"Entering and Leaving School: Literacy Practices of Indigenous Youth in an Intercultural Community High School"

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Introduction

There is a growing interest in examining literacy practices in non-hegemonic contexts and their relationship to school and academic settings (Zavala, 2019; García, Cushman, and Baca, 2024). Alongside the emergence of increasingly multicultural realities, this interest has been accompanied by concerns about promoting culturally situated and relevant pedagogies.

Research and educational discussions have made important advances toward recognizing the need to consider the writing experiences and perceptions of racialized populations. This work has often been framed as an effort to challenge deficit narratives that position these students as lacking skills and therefore in need of remediation or leveling in order to “progress” along their educational trajectories. However, in many cases, these efforts remain at the level of recognizing diversity without destabilizing the institutional structures that produce inequality and continue to legitimize a narrow set of writing practices. For this reason, further research is needed that centers students’ own perspectives and their particular ways of taking up written language.

On the one hand, a growing body of research has focused on the relationship between academic or school-based writing practices and those developed outside formal educational settings. Scholars such as Daniel (2018), Grote (2006), Sibanda and Kajee (2019), Skerrett (2014), and Tapia (2019) have documented what students do with writing both inside and outside educational institutions, as well as how these practices may—or may not—inform one another.

On the other hand, there is also a substantial body of literature focused on the writing practices of Indigenous students in higher education. Studies by Carvalho and

Schlatter (2022), Franco (2024), Messina and Unamuno (2024), Sito and Kleiman (2017), and Zavala (2011) have examined Indigenous students' writing experiences, particularly the tensions that emerge between academic writing and processes of identity and epistemological formation.

However, far less attention has been paid to Indigenous youth at the secondary education level who attend institutions with intercultural education projects. This gap is significant for two reasons. First, it is crucial to understand what happens during this transitional period between high school and university. Second, the specific characteristics of intercultural schools may foreground distinctive forms of reading and writing that are particularly relevant for understanding this transition.

In order to contribute to these discussions, this presentation examines the relationship between out-of-school and school literacy practices among a group of Indigenous students attending an intercultural educational institution in Mexico. The study is guided by the following research questions: What school-based and out-of-school literacy practices do students in a community-based intercultural high school engage in? How are out-of-school literacy practices related to the school literacy practices developed by these students?

Key Theorists

Below, I outline several theoretical traditions and authors that have been particularly influential in shaping my research. I begin with perspectives that guided my move toward a sociocultural understanding of writing and conclude with scholars whose work I am continuing to explore and deepen.

1. Mikhail Bakhtin

Bakhtin's work has been central to developing a broad perspective on language in general and writing in particular. Concepts such as *heteroglossia* have been especially productive for understanding the dynamic and contested linguistic realities of the intercultural school

context in which I conducted my research. The tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces offers a useful lens for describing how multiple discourses coexist and interact in school settings. Additionally, Bakhtin's notions of *voice* and *appropriation* help illuminate how students relate to texts and position themselves as writers and readers through their writing practices.

2. New Literacy Studies (NLS)

The New Literacy Studies provided key theoretical and methodological tools for examining heteroglossia empirically. NLS reframed my understanding of writing and reading as socially situated practices rather than decontextualized skills. In particular, Barton and Hamilton's concept of *literacy practices* has been foundational for analyzing writing as a socially mediated activity. Street's distinction between the *autonomous* and *ideological* models of literacy has also been crucial for examining how certain ways of reading and writing become naturalized and legitimized in institutional contexts. I also draw on the work of Zavala and Kalman, who critically adapt NLS frameworks in Latin American contexts, closely aligned with the cultural and linguistic diversity of my research setting.

3. Educational Ethnography

My methodological orientation is informed by educational ethnography, particularly work developed in Mexico. Elsie Rockwell and María Bertely have been especially influential due to their emphasis on *thinking with theory* rather than mechanically applying theoretical frameworks to the field. Their approaches guided my ethnographic engagement with educational spaces and supported attention to students' lived experiences with reading and writing. I also draw on Lillis's work on ethnographic approaches to writing research—particularly literacy histories and text-based conversations—although my engagement with this literature occurred after the completion of my initial fieldwork.

Methodology

Institutional Contexts

This research was conducted as part of my Master's studies in Pedagogy at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). Prior to that, I worked as a teacher of language and literature at the secondary education level in a school in Chile, in a small town where the majority of the inhabitants belong to the Mapuche people. This experience shaped my interest in education within contexts of cultural diversity, specifically with indigenous populations. At UNAM, there is a research line dedicated to these topics, and I have participated in various educational programs focused on intercultural education from critical and contemporary perspectives. Currently, I am part of the Seminar on Intercultural Education in Latin America, a space where a group of colleagues from various countries and regions gather periodically to share readings and experiences.

During my time in Mexico, I had the opportunity to visit the state of Oaxaca, one of the regions with the greatest cultural and linguistic diversity in the country. It was in Oaxaca that I carried out my research, at a community-based high school located in a Zapotec community, 30 kilometers from Oaxaca City, the state capital.

This high school is part of a broader network of institutions within an educational subsystem that originated from long struggles and mobilizations by indigenous peoples in the area for a secondary education system that would integrate their languages and knowledge. This led to the creation of the Indigenous Integral Educational Model (MEII), which, among many other features, proposes a curriculum that integrates local and global knowledge, articulated through subjects such as: Indigenous Language, Rural Legislation, Computing, Reading Workshop, Mathematics, among others. The project is ambitious but not without tensions, and in recent years, it has faced the challenge of gaining official recognition, integrating into the national curriculum promoted by Mexico’s latest educational reform.

The high school where I conducted my research also faces unique challenges due to its proximity to the city, which has led to an influx of students that exceeds the

community's local population. This creates the challenge of addressing a highly heterogeneous student body, where different cultures and languages mix, a phenomenon not typically seen in other schools within the network.

Fieldwork

Fieldwork was conducted through three stays in the community where the intercultural high school is located. During these periods, in-depth interviews were carried out with 13 students. Sampling was conducted using the "snowball" technique (Taylor & Bogdan, 1987). In addition, participant observations were recorded during various events, such as classes across different subjects, conversations between staff and teachers, recess periods, and informal interactions among students, among others.

A table with the participants is presented below:

Name	Gender	Age	Indigenous language	Place of Origin
Mónica	Female	15	Zapoteco	Valles Centrales, Oaxaca
Javier	Male	17	Doesn't speak	Valles Centrales, Oaxaca
Daniela	Female	16	Doesn't speak	Oaxaca de Juárez, Oaxaca
Estela	Female	17	Mixe	Sierra Norte, Oaxaca
Roberto	Male	21	Zapoteco	United States
Patricia	Female	17	Zapoteco	Tijuana, Baja California
Manuel	Male	17	Zapoteco	Valles Centrales, Oaxaca
Gabriela	Female	18	Zapoteco	Valles Centrales, Oaxaca
Jesús	Male	15	Mixe	Sierra Norte, Oaxaca
Enrique	Male	17	Mixteco	Valles Centrales, Oaxaca
Claudia	Female	17	Zapoteco	Valles Centrales, Oaxaca
Camila	Female	17	Mixe	Los Cabos, Baja California
Luisa	Female	17	Doesn't speak	Ciudad de México

Findings

The findings presented here are drawn primarily from the interviews conducted with the participants. Specifically, the findings focus on the relationships between school-based and out-of-school literacy practices.

Boundaries

Writing practices associated with school genres and activities—such as homework, notes, reports, and written assignments—were the most frequently mentioned in the interviews. From the very beginning of our conversations, students quickly established a clear boundary between school writing and non-school writing. Across most interviews, the idea was repeated that writing at school is an activity subject to a series of norms and constraints, mainly formal and content-related. These constraints were often described in contrast to more autonomous and flexible writing activities.

Gabriela, for example, highlights the technological dimension by emphasizing the school practice of handwriting and its associated calligraphy, which she understands as a kind of mold:

> *"le dan mucha importancia a la escritura por el tipo de molde que se les tiene que dar. Y a la lectura como… solamente la acentuación y todo eso […] por ejemplo nosotros tenemos este tipo de escritura… escritura, este, cursiva o manuscrita como comúnmente lo conocen. Y la letra, este, formada. La letra que usualmente ocupamos."*
> ("They give a lot of importance to writing because of the kind of mold it has to fit into. And reading is more like… just accent marks and all that […] for example, we have this type of writing… cursive writing, or handwritten, as it's usually known. And the letters, you know, well-formed. The kind of lettering we usually use.")

She contrasts this with another form of writing that she practices in her free time, supported by the voice dictation feature on her cellphone: *"solamente dicto y solamente se va escribiendo. Y va formando la misma estructura a la cual yo quiero formar."* ("I just dictate and it just gets written. And it forms the same structure that I want it to have.").

Related to this, the use of technology—specifically messaging applications—emerges as a space where out-of-school writing can develop with greater flexibility. Since

these interactions are mainly with friends or family, school norms do not apply. As Luisa explains:

> *"nos sentimos más, este, liberales. La forma en la que podemos escribir como nosotros queramos. […] no estamos así como que al pendiente de que esta letra andaba aquí o no tiene o tiene acento, cosas así."*
> ("We feel more, like, free. The way we can write however we want. […] We're not constantly worrying about whether a letter was missing or whether it has an accent or not, things like that.")

Finally, the content of school writing is also perceived as constrained. In this regard, Mónica associates school writing with transcription:

> *"A veces piden mucho algo en específico en lo que quieren escribir o a veces nada más te dan un texto y te dicen que lo transcriba. Y ya, pues, de lo que me gusta, pues, es que puedo escribir lo que quiera: resumirlo yo… hacerlo a mi manera."*
> ("Sometimes they ask for something very specific about what they want you to write, or sometimes they just give you a text and tell you to transcribe it. And what I like is that I can write whatever I want: summarize it myself… do it my own way.")

And Patricia establishes a distinction related to expressive capacity, between writing about what happens to her and writing about events or others' opinions:

> *"Pues, diferencias, igual lo que escribo es lo que me pasa, ¿no? Y pues lo que nos dan a escribir acá [bachillerato] son más hechos que han pasado, opiniones."*
> ("Well, the difference is that what I write is what happens to me, right? And what they give us to write here [at the high school] is more about things that have happened, other people's opinions.")

Crossings

Despite these distinctions, in students' accounts of their reading and writing practices, crossings between contexts become evident. This is reflected in activities such as reflective reading and writing, involving creative appropriations of diverse texts, and in autonomous research practices that mobilize different strategies and resources. Young people appropriate writing in their everyday lives and use it for multiple purposes, activating a complex network of relationships among various actors and contexts, including the school institution, teachers, families, community life, oral tradition, social media, literary works, and popular music, among others. Here, I focus on two of them: a form of writing

linked to research, and another linked to reflection. In both cases, these are writing practices that directly engage with associated reading practices.

Research practices: mobilizing and transforming knowledge

Research plays an important role in the high school attended by the participants. From the outset, across different subjects, students are encouraged to investigate local knowledge and practices and to put them into dialogue with school content. Additionally, in their final year, students must develop their own research projects within the specialization areas they choose. For this reason, it is perhaps unsurprising that many participants describe conducting independent research on topics that interest or inspire them.

In general, these processes begin with something that sparks curiosity and motivates a search. Roberto describes it as follows when recounting his exploration of the music genre city pop:

> *"de repente me llegó como una recomendación en mi música. Y me llamó la atención y empecé a buscar más y empecé a buscar más. Y de repente cuando me di cuenta, ya estaba yo dentro de eso."*
> ("Suddenly I got, like, a recommendation in my music. It caught my attention and I started looking for more and more. And suddenly, when I realized it, I was already deep into it.")

This exploration often translates into intensive reading processes, in which students establish relationships among different texts and contents. What begins as a spontaneous search can thus turn into a deeper inquiry, where students display active agency by appropriating texts and placing them in dialogue. For example, Estela recounts watching a documentary recommended by a cousin about a femicide case. From there, she says she began to "research the case," mentioning diverse readings such as tweets from the Chilean feminist movement and the lyrics of *"Canción sin miedo"* by Vivir Quintana.

Manuel, in turn, describes how his interest in the band System of a Down led him to connect their lyrics with his readings of the Bible, based on a political content related to protest:

> *"Son protestas hacia cómo se comportan los altos mandos con los que estamos abajo, digamos. […] Por ejemplo, la de Chop Suey habla sobre cómo, este, las personas sufren de suicidios por causa de las drogas y que la única forma de ayudarlos es apoyándose de Dios… personas que piden ayuda para salir de algún problema, principalmente la drogadicción. Y también habla sobre el déficit de atención."*
> ("They're protests against how those in power treat the people below, let's say. […] For example, *Chop Suey* talks about how people suffer from suicide because of drugs and that the only way to help them is by leaning on God… people asking for help to get out of a problem, mainly drug addiction. And it also talks about attention deficit.")

These autonomous research activities also involve processes of collecting and recording information. Gabriela describes how she gathers, intervenes in, and mobilizes phrases that catch her attention:

> *"me gusta, este, sacar frases de la vida. […] ciertas frases las saco del internet; otras que yo misma hago; y otras que escucho y las compongo, ajá, o sino mismo saco, digamos, unas que otras palabras de una música, y las compongo en forma de frase."*
> ("I like to, you know, pull phrases from life. […] Some phrases I get from the internet; others I make myself; and others I hear and then I put them together, or I take some words from a song and turn them into a phrase.")

Mónica mentions similar processes oriented toward organizing her readings. For the literary texts she reads in her free time, she also conducts research and keeps records:

> *"primero busco resúmenes en internet… hago una lista. Y ya pongo unos cuadritos y cada vez que acabo de leer uno, pues, le pongo y ya."*
> ("First I look for summaries online… I make a list. And I put little checkboxes, and every time I finish one, I check it off.")

She also synthesizes her learning through writing:

> *"son resúmenes de lo que ya has aprendido… porque a mí me gusta escribir mucho sobre lo que he aprendido… datos interesantes… datos random."*
> ("They're summaries of what you've already learned… because I really like writing about what I've learned… interesting facts… random facts.")

These processes become particularly salient in relation to song lyrics. All participants report listening to music frequently, and most pay attention to lyrics, search for them,

translate them, when necessary, analyze their meanings, and save fragments. Jesús explains:

> *"He impreso las letras y subrayar. […] Las guardo, pero ahora ya casi no lo hago porque solo se quedan guardadas."*
> ("I used to print out the lyrics and underline them. […] I keep them, but now I don't really do it anymore because they just stay there.")

Gabriela goes further and describes a systematic practice: she regularly consults artists' biographies to look for what she calls "the history of the music," and she also visits specific websites where she can find detailed information about songs: "*va la letra y ya, este, va describiendo. Hay una parte donde va describiendo en qué tiempo fue hecha, en qué tiempo fue editada, quién fue el compositor"* ("the lyrics are there and then, um, it starts describing them. There's a part where it explains when the song was written, when it was released, who the composer was."). These practices require integrating information from different sources, rather than relying on a single text: *"se buscan por partes, en sí se buscan por partes, porque en sí, en uno solo, no se encuentra".* ("you look things up in parts, basically you look them up in pieces, because you don't really find everything in just one place").

Mónica also describes having her own system, which she ironically refers to as *stalkear* (to stalk): *"ya empiezo a buscar sobre el autor y así […] Y ya después si me gusta esa canción, pues empiezo a buscar más de este y lo empiezo a stalkear"* ("I start looking things up about the artist and stuff […] And then, if I like that song, I start looking for more by them and I start stalking them"). When asked to describe this process in more detail, she explains the steps of her method through a concrete example:

> *"digamos, ayer que estaba yo escuchando una música y encontré una música en Spotify de un artista. En ese momento me gustó la canción y la letra y la empecé a analizar […], digamos, qué es lo que significa y el sentimiento. Por ejemplo, esta es una, tipo, letra de amor […] Después me metí al artista y empecé a buscar en Internet qué era el artista, cómo fue y cómo empezó todo y ya sus otras canciones, desde las canciones más recientes hasta las primeras que sacó".*

> (“let’s say, yesterday I was listening to music and I came across a song by an artist on Spotify. At that moment, I liked the song and the lyrics, so I started analyzing it […], like, what it means and the feeling behind it. For example, this one is, like, a love song […] Then I went into the artist’s profile and started looking online for who the artist was, what they were like, how they got started, and then their other songs, from the most recent ones to the first ones they released”)

Overall, then, young people actively develop different forms of autonomous inquiry that dialogue with—or could potentially dialogue with—the formal research practices they carry out in school contexts. These are complex explorations that involve the appropriation and transformation of diverse texts, as well as the tracing of relationships among them, as Mónica succinctly puts it.: *“busco un tema, lo analizo… y ya empiezas a ver todo desde el fondo y sus raíces”* (“I look for a topic, analyze it… and then you start seeing everything from the bottom, from its roots”)

Reflective reading and writing practices [work in progress]

The second intersection between school-based and out-of-school practices that I seek to highlight relates to a way of reading and writing in which instruction and entertainment blend, giving rise to reflection. However, this intersection is primarily grounded in reading—or, more specifically, in the ways students appropriate certain texts in order to encounter other voices and give substance to their own. Reading appears here as a formative activity. For this reason, and given that this is a conference focused on writing, I am not entirely sure how appropriate it is to devote extensive space to this dimension. Nevertheless, I briefly outline some ideas below.

A large proportion of the participants recount encounters with texts that provide them with a different perspective on reality. Jesús, for instance, refers to songs that “*nos hacen ver las cosas de una manera más... distinta al mundo, pero bonita”* (“they make us see things in a more… different way than the world, but in a nice way”). He expresses a similar idea when referring to his reading of *The Little Prince*: *“tienen verdades; coinciden con los pensamientos, yo creo. O a veces como que describen las cosas que uno piensa,*

pero no sabe cómo decirlas" ("they have truths; they match your thoughts, I think. Or sometimes it's like they describe things that you think, but don't know how to say").

Manuel refers to another book with similar characteristics, *The Knight in Rusty Armor*, recalling his reading of it in primary school. He describes it as *"un libro, pues, que... […] me llamó la atención. Y más cuando entra, pues, a una cueva según"* ("a book that, well… […] caught my attention. And especially when he goes into, well, a cave, supposedly"), and adds that *"en ese entonces me di cuenta de que, pues, trataba de dar algún otro entendimiento"* ("back then I realized that it was trying to offer some other kind of understanding").

Patricia expresses something similar when recounting her experience watching the film *The Count of Monte Cristo*. She recalls that *"terminé llorando en la película y todo eso, ¿no? Y fue como que me interesó mucho"* ("I ended up crying during the movie and all that, right? And it was like I became really interested"), and emphasizes that *"te hace reflexionar muchas cosas de la vida"* ("it makes you reflect on many things in life").

Roberto elaborates further on this idea by linking his reading practices to the exploration of multiple perspectives. He explains that *"últimamente, he estado leyendo mucho sobre... diferentes teorías filosóficas acerca de... puntos de vista sobre la vida y todo ese tipo de temas […] sobre la vida y la existencia, más que nada"* ("lately, I've been reading a lot about… different philosophical theories about… points of view on life and that kind of topic […] about life and existence, mostly"). He returns to this point when explaining why he enjoys reading both scientific and philosophical authors: *"me gusta tener puntos de vista en ambos lados, porque siento que cambia el parecer o la manera en que ves las cosas cuando tienes ambas, ambos puntos de vista"* ("I like having points of view on both sides, because I feel that it changes your opinion or the way you see things when you have both, both points of view"), adding that *"no nada más te inclinas de un lado"* ("you don't just lean to one side").

Thus, the form of reading described by these young people points toward a movement outward—from the self to the encounter with other perspectives—and then back again, in order to construct one's own viewpoint. This relationship with texts may constitute a potential space from which to think about writing as an activity that mobilizes and transforms knowledge, both inside and outside of school. This idea resonates with Patricia's understanding of writing. When asked what writing means to her, she responds that *"es un sentimiento que hace que te puedas expresar de diferentes maneras, que cambie tu forma de pensar, que hace que veas las cosas de otras maneras"* ("it's a feeling that lets you express yourself in different ways, that changes the way you think, that makes you see things in other ways"), adding that *"aparte de eso, pues en general me ayuda más a reflexionar"* ("besides that, in general, it helps me reflect more").

Discussion and implications *(work in progress)*

This section outlines a set of preliminary ideas, still under development, that emerge from the findings presented above.

First, while there appears to be a clear, surface-level boundary separating school-based and out-of-school writing, the young participants in this study cross this boundary with ease, moving from one space to another through their literacy practices. This makes it possible to conceptualize this boundary as porous and to understand the *bachillerato integral comunitario* as a space of encounter between different ways of reading and writing, beyond those historically privileged and naturalized by the school tradition. Along these lines, it can be argued that the dynamic dialogue between school-based and out-of-school practices activated by these young people is also motivated by their participation in multiple cultural spaces, ranging from community festivities and ceremonies to digital communities centered on Korean music or Japanese animation. Still, it remains an open question whether this flexibility to move across different domains is also common among non-Indigenous youth and among young people living in other geographical contexts.

Second, the findings invite reflection on the future trajectories of these young people as they potentially transition into higher education. As shown above, participants clearly bring with them a broad repertoire of literacy practices and knowledge related to reading and writing. In their everyday activities, students creatively appropriate a wide range of texts and deploy multiple strategies to interpret and produce meanings.

However, many of these literacy practices are not consistently valued within educational spaces. Across a large portion of the interviews, students expressed a negative self-perception of themselves as readers and writers and initially struggled to recognize the extensive written practices they engage in in their daily lives. This situation may be further exacerbated in contexts such as the university, where non-conventional forms of reading and writing tend to be considered less legitimate in relation to traditional academic literacy. Consequently, it becomes necessary to consider how these practices might be legitimized so that students can see themselves as active participants in a broad and diverse written culture.

Finally, as suggested at the outset, the challenge lies in ensuring that the recognition of diverse literacy practices does not remain at the level of a celebratory acknowledgment, but rather translates into a sustained effort to establish dialogue between different ways of reading and writing. For this to occur, it seems necessary that the responsibility for adaptation does not fall solely on students—who are often expected to adjust to dominant forms of university literacy by drawing on the knowledge they already possess—but that universities themselves also engage in deeper structural reconfigurations in order to incorporate these practices into their own repertoires.

Glossary of institutional and contextual terms

Educación intercultural (Intercultural education):

A contested concept with a long trajectory in Latin America, commonly used to refer to educational projects involving Indigenous and Afro-descendant populations, and more recently migrant communities. Walsh (2010) distinguishes three perspectives: *relational interculturality*, focused on interaction between cultures sharing a territory (akin to multiculturalism); *functional interculturality*, which recognizes cultural diversity without addressing power asymmetries or inequality; and *critical interculturality*, conceived as an ongoing political and pedagogical project aimed at promoting symmetrical dialogue between cultures and dismantling colonial state structures.

Bachillerato Integral Comunitario (BIC) (community-based intercultural high school):

The educational institution where this study was conducted. In Mexico, *bachillerato* refers to upper secondary education, typically attended by students aged 15–17. The *Bachillerato Integral Comunitario* is part of a network of public highschools located exclusively in the state of Oaxaca and is grounded in an educational project that integrates Indigenous languages and knowledges with the national curriculum. These schools operate under the Indigenous Integral Educational Model (MEII).

Modelo Educativo Integral Indígena (MEII) (Indigenous Integral Educational Model):

An educational model developed in the state of Oaxaca that guides community-based intercultural high schools. The MEII emerged from long-standing mobilizations and struggles of Indigenous peoples demanding access to upper secondary education that would recognize and integrate their languages, knowledges, and community practices. The model promotes links between local and global forms of knowledge and emphasizes community participation in schooling. In recent years, the MEII has entered into tension as its official recognition by the state has required processes of standardization and

homogenization aligned with the national curriculum, challenging its locally grounded and community-based character..

Glossary of participants' expressions

"Hacerlo a ley" ("to do it by the book" / "to do it properly"):

A colloquial expression used by one participant to refer to doing something according to established rules or institutional expectations, particularly in relation to school tasks and formal writing.

"Moldear la letra" ("to shape one's handwriting"):

An expression used by one participant to describe the school-based expectation of producing standardized, carefully formed handwriting, often associated with control, correctness, and formal norms of writing.

"Plática" ("conversation" / "informal talk"):

In Mexican Spanish, the term refers to informal conversations or talks. In this study, participants use *plática* to describe dialogic interactions with older community members (mainly relatives) through which diverse forms of knowledge are transmitted, such as local histories, medicinal practices, songs, and textile-making traditions.

"Stalkear" ("to stalk" / "to look up intensively online"):

A borrowed and resemanticized term used by one participant in an ironic or playful way to describe intensive online searching about an artist or author, including biographical information, previous works, and related content.

"Dictar" ("to dictate" / "to use voice dictation"):

Used by one participant to refer to the practice of producing written text through voice dictation tools on digital devices, particularly smartphones, as an alternative to handwriting.

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