University of Nebraska - Lincoln
DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

Faculty Publications: Department of Teaching, Learning and Teacher Education

Department of Teaching, Learning and Teacher Education

2019

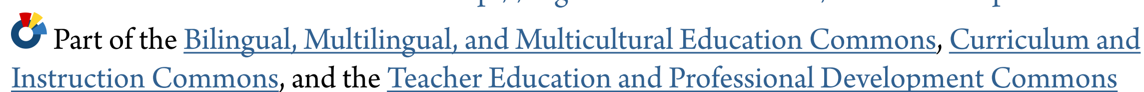
# The Mañana Complex: A Revelatory Narrative of Teachers' White Innocence and Racial Disgust Toward Mexican–American Children

Amanda Morales
*University of Nebraska-Lincoln*, amanda.morales@unl.edu

Elvira Abrica
*University of Nebraska-Lincoln*, elvira.abrica@unl.edu

Socorro Herrera
*Kansas State University*, sococo@k-state.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/teachlearnfacpub


Part of the Bilingual, Multilingual, and Multicultural Education Commons, Curriculum and Instruction Commons, and the Teacher Education and Professional Development Commons

Morales, Amanda; Abrica, Elvira; and Herrera, Socorro, "The Mañana Complex: A Revelatory Narrative of Teachers' White Innocence and Racial Disgust Toward Mexican–American Children" (2019). *Faculty Publications: Department of Teaching, Learning and Teacher Education*. 302.
http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/teachlearnfacpub/302

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Department of Teaching, Learning and Teacher Education at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in Faculty Publications: Department of Teaching, Learning and Teacher Education by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

University of Nebraska Lincoln
digitalcommons.unl.edu

Published in *The Urban Review* (2019)
doi 10.1007/s11256-019-00499-1
Copyright © 2019 Springer Nature B.V. Used by permission.
Published 11 February 2019.

# The Mañana Complex: A Revelatory Narrative of Teachers' White Innocence and Racial Disgust Toward Mexican–American Children

Amanda R. Morales,[1] Elvira J. Abrica,[2] and Socorro G. Herrera[3]

1 Department of Teaching, Learning and Teacher Education, University of Nebraska–Lincoln, Lincoln, NE, USA
2 Educational Administration, University of Nebraska–Lincoln, 129 Teachers College Hall, Lincoln, NE 68588-0360, USA
3 Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Center for Intercultural and Multilingual Advocacy, College of Education, Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS, USA

*Corresponding author* — Elvira J. Abrica, elvira.abrica@unl.edu

**Abstract**

This paper presents selected findings from an ethnographic case study of at a public junior high school. Analysis of White teachers' discourse implicated a perspective of Mexican–American children that we describe as a *mañana complex*, a perceived association between Mexican–Americans and the term "mañana" (Spanish: "tomorrow"). We outline how this mañana complex among White teachers is indicative of historical racial tropes of Mexicans in the United States while also reflecting current anti-Mexican discourse emboldened and made more fervent by the current US presidential administration. Ultimately, the mañana complex is an example of both racial disgust toward Mexican–American children (Matias and Zembylas in *Crit Stud Educ* 55(3):319–337, 2014) and presumptions of White innocence and neutrality (Orozco in *Crit Stud Educ*, 2017. doi 10.1080/17508487.2017.1285335) among White teachers. Such narratives have profound implications for the education of Mexican and non-White children in US schools that are herein discussed.

**Keywords:** Mañana complex, White innocence, Racial tropes, Teacher education, Racial disgust, Mexican–Americans

## Introduction

The racist image of a Mexican sitting underneath a cactus, wearing a sombrero, and waiting for mañana figures prominently in the American popular imagination. Throughout history, Mexican–Americans have often been portrayed as indolent, unintelligent, and indignant caricatures for as long as Mexican–Americans have lived in the United States. The Treaty of the Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 marked the end of the Mexican–American War and granted the US ownership of the Southwest, including states of California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas that were previously Mexican territories. As a result of the Treaty, Mexicans living in the US became "Americans" but were not afforded the same rights and privileges as Whites. Part of Whites' systemic denial of rights and full American citizenship to Mexicans relied on powerful, racialized tropes[1] that operate hegemonically to inform perceptions of Mexican origin people. Such tropes, both then and now, have important consequences for the treatment and subsequent educational opportunities of Mexican origin children in schools. It is important to contextualize racial tropes or narratives specific to Mexican–Americans across our history as they are not simply artifacts of a racist past (Gomez 2018) but omnipresent.

That such tropes are alive and well is perhaps most evident in racist rhetoric used by sitting President Donald Trump who has frequently referred to Mexicans as social deviants, criminals, and unwanted illegals (Pérez Huber 2016). After just a limited time in office, Trump has repealed the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), President Obama's executive order granting a subset of undocumented youth temporary relief from deportation and access to work authorization and other related benefits. This repeal and associated rhetoric around DACA has disproportionately centered on immigrants from Latin American countries, evoking both racist and nativist portrayals of Latinos (Pérez Huber 2009, 2010, 2016; Pérez Huber et al. 2008) as criminal, illegal, and perpetually foreign and unwanted in the United States.

Many are shocked by the rhetoric and actions of Trump. Yet, anti-immigrant, anti-Latino immigration, and anti-Americanness are nothing new (Gomez 2018). Past eras, such as the Johnson, Regan, and Clinton administrations, have been replete with anti-Black and anti-Mexican rhetoric and legislation. In this study, we examine teachers' perceptions of Mexican–American children—drawing on data initially collected and analyzed

1 *Trope* has to do with an agreed-upon narrative, an archetypal reading of a story or situation according to the simplest and most widely-held beliefs, a kind of narrative stereotype (Deutsch 2009).

during the Clinton administration and reanalyzed in the Trump era—to illustrate how the same anti-Mexican rhetoric of the Trump era is reflective of longstanding, hegemonically embedded, and damaging narratives of Mexican–Americans. Indeed, recent soundbites on the news document anti-Mexican beliefs held by the President and the appointed US Secretary of Education. This has emboldened *anti-Mexicanness* in US society writ large, as evidenced in classroom incidents where young children are telling their peers to "go back to Mexico" and that their president is going to "build that wall" (Southern Poverty Law Center 2016). It is critical that the field of teacher education recognize that racist narratives specific to Mexican–Americans are alive and well, particularly in the form of anti-Mexican discourse, and thriving within the current sociopolitical climate of schools (Pérez Huber 2009).

Just as there has been a proliferation of hate speech—directed not only at Mexican–Americans but a host of other marginalized communities—voices of resistance have also been emboldened (Pour-Khorshid 2016; Tuck and Yang 2012). We are at a critical moment in history that calls educators to speak against White supremacy and to dismantle the structures that perpetuate such sentiments of hate. As Matias and Newlove (2017) note: "here must be earnest, urgent, and diligent explorations on the mechanism of racism, Whiteness, and White supremacy in the era of Trump, lest we slide backwards toward ethnocide, *de jure* racism, and overt racial discrimination once again" (p. 921). It is in this context we outline a particularly harmful narrative: the mañana complex among White teachers. As such, they associate Mexican–American children with the term of *mañana*— meaning they are only concerned with tomorrow and not vested in education, and thus not teachable. We argue this concept is a powerful and historically rooted narrative within education that *has* and *continues* to delimit educational opportunities for Mexican–American children in the United States (Valencia and Black 2002) who continue to be educated by a teaching force comprised predominantly of White women who potentially suffer from this complex.

On the surface, an association of Mexican–Americans with laziness and an affinity to hold off on work until mañana may seem like a superficial, albeit insulting, characterization of Mexicans. However, it is in fact a racialized narrative (Gomez 2018) that infiltrates and influences the schooling conditions for Mexican–American children, explicitly in terms of their perceived abilities and in turn, the opportunities afforded them. As stated by Valencia and Black (2002), the basis for damaging myths regarding Mexican children "lies in the pseudoscientific notion of 'deficit thinking,' a mind-set molded by the fusion of ideology and science that blames the victim, rather than holding oppressive and inequitable schooling arrangements culpable" (p. 81).

To illustrate, this phenomenon of the mañana complex among many White monocultural teachers—who are often privileged, inoculated, and made immune by a system of White supremacy—we first provide a socio-historical basis for teachers' thinking regarding Mexicans in US contexts. More specifically, we consider the ebb and flow of strong social undercurrents that target Mexicans as an ethnicity but also reify their prescribed racial status and story them in demonizing ways (Thrall 2018). We then draw on unpublished ethnographic data collected in a large Latinx minority-majority high school in the 1990s as a way to interrogate the enduring nature of racist ideologies and to illustrate parallels between damaging narratives that prevailed during the time of the original study (Clinton era) and those being (re)shaped under the current Trump regime. Specifically, we identify the *mañana complex* as a persistent and distinct feature within teacher discourse that has directly and disproportionately disadvantaged Mexican children over time.

## Conceptual Framing

Teacher ideologies, how they are shaped, and how they impact teachers' discourse and approaches to working with culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) children is broadly studied in the literature. Researchers such as Zeus Leonardo, Pedro Noguera, Christine Sleeter, Mica Pollack, and Lilia Bartolomé have critically taken on questions of whiteness, racism, and power within the realm of education from multiple angles. Common across these literatures, is the chronic supremacy of *whiteness as normative*, flawed notions of individualism and resilience (e.g., grit), the assumed depravity of diversity, and the often deficit perspectives held toward CLD students among the historically White teaching force (Bartolomé 2004; Bonilla-Silva 2017; Cochran-Smith and Dudley-Marling 2012; Noguera and Kundu 2014; Pollock 2017). In sum, we learn from this body of work that teachers' identities and ideologies *matter*. They shape intrapersonal and interpersonal discourse and teachers' direct communication with CLD students and families. In other words, White teachers' un-interrogated identities and unchecked beliefs and assumptions about the identities, capacities, and commitments of CLD students and families lead both to distorted interpretations of and interactions with minoritized communities as well as to the ultimate miseducation and damage of CLD students (Leonardo 2002, 2004; Matias 2013a; Rose 2014).

As such, the persistent mismatch between the historically White teaching force graduating from our institutions of higher education and the increasingly diverse student populations in public classrooms continues as a critical factor shaping CLD children's racialized experiences in schools

(Morales 2018; Morales and Shroyer 2016; Castagno 2015). Though the number of teachers from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds has grown from 12 to 17% in the past 25 years, given that CLD students make up roughly half of school populations (Albert Shanker Institute 2015), cultural parody remains a persistent problem impacting the CLD teacher pipeline. This can be seen in the unacceptably low high school graduation rates of CLD students, the dearth of CLD students in teacher preparation programs, and the high attrition rates from the field by those who do become licensed teachers (Achinstein et al. 2010).

Research by Irizarry (2011), Matias and Zembylas (2014), and Magaldi et al. (2016) document specific challenges faced by Latinx students across these contexts. As seen across the literature, investigation of teachers' existing and developed meaning perspectives towards racialized minorities is critical to unpacking the chronically marginalizing experiences of Latinx children. More specifically, with 11.6 of the estimated 40 million immigrants in this country coming from Mexico (López and Bialik 2017), the current increases in anti-immigrant, anti-Mexican social narratives are having an undeniable impact on school climate and learning outcomes for Mexican–American students. Whether they crossed the border or the border crossed them, the same racialized narratives that shaped Mexican–American children's experiences in schools in 1848 and thereafter continue today.

This essay contributes to the body of scholarship illustrating that teachers' meaning perspectives held toward Mexican–American students—as evidenced in their narratives of them—are shaped by racialized tropes that exist as socially reproduced staples within US public education. The historic legacy of racialized tropes directed at Mexican–Americans is endemic, and thriving, as is its' impact on Mexican children. Collectively, we refer to teachers' interpretations of Mexican children as unintelligent, unmotivated, morally defective, and thus—unteachable as a *mañana complex*. We argue that ultimately, such tropes (i.e. commonly held perspectives, depictions and associations) embodied within the mañana complex precipitate racial disgust for Mexican–American children among teachers (Matias and Zembylas 2014). Moreover, as this complex is revelatory of teachers' racial disgust toward Mexican children, it also establishes White teachers' sense of moral superiority and innocence (Orozco 2017). As such it represents an internalized, distinct, and enduring phenomenon socially constructed within teachers.

### *Racial Disgust for Mexican–Americans*

Research by Matias and Zembylas (2014) provides compelling evidence that emotions of racial disgust can be masked by expressions of care and concern among White teachers. Their analysis of discourse among teacher candidates

in a teacher education program revealed that pity, sympathy or caring represented "strategic discursive maneuvers" to mask "White disgust" that reinforce ideologies of Whiteness (p. 320). *Disgust*, as defined by Matias and Zembylas (2014) is a bodily and "psychic state that is constructed in social encounters and sets the boundaries (imaginary or real) between individuals and groups" (p. 321). At the root of emotionality of disgust is Whiteness, which "as a social power and ideology, normalizes White emotionality as non-racial and erroneously 'translates' disgust for people of color into false professions of care and empathy" (p. 321). Identifying such feelings of disgust, Matias and Zembylas (2014) argue, is vital to effective teacher preparation and professional development. Importantly, in doing so, White teachers can "develop a critical vocabulary for analyzing their own emotions as well as their emotions in their classrooms" (p. 326). Indeed, an understanding of White emotionality and racial disgust is a useful theoretical tool with practical applications in teacher education, providing a more impactful alternative to superficially broad "diversity" and "multicultural" frames that do little to address race and racism directly.

Evidence of White racial disgust towards Mexican–Americans is historically rooted and well-documented in the relationships between Whites and Mexicans in states like California and Texas, which were Mexican territories until the appropriation of these lands by the US (Rios 2011; De León 2010). Mexican nationals became American citizens, but did not enjoy the same rights as White Americans (Gomez 2018). Regardless of nativity or immigrant status, Mexicans were commonly thought to be siesta-taking "wetbacks" (Bustamante 1972). The imagery of a lazy Mexican taking a siesta by a cactus is evoked by the term mañana and represents an artifact of the White imagination in which Mexicans are *Othered* as unintelligent and unmotivated. Moreover, historically well documented are Whites' paternalistic attitudes toward "indolent" Mexicans; often reflected in statements of compassion (De León 2010). However, De León (2010) states, implicit in their compassion was "the belief that Mexicans were less deserving of humanness and respect than members of White society" (p. 32).

Mexican stereotypes have often manifested themselves in the realm of education via discussions of intelligence and ability of Mexican children. Take for example research by Carillo and Rodriguez (2016) which documents the experiences of a high-achieving Latina high school student. Through their qualitative examinations of the politics and discrimination associated with claiming a 'smart identity' in the new south, they demonstrate how the constructions of Mexican–American intelligence shape schooling conditions for Latinx students. Their research provides a useful historical overview of the racist ideologies specific to Mexican–American education. They point to a long history of deficit thinking about the intellectual abilities of Latinx

students, which has had ramifications for their schooling experiences, opportunities, and outcomes in US contexts.

It is important to clarify that negative racial stereotypes and historical narratives of Mexicans are not in and of themselves dangerous, but become dangerous when such negative views begin to justify mistreatment of Mexicans. They also serve to construct a dichotomous portrayal of Mexicans as bad and Whites as good. As Ross (2010) notes, such dominant racial ideologies perpetuate Whites as victims of Mexican others. The idea of a lazy Mexican lies in contrast with narratives of the White settlers' work ethic,[2] innocence, and moral fortitude, all of which inform broader hegemonic discourse (Picower 2009). Scholars such as Orozco (2017) and Wekker (2016) have pointed out how a dehumanized portrayal of people of color lends itself to a juxtaposed image of White innocence.

### *White Innocence and the Others as Morally Inept*

Racial disgust goes hand in hand with the defective morality attributed to Mexican– Americans. Emphasis on lack of morality in the 1930s and 1940s served functions of subjecting Mexican–Americans, who were citizens of the United States. By projecting onto Mexicans what they did not wish to see in themselves, they sought affirmation of their righteousness. As White European Americans saw it, Mexicans expressed emotions and impulses that ought to be suppressed. In his writing, De León (1983) indicates that "Anglos used Mexicans as counter images to measure their own moral standard—especially where it concerned sexuality—Mexicans appeared less civilized" (p. 39). Mexicans were depicted as *irresponsible* and *promiscuous*, and Mexican women in particular were fantasized as "erotic, sensual, and voluptuous" (p. 43), allowing for their objectification and sexual consumption.

The *Othering* of the Mexican–American, as we see, is not a matter of distaste or cultural incongruence but is symbolic of longstanding White supremacy; the othering of the Mexican–American serves to perpetuate White supremacy and privilege. The Mexican as stupid and unmotivated serves as a narrative by which they can be denied quality education. The presumption that they are not smart enough to begin with allows for teacher disinvestment and irresponsibility, and a fulfillment of stereotypes when students meet low expectations. That is, enforcement of stereotypes around intelligence serves to legitimize racial inequities and White innocence. Orozco (2017) says *White innocence,* as a discourse of Whiteness, is "deleterious to equitable social environments that include the schooling of students

2 White settler work ethic is a term used to describe the pioneers as idealized heroes and heroines that endured great hardship as they moved west to "settle" the frontier.

of color. White innocence and its simultaneous opposite, person of color perpetration, work concomitantly to construct social representations that (re)create racist attitudes and oppressive social structures (p. 13). Here, Orozco describes how this othering also serves to perpetuate the moral supremacy within the White imagination. He talks about the different ways in which White innocence manifests itself in teacher education. He describes White innocence as "a mechanism through which dysconscious racism (King 1991) is communicated and maintained." (p. 5). He goes on to describe White innocence as an *uncritical habit of mind* or a mechanism that works to differentiate "social representations of Whites and people of color" and to justify "inequity by misrepresenting racial arrangements and the maintenance of unmarked White supremacy" (p. 5).

White innocence is related to a dissociation and disgust described in Matias' work. This was relayed in the findings from her study done within a teacher education program where individuals professed to be competent to work with students of color and professed that they were not racist, yet their discourse persistently revealed an emotionality of disgust, an othering of people of color, and a supremacy of White morality (Matias 2013a, b, c). It is these themes from extant literature provided above that help situate the significance and broader implications of teachers meaning perspectives toward Mexican–American children. That is, extant literature is very clear that the predominance of Whiteness among teachers' ideas, attitudes, and beliefs has dangerous consequences for people of color in the United States. Ideas are not harmless. Teachers' interactions with students are not neutral.

## Methods

As three Latina scholars at varying stages of our careers in academia, we engaged in this reflective work. To support our position, we draw on unpublished data collected in a 1994 ethnographic case study conducted by the third author. Why revisit these data and findings now? We believe that given the continued marginalization and miseducation of Latinx children in schools, they have contemporary relevance. Thus, the angst that we as faculty and researchers of color have collectively witnessed, called for many discussions among us. These discussions primarily centered around our respective frustrations regarding chronic Latinx educational (mis)opportunities. In dialog, we found that though we grew up in different regions of the US, we shared many of the same experiences, observations and concerns about the inequitable schooling often experienced by Mexican–American children. As we listened and learned from one another, the third author shared her experiences across her career and explained how little in the schools has

changed—thus spurring our collective reengagement with her ethnographic case study done so many years ago.

It is through this reengagement that we saw the power and relevance of the data. Therefore, we set out to design a (re)study, with a particularized research design that would build upon the third author's initial inquiry, while adding a deeper criticality and important contemporary contextualization. Given that one of us had distant, yet intimate knowledge of all aspects of the study (the third author) and two of us were new to the data, we worked together as a powerful team. Now in order to establish the empirical base for this study, in the sections to follow, we describe the origins of the study: its' setting, context, and methods for data collection. We then articulate the findings of the restudy, which perhaps not surprising, indicated some parallel themes but led to somewhat different interpretations and conclusions.

### *Ethnographic Study of Teachers as an Empirical Base*

The original study, upon which this new (re)study was built, was conducted as a longitudinal, ethnographic case study spanning 3 years. As her dissertation, the original researcher (our third author) designed and implemented the study with the following design components: (a) development of field relationships, (b) site and sample selection, and (c) data collection and data analysis. Field relationships were developed using commonly used strategies for negotiation, exchange, and reciprocity (Jorgensen 1989).

### *About Valverde Junior High School*

At the time of the original study, Valverde, was a junior high school situated within an urban, working class community in the southwest. The surrounding community was comprised of both Mexican–Americans who were recent immigrants and those whose generational roots were deeply grounded in the community in which they resided. Valverde junior high school reflected its surrounding demographics at the time: 75% of the students in the school were of Mexican–American, 6% were African American, and 19% were White. A total of 85% of the student population was considered economically disadvantaged and 13% received special education services. Over 85% of Valverde's teachers were White, a trend consistent with state and national level data.

The original researcher chose to situate the study with content area teachers in regular classrooms where students' English language proficiency was at the *developing* (Level 3) or *expanding* stage (Level 4) (WIDA 2012). Valverde was thus an appropriate site because, although most students came from Spanish-speaking homes, the majority of the Mexican–American students at Valverde junior high school were exited from English as a Second

Language (ESL) or bilingual programs in elementary school or had gained enough English proficiency to be placed in regular classrooms where little or no modification to instruction was being done.

Of the total 37 Valverde teachers who participated in the initial study, 36 were White and 28 were female. The range of classroom experience was quite broad with one being a first-year teacher and one teacher going on her 37th year in the classroom. The average years of experience for the group was 17 years. The purposively sample was selected as the bounded system and served as the initial unit of analysis (Henry 1990).

### *Original Collection and Analysis of Teacher Data*

In the original ethnographic study, observations of participants' classroom instruction, individual and group interviews, reflection sessions (ongoing group discussions of participants' practice led by the third author) and evaluation of participant generated records constituted the primary data collection methods. All observation sessions and interviews were audio taped and videotaped. The recording of field notes taken by the researcher accompanied each session of participant observation. The primary documents collected for evaluation included: critical incident analyses, concept maps, reaction papers, reflective progress reports, cross-cultural platforms, and daily reflective journals prepared by teacher participants.

The researcher investigated such artifacts and conducted all data collection as a participant observer (Krefting 1991). The problem addressed by the study related to human meanings and interactions as described from the insider's perspective. Etic coding according to Mezirow's (1991) transformational theory, the substantive theoretical framework for this study, initiated data analysis via the constant comparative method (Strauss 1987). Subsequently, these initial and etic codes (e.g. locus of control and approach/avoidance) came to suggest emic codes, categories, and themes that reflected participants' shared interpretations evidenced in this study (Bogdan and Biklen 1992).

Following the original data collection and analysis, these data were reported only as part of the third author's dissertation file. And while this researcher has gone on to establish herself as a prolific scholar and preeminent leader in the fields of teacher education/professional development, and English to Students of Other Languages (ESOL) instruction, this piece of research was never shared widely. It sat on a shelf for over 20 years.

### *Secondary Analysis of Teacher Data in the Trump Era*

Therefore, in this current work, it was our objective to juxtapose this previously unpublished data with the current state of Mexican–American

education. The three of us built upon the original study but used a critical thematic analysis (Lincoln and Guba 1985) of the 36 white teachers' narratives, engaging in an "iterative and reflective process that develop[ed] over time" (Nowell et al. 2017, p. 4). We analyzed this sub-set of data within the context of historical and contemporary literatures on Mexican– American racialization and socialization in the US as well as on teacher ideology and discourse summarized in our review. We analyzed the original dissertation and the authors' notes, all of which had participant identifiers removed. We coded and interpreted the data individually. We then questioned and discussed both the alignments and contrasts between the initial and the newly identified themes together in dyads and then as a triad over several iterations. These conversations were lively, challenging and insightful—stretching and inspiring our thinking in different ways. As part of this process, we explored the current sociocultural and economic context of the local community that the original study was conducted in. Recent community and student demographic data for Valverde junior high school are woven into the discussion.

## Findings

As a result of this in-depth and collaborative restudy, we arrived at the conceptualization of the *mañana complex* and its constituent parts, which we illustrate (below) in depth by drawing on the 1990 data. Specifically, we utilize these data to argue that not much has changed and the fervent rhetoric of Trump- which we see in classrooms today—is and has always been part of the social fabric of American schooling.

### *The Mañana Complex*

We define the mañana complex as a complex in which White teachers attribute Mexican–Americans with negative racial stereotypes, such as them being unmotivated, unintelligent, and immoral. This complex is a deeply and historically embedded narrative within the social fabric of the US. It is rooted in the colonization of the Mexican people, and more recently, in the "incorporation" of Mexicans into the United States in states annexed by the US government. The mañana complex is thus a complex found among White teachers, in their discourse around Mexican–American children that is indicative of a dysconscious (King 1991) belief in White moral superiority and innocence, and of the moral inferiority and disdain for people of color (Matias and Zembylas 2014). Thus, the constituent parts herein identified as part of the mañana complex include teachers' perceptions of (1) the lazy Mexican, (2) the unintelligent Mexican, and (3) the immoral Mexican.

*The Lazy Mexican*

Teachers' narratives overwhelmingly reflected an association between Mexican– American children and the presumed cultural orientation toward putting things off until tomorrow. Teachers perceived Mexicans as being unmotivated, apathetic and unconcerned with consequences of their actions. This perceived laziness and mediocrity was described in a variety of contexts. For one, teachers said that Mexican– American students' lacked post-secondary planning and ambition. One teacher stated:

> I know that Angel's attitude is very typical of Hispanics from his socio-economic group. He is willing to settle for barely passing and has a mañana attitude toward taking care of things... I need to work diligently on the attitude that mediocrity is okay.

This statement reflects a complex meaning scheme shared among Valverde educators and is indicative of a variety of assumptions, mostly unquestioned assumptions (as in the expression, "I know that Angel's attitude is very typical for Hispanics from his socioeconomic group" and "He is willing to settle for barely passing") that may be associated with a "mañana attitude." The statement that "I need to work diligently on the attitude that mediocrity is okay" reifies a belief that she is hard working while the Mexican lacks motivation. While she "works diligently" he is idle, passive, and unconcerned with his future, a trope typified in the narratives of conquest of indigenous peoples in the Americans (where indigenous peoples were depicted as unmotivated and in need of paternal guidance) as well as in the previously described narratives of Mexicans in the United States.

The examples from two White teachers' narratives below also are indicative of the common misinterpretation of students' lack of motivation towards education and their inability to see the humanity in their Mexican–American students:

> The more education that the children get, the more choices they will have available for them. I want them to have a vision beyond babies for a welfare check...
>
> Many of them have no idea where they will be in ten years. I had one student say she would be dead. No vision! School just doesn't have any relevance for these students. As educators we try to make it relevant – yet, for some reason, it just hasn't clicked' that this will affect them for the rest of their life.

The first of these examples demonstrates a jaded misinterpretation of the realities of students at Valverde, implying that all the girls know about the possibilities for the future may be summed up in the idea that having "babies" will secure a "welfare check". In the second quote, instead of responding with empathy to the student's statement of hopelessness, the teacher

chose to respond with frustration and disdain. Moreover, that the teacher holds the "vision" for students who have "no vision!" again shows a consistent moral superiority, as if the teacher is an all-knowing being that can see into the future while Mexicans are concerned with reproduction, harkening narratives of their overt sexuality. This depiction of students' racialized sexuality is reflective of teachers' racial disgust (e.g. their perception of Mexicans as indolent and lacking grit).

Teachers' lack of understanding for how larger social and economic structures (nationally and locally) were shaping their Mexican–American students' realities and motivations is further illustrated in this teachers' narrative:

> These things that I dislike the most are probably the very attitudes that trap people into a lower economic status. I dislike the 'gimme' attitude, the 'what's in it for me' philosophy, the 'mañana personality,' procrastinating in most forms, blaming the 'man' for all of the existing problems. Most of all, I dislike whiners and people with chronic negative attitudes.

As this excerpt exemplifies, teachers in this study saw nothing questionable in their lines of thought which maintained, among other things, that their students lack vision, hold a mañana attitude, don't care about school and are irresponsible. Teachers' flawed interpretations of Mexican–American students' actions and attitudes are indicative of an individualistic, grit-oriented mentality; meaning students personally lacked the *grittiness* needed to pull themselves out of poverty (Noguera and Kundu 2014; Ris 2015).

### *The Unintelligent Mexican*

Teachers critique of Mexican–American students as having no vision was directly linked to a perceived lack of intelligence among their students. This line of thinking justified teachers' emphasis on vocational education and students' placement in lower academic tracks at Valverde. Evidence of teachers' interpretation of Mexican– American students as lacking the capabilities to be successful within a rigorous academic program is provided by the following comment taken from a teacher's reflective journal.

> Without an education we are nothing more than barbarians. That does not mean that everyone must be destined to attend college. Actually, many people have no desire to extend their education beyond high school. This particular mindset is something that educators of Mexican-American students must realize and accept. My belief is that many of our students at Valverde and other minority schools need to be channeled into an alternative school. This alternative schooling plan would

> not mean that they would not receive a basic education... With a solid background in essential academic skills, these same students who do not see a higher education immediately following high school, might later desire further education after spending several years in low paying or physical labor careers.
>
> I believe that a great many of our Mexican-American students would remain in an alternative school where they could visualize an immediate reward after graduating... That does not mean they have no ambition. I firmly believe that all humans regardless of ethnic background have a desire to better themselves. However, many of our Mexican-American students need to experience the real world before realizing that, with more education, they could have more fulfilling careers and personal lives.

The raced and classed statements within this passage demonstrate the conflicted reasoning held by this teacher. Three expressions, (a) "Actually, many people have no desire to extend their education beyond high school," (b) "This particular mindset is something that educators of Mexican–American students must realize and accept," and (c) "I firmly believe that all humans regardless of ethnic background have a desire to better themselves," illustrate the contradictory nature of the mañana complex shared among teachers.

If "all humans" have a "desire to better themselves," how is it that teachers are free to assume that some students don't? According to this, and other similar interpretations noted in teachers' discourse, Mexican–American students basically lack the capabilities to know or understand what they need to be successful. Therefore, a *real world* education for them should emphasize "alternative schools" they would get them out into the workforce faster (Foley 1998). White teachers' notion that the concept of *delayed gratification* is too difficult a concept for Mexican–American students to understand is clear in the statement that students need to "visualize an immediate reward".

As reflected in their narratives, these educators shared a common interpretation of their students which concluded that Mexican–American children did not belong in advanced academic programs; therefore, college was out of the question. This interpretation of student potential, a product of teacher's commonly held mañana complex towards Mexican–Americans students, is further evident in remarks taken from a teacher's narrative below.

> As educators, we cannot assume that all students plan to receive a college education. Training for life outside the school system is essential for our students; namely, the Mexican–American student. There are plenty of honors and advanced academic programs for a comparatively small portion of the population. However, a fast growing segment of our population requires more practical training and preparation. As educators we must continue to offer alternative plans for our diverse school populations.

As further indicated by this selection from teachers' discourse, teachers interpreted Mexican–American students' potential based on their observable behaviors. As such they surmised that there was a fundamental conflict between students' intellectual capacity and innate abilities and the attributes students *ought* to exhibit to be successful in academic programs at Valverde.

*The Immoral Mexican*

Teachers' mañana complex also included a third shared interpretation that Mexican– American students are destructive, disruptive, and irresponsible due in part to their lack moral character and poor home life. The following example is indicative of teachers' perception of students as morally lacking:

> Unfortunately, many of the [Mexican–American] students are unable to 'handle' all of the technology [computers] available to them. They simply do not understand the concept of taking pride in your school as well taking care of something that is not your own.... I feel it is important to teach students that we need to take care of everything even if it's not own.

For this teacher, students' inabilities to "handle the technology available to them" was a function of their mañana attitude; an attitude which could not abide taking pride in the school or "taking care of something that was not your own."

In the excerpt below we see an interpretation that Mexican–American students' lack of success in school and ultimately life is due to the poor choices and dysfunction of their families.

As one teacher indicates, from her perspective education is a tool for "survival in this world". Yet she believes that the Latinx communities in her city are "struggling to survive financially, emotionally, [and] spiritually" because they "are more than likely suffering from lack of this necessary tool". She believes she has a clear understanding for why education is not a more significant part of her students' lives:

> Lack of parental support (or familial support), one parent households, drug use, no vision of the 'big picture' in life, and failure to see education as the tool for long range success in life. This community is predominantly Mexican- American. Therefore, the community of our school is too, with over fifty percent of my students in each class being Mexican-American these students need the education tool. Many of them are disruptive and desperately need to 'break the cycle' which evolves at home.

This discourse, like that of many other participants demonstrates teacher's racial disgust and tendency to *other* Mexican American students and

families. It asserts: (a) Mexican American parents do not support education and that is reflected in the student's attitude; (b) broken homes contribute to the problem; (c) since Mexican American students have no vision and cannot see the *big picture,* they have no sense of responsibility to themselves or the school; and (d) a negative cycle of poor attitude which evolves at home makes these students "disruptive" at school.

Other teacher comments are equally indicative of such superficial interpretations of the complex social, political, and financial realities faced by Mexican Americans in the Valverde community. For instance, below is an example of one teachers' explanation for and solution to her Mexican American students' absenteeism:

> ....These kids go out and do other things. They're supposed to be at school, and they are absent so many days. Take them to court. Take their parents to court.... They're responsible for their education.... They're adults now; they have to take responsibility for that.... But the kids are learning from their parents. And it's just a revolving circle because kids see what their parents do, and a lot of these kids' parents got married very young. Many of them are on government assistance. They think it's cool. Ugh, it's just I mean, it is sad to see things like that happen. It's very sad—kinda of like a woman being abused. They [Mexican Americans] don't know any other way of life.

According to this teacher's complex and often contradictory interpretations of the issue, the solution to the academic disengagement of Mexican American youth was to increase policing of policies and to criminalize students for infractions such as absences. Missing from this teacher's narrative is any self-reflection or consideration of how schools are accomplices to students' disengagement and ultimate disenfranchisement. In contrast, this discourse centers teachers' white innocence, arguing that students' deviance is *all learned from the parents* who know no other way of living.

Teachers' sweeping statements about Mexican American families' dysfunction and depravity, as demonstrated in the above excerpts, strongly demonstrate the profound lack of understanding of larger social issues impacting their school community and the significant disconnect between teachers' perceived realities and the realities of their students. As such, the mañana complex, and its constituent parts, logic that students hold a mañana attitude, according to the progression that a poor or broken home environment leads to laziness, lack of intelligence, and immorality.

## Discussion

In this essay, we interrogate the persistence of racialized tropes among White teachers' narratives regarding Mexican American students. To support our position, we utilize findings from a 3-year ethnographic study focusing on teachers at a large minority-majority junior high school. As context for a deeper understanding of this (re)study, it was important to consider how the demographics of Valverde have (or have not) changed since the time of the original study. As noted, in the mid-1990s Valverde Junior High School's students were 75% Mexican American and 85% of the students were deemed socioeconomically disadvantaged. District reports from 2016 to 2017 indicate that the student population of Valverde now is over 91% Hispanic (2.6% White) and 92% economically disadvantaged. And though teacher demographics have shifted from over 85% white to 71% White and 25% Hispanic (*Tribune* 2017). Valverde is still one of the lowest performing schools in the region, with the highest numbers of Hispanic students, and has identified over 63% of its students "at risk for dropping out" (*Tribune* 2017).

These current realities provide a vital backdrop for interpretation. And though collected in the 1990s, the data reveals several racialized tropes which, we argue, are indicative of a damaging, enduring association of Mexicans with the term *mañana*. Although we present three distinct racial tropes, we argue that they are interrelated and interwoven within narratives that reveal racial disgust and White innocence. For example, we highlight the theme of the lazy Mexican racial trope that pervaded teachers' perspectives, narratives, and statements about Mexican heritage children. As we see from teachers' description of children as not being concerned with their future—only concerned with "welfare checks" and "having babies"—there is a literal association of Mexicans with mañana. There is also an underlying presumption that they are less-than human, and their deservingness serves to threaten and to compromise White teachers' higher moral standing. Such moral superiority, and presumed intellectual superiority, is revealed in the many statements from teachers about how they "want them," "need them," and "need to help" them [Mexican heritage children] understand the implications of their "backward" actions.

Such associations with Mexicans as unintelligent and ill-behaved are contradictory and stand in stark moral contrast to White teachers' espoused willingness to "work diligently" to "help them realize and accept" their future lots in life. Rather, our analysis of teachers' narratives revealed a belief among teachers that Mexican children are not meant to attend college, but are better suited toward vocational and alternative tracks. This association with Mexicans as laborers and as of lacking intelligence is historically rooted in the depiction of brown bodies as a source of exploitable physical

labor (Foley 1998; Gomez 2018). This relegation of Mexicans to nothing more than physical laborers furthers teachers' association with them as not suited to educational contexts and enforces their own knowledge, assessment, and summarization of Mexicans as unintelligent.

Moreover, as the mañana complex is revelatory of teachers' racial disgust toward Mexican children, it also establishes teachers' sense of moral superiority and innocence (Orozco 2017). Thus, this complex is an overarching narrative reflective not just of the cultural misconceptions that White teachers in this study held of Mexican American children. It is more insidious, in that it represents a form of White innocence and racial disgust toward Mexican American children that is enduring. Thus, it's not just about an association between Mexicans and mañana, it's about the underlying, racialized tropes that are embedded in this narrative and associated narratives that serve to portray Whites as morally superior to Mexicans and as Mexicans as inferior to Whites (Foley 1998).

## Implications and Conclusions

It is within these historic and well-documented conceptions of White supremacy (White innocence and racial disgust) that we situate White teachers' mañana complex found in this study. In addition, we painfully acknowledge the power and contemporary relevance of such narratives (and the racialized tropes that shape them) as our current social and political climate is rife with examples of their lasting impact. For example, in a recent special issue call, researchers López and Pérez (2017) center the systemic racism seen in current public and educational policy decisions post-Trump. They state that the current political climate has "confronted us all with the perpetual existence of systemic racism and xenophobia that has arguably been concealed by post-racial rhetoric" (para. 1). They further indicate that the Trump administration has enabled a "hostile climate that places money and greed above the sovereignty and human rights of indigenous and historically marginalized people and land." And as a result, "public, K12 and higher education campuses continue to be sites of horrific waves of racism, bigotry, and violent extremism" (p. 1).

More specifically, Trump's anti-immigrant and anti-Mexican agenda is evident in his public proclamations to build a wall at the US/Mexico border, and his policy decision to cancel the federal DACA program, "which has put in limbo the lives of 800,000 young adults and has closed the door on future beneficiaries" (López and Pérez 2017, para. 3). Furthermore, his decision to appoint Betsy DeVos as US Secretary of Education, despite her lack of experience in the field and her overt intentions to privatize public

education based on a flawed corporate model, demonstrates Trumps' commitment to maintaining/increasing racial stratification for future generations in the US.

Although Trump has a particular brand of *anti-Mexicanness*, our findings highlight similar iterations of anti-Mexican rhetoric expressed as the mañana complex among White teachers in the 1990s. As articulated, teachers' ideologies do not exist in a vacuum. They are shaped and reinforced by the social and political climate of the time. To illustrate, the Clinton era is often thought to be among the most progressive contemporary administrations, but it too was replete with legislation that disproportionately disadvantaged Mexican American children and other communities of color.

For example, despite his claims to address the social and economic plight of communities of color, he is known to have "capitulated entirely to the right-wing backlash against the civil-rights movement and embraced former president Ronald Reagan's agenda on race, crime, welfare, and taxes" (Alexander 2016, para. 7). In addition to gutting welfare programs that provided aid to families in poverty, claiming "that Black welfare recipients had a 'personal responsibility problem'" Clinton instituted a *tough-on-crime* bill that "led to an unprecedented mass incarceration of Black and Brown bodies (Kendi 2016, para. 3). Furthermore, Clinton "mandate[d] life sentences for some three-time offenders and authorize[d] more than $16 billion for state prison grants and the expansion of police forces" (para. 3). It is within this social milieu that Valverde teachers' rhetoric of Mexican American children gained power and embodied racial disgust and white innocence as described by Matias and Newlove (2017), and Matias and Zembylas (2014).

As Latinx scholars working in the field of education, we see the writing on the wall. We fear the compounding damage that historic and current racially motivated policies will have on teacher ideologies for years to come, moving us even farther behind in our efforts to improve the educational opportunities and outcomes for Latinx children in this country. So, what can be done? What can we do as teachers, administrators, or teacher educators who are committed to dismantling historic and reified vestiges of racism? Green and Castro (2017) challenge us, illuminating the need to engage in what they call *counterwork* in education to ensure that hope and resistance endures in this period in which Trump's presidency is "mired in a logic of White supremacy" (p. 912). We argue that in order to—at least in part—lessen the damage of our country's oppressive actions, we must own up to, confront, deconstruct, and resist the infiltration of racialized tropes in our collective social imagination in this country.

At the individual level, we argue that truly effective education begins with communities of teacher/learners who seek a deep understanding of who they are and who they serve. This calls for us as educators to move past

voyeuristic observations, superficial communications, and sterilized interactions with our students and families of color, as these actions are often heavily shaped by internal, socially-constructed narratives and tend only to reinforce existing prejudices. We have to *walk boldly* toward our discomfort, embrace those who we believe to be different from us, and be willing to listen and learn from their lived experiences (Verná Myers TED Talk 2014).

Furthermore, critical White educators and scholars of all racial/ethnic backgrounds must work together "to reveal the invisible structures that produce and reproduce white supremacy and privilege" (Applebaum 2016, para. 2). Orozco (2017) urges those seeking to mitigate the marginalization and (mis)education of Mexican American children to dig deeper into White teacher identities. He states, "investigations of the schooling of people of color should assess how teachers and other school personnel utilize discourses such as White innocence and how such discourses (re)create inequitable schooling processes" (Orozco 2017, p. 10). White innocence as an analytic frame, thus, represents an opportunity to consider the intersections of social discourse, teacher's meaning perspectives, and real-world educational opportunities for children of color.

As teacher educators, we must empower future teachers with these theoretical tools to interrogate their own racialized identities and those of their students within larger social realities and the political and historical contexts in which they live and work. As described by Matias and Zembylas (2014), teacher educators need to "critically and sensitively unpack" the ways that predominantly white teachers' "benign emotions (e.g., pity and caring) are sometimes hidden expressions of disgust for the *Other*" (p. 1). It is through this overt uncovering and interrogation of teacher narratives that we are able to engage pre-service and in-service teachers in race-conscious raising, and ultimately to developing *critical compassion* for students of color.

Politically, Dantly (2017) urges us that "democratic citizenship [must] take on a much more activist position" (p. 934). He states that our current political climate "brings into much higher focus what it actually means to live in a democracy and what it means to be a critical citizen in such a time as this" (p. 930). Dantly envisions an informed populous as "grassroots activists" who are not afraid of the struggle and who "will consider ways through the decolonization of our imaginations to offer prolonged forms of resistance to the marginalizing machinations of the Trump administration" (2017, p. 934). We believe, as Dantly does, that there is "hope that normal, everyday citizens can bring about change in our country. It is a hope that is birthed in the midst of despair and a futuristic perspective that emanates from an extremely disappointing present (p. 934)".

Finally, we argue that this critical self-reflection, engaged activism, and commitment to resistance should challenge status quo in very concrete ways at the institutional level. We believe that if we are to impact the educational

outcomes for Mexican American children in this country, we must also work to *change the face* of teaching—both literally and figuratively. This requires a commitment to not only the recruitment, retention and graduation of Latinx and other teachers of color equipped with powerful critically-conscious pedagogies, but also to improving the racial climate of the schools in which children so desperately need their cultural and linguistic expertise.

## References

Achinstein, B., Ogawa, R. T., Sexton, D., & Freitas, C. (2010). Retaining teachers of color: A pressing problem and a potential strategy for “hard-to-staff” schools. *Review of Educational Research, 80,* 71–107.

Albert Shanker Institute. (2015). *The state of teacher diversity in American education*. Washington, DC: Albert Shanker Institute.

Alexander, M. (2016). Why Hillary Clinton doesn’t deserve the black vote: From the crime bill to welfare reform, policies Bill Clinton enacted—and Hillary Clinton supported—decimated Black America. *The Nation*. Retrieved February 29, 2016 from https://www.thenation.com/article/hillary-clintondoes-not-deserve-black-peoples-votes/

Applebaum, B. (2016). Critical Whiteness studies. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education*. doi 10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.013.5

Bartolomé, L. I. (2004). Critical pedagogy and teacher education: Radicalizing prospective teachers. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 3*(1), 97–122.

Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1992). *Qualitative research: An introduction to theory and methods*. Needham Height: Allyn & Bacon.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2017). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bustamante, J. A. (1972). The “wetback” as deviant: An application of labeling theory. *American Journal of Sociology, 77*(4), 706–718.

Carillo, J. F., & Rodriguez, E. (2016). She doesn’t even act Mexican: Smartness trespassing in the new south. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education, 19*(6), 1236–1246.

Castagno, A. E. (2015). *Educated in Whiteness: Good intentions and diversity in schools*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Cochran-Smith, M., & Dudley-Marling, C. (2012). Diversity in teacher education and special education: The issues that divide. *Journal of Teacher Education, 63*(4), 237–244.

Dantly, M. E. (2017). Critical citizenship and anger: A reconstructionist resistance to the election of Donald J. Trump. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 30*(10), 929–935.

De León, A. (1983). *They called them greasers: Anglo attitudes toward Mexicans in Texas, 1821–1900*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

De León, A. (2010). *They called them greasers: Anglo attitudes toward Mexicans in Texas, 1821–1900* (2nd ed.). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Deutsch, N. (2009). Trope is the new meme. *The Millions*. Retrieved July 17, 2009 from https://themillions.com/2009/07/trope-is-new-meme_17.html

Foley, N. (1998). *The White scourge: Mexicans, blacks, and poor Whites in Texas cotton culture* (Vol. 2). Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Gomez, L. (2018). *Manifest destinies: The making of the Mexican race* (2nd ed.). New York: New York University Press.

Green, T. L., & Castro, A. (2017). Doing counterwork in the age of a counterfeit president: Resisting a Trump–DeVos education agenda. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 30*(10), 912–919.

Henry, G. (1990). *Practical sampling*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Irizarry, J. (2011). En la lucha: The struggles and triumphs of Latino/a preservice teachers. *Teachers College Record, 113*(12), 2804–2835.

Jorgensen, D. L. (1989). *Participant observation: A methodology for human studies*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Kendi, I. X. (2016). The pre-history of president Clinton's racist (and antiracist) liberalism. *Black Perspectives*. Retrieved May 21, 2016 from https://www.aaihs.org/the-pre-history-of-president-clintons-racist-and-antiracist-liberalism/

King, J. E. (1991). Dysconscious racism: Ideology, identity, and the miseducation of teachers. *The Journal of Negro Education, 60*(2), 133–146.

Krefting, L. (1991). Rigor in qualitative research: The assessment of trustworthiness. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 45*, 214–222.

Leonardo, Z. (2002). The souls of White folk: Critical pedagogy, Whiteness studies, and globalization discourse. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 5*(1), 29–50.

Leonardo, Z. (2004). The color of supremacy: Beyond the discourse of "White privilege". *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 36*(2), 137–152.

Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

López, G., & Bialik, K. (2017). *Key findings about U.S. immigrants*. Report by the PEW Research Center. http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/11/30/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants/

López, P. D., & Pérez, W. (2017). Call for Papers 2018: Special Themed Issue, Latinx Education Policy and Resistance in the Trump Era.

Magaldi, D., Conway, T., & Trub, L. (2016). "I am here for a reason": Minority teachers bridging many divides in urban education. *Race, Ethnicity, & Education*. doi 10.1080/13613324.2016.1248822.

Matias, C. E. (2013a). Check yo'self before you wreck yo'self and our kids: Counterstories from culturally responsive White teachers?... To culturally responsive White teachers! *Interdisciplinary Journal of Teaching and Learning, 3*(2), 68–81.

Matias, C. E. (2013b). On the "flip" side: A teacher educator of color unveiling the dangerous minds of White teacher candidates. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 40*(2), 53–73.

Matias, C. E. (2013c). Who you callin' White?! A critical counter-story on colouring White identity. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 16*(3), 291–315.

Matias, C. E., & Newlove, P. M. (2017). Better the devil you see, than the one you don't: Bearing witness to emboldened en-whitening epistemology in the Trump era. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 30*(10), 920–928.

Matias, C. E., & Zembylas, M. (2014). "When saying you care is not really caring": Emotions of disgust, Whiteness ideology, and teacher education. *Critical Studies in Education, 55*(3), 319–337.

Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative dimensions of adult learning*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Morales, A. (2018). Within and beyond a Grow-Your-Own-Teacher program: Documenting the contextualized preparation and professional development experiences of critically conscious Latina teachers. *Teaching Education, 30*.

Morales, A., & Shroyer, M. G. (2016). Agency inspired by hardship: English Learner (EL) Latinas as liberatory educators. *The International Journal of Multicultural Education, 18*(3), 1–21.

Myers, V. (2014). *Vernā Myers: How to overcome our biases? Walk boldly toward them* [Video file]. Retrieved November, 2014 from https://www.ted.com/talks/vernamyershow_to_overcome_our_biases_walk_boldly_toward_them?language=en#t-212843

Noguera, P. A., & Kundu, A. (2014). Why students need more than "grit." *MSNBC*. Retrieved March 2, 2014 from http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/my-brothers-keeper-education

Nowell, L. S., Norris, J. M., White, D. E., & Moules, N. J. (2017). Thematic analysis: Striving to meet the trustworthiness criteria. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 16*(1), 1–13.

Orozco, R. A. (2017). White innocence as an investigative frame in a schooling context. *Critical Studies in Education*, 1–17. doi 10.1080/17508487.2017.1285335

Pérez Huber, L. (2009). Challenging racist nativist framing: Acknowledging the community cultural wealth of undocumented Chicana college students to reframe the immigration debate. *Harvard Educational Review, 79*(4), 704–730.

Pérez Huber, L. (2010). Using Latina/o Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) and racist nativism to explore intersectionality in the educational experiences of undocumented chicana college students. *Educational Foundations, 24,* 77–96.

Pérez Huber, L. (2016). Make America Great again: Donald Trump, racist nativism and the virulent adherence to white supremacy amid US demographic change. *Charleston Law Review, 10,* 215.

Pérez Huber, L., Lopez, C. B., Malagón, M. C., Velez, V., & Solórzano, D. G. (2008). Getting beyond the 'symptom', acknowledging the 'disease': Theorizing racist nativism. *Contemporary Justice Review, 11*(1), 39–51.

Picower, B. (2009). The unexamined Whiteness of teaching: How White teachers maintain and enact dominant racial ideologies. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 12*(2), 197–216.

Pollock, M. (2017). *School talk: Rethinking what we say about-and to-students every day*. New York: The New Press.

Pour-Khorshid, F. (2016). H.E.L.L.A.: Collective *testimonio* that speak to the healing, empowerment, love, liberation, and action embodied by social justice educators of color. *Association of Mexican American Educators Journal, 10*(2), 16–32.

Rios, V. M. (2011). *Punished: Policing the lives of Black and Latino boys*. New York: NYU Press.

Ris, E. W. (2015). Grit: A short history of a useful concept. *Journal of Educational Controversy, 10*(1), 3.

Rose, M. (2014). *Why school? Reclaiming education for all of us*. New York, NY: The New Press.

Ross, L. E. (2010). A vision of race, crime, and justice through the lens of critical race theory. In E. McLaughlin & T. Newburn (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of criminological theory,* (pp. 391–409).

Southern Poverty Law Center. (2016). *Ten days after: Harassment and intimidation in the aftermath of the election.* Retrieved November 29, 2016 from https://www.splcenter.org/20161129/ten-days-after-harassment-and-intimidation-aftermath-election

Strauss, A. L. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. The Tribune. (2017). *Statewide Data, Valverde Junior High School*. https://schools.texastribune.org/districts/lubbock-isd/cavazos-middle-school/

Thrall, T. (2018). *Trump's America first, anti-immigrant policies leave voters cold.* Newsweek. Retrieved January 23, 2018 from http://www.newsweek.com/trumps-america-first-anti-immigrant-policies-leave-voters-cold-788290

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization, Indigeneity, Education, & Society, 1*(1), 1–40.

Valencia, R. R., & Black, M. S. (2002). Mexican Americans don't value education! The basis of the myth, mythmaking, and debunking. *Journal of Latinos and Education, 1*(2), 81–103.

Wekker, G. (2016). *White innocence: Paradoxes of colonialism and race*. London: Duke University Press.

WiDA. (2012). *Amplification of the English language development standards, Kindergarten-Grade 12*. Madison, WI: Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System.