Irasema Mora-Pablo & G. Sue Kasun

Return Migrants, From Traitors to Survivors

How to Reframe Mexican Origin Transnationals Returning Home

Abstract: This chapter is part of a larger research study conducted at two Mexican public universities (Kasun & Mora-Pablo, 2021, 2022). We look retrospectively at Mexican origin youth who returned to Mexico from the United States and are now studying to become English teachers in a teacher education program in the state of Guanajuato. We examine how Malinche/Malintzin, –the indigenous woman who was interpreter and lover/mistress of Hernán Cortés– has been interpreted and utilized in the national state-building/mythmaking of the Mexican project. The results of this qualitative study show that the adaptations of these young people are not one-dimensional, and the discriminatory events they encountered are rooted in the prevailing belief that a Mexican who has relocated abroad is a traitor besides the apparent prevalence of monolingual and monocultural ideologies in Mexico. When they attempt to assimilate into a new community that rejects them, they are placed in a fragile situation due to the acts of linguicism that they encounter. This affects the incorporation of these young people into a new context. The implications question the work of the Mexican government to recognize these young transnationals in a context of return migration.

Keywords: Malinchismo, transnationals, return migration, education, identity, linguicism

1 Introduction

The popular phrase “Poor Mexico, so far from God, so close to the United States” was coined by the pre-revolutionary Mexican president, Porfirio Díaz, at the conclusion of the 19th century (Argüellova, 2018). Since that time, this phrase has been employed to convey the dissatisfaction with the asymmetry between the two neighboring countries and to represent the interdependence that is more profound today than it was in the past. Mexican migration, which is motivated by the same asymmetry, has been one of the factors that has significantly impacted the political and economic interdependence between the United States and Mexico. The history of migration between these two countries can be divided into various stages or periods, depending on the peculiarities of the border crossing and the

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111034225-014

legislative restrictions in place at the time (Mora-Pablo & Ocampo-Márquez, 2024). From the beginning of the 20th century with the initial stage known as "hook age" (Durand & Arias, 2000) to the "Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals" (DACA) and the election of Donald Trump as president of the United States in 2017 there has been a perceived increase in xenophobic discourses, which remains a source for substantial concern (Kang & Yang, 2022). Following Biden's inauguration as president in 2021, a new chapter in the migratory history between the two nations commenced, and we are currently observing the consequences of policies that are still in the process of being developed (Mora-Pablo & Ocampo-Márquez, 2024). Migration and transnationalism have been studied from different perspectives. For example, some studies have focused on narrative work and chronicles of border crossing to investigate different aspects of self-presentation first-generation Mexican immigrants to the United States (De Fina, 2003, 2009). Relaño Pastor (2007) analyzes how transfronterizo students construct their identity in daily interactions with Mexican and Anglo students at San Diegan schools. Some scholars have addressed the complexities transnationals go through during their lives. Jensen and Sawyer (2012) have focused on the lives of transnational children and the challenges they face when accessing education. Others have addressed the issue from a more global perspective (Capstick, 2020), and also how to prepare educators to address the constant mobility of these transnationals (Gándara & Jensen, 2020). Other studies have centered their discussion around the sociopolitical relationship between Mexico and the U.S. (Boehm, 2016; Segura & Zavella, 2007).

In Mexico, return migration has been documented by several studies (Hamann et al., 2006; Hamann & Zúñiga, 2011; Jessen et al., 2017; Panait & Zúñiga, 2016; Zúñiga & Hamann, 2013). In numerous cases, schools fail to fully understand the unique experiences and difficulties faced by these individuals and their families. The process of adapting to a new environment is particularly challenging for migrating children and adolescents. Schooling is often a significant source of distress. Being transnational involves experiencing both the United States and Mexico, including their respective educational systems. Research on the reintegration of migrant children into the Mexican education system takes into account multiple disciplines (Sánchez & Zúñiga, 2010; Silva Quiroz & Cruz Piñero, 2013; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2005). Their goal is to emphasize the issue that this situation poses – for both the government, educational institutions, and the families that are returning. Several studies have been conducted on transnational children in Mexico, focusing on the difficulties they face in finding a safe and inclusive environment where they feel visible and involved. These studies include works by Borjian et al. (2016), Despagne and Jacobo Suárez (2016), Hamann et al. (2006), Hamman and Zúñiga (2011), Jessen et al. (2017), Panait and Zúñiga (2016), Sánchez

García et al. (2012), Vargas Valle and Camacho Rojas (2015), and Zúñiga and Hamann (2013). Another significant aspect in the field of transnationalism is the role of the English teacher, as discussed by Lengeling et al. (2018), Menard-Warwick (2008), Mora Pablo et al. (2015), and Petrón (2003, 2009). These studies primarily examine the influence and significance of the language teacher on students, and how this might lead to lasting positive or negative experiences. In addition, Masferrer (2021) conducts a comprehensive analysis that specifically examines the sociodemographic, labor, and geographical characteristics of individuals who have returned to their home countries. Her study encompasses data collected between 2000 and 2015. The author's research examines various factors to understand the differences between return migrants and U.S.-born minors living in Mexico. These factors include sociodemographic characteristics, territorial distribution, population size of their localities, differences in activity status and employment type compared to non-migrants, as well as changes in demographic characteristics and labor reintegration over time. Jacobo-Suárez (2022) offers a thorough examination of the scientific advancements in the field of children and young people's return migration from 2015 to 2022.

Throughout our years of research, we have heard numerous accounts of non-migrant Mexicans who disapprove those who have lived in the United States and are given labels such as *pochos / mochos / agringados*. When these migrants return to their home country, Mexico, they are mocked for speaking Spanish with an American accent or for believing that, in some way, they have betrayed their country by choosing to reside in the United States. In the accounts of returnees, agonizing rejections frequently originate within the returnee's immediate family and social circle. These include the manner in which returning children's teachers treat them by displaying disdain when transnational children speak English. To illustrate one example of such disclosure, instructors frequently tell young students not to be pretentious simply because they speak English.

This chapter examines betrayal, language, and identity from a postcolonial perspective in order to clarify a social phenomenon consisting of Mexicans living in Mexico distorting their rage at the "betrayal" of their own compatriots, those Mexicans who have resided in the United States. The central objective we propose revolves around the concept of the unintentional "traitor", that who returns after having stayed and resided in the United States. We analyze how these Mexicans are generally understood socially, materialistically, through their physical appearance, in addition to being judged by negative constructions of their use of language and discriminated against because they are considered a traitor.

The following section briefly discusses the two theoretical constructs that undergird this chapter – linguicism and *anti-malinchismo*.

2 Decolonial Theories as Conceptual Framework

2.1 Linguicism

Critical Race Theory (CRT) in education enables researchers to "examine how multiple forms of oppression can intersect within the lives of People of Color and how those intersections manifest in our daily experiences to mediate our education" (Perez Huber, 2010, p. 77). LatCrit, a theoretical branch of Critical Race Theory (CRT), "investigates the experiences that are distinctive to the Latina/o community, including language, ethnicity, culture, and immigration status" (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001, p. 314). Although it is not always possible to directly correlate language ideologies with beliefs about race, public discourse regarding the use of non-standard varieties of English is racialized. This is achieved by utilizing rhetorical patterns that are associated with discussions of race and ethnicity or by making direct or indirect references to racial categories (Ligget, 2009; Shuck, 2006). Linguicism discourse, like racial discourse, is similarly reflective and constitutive of power and implicit power relationships that are normalized in the broader social context and implied as the "natural" order of things.

The prevalent belief that monolingualism is the natural human state of being is a reflection of the ongoing hegemony of this monolingual political imaginary, which informs the emergence of modern nation-states (Bonfiglio, 2010). Veronelli (2015, p. 119) posits that the historical and contemporary racialization of languages and the populations with which they are associated continues to reproduce "the colonizer's imagination of the colonized as having no language, that is, no Eurocentrically valorized expressivity" in his discussion of the "coloniality of language". Ideologies of language standardization are related to monolingual political imaginary. These ideologies resonate more with marginalized communities, such as transnationals or return migrants whose English-Spanish bilingualism is frequently perceived as a hindrance rather than a skill, impeding inclusion and upward socioeconomic mobility (Zentella, 2014)

Over the years, we have observed the detrimental impact of language prejudice on children in educational institutions. The concept of "linguicism" has been extensively examined by language planners, sociolinguists, and applied linguists (Phillipson, 1992; Skuttnab-Kangas, 2012) and is commonly employed in the field of education (Murillo & Smith, 2011). Linguicism refers to "ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, regulate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins, 1988, p. 13). Linguicism is the act of discriminating against an individual based on their manner of speaking, writing, or signing. Language, being a funda-

mental means of self-expression, communication, and learning, is often subject to bias and discrimination. Language serves as a significant indicator of both personal and community identities, such as belonging to families and other social units (Anzaldúa, 1987; Guerra, 2007). According to De Costa (2020), linguistic racism becomes worse when a person is able to speak various languages and switches between them. This is because their ability to switch languages, known as translanguage (Li, 2018), is viewed as a disadvantage rather than an asset. We agree with Kubota and Lin (2006) that language should be a central area of study when discussing racism, as linguicism and racism are inherently interconnected.

2.2 Anzaldúan Theories and Anti-malinchismo

As multicultural subjects (Kleyn, 2017), these young people returning to Mexico with a vast array of knowledge, practices, and cultural experiences are oblivious that they will be subjected to hostility. Return migrants may be unaware that they represent a prohibition and an immoral blend of something so challenging to the surrounding community's mentality. This taboo only serves to repress the community and the newcomer in particular (Kasun, 2016; Van den Braekenbussche, 2002). When the transnationals return to Mexico, they are confronted with a complicated scenario, as they are perceived as traitors for having sold themselves to outsiders. This renders them malinchistas in the minds of their Mexican counterparts. Later, we will examine the notion of "malinchista" in greater detail. Anti-malinchismo is the reverberation of a collective memory that persists in Mexico and that Mexicans prefer to suppress. This circumstance does not represent a complete or entire Mexican repression. It becomes a national issue because it occurs in the context of the nation's continuous effort to establish unity through the homogenization of language, ideology and, therefore, identity. Immigrants to the United States and returnees to Mexico represent a social phenomenon that must be addressed in order to advance the goal of establishing a homeland.

Since the Mexican-American War of 1848, the history of relations between the United States and Mexico has been a space of constant friction, particularly if it is the cultural imaginary, intangible aspect, which was maintained and reproduced in the United States among the diverse Mexican populations despite the restrictions imposed. According to Walter Mignolo (2012), migrations "corrode the purported links between territory and culture" (p. 25). The fact that the United States would have annexed Mexican territory in the 19th century further complicates issues of belonging, citizenship, and identity.

2.3 Malinche and the Subjects in Process

Mexico and the United States (U.S.) have a lengthy and complex history of migration that has evolved over time (Fitzgerald, 2016). The tense relationship between Mexico and the United States can be traced back to 1848, when Mexico ceded half of its territory to what is now the southwestern United States (Velasco, 2004). Since then, sociopolitical tensions have existed between the two nations. In contrast to the United States, Mexico is viewed as a subordinate nation (Condon, 1997). The 1994 signature of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between Mexico, the United States, and Canada altered Mexico's economy. Mexico's transition from protectionism to neoliberalism paved the way for a new economy, new methods of gaining access to foreign products, and new marketing. In essence, it opened the door to English in daily life. The Malinche, a historical Mexican figure, haunts those actions of wishing to "welcome the foreigner" in the context of consumerism. Murphy (1995) describes this as follows:

> The concept of *malinchismo* is a subtle but ever present subtext. The term is derived from La Malinche, the interpreter/counselor/mistress of Spanish conquistador Hernan Cortes, and it is used in a contemptuous manner to describe the preference for foreign/non-Mexican influences or to level what is perceived as betrayal. In its conspicuous form, *malinchismo* can be seen as the consumption of foreign goods, which in contemporary Mexican society means absorption of American mass culture. (p. 258)

Consequently, there is a potential for being labeled a *malinchista* if you use English or any American-related product. But English is ubiquitous in daily life in Mexico. Globalization has penetrated the lives of numerous Mexican households. It is impossible to spend a single day without coming into contact with English through television, periodicals, magazines, social media, or storefront displays (Baumgardner, 2006; Despagne, 2019; Sayer, 2018).

Mexico is too pervasive in daily American life. In the annals of American prejudice against the Mexican, a cultural border is erected that designates him as a second-rate and inadmissible citizen (Short & Magaña, 2002). However, we must also consider what happens to those who, after a number of years residing in the United States, return to their country of origin, Mexico, and confront rejection by their own countrymen. To explain this, we rely on the figure of Malinche.

Malinche is regarded as the first woman to be screwed or violated by the conquerors; in this instance, she is known in Mexican Spanish as the "woman of Cortés". According to Mexican folklore and contemporary discourse, this makes Mexicans offspring of *La Chingada* ('the raped/fucked') (Anzaldúa, 1993). However, only one Mexican is the original traitor: Malinche, the original and Indigenous mother, who "sold herself" to the Conquistador. Traitors are the lowest of

the low and violate all social norms. “La Malinche comes to symbolize the traitor to national goals”, explains Cypess (2010, p. 6). “The individual who conforms to her paradigm is labeled a malinchista, one who sells out to the foreigner and devalues national identity in favor of imported benefits” (p. 7). Cherrie Moraga (1983) defines herself as ‘Malinche’, deconstructing the derogatory connotation of the symbol and reclaiming it as a symbol of an ethnic woman who lives under the double oppression of two patriarchal cultures.

In “Los Hijos de la Malinche” from *El laberinto de la soledad*, Octavio Paz (1950) consecrates malinchismo as submission and violence, surrender and rape. In his work, the intention is that the negative image of Malinche prototypical of female betrayal, would come to an end. The influence and dissemination of *Laberinto de la soledad* causes Chicano feminism to adopt Malinche, positively reappropriating an identity that had been given to her with a negative connotation. Chicana feminist authors proudly refer to themselves as “symbolic daughters of Malinche”, recuperating a positive maternal vision and emphasizing the parallels between their own life experiences and those of a multilingual subaltern woman who lived between two cultures. Thus, in a broader sense, the negative myth can become a positive symbol of hybridity and multiculturalism, recovering the meaning that Todorov (1987) previously warned about, in which he portrays it as the embodiment of otherness and the blend.

Anzaldúa’s mestizaje resonates with Donna Haraway’s concept of “situated knowledge”, in which location is a complex construction of social realities and not only heredity. The mestizaje that Anzaldúa (1987) suggests implies a re-signification of the concept that, from above, sought to precisely reconcile the differences—the celestial race—by acknowledging the archeological discourse’s denial of indigenous origins. In this redefinition, mestizaje from the bottom is contested, counterhegemonic, feminized, lesbianized, multilingual, plural, and amenable to transformational processes. The new mestiza would comprise an “identity that is neither fixed nor essential” (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 561), but rather what Norma Alarcón (1996) refers to as “subjects in process” who exercise decolonizing practices from within a culture. The open space recovers history and knowledge that have been denied or subalternized; it is a visible illustration of Walter Mignolo’s concept of “border knowing”, which is where Anzaldúa’s ideas are located. Mignolo (2012) defines it as reasoning from dichotomous concepts as opposed to categorizing the world into dichotomies.

The postcolonial perspective of Fanon (1967) explains how Mexicans could perceive this woman as a traitor. In the past, many Mexicans supported the colonizer, decried Malinche, and sided with the colonizer, despite the fact that he was a rapist, as was the case in this instance. La Malinche was a woman who played both the role of perpetrator and victim. She is a peculiar figure of revulsion who

elicits a visceral repulsion. When Mexicans who "sell themselves" are referred to as "malinchistas" with such contempt by their fellow countrymen, they are rarely welcomed to debate why or how they chose what it means to be Mexican or what decision they made to be forced to "sell themselves". This figure of Malinche is the foundation of the *anti-malinchista* perspective, which emphasizes the importance of acknowledging the value of these transnationals and refraining from labeling them as "malinchistas" due to their years living in the United States. We should refrain from employing the term "malinchista" as a means of identifying an individual who has "sold himself to the neighboring country". The *anti-malinchista* perspective posits that the linguistic and cultural abilities of transnationals are acknowledged and regarded as a strength rather than a liability. Our intention is to use Malinche as an example of what many transnationals – men and women – do and how they reconstruct their life stories over time. We now move on to our research methodology.

3 Methodology

The qualitative paradigm employed in the study was grounded on the conviction that qualitative techniques are more effective in emphasizing and evaluating social issues such as migration or prejudice (Fielding, 2020). Narrative inquiry has been selected as the methodology. This appeals to the fundamental meaning-making function of the narrative or the experiences of the participants (Parks, 2023). This method demonstrates a more profound understanding of the participants' circumstances, as narrative inquiry enables a comprehensive representation of their experiences and aims to understand the significance that individuals assign to them in a specific context (Jha, 2018). We consider McAdams' framework (2001) to show the correlation between narrative inquiry and the construction of meaning, which fundamentally examines how individuals perceive themselves not only as unique beings but also as social entities that are multiply defined by their gender, language, ethnicity, social class, culture, and life stage. Following the analysis of the participants' narratives, it was essential to employ the narratives that had been generated to facilitate a comprehensive dialogue with the researchers, a procedure known as "autobiographical reasoning" (Singer & Bluck, 2001). This was accomplished by employing life biograms, which we explain in the subsequent section. Although these narratives incorporate personal insights, they are also significantly influenced by the sociocultural knowledge of the immigration policies of both nations and the lived experiences of the participants. In a significant way, the sociocultural context in which narratives originate influences

the transformation of "raw" narratives into those that convey meaning. Our objective is to facilitate the comprehension and application of this meaning in a variety of contexts and regions, thereby facilitating both individual and collective introspection. Through their narratives, the participants in this study were able to articulate and understand their lived experiences of moving to Mexico after having resided in the United States for an extended period, as well as the impact of this on their educational opportunities. The research questions we attempt to answer are:

RQ1: What is the role of linguicism in the act of discriminating against transnationals based on their manner of speaking or writing?

RQ2: How does the concept of anti-malinchismo contribute to our understanding of the discriminatory experiences encountered by transnational youth?

3.1 Participants and Context

The narratives presented here are those of 10 university students enrolled in an undergraduate English teaching program at one public university in Mexico. All of them spent a significant portion of their lives in the United States, and the majority were brought there by their families at a young age (see Table 1). There were a variety of reasons for their return to Mexico, including deportation, the inability to continue university education in the United States, and family obligations. They are currently studying to become English language teachers, with the majority of them deciding to do so after being told by relatives that they already knew English and could teach it, and that doing so would provide a means of income in Mexico. The participants were selected due to their status as return migrants or transnational migrants at some point in their lives, and they belong to different cohorts in the program.

Through autobiographies, semi-structured interviews, and life biograms, each participant's experiences were gathered for the study on which this chapter is based. We present extracts from the lives of Andrea, Rafael, Fabiola, Laura, and Gemma for the purposes of this chapter. All participants signed letters of informed consent. To safeguard the participants' identities, their names have been changed. Initially, participants were requested to compose a brief autobiography that illustrated the most significant events of their migratory journey. They were requested to provide a brief description of the events that occurred at those instances, as well as the dates and times. The autobiographies were analyzed after

Table 1: Participants' Profile.

Name	Place of birth	Age at the moment of the study	Age when they went to the U.S.	Age when they returned to Mexico	Place of residence in the U.S.	Average schooling years in the U.S.
Yuri	Guanajuato, Mexico	21	10	15	Illinois	5
Gemma	Nevada, U.S.	19		12	Nevada	7
Andrea	Celaya, Guanajuato	21	3	16	California	11
Adriana	Valle de Santiago, Mexico	22	5	21	California	16
Rafael	León, Guanajuato	20	4	14	California	9
Laura	Guanajuato, Mexico	19	8	15	California	7
Raul	Dolores, Hidalgo, Mexico	23	1	22	Illinois	16
Fabiola	Valle de Santiago, Guanajuato	20	3	11	Oregon	6
Edna	California	20		18	California	12
José	Valle de Santiago	23	12	21	Nevada	4

they were submitted, and a semi-structured interview was arranged for each participant. We initiated collaboration with them on the creation of a life biogram during the interview.

3.2 Life Biograms

A biogram is a comprehensive representation that summarizes an individual's life history and career progression, including important events, significant individuals, and critical dimensions, presented in a chronological timeline (Segovia et al., 2017). The primary benefit of biographical-narrative research lies in its capacity to gener-

ate knowledge that aids in understanding and interpreting the educational environment. It functions as a powerful instrument, especially applicable for delving into the domains of personal identity, societal importance, and practical knowledge.

According to Parrilla (2009, p. 109), a life biogram is a visual representation of a person's biography, where they can choose to emphasize significant moments and places that have influenced their personal growth and life journey. The lifeline is established as a personalized timetable that includes the specific and contextual milestones and situations that have an impact on a person's life, along with their interpretation. A representation of this can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2: Visual representation of the elements to start working with a life biogram.

Moment	Dimension	Impact
Dates, moments to highlight.	Synthetically describe what happens, who is involved, where the events occur.	What impact do these situations have and in what aspects?

Bolívar (2002) emphasized that this tool extends beyond a simple sequence of events and objective circumstances. It involves a subsequent reconstruction, which may not be entirely objective or infallible, based on the current understanding of life and the teaching profession. Teachers who narrate their lives highlight the relevance of these experiences in shaping their professional development. Participants utilize life biograms to examine the past from the perspective of the present, while also envisioning a desirable or probable future in a process of a dialectical interaction, as described by Bakhtin (2003).

During the initial phase, the researcher and participant collaboratively developed a life biogram. The participant was requested to correlate specific facts with moments, or sensory feelings that are significant. Afterwards, the most pertinent sections were collectively determined, which encompassed story information and related creative components. During a second phase, these components were further explored through a sequence of semi-open interviews. Interviews lasted between 45 to 90 minutes. Lastly, during the third phase, a triangulation was performed with the same participant utilizing the development process.

3.3 Researchers' Reflexivity and Positionality

Irasema Mora-Pablo has held the position of a full professor at the public institution mentioned in this study for a period of 20 years. During this time, her research has focused on the topics of transnationalism and return migration. Sue

Kasun, a full professor at an American university, has conducted research on the same topic in both Mexico (where she held a Fulbright scholarship) and the United States. Throughout our years of work, we have observed numerous cases in which transnationals encounter challenges upon their return to Mexico. We employed reflexivity to drive our participant interaction and critical analysis of how our personal and professional experiences influenced the research. By openly and honestly recognizing the potential impact of our individual histories and opinions on the research, we created an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding. This transformative approach emphasized the importance of self-monitoring and introspection in order to maintain the integrity of the study and authentically reflect the viewpoints and experiences of the participants. Both researchers have proactively addressed power disparities during the research by actively interacting with the participants in ongoing conversations. As an example, we offered the participants the opportunity to select the interview style (either online or face-to-face) as well as their desired day and time for the interviews. The objective of this collaborative method was to foster empathy, trust, and rapport with the participants, while acknowledging the significance of power dynamics and positionality in the connection between the researcher and the participants (Cuevas-Parra, 2021). Positionality influences one's status as an insider or outsider. According to Hayfield and Huxley (2015), insiders possess access, rapport, and influence, whereas outsiders may conduct more comprehensive investigations with a distinct perspective. In our study, Mora Pablo had an affiliation with the public university, while Kasun had no affiliation with the public institution. As researchers, we both actively engaged in personal and methodological reflexivity throughout the research process by maintaining a conscious understanding of our personal advantages, backgrounds, prejudices, and individual characteristics.

The initial examination of these interviews was conducted using semi-directed qualitative content analysis (Kalteh & Mokarami, 2022). The initial categories were established by examining the data for similarities and differences during the initial review. The data were subsequently reread in order to identify representative categories. This was followed by the reduction and construction of categories in accordance with the group constructs and names that were identified during the analysis. After the codes were finalized, both authors determined which ones were the most representative. For the purposes of this chapter, we will discuss the following emerging themes: Linguicism in the school, hybrid identity, and life between two worlds.

4 Linguicism in the School

Frequent humiliations were suffered by our participants, and nearly all of them had at least one uncomfortable anecdote about a teacher who made derogatory remarks about them because they were transnational returnees in Mexico. Many had repeated incidents with multiple teachers. We argue that although this form of bullying becomes common among classmates in a school, when it is perpetrated by adults whose task it is to educate their students, returnees experience a greater imbalance of perception. We believe that this imbalance is in part due to the resentment that many Mexicans feel towards malinchismo. We can see this in Andrea's account:

> I became more anti-social. There were classmates and teachers telling me "**You speak funny**", "**Your Spanish is *mocho*** [corrupted]" and I was like "Aghh, leave me alone!" but then I started to gain confidence again. It was a long process.

In Andrea's case, her way of speaking in Spanish denoted the influence of English on her accent. This automatically singled her out from the rest of the group and she received discriminatory comments from her classmates. Language-based exclusion practices can be considered micropolitics, and, as in Andrea's case, linguistic minorities' powerlessness due to their low Spanish competence becomes evident in a micro-level group dynamic. This affected her socially as she transformed into an introvert. She was able to surmount this over time, but it was a lengthy process, as she describes.

There was another instance where linguicism was present in the school. In the case of Gemma, she recalls an incident with a teacher in the classroom:

> I had a teacher and she was very strict, she wouldn't just let me, you know, like, hang out, like read in English or do something else. Because she would say like, "you don't need this", like, "this is not for you". One time she gave us a class and she wrote something on the board. And I, like my parents had told me something like this would happen, I approached her quietly to tell her that it was incorrect and I was like, "Oh, I think it's like this". And she got very angry. And she made me give her my backpack and said "You think you are gringa, eh?". And she would do this to me, like every class that she would make me take out all my things from my backpack, and she would take it away from me. Why? I don't know, that was like her form of punishment. And it was obviously like very humiliating because my classmates made fun of me.

Because Gemma had a better command of English than the teacher, she was generally invisible in the classroom. However, acts of linguicism in the form of the teacher's classroom pedagogies became evident at the moment in which the teacher exposed her in front of her classmates by calling her a *gringa* and taking away her things as a punishment. In other instances, however, the rejection of

these transnational migrants became so violent as to threaten their reintegration into the Mexican educational system and, more generally, into the society that was supposed to accept them, as in the case of Rafael:

> Once I returned to Mexico I was put in a telesecundaria close to my house. I remember that I felt that I didn't fit in because basically it was a different life with different customs and traditions. At the beginning, I was bullied a lot by the teachers and by my classmates due to the fact that I spoke another language and they used to tell me things like: "*No hables inglés. Estamos en México*" [don't speak English, we are in Mexico] and "*Pinche gringo no tienes por qué estar aquí*" [Fucking gringo, you shouldn't be here]. There were occasions in which I had to defend myself from physical attacks because people thought that I was some kind of threat because I came from another place and spoke a different language.

Here, parallels can be drawn to Malinche. As a woman, Malinche was unable to defend herself and was portrayed more as property than agent. These rejection manifestations are contrasted to the visceral opinions regarding Malinche. Typically, a person who "sells" himself to the other country, in this case the United States, is viewed as a renegade and elicits sentiments of rejection. This is what happened to Rafael, and according to his account, he was forced to physically defend himself against the attacks he suffered. Nevertheless, perceived attitudes towards the role of English in a community with a prevailing monolingual ideology are also apparent. Rafael seems to be questioned as a showoff for speaking in English when what is expected of him is to speak only in Spanish. This demonstrates the intricacies that transnationals encounter and how their linguistic abilities in two languages are perceived as a liability by the community in which they are attempting to start a new life. Rafael was aware of his perceived "linguistic disadvantage" for speaking English in Mexico and expressed his anger of becoming an easy target for Mexican counterparts by choosing violence and trying to defend himself.

5 Hybrid Identity

Having resided in the United States for a significant amount of time affords those who return to Mexico the chance to acquire the country's customs and even practices. However, they also maintain Mexican traditions and characteristics. Despite the possibility that this is an advantage, they question whether or not it truly is, as Fabiola mentions:

> I like tacos, beans, but also hamburgers. I like football, but also soccer. There is music that I prefer in English, but I have nothing against music in Spanish. I think my parents gave me

> the opportunity to have an identity enriched by two cultures and I take the best of that. The problem is not with me, the problem is that people don't accept this and they automatically put you as if you were worth less, or that you show off.

Upon their return, transnationals may also encounter stigma and discrimination. The perception of returnees in society can be influenced by misconceptions or prejudices, such as the presumption of failure or lack of nationalism. These negative attitudes can result in social exclusion, making it more difficult for returning migrants to reintegrate and sense that they belong, as in the case of Fabiola. She is aware of her cultural richness of having the "best" of both cultures, however, she acknowledges that people do not perceive this as an advantage. This resonates with the work of Bejarano (2007) when discussing who gets to be Mexican. He describes how these individuals are frequently confronted with questions about their identity through verbal or physical challenges from their classmates, relatives, or acquaintances, both in school and outside of it (Bejarano, 2007). Contesting identities is a common occurrence, and the question of who is more Mexican than American or vice versa often devolves to the spectrum in the continuum of Mexicanness, where transnationals are situated closer or further from what is believed to be a "true Mexican".

It is the same case for Laura, who reflects on how she is perceived by others:

> I like to say that I have taken the best of both worlds and that is why I can move between two countries. But sometimes, being in Mexico, I feel that they don't accept my past, for having lived in the United States. And in the United States sometimes I feel that they don't accept me because I'm Mexican. It's strange, sometimes I feel that having an identity between two countries is not something fluid, it's like having a part of both but neither at the same time.

In Laura's account we can see how *malinchismo* is related to the issue of migration between Mexico and the United States. When returning to Mexico after having immigrated to the United States, Mexicans frequently encounter prejudice and social stigmatization. These stem from the prejudice that those who left Mexico have abandoned their culture. In discussing Anzaldúa's work (1987), she drew attention to the spaces where cultures, languages, and identities converge by emphasizing the significance of borderlands. She argued that these borderlands are conducive to the formation of new, vibrant identities that challenge homogeneity and celebrate diversity (1987). However, we still see that transnationals and returning migrants face rejection by their Mexican counterparts and that still monolingual and monocultural views prevail.

6 Life between Two Worlds

Gemma, who seems to be divided between ambivalence and zeal for her identity, provides a final illustration. This is a defining characteristic of the hybrid lifestyle, the sensation of being "between two worlds" and being able to function in both, or existing in what Anzaldúa (2002) calls "Nepantla". For Anzaldúa, Nepantla is a paradigm of liminality and transition, living "between two worlds" of various border crossings, where new creative, literary, linguistic, psychological, sociocultural, and geopolitical identities can be explored and forged. In this extract, Gemma represents the aforementioned (Kasun & Mora-Pablo, 2022).

> When I'm here, it depends on the situation. I'm kind of very undecided about who I am. I have a very Mexican side: oh, I'm Mexican! And I'm as proud as I am of my American side. Just like when someone says something bad about the United States, I get defensive, but when they say something bad about Mexico, I also get defensive. So, I am very indecisive in who I am. So I always say that from here to the border I am Mexican, from the border to there I am American.

Gemma's loyalty to the two countries is evident, as she is not a "sell-out" to either culture, a trait that is typically attributed to Malinche or the returnees. She is in fact showing how she is placed in the continuum of Mexicanness. She has acquired the capacity to provide for both sides of the frontier. In fact, she exemplifies a somewhat idealized vision of what we anticipate from multicultural and intercultural education, namely the development of the capacity and flexibility to appreciate more than one location, person, or culture. We believe that Gemma and other transnationals would be able to articulate in a more spontaneous and expeditious manner that they are from both countries without feeling ashamed if they were allowed to embody multiple national identities. We recognize, as the Mexican proverb "ni de aquí, ni de allá" ('neither from here nor from there' goes, that there are few "de aquí y de allá" ('from here and there') discourses of approval of multiple identities by those who surround them.

7 Discussion

The assignment of symbolic feminine roles, as in the case of Malinche, which is prevalent in the social imagination of Mexican society, restricts the identity of Mexicans symbolically. The subordinate position of Malinche in this context signifies the symbolic construction of gender, which is linked to the formation of the Mexican female identity as a component of the national identity. If this concept is expanded, then the returnees symbolize this. The returnee, like many women,

perceives the expectation that they will not flourish at what they set out to accomplish in their environment. However, conflicting interpretations of Malinche's multifaceted involvement in the conquest have emerged over the centuries. Some see her as a traitor who aided the Spanish in the subjugation of her own people, whereas others see her as a survivor who navigated a perilous time with skill. This historical narrative has influenced the perception of Malinchismo, imbuing it with connotations of betrayal and cultural inferiority. As Suárez-Orozco et al. (2008) suggest, the school setting is a central place where identities are created among young people and the racial/ethnic and social class distinctions and divisions in society are candidly reproduced. The school setting serves as a reflection of the day-to-day grind of multicultural people coming together in a shared but often contentious space. This is what participants in this study have faced and they have been questioned for not being "true Mexicans". In a nation where monolingual ideologies are the norm, their capacity to communicate in two languages has been criticized as a disadvantage. The data have demonstrated the conceptualization of language in Mexico, particularly in the context of linguicism in various interactions, ranging from the classroom pedagogies of instructors to the interactions of individuals. The Mexican imaginary is particularly characterized by the preservation of monolingual ideologies, which are most prominently embodied in the creation of labels to refer to transnationals in order to frame them in a spectrum of "Mexicannes". This appears to be the cause of linguicism. As in Laura's case, this discourse is perpetuated by both her classmates and her teachers when she is told that her Spanish is "mocho" ['corrupted']. Or in the case of Gemma, being singled out by her teacher by calling her "gringa" or even taking her things away. Linguicism and monolingual ideologies can have a persisting and detrimental impact on the linguistic identities of transnationals, as they may perceive themselves as "not Mexican enough" in both the school and the broader community. As a result, it is crucial to observe the impact of linguicism and monolingual ideologies on teacher-student and student-student interactions. This would develop practitioners who are linguistically perceptive and critically engaged, capable of resisting and challenging linguicism in all of its manifestations.

We present three suggestions for addressing this history of colonial violence, which is part of a cyclical pattern. Beginning with a more objective depiction of the lived reality of returning transnationals, the narrative should be reinterpreted. Consequently, it would be beneficial to promote awareness among the general population that encourages the concept of experiencing multiple identities. Finally, it would be necessary to allow returnees to live and experience the hybridity of their identities so they can determine whether or not to resist it. We would like to reclaim the history of Malinche and the lives of transnational returnees. This enables the existence of Anzaldúa's (1987) *Shadow Beast* to be acknowl-

edged, followed by recognition of its extraordinary creative power. Instead of negating and suppressing the potent experiences and force that returnees bring with them, we can engage them in the creation of new narratives, those that are more positive and welcoming of hybrid identities. We therefore suggest that it is necessary to raise awareness among Mexican citizens in order to prevent discrimination against transnationals from an *anti-malinchista* perspective. This suggests that the term "malinchista" can be used as an acknowledgement of an intercultural *malinchista*, an individual who has survived, possesses valued skills in two or more languages, and is intercultural, rather than using it as an insult. This is the point at which we must redirect the conversation and replace phrases like *"ni de aquí ni de allá"* ['neither from here nor from there'] with alternatives like "from here and also from there" (Kasun & Mora-Pablo, 2022). It is imperative that we recognize the abilities they possess, including their bilingualism and their capacity to adapt to various cultures.

Similarly, all nicknames and labels given to returnees, such as *mocho*, *pocho*, *gabacho* and *gringo*, should be changed. Accepting the otherness of the other suggests an alternative course of action, one that necessitates the abandonment of prejudices, the removal of masks and labels denoting the "good" or the "bad", and the recognition of ourselves as fellow human beings who redefine ourselves through our distinctions. This compels us to construct bridges and dismantle barriers that enable us to comprehend, from the perspective of those who have been marginalized, their lived realities, encompassing their experiences on both sides of the border, surpassing the narrow interpretations we have imposed upon them. By drawing insights from these experiences, it is possible to forge connections that foster a shared ability to generate solutions amidst divergences.

8 Conclusions

We believe that educating Mexican citizens is necessary to prevent *anti-malinchista* prejudice against returnees. We suggest a variety of strategies that can be implemented in different contexts. According to Duncan (2010), history must be examined once more. Malinche was not a contemptible traitor, but a woman who was given as property. Our participants experience living in two worlds, forming new identities and facing challenges in two languages. We believe that this phenomenon could be explained through the concept of hybridity (Ngestirosa EWK, 2018; Smith & Leavy, 2008). The notion of hybridity in postcolonial hybrid studies denotes cross-cultural exchange. Hybridity highlights not only the fused outcomes of culture but also the manner in which these cultural products, along with their posi-

tioning in historical and social spheres during colonialism, contribute to the reinforcement or rejection of colonial power structures. Hybridity expresses a state of 'in-betweenness,' as an individual who exists at an intermediary point between two distinct cultures (Habib, 2005, p. 166; Loomba, 2000, p. 173). Returnees live in two cultures. Despite being born into Mexican heritage, they assimilate American culture into their everyday lives in order to assimilate with the American people and environment. We cannot expect the returning individuals to become "pure Mexicans". We must recognize the skills they bring with them, such as their bilingualism and ability to work across cultures. They learned to adjust to multicultural settings and were able to survive in a variety of environments. They have much to offer the rest of the community, so they should be regarded as part of a multicultural society and no longer as a threat.

The complexities of navigating these intersecting identities were highlighted by Anzaldúa's "mestiza consciousness" concept. Anzaldúa argued that embracing hybridity and challenging oppressive borders demands self-reflection, critical consciousness, and resistance. Individuals can become agents of change by dismantling internalized oppression and embracing their diversity, thereby nurturing inclusive communities that celebrate the complexities of hybrid identities.

Possessing lived experience on both sides and having lived in both worlds does not necessarily obligate one to adhere to either side. Criticizing an individual for preferring to affiliate with one faction over the other is an extremely easy task. Before making a negative definition of the returnee founded on a priori assumptions, it is advisable to thoroughly contemplate the returnee's life experiences. Achieving mutual recognition as valid interlocutors among diverse, antagonistic, and contrary actors is crucial. Intercultural dialogue presents itself as a potential avenue for bridging these divergent groups so that they may develop shared perspectives, reach consensus on fundamental matters, and, most importantly, acquire alternative modes of communication. Therefore, the participants emerge from the dialogue process not the same but having undergone a transformative process. Consequently, we acknowledge the possibility of reversing the colonization imposed by colonial logic if we observe and learn from the experiences of transnationals. The scholarly work of Gloria Anzaldúa has had a profound impact on our understanding of hybrid identities. She opened up new avenues for self-acceptance, empowerment, and collective liberation by challenging binary constructions, embracing intersectionality, and encouraging the transformation of borders. The legacy of Anzaldúa serves as a reminder of the significance of recognizing the diversity and complexity of human experiences, nurturing inclusive spaces that celebrate the richness of diverse identities. Her work continues to encourage individuals to traverse their own frontiers, embracing the beauty and strength of their hybrid selves (Anzaldúa, 1987, 1993). The act of chal-

lenging the concept of borders demands a reevaluation of the relationship between states, territories, citizenship, and identity. This can be accomplished by examining border areas and the interplay of various dimensions and actors.

References

Alarcón, N. (1993). Traduttora, Traditora: una figura paradigmática del feminismo de las chicanas. [Translator, Traitor: A Paradigmatic Figure of Chicano Feminism]. *Debate Feminista*, *8*, 19–48. https://www.jstor.org/stable/42624143

Alarcón, N. (1996). Anzaldúa's Frontera: Inscribing Gynetics. In S. Lavie & T. Swedenburg (eds.), *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity* (pp. 41–53). Duke University Press.

Anzaldúa, G. E. (1987). *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco, CA: Spinsters / Aunt Lute.

Anzaldúa, G. E. (1993). Chicana Artists: Exploring nepantla, el lugar de la frontera. *NACLA Report on the Americas*, *27*(1), 37–45. https://doi.org/10.1080/10714839.1993.11724648

Anzaldua, G. E. (2002). Now let us shift . . . The path of conocimiento. . . . Inner work, public acts. In G. Anzaldua & A. Keating (eds.), *This bridge we call home: Radical visions for transformation.* (pp. 540–578). Routledge.

Bakhtin, M. M. (2003). *Estética da criação verbal*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes.

Baumgardner, R. J. (2006). The Appeal of English in Mexican Commerce. *World Englishes*, *25*(2), 251–266. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0083-2919.2006.00463.x

Boehm, D. (2016). *Returned*: *Going and Coming in an Age of Deportation* (Vol. 39). University of California Press.

Bolívar, A. (2002). *Profissão professor: o itinerário profissional e a construção da escola*. Edusc.

Bonfiglio, T. P. (2010). *Race and the Rise of Standard American* (Vol. 7). Walter de Gruyter.

Borjian, A., Muñoz de Cote, L. M., van Dijk, S., & Houde, P. (2016). Transnational Children in Mexico: Context of Migration and Adaptation. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, *10*(1), 42–54. https://doi.org/10.1080/15595692.2015.1084920

Capstick, T. (2020). *Language and Migration*. Routledge.

Condon, J. (1997). *Good Neighbors. Communicating with Mexicans* (2nd ed.). Intercultural Press Inc.

Cuevas-Parra, P. (2021). Positionality and Reflexivity: Recognizing and Dismantling our Privileges in Childhood Research Through the Use of Windows and Mirrors. *Global Studies of Childhood*, *13*(14), pp. 295–309. https://doi.org/10.1177/20436106211052295

Cypess, S. M. (2010). *La Malinche in Mexican Literature: From History to Myth*. University of Texas Press.

De Costa, P. I. (2020). Linguistic Racism: Its Negative Effects and Why We Need to Contest It. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *23*(7), 833–837.

De Fina, A. (2003). *Identity in Narrative: A Study of Immigrant Discourse*. John Benjamins.

De Fina, A. (2009). Narratives in Interview—The Case of Accounts: For an Interactional Approach to Narrative Genres. *Narrative Inquiry*, *19*(2), 233–258.

De Fina, A., & Tseng, A. (2017). Narrative in the Study of Migrants. In S. Canagarajah (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Migration and Language* (pp. 381–396). Routledge.

Despagne, C. (2019). "Language Is What Makes Everything Easier": The Awareness of Semiotic Resources of Mexican Transnational Students in Mexican Schools. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *13*(1), 1–14.

Despagne, C., & Jacobo Suárez, M. (2016). Desafíos actuales de la escuela monolítica mexicana: El caso de los alumnos migrantes transnacionales. *Sinéctica*, *47*, 1–17. https://sinectica.iteso.mx/index.php/SINECTICA/article/view/645

Durand, J., & Arias, P. (2000). *La experiencia migrante: iconografía de la migración México-Estados Unidos [The Migrant Experience: Iconography of Migration Mexico-United States Migration]*. Altexto.

Fanon, F. (1967). *Black Skin White Masks*. New York: Grove Press, Inc.

Fielding, N. G. (2020). Critical Qualitative Research and Impact in the Public Sphere. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *26*(2), 142–152. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800419857746

FitzGerald, D. (2016). 150 Years of Transborder Politics: Mexico and Mexicans Abroad. In N. L. Green & R. Waldinger (eds.), *A Century of Transnationalism. Immigrants and Their Homeland Connections* (pp. 106–131). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Gándara, P., & Jensen, B. (eds.) (2020). *The Students We Share: Preparing US and Mexican Educators for Our Transnational Future*. SUNY Press.

Guerra, J. C. (2007). Out of the Valley: Transcultural Repositioning as a Rhetorical Practice in Ethnographic Research and Other Aspects of Everyday Life. In C. Lewis, P. Enciso & E. B. Moje (eds.), *Refraining Sociocultural Research on Literacy: Identity, Agency, and Power* (pp. 137–162). Erlbaum.

Habib, M. A. R. (2005). *A History of Literary Criticism and Theory: From Plato to the Present*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Hamann, E. T., Zúñiga, V., & Sanchez-García, J. (2006). Pensando en Cynthia y su hermana: Educational Implications of United States-Mexico Transnationalism for Children. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, *5*(4), 253–274. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532771xjle0504_3

Hamann, E., & Zúñiga, V. (2011). Schooling and the Everyday Ruptures Transnational Children Encounter in the United States and Mexico. En C. Coe, R. R. Reynolds, D. A. Boehm, J. M. Hess, & H. Rae-Espinoza (eds.), *Everyday Ruptures: Children, Youth and Migration in Global Perspective* (pp.141–160). Vanderbilt University Press.

Hayfield, N., & Huxley, C. (2015). Insider and Outsider Perspectives: Reflections on Researcher Identities in Research With Lesbian and Bisexual Women. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *12*(2), 91–106. https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2014.918224

Jacobo Suárez, M. L., Despagne, C. I., & Chávez, G. (2022). Return Migrants from the United States to Mexico: Constructing Alternative Notions of Citizenship through Acts of (Linguistic) Citizenship. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.21004.jac

Jensen, B., & Sawyer, A. (2012). *Regarding educación: Mexican-American Schooling, Immigration, and Bi-National Improvement*. Teachers College Press.

Jensen, B., Mejía Arauz, R., & Aguilar Zepeda, R. (2017). Equitable Teaching for Returnee Children in Mexico. *Sinéctica*, *48*, 1–20. https://hdl.handle.net/11117/7242

Jha, S. K. (2018). Narrative Texts in Narrative Inquiry: Interpretive Voices to Better Understand Experiences in Given Space and Time. *Open Journal of Leadership*, *7*, 237–249. https://doi.org/10.4236/ojl.2018.74014

Kalteh, H. O., & Mokarami, H. (2022). A Macroergonomics Perspective for Exploring Safety Culture Factors: A Qualitative Content Analysis Approach. *International Journal of Occupational Safety and Ergonomics*, *28*(4), 2227–2237. https://doi.org/10.1080/10803548.2021.1996070

Kang, Y., & Yang, K. C. (2022). Communicating Racism and Xenophobia in the Era of Donald Trump: A Computational Framing Analysis of the US-Mexico Cross-Border Wall Discourses. *Howard Journal of Communications*, *33*(2), 140–159. https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2021.1996491

Kasun, G. S. (2016). Interplay of a Way of a Knowing Among Mexican-Origin Transnationals: Chaining to the Border and to Transnational Communities. *Teachers College Record*, *119*(9), 1–32. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146811611800904

Kasun, G. S., & Mora Pablo, I. (2021). Anti-Malinchismo Against the Mexican-Transnational: How to Transform a Limiting Border. *Anales de antropología*, *55*(1), 39–48. https://doi.org/10.22201/iia.24486221e.2021.1.75853

Kasun, G. S., & Mora-Pablo, I. (eds.) (2022). *Applying Anzaldúan Frameworks to Understand Transnational Youth Identities: Bridging Culture, Language, and Schooling at the US- Mexican Border*. Routledge.

Kleyn, T. (2017). Centering Transborder Students: Perspectives on Identity, Languaging and Schooling Between the U.S. and Mexico. *Multicultural Perspectives*, *19*(2), 76–84. https://doi.org/10.1080/15210960.2017.1302336

Kubota, R., & Lin, A. (2006). Race and TESOL: Introduction to Concepts and Theories. *TESOL Quarterly*, *40*(3), 471–493. https://doi.org/10.2307/40264540

Lengeling, M. M., Mora-Pablo, I., Frausto-Hernández, I., & Serna-Gutiérrez, J. I. (2018). Teacher Socialization and Identity Negotiation of Transnational Mexican EFL Teachers in Central Mexico. In M. L. Cárdenas Beltrán, C. R. Cáceda, & L. A. Murillo Lara (eds.), *Formación de docentes en universidades latinoamericanas* (pp. 217–243). Uniagustiana. https://doi.org/10.28970/9789585498273

Li, W. (2018). Translanguaging as a Practical Theory of Language. *Applied Linguistics*, *39*, 9–30. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amx044

Liggett, T. (2009). Intersections of Language and Race for English Language Learners. *Northwest Journal of Teacher Education*, *7*(1), 4.

Loomba, Ania. (2000). *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. Routledge.

Masferrer, C. (2021). *Atlas of Return Migration: From the United States to Mexico*. El Colegio de Mexico AC.

McAdams, D. P. (2001). The Psychology of Life Stories. *Review of General Psychology*, *5*(2) 100–122. https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.5.2.100

Menard-Warwick, J. (2008). The Cultural and Intercultural Identities of Transnational English Teachers: Two Case Studies from the Americas. *TESOL Quarterly*, *42*(4), 617–640. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1545-7249.2008.tb00151.x

Mignolo, W. (2012). *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*. Princeton University Press.

Mora Pablo, I., Rivas Rivas, L., Lengeling, M., & Crawford, T. (2015). Transnationals Becoming English Teachers in Mexico: Effects of Language Brokering and Identity Formation. *Gist: Education and Learning Research Journal*, *1*(10), 7–28.

Mora-Pablo, I., & Ocampo-Márquez, A. K. (2024). The Hidden Family Story of Transnationalism: Deportation, Educational Planning and Mixed Immigration Status. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 1–17.

Moraga, C. (1983). *Loving in the War Years: Lo que nunca pasó por sus labios*. South end press.

Murillo, L. A., & Smith, P. H. (2011). "I will Never Forget That": Lasting Effects of Language Discrimination on Language-Minority Children in Colombia and on the U.S.-Mexico Border. *Childhood Education*, *87*(3), 147–153. https://doi.org/10.1080/00094056.2011.10521714

Murphy, P. D. (1995). Television and Cultural Politics in Mexico: Some Notes on Televisa, the State, and Transnational Culture. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, *6*(4), 250–261. https://doi.org/10.1080/10646179509361702

Ngestirosa EWK, E. (2018). Redefining Hybridity of Chicano Literature in Jimenez's Fictions. *The Center for Asia and Diaspora*, *8*(2), 293–319.

Panait, C., & Zúñiga, V. (2016). Children Circulating Between the U.S. and Mexico: Fractured Schooling and Linguistic Ruptures. *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, *32*(2), 226–251 https://doi.org/10.1525/mex.2016.32.2.226

Parks, P. (2023). Story Circles: A New Method of Narrative Research. *American Journal of Qualitative Research*, *7*(1), 58–72. https://www.ajqr.org/article/story-circles-a-new-method-of-narrative-research-12844

Paz, O. ([1950] 1992). *El laberinto de la soledad*. *[The Labyrinth of Solitude]*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Perez Huber, L. (2009). Disrupting Apartheid of Knowledge: Testimonio as Methodology in Latina/o Critical Race Research in Education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *22*(6), 639–654.

Petrón, M. A. (2003). *I'm bien pocha: Transnational Teachers of English in Mexico*. [Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation]. University of Texas at Austin. https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/handle/2152/857?show=full

Petrón, M. A. (2009). Transnational Teachers of English in Mexico. *The High School Journal*, *92*(4), 115–128. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40364009

Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford University Press.

Relaño Pastor, A. M. (2007). On Border Identities. 'Transfronterizo' Students in San Diego. *Diskurs Kindheits- und Jugendforschung*, *2*(3), 263–277.

Sánchez García, J., & Zúñiga, V. (2010). Trayectorias de los alumnos transnacionales en México. Propuesta intercultural de atención educativa. *Trayectorias*, *12*(30), 5–23.

Sayer, P. (2018). Does English Really Open Doors? Social Class and English Teaching in Public Primary Schools in Mexico. *System*, *73*, 58–70. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2017.11.006

Segovia, J. D., Martos, L. D., & Titos, A. M. (2017). Los biogramas como trama y oportunidad para ubicar y comprender los procesos de desarrollo profesional e identitario. *Revista del IICE*, *41*, 81–96.

Segura, D. A., & Zavella, P. (eds.) (2007). *Women and Migration in the US-Mexico Borderlands: A Reader*. Duke University Press.

Short, R., & Magaña, L. (2002). Political Rhetoric, Immigration Attitudes, and Contemporary Prejudice: A Mexican American Dilemma. *The Journal of social psychology*, *142*(6), 701–712. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224540209603930

Shuck, G. (2006). Racializing the Nonnative English Speaker. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, *5*(4), 259–276.

Silva Quiroz, Y., & Cruz Piñeiro, R. (2013). Niñez migrante retornada de Estados Unidos por Tijuana: los riesgos de su movilidad. *Región y sociedad*, *25*(58), 29–56.

Singer, J. A., & Bluck, S. (2001). New Perspectives on Autobiographical Memory: The Integration of Narrative Processing and Autobiographical Reasoning. *Review of General Psychology*, *5*(2), 91–99. https://doi.org/10.I037//1089-2680.5.2.91

Skutnabb-Kangas, T., & Cummins, J. (eds.) (1988). *Minority Education: From Shame to Struggle* (Vol. 40). Multilingual Matters.

Solórzano, D., & Delgado Bernal, D. (2001). Examining Transformational Resistance Through a Critical Race and Latcrit Theory Framework: Chicana and Chicano Students in an Urban Context. *Urban Education*, *36*(3), 308–342.

Suárez-Orozco, C., Suárez-Orozco, M. M., & Todorova, I. (2008). *Learning a New Land*. Harvard University Press.

Suárez-Orozco, M. M., Suárez-Orozco, C., & Qin-Hilliard, D. (eds.) (2005). *The New Immigration: An Interdisciplinary Reader*. Psychology Press.

Taylor, A. (2009). Introduction. In *Indigeneity in the Mexican Cultural Imagination* (pp. 1–11). University of Arizona Press.

Todorov, T. (1987). *La conquista de América. El problema del otro*. *[The Conquest of America. The Problem of the Other]*. Siglo XXI Editores.

Van den Braembussche, A. (2002). The Silence of Belgium: Taboo and Trauma in Belgian Memory. *Yale French Studies*, *102*, 35–52. https://doi.org/10.2307/3090591

Vargas Valle, E. D., & Camacho Rojas, E. (2015). ¿Cambiarse de escuela? Inasistencia y rezago escolar de los niños de migración reciente de Estados Unidos a México. *Norteamérica, Revista Académica del SISAN-UNAM*, *10*(1), 157–186. https://doi.org/10.20999/nam.2015.b006

Velasco, J. (2004). Automitografías: The Border Paradigm and Chicana/o Autobiography. *Biography*, *27*(2), 313–338. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23540725

Veronelli, G. A. (2015). The Coloniality of Language: Race, Expressivity, Power, and the Darker Side of Modernity. *Wagadu: A Journal of Transnational Women's & Gender Studies*, *13*(1), 5.

Zentella, A. C. (2014). TWB (Talking While Bilingual): Linguistic Profiling of Latina/os, and Other Linguistic *torquemadas*. *Latino Studies*, *12*, 620–635.

Zúñiga, V. & Hamann, E. T. (2013). Understanding American Mexican Children. *Faculty Publications: Department of Teaching, Learning and Teacher Education*, *359*, 1–19. https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/teachlearnfacpub/359/