CHAPTER NINE

Critical Research in Applied Linguistics

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Critical research in applied linguistics has become a productive area of empirical inquiry in recent years, generating studies on a range of topics and themes, in an array of settings and employing a variety of research methods. What unites this diverse stream of research is a general effort on the part of critical applied linguistics researchers to identify linkages, broadly construed, between local occasions of language learning and use to broader social processes, formations and discourses, that is, '[to draw] connections between classrooms, conversations, textbooks, tests, or translations and issues of gender, class, sexuality, race, ethnicity, culture, identity, politics' (Pennycook 2008, p. 169).

In this chapter, I provide a methodologically oriented overview of critical applied linguistics empirical inquiry. I begin with a brief discussion of certain assumptions and principles motivating the 'project' (Simon & Dippo 1986) of critical research. Afterwards, I describe some methodological options open to critical applied linguistics researchers, with particular emphasis on critical ethnography and critical discourse analysis. My purpose in selecting these two approaches is not only because they are commonly employed for empirical second language (L2) research, but because of the benefits that accrue when using both 'complementarily' (Miller & Fox 2004), particularly in terms of analytic accountability (how defensible or warranted an analysis is) and demonstrability of research claims (how warrants for research claims are shown to the reader). I then spend the remainder of the chapter elaborating the discussion by describing a critical ethnography I conducted in a high-school ESL program in Hawai'i.

Assumptions and principles of critical research in applied linguistics

The task of defining 'critical' is difficult, as there is a plurality of critical theories, based on the diverse work of a range of scholars, including Marx, the Frankfurt School, Volosinov, Gramsci, Freire, Althusser, Bernstein, Foucault and Bourdieu, among others. Just as critical theories are not monolithic, neither are they static, as they change and shift due to ongoing, 'synergistic' relationships among themselves, and with cultural studies, post-structuralism, postmodernism and postcolonialism (Kincheloe & McLaren 2000). To arrive at a settled-upon definition would be to deny a productive dissensus among critical scholars, who would prefer 'to avoid the production of blueprints of sociopolitical and epistemological beliefs' (Kincheloe & McLaren 2000, p. 281), since such a perspective would 'assume an epistemological stance in which the social world can be precisely defined – a position that is not very critical' (Quantz 1992, p. 448).

While there is no single agreed-upon definition of 'critical', there are certain principles and objectives shared in the critical 'project'. At the risk of producing the sort of 'blueprint' that Kincheloe and McLaren (2000) advocate against, these include a conception of *society* as stratified and marked by inequality, with differential structural access to material and symbolic resources, power, opportunity, mobility and education. Accordingly, society is characterized by asymmetries in *power* arrangements. Because '[p]ower operates not just on people but through them' (Simon & Dippo 1986, p. 197), there is a reciprocal, mutually constitutive relationship between social structures and human *agency*. That is, social structures shape or mediate social practices but do not determine them (Giddens 1979; also see Ahearn 2001). This means that *social reproduction* (i.e. the reproduction of unjust social relations) is never 'guaranteed' since power is not uni-directional or top/down. One consequence of this is a conception of *culture* as an 'ongoing political struggle around the meanings given to actions of people located within unbounded asymmetrical power relations' (Quantz 1992, p. 483). Further, society, power, agency and culture do not exist atemporally; they are *sociohistorically situated*. Historicization in critical research 'show[s] the conditions of possibility of a definite set of social forms and thus simultaneously establish[es] the historical limits of their existence' (Simon & Dippo 1986, p. 198). Relatedly, critical researchers are not content to simply 'describe' what they see; they attempt to promote change of inequality through sustained critique and direct action, or *praxis*. This 'emancipatory impulse' has garnered considerable criticism (see, for example, Ellsworth 1989), resulting in recent conceptions of praxis as more circumspect, situated, collaborative and *reflexive*. Finally, critical researchers dispute the contention that there is 'value-free' research, instead embracing their 'openly ideological' *values* (Lather 1986). It is

ironic that because critical researchers are explicit about their values, they are susceptible to reproach regarding the so-called 'imposition' of them.

These general principles and objectives are shared and extended in critical research in applied linguistics, as evident in its increasingly diverse literature. Indeed, in many ways, the focus in critical applied linguistics on the conditions of language learning and use in everyday life uniquely positions researchers to examine in detail the role of language in producing, sustaining, challenging and transforming power asymmetries, discrimination, inequality, social injustice and hegemony as they pertain to race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality and more.

Research methods

The research methods most often employed in critical research in applied linguistics are qualitative, ranging from diary and/or interview studies (e.g. Benesch 2001; Motha 2006; Norton 2013), to critical pedagogical classroom research (e.g. Crookes & Lehner 1998; Morgan 1997), some form of critical discourse analysis (e.g. Blommaert 2005; Fairclough 2003; Van Dijk 2001) and critical ethnography (Heller 2011; Pérez-Milans 2011; Rojo 2010). In this review, I confine my remarks to the latter two approaches, particularly in terms of how the former can work to ground and elaborate findings generated in critical ethnography.

Critical ethnography developed as a response to more 'conventional' forms of ethnography (Anderson 1989; Masemann 1982). Canagarajah (1993), one of the first to have published a 'politically motivated ethnography' in applied linguistics, maintains that critical ethnography is 'an ideologically sensitive orientation to the study of culture that can penetrate the noncommittal objectivity and scientism [of] descriptive ethnography' (p. 605). May (1997, pp. 198–199) notes that this approach 'reject[s] the abrogation of a theoretical perspective for the "open-ended" collection of data' that is advanced in conventional ethnography; that it explicitly acknowledges its critical theoretical orientation and how it shapes interpretation; that 'reality' is conceived 'for what it is – a social and cultural *construction*, linked to wider power relations, which privileges some, and disadvantages other[s]' and that critical ethnography 'attempts to move beyond the accounts of participants … to examine the ideological premises and hegemonic practices which shape and constrain these accounts' (Foley & Valenzuela 2005; Heller 2011; Lave 2011).

Methodologically, critical ethnography maintains the conventional ethnographic requirements for persistent, prolonged engagement in the field, recurrent and iterative data analysis, and an emergent, recursive relationship between (critical) theory, data, research questions and interpretation (see Starfield this volume). A key distinction, however, is the above-mentioned commitment to the critical project. A critically located

ethnographic methodology highlights the interplay between social structure, material relations and agency; addresses the ways that social structure is (or is not) instantiated, accommodated, resisted and/or transformed in the micropolitics of everyday life; contends with issues of ideology, hegemony and culture; critically addresses its own historically, materially and culturally specific interpretations; and works towards change, often with the collaboration of research participants (see, for example, Carspecken 1996; Thomas 1993).

Quality in critical discourse analysis and critical ethnography

What distinguishes critical ethnography from other forms of ethnography also presents it with one of its more enduring challenges: 'trustworthiness'. Verschueren (2001, p. 60) casts the challenge in particularly stark terms, arguing that

> [i]f critical approaches to language use in the context of social practices fail to be convincing as a result of a lack of theoretical and methodological rigour … they destroy their own *raison d'être* and make the task all the more difficult for anyone who does observe the basic rules of documentation, argumentation and explicit presentation.

Lather (1986) has characterized the issue of quality in critical ethnography as being 'between a rock and a soft place', where the rock is 'the unquestionable need for trustworthiness' and the soft place 'is the positivist claim to neutrality and objectivity' (p. 65). She advocates adopting measures from conventional ethnography to ensure quality, including triangulation, member checks and systematized reflexivity, in addition to what she calls 'catalytic validity', that is, the extent to which the research promotes social change.

Another approach that can be enlisted in the pursuit of quality in critical ethnography is critical discourse analysis, which can work to generate, warrant and elaborate (critical) claims in demonstrable and data-near terms. There has been a significant upsurge in critical discourse research in recent years, much of which has been based in the quasi-systemic functional framework proposed by Fairclough (2003, *inter alia*; Mey 2001, p. 316; cf. Blommaert 2005). Despite the significance of Faircloughian 'CDA' (Critical Discourse Analysis) in critical research in applied linguistics, scholars have made several substantive critiques of it, ranging from its theoretical and methodological ambiguity, to a tendency to undertheorize context, to a problematic lack of reflexivity (see, for example, Slembrouck 2001; Verschueren 2001; also see Pennycook 2001, 2003). Further, Blommaert

(2005, p. 24) notes a propensity within Faircloughian CDA to 'identify itself as a "school"'. This 'create[s] an impression of closure and exclusiveness with respect to critique', and 'result[s] in suggestive divisions within discourse analysis – "critical" versus "non-critical" – that are [in fact] hard to sustain in reality.' Van Dijk (2013) concurs, arguing that CDA has become 'generally limited' to grammatical analysis: 'less of discourse structures, and even less of interactional, pragmatic, cognitive, social, political or cultural dimensions of power abuse', which require methods beyond those needed to analyse 'clause structures' (p. 3). Indeed, there are many different analytic methodologies that can be (and have been) used in critical discourse research, including interactional sociolinguistics, applied conversation analysis, membership categorization analysis and discursive psychology; it is these various approaches in general to which I refer below with the lower-case 'critical discourse analysis'.

Although discourse analysis has been used in conventional ethnographic research in applied linguistics for some time, critical discourse analysis has been notably underutilized in critical ethnography. Anderson (1989), for one, has lamented the tendency towards 'macro' cultural and social analysis in critical ethnography, arguing that it is imperative to include examination of what he calls 'microsocial interaction'. By neglecting analysis of social interaction, he maintains, critical ethnographers overlook the potential of critical discourse analysis 'to systematically explore how relations of domination' are produced, reproduced, contested and transformed in everyday conduct (Anderson 1989, pp. 262–263). Widdicombe (1995, p. 111) makes a similar point, stating that 'it is precisely in the mundane contexts of interaction that institutional power is exercised, social inequalities are experienced, and resistance [is] accomplished' (also see, e.g., Blommaert 2005; Wilkinson & Kitzinger 2008).

Techniques and instruments for critical research in applied linguistics

The techniques and instruments for empirical inquiry in critical applied linguistics depend on the particular method adopted, but generally tend not to be distinct from their 'descriptive' counterparts (Carspecken 1996; Heller 2011; Thomas 1993). In critical ethnography, for example, fieldwork techniques generally include participant-observation, fieldnotes, interviews, audio or video recordings of interaction and artefact analysis, while instruments can range from notebooks, research journals, interview protocols and survey questionnaires. Data analytic procedures can include thematic analysis, various coding schemes, memo-writing and graphic data-displays in addition to the use of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software, a primary distinction being the theoretical framework

motivating critical ethnography. Similarly, while critical discourse analysis is distinguished by its explanatory base(s) in critical theories, its techniques and instruments will similarly depend on the particular analytic approach(es) adopted, with objects of study ranging from textbooks, newspapers, magazines, site documents and pop-culture artefacts, to transcripts of recorded interactions, for example interviews, classroom talk or computer-mediated-communication (Van Dijk 2001).

A sample study

To elaborate the discussion above, I turn now to discuss briefly a 2.5-year-long critical ethnography that combined critical discourse analysis, which I conducted in the ESL program of Tradewinds High, a public high school in Hawai'i (Talmy 2008, 2009, 2010). Generally, the Tradewinds High study concerned the production of ESL as a stigmatized identity category at the high school, particularly among long-term or 'oldtimer' 'Local ESL' students in the ESL program, and the central role that linguicism (Phillipson 1988), or linguistic prejudice, played in this. As several applied linguistics studies of ESL in North American public schools attest, ESL in these settings is often considered a 'dummy program' (McKay & Wong 1996, p. 586), with ESL students cast in various ways as 'candidate[s] for cognitive overhaul and rescue' (p. 590). In the Tradewinds study, I observed the same sorts of stigma associated with ESL, and in contrast, positive attributes associated with the 'mainstream'. I characterized this as a pervasive 'mainstream/ESL' hierarchy that was in evidence throughout the wider Tradewinds context, with mainstream in the 'unmarked' superordinate position, and ESL in the 'marked' subordinate (cf. Bucholtz & Hall 2004). This hierarchy was constituted by and constitutive of normalized language ideologies and linguicism concerning immigrants, bi- and multilingualism and assimilationism in North America (see Figure 9.1). I used critical discourse analysis, particularly of old-timer Local ESL student interaction, to elaborate how these discriminatory language ideologies played out in everyday ESL classroom life.

Local ESL

'Local' is an identity category in wide circulation in Hawai'i and generally signifies someone (usually Asian/Pacific Islanders) who has been born and raised in the islands. 'Local ESL' is an 'etic' (see Starfield this volume) category that refers to students who were institutionally identified as ESL by Tradewinds, yet who displayed cultural knowledge of and affiliation with Local culture, cultural forms and social practices (including speaking

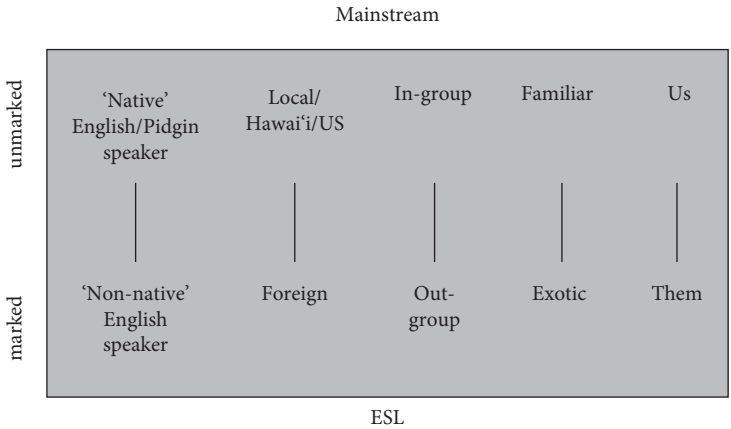

FIGURE 9.1 *Representing the 'mainstream/ESL' hierarchy at Tradewinds High*

Pidgin, or Hawai'i Creole, the Local language of Hawai'i);[1] difference from newcomer or low-L2-proficient classmates, who many Local ESL students characterized as 'FOBs' (fresh off the boat); and the L2 expertise and interactional competence necessary to participate in these practices.

Local ESL cultural productions of the ESL student

A primary argument from the Tradewinds study was that the knowledge, orientations and social practices of an 'institutionally disapproved interstitial community of practice' (Lave 1991, p. 78) comprised of old-timer Local ESL students came to assume varying degrees of prominence in each of the eight ESL classes I observed. Combining critical ethnography with critical discourse analysis, I examined Local ESL students' displays of resistant social practice in close detail. These practices included leaving assigned materials 'at home', not doing homework and completing assignments that required minimal effort (worksheets) but not others (writing activities). The more overt, interactionally mediated practices included bargaining for reduced requirements on classwork, refusal to participate in instructional activities and the often delicate negotiations with teachers that resulted. There was also a cluster of practices in which Local ESL students engaged in public displays of difference or 'distinction' (Irvine and Gal, 2000) from their low-L2-English and newcomer ESL classmates. This took form in many ways, including mobilization of the category 'FOB'. It was also evident in Local ESL students' targeted use of a mock language variety I call 'Mock ESL'.

Mock ESL

Mock language is a speech style that indexes some form of outgroup or 'foreign' status. It is a racializing discourse that can be characterized by hyper-'marked' syntax and phonology, lexical borrowing and displays of pragmatic incompetence. Perhaps the best known work on mock language is Jane Hill's (e.g. 1998), on the Mock Spanish (e.g. 'no problemo [*sic*]' 'no way, José' or Arnold Schwarzenegger's 'hasta la vista, baby' in the movie *Terminator 2*) used by non-Spanish-speaking whites in the US Southwest.

Mock ESL shares similar semiotics to other mock language varieties but indexes an archetypal, pan-ethnic Foreigner, rather than a particular racial or ethnolinguistic group. In my study, I used occasions of Mock ESL to ground and elaborate claims concerning the role of linguicism in producing the stigma of ESL; to demonstrate one means that Local ESL students produced 'distinction' from low-L2-proficient and newcomer classmates; and to illustrate how the 'mainstream/ESL' hierarchy evident outside the ESL program was projected *within* it in terms of a respecified 'Local ESL/FOB' hierarchy (see below).

Space constraints prohibit an extensive data display or analysis, but even brief consideration of two data fragments highlights how critical discourse analysis can work to elaborate and ground critical ethnographic claims. The first fragment involves China and Raven, two Local ESL students.[2] It is the beginning of their ESL class, and their teacher is giving instructions for an assignment and allotting the time to do it (15 minutes). China has been bargaining for twice that time. The fragment begins as China is mockingly justifying his need for this additional time: because he and Raven are ESL students (see the Appendix to this chapter for transcription conventions; transcripts are simplified).

```
01. China:  yeah [bu-
02. T:           [we (mu[st)
03. China:              [bu- [bu-
04. T:                       [we have to hurry
05. China:  ((higher pitch, light nasal tone)) but we E-S-L student!
                                                  (([bʰA wi iɛsɛl studɛn]))
06. Raven:  ((Pidgin)) wi- wi so [dam!
                          we're- we're so dumb!
07. T:                           [that's okay!
08. China:  ((higher pitch, light nasal tone)) we no English!
                                                 (([wi no IŋgəlIʃ:]))
09. Raven:  ((Pidgin)) haw du yu spel 'A'
                          how do you spell 'A'?
10. T:      ((to the class)) ten-thirty!
```

China's style shifts in lines 5 and 8 are examples of Mock ESL. In terms of prosody, both utterances are spoken in a higher pitch, with a light nasal tone, and both feature hyper-incorrect grammar. These

features are in essence the embodied performance of the activity that China associates with the category 'ESL student' in line 8, 'we no English', and the attribute that Raven assigns it (in Pidgin) in line 6: 'so dumb'; this is expanded in line 9 with needing help to spell the letter 'A'. Thus, China animates a 'figure' (Goffman 1981) through Mock ESL: a low-L2-English-proficient, cognitively challenged newcomer, or 'FOB'. Although China has packaged his performance with several cues that he is mocking ESL, the teacher does not at first appear to realize this (line 7). She does moments later (line 10), however, orienting not only to the sardonic frame (Goffman 1974) keyed by China and Raven, but to their distinction from the 'FOB' category that they have indexed through this mocking performance.

The second fragment I consider involves Bush, a low-L2-proficient ESL student, and Mack Daddy, a Local ESL student of advanced English expertise. Bush has just volunteered to read to the class a sentence he has written for the vocabulary word 'moment'. However, his teacher has trouble understanding Bush, which provides Mack Daddy with an occasion to use Mock ESL.

```
01. Bush:          ((reading)) a cruel murderer have used a few
02.                moment to kill four little girl and buried her
03. T:             huh? used a what type of moment?
04. Bush:          a few moment
                   (([@ f€u mowm€]))
05.                (2.7)((T goes to Bush's desk, looks at his paper))
06. Mack Daddy:    ((low pitch, nasal monotone)) I don't speak no English
                                                 (([aI don spik now i:ŋlI͡ʃ]))
07. T:             excuse me Mack?
08.                (1.7)
```

Bush's style shift to Mock ESL, similar to China's in the previous fragment, features syntactic 'error', and exaggerated, marked phonology indexical of 'foreign' English. Also similar is the convergence of propositional content with embodied performance to iconize both the category of low-L2-English-proficient ESL student, or FOB, and Bush, as its archetypal incumbent. In contrast, Mack Daddy's style shift points to his awareness that L2 'problems' such as Bush's are resources for a Mock ESL performance, and also his L2-English expertise and interactional competence, which are required to carry it out. Mack Daddy has, in other words, indexed his distinctiveness from Bush and from the FOB category to which Bush has been ascribed membership. The teacher orients to this display of distinction and the ordering of categories it indexes: the marked 'FOB' in the subordinate position, and Mack Daddy's unmarked Local ESL counterpart in the superior. Although the teacher's line 7 utterance is a repair initiation, it is contextualized as a condemnation. This – and the fact that Mack Daddy does not respond

(line 8) – suggests their orientations both to the sanctionability of this Mock ESL performance and to the stigmatized status of ESL that it connotes.

The local ESL/FOB hierarchy and fractal recursivity

I conceptualized displays of distinction such as those in which Mock ESL was used as in part constituting a 'fractally recursive' (Irvine & Gal 2000) projection *within* the ESL program of the mainstream/ESL hierarchy outside it, with 'Local ESL' in the unmarked position (in place of 'mainstream'), and 'FOB' in the marked subordinate (in place of 'ESL'). Fractal recursivity, a semiotic process proposed by Irvine and Gal (2000), 'involves the projection of [a language ideological] opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some another level' (p. 38). That is, the status asymmetry between ESL and mainstream students that was evident in the wider Tradewinds context was projected inward and respecified in the ESL classroom in practices such as those involving Mock ESL. However, just as the Local ESL/FOB hierarchy can be considered a fractally recursive projection of the mainstream/ESL hierarchy, the mainstream/ESL hierarchy can itself be considered a fractally recursive projection of oppositions ('American/Foreigner') in far more 'macro' (i.e. US) terms, that is, of *national* identities and *nationalist* language ideologies (cf. Lippi-Green 2012) (see Figure 9.2). In this respect, Local ESL students' displays of distinction were central to the reproduction in everyday ESL classroom conduct of the language ideologies and linguicism concerning immigrants, bi- and multilingualism and assimilationism at Tradewinds, and more broadly, in the supralocal US context.

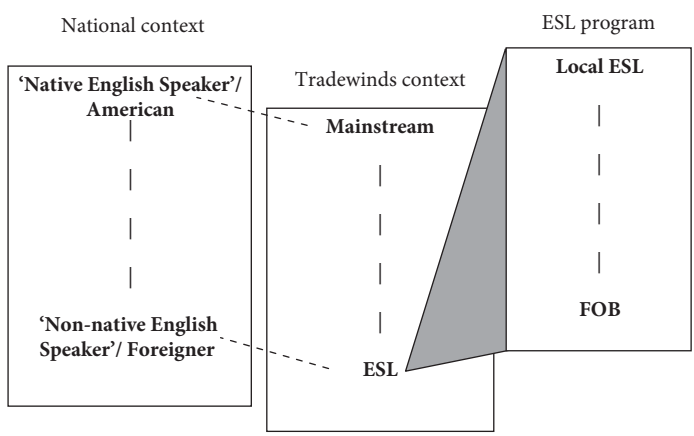

FIGURE 9.2 *Fractally recursive 'mainstream/ESL' and 'Local ESL/FOB' hierarchies*

Praxis

I should note that there was a critical pedagogical intervention concerning linguicism and the stigma of ESL that I was collaboratively planning with one of the teacher-participants from the first, piloting year of research. However, due to several reasons, including uncertainty surrounding a proposed 40 per cent budget reduction in ESL funding in Hawai'i, this teacher did not return to Tradewinds for the second year of the study. Although a much smaller-scale critical pedagogical 'unit' was planned instead, which connected ESL in the United States to the civil rights movement, and linguicism to other forms of discrimination, its implementation in the second year of the study was hastily planned, variably realized and, ultimately, unsuccessful. In this respect, praxis in the Tradewinds study primarily involved cultural critique, rather than some form of collaborative, pedagogically oriented direct action, with the study instead working 'to situate and understand local events in the context of broader structural relations of power, [in an effort] to direct such understanding toward more expansive efforts at structural change' (Levinson 2001, p. 363; cf. Foley & Valenzuela 2005; Lave 2011).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided a brief discussion of empirical research in critical applied linguistics, focusing in particular on critical ethnography and critical discourse analysis. I have argued that using critical ethnography and critical discourse analysis complementarily can provide important benefits for the critical researcher: for example, critical ethnography allows critical discourse analyses to be more 'thickly described' (Geertz 1973) and deeply contextualized, and critical discourse analysis adds elements of rigour, analytic accountability and elaboration of ethnographic description to critical ethnography. I demonstrated these arguments in an overview of a study I conducted, using critical ethnography to sketch (altogether too briefly) the rationale for the study, aspects of its context and certain practices constituting the Local ESL community of practice, while using critical discourse analysis to explicate the communicative resources, interactional occasioning and implications of one of these practices: use of Mock ESL. Using critical discourse analysis helped to provide warrants for research claims; working in such data-near terms not only added an important dimension of demonstrability and accountability to my analysis, but it also wound up elaborating my arguments – brought them to life, as it were – in ways that a critical ethnographic thematic analysis would likely have precluded.

Notes

1 Utterances in Pidgin in this chapter are transcribed phonemically, accompanied by italicized English glosses.
2 Students selected their own pseudonyms.

Resources for further reading

Blommaert, J 2005, *Discourse: A Critical Introduction*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

This introduction to critical discourse analysis introduces theoretical frameworks and attendant methodological options available for critical discourse analytic work that go beyond, for example, the approach proposed by Fairclough. Blommaert draws on several different traditions from sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology to provide a rich theoretical rationale and extensive methodological toolkit for undertaking critical discourse analysis. He demonstrates the approach in several thematically arranged chapters that include engaging critical analyses of discourse.

Canagarajah, AS 1999, *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

This book-length critical ethnography, written by a leading scholar in critical applied linguistics, extends and elaborates his earlier (1993) study. The study is an important illustration of critical ethnography in applied linguistics and provides beginning scholars interested in conducting a critical ethnography with a helpful model for conceptualizing one.

Heller, M 2011, *Paths to Post-nationalism: A Critical Ethnography of Language and Identity*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

This is a critical sociolinguistic ethnography of language ideologies concerning English and French in Canada. The book is comprised of 'a set of interlinked ethnographies' that Heller has undertaken in Francophone Canada over several decades, in addition to a helpful chapter that outlines her approach to theorizing critical ethnography and the methodology she employed.

Norton, B & Toohey, K (eds), 2004, *Critical Pedagogies and Language Learning*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

This edited anthology is a comprehensive representation of the state of contemporary critical L2 pedagogical research, and thus, of a major area in critical applied linguistics. The studies are wide-ranging and diverse and are written by many well-known scholars. The book is theoretically engaging and includes several chapters that are methodologically oriented. The volume is particularly useful for students interested in gaining an understanding of the range of work represented in critical L2 pedagogy.

Pennycook, A 2001, *Critical Applied Linguistics: A Critical Introduction*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ.

This is an accessible introduction to critical applied linguistics, written by a leading scholar in the area. Pennycook discusses a wide range of topics in applied linguistics, critical social theories and critical applied linguistics and illuminates important complexities in these areas by contrasting different theoretical positions on them. The book, which is particularly helpful in its explication of theory, is also a model of critical reflexivity, subjecting its arguments to its own 'problematizing practice'.

Rojo, LM (ed.), 2010, *Constructing Inequality in Multilingual Classrooms*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

This is a comparative account of a major critical ethnographic research project undertaken by Rojo and several of her graduate students. The project, which involved longitudinal study of classrooms at four 'multicultural schools' in Madrid, Spain, sought to examine the consequences of increased immigration on schooling and pedagogical processes.

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Appendix: Transcription conventions

– abrupt sound stop
[overlapping talk
() undecipherable/questionable transcription
(()) physical movement, characterizations of talk, coughing, etc.
(1.3) pauses timed to tenths of a second