

A Multivocal Method Modeling Cross-Cultural Research in Multilingual Educational Settings Connected Through a Transborder Migratory Circuit

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Abstract: This article showcases a visual-ethnographic film technique for generating data of use to linguistic anthropological and sociolinguistic studies of educational settings. It also is being used to foster an intercultural dialog between parents, teachers, administrators, and bilingual early childhood educators and specialists positioned in school districts that serve the same population of students at different ends of a transborder migratory circuit. Findings from prior studies using an earlier version of the video-cued multivocal method employed content analysis to reveal key battleground issues characterizing preschool education, namely language of instruction, academics in the curriculum, multiculturalism and parental involvement (Tobin, Arzubiaga & Adair, 2013). Those studies, however, did not connect sending and receiving school districts. Their analytic approach to coding, moreover offered only a limited use of Bakhtinian concepts. Therefore, the article seeks to investigate how the method can be fine-tuned to better foreground, for instance, how forms of «translanguaging» in schools are made manifest in formal and informal ways as well as the language ideological positioning that emerges in respondents' answers as they make concrete observations when engaging richly contextualized audio-visual cues evident in the video shortcuts.

Keywords: visual ethnographic methods; bilingual education; ESOL education; language ideologies; translanguaging.

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«Es una gran oportunidad que otras personas nos vean. Que otras vean y realmente sepan verdad, de que aquí en Guatemala, aún el idioma materno (como el mam) es fundamental. Es fundamental. Y que lastimosamente a veces por cuestión de la tecnología y de la inmigración también, que ha empezado

a influir, influir un poco verdad lo que es la mezcla, español y mam¹» (Zayda Argentina García Méndez).

1. Introduction

The epigraph prefacing this article is one of several poignant reflections disclosed during a group interview with Zayda García Méndez and David Juan Pérez Ramirez,² two teachers of kindergarten-aged children attending a rural Guatemalan public school within a region experiencing high levels of out-migration to the United States. It provides a focused point of entry to reveal the novel methods used to undertake this cross-cultural study of how personnel working in school districts directly connected by transborder migration contend with as well as imagine and support the emerging multilingual communicative competencies of indigenous children spanning the southeastern United States and the western highlands of Guatemala. In particular I report on a few lines of analysis and their potential for facilitating critical intracultural and cross-cultural dialog between the professionals involved in early childhood language and literacy instruction. As will be discussed in great detail below, Señor Zayda and Profe David both consented to have their classrooms observed and video-recorded.³ The footage from a full-day of recording was edited down into an ethnographic film which was then used as a rich audio-visual stimulus to guide interviews with them about their own practices. The director of the school, Alejandro Barillas, was also interviewed to ensure that the footage properly depicted a typical day at the school as well as to learn about the school's history and mission.

All were made aware that the film would be used to guide interviews with other peers and professionals in early childhood bilingual-intercultural education in Guatemala as well as their counterparts in United States. The same procedures were also employed to film a typical day of 5K in Saluda, SC, a rural school located in a «receiving» community that educated children of Guatemalan migrants from this region. In fact, Señor Zayda made the aforementioned comments after having screened and discussed the film depicting Saluda Primary School; she was imagining what one of the take-away messages might be when people had a chance to see

¹ Mam is an indigenous language that historically emerged as one of 30 distinct languages within the Mayan language family originating in Mesoamerica. Mam is an Eastern Mayan language, descending from the Mamean branch. The highest concentration of Mam speakers originally resided in the Western highlands of Guatemala within the departments (i.e. provinces) of Huehuetenango, San Marcos, and Quetzaltenango. It is also one of the 22 indigenous languages officially recognized in Guatemala.

² Both teachers and the school director of Toj Con Grande insisted that their actual names be included in all publications. The ethical protocol used to obtain informed consent for participation instructed that pseudonyms would be assigned to ensure participant confidentiality. However, participants could request to disclose their name(s) if desired. All names included in this article will be pseudonyms unless otherwise specified.

³ As is the tradition in Guatemalan schools, students use the honorific form «señor» to address and refer to female teachers and «profe» for male teachers.

the edited footage of her classroom. Her comments concerning maternal language as language of instruction being fundamental to their pedagogic practice zeroed in on a cornerstone of Guatemala's postwar educational reforms. This, she noted remained the case, in spite of the fact that teachers in her position were increasingly pressured by some parents to speak only Spanish, not because it was the language of settler colonialism (reflecting a past hegemonic norm), but because of perceived influences from mass-media technologies *and* transnational migration to a country and a regional educational system that supported learning English above all else.

In this article, after providing a brief review of the how this visual-ethnographic method was originally developed and subsequently adapted for the purposes of this on-going study, I delve into the frameworks that guide this research on how school-based language ideologies shape indigenous children's emerging developing multilingual repertoires. I offer additional background information regarding the political climate and educational reforms in both the United States and Guatemala that are consequential to on-going debates in early childhood education in both countries concerning developmentally appropriate pedagogies, multicultural curriculum and language of instruction. I do so by way of thick descriptions, ethnographically detailing how these debates were made manifest not only in the case study schools and regions I observed. Then in a separate analytic section, I undertake two comparative and contrastive analyses to showcase the selection of analogous school routines and key issues that provoked one particular line of intra-cultural and cross-cultural commentary. As space is limited and the study is on-going, I restrict analyses of interview materials to those conducted with Guatemalan participants. In the conclusion I briefly reflect on the emerging findings and gesture to which next steps will be taken during the applied stage of this research. This will involve experimenting with novel forms of presentation and interactive formats to engage educators and administrators at both ends of the transmigrant networks and use their peers' articulations of possibilities and constraints. In particular I will highlight the ways all currently make do with the systems they find themselves in while experimenting with new ways to better serve the diverse needs of their students. A hallmark of cross-cultural research has the potential to open up possibilities that one never dared consider. I undertake this work cautiously, however, as cross-cultural comparisons are as replete with pitfalls as they are promise.

2. The video-cued multivocal method – its development and many influences

When Joseph Tobin, David Wu and Dana Davidson (1989) first published their cross-cultural comparison of preschool systems in three cultures, they unveiled a multi-sited ethnographic approach that was extremely effective in eliciting intra-cultural and cross-cultural beliefs about the role of preschools in society. They dubbed their approach a video-cued multivocal method. Tobin conducted a re-study of the same schools 20 years later, published as *Preschool in Three Cultures Revisited* in 2009.

The method involves a simple, elegant design. It requires selecting case study societies and preschools. After having conducted a short period of participant observation at each preschool (one to two weeks), researchers make video-recordings of a «typical day» using realist techniques with handheld camcorders. The footage is edited into a short film that showcases routines at that school as well as key and provocative issues in early childhood education – all of which collectively facilitate a nuanced intra-cultural and cross-cultural discussion among the participants and researcher(s). The researchers screen the footage with the teacher featured in the film and later the school director to elicit input before making the final cut. The film is then screened with other groups, namely other staff at the school, specialists in that area of education around the country and finally, educators located in other countries in the study. Tobin and colleagues do not treat the film footage as data. The footage is rather a means to uncover contextualized and situated beliefs regarding the typicality of the featured case studies (i.e. how what is seen is similar and different depending on a respondent's experiences and practices) as well as what the future of early childhood education should be. The answers they receive reveal tremendous, but nevertheless patterned, societal variation across times and places.

The sources of inspiration for developing this approach drew methodologically from psycho-cultural methods in educational and visual anthropology. Drawing from early studies in educational anthropology in the U.S., where projective tests use the Rorschach technique, the video-footage «cues» an ambiguous stimulus that invites participants to fill-in-the gaps with their own interpretations. Responses are audio-recorded and analyzed taking into account patterned variation following the triangulation of different featured social roles (e.g. teacher, administrator, early childhood specialist) as well as following the axes of social differentiation most relevant within and across each societal context (e.g. private versus public school or rural versus urban in the U.S. context). Tobin and Hsueh (2007) report that parallel methods were developed independently in visual anthropology as part of the collaborative work of Timothy and Patsy Asch and Linda Conner (Asch & Asch, 1995) and techniques discussed by filmmaker, Jean Rouch (2003).

Because Tobin and colleagues emphasized that their method elicits a polyphony of ideological perspectives, it was consonant with an interdisciplinary Bakhtinian (1981) framework and one that linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists share in common. Indeed this is precisely why they dubbed the method video-cued and *multivocal*.⁴ Linguistic anthropologists also use audio-visual materials as a cue to elicit speaker feedback when creating and annotating transcripts. However, they go beyond simply documenting polyvocality (i.e. multiple perspectives across participants) to also consider the heteroglossic interplay of refracting voices indexically made manifest via a host of hybrid linguistic and discourse practices. Such interactional analyses are more sensitive to unpacking how the very technologies of interviews shape what is disclosed and how it is disclosed. They do not presume

⁴ While the method generates multivocality in terms of multiply positioned responses by educators, administrators and specialists, if the ethnographic films are not paired with the written ethnographic findings, then that multivocality is lost precisely because the films really do serve as projective tests, and essentialist interpretations of the footage is possible by viewing audiences.

that the content shared is a direct revelation of subjective states, but rather an active process of managing the ideological production and reception of discourse itself.

Subfield variations aside, the method has proven so successful in educational research that Tobin expanded its purpose to the Children Crossing Borders Project – a study of how preschools across the United States as well as in England, France, Germany and Italy were adapting to the needs of new immigrant families. The same protocol was observed and group interviews were also conducted with migrant parents. Including parents' perspectives helped facilitate multiethnic communication at each school site, thereby giving directly back to each school community for its participation (Adair & Tobin, 2008). Findings from the U.S. interview data with English as a Second Language (ESOL) staff and immigrant parents across the country revealed key battle ground issues characterizing preschool education, namely language of instruction, academics in the curriculum, multiculturalism and parental involvement (Tobin *et al.*, 2013). The strength of that implementation provided entrée into issues confronting preschool teachers and administrators that were shared across rural and urban receiving communities.

Language of instruction and how to best serve English language learners is not an issue restricted to literature in early childhood education. The critical scholarship in socio-cultural studies of education and the linguistic anthropology of education have elaborated a Bakhtinian translinguistic framework to analyze actual multilingual discourse practices inside and out of school settings and the contradictory ideologies of language that inform educational practices. Scholars working in these traditions go beyond simply noting clashing perspectives to empirically document and analyze pedagogic practices in support of ESOL and children as heritage language learners through culturally sustaining/revitalizing pedagogies advocated in the emerging raciolinguistic scholarship (Flores & Rosa, 2015; McCarty & Lee, 2014; Paris, 2012; Paris & Alim, 2014) and the translanguaging literature (García, 2009; Poza, 2017; Reynolds & Orellana, 2014). They also operate from within a social justice framework to work within and alongside communities to imagine with them equitable educational opportunities while observing «the four Rs» of community accountability – respect, reciprocity, responsibility and relationships that are caring (Brayboy, Goug, Leonard, Roehl & Solyom, 2012). The theoretical underpinnings of the video-cued multivocal method are thus commensurate with these approaches as editing and subtitling techniques can be employed to bring focused attention to what otherwise might be tacit discursive practices in classrooms. It also enables a cross-cultural and cross-regional comparative dialog that is crucial for scholars and educators working with misunderstood, vulnerable student populations.

My particular implementation of the method is unique from Tobin's approach in several respects. First, the most obvious difference is that the focus is the education of kindergarten-aged children. Preschool does not exist on a national scale in Guatemala. Second, my study directly connects school districts across international borders; these are schools whose faculty and staff have a vested interest in learning from each other's systems. Third, it probes how teachers, administrators, specialists and parents perceive and interpret the educational reforms surrounding bilingual education in Guatemala and instruction of English for English language learners in the U.S., both of which shape the development of kindergarten children's emerging

linguistic repertoires. I also use focus groups with parents so that they can reflect on their own experiences as compared to what is presented in the two films. Finally, and importantly I draw upon longitudinal observations forged through long-term relationships with different stakeholders in each setting. I am thus able to combine thicker ethnographic descriptions of shifting community relations and educational goals in a way that is qualitatively different from the then and now snap-shot approach adopted by Tobin and colleagues. This enables me to better predict how clashing perspectives might play out in each context given the degree to which transborder migration has been politicized or not. To these shifting community and educational contexts I now turn.

3. Background

3.1. Saluda, SC County School Districts

I was first introduced to the U.S. receiving community in 2012. I received a call from the South Carolina state TESOL/Title III coordinator in charge of administering programs serving Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students as mandated by The Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Given my extensive professional experience working with Guatemalans and Mexican immigrant children, she asked me if I might find a way to support the Latinx bilingual ESOL staff in Saluda county, a rural school district in South Carolina that had experienced 1,500% Hispanic change in population 1990-2000 followed by another 104% change between 2000-2010 (Pew Research Center-Hispanic Trends Research, 2013).⁵

I recruited a colleague, Lori Donath, to help me arrange and attend meetings with staff from the three public elementary schools in this rural school district. At one of the meetings, a senior ESOL interventionist disclosed that she had been keeping record of the total numbers of ESOL students by grade-level. In her accounting, she singled out children of Guatemalan immigrants who speak a Mayan language at home. For example, in the table she shared with us she used the outdated, albeit common and often pejorative term «dialect» to refer to indigenous languages in Latin America.

Table 1. Students whose parents speak a dialect at home (2011)

Grade Level	Guatemalan origin / Total ESOL	% per Grade Level
5 th	2 / 17	11.76%
4 th	4 / 31	12.9%
3 rd	13 / 35	37.14%
2 nd	9 / 35	25.71%
1 st	18 / 45	40%
5K	17 / 45	37.77%
4K	11 / 25	44%

⁵ In 1990, «Hispanics» comprised approximately 1% of the share of county population; by 2000 the number jumped to 7%, and by 2010, 14%.

She thereby exposed her own southern cone, urban-mestiza up-bringing and biases regarding indigenous languages. She and another colleague were also in charge of the ESOL pull-out program. This particular program removed English language learners from periods of classroom instruction several times a week to provide additional English instruction which paralleled language lessons. This same staff person also collaborated with other district staff and the continuing adult education program to offer parent-child school readiness classes paired with English classes after school. This program targeted Guatemalan parents, although Mexican parents could also attend, in part because she felt that Guatemalan children were much less prepared to enter school. In fact, all Spanish-English bilingual ESOL staff interviewed underscored how impossible it was to communicate with the parents who spoke one of the Mayan languages. We confirmed that there were migrant families hailing from language communities where Mam, K'iche' and Akatek were spoken, with Mam-speaking parents comprising a clear majority. One of the teachers at these meetings insisted that some families were ostensibly mute, and provocatively asked me to confirm if there might exist a «silent tribe» in Guatemala as well.

The indexical invocation of «tribe» is a clear example of the legacy of anthropology in sustaining a savage slot (Trouillot, 1991). Although it is a technical term, it has been more often used to deny particular groups their status as modern, coeval cultures (Fabian, 1983). «Silent» in this context also indexes a host of negative assumptions about not only indigenous people (Meek, 2006), but also beliefs about proper language acquisition. Particular to U.S. middle class language socialization routines and preschool pedagogies, silence is often viewed a problem. Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) early explored a range of preferred embodied discourse and cultural practices which position a pre-verbal infant as a competent interlocutor. Likewise, early childhood professionals treat precocious language use as a sign of intelligence. Indeed, most U.S. developmentally appropriate pedagogies strive to continually make children «use their words», including transforming emotional outbursts into acts of predication (Tobin *et al.*, 2009). I interpreted this radical deficit perspective, which denied Guatemalan parents' common humanity, a form of double-voiced hyperbole. It was an appeal made by a Latinx educator for social support from an anthropologist-educator, to help her contend with the many affronts from colleagues – some derived from their ignorance that not all migrants from Latin America were Spanish-speakers while others derived from blatantly nativist sentiments. It also served to legitimize her own placement higher up in an emerging ethnracial and class-based hierarchy. I did not ratify her perspective, and indeed she immediately back-peddled the statement to suggest that perhaps she simply misunderstood due to linguistic barriers.

Deficit perspectives notwithstanding, we were tasked to find ways to assist the staff. We did so by way of observing the Guatemalan parents with preschool aged children at the parent-child school readiness program and evaluate if parents were understanding the value of school-based practices and were willing to help prepare their children entry into school. We then were to offer recommendations for improvement. This reflected the district leadership's approach to provide quality feedback to struggling and ill-prepared teaching staff and «love the one you're with» (Clark & Duggins, 2016). Investing in professional development to make teachers

more successful helped to cut down on the costs of replacing teaching staff due to attrition or competitive recruitment from an adjacent suburban school district. We also prepared a district-wide professional development workshop to share much needed historical and cultural information about where Guatemalan families were coming from, what language and cultural assets they provided their children and how typical language socialization routines were similar and differed from ones documented in the cross-cultural literature on Mexican and American child rearing practices.

During our observations at parent-child readiness classes and summer ESOL instruction, we documented instances of how both deficit perspectives and a few additive approaches co-occurred as was the case when different staff would orient to different indexical orders of white public space which lead to a racialized regimentation of students – with rural white children at the top, Mexican children in the middle, and Guatemalan and African American children the most racialized populations at the bottom (Donath & Reynolds, 2013). In one telling example, where teachers were modeling for parents how to elicit stories from their children, the English monolingual Parent Liaison, Kathy asked Melvin, a Guatemalan child to tell a story. He vividly recounted in English a story about a pet turtle using dynamic gestures to convey his meaning. He only utilized a single codeswitch into Spanish to emphasize that he was talking about a *tortuga*. Instead of praising the child for his contribution, Sandra, the bilingual ESOL teacher fixated on the fact that boy used incorrect gender concord, while Kathy tried to generalize about his problem not being relegated to that of second language learners. She suggested that it was one shared by even *some* English speakers... upon seeing our quizzical faces, she supplied an example, «You know, ‘she gone’». Although Kathy refused to explicitly identify these speakers of English, her choice of expression with an absent copula within this sociolinguistic context could only single out the variety of African American English spoken in this region.

As Flores and Rosa’s (2015) raciolinguistic framework forcefully underscores, the voices of ESOL indigenous children like Melvin as well as African American English-speaking children are overdetermined by the selective hearing of de facto white monoglot listening subjects. Sandra is quite typical of many Latinx-bilingual ESOL teachers working in U.S. public schools who, in spite of their diverse backgrounds and professional experiences, feel an acute pressure to provide resources to children as they bear the brunt of anti-immigrant rhetoric (Cahnmann & Varghese, 2005). At the same time, they perpetuate emergent forms of social and linguistic regimentation that are akin to the hegemonic forms of cultural transmission that educational anthropologist, George Spindler (2000) critiqued in his famous case study of the teacher «Roger Harker» over 60 years ago. In that instance and in many others, my colleague and I attempted to leverage our authoritative positions as experts speaking on high from the flagship university, but it was stunning to observe how our insights were readily reinterpreted or dismissed according to the logic of monoglot white listening subjects.

For these reasons, I decided to shift strategies and experiment with the video-cued multivocal method as it focused participants’ gaze on their craft with concrete examples. I gambled that this would open a space for reflection and possibly critical intracultural dialogue. Between 2012-2016 I maintained contact with Saluda school districts and renewed my ties to the teaching staff and Guatemalan families in

spite of tremendous turn-over in leadership and staffing in the ESOL program. I secured funding to pilot the method and between 2015-2017 and I identified sending communities in the Department of Quetzaltenango that had extended kin in residence in Saluda, South Carolina. Over the course of these two years I obtained permission from regional school districts and ministries of education to identify and recruit case study schools, Saluda Primary and Toj Con Grande. I met with school directors and teachers and through the informed consent process gained permission to observe and film in their schools. I filmed «typical days» and produced two ethnographic films (Reynolds, 2016a, 2016b), which I then used to conduct preliminary interviews with the two school directors, teachers, and regional administrators. Since that initial period of data collection, I have scaled-up the study and extended the regional reach in both countries. The process of interviewing is on-going through summer 2020, at which time I hope to saturate my samples and start preparing different kinds of presentation formats for participants in both countries. In the next sections, I provide additional background about each case study school, with extra attention paid to the Guatemalan school system given that only contrastive analyses of interview data from Guatemala will be analyzed in this article.

3.1.1. *Saluda Primary School*

Saluda Primary School is one of two Title I public schools in the county that provides kindergarten education. It serves 4K-2nd grade. 4K classes use the «first steps curriculum» while 5K classes must follow SC Common Core Standards. As it is located centrally in the county seat, Saluda Primary also has the highest enrollment of English Language Learners. Table 2 displays the actual demographic data collected by the school for the 2015-2016 academic year. While the survey administered also has categories for «American Indian or Alaska Native», «Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander», as well as «Unclassified», no students were listed as enrolled in those categories. As should also be clear these U.S. census-based categories do not reflect the actual forms of ethnoracial identifications. Newly arrived indigenous Guatemalans, for example, would not select «Hispanic»/«Latino» (LeBaron, 2012), nor would the bilingual staff/interpreters completing these forms on behalf of Guatemalan Mayan language speakers identify them as «American Indian» as this is restricted to enrolled members in federally recognized U.S. Indian Nations.

Table 2. 2015-2016 School Year – Enrollment by Ethnic/Racial Identification

	4K	5K	All Grades
«Hispanic»/«Latino»	29 [59%]	48 [41%]	199 [45%]
African American/ Black	13	41	136
White	4	24	91
Two or More Races	3	4	13
Asian	0	0	3
Totals	49	117	442

The numbers also do not reveal what percentage of the «Hispanic»/«Latino» students enrolled would be classified as English Language Learners. My long term observations confirm that all of the «Hispanic»/«Latino» children would have been enrolled in the ESOL pull-out program that year and a majority of them would be the children of indigenous migrants from Guatemala.

In 2016, there was a new principal in charge. She was an experienced administrator, having served a term as superintendent of a different and internally diverse urban district in South Carolina. She seems open to changing ELA curriculum so long as State Standards were being met and that evidenced-based research was used to guide decision making. In 2016 the start to the official school day began at 8 AM; many children arrived to school much earlier for the free hot breakfast provided. Morning routines and English Language Arts made up the first part of the day. The lunch period lasted approximately from 10:45-11:00. This was followed by 30 minutes of recess and then storybook reading. This left 30 minutes or so for social studies or science before children had to attend a different class – either related art (music or art) or physical education from 12:30-1:15 PM. From 1:15 -2:30 PM students returned to their homeroom and had math instruction followed by a final storybook reading time. Dismissal was at 2:45 PM. The 30 minutes of pull-out for ESOL instruction for this classroom always happened either during the social studies/science period or during math. Some children took the bus home, a ride that lasted over an hour for some, whereas other children were picked up by family members either by car or on foot. The director affirmed that the footage in the edited film depicted typical school routines and the forms of pedagogy favored that school year. The teacher, however, was less experienced as compared to the other 5K teachers on staff. Specifically, the director opined that the teacher was still discovering which instructional strategies and forms of classroom management worked best for her. My observations of classroom management confirmed that the teacher was much more tolerant of boisterous peer engagement during classroom activities than most of her peers.

3.2. *Guatemalan Educational Reforms & Mam Language Communities*

La Escuela Oficial Rural Mixta de Toj Con Grande is one of many municipal schools in the San Martín Sacatepéquez district serving children whose maternal language is Mam.⁶ The school was planned and constructed during a period of tremendous social and political change in Guatemala. A thirty-six-year civil war was

⁶ In this article I adopt the classificatory language of Guatemala's Ministry of Education which presumes that a maternal language maps directly on to one's primary ethnic group of identification. The problem with this assumption is that ethnoracial categories in Guatemala historically have been fluid, such that one may shift ethnic identification across the lifespan. However, since the recent ethno-nationalist movement in the 1990s-early 2000s, which succeeded in fighting for the official recognition of indigenous languages as «languages» and not substandard «tongues» or «dialects» they have also strategically reified notions of language and ethnicity (Reynolds, 2009). Recent gains include opening conceptual space to recognize the emergence of ethnically indigenous identified groups whose L1 is not a maternal (or ancestral) language and the need for pedagogical practices to support maternal language acquisition as an L2.

drawing to an official end during the presidency of Alvaro Arzú representing el Partido Avanzado Nacional (PAN). This was the outcome of all sorts of struggle by different social actors, including diverse indigenous civil society organizations, which sought not only for an accurate accounting of the genocide that had been waged against Mayan peoples and return of exhumed bodies from mass graves for proper burial, but also a radical democratization and decentralization of power to foster new and inclusive forms of governance. President Arzú not only ratified the Peace Accords, including the 1995 Accord to support the Identity and Development of Indigenous Communities which provided a legal basis for transforming the system of education, he also secured neoliberal economic reforms which favored emerging class of elites who were not the oligarchs. These economic «reforms» unsurprisingly deepened already pervasive socio-economic inequalities and extended forms of economic risk-taking to include out-migration of indigenous peasant labor to new receiving contexts in the U.S. as an informal means to sustain families and communities through remittances (Jonas & Rodríguez, 2014; McAllister & Nelson, 2013; Reynolds & Didier, 2013).

Figure 1



Figure 1 is an image of the author shooting footage of the school sign for the film depicting a «typical day» at Toj Con Grande (Reynolds, 2016a). Behind the hand-painted sign can be seen a newly constructed two-story home, paid for by migrant labor exported to work in agribusinesses located in the southeastern, U.S.

Also appearing in the film is a plaque on one of the interior courtyard walls of the school commemorating the commissioning of its construction between 1996-2000. In 2016 when I interviewed the Director Barillas, he recounted how the actual planning began in 1994. Families representing three hamlets Toj Con Chiquito, Toj Con Grande and Xec Xuc, joined forces and asked him to help them acquire land

upon which a rural school primary school serving 4K-4th grade could be constructed. With considerable effort they raised money to purchase land and built the school and water tank necessary to provide access to running water. Since then the director and his staff have worked to convince families of the need to support the continuing education of their children through primary school and hopefully on to *el Ciclo Básico* and *el Bachillerato – /Diversicado* (imperfectly corresponding to the U.S. middle and secondary school system). After drumming up more community support and effort, they were able to build three additional classrooms to teach children through grade six. Student enrollment, however, has not increased as the other two communities have since then built rural schools of their own.

When instruction formally began, the weight of the national education reforms would not yet have been in full force. Experienced teachers, moreover would have been trained following the entrenched centralized and contradictory norms which were established in the late 1960s when the Guatemalan government launched one of the first national projects aimed at increasing the number of Spanish speakers by using native languages as the language of instruction. Such efforts initially had little impact in Mam speaking communities, with possibly the exception of urban ones (England, 1983). The unstated aim, to «Castillianize» Mayan populations did not make significant inroads. According to Cojtí Macario (1988) there were still approximately 686,000 identified speakers of Mam distributed across 56 municipalities the late 1980s. This number is quite remarkable given that the survey took place during the middle of Guatemala's brutal civil war, which displaced entire communities and accelerated outmigration from the region. Twenty years later Mam continues to be the third largest of all Mayan languages in terms of numbers of speakers. This effort to maintain Mam as a viable and vibrant language is due in no small part to the efforts of Mayan linguists and Ladino educators working from within the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC), under the General Directorate of Bilingual Intercultural Education (DIGEBI). Although the challenges have been considerable (French, 2010; Maxwell, 2009; Warren, 1998)⁷, the reforms are reversing a longstanding, institutionalized educational system predicated on assimilationist coloniality to now embrace multilingualism and interculturality as the new norm. Specifically, DIGEBI's mandate requires the use of scientifically sound methods to 1) support ethnic group identification and cultural values to promote self-realization of each individual within their respective social group and position; 2) develop, implement and evaluate the bilingual and intercultural curriculum in alignment with the characteristics of the different linguistic communities; 3) develop, consolidate and preserve an additive and balanced bilingualism and its maintenance within the Mayan – Xinkan – and Garifuna-speaking populations. Since 2010, DIGEBI developed methods to identify

⁷ Other important postwar reforms made to the social science curriculum were aimed at achieving peace and reconciliation by reckoning what happened during the war and its outcomes. Several qualitative, ethnographic studies conducted by U.S. scholars of civic education at the *ciclo básico* level have addressed how challenging this has been given that powerful state agencies continue to erase the actual histories of indigenous mobilization and underscore the contradictory memories that privilege different ethnoracial and class-based identifications and perceptions as well as a pervasive (but not entirely hegemonic) neoliberalist orientation to self-improvement (Bellino, 2015, 2017; Oglesby, 2007a, 2000b; Ruben, 2017).

the actual ethnic and linguistic diversity that exists in a given school community and to recommend appropriate forms of support. To that end Toj Con Grande was categorized as a Type A school; this refers to one of four types of speech community designations. Type A schools serve principally monolingual speakers of the maternal language corresponding to one’s ethnic group. The primary language of instruction in preprimaria is thus supposed to reflect norms of language use at home and slowly expose children to either the national language (Spanish) if that is not their maternal language, or another language from that region in order to achieve understanding and respect for the existing linguistic diversity that characterizes Guatemala. Table 3 displays the full typology of speech community designations differentiating schools (López, Hernández, Esteban & Pereira, 2013, p. 4).

Table 3. DIGEBI’s Sociolinguistic Typology of School District Language Communities

Context	Characteristics
Type A	Monolingual in maternal languages of one’s ethnic group
Type B	Bilingual community: fluent and balanced bilingualism in L1 & L2
Type C	Indigenous communities favoring Spanish monolingualism; loss of maternal language and culture
Type D	Ethnically plural and multilingual communities; cultural and linguistic coexistence

3.2.1. Toj Con Grande

Toj Con Grande currently serves students ranging from 4K-6th grade. At the time of filming there were approximately 80 total students enrolled, 32 of which attended preprimaria (ages 4-6). Staff at Quetzaltenango’s Regional Ministry of Education confirmed that 30 students per class is average. Over half of the children in the featured classrooms had at least one parent working abroad, many of whom resided in the southeastern, U.S. (Kentucky, Virginia, North and South Carolina).

Students enter school around 7:30 AM. Formal instruction begins around 8 AM. Morning instruction lasts until 9:30. Children then have one hour of recess followed by the distribution of a hot meal/snack prepared at school by mothers from the community. Instruction resumes at 10:45. Students in preprimaria are dismissed between 11:30-11:45 AM.

As Toj Con Grande is a public school, it follows the curricular decentralized social justice approach outlined in the *Curriculum Nacional Base* (CNB). In this regard, it ideologically parallels critical teacher training programs in the United States to foster an ethos of culturally sustaining and revitalizing pedagogy to tailor support to diverse student populations. The CNB emphasizes five areas (learning skills, language and communication, social and natural environment, artistic expression and physical education) that teachers must follow using a flexible, integrated, and participatory

approach to structure course content and instruction. The CNB mandates teachers to develop culturally and linguistically appropriate content in the aforementioned areas which simultaneously tap into children's own creative capacities and interests.

4. Contrastive Sequences from Case Study Films

Below I feature two sets of contrastive sequences including provocative routines and curricular activities from three classrooms across the two schools. From Saluda Primary School, I was permitted to film one classroom of 5K students staffed by a teacher and teacher's aide, Ms. Kathryn Lehrer and Ms. Dahlia respectively. As previously indicated, 4K is also offered at Saluda Primary, but the curriculum more closely resembles a preschool curriculum which favors developmentally appropriate play-based pedagogy. And as is the norm, six-year-old children attend 1st grade. At Toj Con Grande and in Guatemala more generally, age-grading is not so strict. Parents have been known to delay their children's entry into public schooling and public «preschool» is not widely available. However, public schools are increasingly offering preprimaria schooling, something akin to kindergarten in the United States, though as will become clear, the mission and curriculum differ significantly. At Toj Con Grande four and five-year-old students were grouped together in a single class led by Seño Zayda García Méndez. Six-year-olds were taught apart by Profe David Pérez Ramírez. Profe David was relatively new to the school. His promotion to a permanent teaching contract came through in the middle of the school year and he subsequently transferred from the *aldea* of Tuichim to Toj Con Grande. He had only been teaching at Toj Con Grande for one month prior to filming; before then, all preprimaria children had been taught by Seño Zayda. For these reasons, I included footage from both classrooms in the same film.

4.1. Morning Routines

A number of the morning routines overlapped at both schools. The beginning of the school day was marked by attendance and instructional calendar activities where students are asked to take note of the numeric day, day of the week, and month. There was also time for children's rhyming songs incorporating lively hand gestures and other kinds of content like naming the months of the year in Saluda to the music of La Macarena or bilingual versions of *canción de los dedos* in Mam and Spanish in Seño Zayda's class. None of these activities received much comment from Guatemalan teachers, administrators, or early bilingual-intercultural education specialists.

The first routine noticed and commented upon at length concerned contrasting routines; namely civic-secular versus religious-sacred acts. The U.S. Pledge of Allegiance is performed chorally by all grades as led by a child speaking over the intercom followed by school announcements at Saluda Primary (Excerpt 1; Figure 2) whereas at Toj Con Grande, teachers lead each of their classes in prayer (Excerpt 2, Figures 3 & 4).⁸ Staff from the regional Ministry of Education were pleased to see

⁸ Spanish translations of utterances in *Mam* will be italicized. Utterances in Spanish will be

how civic acts were performed in the U.S.; they disclosed how schools in their district would also hold civic acts but only on a bi-weekly basis. They were also surprised to see that children were being tested in math at such an early age.

Figure 2



Excerpt 1. Saluda Primary – Daily Civic Acts

A child's voice over the intercom leads Ms. Lehrer's students in a choral recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance, which is then followed by the Principal's announcement:

Children's Chorus:

I pledge allegiance
to the flag
of the United States of America
and to the Republic
for which it stands
one nation
under God
indivisible
with liberty and justice for all.

Now we will have our moment of silence.

((1 minute of silence))

Principal:

Thank you

underlined. Utterances in English will appear unmarked. Glosses rendered in English will follow the same formatting conventions: *Mam* and Spanish.

We have a very busy day today
This morning Ms. Lehrer, Ms. Y and Ms. T
will take their classes to do MAP testing.
We wish all of them the best of luck
and know that they will try their hardest.

Figure 3



Excerpt 2. Toj Con Grande – Daily Religious Acts (Ages 4-5 years)

<p>Señor Zayda leads 4-5-year-old preprimaria children in a prayer in Mam. Provided below is the Spanish translation. Given the length of the prayer, children's responses are omitted.</p>	<p><i>English Gloss</i></p>
<p><i>Padre Dios</i> te damos muchas gracias por darnos un día de vida</p> <p>Muchas gracias por todos los regalos que nos has dado a cada uno</p> <p>En esta mañana estamos alegres ya que nos diste un buen regalo de vida</p> <p>Ahora cuidan nuestro camino</p> <p>Quita todo lo malo que se pone en nuestro camino</p> <p>Padre Dios eres de gran respeto.</p> <p>Darnos lo bueno para cada uno.</p> <p>Cuida a las personas que están tristes que lloran, y las que están enfermos</p> <p>Cuida a todas las personas que están en tu creación</p> <p>Ya ahora te agradecemos por escucharnos nuestra oración</p> <p>Amen</p> <p><i>Muchas gracias por haber orado.</i></p>	<p><i>Lord our Father</i> We give to you many thanks for giving us another day of life.</p> <p>Thank you for all the gifts that you have given to each of us.</p> <p>This morning we are cheerful that you have given us this good gift of life.</p> <p>Now, protect us as we journey on this road of life.</p> <p>Remove all that is bad that is placed in our pathway.</p> <p>Lord our father, You are venerated.</p> <p>Give to each of us that which is good.</p> <p>Care for the people who are sad, who cry, and who are ill.</p> <p>Care for all people who are part of your creation.</p> <p>And now we give thanks to you for listening to our prayer.</p> <p>Amen</p> <p>Thank you all for having prayed.</p>

Figure 4



Excerpt 3. Toj Con Grande – Daily Religious Acts (6 year-old class)

Profe David leads 6-year-old preprimaria children in a prayer in Spanish.	English Gloss
<p>Profe: <u>Muy bien.</u> <u>Digamos, Papito Dios</u> Alumnos: <u>Papito Dios</u> Profe: <u>(te) agradecemos</u> Alumnos: <u>te agradecemos</u> Profe: <u>por un nuevo día</u> Alumnos: <u>por un nuevo día</u> Profe: <u>que nos has dado.</u> Alumnos : <u>que nos has dado.</u> Profe: <u>que en este día</u> Alumnos : <u>que en este día</u> Profe: <u>le pedimos</u> Alumnos : <u>le pedimos</u> Profe: <u>salud</u> Alumnos : <u>salud</u> Profe: <u>vida</u> Alumnos : <u>vida</u> Profe: <u>protección</u> Alumnos : <u>protección</u> Profe: <u>que nos encomendamos</u> Alumnos : <u>que nos comendamos</u> Profe: <u>en sus manos</u> Alumnos : <u>en sus manos</u> Profe: Amen Alumnos: Amen Profe: <u>aplauzo.</u> <u>muy bien.</u></p>	<p>Teacher: <u>Well done.</u> <u>Let's say, dear Father, the</u> <u>Lord</u> Students: <u>Students: dear Father, the</u> <u>Lord</u> Teacher: <u>We give thanks</u> Students: <u>We give thanks</u> Teacher: <u>for a new day</u> Students: <u>for aew day</u> Teacher: <u>that you have given us.</u> Students: <u>that you have given us.</u> Teacher: <u>That on this day</u> Students: <u>That on this day</u> Teacher: <u>we ask for</u> Students: <u>we ask for</u> Teacher: <u>health</u> Students: <u>health</u> Teacher: <u>life</u> Students: <u>life</u> Teacher: <u>protection</u> Students: <u>protection</u> Teacher: <u>and that we place ourselves</u> Students: <u>and that we place ourselves</u> Teacher: <u>in your hands</u> Students: <u>in your hands.</u> Teacher: Amen Students: Amen Teacher: <u>Applause.</u> <u>Well done.</u></p>

The moment of observed silence in Saluda Primary affords silent prayer if children or staff desire, but it does not have to be a religious act given that public schools as state institutions are not supposed to impose any particular faith. A teacher from a Type C preprimaria public school located in the Kaqchikel-speaking region of the country was surprised initially to see prayer taking place at Toj Con Grande. She noted though that it was not strictly prohibited given that teachers are encouraged to incorporate discourse practices that reflected local community norms. Making space for religious observance was acceptable at Toj Con Grande. In addition to the morning prayer I observed Señó Zayda lead a small group discussion in Mam that elicited children's varying experiences attending either Catholic and Evangelical church services. Director Barillas also insisted that teachers refrain from assigning too much homework so as not to compete with afterschool church-related activities. The only negative comment made about the incorporation of prayer at Toj Con Grande came from a top administrator at the regional Ministry of Education; it was aimed at Señó Zayda's class in particular. She found that the sheer length of the prayer was not developmentally appropriate for the age of the children. Otherwise, she felt that praying in Mam or Spanish was entirely in keeping with the spirit of the Bilingual-Intercultural reforms and the CNB.

4.2. Key & Provocative Issues for Guatemalans

Perhaps the most provocative issue for the Guatemalan teachers and early childhood bilingual language specialists concerned how to structure developmentally appropriate language and communication instruction, no matter what the language of instruction was in a given school. All were flabbergasted to witness how much instructional time was devoted to reading and writing in English and the pace at which children were expected to master these skills. Consider Excerpt 4 below. During formal English Language Arts instruction time, Ms. Lehrer divided up her classroom into five small group literacy centers that ran simultaneously. The activities were timed, so when a bell rang, the groups rotated activity. One of the centers occurred at Ms. Lehrer's desk, where guided reading would take place. A small group of students would join her for individualized literacy instruction. She would pick one or two of the over 100+ mono-syllabic sight words posted on the wall that the school had targeted mastery in 5K and write it out on an erasable whiteboard.⁹ Colloquially they were referred to as «popcorn words», as if the process of seeing them resembled an explosion of word recognition in a child's head. Ms. Lehrer then used techniques from guided reading to draw attention to aspects of the word morphology so that when it came time to read a book, they would be able to recognize the inflected forms. Next she led a group interpretation of the book directing students to use the pictures as context clues before having them read it out loud. Those who had trouble recognizing a particular word were given individualized attention, often with instructions to sound out the letters. In Excerpt 4, Ms. Lehrer first directs Naveah, an African American student and Araceli, a Mexican American student, to pay attention

⁹ The director of Saluda Primary commented that following the newest trends in research, the target number of sight words to be mastered in 5K had been reduced to 35.

to the word «look». She provides instruction as to how to recognize and pronounce the regular English past tense verb morphology <ed> and find examples of it in the story book.

Excerpt 4. Saluda Primary 5K «Grade Level» Guided Reading in Small Group

Ms. Lehrer: Alright when we are in the book
You are going to see look and then you're going to see <ed> at the end
Anybody know what <ed> says?

 It's gonna say 'looked'. [l'ʊkt]

Nevaeh: Looked.

Ms. Lehrer: Looked [l'ʊk'd]

So you see the <d> and you're going to make the /d/ sound.
So looked [l'ʊkt]

 [Say it
Nevaeh: ((bayer?)]

Ms. Lehrer: So say it with me.

Araceli: Looked

Ms. Lehrer: Like I looked [l'ʊkt] over there.

?: Say looked [l'ʊkt]

Ms. Lehrer: I looked [l'ʊkt] over there.

Nevaeh: I looked [l'ʊkt] over there.

Ms. Lehrer: I looked [l'ʊkt] down the hall

Nevaeh/Araceli: I looked [l'ʊkt] down the hall.

Ms. Lehrer: Let's see a book

Nathan: Look in the trash?

Ms. Lehrer: Alright

Aracei?: I look in the trash can

?: I know.

Ms. Lehrer: So you're gonna see ((pointing to text in the book))
It's gonna say "Mom and Jack looked and looked".

So you're gonna see this <ed>.
Kay?

Araceli: Looking for something.

Lehrer: yeah.

Figure 5



When the principal of Saluda saw this segment, she commented that this was indeed typical of guided reading instruction in other 5K classes in her school. A 5K teacher interviewed during the next academic year, however commented that she felt that the children she witnessed in this video segment were not yet meeting the standards' targets and she surmised that the expectations had heightened in the intervening year.

Guatemalans' reactions to this segment, however, were telling. After seeing this film clip Profe David asked if all children in the grade were able to perform at such a high-level, and if all children graduated from 5K reading and writing. Seño Zayda was also startled and felt that children at this age were being pressured too much. The responses by administrators from other school districts and at the regional Ministry of Education echoed similar sentiments. A Director from a Type D school in an adjacent municipality noted that while it was remarkable this form of instruction could produce these outcomes, he wondered at what cost to the children. He said that Guatemala had used a top-down set of ethnocentric state goals favoring Spanish language acquisition and all this achieved was to ensure high levels of indigenous children

dropping out of primary school because they did not comprehend the lessons. The district's superintendent was familiar with the technique of dividing activities by centers, however it was not employed with the intended goal to quicken the process of literacy acquisition. In teacher training programs this was referred to as «the carrousel» as well as «corners for learning». Corners for learning in fact were an approved method for spatially demarcating which activities were associated with which language of instruction (L1 or L2) and to keep them separate. Aside from these expressions of disapproval for the pacing of literacy instruction, bilingual-intercultural specialists were emboldened when they witnessed the Mexican and other Guatemalan children speaking in English and Spanish. This reconfirmed their faith in bilingual pedagogies to support multilingual language acquisition, so long as they were structured appropriately.

After attending a three-day congress providing professional development to preprimaria teachers using the CNB and interviewing the top regional administrator for bilingual-intercultural education at the preprimaria level, it was clear that the fundamental mission in Guatemala was to provide children ages four-six with opportunities to develop their motor and cognitive skills using all their senses (audio, visual, tactile, and gustatory) in their maternal language and to prepare them to learn how to ask questions driven by a cultivated sense of wonder. And even though classroom instructional time did expose children to recognize and pronounce alphabetic letters using Mam and Spanish, six-year-olds were not evaluated on advanced mastery of reading and writing skills. Excerpts 5 & 6 from Toj Con Grande provide examples of typical language instruction that reflected some of the developmentally appropriate goals outlined in Guatemala's CNB.

Figure 6



Excerpt 5. Toj Con Grande – Picture-Letter-Word Recognition Large Group Exercise (Ages 4 & 5)

Seño Zayda: *Otro aplauso.* *More applause*
Qué observen acá? *What do you observe here?*
Qué otros dibujos encuentren acá? *What other pictures do you find here?*

((Different students call out what they see, mostly naming nouns in Spanish and Seño Zayda echoes back each answer))

Student1: *Flores* *Flowers*
Student 2: *Un puntito* *A little dot*
((points to the dot on the letter <i>)).
Seño Zayda: *eh un puntito* *Eh a little dot*
Student3: *Sol* *Sun*
Seño Zayda: *eh sol* *eh sun*
Escuchen. *Listen.*

((Another children can be heard mentioning estrella and Seño Zayda acknowledges the answer before turning to list all the previously identified words in Spanish now in Mam))

Seño Zayda: *Este paisaje tiene un nombre, el sol, los arboles, los pájaros el nube, en el castellano se llama 'isla'.* *This landscape has a name, the sun, the trees, the birds, a cloud... in Spanish it is called, "island".*
Recordemos nuevamente, *Let's review again,*

Students: ((The children repeat back the different nouns as she prompts each one))
Seño Zayda: */i/ de isla, /i/ de iglesia, y /i/ de ich'* */i/ of isla (island), /i/ of iglesia (church), and /i/ of ich' (mouse)*

Excerpt 6. Toj Con Grande – Sound-Word-Letter Recognition Large Group Exercise (Age 6)

((After using Spanish as language of instruction, Teacher David has just had the students identify different aquatic animals by pointing to laminated images posted on the wall as part of the science/natural environment curriculum. He integrates language and communication skills when he takes the image of a whale «ballena» in Spanish, and tapes it to the front board and turns the science lesson into a language and communication lesson connecting the phonetic sound /b/ with its grapheme . In this metalinguistic discussion, he uses a form of modified congruent translation to ensure comprehension.))

<p>Profe David: Sh:: <u>esta es una ballena</u> [in IPA: ba'jena] a ver Cómo se llama esto? Digan que letras vamos a poner a esto.</p> <p>Alumnos: <u>ba::lle::na</u></p> <p>Profe: /b/ es el nombre [b:::]allena- ((buzzing lips when pronouncing the bilabial stop)) <i>Cómo se llama?</i></p> <p>Alumnos: <u>ba (.) llena</u></p> <p>Profe: /b/ digan otra vez.</p> <p>Alumnos: <u>ba::llena</u> Profe & Alumnos: <u>ba::llena</u> Profe: <u>dime otra vez</u> <i>No es, no es como /m/ con la boca tapada.</i> <i>Es que el aire sale aquí.</i> <i>Okay?</i></p>	<p>Teacher David: Sh:: This is a whale “ballena” <u>Let's see</u> <i>What's this called?</i> <i>Pronounce which letters we'll use to make this [word].</i></p> <p>Students: <u>ba::lle::na</u></p> <p>Teacher: <i>It's called /b/ [b:::]allena.</i> ((buzzing lips when pronouncing the bilabial stop)) <i>What's it called?</i></p> <p>Students: <u>ba (.) llena</u></p> <p>Teacher: /b/ say it again.</p> <p>Students: <u>ba::llena</u> Teacher & Students: <u>ba::llena</u> Teacher: <u>Tell me again.</u> <i>No it's not, it is not like /m/ with your mouth closed.</i> <i>It's that air escapes here.</i> <i>Okay?</i></p>
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In Excerpts 4 and 5, both teachers alternate between use of Mam as language of instruction to teach a target concept that is expressed in Spanish form. Señora Zayda introduced children to the vowel /i/ which exists in both languages, though Mam makes a phonemic contrast between short and long vowels. Profe David demonstrated the voiced bilabial stop /b/, another phoneme which exists only in Spanish although Mam does have use the alphabetic to denote the voiced bilabial implosive /b/. What is striking, however, is that they were not favoring nouns in Mam to demonstrate the lesson, reflecting an acknowledged bias that the materials most widely available for teacher training are in Spanish. The decentralized approach permits teachers to develop their own materials and use concepts and vocabulary from their maternal languages. Indeed, Señora Zayda did do some of this when she provided a single noun in Mam (*ich'* for mouse) that began with <i>, but Spanish was tacitly favored. Profe David, likewise was attentive to the fact that some of the children were having difficulties perceiving the sound. In their production they had assimilated it to the nearest phonemic equivalent in Mam /m/. His extensive use of lip buzzing was an attempt to make perceptually salient the manner of articulation of /b/ as a stop. Aside from these metalinguistic instructions regarding how to produce the sound, he did not make clear to the students that the sound is not a phoneme in Mam. Thus, in both these cases, the teachers had partially taken advantage of the freedom to modify curricular materials and make them comprehensible to their students. In so doing, they did not draw sharp distinctions between the two languages. Nonetheless Spanish was tacitly being treated as the target language even though neither of

these lessons were expressly demarcated as second language learning instruction using maternal language as the language instruction.

The teachers also pointed out when comparing their approach to instruction, that across Zayda's lessons, she more consistently used Mam as the principal language of instruction. For example, above in Excerpt 4 when she consciously chose to speak in Spanish, she did so to either ratify the students' answers which were uttered in Spanish and to introduce the target concept. Profe David, however, often intentionally used concurrent translation picking one language to introduce the content and then translate the same content using the other language. This is a practice that has fallen out of favor in K-12 bilingual education in the U.S. and is equally disapproved of by specialists in bilingual education in Guatemala (Cuero & Aburumuh, 2008).

There were other less conscious forms of code-switching apparent in the film. The administrators and bilingual language specialists who viewed this footage immediately picked out these instances for critical commentary. For example, in the first line of excerpt 5, Seño Zayda code-switched between Mam and Spanish, uttering aplausos (applause). Teachers in both classes often formally instructed children to applaud each other's efforts at the end of an activity. Seño Zayda sometimes would say the lexical equivalent of applause in Mam and then code-switch into Spanish repeating aplausos to intensify the affect. The specialists, however, ignored the pragmatic work being achieved and defaulted to a position of linguistic purism that they favored for instructional purposes.

As should be apparent from the summary of educational reforms, powerful language ideologies underscore this national language planning approach. Recall the stated mandate of DIGEBI to use an additive approach and produce balanced bilinguals. This goal is one shared in other societal contexts where more than one language is recognized as a national language (Heller, 2007). Strict forms of compartmentalized language use are often prescribed, especially for Type A classrooms in the Guatemalan case. This is the approach to dual language acquisition being promoted in many U.S. Colleges of Education that prefer models of dual language immersion for both second language and heritage language acquisition. These approaches tend to prescribe more instructional time using the minority language as the language of instruction, especially in K-6. The reasons for doing so are many and include providing rich input within schools located in districts where the local language ecologies have restricted opportunities for such exposure. There is also the concern that while students may develop so-called «conversational» competence in the minority language, they may not yet have acquired «academic language» skills to ensure continued academic growth. The forms of code alternation and translation that the teachers were deploying were viewed as undercutting this goal.

The recent translanguistic turn in much U.S. sociolinguistic and language and literacy scholarship dispute that such an outcome is even possible, let alone desirable for emerging bilinguals. García *et al.* (2011), for example argue that educators in the 21st century need to reckon with the reality that U.S. educational models of bilingualism – be they subtractive or additive are both insufficient. Subtractive language policies are evident in a majority of U.S. public schools aimed at «mainstreaming» (i.e.

assimilating) children of non-English speaking migrants identified as Limited English Proficient on the home language survey. Additive language policies are typically espoused in two-way bilingual and dual language immersion classrooms that typically serve both the children of non-English speaking migrants as well as heritage language learners and other English dominant students who wish to acquire a second language. As previously mentioned, instruction often strictly separates the use of each thereby re-enforcing each language as an autonomous system with the goal of producing balanced bilinguals (Cummins, 2008).

García (2009) instead would advocate for heteroglossic language ideologies to supplant the current monoglossic norms of ESOL *and* bilingual education programs in the U.S., which she argues fail to reflect the actual multilingual landscape of local language ecologies. Some advocates of two-way and dual immersion instruction take issue with this critique and argue that their intervention is all the more necessary precisely because of the regimentation of codes within the local language ecologies and insist that use of any forms of translanguaging have to be carefully planned and monitored, otherwise the goals of developing academic proficiency in the minority language can be undercut (Fortune & Tedlick, 2019; Hamman, 2017). Both groups share common ground in a commitment to providing opportunities for developing multilingual linguistic repertoires for students, though both ironically may be too parochial in what they imagine to be the actual language ecologies that shape students' life trajectories when their families become transnational migrants.

The teachers and director at Toj Con Grande, I argue, were very much oriented to shifting sociolinguistic norms – both locally and nationally. They moreover correctly interpreted the policies and staggered exposure. The timing however, from MINEDUC's perspective, was too rapid. Nonetheless they felt it was necessary to expose children to Spanish early on so that children would have a smoother transition into the primary school curriculum, which although bilingual, in its current iteration favored Spanish as not all teaching staff are from the local community or are equally proficient in the variety of Mam spoken in this region. In fact, Director Barillas noted that one of the major challenges for his school was to increase the level of L2 (i.e. Spanish) instruction in order to achieve the kind of balanced bilingualism that DIGEBI advocates.

As someone who had lived more than 20+ years in the community, he noted that in the past Mam-monolingualism was indisputable – for better or for worse – given that at that time speakers of indigenous languages were still discriminated against. Now he stated, the level of «development», including increasing levels of bilingualism had increased. This he attributed to the educational reforms in combination with younger parents' new orientation to the United States, where Spanish is necessary for survival abroad. When I asked him if this meant that parents in town disparaged Mam, he firmly replied, «no». He said between 5-10% of parents might complain about not enough Spanish instruction; the vast majority favored language instruction in Mam and saw that it was not undercutting their children's ability to learn Spanish too. His orientation to preparing the children for Spanish had more to do with the fact that he and his staff wanted to promote students' continuing education at the secondary level and beyond, where Spanish remains favored language of instruction in spite of the fact that the ambition of the CNB intends to support continuing development of

maternal language as well as provide students with the option of acquiring a global language, like English or Mandarin. Given that the underfunded system of education in Guatemala still has very low rates of high school enrollment, it is understandable that the creation of appropriate multilingual curricular materials and forms of instruction lags behind. As the goals have not yet been met for primary school, diverting scarce resources to secondary school would be seen as only benefitting the few at the expense of the needs of the many. And though the staff and director at Toj Con Grande may have been underestimating how much reinforcement of Mam was actually necessary to assure continuing growth in the maternal language as children progressed through the grades, their use of concurrent translation and code-switching probably more closely resembled the patterns of usage that actually existed in community. My observations of public forms of language use suggested that the speech community patterns favored a Mam-dominant linguistic repertoire with varying degrees of communicative competencies in Spanish and other linguistic varieties and languages in the region, though future sociolinguistic studies need be undertaken to confirm this.

5. Conclusion

In this article I have merely scratched the surface of a complex set of issues entwining the presents and futures of these two school districts connected via a well-established circuit of transborder migration. As the process of saturating pool of interview samples in both countries is on-going it is too precipitous to make definitive recommendations about what the absolute strengths and weaknesses of this revised approach are. This is especially the case for the applied phase of the project as this has yet to be rolled out. That said, I am cautiously optimistic that this will promote critical and spirited dialog given that this is what is already evident in just these few contrastive analyses. The Guatemalan teachers, for example, made clear to me that they thought this would provide them with important feedback. While teachers in Saluda had benefitted already from a two-year grant that used video-recording for instructional development and to increase pedagogical rigor, no such support existed in Guatemala. Administrators at MINEDUC immediately saw the potential of this method of professional development as well. However, the actual conflicting voices also point to important ways that pedagogic forms of translanguaging, if planned and purposeful, can be deployed to support expansion of children's linguistic repertoires without resorting to new forms of diglossic separation that are advocated for by some dual immersion approaches.

Purist tendencies that indeed exist regionally can be tempered when MINEDUC administrators pay attention to how different people orient to purism in very different ways and that it can be associated with cultural practices that may open-up pathways for linguistic and content learning crossing. Some of the early responses from parents in the diaspora, for example, fully endorse the reintroduction of the Mayan numerical system. They hear the students learning a «more pure» variety even when the children also use other loan words from Spanish. This is in part due to the socio-historical and cultural salience that numeracy enjoys, even though the social domains in which it is used today are now more restricted than the distribution

of spoken Mayan languages. For example, the numerical system does appear in practices outside of school taking shape as embodied knowledge within women's weaving techniques with backstrap looms as well as in the healing practices of indigenous ritual specialists. These forms of learning via apprenticeship are very different from the forms of child-centric pedagogy now implemented in schools. They also have been incorporated into broader indigenous reclamation and revitalization projects. Workshops in decoding dates and stories depicted in ancient hieroglyphs continue to be one source of inspiration (Nelson, 2015; Warren, 1998), and knowledge of the numerical system is embedded in learning the writing system of ancient language as well. Tz'utujil youth, from a nearby Mayan language community, have also sought out knowledge from ritual specialists and learn counting and related forms of poetic structuring through ritual language. They then reinterpreted these forms in a hybridizing hip hop genre which blurs linguistics boundaries across Mayan languages, especially through bivalent forms undercutting purist tendencies (Barrett, 2016). Thus to reiterate, what seems to be more at stake is choosing salient practices which indeed are experienced as culturally sustaining *and* motivating language learning (Orellana & García-Sánchez, in press), and which do not require adherence to linguistic purism for them to be empowering the formation of a shared historical memory that many find lacking precisely because so much of Guatemalan indigenous pasts were erased via formal schooling.

I also speculate that some of the teachers in Saluda as well as in other parts of the southeast, will find discourse practices like prayer in classrooms provocative. While U.S. teachers would not be able to implement these kinds of practices, their eyes would be opened to the shared forms of devout faith and especially its evangelical expressions that are common at both ends of this transborder circuits. While this is not going to undercut the most racialized sentiments expressed in rural places and schools, especially considering that houses of worship in the South are ethnically segregated, much of the organizing around support of immigrant's rights in small communities is also taking place at the pulpit. Kindergarten teachers are also going to witness Guatemalan teachers enacting play-based constructivist pedagogies in multiple languages, that they in fact favor and realize that the children are not coming from a country whose system of education does not start from a place of radical deficits (except perhaps in terms of governmental funding) although the observed differences in pacing may enforce their observations that Guatemalan children lag behind and need remedial support to «catch up». A stance on radical deficits, however, cannot be sustained given that many of the cognitive and fine-motor skill exercises as well as literacy readiness strategies promoted in U.S. parent-child classes have obvious analogues in Seño Zayda's classroom. My hopes are indeed high, though for now with the current U.S. political climate, I might have to settle for teachers no longer trying to convince me that a «silent tribe» has overrun their schools.

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