Experimental Ethnography and Critical Pedagogy
by José Saúl Martínez

Part 1.-
Definition Of SELT In Experimental Ethnography

The SELT (School of Experimental Language Training) program is an interdisciplinary project with multiple goals and objectives whose scope encompasses the fields of anthropology, education, critical pedagogy, and art performance. This project is one of the three components in The School of Experimental Ethnography. The SELT component consists of a seven-week program in EFL (English as a foreign language) for children and adults in the community of Pisté. The Field School offers English classes to the community of Pisté free of charge with the collaboration of undergraduate students/researchers as instructors/students of EFL training. SELT is a project in which several concerns from different fields intersect and are explored: Issues in ethnographic research, implementation of views from critical pedagogy, and the production of applied/basic research within the community.

The first major concern in this program is the exploration of new approaches in ethnographic research dealing with the ethical and political issues of modernist

ethnographic research. The methodological approach starts with a shift from the primacy given to textual representation of cultures that lead to a self-reflective critique of the social sciences (Marcus and Fisher 1986). This shift involves the practice of fieldwork in a more collaborative and engaging manner that seeks to make evident the presence and practices of the ethnographer in a multimedia mode.

Another critique against ethnographic practices and anthropological intervention specifically in the area of Chichén-Itzá and Pisté, was posed by Quetzil Castañeda's analysis of the interaction of anthropologists and the community of Pisté. Castañeda explored the intervention and collusion between the Carnegie Institution and various Mexican agencies like INAH (National Institute of Anthropology and History) and tourism through a long-term research on the area and on ethnographic writings from Robert Redfield and others. Castañeda argues that the notion of "impact" is inadequate in describing the complex relations between these supposedly bounded entities, anthropology, tourism, and government (1996:71). Thus, in developing and implementing research strategies, we must take into consideration how other anthropologists' practices and engagements with social and political institutions have profound ramifications in the "contact zone."

In addition, the concepts of culture and community have been contested as inadequate in understanding the hybridity and elusiveness of these concepts in post colonial societies; and the imperialist and colonialist notions of purity and authenticity (Anzaldúa 1987; Bhabha 1989). Recent debates on the concepts of culture and community also force us to redefine our views of field site and its location, or multiple locations. Gupta and Ferguson (1997) argue that power relations and space make more difficult to define culture; which is comparable to what Gloria Anzaldúa considers as Borderlands, "…an interstitial zone of displacement and deterritorialization that shapes the identity of the hybridized subject (p.48)." Furthermore, the appropriation of theoretical discourses by the other complicates the elaboration of concepts and theories from the Western perspective. In other words, the "frontier of civilization" becomes the borderlands, where "...contrary to frontiers, are no longer the lines where civilization and barbarism meet and divide, but the location where a new consciousness, a border gnosis, emerges from the repression subjected by the civilizing mission (Walter D. Mignolo 1998:45). In other words, the production of discourses in ethnic identity and identity politics have already appropriated the Western sociological discourses in institutions such as the INAH and governmental apparatuses. The implications for the development and implementation of an English program have to do with our assumptions about the students, their identities and their academic backgrounds, and the ways in which they negotiate and manipulate such assumptions. Ethnic identities are flexible, unstable, and negotiable. Thus, our role as instructors/students requires a careful examination of the practices that tend to take by granted culture, community, and teaching methods.

Traditional ethnographic fieldwork relies on participant observation as a crucial strategy in the production of ethnographic records. For David M. Fetterman (1989) "Participant observation combines participation in the lives of the people under study with maintenance of a professional distance that allows adequate observation and recording of data" (p.45). The "recording of data" in traditional ethnographies is grounded on representation. The voices of the Other are reduced to a single authorial voice, the ethnographer's voice. This notion of fieldwork presupposes distance as the

requirement to achieve objectivity and the people as subjects of study. But, several ethical and epistemological questions are raised when we examine the implications inherent in the presence of the ethnographer in the field site. His/her presence involves practices that are not necessarily documented in the ethnographic record, much less are the interactions that take place in the staging of ethnographic site a substantial part of the documenting process. Furthermore, in representing the Other, the ethnographer mediates and represses the Other's voice and the interactions and engagements that take place in the field site. These traditional methods and techniques inspired by Malinowski's notion of participant-observation presuppose a balance between objectivity and subjectivity, and the impersonal standards of observation and "objective" distance from the informant without the questioning of monophonic authority and often ethnocentric interpretations of the other's ways of life (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). This practice also implied the restraining of polyvocality by giving to the ethnographer the authorial function and to others the role of informants (Clifford & Marcus 1986). Thus, ethnographic writing has a double colonizing effect by repressing the voice of the other, while perpetuating Western views of alterity and difference.

Another concern in this program is the exploration of traditional methods in second language instruction that often take for granted the classroom as a neutral space, and textbooks as neutral conveyors of knowledge.   Furthermore, teaching, in the traditional sense implies a teacher/ student relationship without questioning the unequal power relations that teaching creates. Thus, the lack of pedagogical links to research makes the teaching of foreign language incomplete. Most of the research being conducted on second language acquisition falls into the categories of quantitative research and psycholinguistic approaches (Austin, Zarker, and Wieczorek 1995; Freed, 1991; Ellis, 1990). The alternative to these approaches requires a revision of the assumptions underlying quantitative or positivistic research and traditional teaching methods as they raise ethical and epistemological questions

The SELT program, through several strategies, seeks to make evident our presence and practices as a strategic move from traditional methods and techniques inspired by Malinowski's notion of participant-observation. In order to experiment with alternative modes in ethnographic research, several major concepts in experimental ethnography are explored through the staging of ethnographic sites within and outside the classroom. The classroom is conceived as one of the designated spaces for the staging and documenting of the ethnographic process.

Expanded Documentation, the first concept, involves a multimedia approach consisting of video, tape recording, photography and teaching materials (drawings, texts, and other artifacts) used to document the ethnographic/learning process. Expanded documentation is the strategy that emphasizes the collaborative nature of the ethnographic situation. Expanded documentation is produced and re-circulated not only to avoid privileging writing, but also to explore the possibilities of performance and installation of materials and artifacts produced during the learning process. This strategy is implemented to expose the often neglected presentation of epistemological reflection on fieldwork (Marcus and Cushman 1982;58-59), by presenting the actual elaboration of pedagogical agendas and ethnographic staging. Thus, we move away from the "elusive reconstruction of the fact" (Geertz, 1996), by producing an expanded documentation that includes the ethnographers' practices. . Expanded documentation is one of the strategies implemented through the activities designed with the collaboration of students

and ethnographers. Photographs, recordings, and written interviews conducted by students are examples of the tactics in expanding documentation whose function is to diversify the learning process allowing the student to enact his/her cultural knowledge in a more practical/creative context. In addition, the final goal is to expand documentation from other viewpoints, which is utilized during the clausura in order show the processes of transculturation, remediation, and double sensation.

The artifacts produced (photographs, drawings, etc.) and performing activities (such as games, songs, plays, etc.) are used as **ethnographic triggers** at the end of the program in the form of a clausura (closing day). The drawing of a "Maya Flag" and the interviews by students are examples of ethnographic triggers. They were pasted on posters and exhibited during the clausura. These ethnographic triggers are defined as artifacts and performances that elicit responses and provoke comments among the audience during the installation and performances that take place in a dialogical and collaborative effort.

The provocations and responses elicited by the ethnographic triggers, create a path to **Evocation**, defined by Stephen Tyler (1986) as "...Neither presentation nor representation. It presents no objects and represents none, yet it makes available through absence what can be conceived but not presented" (p.199). The artifacts produced during the learning process are not designed to represent the "Maya culture," rather, to evoke experiences that talk about collaboration, dialogue, and a sense of community. The "Maya Flags," the photographs taken by students and ethnographers, and the written interviews were the "tools" in the creation of ethnographic situations in which the teacher/ethnographer is not observing and interpreting, but instead finds herself relating with several participants in the performance that constitutes ethnography.

Furthermore, the concept of remediation, is defined as the re-circulation of discursive practices such as historical renditions of the Maya, ethnographic texts, and global formations, among others. Such practices mediate, or create narratives about the other through different media, that later is circulated and appropriated. We explore and engage in the process of remediation through the media installation of artifacts produced during the class sessions in order to expose the ways in which the Maya "cultures" are being mediated by anthropological discourse, government and tourist industry practices (Castañeda 1996). Activities like drawing the "Maya Flag" are designed to explore the ways in which students as members of the Maya community remediate anthropological discourses about the identity of the Maya. One of the persistent images in the elaboration of the Maya flags was the pyramid "El Castillo" located in Chichén Itzá. The process of *remediation* occurs when people in Pisté appropriate symbols and signs in their identity discourse that have been previously produced and deployed by institutions such as government, anthropology, and the tourist industry through technological and discursive means. One example could be the historical accounts of the pre-Columbian Maya; narratives found in textbooks for elementary school. The Pisteleños incorporate such discourses through which they are mediated, and recirculate them in the construction of the "Maya flags". The documentation of these activities is produced and presented strategically through multimedia (drawings, narratives, and recordings of oral presentations) at the final installation to expand documentation.

        This strategy also serves as the tactical device to contest modernist conceptions of cultural change. The concept of **remediation** enables us to trace the intervention of anthropologists, transnational corporations and expansionist enterprises, and force us to reconceptualize cultural processes in order to break from simplistic notions of cultural change like Acculturation. This concept implies a one-way process in which a minority, usually a non-Western society, tends to adopt cultural practices from a more dominant/colonizing society, as the result of cultural dynamics. The concept of **transculturation**, is an alternative way in redefining cultural processes as multi-vectorial, rather than bi-directional, but instead, as "…a complex interactive exchange of multidirectional borrowing, readaptation, and complicity (Field School Monograph, 1997)". In this sense, transculturation serves to raise questions like "How are metropolitan modes of representation received and appropriated on the periphery?" (Pratt, 1992).
        The concept of **double sensation**, is defined as a move from the binary logic of observer-observed in ethnographic practices, to the recognition and exposing of engagements between ethnographers/teachers and students from the community in which the observer is observed and reported. As stated before, expanded documentation is used to expose the collaborative nature of ethnographic practices. Several researchers through video, photographs, and notes, documented classroom activities. Thus, we seek to juxtapose the "objective-detached" image of the ethnographer, with the engaged, "nativized" performance of the teacher/ethnographer in the learning process (ethnographic situation). Several activities were deployed in order to explore double sensation. The students were trained to take photographs and to

conduct brief interviews.

While training was conducted, several researchers photographed the scenes and took video to include other ethnographers in the situation. During other sessions, recording of the teacher's voice and photographing documented the ethnographer's practices and interactions with students.

Collaboration, according to Tyler (1986), "…foregrounds dialogue as opposed to monologue, and emphasizes the cooperative and collaborative nature of the ethnographic situation in contrast to the ideology of the transcendental observer" (p.203). It is the strategic move to depart from the privileging of field notes and the subordination of the other for the production of ethnographic materials. In addition, collaboration involves a dialogical production of discourse that seeks to resolve the politics of power relations and the issues in authority and authorship inherent in ethnographic writing in its different versions including the dialogical mode (see Marcus and Cushman 1982, Tedlock and Tyler 1987; Crapanzano 1992). Thus, the ethnographic genre and its stylistic devices being deployed in the representation of other ways of life, that have in common the sharing of a controlling mode of authority (Clifford, 1988) is no longer a concern because there is not a single voice struggling to prevail. In this experimental research, the ethnographic process is in itself the everyday practices, meanings, exchanges, negotiations, and conflicts that emerge during the learning process and engagements between the ethnographers and students. In order to emphasize collaboration, seminars and discussions about the SELT project were developed with the participation of researchers from the other projects. Class agendas were developed from these seminars. Activities in the classroom were also discussed with students in order to make the sessions a student-centered practice. The collaboration of the people from Pisté was a crucial aspect in many activities like finding a classroom, transportation for trips, the use of furniture and other materials for the Clausura, and even in homework that required the help of parents and relatives. Collaboration, as it will be discussed in the pedagogical component of this program, played an important role in the learning process beyond the classroom boundaries.

Performativity is another concept being explored in this program. Through several techniques from Augusto Boal's *Theater of the Oppressed* (1992), we seek to emphasize the performative aspects of everyday practices in the classroom and final installations. One such technique is the **Invisible Theater**, which, according to Boal, requires a script that is modified according to the interventions of the spectators. The theme must be an important issue; a play must be constructed, rehearsed, and finally, taken to the public scene and played as if in conventional theater. The public ignores that this is a play and becomes engaged as an active participant (spect-actor) without being aware of it (pp.6-16). The clausura (closing ceremony) was designed as an event that congregated ethnographers, parents, students, and people from the community. This event was organized and implemented for the installation of artifacts produced during class activities, but also to document the performative aspects of our engagements and practices in the ethnographic situation.

Forum Theater is another technique in which students become involved in the preparation of the script and the actual performance of the play. Some essential elements are required. The script must clearly define the characters so that ideologies are easily recognized. To allow spectators to intervene and to produce a didactical situation actors present one political error and invite the audience to propose solutions (pp.17-21).

These theater techniques are used as pedagogical tactics that involve English acquisition in the form of phrases, songs, dialogues, and games. The objective is to expose the processes of transculturation, double sensation, and remediation as ethnographic triggers to react and provoke the collaborators and research participants of this project. During the class sessions, students developed several dialogues in the form of interviews. A play was staged with the students performing as ethnographers who asked questions to other students who played the role of "natives." The "interviews" were conducted in Maya, English, and Spanish.

SELT instruction often took children out of the classroom so that they might experience language-learning in a variety of contexts. Classes made short excursions around Piste, taking pictures,

   The second major concern explored in this component of the Field School program is the implementation of views from critical pedagogy in teaching as they intersect with ethnographic research. Education can be an oppressive practice even when educators are unaware of their practices that repress the students' sociocultural and intellectual backgrounds. In this specific program, several concerns with the teaching of English and the staging of ethnography merge and emerge. First, the history of interaction and exchange between anthropological, political, and capitalist institutions and the community produce several cultural changes above referred to transculturation. The community anticipates the arrival of tourists, anthropologists, etc. and **remediate**, that is, appropriate and transform, through the manipulation of signs and symbols, identity discourses being deployed by foreign, national and local entities (INAH, Secretary of Education, etc.). Thus, the English language is also found in their everyday speech (I do not intend to generalize) whether in the classroom, encounters with tourists (especially U.S. students and missionaries travelling to the community to teach English), or leisure activities like television. The point is that, by recognizing their *cultural capital* (Bourdieu 1977), we attempt to break from the traditional system of *Banking Teaching*, a concept of education in which a narrative character is revealed through the binary teacher/student, where the former narrates or deposits "knowledge" into the latter. This leads to what Freire (1970) refers to as students being "receptacles"

to be "filled" with the narrated content (pp.52-53). Learning English involves more than just hearing and reciting words and phrases; it involves recognizing the student's ability to engage in a more critical and creative dialogue with the instructor. The reconciliation of the contradiction teacher/student, Freire (1997) argues, is resolved by recognizing that the teacher is also a student creating the possibilities for the production of knowledge. This implies that teaching does not occur without learning and allowing the student to develop critical thinking and *epistemological curiosity* (p.24-26).

　　　　Pierre Bourdieu (1997) contends that an educational program must not be an imperative code, but a flexible and open process allowing teachers to collaborate in its elaboration and implementation (p.134). These principles guide the methodological aspects of SELT through the flexible discussion and elaboration of the class agenda among Field School participants (students and instructors) in such a manner that allows more input from the students as the learning process evolves. Furthermore, the pedagogical action inherent in the implementation of prescribed teaching methods in English, such as those containing images and dialogues based on the views from the dominant society (books and methods found in the U.S.A), constitute "symbolic violence" in two senses. First, according to Bourdieu (1995), the "imposition of a cultural arbitrary relation of pedagogical communication and inculcation" (education) is an objective symbolical violence by dismissing the sociocultural background and diversity of students found in specific communities and schools (1995:46). Bourdieu also characterizes pedagogical action as a symbolic violence when certain signifieds are selected by excluding others for their reproduction in the educational system as if they were "natural"(p.48).

　　　　During the review of several textbooks and other teaching methods, we found that Bourdieu's concepts of "cultural capital" and "symbolic violence" are the appropriate analytical tools in the exploration of images and texts that reflect urban, middle class households (e.g. two-story houses in the USA). Such materials exemplify the lack of sensitivity/awareness inherent in textbooks. The concept of cultural capital can also be extended to symbolic interaction (Mehan 1983). Power relations in the classroom take place by giving primacy to discursive practices and linguistic competence that most resemble the teacher's or the majority's ideology. This creates a class dynamic that results in the disempowering of students from minority groups and marginal classes. One of the pedagogical strategies is based on the deliberate exclusion of textbooks and other pre-fabricated materials for the teaching of English in this program. Instead, we seek to develop sensitive, student-oriented agendas that derive from discussions and students' feedback during the program on a daily basis. We place an emphasis on dialogical teaching techniques by establishing rapport and continuous interactions with students. As stated above, Freire's notion of the role of the educator as teacher/student facilitating the using of critical thinking and a deep conviction that teaching involves learning, we incorporate this principle by becoming students of Spanish and Yucatec Maya. In other words, the learning process requires students to teach and learn, and teachers to learn and teach in a multilingual setting. **Collaboration** is of vital importance in this program to address the ethical and political issues in ethnography and pedagogy. Thus, we attempt to adopt culturally and linguistically meaningful teaching strategies that permit students to internalize interpsychological experience into intrapsychological cognitive categories that occur within the Zone of Proximal Development (Zou and Trueba, 1998). The *Zone of Proximal Development* was defined by Lev Vygotsky

(1978,1987) as "…the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (p.86)." This strategy involves the active participation of English teachers and students in the development of activities consistent with students' and teachers' levels of proficiency in Maya, English and Spanish. Most importantly, the concept of collaboration in this context, implies the participation of parents and community members in the entire organization and implementation of the program, from the permits to use public spaces (schools, government facilities, etc.) to the final installation and attendance at the Clausura. Development of language skills involves the sociohistorical aspects of the student (Vygotsky 1986). Thus, every aspect of the learning process involves collaboration and support to ensure a more favorable environment for the student, and a more effective development of his/her intellectual potential.

  The third major concern for this program involves the distinction made by researchers between applied and basic research. Dr. Castañeda has developed a program that simultaneously seeks to explore the possibilities in experimental ethnography while reciprocating the hospitality and goodwill of the People in Pisté. This specific component seeks to accomplish that goal by offering English classes free of charge, and without incurring any expenses on school supplies. The immediate benefits for young students may be observed once they begin to take English classes (mandatory in core curricula in Mexican middle and high schools). For other students working in tourism related businesses (Chichén Itzá vendors, restaurants, etc.) the benefits are more practical and necessary. The consequences of this approach have deeper ethical and epistemological implications. Issues of paternalistic practices and the nature of experimentation raise several questions. Questions of applicability and implementation of teaching agendas in established educational institutions are raised due to the communitarian nature of the project and the specific circumstances of its implementation. A closer look at the class agenda clarifies such issues by observing a rigorous adherence to Freire's notion of liberation of the oppressed by the oppressed. According to Paulo Freire, liberation is achieved through reflecting and facilitating a humanizing pedagogy and a *co-intentional* education, in which teachers and students are both subjects in the task of learning critically and reproducing knowledge (1970:51).

Part 2
Objectives of SELT

Based on the theoretical framework that informs the ethnographic and pedagogical practices of SELT, we list the main objectives and their different modes of implementation and staging. We start with the development and implementation of a four-week English program for children and adults, free of charge. This program involves several activities that seek to explore views from critical pedagogy and the staging and exploration of ethnographic concepts.

The classroom is transformed into an ethnographic field site in which engagements, practices, meanings, and transcultural processes are documented; and artifacts are produced through pedagogical activities and collaboration for the final installation and exhibition of documenting materials and performances as ethnographic Triggers. Teaching sessions consist of vocabulary building and sentence construction based on students' previous experience in English acquisition. Students are encouraged to use words and phrases that they already know. This approach also involves the assistance from peers and instructors. During these activities, double sensation and transculturation are explored through multimedia documentation. Instructors take turns photographing, tape recording, and taking notes. This documentation emphasizes on body movement, posture, and articulation from different angles that seek to capture the performativity of the ethnographic process.

A critical approach in learning is produced by allowing students and instructors to provide words and sentences from their native languages (English, Maya, and Spanish). Daily agendas are based on specific themes which students are interested in learning, including games and other fun activities. The implementation of games has several purposes: To motivate interaction and collaboration among students and instructors; To combine linguistic skills and physical movement in the learning process; To insert new words and phrases in different contexts; And to expand documentation in various spatial arrangements. Drawing and writing activities are designed to further explore the processes of remediation and transculturation in the academic context.

The learning techniques have another pedagogical goal, that is, to encourage students to use language acquisition skills in different ways without privileging verbal performance. Drawing of objects, body parts, geometrical figures, people, animals, etc. allows students to associate images and words in order to improve cognitive processes in learning, while allowing instructors to conduct documentation. Parents and the community in general are encouraged to participate in the several aspects of the learning process. During interviews, teachers encourage adults to participate in activities in order to reinforce a sense of community for the student. This leads to gaining insight and feedback in terms of satisfaction with student's progress, collaboration with student's homework, and a critical assessment of the program for further improvement and adaptation to individual needs. Collaboration is manifested through the engagement between students, Field School members, parents, and other community members in daily interactions and practices such as field trips, interviews, and homework.

The purpose of teaching songs and dialogues is to get students involved in art performance. Singing does not involve music training, but it does involve group organization and basic vocalization of some songs in English and Maya in order to increase vocabulary and performance skills. Through the art techniques, we seek to explore verbal performance in a public setting by training students to create dialogues and to perform short scripts in front of an audience.

The preparation of the Clausura begins from the first day of classes by inviting people to participate in a community project that culminates on this event. All the artifacts and activities being learned, produced and rehearsed during the class sessions are organized in the form of ethnographic installations exhibiting drawings, text, photographs, video, and tape recordings to the public. Students' performances are presented to the community during the Clausura. This final event is strategically organized in order to present to the community the students' progress in the acquisition of English, as the pragmatic aspect of this event. In addition, the Clausura serves to create a public space for the community and students to congregate and enjoy in a familial environment, to present students with certificates and prizes for their achievement, to promote a sense of community and awareness of the importance of family and community participation in the education of their children.

And finally, the Clausura is used to stage an ethnographic installation in which the processes of remediation, transculturation and double sensation are explored through expanded documentation. In addition, artifacts and documentation materials are exhibited in order to provoke comments and reactions from the audience in the form of ethnographic triggers, which in turn lead to evocation, not as the final goal, but as another stage in the emergent and performative nature of the ethnographic situation.

Part 3
Agenda Of Classroom Activities and Comments

- **Monday 7/13/98**

9:30am: Registration for children and adult classes took place in front of the Palacio Municipal. Students from the Field School, including Laurie, Fernando, Ana, Kathleen, Elisa and Saul took turns signing people in for the English classes beginning the following day. A master list was prepared to record the names of students, addresses, age, and previous experience in English. As many as seventy students were registered this day. Students were designated to two different schedules according to their ages. The first session was planned for children from seven to ten years of age and was held from 9:30am. to 10:30am, Mondays through Thursdays. The second age group was formed with children from eleven to fifteen years of age, scheduled from 11:00 am to 12:00pm Mondays to Thursdays as well.

The thirty-minute break between sessions was designated as a time to discuss the plan for the following session among instructors and to assess the previous session by note taking and exchange of impressions and comments.

During the registration day we advised parents and children to appear the following day (first day of classes) in order to designate students to their respective schedules. This was done to prevent any confusion among parents and students. We learned from the previous year that many children registered for classes, but a smaller number actually attended as classes began. Thus, having the actual number of children allowed us to decide class size and the number of classrooms to be utilized during the program. During the registration day, approximately 70 children from ages 7 to 14 signed in for classes

Tuesday 07/14/98

8:30am: We met with Leni A. Tun, director of the Centro de Educacion Pre-escolar (Center for pre-school education) "Felipe Carrillo Puerto" to receive the keys for the building and to sign a form that included an inventory of the furniture and equipment of that institution.

9:30am - 12:00am: The first meeting with students involved several activities, in which the entire team of the Field School participated in the organizing and documenting of the first day of classes.

We began by placing children in the courtyard to accommodate everyone due to the classrooms' size. Chairs were placed in circles as we called the names of students. Four groups were formed, two for the 9:30am session, and two more groups for the11:30am sessions. Kathleen Murphy and I began the introduction by stating our roles as instructors. We proceeded by introducing the rest of the team while we were documenting the session through photographing, video, and note taking. Following the introductions, we proceeded by distributing labels reading "my name is" in English, Spanish, and Maya. This tactic was designed to begin the learning process taking into account the linguistic backgrounds of students and researchers in this specific educational setting. From the beginning, we emphasized the recognition of our

presence not only as instructors, but also as students of a second (or third language) during the program. Furthermore, the insistence on promoting a multilingual interaction is justified by the theoretical framework that guided this program as an experimental endeavor informed by views from critical pedagogy and experimental ethnographic research.

Several phrases in English, Maya and Spanish were practiced to introduce us and to establish rapport among students. In addition, the four groups of students formed circles and interacted among themselves and researchers, while the rest of the team photographed and recorded the activities and spatial arrangements.

- **Wednesday 07/15/98**

9:30am class agenda: Kathleen and I began by introducing ourselves again to the students. We formed a large round table with the small desks in order to change the traditional teacher-students spatial arrangement. The first activity consisted of asking children what words in English they were interested in learning in order to develop a theme for that session. Based on their requests, we proceeded by asking who knew the English words for body parts and geometric shapes. This was implemented by pointing to shapes in the classroom, such as lights (square), blackboard (rectangle), cans (circle and cylinder). We also asked students if they knew any other shapes. Some students added the trapeze and the rhomboid to the list. Next, we proposed to teach body parts, to which the students agreed. The English words arms, legs, fingers, feet, nose, eyes, face, head, mouth, hair, toes, and neck were practiced by pointing our finger to such parts and asking students in Spanish to name the parts in English. We found that they already knew some of the words.

11:00am class agenda: The second session was similar to the first one in terms of activities. Although students in this session range from ages 10 to 14, we decided to have the same activities (body parts and geometric figures). Activities included naming shapes and body parts and providing new words in English in order to build vocabulary for future activities.

Comments: During the first and second sessions, Kathleen and I took turns taking photographs and recording the activities in order to put into operation the elements of experimental ethnography as discussed in the theoretical framework of this program.

The views from Critical Pedagogy were also explored through the deployment of several tactics that included allowing the students to provide words they already knew in English; this procedure permits the student to interact with instructors and classmates in a more active manner. Furthermore, this didactical strategy also makes evident the process of transculturation expressed in students' discourse. As children become exposed to quotidian interactions with tourists, television, and educators, there is an exchange of information and cultural practices occurring in different directions. This process poses a question to the concept of acculturation in the representations of Maya communities like Pisté, as depicted in ethnographic literature.

- **Thursday 07/16/98**

9:30am class agenda: The first session was comprised of a review of the previous session's vocabulary through games. We went to the courtyard to practice geometric shapes with our bodies. We formed the circle, rectangle, trapeze, rhomboid, hexagon, and square by holding our hands and naming the figure, first in Spanish followed by its English equivalent. The review of body parts was done through a game that consisted of two teams and a volunteer facing each team, standing on top of the table. Each volunteer took turns pointing at a body part followed by one of the team's members naming that part in English. The students named the parts in a very informal fashion. Those who forgot the words were encouraged to get help from their classmates. The second half of the session was dedicated to the introduction of new sets of words. Students were encouraged to express their predilection in vocabulary building. Students requested colors and animal names. Thus, we spent the rest of the session practicing words like red, black, orange, white, purple, green, blue, and the names lion, cat, dog, chicken, rooster, and bird. As in the previous session, some students showed their knowledge of English words.

11:00am class agenda: The second session with teenagers was also divided in two segments. The first one was dedicated to review shapes and body parts. Students provided more words, both in English and Spanish, than the first class did. The second part of the session was also dedicated to introduce colors and names of animals. Students were encouraged to look in their notes for words that they forgot, and to ask for help from their classmates.

Comments: Today's sessions did not involve much documentation due to the absence of Kathleen and Laurie who were sick. However, I took notes and photographs whenever I had a chance. The inclusion of competition games is designed to promote collaboration among students, and to make the class more enjoyable. Games are an important aspect of learning, for they stimulate students' participation and reduce the tension that builds up during class sometimes. As the first sessions of the program take place, we have recognized the difficulties that emerge in the implementation of ethnographic strategies at the same time that we attempt to put into practice views from critical pedagogy. One such difficulty is found as we attempt to expand the documentation of the learning process without disturbing it. This is not to say that we are trying to erase or make our presence less apparent. On the contrary, our presence is from the beginning being documented and made evident. This strategy is consistent with one of the principles guiding the ethnographic research. *Double Sensation* involves documenting and making evident our presence, so that *we,* as researchers recognize ourselves as part of the ethnographic process. Thus, the binary logic of object/subject in the learning/ethnographic site is pushed to other realms by our performance. In addition, photographic documentation of games and other activities is deployed to capture the performative aspects of the process by focusing on body postures, gestures and space from different angles. This form of documentation is produced and circulated during the Clausura (end of classes) through an exhibition of photographs that will be used as triggers to elicit responses and comments by people attending the event.

- **Monday 07/20/98**

9:30am class agenda: The activities for this day included practicing greetings and short phrases as to broaden students' linguistic repertoire. The following phrases were asked in Spanish and several students attempted to articulate them with our assistance: Good morning, Good afternoon, Good evening, and Good night. In addition to greetings, we also started to practice in a dialogical form the phrases "what day is today?," "Today is Monday," and "What date is today" The second activity was suggested by Kathleen, who invited the students to draw a "Maya flag" using the shapes and colors that we had practiced in English. In addition to the drawing, students were encouraged to write a narrative about the Maya culture. We provided the students with crayons to start the drawings, which would take two or three sessions. The final activity of the day consisted of distributing candy to students when they were leaving the classroom. This activity not only served as a reinforcing strategy, but also to practice "thank you" and I will see you tomorrow" as every student got his/her candy.

11:00am class agenda: The same activities implemented in the first session were repeated with the students of the second session. Greetings and dates were practiced. Again, students showed their knowledge of English by contributing with words and short phrases like "good bye" etc. The "Maya Flag" assignment was also presented and students were enthusiastic about the project. Students also practiced "thank you" and " I will see you tomorrow" as we gave them candy by the end of the session.

Comments: Activities like drawing the "Maya Flag" are designed to explore the ways in which students as members of the Maya community remediate anthropological discourses about the identity of the Maya. One of the persistent images in the elaboration of the Maya flags was the pyramid "El Castillo" located in Chichén Itzá. The process of *remediation* occurs when members of a community appropriate symbols and signs in their discourse of identity that have been previously produced and deployed by institutions such as government, anthropology, and the tourist industry through technological and discursive means. The Pisteleños incorporate such discourses through which they are mediated, and *recirculate* them in the construction of their identity. The documentation of these activities is produced and presented strategically through multimedia (drawings, narratives, and recordings of oral presentations) at the final installation to expand documentation.

- **Tuesday 07/21/98**

9:30am Class agenda: The agenda consisted of a review of greetings, completion of drawings of the Maya flag, jumping while counting in English from one to twenty, and drawing a giant on the courtyard to practice previous and new body parts and colors. Several students volunteered to give oral presentations of their narratives and flags. The phrases "How old are you" and " I am # years old" were practiced. Students asked among themselves their ages. As in previous sessions, we decided to improvise activities to enhance spontaneity and class participation. A calendar with special dates for each student was assigned, but students did not show interest. At the end of the

session, we decided to introduce briefly the song "Head and Shoulders" to review body parts.

11:00am class agenda: The second session followed the same agenda as the first one. In addition, students suggested practicing the ABC, so Laurie provided the ABC song as an improvising tactic.

Comments: Informed by the views of critical pedagogy, specifically Paolo Freire's ideas on education, we design flexible plans that allow for students to suggest specific activities and games they are interested in doing, and provide an ample repertoire of linguistic exercises that fit their varied interests. Rigid teaching agendas do not allow students to engage in a more critical interaction with instructors by imposing on them a pre-established body of knowledge that represses the knowledge that they already posses. Consequently, we have constantly noticed how students offer new words in English, and take leading roles during the sessions. This behavior also extends to other students who become more expressive and participate more actively in the learning process. Furthermore, students not only benefit by finding a social space in which they can practice previously learned words, but we also find new ways to improve rapport and to enhance self-confidence among students.

- **Wednesday 07/22/98**

9:30am class agenda: review of body parts through the activity consisting of Laurie drawing a person on the blackboard while the students named the parts until the body was completed. Review of greetings briefly. We rehearsed the song "Head and Shoulders". Some of the students already knew the song, so we decided to improvise two more verses, " Belly and fingers, eyes and nose" and "Feet and arms and hair and neck." I also improvised another activity to practice body parts and colors by taking the students to the courtyard and asking them to draw body parts on the floor with the chalk of their choice. Students named the color of the chalk they have selected and proceeded to draw. Laurie and I assisted the students while taking turns photographing the activity.

11:00am class schedule: The first twenty minutes were assigned to the completion of drawings and narratives. We announced the second stage of the flag activity for the following day, which consisted in voting for the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd place for the best flags based on the applause from the students as we presented each flag. We also told students that all flags were part of the installation during the Clausura, and that prizes would be given to the winners. The second part of the class took place at the Plaza Principal (Main Park). Students were assigned to make drawings of tourists walking on the streets. We provided sheets of paper and crayons. Students were encouraged to use the words they had learned for the drawings.

Comments: The processes of transculturation occur at different levels and in multiple directions. When we observe students performing certain tasks and engaging in verbal performance, it becomes obvious that cultural change is multidirectional. One example is provided by their knowledge of English words and phrases acquired through previous language programs by foreign institutions such as universities and religious groups and

by cable television available in the community as well. While tourists learn new words in Spanish and Maya, community members appropriate and transform new ways of interaction with tourists. The concepts of acculturation and enculturation appear to be inadequate in describing cultural aspects of this community. When we observe students performing certain tasks and verbal performance, and during our interactions with them, we have also learned phrases in Maya and the colloquialisms in Spanish from the Yucatec region. The drawing activities and their documentation provide further evidence of our interaction with students inside and outside of the classroom. This also serves as a tactic to include the spatial surroundings of the classroom and to promote a more interactive learning. It is also a deliberate attempt to break with traditional classroom's dynamics imposed by space and history of the educational institution as a conditioning structure.

- **Thursday 07/23/98**

9:30am class agenda: The planning for Thursday included finishing drawings of tourists in the park and review of vocabulary. New themes were introduced. Vocabulary on clothing and accessories was practiced. New words like tie, ring, shoes, dress, pants, etc. became part of the students' repertoire. Several students were actively participating by giving names of clothes and accessories that they already knew in English. The remainder of the class was dedicated to the voting and reading of flag histories. Students voted for their favorite flags by applauding. As I showed the flags, Laurie counted the number of clapping students as votes.

11:00am class agenda: We also had the same basic plan for the second session. Activities were conducted in the same order, and with similar results. The winners of the flag competition were to be announced during the Clausura for both groups. We asked students to bring their parents or relatives to the Monday class. We planned to have brief meetings with parents to inform them about the Clausura. Students were invited to attend to the installation of the Chilam Balam project on Sunday 26. We decided to meet parents and establish rapport, at the same time that they participated in the installation.

Comments: One of the important aspects involved in the learning process is the family factor and its role in the student's academic success. This notion has been extensively explored in education. The student's sociocultural background has a tremendous effect on his/her development and subsequent learning process. The importance of getting parents and relatives involved in the learning process of the student is linked to the Vygotskian concept of *Zone of proximal development.* This concept is defined as the distance between the actual development level of the student and the level of potential development determined by the assistance of adults. By learning parents' socioeconomic and educational background, and the extent to which they get involved in the students' learning processes, we are able to detect which students need more or less assistance than others without relying on quantitative measurements. From the ethnographic perspective, the level of collaboration within the community is of vital importance in creating an experimental ethnography that breaks with the binary logic observer/observed and ethnographer/ informant commonly found in ethnographic accounts.

- **Monday 07/27/98**

9:30am class agenda: Meeting with parents. Review of vocabulary: body parts, colors, shapes, clothes, writing of words on the board, and songs. Since most of the students were restless and reluctant to participate in the planned activities, we agreed on their requests of writing on the board the names of clothes they suggested. Most students were very interested in writing and taking notes.

11:00am class agenda: For the second session, we planned to introduce a new activity that consisted of training students in photography, note taking, tape recording, and interviewing. Most of the class was spent on vocabulary review and an introduction of the "ethnographic activity" for Tuesday.

Comments: Few interviews were conducted with parents during this Monday due to their work schedule. Nevertheless, those who appeared had questions and opinions about the program. They also showed their appreciation for the program, and commented on the benefits for the children. Applied anthropology tends to be separated from academic anthropology on the premise that the former has a direct pragmatic effect on the community, and the latter a primary concern with "basic research." The SELT program, is one of the three components of the larger project The Field School in Experimental Ethnography designed to implement experimental views in anthropological research while reciprocating the hospitality of the community by offering free English classes to children and adults. This collaborative aspect of the program is present in the three components and, in the case of SELT, the combination of theories and views from critical pedagogy in order to explore the possibilities for improving teaching practices and research.

- **Tuesday 07/28/98**

9:30am class agenda: Review of vocabulary and introduction of new phrases: I am hot, I am thirsty, I am cold, I am hungry, I am crazy, etc. Laurie and I documented the activities through photography, notes, and tape recorder.

11:00am class agenda: Brief lecture by Dr. Castañeda about activities anthropologists do, including interviewing, photographing, recording, and observing. Brief description of a camera and its parts. Practicing of camera parts and photographic equipment in English followed by training of students in taking photographs. Each student was assigned to take two photographs of the subject of their choice. We announced to the students the following activity for Wednesday, which consisted in learning about tape recording. Intensive documentation by team members: Lisa and Fernando on the video camera. Elisa, Ana, Dr. Castañeda, Laurie and I were photographing and recording while assisting students. Photographs by students were recorded on a list with student's name and photo number.

Comments: The purpose of expanded documentation is to make evident our presence in the ethnographic process and to transform the classroom into an ethnographic site. By disrupting the traditional arrangement of the classroom and its inherent binary logic of teacher/students to a collaborative effort in which we become the

observers/observed. This documentation is included in the final installation during the Clausura.

- **Wednesday 07/29/98**

9:30am class agenda: Review of vocabulary and phrases through songs and games. I suggested a trip to a swimming pool at one of the hotels in town. This was presented as a reward for the students' progress in learning and excellent behavior. We asked them to obtain a written permission from their parents, or to bring parents with them. The trip was scheduled for Thursday.

11:00am class agenda: This first half of the session was assigned to the review of vocabulary. During the second half, we gave a brief description of the tape recorder and its parts. Next, we practiced some of the recorder parts in English, and proceeded to ask volunteers to start brief recordings of interviews among the students. The students decided they wanted to conduct interview in a reciprocal fashion. Several phrases were practiced in English, Spanish and Maya. Team members Fernando and Ana took video and photographs while assisting students with their tasks. Laurie also assisted students with the recording of interviews while I asked students to name the parts of the recorder in English.

Comments: Training students in interviewing and recording was designed to expose students to these electronic devices and techniques used by ethnographers. In addition, this was a tactic to teach more words and phrases, and to reaffirm previous lessons. A third goal was to prepare students for future activities that involved an actual play to be prepared for the Clausura. These tactics have a didactical value for students and allow us to gather more documentation produced by the students themselves.

- **Thursday 07/30/98**

9:30am class agenda: A meeting was arranged with parents to discuss the trip and the importance of their involvement in their children's activities, including the Clausura. While Laurie started some games with the students, I met with the parents to discuss the details of the trip and the Clausura. We spent the second part of the session drawing and playing with students in the courtyard. The trip to the swimming pool was scheduled for noon. Two parents participated in the trip and provided transportation.

11:00am class agenda: During the second session, we reviewed several greetings and short questions in English, Maya, and Spanish that the students had to include in their written interviews among themselves. After the interviews were conducted, we collected them as part of the documentation to be included in the installation at the Clausura.

Comments: At this point in the program, students start to show more interest in speaking words in Maya. One of the possible explanations is that there is a stigma attached to Maya speaking among members of the community as some of the students indicate that only *Chacmoleros* and *Tepos* speak Maya. The label *Tepos* is used in the community to refer to drunkards. A group of street vendors known as "Chacmoleros" (a derogatory label for children and adults selling replicas of the Chac Mool) usually speak more Maya than the rest of the children who come from families that are more

affluent. We believe that, as we developed rapport and gained their trust, students became more willing to let us know they speak Maya. We continuously send messages to students about the importance of knowing more than one language, and insist on asking questions about words and phrases in Maya during class. Perhaps this effort on our part has become an important factor in their decision. As the day of the Clausura approaches, our activities produce more documentation that will serve as triggers for the attending community to provoke their responses and comments during the event. Several tactics have been deployed to increase parents' collaboration during the program and the community involvement through requests for facilities such as the swimming pool from a local restaurant, transportation and other items. The goal is to put into operation the pedagogical views based on community involvement, and ethnographic research as a collaborative effort.

- **Monday 08/03/98**

9:30am class agenda: The planning for Monday included two activities. The first one consisted in teaching students how to construct a genealogy of their families. A family tree was drawn on the board indicating in the English equivalent words for father, mother, uncle, sister, grandmother, etc. The students were assigned to draw on a piece of paper a similar family tree using the new words in English in small boxes, and adding the appropriate name of the family member to the box. Several students showed their knowledge of English during the activity, and shared it with their classmates. We also provided new words for their repertoire, and practiced through rote rehearsal. During the last part of the session, we discussed the activities for the Clausura, such as the construction of posters with drawings and photographic materials from previous sessions.

11:00am class agenda: For the second session, we had the same activities as in the first one. The only difference was the type of materials to be used on the posters. Since photographing, recording and writing of interviews were activities designed only for the second group, we devoted more time to the discussion of posters and selection of materials.

Comments: Experimental ethnography in the classroom is guided by the elements already discussed in the definition of SELT and its goals. Expanded documentation is one of the strategies to be implemented through the activities designed for the second class. Photographs, recordings, and written interviews conducted by students are tactics whose function is to diversify the learning process allowing the student to enact his/her cultural knowledge in a more practical/creative context. The final goal is to expand documentation from other viewpoints, which is utilized during the Clausura in order show the processes of transculturation, remediation, and double sensation, which in turn expose the methodological and epistemological issues in the production of ethnographic knowledge and the need to continue experimental ethnography.

- **Tuesday 08/04/98**

9:30am class agenda: The first session was planned to prepare the posters with photographs, drawings, and texts. We designated one poster for each group made up of four students, and distributed the materials arbitrarily. We pasted materials and let

students draw titles and small figures on the margins of posters. We also discussed the organization of the Clausura. We asked students to invite friends and relatives. We began collecting genealogies.

11:00am class agenda: The first half of the session was dedicated to the preparation of posters. For this class, we used the documentation obtained from the training in photo, audio, and writing of interviews. We proceeded to paste materials as in the previous session. During the second part, we introduced another activity for the Clausura, a puppet show based on the learning of phrases, words and songs during the program. In addition, the plot consisted of a situation in which anthropologists go into the community to conduct interviews and the "natives" have the opportunity to express their opinions about the anthropologists' presence in the community.

Comments: These activities enable students to present to the community their English and Maya acquisition, while allowing us to implement theater techniques from Augusto Boal's Theater of the Oppressed, and the ideas of Bertlot Brecht. The performative aspects of students enacting scripts and songs are further documented as part of the ethnographic process. Boal's ideas permit to explore the community's dynamics in terms of their interaction and perception of tourists and visitors, and the ways in which those dynamics are articulated and negotiated at the levels of discourse and transculturative processes. These ideas are also didactic for they lead to new viewpoints and possible solutions to specific issues affecting the community. These tactics allow us to operate with a clear notion of anthropological research as an endeavor simultaneously implemented in an applied context. Finally, we design and put into operation these tactics seeking to involve the community. Activities involve a collaborative effort from the community. This is one of the principles guiding the School in Experimental Ethnography.

- **Wednesday 08/05/98**
9:30am class agenda: Last day to turn in genealogies of students' families. We rehearsed the song to be performed during the Clausura, and added two more verses in Maya to the song "Head and Shoulders": *Pol, Kelemba, Yok y pach* and *Kox, Baax, pal.* We also finished the construction of posters.

11:00am class agenda: We rehearsed the puppet show roles (three anthropologists and the rest of the class representing the "natives"). The students designed several dialogues in English, Maya and Spanish to perform during the show. Students made puppets with used socks, pieces of fabric and paper. Another activity was designed for those students who were not interested in the puppet show (mostly girls). Laurie and six students rehearsed the song "Old Don Victor had a farm" to be performed at the Clausura as well.

Comments: We have consistently stressed the idea of allowing the students to express their specific interests in English learning. Through a variety of activities, our interaction with students, their performance, and the ethnographic strategies, were improved and became more creative and focused. We continue to record and photograph the preparation for the Clausura as another tactic to expose the process of double

sensation during the staging of ethnography. The emphasis on teaching Maya is also based on the idea of *Revalorization of Maya Culture*, one of the principles grounding the research program developed as a project of collaboration with the community and researchers.

- **Thursday 08/06/98**

9:30am class agenda: During the final session, we rehearsed the song "Head and Shoulders" and exchanged addresses with students. We also reminded the class to bring their parents to the Clausura.

11:00am class agenda: During the second session, we divided into two groups. One group rehearsed the puppet show, its dialogues and students' roles. The second group rehearsed the song "Old Don Victor."

Comments: The final sessions were exclusively concerned with preparation for the Clausura. This final activity is designed to provide a space for the community, especially parents, students, collaborators, community officials, and the research team, to become involved with students' performance and exhibition of language skills. The Clausura was also designed as a strategy to stage the ethnographic scene whose performativity, engagements, spatial and temporal localization is subjected to expanded documentation.

Part 5
The Clausura of SELT as Experimental Ethnography

I. The SELT program is conceptualized within the larger project ***The Field School in Experimental Ethnography***, as one component with specific goals and practices leading to a final installation, The Clausura. This final event was conceived as a strategy to put into operation the several modes of documentation and performances generated and rehearsed during the class sessions, where the processes of **Transculturation, Double Sensation,** and **Remediation** emerge. The Clausura is an experiment in ethnographic research in which several agendas concur to stage the ethnographic performance. These agendas come from three different concerns. The first is the implementation of views from **Critical Pedagogy** in teaching EFL (English as a Foreign Language). The second concern is the development of principles guiding the ethnographic research as developed through the ideas from Quetzil Castañeda and Abdel Hernandez, and finally, the exploration of the two former concerns as they intersect each other and overlap within the learning/ethnographic process. The Clausura is the final stage of the SELT program, and as such, is the culmination of activities, agendas, and practices developed through the sessions. During this event, all the documentation is presented to the public in the form of posters with photographs, recordings, drawings, and texts. Several performances by the students are also presented to the public. Presentations of awards for the winning flags in the contest are also presented to students and the audience. These specific activities are designed as tactics to be deployed as **triggers** eliciting comments and expanding documentation in a community event that involves parents, students, researcher/students, and public

officials collaborating and being reported in the ethnographic process in order to explore **Evocation** during the final event. In summary, the Clausura is the staging of the ethnographic site with its multiple layers of meanings, temporalities, engagements, and spatiality being subjected to a further expanded documentation.

II. The Clausura took place in the theater behind the Palacio. This facility consists of a large courtyard in the back of the two official buildings of Pisté, the Comisariado Ejidal, and the Comisariado Municipal. The court yard has a rectangular shape measuring 17x 26 mts. On the background, there are two restrooms, one on each corner. In the center, two square columns support the roof of the theater stage, which is 1.5mts higher than the courtyard. Facing the stage, there are stairs on the left and a large ramp on the right. Entrance to the theater is located on the right lower corner of the theater. Block walls about 3.5mts high surround the entire space. The arrangement of chairs, tables and installation materials is depicted on the sketch map of the theater (see appendix).

III. The Clausura was organized and scheduled for August 6, 1998, from 7:00pm to 9:00pm. The event followed a script previously designed during group seminars conducted by Field School members under the guidance of Dr. Castañeda.

- **Entrance:** Members of the Field School welcome people as they enter the theater. Parents and students stroll around the installation while observing the posters and flags being exhibited. Several researchers start taking video, photographs, and recordings of the scenes. The audience is invited to sit down before the program begins.
- **Acknowledgements:** The program begins with an introduction of the Field School team by Dr. Castañeda, followed by Jose Saul Martinez, who reads the letter of acknowledgments with the names of people and institutions that participated in the development of SELT (see appendix).
- Saul introduces the students from the 9:30 class to give the first presentation of the night. The song "Head and Shoulders" is performed by students, Laurie, and Ana in English and Maya in front of the audience, while the team takes video and photographs from several angles. Saul encourages the audience to cheer and applaud before introducing the next performance.
- Saul introduces the next group of students from the 11:00am class execute the puppet show. Two tables are placed sideways in order to cover the students' bodies. On the first table the group of three "anthropologists" start by greeting the "natives" on the second table, followed by sets of questions and answers from the two groups in English, Maya, and Spanish. Saul coaches the students with their exchange of questions while the rest of the team takes video and photographs.
- The group of girls from the 11:00am class are joined by Laurie and Ana to perform the song "Old Don Victor Had a Farm." Documentation continues
- Quetzil and Fernando distribute refreshments among the audience
- Saul, Laurie, and Quetzil, standing in front of the audience, conduct the presentation of winners from the "Maya Flag" contest. Students from the 9:30

class are called to receive their prizes for the first, second and third place. The next group of students from the 11:00 class is also presented with prizes. In addition to the prize awards, all students are also presented with certificates of completion, signed by the director and instructors (see appendix).

- **Closing Statement:** The members of the Field School express their appreciation to Parents, students, and the rest of the audience for their collaboration and invite them to walk around the installation where photographs, drawings, recordings, and interviews are being exhibited to the public.

IV. The Clausura is conceptualized in its common use as the staging of a pragmatic event that marks the end of classes and congregates parents, students and school officials in a celebration of students' performances, acknowledgements, presentation of awards, etc. This is a common practice in many Mexican pre-school and elementary institutions. The Field School transforms the Clausura (without removing the essential elements that characterize this event) into a staging of the ethnographic site to conduct experimental ethnography. During the class sessions, several activities are prepared (see agenda). The artifacts and performing presentations of the program have two purposes. The first one is to follow the traditional concept of Clausura where people enjoy the activities learned during classes, and participate in the socialization and intellectual development of students. This is the pragmatic aspect of the project, to create a research program with a practical use to the community. The second objective is to create a space in which researchers and community members participate in several practices and manifestations of the work in process. These practices involve performances, installations, and artifacts that are used as triggering devices to provoke comments and reactions from the audience (including researchers), leading to further engagements and expanded documentation.

V. The strategies to realize expanded documentation included several tactics such as the arrangement of chairs, tables, easels and other materials as elements of the scenes being documented during the Clausura. Another tactic deployed, from the beginning to the end of the Clausura, consisted in several members of the Field School taking turns to talk with guests and students, while others photographed, recorded and video taped the scenes. One of the scenes consisted of interviewing parents and students as they stood in front of the posters showing the photographs, drawings and written interviews, while a recording of class sessions was played. These and other scenes were further documented through video and photography. Students' performances and audience reactions were documented as well. Interactions between researchers, parents, students and other community members were also documented. The organization of he agenda was also deployed to create a dialogical interaction between researchers and the community, and to present the artifacts and performances as triggers to provoke commentary and reactions from the audience and researchers. This in turn facilitated the expanded documentation of double sensation, as it occurred when anthropologists were captured through photo and video documentation during their engagement with community members. Through these tactics, we sought to expose the processes of transculturation, remediation, and double sensation, while documenting them.

References

Anzaldúa, Gloria
1987   BORDERLANDS/LA FRONTERA. San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute.

Appadurai, Arjun
1996   MODERNITY AT LARGE: CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF
        GLOBALIZATION. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Austin, Margaret et al. editors
1995   THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM: BRIDGING THEORY AND
        PRACTICE. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Boal, Augusto
1992   GAMES FOR ACTORS AND NON-ACTORS. London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, Pierre
1977   OUTLINE OF A THEORY OF PRACTICE. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1997   CAPITAL CULTURAL, ESCUELA Y ESPACIO SOCIAL. Mexico, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno.

Bourdieu, Pierre and Jean-Claude Passeron
1979   LA REPRODUCION: ELEMENTOS PARA UNA TEORIA DE SYSTEMA DE ENSENANZA.
        Mexico, D.F.: Fontamara.

Castañeda, Quetzil E.
1996   IN THE MUSEUM OF MAYA CULTURE: TOURING CHICHEN ITZA. Minneapolis: University of
        Minnesota Press.
1997   Project Chichén Itzá: The Field School in Experimental Ethnography.

Clifford, James
1988   THE PREDICAMENT OF CULTURE: TWENTIETH CENTURY ETHNOGRAPHY, LITERATURE,
        AND ART. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
1998   ROUTES: TRAVEL AND TRANSLATION IN THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Cambridge:
        Harvard University Press.

Clifford, James and George E. Marcus, eds.
1986   WRITING CULTURE: THE POETICS AND POLITICS OF ETHNOGRAPHIES. Berkeley:
        University of California Press.

Crapanzano, Vincent
1992   HERMES' DILEMMA & HAMLET'S DESIRE: ON THE EPISTEMOLOGY OF INTERPRETATION.
        Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Ellis, Rod
1990   INSTRUCTED SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION. Oxford: Basil
        Blackwell.

Fetterman, David M.
1987   ETHNOGRAPHY: STEP BY STEP. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Freed, Barbara F. editor
1991   FOREIGN LANGUAGE ACQUISITION RESEARCH AND THE

CLASSROOM. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company.

Freire, Paulo
1970   PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED. New York: Continuum.
1997   PEDAGOGIA DE LA AUTONOMIA. Mexico, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno.

Geertz, Clifford
1995   AFTER THE FACT: TWO COUNTRIES, FOUR DECADES, ONE ANTHROPOLOGIST.
        Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson
1996   CULTURE, POWER, PLACE: EXPLORATIONS IN CRITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY. Durham:
        Duke University Press.

Jameson, Fredric and Masao Miyoshi, ed.
1998   THE CULTURES OF GLOBALIZATION. Durham: Duke University Press.

Marcus, E. George and Dick Cushman
1982   Ethnographies as texts. Annual Review in Anthropology. 11:25-69.

Marcus, George E. and Michael M.J. Fischer
1986   ANTHROPOLOGY AS A CULTURAL CRITIQUE: AN EXPERIMENTAL MOMENT IN THE
        HUMAN SCIENCES. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pratt, Mary Louise
1992   IMPERIAL EYES: TRAVEL, WRITING, AND TRANSCULTURATION. London: Routledge.

Rieber, Robert W. and Aaron S. Carton, eds.
1986   THE COLLECTED WORKS OF L.S. VYGOTSKY: VOLUME1 PROBLEMS OF GENERAL
        PSYCHOLOGY. New York: Plenum.

Spindler, G. D.
1995   EDUCATION AND CULTURAL PROCESS: ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES. Prospect
        Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc.

1986   INTERPRETATIVE ETHNOGRAPHY OF EDUCATION: AT HOME AND
        ABROAD. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc.

Tedlock, Dennis and Stephen Tyler
1987   Questions Concerning Dialogical Anthropology. *Journal of anthropological Research, vol. 43 (4):
        325-37.*

Vygotsky, Lev
MIND IN SOCIETY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES. Cambridge:
        Harvard University Press.

1986   THOUGHT AND LANGUAGE. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Zou, Yali, and Enrique T. Trueba, eds.
1997   ETHNIC IDENTITY AND POWER: CULTURAL CONTEXTS OF POLITICAL ACTION IN
        SCHOOL AND SOCIETY. Albany: University of New York Press.