that this is not just a matter of courtesy, but of good research method (van der Aa & Blommaert, 2011). De Korne and Hornberger (2017) pick up this theme, arguing with examples from their own ethnographic monitoring experiences "in solidarity with efforts to counter language inequalities in Indigenous communities," that "ethnographers are not limited to describing social reality through participant observation, but may attempt to monitor positive and negative changes, and contribute to evaluation and improvement in relation to local goals" (pp. 247–248).

Here we introduce the continua of biliteracy as a heuristic to support researchers in realizing the critical and collaborative goals of ethnographic monitoring, reflecting on an experience of ethnographic monitoring in the Alto Napo. The continua of biliteracy model offers a heuristic in which to situate research, teaching, and language policy and planning in multilingual settings (Hornberger, 2003). Originating in the context of a multi-year ethnography of language policy in two Philadelphia public schools and their respective Puerto Rican and Cambodian communities beginning in 1987, the continua framework is premised on decades of research in bilingualism and literacy demonstrating that dimensions commonly characterized as polar opposites, such as first versus second languages (L1 vs. L2), monolingual versus bilingual individuals, or oral versus literate societies, turn out under scrutiny to be only theoretical endpoints on what are in reality fluid and dynamic continua of language and literacy use (Hornberger, 1989). Further, as ongoing research in the Philadelphia project and the bilingualism/literacy fields clarified, these continua are interrelated dimensions of highly complex and fluid communicative repertoires (Gumperz, 1964; Hymes, 1980; Rymes, 2010), and it is in the dynamic, rapidly changing and sometimes contested spaces along and across the continua that biliteracy use and learning occur.

Biliteracy is here defined as "any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing" (Hornberger, 1990, p. 213), following from Heath's (1982) definition of *literacy events* as "occasions in which written language is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretive processes and strategies" (p. 50). This emphasis on interaction and interpretation around writing contrasts with earlier and contemporary definitions that implicitly or explicitly take biliteracy more narrowly to mean (mastery of) reading (and writing) in two languages (or in a second language) (see Hornberger, 2008, for more discussion). Similarly, the emphasis here expands on Heath's *event* to consider *instances* of biliteracy, including events but also actors, interactions, practices, activities, programs, sites, situations, societies, and worlds (Hornberger, 2000).

These foundational notions are the building blocks for the continua model of biliteracy (see Figure 1), which posits that the more their contexts of learning and use allow multilinguals to draw from across each and every continuum, the greater are the chances for their full biliterate development and expression. To this end, there is a need to contest traditionally hegemonic monolingual, written, decontextualized

language and literacy practices in education by intentionally opening up spaces for fluid, multilingual, oral, contextualized practices and voices at the local level. That is, the development of biliteracy occurs best with access along and across L1-to-L2, receptive-to-productive, and oral-to-written language skills continua; through the medium of simultaneous-or-successive exposure to languages and literacies with similar-or-dissimilar linguistic structures and convergent-or-divergent scripts; in micro-to-macro contexts encompassing varying monolingual–bilingual and oral–literate mixes of language and literacy practices; and drawing on content expressing majority-to-minority perspectives and experiences, literary-to-vernacular styles and genres, and decontextualized-to-contextualized language (Hornberger, 1989, 2002; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000).

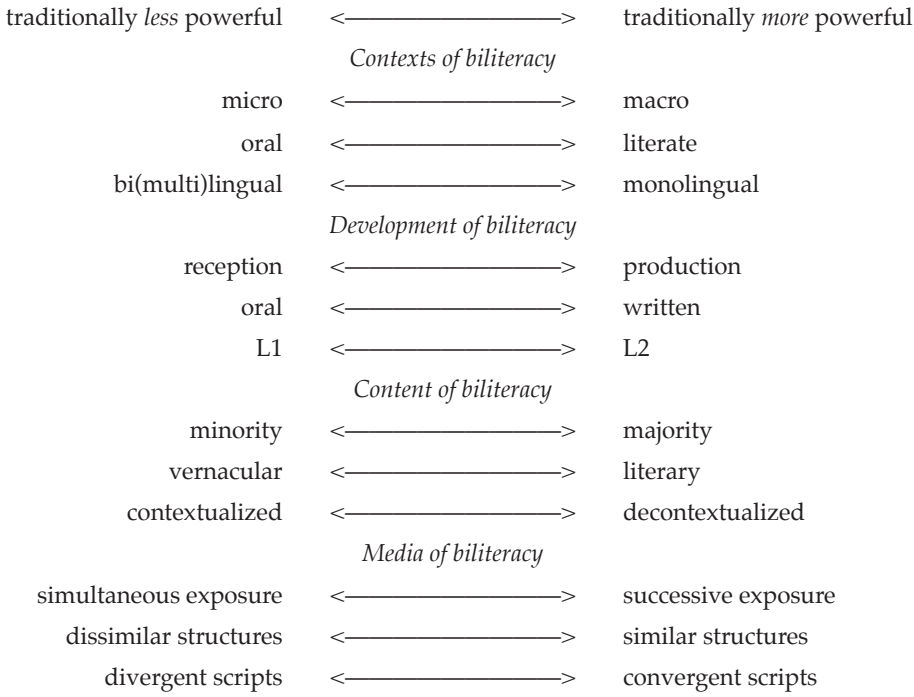

Figure 1. The continua of biliteracy.[7]

In this paper we use the continua of biliteracy to map Spanish biliteracy teaching across the three stages of ethnographic monitoring. Because of its critical and predictive potential, employing the continua of biliteracy is well suited for guiding ethnographic monitoring's goals of advancing educational success and questioning taken for granted notions of linguistic inequality, and thus we also map how Spanish biliteracy practices can be reshaped and redirected to develop spaces for Kichwa student voice to flourish.

Taking up the notion of voice, we are inspired by Ruiz (1997), who clearly differentiated between inclusion of students' language in education and supporting conditions for inclusion and development of learner voice. Ruiz argued that while

[7] Adapted from "Revisiting the continua of biliteracy: International and critical perspectives," by N. H. Hornberger and E. Skilton-Sylvester, 2000, *Language and Education: An International Journal*, *14*(2), p. 99. Copyright 2000. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

language is something general and abstract that can exist even when suppressed, voice is "particular and concrete" (p. 321). To have a voice implies "not just that people can say things, but that they are heard (that is, that their words have status, influence)" (p. 321). Following Ruiz, while neither schools nor teachers can give voice or empower individuals, through crafting pedagogies of voice, educators and monitors can transform constructs of student shyness into conditions for student voice. Concerned with children's learning and the revitalization of Indigenous languages, Hornberger (2006) argued for the activation of student voice through inclusion of Indigenous languages as medium of instruction. In this paper, we extend Hornberger's (2006) original discussion to consider the importance of creating the conditions for student voice to develop and flourish in the teaching and learning of dominant languages alongside the maintenance and revitalization of Indigenous languages.

The Alto Napo: Research Setting, Participants, and Methods

Educational inequities faced by Indigenous peoples are embedded within longer and ongoing histories of coloniality and struggle. In the context of the Alto Napo, Mercier (1983) described the decades of domination and slavery faced by the Napuruna[8] starting in 1538, when they experienced the Spanish invasion and the institution of the *encomienda* system.[9] Since the late 19th century, an extractive feudal economy controlled by the *caucheros* ("rubber barons"), *patrones* ("land owners"), and *regatones* ("small fluvial traders") has sustained these oppressive colonial conditions (p. 30). Currently, the Napuruna negotiate tense relationships with oil, mining, and logging industries operating in their territories both legally and illegally, often resulting in contamination of Napuruna lands as well as unfulfilled promises of development (Muro, 2013).

Beginning in the late twentieth century, Kichwa communities crafted local spaces to transform societal discourses and educational practices favoring Spanish monolingualism. Catholic missionaries and Kichwa teachers from the Alto Napo became pioneers in the field of bilingual intercultural education in the 1970s, when grassroots efforts led to the creation of *Programa de Educación Bilingüe e Intercultural en el Alto Napo* (PEBIAN; Program of Bilingual and Intercultural Education in the Alto Napo) and the development of intercultural and bilingual education for Kichwa children (Ashanga Jota, Vera, San Román, & Tushupe, 1990). Although sharing similarities with other maintenance bilingual education models from the era, PEBIAN transcended the dominant policy discourse of national integration and instead promoted a "social justice oriented model of education for intercultural relations and transformation" (Kvietok Dueñas, 2015, p. 30).

More recently, within the spaces opened up by Peru's 1991 Intercultural Bilingual Education national policy, several Alto Napo schools have renewed efforts to implement a maintenance and intercultural model of bilingual education. With the support of renowned teacher education program, *Programa de Formación de Maestros Bilingües de la Amazonía Peruana* (FORMABIAP; Teacher Education Program for Bilingual Teachers of the Peruvian Amazon), the *Comunidades y Escuelas para el Bien Estar* (CEBES; Communities and Schools for the Good Life) school network has since 2008 built and sustained community-school relationships

[8] used interchangeably with Kichwas

[9] a labor system where Spanish conquerors and others were awarded Indigenous labor

in order to develop and implement an education by and for Indigenous peoples. CEBES promotes visions of *el buen vivir* ("the good life"), a way of life that affirms the cultural heritage and identity of Indigenous people and allows them to access and interact with other contexts in an intercultural manner (Medina, 2009). Alto Napo schools follow a maintenance model of bilingual education, developing Kichwa literacy skills during first and second grades and transferring Kichwa literacies into Spanish from the third grade onwards, such that both languages become medium and object of instruction. By the fifth and sixth grade, Spanish is the medium of instruction for half or more of the school day. Through ongoing in-service teacher education, *acompañantes* ("peer mentors") and teachers work together to craft implementation spaces in the classrooms for bilingual and intercultural education.

An early evaluation of CEBES activities, including schools that are part of the present study, identified gains in increased curricular planning with an intercultural focus, academic achievement across subject areas and across all grades, and efforts to develop parental-school relationships (Trapnell, 2010). Seen through the continua of biliteracy lens, CEBES schools are contesting traditionally more privileged literate and monolingual contexts of biliteracy as they open spaces for both Kichwa and Spanish as media and object of instruction and diversify the curriculum to include Kichwa actors, voices and knowledges. Nonetheless, challenges remain, and these gains can be understood as works in progress, influenced by the limited number of certified bilingual teachers, high rotation of teachers during and at the end of the school year, limited educational materials, and lack of state support for intercultural bilingual education (Medina, 2009; Trapnell, 2010). Relevant to the ethnographic monitoring activities we describe here are the challenges experienced in the teaching and learning of Spanish, a subject area in which all the teachers, including FORMABIAP graduates, have serious limitations (Trapnell, 2010, p. 15). In response to limited gains in Spanish oral production skills and with the guidance of the CEBES network, Alto Napo schools began to implement daily Spanish mini-lessons with a focus on oral language development, starting from first grade. These lessons, which seek to immerse learners in Spanish and nurture their communicative and comprehensive skills from an early age, became the focus of Kvietok Dueñas's ethnographic monitoring activities at CEBES's request.

Methods and Participants

This paper draws from data gathered during Kvietok Dueñas's two-month-long ethnographic monitoring in six Alto Napo CEBES bilingual primary schools in 2013, spanning six Kichwa communities located alongside the Napo River and its tributaries. Served by a total of 17 teachers (two female) with 3–32 years of teaching experience, the schools varied in the number of teachers (1–6), number of students (30–168) and organization (multigrade, single-teacher). All teachers were bilingual, self-identified as Kichwa, and lived in the communities where they worked; their professional education ranged from bachelor's degree to various pre- and in-service experiences. Only two of the 17 teachers had attended a bilingual education teacher program, and most had begun learning about bilingual and second language pedagogies through in-service professional development opportunities such as CEBES. The Alto Napo CEBES *acompañante* Kvietok Dueñas

worked with mentioned he had come to realize through observations that teachers found it challenging to continue employing literacy and bilingual pedagogies they learned during their studies, often returning to strategies reflecting ways in which they themselves had learned (see also Jung & López, 2003).

The Alto Napo is two days travel from the region's capital city Iquitos, and CEBES communities are 15 minutes to an hour away from each other by small motorized boat. Kvietok Dueñas joined the Alto Napo schools in the role of a workshop leader, with a focus on "*metodologías activas para la enseñanza del castellano como segunda lengua*"[10] (personal communication, January 17, 2013).[11] These workshops were requested by the CEBES school network, reflecting the perceived and stated needs of Alto Napo teachers for pedagogical support in the teaching of Spanish as a second language.

Ethnographic monitoring activities included participant observations in all six schools (12 classrooms and all grades) and semi-structured interviews with five teachers. Observations focused on Spanish classes, although Kichwa-medium lessons were also observed to get a sense of the schooling context. Outside schools, living in various communities during the monitoring period, Kvietok Dueñas participated in after-school teacher and parent-teacher meetings and community events. Ethnographic monitoring also included taking up more active roles, such as leading professional development workshops, modeling Spanish lessons and participating in lesson planning with teachers. These activities constituted spaces to reflect about program, curriculum, and pedagogical choices concerning Spanish biliteracy teaching in bilingual schools.

Kvietok Dueñas strove to move away from monolithic views of community and towards a more comprehensive understanding of the diverse members composing the community she supported. Local stakeholders included school principals, teachers, the CEBES *acompañante*, and students, and on a larger scale, also FORMABIAP administrators and teachers; monitoring entailed being open to and negotiating different roles, relationships, and forms of effecting change that might arise. One instance of this negotiation was adapting to different actors' preferred form of evaluation feedback: while FORMABIAP staff favored written and oral reports, schoolteachers privileged face-to-face conversations and modeling of teaching practices. Another was differentiating monitoring activities according to meaningful differences among teachers, one of which was gender: given the additional household chores female teachers took up after school hours, monitoring activities had to adapt to participants' routines and often included conversations with teachers while helping out with these chores. These experiences highlighted the need to complexify what it means to collaborate with the local community in monitoring efforts.

Findings: Mapping Spanish Biliteracy Teaching in the Alto Napo

Following Hymes's three cycles of ethnographic monitoring and using the continua of biliteracy as a heuristic, we present our findings in three sections. First, we contextualize Spanish biliteracy teaching in the Alto Napo, by (a) describing local language ecologies, (b) analyzing and interpreting how these ecologies reflect

[10] active methodological strategies for work in Spanish as a second language

[11] We are grateful to FORMABIAP for facilitating Kvietok Dueñas's entry to the area.

longstanding linguistic inequalities, and (c) evaluating the effects and consequences of these ecologies and inequalities for teachers. We then turn to classroom communicative practices in the Alto Napo classrooms Kvietok Dueñas observed, by (a) describing the practices, (b) analyzing and interpreting the patterns and social meanings of these practices, and (c) evaluating the educational effects and political consequences of these pedagogies for students. Finally, we address collaborative attempts between Kvietok Dueñas and teachers to craft pedagogies of voice, by (a) describing a sample lesson, (b) analyzing and interpreting emergent patterns and meanings of the lesson for educators, and (c) engaging in collaborative evaluation of the lesson with teachers. The three-layered structure of our mapping alongside the three cycles of ethnographic monitoring reflects the iterative nature of our ethnographic monitoring activities, which built upon and emerged out of each other.

Layer 1: Local Language Ecologies of Linguistic Inequality and the Teaching of Spanish

We begin by addressing the local language ecology of the Alto Napo and its educational implications.

Describing, analyzing, and interpreting linguistic ecologies and longstanding inequalities. Alto Napo linguistic ecologies are characterized by a mix of monolingual-multilingual and oral-literate communicative practices, unequally weighted. Kichwa remains the language of the home and the predominant language of community and everyday activities, such as farming, hunting, fishing, social gatherings, and collective work at *mingas (*"voluntary communal labor"). At the same time, there are strong local demands for and value placed on oral and written Spanish. Spanish mediates access to government services (health centers, social services), facilitates participation in *asambleas comunales* ("community meetings") when outsiders are present, and enables commercial transactions in local stores and with river merchants. Outside communities, Spanish mediates access to jobs and schooling.

Through Kvietok Dueñas's ethnographic monitoring activities, we learned that most contexts in which Spanish is used inside and outside Napuruna communities are situations of inequality in which Kichwa speakers may lack linguistic (and other) capital to interact on equal terms with Spanish speakers and where the communicative balance is often not in their favor. During one of the *asambleas comunales* Kvietok Dueñas attended, an outsider government employee attempted to put together a community committee to oversee the installation of electricity. Addressing *asamblea* attendees in Spanish, he explained that high school graduation was a pre-requisite for joining the committee and explained he wanted a woman who could write well to serve as treasurer (Fieldnotes, 2013-07-14). Not only was the *asamblea comunal* facilitated in Spanish, privileging productive, oral Spanish skills and thus limiting participation for those who were Kichwa-dominant or felt more comfortable participating in Kichwa, but during the meeting school-sanctioned Spanish literacy was positioned as pre-requisite to participate in local governance within this Kichwa-dominant community. Although women were encouraged to join, ironically, compared to men, they had the most limited educational experiences and reported knowing less Spanish.

In addition, Kichwa parents repeatedly emphasized the important role education played in their children's lives. Societal forces that value Spanish seemed to inform parental discourses of *superación,* the idea that children can become better than their parents. Specifically, learning Spanish was considered one of the ways in which Kichwa children could do this, facilitating their entrance to high school and providing access to better job opportunities outside their communities**,** contexts where most interactions take place in Spanish, and where Kichwa-speakers often experience hardships. Parents commented on their children's limited abilities to speak Spanish. In a gathering during San Juan festivities, one mother shared how she noticed that many young children, when asked questions in Spanish usually just smiled, looked at you, and did not respond. She wanted them to speak both languages with confidence and viewed fulfilling this task as the responsibility of the school (Fieldnotes, 2013-06-25). Importantly, parental education and Spanish learning goals were often embedded in wider goals of supporting the wellbeing of Kichwa communities. While Kvietok Dueñas was participating in a *minga* with some teachers and parents after school one day, an *apu* ("Kichwa leader") of one of the communities explained that as important as it was for Kichwa teens to leave their communities and pursue more formal education and employment, it was also necessary that they return and support their federation (the local Napuruna political organization) and their communities (Fieldnotes, 2013-07-11).

Evaluating the effects and consequences of these ecologies and inequalities for teachers. Kichwa teachers were highly aware of these unequal contexts of biliteracy/Spanish use, as the majority grew up in the Alto Napo and all resided there at the time of monitoring activities. Teacher Daniel, for example, viewed teaching Spanish to his students as "*como una defensa personal para ellos*"[12] (Interview, 2013-07-04) in contexts of biliteracy that predominantly favor monolingual oral and literate competencies in Spanish. As a second grade teacher, he teaches his students Spanish so they can better negotiate situations in which they are historically and currently taken advantage of, such as in commercial exchanges. He described how many outsiders that arrive to Kichwa communities take advantage of Napuruna, of "*la madera, sus artículos de venta, de chanchos, productos más que todo… los engañan, hablan mejor castellano*"[13] (Interview, 2013-07-04). Other teachers also highlighted the important role Spanish literacy plays for Kichwas to exercise leadership roles that mediate local interactions and negotiations with outside government and civil actors, usually in Spanish.

Teacher discourses of Spanish as a tool for self-defense and leadership were accompanied by grade-specific Spanish language teaching and learning goals, which despite variation across grades, all emphasized development of oral productive skills in Spanish as important. For first-grade teacher Javier, Spanish goals were for his students to "*que se expresen, que hablen, que participen en, en castellano, hablando*"[14] (Interview, 2013-07-16), and Pedro wanted his fourth grade class "*que hablen castellano sin tener miedo*"[15] (Interview, 2013-06-28). Teachers often viewed oral language development classes as spaces where they could help improve

[12] a type of self-defense

[13] their wood, the goods which they sell, their pigs, produce mostly… they trick people, they speak Spanish better

[14] express themselves, speak, participate in Spanish

[15] to speak Spanish without fear

students' perceived shyness and limited Spanish skills, challenges attributed to three factors cross-cutting the continua of biliteracy: students' limited exposure to Spanish at home, prior schooling experiences, and individual characteristics.

For example, Pedro explained that most students first, and sometimes only, encountered Spanish in the classroom. Even if parents understood Spanish, Pedro argued, they did not speak it, which did not offer much support for students. He also noted how prior schooling experiences that did not offer relevant or contextualized content through Spanish-medium instruction had not supported students to overcome their embarrassment to speak Spanish. Finally, Pedro identified individual student characteristics as a factor influencing trajectories of students' biliteracy development across oral/written, receptive/productive Spanish and Kichwa skills: some students were more *"quedados"* ("lagging behind") than others, or did not want to participate in class, accounting for their difficulties to speak Spanish. In contrast, he identified students who wanted to participate as "*un poco más despiertos… son activos y al toque con escuchando nomás aprenden cosas*"[16] (Interview, 2013-06-28). These differing patterns of participation exert differing communicative demands on students to acquire and use their developing language and literacy repertoires.

The view that language learning resides in students' individual and internal characteristics was also called on when teachers talked about their own Spanish language learning experiences. The majority of Alto Napo teachers described their Spanish learning experiences from primary to post-secondary level, in schools where frequently there were no Kichwa-speaking teachers, as challenging:

> Pedro: [*En la secundaria*] *como eran profesores de la ciudad, tuve problemas en entender algunas cosas, pero así he logrado a hablar el castellano… cuando salía a exponer algunos trabajos en secundaria allí se aprende bastante.* [*En la educación superior*] *también relacionando con otros docentes conversando allí he aprendido a hablar… El castellano era la comunicación comunal… habían como cuatro pueblos que poco hablaban el castellano… habían unas dificultades en el castellano y así hemos logrado aprender.*[17] (Interview, 2013-06-28)

Pedro's comments show that learning Spanish was a difficult task for teachers as learners, overcome only through individual effort. Central to Pedro's experience, learning Spanish meant learning to *speak* Spanish, mainly achieved by presenting oral assignments and interacting with others, especially when others did not speak Kichwa, like his mestizo teachers and non-Kichwa speaking college peers. Little of Pedro's learning was attributed to an educational model or L2 Spanish pedagogies. Pedro thus claims to have *learned* Spanish ("*he aprendido a hablar*") through ongoing practice rather than having been *taught* Spanish, which could suggest that regardless of the role of the pedagogical model used, he also views learning Spanish as the responsibility or task of individual students.

We see, then, that local education and communicative practices around the

[16] a bit more awake… they are active, and right away, just by listening, they learn things

[17] [In high school], since they were city teachers, I had some issues in understanding some things, but that is how I managed to speak Spanish… when I had to do presentations for some assignments in high school, there you learn a lot. [In higher education], hanging out with other teachers, having conversations, there I have learned to talk… Spanish was the shared communication… there were four Indigenous groups that spoke very little Spanish… there were some difficulties in our Spanish and that is how we managed to learn.

teaching and learning of Spanish in Alto Napo are embedded within ongoing societal contexts of coloniality and resistance, teachers' language learning experiences, and wider goals of advancing Kichwa political representation and more socially just livelihoods. Our ethnographic monitoring also illuminates various ways Kichwa bilingual teachers in these contexts negotiate the continua of biliteracy as they transform their objectives into classroom practices, which we now turn to.

Layer 2: Classroom Communicative Practices

Kichwa teachers continuously negotiate the contexts, media, development, and content of Spanish L2 teaching, as mapped here through descriptive, analytical/interpretive, and evaluative cycles of ethnographic monitoring. In this sub-section, we begin by describing, analyzing, and interpreting vignettes of two lessons taught by Kichwa educators, after which we evaluate the effects of these pedagogies for students. Pedro, who taught fourth grade, had started teaching five years prior after graduating from the FORMABIAP program. Eric, who taught a combined third and fourth grade class, had been teaching for four years and had not attended a bilingual teacher education program. Both teachers participated in the professional workshops Kvietok Dueñas hosted, and both provided valuable insights throughout the monitoring activities.

Describing Pedro's lesson.

Vignette 1: Making a canoe (Pedro)[18]

> Students sit in a semi-circle facing the board. Pedro begins the lesson by telling students, "*aquí hablamos el Kichwa 100 por ciento, el problema está en castellano*."[19] He hangs his hand-made poster on the board, showing a man making a canoe (Figure 2); his plan is for students to describe the poster to the rest of the class, orally and in Spanish.
>
> Pedro asks students what their parents do when making a canoe, and for the next 20 minutes, the class interaction unfolds in this way:

Line	Spanish original	English translation
1	T: ¿…que cosa primero se debe hacer? ¿O sea se debe?	T: …what thing must be done first? So one should?
2	S: (soft) pedir	S: (soft) ask
3	T: ¿Pedir al	T: Ask the?
4	S: dueño	S: guardian
5	T: dueño	T: guardian
6	S: (soft) del cedro	S: (soft) of the cedar
7	T: del?	T: of the?
8	S: cedro	S: cedar

[18] For transcription conventions, see Appendix A.

[19] here we speak Kichwa 100 percent, the problem is in Spanish.

Figure 2. Canoe-making poster used in Pedro's Spanish class.

9	T: árbol, cedro, ya? No vas a cortar por gusto así cortando cortando porque si cortamos así se va rom-?	T: tree, cedar, ok? You are not going to cut randomly like this cutting cutting because if we cut like this it will br-?
10	Ss: -per	Ss: -eak
11	T: -per, al momento que caiga la tierra se va?	T: -eak, the moment it hits the ground it will?
12	S: [romper]	S: [break]
13	T: ¿[rajarse] en cualquier parte del? del árbol, ya? ¿Antes de eso primero hay que ir, si encontramos el árbol pedimos al dueño o a la madre del?	T: [splinter] in any part of the? the tree, ok? Before that first one should go, if we find the tree we ask the guardian or the mother of the?
14	S: (soft) árbol.	S: (soft) tree.

15	T: ¿Árbol ya? A ver, madre del señor, del árbol, cedro quiero hacer mi canoa para yo andar para ir a la chacra, para ir a buscar mitayo…	T: tree ok? Let's see, mother of the mister, of the tree, cedar I want to make my canoe so I can go to the *chacra*,[19] to go look for *mitayo*[20]…

Twenty-five more minutes pass by, Pedro and his students continuing to engage in similar interactions. At times, individual students respond to teacher-generated questions in Spanish; at other times students respond in chorus together or in groups. Most student participation takes the form of word-completion or one-noun responses to Pedro's prompts. Pedro then decides to play some games which, he tells me, help his students become more comfortable in Spanish. After the games, Pedro asks students, in pairs, to write a description of what they observe in the poster, in the form of a sentence or a paragraph, and to make their own drawings to go along their written narratives. (Fieldnotes, 2013-06-26)

Considering the ways in which communicative competence in Spanish is developed (along the continua), the initial activity attempts to support students in developing privileged/desired oral, productive Spanish skills through the task of narrating the different steps associated in the making of a canoe. The activity also incorporates students' prior knowledge as Pedro makes a connection to the local role and uses of canoes, providing an opening for students to draw on their own contextualized, vernacular, Kichwa (minoritized) content. He considers the discursive practices used, the ways of cutting a tree, as well as the different uses canoes have in Kichwa communities (lines 1, 9, 15). Pedro thus recognizes that *what* (content) his students are expected to communicate in Spanish is just as important as *how* they do it—that is, through what media and which developing language skills. Observable throughout the vignette are the multiple opportunities Pedro provides students to engage with the task and the different media he draws from. Pedro poses repeated questions for students to describe the poster and engage with their existing knowledge on the topic using his own variety of Spanish, Peruvian Amazonian Spanish (Jara Yupanqui, 2012). He also draws on multimodal resources by including illustrations with texts similar to a comic. Perhaps aware that students still need more scaffolding before describing what they observe, Pedro leads two games, with the goal of helping them relax and lower their affective filter. Through these latter practices, Pedro draws on traditionally less powerful ends of the content and media continua of biliteracy in order to validate the resources Kichwa students bring to school as well as provide scaffolding and a supportive L2 Spanish learning environment.

Analyzing and interpreting social meanings for participants in Pedro's lesson. However, Pedro's attempts at communicative language teaching practices co-exist with practices that limit students' opportunities to engage with the communicative task. Pedro's questioning practices, a clear example of an initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) turn-taking pattern[22] (Rymes, 2009), allow

[20] farmed land, made through slash-and-burn

[21] game, food collected in the forest

[22] wherein the teacher initiates communication, the learner responds, and the teacher evaluates the student's answer

him to remain the holder of knowledge and arbiter of what counts or does not count as valid participation, consistent with schooling's traditional emphasis on decontextualized, literary, majority content. Similarly, a developmental focus on oral, productive Spanish without recourse to Kichwa is evident in how students' participation is restricted by the type of questions Pedro poses. Besides being known-answer questions, Pedro frames students' answers by anticipating, and elongating the beginning syllables of, the responses (e.g., lines 1, 3, 9, 13), providing the article or preposition preceding the noun (e.g., line 3), and sometimes overlapping with students' answers (e.g., lines 12, 13). An examination of the transcript suggests that this questioning pattern positions students as animators of teachers' expected answers (Goffman, 1979), rather than as Spanish language learners with a meaningful purpose who co-construct knowledge through interaction. Finally, towards the end of the lesson, Pedro's assessment of the group leads him to modify *how* (i.e., through which developing language skills) and *by what means* (i.e., which media) students will accomplish the communicative task. Pedro modifies the oral production task into a written multimodal one, allowing students to work collaboratively in pairs and use drawings and writing to describe the process of making a canoe. Although writing and drawing practices can certainly act as meaningful bridges to Spanish oral production, the originally intended oral, productive, Spanish communicative task is not resumed.

Describing Eric's lesson.

Vignette 2: The peccary (Eric)

> Eric, standing at the center of the classroom, tells students they will talk about an animal and gives them hints to guess what it is, such as where this animal lives, what it eats and where it bathes. Students rapidly guess it's a *sajino* ("peccary"). Eric then shows them a drawing of a peccary that includes the text: *"¿Qué animal es esto? Es un sajino"*[23] (see Figure 3). During the rest of the class, Eric asks students to repeat the question-answer out loud with him, and then to take turns posing the question as well as responding to it individually and in groups. For example, one by one, Eric asks his 32 students to stand up and pose the question *"¿Qué animal es esto?"*[24] Student questions range from *"¿Qué animal esto?"* to *"¿Qué animal es esto?"* or *"¿Qué es animal?"*[25] Eric repeats the questions that do not match his own and asks students to repeat them the way he does, admonishing students who are very quiet to speak louder and those who cover their faces or mouths with their hands while they speak to repeat, keeping their hands at their sides. Some students laugh nervously as they respond, and others laugh when their peers make a mistake or when Eric corrects them. Two students have an especially hard time posing the question. Eric provides the question, word by word, for them to repeat. After six attempts, he lets them go. (Fieldnotes, 2013-06-20)

Similar to Pedro, Eric favors a task that focuses on developing oral and productive communicative skills in Spanish along the continua. Unlike Pedro,

[23] What animal is this? It is a peccary.

[24] What animal is this?

[25] What animal this? What animal is this? What is animal?

Figure 3. Drawing of peccary used during Eric's Spanish class.

who negotiates the ways communicative competence is developed in his class by deciding to favor written production as a culminating activity, Eric does not modify his activity or the communicative media employed. Instead, the entire lesson is a constant attempt to achieve this goal. Using Spanish throughout, Eric also chooses to talk about a topic the students know from their own context, a *sajino*, thereby opening space for the traditionally less powerful contextualized, vernacular, minoritized Kichwa ends of the content continua.

Analyzing and interpreting social meanings for participants in Eric's lesson. The bulk of the lesson centers around several drills in which students enunciate and repeat one question and one answer. Although students participate individually and in groups, Eric holds the floor, generating most of the knowledge about the topic. Considering the media used during this lesson, Eric places much attention on message form. In fact, in his lesson plan for the activity, Eric noted that, "*el docente indica como deberían de hablar*"[26] (Fieldnotes, 2013-06-20). Eric pushes students to pronounce the question and answer phrase in full, at a particular volume and with a particular bodily demeanor. Correction procedures involve recasts as well as explicitly telling students what to say. Similar to Pedro's lesson, little to no oral or written Kichwa is employed, thereby limiting space on the development continua to the oral, productive, Spanish ends. In Eric's lesson, we can also note that some of the difficulties students experience in producing the full phrase, such as the misuse/lack of articles, or different sentence word order, could be influenced by differences between the linguistic structures of Kichwa and Spanish. Nevertheless, these differences are not taken up during class.

[26] the teacher indicates how [students] should talk

Evaluating educational effects for students: the paradox of pedagogies to overcome and accommodate to perceived student shyness. The teaching practices illustrated in the classroom vignettes suggest that the ways in which Pedro and Eric negotiate contexts, development, content, and media of teaching Spanish as an L2 are guided by two somewhat paradoxical orientations: accommodating to and overcoming students' perceived shyness and difficulties. Instances of accommodation are reflected in practices that provide scaffolds to lessen students' failure to achieve the communicative task at hand, similar to the notion of safe talk practices as originally described and analyzed in highland Peruvian and urban South African classrooms (Hornberger & Chick, 2001). Pedro's IRE turn-taking patterns with known answers and his decision to modify the oral presentation by scaffolding with writing and drawing opportunities could be interpreted as instances of accommodation, as they provided students opportunities to perform or at least keep busy, obviating student failure though without significant oral language development (the purpose of the activity) taking place.

In contrast, an approach that seeks to overcome students' shyness or difficulties is not primarily concerned with allowing students to do school or save face, but rather pushes students to achieve the task at hand, abandoning recourse to local content (about canoe-making or the peccary) or media (spoken or written Kichwa). The use of repetition and drilling embedded in the question-and-answer activity used by Eric is such an example. This activity was common in teachers' classroom practices, observed across several grades, where questions and answers generated by teachers ranged from greetings or presentations of self to asking students to name what was being shown/observed. Pedagogies seeking to overcome students' perceived difficulties also put great focus on message form—linguistic forms and bodily signs associated with the appropriate execution of a task—for example, Eric's correction of students' bodily posture and speech volume.

Accommodating to and overcoming students' perceived shyness could co-exist in one lesson, constituting attempts to implement classroom communicative practices guided by teachers' goals for students' oral, productive Spanish learning. Yet, although such practices draw from content familiar to students and use visual media to complement spoken-written interaction, they ultimately shortchange biliteracy development in other ways. After all, Kichwa students in the Alto Napo, like Indigenous students across other contexts, are not inherently shy nor do they necessarily have limited abilities to learn an L2 (Hornberger, 1988, 2006). Mapping classroom communicative practices along the continua of biliteracy using the critical lens of ethnographic monitoring helps us deconstruct prevalent notions of student shyness and see how pedagogies that seek to overcome and accommodate to that perceived student shyness may have the effect of sustaining a vision of students as struggling Spanish learners. Although classroom communicative practices may aim to privilege traditionally less powerful contents and media of biliteracy, they do not always succeed in doing so. What these pedagogies do not include is an analytical perspective that would enable teachers to reflect on their Spanish biliteracy pedagogy. In what follows, we consider the potential of critical and collaborative ethnographic monitoring activities guided by the continua of biliteracy to support educators in critically reflecting on and improving their classroom communicative practices in ways that align with their own and community goals.

Layer 3: Crafting Pedagogies of Voice

With Hymes, we view the role of the ethnographic monitor as a social actor who can engage and influence linguistic inequalities (De Korne & Hornberger, 2017). In this case, engagement took the form of collaborating with teachers to develop pedagogies of voice. By this we mean pedagogies that support students to develop awareness of and negotiate the multiple points of the continua of biliteracy as they develop communicative skills in a dominant language. One of the strengths of ethnographic monitoring is that it is attuned to local context and does not follow a pre-determined method (Hymes, 1980). Consequently, as ethnographic monitors, we ought "to remain alert to emergent forms of cooperation" (De Korne & Hornberger, 2017, p. 253). During this instance of ethnographic monitoring, the collaboration between monitor and teachers emerged over a two-month period and entailed ongoing negotiation of participation structures and the role of the ethnographic monitor.

During the first teacher workshop Kvietok Dueñas hosted, she led a series of activities with a practitioner inquiry orientation. When the workshop concluded, she felt disappointed for not having brought about the level of self-reflection she had hoped for, and she did not observe teachers applying some of the teaching practices they had discussed together in their classes (Fieldnotes, 2013-06-19). With time, she began to realize her own and teachers' notions of participation differed. While she had envisioned her monitoring role as someone who would listen to and talk with teachers about their L2 Spanish practices, teachers, instead, viewed her role as someone who would *do* and *show* some of these practices. This realization was less linear and immediate than here described, entailing a growing understanding of local forms of participation and teachers' past experiences with monitoring activities, which informed the roles they asked of Kvietok Dueñas.

To illustrate how we apply the notion of pedagogies of voice, we now describe, analyze, and interpret a sample Spanish L2 lesson with the continua of biliteracy. We then draw on Kvietok Dueñas's conversations around lesson planning and lesson debriefing with teachers to evaluate, and move forward, the crafting of pedagogies of voice.

Describing the model lesson.

Vignette 3: Buying and selling from a river merchant (model lesson)

> Building on observations of Spanish use in Kichwa communities and conversations with students, Kvietok Dueñas planned a lesson around commercial transactions with river merchants, which she implemented across different grades. While brainstorming the various potential items up for sale, prior to engaging in the buying/selling dialogue, the class separated these items into two groups, those that made use of male pronouns (e.g., *unos cartuchos* ["some ammunition"]) and those that made use of female pronouns (e.g., *una linterna* ["a flashlight"]). Through conversations guided by the monitor and teacher, the class reflected on the differences between Spanish and Kichwa with regards to gendered articles, which are used in Spanish but not in Kichwa. Questions such as, "Do you notice any differences between Spanish and Kichwa?," "Is it important to use these articles in Spanish? Why or why not?," and "What strategies could we use to learn them?" guided the discussion.

> Students then role-played selling and buying from a river merchant a variety of items they generated based on their own knowledge of these encounters, at times practicing a monitor-generated script, while also developing their own. There were differences according to grade level in terms of the length and complexity of the dialogues, as well as the types of scaffolding and follow-up activities. During lessons, Kvietok Dueñas and teachers included pair-share activities and gave opportunities for students to participate in both languages and in their language of choice. Small group discussions allowed for students to both listen to and communicate with one another, offering participant roles valuing receptive and productive skills. Finally, when students reported back to the large group after pair share or small group discussions, participation was encouraged through both oral and written media.

Analyzing and interpreting emergent patterns and meanings in the model lesson for Kichwa teachers. The pedagogies of voice we describe include teaching efforts to draw from the many points of the content, context, development, and media continua of biliteracy, as well as efforts to make visible and to contest dominant power weightings. In relation to biliteracy content, attention to student voice encourages the monitor and teachers to consider what is meaningful content for the development of productive and oral dominant language skills. In the sample lesson, students drew on another well-known activity in Kichwa communities: selling and buying from river merchants, which students' families engage in on a regular basis. Having previously reflected on how biliterate development can be shortchanged despite the inclusion of local content and visual media, teachers and Kvietok Dueñas introduced activities that aimed to change the interactional participation structures at play across L1–L2, oral–written, receptive–productive language development continua. In this way, in the model lesson, there was a shift from teacher-centered to student-centered participation structures in order to position students as confident doers, participants, and co-constructors of knowledge in Spanish lessons.

In relation to biliteracy media, the lesson also attempted to spark a metalinguistic reflection of the differences and similarities between Kichwa and Spanish. Researchers interested in the inclusion of students as agents of their own biliteracy development have highlighted the need for different sorts of metalinguistic awareness skills to be included in teaching and learning. Walqui (2006) mentions that "teachers must explain how students learn—to students!" (p. 169), which she argues will start to alleviate some of the frustration and anxiety language learners experience. In the model lesson, differences and similarities between Kichwa and Spanish were explicitly addressed through questions posed by the monitor and teachers, and students were also pushed to consider their own agency in the language learning process.

Evaluating the model lesson collaboratively with Kichwa teachers. The model lesson represented an initial attempt to collaboratively craft pedagogies of voice between Kvietok Dueñas and Kichwa teachers. The sample lessons also led to conversations between Kvietok Dueñas and teachers about what future pedagogies of voice that responded to their local contexts would look like. Above we described, analyzed, and interpreted the model lesson; here we briefly reflect on and evaluate to what extent the model lesson experience led to teachers' new understandings.

In relation to contexts and content of biliteracy. During post-lesson debriefing and during teacher workshops, one of the most common observations made by Kichwa teachers were the multiple everyday contexts of communication that could spark future lessons, including students' use of Spanish when playing soccer and volleyball as well as community use of Spanish in *asambleas comunales*, regional radio communication, and health post visits. Monitoring activities can thus help monitors and teachers explore what students view as real-life/vernacular genres and styles for developing biliteracy, what students and teachers consider to be meaningful purposes and audiences, and how these relate to their communities' encounters with/in the dominant language and their language learning goals.

A critical language awareness component can support teachers and students to reflect on the ideologies surrounding their own and their community's language practices. The New London Group (1996) makes a call for educators to consider both access and awareness in literacy education. As educators, they argue, we can strive to ensure our students have access to genres at what would be the traditionally more powerful ends of the continua and are confident in assessing the purpose and construction of those genres from their own and other students' subjectivities. Similarly, Clark and Ivanič (1999) push for a critical language awareness approach in classrooms in order to understand how "communicative practices contribute to the maintenance or contestation of particular representations of the world and relations of power" (p. 67). The critical awareness stance of the Alto Napo monitoring activities created opportunities for teachers and monitor to discuss instances of linguistic discrimination, contentious contexts of Spanish use in Kichwa communities, and the advantages and challenges of bilingualism. During workshop sessions, questions were developed by teachers to guide future classroom discussions: How do our relatives/we interact with river merchants? What are some of the challenges we experience? What would we like to change? Why are Spanish and Kichwa important inside and outside our communities? When and how did bilingual education start in the Alto Napo?

In relation to development and media of biliteracy. Another outcome of collaborative lesson evaluation with teachers was the consideration for student-centered participation strategies to become a curricular-wide goal, not only limited to Spanish class, extending the potential of pedagogies of voice to inform students' biliteracy development more broadly across their schooling and across languages. Teachers and Kvietok Dueñas also considered ways in which teachers' classroom metacommentaries on (or explicit comments about) student shyness could be transformed into discussions about language learning. Questions such as "How do we learn?"; "What makes us feel confident or nervous when learning Spanish?"; and "How did our teachers and families learn Spanish?" were considered promising. What is more, this metalinguistic reflection opened opportunities for Kvietok Dueñas and teachers to discuss biliteracy media in their own language learning process. In conversations with teachers, Kvietok Dueñas highlighted their diverse Spanish learning trajectories and asked teachers to consider whether these experiences could be used as teaching tools or could be mobilized in the classroom to reflect on the process of learning Spanish.

Mapping biliteracy teaching collaboratively with teachers can help evaluate and develop locally grounded teaching practices that open opportunities for

students to express themselves and be listened to in their current classrooms, as well as in the many contexts they navigate and will navigate. In this case, pedagogies of voice in Spanish biliteracy teaching are not just about the medium of instruction—whether Spanish or Indigenous languages—in postcolonial contexts of bilingual education; rather they are about addressing power hierarchies and ideologies of local language ecologies while simultaneously addressing local purposes and aspirations for bilingualism.

Implications: Mapping and Redirecting Biliteracy Teaching towards Pedagogies of Voice in Indigenous Contexts

Mapping biliteracy teaching iteratively through cycles of ethnographic monitoring across local language ecologies of linguistic inequality, classroom communicative practices, and the crafting of pedagogies of voice in the Alto Napo illuminated ways Kichwa bilingual teachers negotiated the continua of biliteracy as they transformed their Spanish L2 teaching objectives into classroom practices. Mapping local language ecologies of the Alto Napo, we saw that educational and communicative practices in Kichwa and Spanish are embedded within ongoing societal contexts of coloniality and resistance, teachers' own language learning experiences, and wider goals of advancing Kichwa political representation and socially just livelihoods.

Mapping classroom communicative practices, we explored to what extent privileging different points of the context, content, media, and development continua in their lessons supports teachers' goals of supporting students in developing productive, oral Spanish skills and ultimately serves the needs of Kichwa communities. We also considered to what extent the pedagogical approaches Kichwa teachers adopted to overcome or accommodate to what they perceived as student shyness might be complicit in sustaining a vision of students as struggling Spanish learners. Mapping the implementation of a model lesson, collaborative evaluation of the lesson, and explorations with teachers around the crafting of pedagogies of voice, we explored how teachers' classroom communicative practices might be reshaped and redirected toward more effective student learning.

Mapping is not a linear process nor without its challenges. We have sought to illustrate and emphasize the iterative, cyclical, multi-layered, emergent, and shifting processes and meanings of monitoring, mapping, and collaboration, and also advocate for the importance of reflexivity regarding how these unfold. A cumulative understanding of how roles are negotiated by monitors and stakeholders, how different participation structures can close down or open up avenues for collaboration, and how different dynamics can integrate or exclude various actors and meanings can only enrich our collective and cumulative knowledge of mapping biliteracy teaching for educational justice in Indigenous contexts.

There are significant, deep-seated tensions and inequalities in the teaching of majoritized languages in Indigenous contexts of ongoing coloniality. Mapping biliteracy teaching via ethnographic monitoring and the continua of biliteracy, we suggest, is one promising way to move toward crafting pedagogies of voice for minoritized learners of majoritized languages in such contexts.

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Appendix A

Transcription conventions

?	increase in intonation
underlined	emphasis
-	lagging
[ ]	overlap
(text)	transcriber comments
:	elongated speech
T	teacher
S	one student
Ss	multiple students