**Mexican Food, Assimilation, and Middle-Class Mexican Americans or Chicanx**

**Jaime Armin Mejía**  
Texas State University, on land of the Tonkawa people.

I have never stopped trying to assimilate. And I have succeeded in all the traditional ways. Yet complete assimilation—is denied—the Hispanic English professor. One can't get more culturally assimilated and still remain other. People of color carry the colony wherever we go. Internal colonialism: a political economy, an ideology, a psychology.


My name is Jaime Armin Mejía, and even though I didn’t start out this way, I have long been a compositionist for most of my career as a college teacher. My career first began by my being hired as a TA in an English Department at a borderland’s university more than 37 years ago. All this time, I have almost always prided myself as a composition teacher in the field of Rhetoric and Composition Studies. As time has gone on, though, what was once a young and floundering field has transformed now by people who so sought to professionalize it into a full-fledged academic discipline. Along the way, as I worked towards professionalizing myself within this discipline, I learned that the pedagogical approach to the first classes I taught, basic writing courses, was first used over 150 years before, in the middle of the 19th century. This pedagogical approach was determined by the textbook my students and I were assigned to use. Not only was the approach outdated by over a century and a half, but my students were
obviously also ill-served, especially when I consider that my students were almost all Mexican American and from the borderlands. In those early days of my career, practitioners within the emerging academic discipline of Rhetoric and Composition Studies were still using approaches that were focused primarily on what students produced rather than on the processes by which they produced that writing—what was later described as the product approach as opposed to the process approach to teaching composition.

In no uncertain terms, what we now call Rhetoric and Composition Studies has changed from what it once was when I first began teaching as a TA in 1982. Today, it has become so professionalized that the early pedagogical issues directly relating to composition seem to have been cast aside entirely. Issues relating to rhetoric, on the other hand, are today what make the field of Rhetoric and Composition Studies more professionalized than it ever was before. There was once a day when the primary focus of Rhetoric and Composition Studies was on how to teach first-year college composition classes. Indeed, developing pedagogical approaches for teaching first-year composition classes was our primary focus. In some ways, those days have long since passed. In their wake, developing an understanding of the rhetorical dynamics involved in almost everything under the sun has now become our focus. Recent years have brought an interest in what is called translanguaging or codeswitching, an interest that decenters the existence of a Standard American English, a type of ideal language which compositionists in the past, and still today, have typically strived to instill in their college composition students.

What progressive members of our profession now desire most is to decolonize the teaching of writing where Standard English is no longer used as one of THE principal standards for assessing the writing of students. Instead, what this new wave of scholars and teachers are doing is introducing and legitimizing what many previously considered non-standard forms of English and culturally based topics related to them. Approaches for doing so range widely today, depending on the imagination and knowledge that a particular teacher has at hand.

We, as compositionists and rhetoricians, however, are each situated quite differently, as our individual circumstances with our teaching careers, as I’ve said, can and often does differ considerably. What I’m about to present advances an approach which has pedagogical possibilities which you might find useful in the classes you teach, classes where I hope you develop rhetoric as the primary focus for the students and their writing. But as I said, we as teachers of writing are all situated differently. Graduate student teaching assistants or adjuncts can’t always do what a tenured professor can. Moreover, textbook committees often determine the textbooks most
of us have to use when teaching first-year or advanced writing classes, to say nothing of high school students enrolled in dual-enrollment classes. And if you don’t know, textbooks aren’t exactly useful to teachers wishing to engage in decolonizing how standard English and culturally-based ethnic topics are deployed. Textbook publishers have long held an over-determined control over much of what we do as writing teachers, something ethnic minority teachers like me have long lamented and protested against because of how little the readings included in textbook readers reflect the identities of the ethnic-minority students using them.

Even if these textbooks were constructed in a way that teachers could productively use, teachers would still need the training to use such ethnically-based textbooks. Such training ideally would instruct them in ways which could open up possibilities for students to write using their own ethnically-based vernaculars. The training I have in mind for using such imagined textbooks would likely run into many obstacles within writing programs and English departments because this training would also involve decolonizing the methods of assessing student writing. Asao Inoue extensively articulates such assessment methods in his award-winning book (2015) and his recent Chair’s address to the Conference on College Composition and Communication (2019). In no uncertain terms, teachers wishing to engage alternative pedagogical approaches to teaching and assessing first-year college writing as well as writing in advanced writing classes will require training. Again, the training would have to encompass teachers assimilating specific cultural contexts and the ethnic nuances of topics and vernaculars native to the scope and breadth of what the students will be writing about. In other words, teachers will have to understand the intersectionality of issues which can serve to expand the repertoire of writing which we as compositionists should offer up to our students in our writing classes. Teachers assimilating specific cultural contexts and the ethnic nuances of topics and vernaculars native to many of our non-mainstream students reverses how knowledge is usually conveyed in American universities.

Let me generalize about the training likely involved for such teachers. If we as compositionists are to open up vernacular possibilities to our writing students in our classes, teachers will have to assimilate knowledge from different cultural contexts not often a part of their training. Of course, some teachers and some students, on some level, may have already assimilated knowledge from these ethnic-cultural contexts. They will need to understand how this knowledge, found at the intersections where they will be situated, is used in the University and American society. At these intersections, different levels of identity construction are taking place for both teachers and students, depending on where the teacher and students are situated at that
particular time. How students construct their identity at these intersections, according to gender, sexual preference, ethnicity, race, and social class, as well as location and time, will all be in the mix when presenting opportunities for students to write. To the extent that teachers can master the cultural rhetorical dynamics arising at such intersections, the better they will be able to facilitate and be open to the possibilities of writing and rhetoric arising in this teaching context.

In the past and more traditionally, anyone who entered the teaching profession in English was assumed to have assimilated a cultural understanding of mainstream America, to say nothing of Shakespeare and British cultures. In Rhetoric and Composition Studies, it’s also always been assumed that prospective teachers will have assimilated Standard English as well as the process approach to teaching writing. However, we can almost never assume that our prospective and actual teachers have learned and assimilated important aspects of different cultures, be they LGBTQ, African American, Native American, and/or Latinx cultures. Unless the graduate student or teacher has pursued the study of different cultures and identity formations, what we will be expecting them to know will require remediation if our students are ever to expand their writing repertoires. Perhaps orienting prospective teachers to these kinds of pedagogical approaches exists here in Tacoma as well as elsewhere, but they most certainly do not exist everywhere. In fact, all one has to do is look at the textbooks they use to see where our profession is currently situated.

Changing the status quo will be no small matter, for unless these prospective teachers pursue assimilating knowledge from different cultural intersections and contexts, advancing pedagogical approaches of difference will only become an exercise in futility. We live in strange times. What we know to be better pedagogical approaches for teaching writing to our students simply is not always considered. Education historian Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr. (1987) documented how in the early 20th century, teachers in San Antonio, Texas, argued for pedagogical approaches which were native to the ethnic students in their schools at that time. In the US, assimilation in educational settings at all levels has almost always operated against ethnic minority students. The high dropout and failure rate Mexican Americans have long suffered reflect the racist ramifications of this forced assimilation. And lest we forget, white folks, because of their deployment of this one-way kind of racialized assimilation, have almost never thought to ask what they’re losing from such a deployment. Indeed, they have long advanced the notion that being monolingual is superior to being bilingual when, as recent studies show, being bilingual has always required having more intelligence in every respect. Yet, we, as bilinguals, are typically forced to subtract away an important part of our ethnic identity construction. What follows offers up one
possible way to go, if we are to begin reversing where many of us are currently doing when teaching composition and rhetoric.

At the Department of English at Texas State University where I teach, we now offer junior-level advanced writing classes which now allow teachers to choose special topics. About two years ago, I began teaching this class using Mexican food as its special topic. I should note that in this course I am not hampered by a textbook committee about which textbooks I can use. So, I use Gustavo Arellano’s (2010) collection of essays about Mexican food, *Taco USA: How Mexican Food Conquered America*, as well as a mainstream collection of food writing. Since my initial foray into teaching this advanced writing class, I’ve stayed with Arellano’s *Taco USA* and have moved to use *Eating Words: A Norton Anthology of Food Writing*, edited by Sandra M. Gilbert, Roger J. Porter, and Ruth Riechl (2016). This anthology complements *Taco USA* well because it has excellent articles covering the various issues about the consumption and production of food. For this type of class, which engages students to be creative in their efforts to compose essays related to Mexican food, the readings from both collections act as touchstones they can use to draw ideas from for their own creative efforts.

This course is important for these students because it allows them the opportunity to continue honing their writing skills, something most students seldom get an opportunity to do after their first-year college composition classes. This course is also valuable because it presents opportunities for them to engage in cross-cultural thinking and translanguaging. These students are more mature, and while some may not take this class as seriously as they should, they often have an investment in their writing which one seldom sees in other classes. The rhetorical circumstances surrounding these students in this class are also noteworthy. Not only is the special topic for this advanced writing English class Mexican food, but their professor is also a Mexican American—a Chicano, to be more exact. That combination, in and of itself, creates a rhetorical situation for all of them where the circumstances have utterly changed from what they typically find in almost all the other classes in which they’ve likely ever been enrolled at their university. This change in their rhetorical situation for this class is no joking matter, for as they quickly discover, I bring a level of ethnic authority to the subject matter which is typically expected of advanced college classes.

Teaching this class, now for the third time, has taken me on to new turf which I’d not previously ventured into. For the better part of nearly 25 years, I have been teaching a Chicana Literatura course, and for the most part, most of the students enrolled in that course have been Mexican American. I have an academic specialty in Chicana Literatura, having spent a good part of my graduate days studying and then
writing my dissertation over the serial works of a Chicano writer, Rolando Hinojosa. By taking the direction of studying Chicana Literature as a graduate student in the early 1980s, I was obviously going against the grain of where most of English Studies was going at that time. While I wasn’t the only Chicana graduate student doing so, there weren’t many of us engaging this sub-field of American Literature. Most of my academic career as a student had me assimilating what an American college education pushed on me. It wasn’t until I entered graduate school that this trek into the mainstream began its slow reversal. And because I was an ethnic minority student, my college career always operated against the grain of what the mainstream wanted of me—complete and utter assimilation away from my deeply embedded ethnic identity. There’s a great deal of dialectical irony in all of this. For never in my wildest dreams and imagination could I have ever conceived of ever teaching a class focusing primarily on the rhetorical dynamics of writing about Mexican food in American society. Even after having steeped myself in Chicana Literature and the many cultural aspects contained in such an area of study, studying and teaching the rhetoric of Mexican food in an English class goes deeper for me, organically.

You see, I was raised in a home with a Mexican mother whose brilliance expressed itself daily and most vividly through her cooking of Mexican food, especially her marvelous and rhetorically excellent enchiladas. And this opinion isn’t only my own, as there are many folks out there today who remember with extreme exactitude the sheer rhetorical genius of her cooking Mexican food. This understanding into how she could use her cooking to persuade her guests of her keen aptitude with her cultural funds of knowledge is what I can bring into my writing classes. Reading and teaching the well-researched essays that Arellano collects in *Taco USA* at best only supplements what I can bring to my advanced writing classes. Further supplementing this fund of knowledge is the fact that Food Studies is currently on the rise, with young Rhetoric Chicana scholars like Steven Alvarez, Santos Ramos, and Consuelo Salas leading the way. The history and cultural impact which Mexican food has had and is currently having in the US represent a complex body of cultural material and mythological knowledge. It calls up a reservoir of rhetorical dimensions where writing and rhetoric teachers can find excellent tools for whetting the rhetorical skills and appetites of their students.

Just as all teachers are situated differently with the diverse circumstances surrounding their roles as teachers, so too are our students, who occupy the most crucial part of the rhetorical situation which makes up all college writing classes. Where white students will most often occupy dominant positions in most English classes, their presence isn’t marked by having to work against the grain of assimilation like it
can be and often is for many Mexican Americans. To their credit, white students do enroll in a class focusing on Mexican food but can clearly be disadvantaged because they often have no organic knowledge of the culture and of the social and political history of Mexico and its diverse variety of foods, there and in the US. Their knowledge of Spanish is often also quite limited if not altogether nonexistent. Because of the effects of white colonization, they must tread lightly in a class focusing on Mexican food taught by a brown professor whose origins are unquestionably Mexican. Their understanding of Mexican cultural foodways and of the people creating them often thrives on stereotypes which for them are almost always laughable. If it weren’t for the fact that they are enrolled in an upper-level English class in a major American university, a course like this, which could otherwise operate exclusively on superficial racialized stereotypes, would be a breeze for them. Their rhetorical situation in a class like this serves notice that colonizing tactics like racialized stereotypes and of essentializing ethnic human figures are grounds for failure.

Aside from white students, the school where I teach also draws African Americans, Mexican Americans, as well as students whose heritage stems from Latin American countries. There are also students from racially blended families, with half of that blend often being Mexican. Thus far, the kinds of students this class draws have largely been ethnically, racially, and culturally mixed, as well as notably mixed by gender and sexual preference. Because my classes represent a vision of the future of this country, how we manage ourselves in our mixed rhetorical situation has become increasingly important. We nevertheless have to remember that this upper-division English class at my school still mainly draws white students—but all that’s changing. Increasingly, all classes at my University are mixed, and most of the classes I teach, including my Mexican food classes, are no exception. These mixed students, like in most all my classes, obviously represent part of a rhetorical situation that I as their teacher must entertain, just as I, as a Chicano, have long represented a part of my students’ rhetorical situation when they are writing for my classes. In my Mexican food writing classes, situated as they are in a central Texas university, students come from all over Texas, so our discussions often cover predictable and at the same time surprising cultural dimensions related to Mexican food.

The school where I work became a Hispanic-Serving Institution, an HSI, about three years ago. Since that time, our campus has become a minority-majority school. The difference this change has made in student demographics is nothing short of astounding, given that this school has historically been populated predominantly by white students. This change, though, is unlike the diversification which occurred in the late 60s and early 70s when many universities began implementing open-admissions
policies. The students of color we’re getting in greater numbers today at Texas State University are meeting entrance requirements which make almost all of them above average. What I mean to suggest by this is that these students of color come to us as talented individuals, indeed. The Mexican American students we’re getting today, like their white counterparts, increasingly come to us with middle-class backgrounds. They have a level of ethnic cultural sophistication in part afforded to them by the Internet and other popular culture influences as well as by their social class. When film director Robert Rodriguez, a student of Américo Paredes, came to campus to give The LBJ Distinguished Lecture a couple of years ago, the line of students waiting to get in went on for blocks. While many of those students were white hipsters, some of them were Chipsters—Chicanx hipsters, who, once again, served to demonstrate a level of ethnic cultural awareness currently in vogue in American society.

From my experience, the Mexican American students I teach remain a mixed group. Some are immigrants, some children of immigrants, and fewer still are third-, fourth-, or fifth-generation Mexican Americans, much like the social scientific studies (that I have seen) reveal. On some level, these students each have a connection, in some way, to what Paredes once called Greater Mexico, and as we should all know, there are many different kinds of Mexican cultures—both in Mexico and the US. In Texas and certainly at Texas State University, Texas Anglos and African Americans on some level also have a connection to Mexican cultures, the affinity often being closer for African Americans than for Texas Anglos. The connections they all have, if they’re from Texas, can vary, but none can deny having some connection based on some understanding of Mexican cultures, especially if they come from larger Texas cities. For many of these students, their understanding of Mexican cultures, to the extent that they have any at all, clearly can come to them through the Mexican food they consume. When they enroll in my writing class focused on Mexican food, they know what they’re signing up for. In fact, it’s been interesting for me to note this semester that each of the students in my class has worked in some kind of restaurant or other, and not necessarily at jobs flipping burgers. So, they come to my class because on some level they have a fascination with and some understanding of the topic of Mexican food. There’s no doubt that Mexican food, in all its diversity, has hit its stride in current American popular culture. It’s a wildly popular topic today.

Mexican food, as we all know, comes in many different forms. Gustavo Arellano (2010) all but conceded that no matter what shape or form that Mexican food takes, it’s still Mexican food and should be classified as such, which is quite an admission on his part. In his highly acclaimed book *Taco USA*, Arellano (2010) documented how wide the range of possibilities was, and had been historically, in the
US, to say nothing of the wide range which exists in Mexico itself. No matter if we’re talking about tamales, burritos, or enchiladas, to name just three types of Mexican food, the wide-ranging variety across the countless Mexican restaurants and homes, where it can be found served, is striking. From high cuisine restaurants to other not so high sit-down restaurants, and in fast-food haunts and street-side taquerias and food trucks, the variety of what is served makes any definitive categorization difficult to pin down. No matter what type of Mexican food we’re talking about, whether it’s mole or dishes serving nopales, the wide range makes them difficult to categorize definitively. So, when a writing class with students as diverse as they currently are encounters Mexican food as a type of cultural topic, a comparably wide range of views that people have toward Mexican food shouldn’t come as a surprise. This mixed context of studying and writing about Mexican food recreates an important part of the ethnic rhetorical situations found in writing classes throughout the country as well as beyond.

How we reached this point (where writing and rhetoric students can write about their complex relationships with Mexican food) reflects how encompassing Rhetoric and Composition Studies has become. Today, there’s almost no topic we can’t cover in our writing and rhetoric classes, something textbook companies have yet to realize completely. Mexican food as a topic offers up rhetorical dimensions which present students with the possibility of exploring and analyzing the complexities in their lives and in the world where they currently live. For some students, if we take what they write as any indication of how they think and situate themselves against a current topic of popular culture like Mexican food, then, once again, we see a wide spectrum of views. This wide spectrum of perspectives reflects how richly complicated and absurd the topic of Mexican food can sometimes be. For instance, some students actually gauge the value of an outing to a Mexican restaurant by the chips they’re served as a preliminary *aperitif*. If the chips aren’t good, then their whole experience at this Mexican ethnic restaurant is also not good. What this uncomplicated view reflects, of course, is a shallowness of thinking that evades other complexities found in most Mexican restaurants in the US. The level of superficial thinking can, of course, be gauged and assessed further by the ethnic identity, the gender or sexual preference or social class level of the person settling on this type of view. What on Earth is this person thinking, when saying that the quality of an entire Mexican restaurant experience is based solely on the chips? One doesn’t have to be a Mexican American to see a lack of critical thinking in a view such as this.

Leaving aside the fact that there are indeed some bad chips served in some Mexican restaurants, how students situate themselves in places serving Mexican food provides a goldmine of rhetorical possibilities for analysis. Such places have historically
been fraught with what are sometimes highly contentious rhetorical dynamics. And Mexican restaurants are not the only places where such contentious dynamics can be found. My college students, no matter their ethnic identity, almost categorically come from middle-class backgrounds. College entrance exams, it is now well known, measure nothing more than a student's social class status. And as we all know, getting a college education today means that these same students are more readily assimilating middle-class values.

One such value which people in the middle class have adopted widely is the convenience of eating out and of not having to cook their meals at home. And one thing my students have confirmed is that, again, no matter their ethnic identity, very few of them are cooking anymore. Convenience for them has become the most sought-after quality of most of their situations, and in relation to what students are eating, what we now know is that for most of them, convenience means that they are not cooking. What one would think this situation would mean for Mexican American college students, who hold their culture closely is that the skill of cooking Mexican food has been saved and nourished through constant practice. However, if one were to think this about them, that they are conserving important aspects of their Mexican food heritage, then one would be incorrect. Surmising that their assimilation into white mainstream culture is proceeding along unabated would also be incorrect, thus presenting before us a rather striking conundrum. That is, it's simply too inconvenient for them to set aside time to cook a meal, any meal from any ethnic group, and such is the reality for most of our current college students, many of whom come to us with middle-class aspirations and increasingly from middle-class lives.

Eating out, though, isn’t a convenience which many Mexican American students from working-class backgrounds can afford. The sexist division of labor found in many Mexican American homes remains a constant, even today, but this division of labor is one which has been dissipating with every successive generation. With more education comes the attainment of a higher social class status for more and more Mexican Americans. Obviously, there are cultural implications when such upward mobility happens, which for our writing students can raise rhetorical questions about the assimilation of mainstream values which can obviously complicate how they’re situated when it comes to writing about Mexican food. Jody Aguis Vallejo (2012) stated in *Barrios to Burbs: The Making of the Mexican American Middle Class*, that for many Mexican Americans, the move up in social class status doesn’t necessarily mean a loss of culture. For many in her study, assimilation away from their ethnic Mexican cultural ways isn’t necessarily automatic, nor is it merely symbolic; something
celebrated only on commercialized holidays like when whites celebrate St. Patrick’s Day throughout the country.

There is no doubt that Mexican culinary foodways have become highly commercialized, something which has been going on for more than a century. A recent news report from San Antonio, for instance, reported that a very popular chain of tamale restaurants from the lower Rio Grande Valley, Delia’s Tamales, is opening up a new restaurant in San Antonio, over 200 miles north of the Valley. When Delia’s Tamales opened up in the Valley, now with six locations in the mid-Valley, their commercial success has skyrocketed. During Thanksgiving and Christmas, the most popular tamale season of the year, they post security guards at the entrances of their restaurants to ensure no one creates any trouble fighting over their precious commodity. Having security guards posted there is almost unheard of in any other restaurant that I know of, whether it be a Mexican restaurant or not. While Delia’s Tamales is not the only local restaurant making and selling tamales year-round, they’ve succeeded where few others have even ventured to go on such a widespread scale. Their wildly successful venture obviously is due to the fact that their tamales are damned good, and good for folks from all walks of life. The rhetorical dynamics surrounding their highly successful venture undoubtedly can only mean that people like Delia have figured out the cultural culinary rhetorical dynamics contextually surrounding her environment. Certainly, there was some marketing involved in the commercial success of Delia’s Tamales, but more than even the rising number of people entering the middle class, the main reason for their widespread commercial success is based on Mexican culture—and not just any Mexican culture. Their tamales are unique and native to the Texas Mexican Valley culture of that region, which, as Gloria Anzaldúa (1987/1999) pointed out, is a unique borderlands culture. Places like Delia’s Tamales represent but one example of a highly complex rhetorical phenomenon which our college writing students have much to learn from. All the ethnically-based restaurants found throughout the entire country, though, can serve as sites for rhetorical analysis. The main reason for why we should have Chicanx college students analyze Mexican food and the sites where it’s produced and consumed represents an act which pushes back against restrictive assimilative forces which have long been holding too many of us back in American academia.

Back in 1989, I attended my first academic conference where I presented a paper for the first time just up the road in Seattle. I had traveled from Columbus, Ohio, in March, and on my flight from Chicago to Seattle, down below, all I could see was the Great Plains, all covered in snow, and the whiteness of the sight is one I’ll never forget. When I landed, I remember thinking how far away I was from my home.
in south Texas where it almost never snows because of the sub-tropical climate—it felt so far away and seeing all that whiteness didn’t help any. In the paper I presented at that conference in Seattle, I argued that college composition teachers should incorporate ethnic cultural topics in their classes. Surprisingly enough, my paper was so well received that, afterwards, I was kidnapped by some basic writing tutors, all of them people of color and all from the basic writing center at the University of Washington-Seattle. They took me to what must’ve been Pike Place Market and straight to a hole-in-wall Mexican restaurant there. At this nook of a place, I had the privilege of eating some of the best Mexican food I had had away from home ever since having to live in Ohio for my graduate studies there. The special hospitality I enjoyed on that day made my trip across the country absolutely worthwhile and special. It affirmed my thinking about the importance of using aspects of our cultural identity to develop the literacy skills of Mexican Americans. The message I had come to Seattle to deliver had resonated with my hosts so much that it sent me back home even stronger in my beliefs.

Thirty years later, we as Mexican Americans find ourselves living in a country where a deep racism has once again raised its ugly head. At the same time, more of us have risen up the social and educational ranks which this country affords and which we have worked very hard to obtain. Yet, our assimilation into mainstream culture is still being questioned, as evidenced recently by Tom Brokaw’s comments and apology about Hispanics needing to work harder at assimilation (Garcia, 2019). Our presence in this country has a long and complicated history, one fraught with violence but also with many victories against the suppression of our presence in this country. These victories, in my view, make me see our future as bright, in part because today, there exists at least one vehicle which has long been helping us carry ourselves into the mainstream and the mainstream into our presence. That vehicle, of course, is Mexican food. It is a vehicle which, much like our history, is fraught with many rhetorical dimensions which all of us can use in our writing classes to create a greater understanding of the complexities which, more than anything else, are working to bind us together rather than working to tear us apart—bad chips notwithstanding.

Endnotes
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2. This was a paper presented at the University of Washington-Tacoma, May 1, 2019. I wish to acknowledge Rubén Casas for inviting me to present this paper and do a workshop on the same topic.

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About the Author

Originally from the lower Rio Grande Valley of south Texas, Jaime Armin Mejía teaches at Texas State University. He has long been active in bringing together related issues from Rhetoric and Composition Studies and Chicanx Studies, especially as these have to do with understanding of bicultural literacies originating from Chicanx cultures.