

Chapter Five
Second Case Study
Carol and Rosa

Carol Joins the Class

The second semester I taught the class, Carol came to my office and introduced herself, saying she had heard so much about CTB from a service-learner friend that she wanted to get involved. Despite the numerous Spanish classes she had taken, she felt frustrated with her inability to speak the target language. When her friend told her about the total immersion in the community that students experience in CTB, she decided to see if she could participate in a limited way since her current course schedule prohibited full involvement. We chatted for quite a while, and she decided to attend the class to see how she could fit in with the program at that time. Due to her time constraints, she was less interested in the class itself; she was mostly interested in providing transportation and interpretation for families who could use her assistance. During that semester, she took care of getting people to several clinic appointments and interpreting for them.

When she came to class the semester I conducted the intense data collection, I was delighted to see her officially join the class. Knowing all that was involved in service-learning, she arranged her schedule so that she could make the necessary time commitment; in fact, she arranged it so that she would be available for more than the minimum requirements.

During the first two weeks of class, my interview with Carol revealed an articulate young woman, confident and poised, soft-spoken and forthright. In her interview, she shared that as a twenty-year-old junior, she was pursuing a double major in International Studies and Spanish. To her surprise, of the two, she preferred Spanish, primarily because the department is smaller, making it easier to know people. In her free time, she enjoyed going to the gym and visiting with her friends.

Carol enjoyed her position as the third child in a family of four children. Two older siblings were in college, and a younger brother was still at home with her parents. She described herself as “family-oriented,” “the kind of person who could just sit and talk with my family,” and when she went home, she was “totally contented sitting with my

family.” She did not understand students who went home for vacations and “work and then they go out all night and then they won’t see their family for like five minutes.”

Both parents worked outside the home in professional positions that reflected their college educations. All her comments about her parents were positive and denoted affection and closeness. She called her dad a “funny guy” with a “really dry sense of humor” and her mom “kind of reserved,” someone who “wants everybody to be happy all the time.” She described her family as “normal.”

When I asked her why she decided to take service-learning, in addition to referring to her friend’s recommendation, she said:

Everybody that I’ve talked to has had nothing but good things to say about it, really. They all say it takes a lot of time but if you have the time to do it then you should definitely do it. You know, really, you’re never going to get another chance to do something like this again.

Carol’s answer was similar to those I heard from many of the students. The word about the program continued to spread among the students, and for the most part, the feedback was positive. Occasionally the students were critical of the time commitment required, but for the most part, they accepted it as payment for immersion in the community and the accompanying benefits.

When I asked her what she expected from the class, Carol said:

When I signed up for the class I was thinking more along the lines of like learning more Spanish. Learning how to speak more fluently. But now I don’t even know if that. I think it would just be neat to make friends that I wouldn’t normally make, you know, and have help in that. And I know that they’ll help me out too. . . . There are opportunities to do a lot of community service but nothing - this is definitely pretty unique I think. . . . I mean there are a lot of programs and things like that you will go and will be there and people come to you and it’s not the same people all the time. You know. And I think that will be neat to be able to get to know the people that you’re helping rather than just doing good randomly here and there.

I told Carol that her response summed up my dreams for the service-learning course. Without the catalyst of the class, the students and families would probably never meet one another. Many of the students eat at the local Mexican restaurants and enjoy talking with the Mexican servers who work there, but a casual conversation in a public place is not comparable to a personal conversation in someone's living room or kitchen.

She is also correct in saying that there are no other programs like this one. Service-learning programs that foster civic responsibility such as Carol describes (cf. Sholander, 1998; Wood, 1998), do not tend to place students with individuals, thus presenting the opportunity for the inhabitants of different social or cultural worlds to interact personally. Even a program as powerful as Arries's (Arries, 1999) summer internship that places student interpreters in a migrant health clinic on the Eastern Shore of Virginia does not provide the opportunity for close one-to-one, sustained relationships between students and community members.

Her perspective about wanting to "help people" is typical many students' answers when they are asked to articulate their reasons for taking the course. They enter the course firmly positioned in their own dominant culture, for the most part unaware of life outside their own domain (cf. Tatum, 2000). They exemplify Harro's (1997) theory that we seldom interact with those who are members of groups different from our own. By the time the students reach the university, the barriers that separate them from other groups have become strong and invisible.

The themes that emerged from my interview with Carol—the wish to become more fluent in Spanish, a desire to make friends out of her own domain, and an aspiration to help people in the community—were typical of the expectations expressed by most of the students during the interviews. At the beginning of the class, few of the students had gone beyond thinking of what the class could do for them. In Carol's comment about wanting to help other people, she is reflecting the concept of the "haves" sharing with the "have-nots" (cf. Jackson & Smothers, 1999).

Rosa Enters the Program

On the Monday afternoon Rosa and I met, I went to Planned Parenthood to cover

for Kristine, the former service-learner who is now an interpreter at the Health Department,¹ for the first few patients because she was going to arrive late. As was usual during the time spent in the waiting room, Rosa and I sat and chatted. We knew of each other through Kristine, so we both felt as if we were not strangers meeting for the first time. Before Rosa moved back to the examination rooms, Kristine arrived and I left.

However, by Rosa's next appointment, Kristine had gone home after graduation to spend some time with her family in Southside Virginia, so I again went to the clinic in her place. Sitting in the waiting room, Rosa and I picked up where we left off the previous time. It was a particularly slow afternoon, so as we moved from one room to the next, our conversation continued. By the time she was in the examination room sitting on the table waiting for the doctor to come and do the "tummy check," Rosa was telling me of a life laced with loneliness and spousal abuse. Rosa is particularly articulate and descriptive as she speaks, so I could picture the years that she spent living in fear and isolation.

When I asked her if she would be interested in participating in the service-learning program in the fall, her affirmative reply was enthusiastic and immediate. Kristine returned by the time for Rosa's next appointment, so I did not see her again until late summer when I went to the Health Department where I was interpreting for the monthly Hispanic Clinic². By then I was getting the list together for the fall semester, and I was pleased when Rosa affirmed that she wanted to participate.

After the semester began, I called her to arrange for an interview and we had trouble deciding on a time. I was not sure that if she might be having second thoughts about participating in the program, but as it turned out, her hesitation was because she arrived home from work just in time to prepare supper for the family. After supper, she watched television with the family or sometimes just went to bed. At the time of our first interview, baby Irma was only a couple of months old, so by the end of the day, Rosa was exhausted.

¹ Until 2000, women whose incomes qualified them for low-cost or free health care could receive prenatal care at the Health Department. In 2000, Planned Parenthood bid to provide care at a lower cost, and the Prenatal Clinic was moved to Planned Parenthood. The two agencies have a partnership which involves the Health Department providing interpreter services for the prenatal patients.

²See page 3 of this document for further information on the Hispanic Clinic.

However, once I arrived, Rosa seated me on the couch, and we began the interview. Her words spilled out in a torrent, her thoughts moving more quickly than she could articulate them at times. The interview was punctuated by incomplete sentences resulting from her enthusiastic attempt to share her thoughts with me.

Rosa had been in the United States for approximately ten years, but she had lived in Roanoke for less than a year. When she arrived, she lived in the Southwest where her two older children were born, one in California, and the other in Texas. In California, she and her husband, to whom she refers as “*el papá de los niños*” [the children’s father] to distance herself from any relationship with him, lived with his extended family, all crowded into a four-room house. The rest of the family was doing seasonal work at factory where they packed oranges, and when the season ended, one of the uncles left for Texas, followed shortly by Rosa, her baby, and her husband. Many threads wove Rosa’s story: strong family relationships, job searches, poverty, life along the Texas-Mexico border. A disintegrating marriage fueled by jealousy, substance abuse, and anger marred Rosa’s early years in the United States. Rosa summarized her experiences by saying, “*Cuando yo vivía con el papá de mis dos niños, pues realmente no era yo porque nunca me dejaba ser como yo.*” [When I lived with the father of my children, well, I was not myself, because he never let me be myself].

Eventually Rosa and the children returned to Mexico where they stayed with her parents for a while. Her mother encouraged Rosa to leave her abusive husband to make a new life for herself and the children, so she and a cousin came with the cousin’s family to Roanoke looking for work. She finally found a job at a local meatpacking factory where she met Antonio. They decided to find an apartment together, and the story continued of job searches, poverty, punctuated by Rosa’s pregnancy and the subsequent birth of Irma. She lamented the fact that they did not have enough money to stay in the same apartment complex as her cousin, but it was located in southwest Roanoke and was too expensive. She spoke wistfully of the complex, calling the apartments *bonitos, bien bonitos* [pretty, really pretty], a place where, “*Hay mucho lugar donde los niños andan jugando afuera, todas las lomas todas llenas de pasto así bien bonitos.*” [There is a lot of room where children run around playing outside, all the little hills all covered with grass, all so pretty].

I include all these details about Rosa's life to point out the extreme contrasts between her life and Carol's. When Carol talked about her family, she described a stable home life in a privileged environment, one which encouraged her to flourish and develop to her fullest potential. Rosa, on the other hand was married when she was little older than Carol, beginning a married life filled with suffering and instability while she was with the older children's father. The backgrounds of the two women were so different that it was hard to imagine a bond developing between them.

The evening of that first interview, Rosa was nervous because the following morning she was starting a new job at the meatpacking factory where she had previously worked. She shared:

Yo tengo miedo mañana porque voy a ir yo sola; siempre así me gusta ir con otra persona a empezar un trabajo y este y le digo yo a Antonio: "¡Ay pero cómo lo voy a hacer! Si no voy a entender lo que me digan a lo mejor o no sé."

[I am scared because tomorrow I am going to go alone; I always like to go with someone else to start a job and well, I told Antonio: "But how am I going to do this! If I don't understand what they tell me, I don't know what I'll do."]

A theme of the apprehension she felt when confronted with having to communicate with people who do not speak Spanish appeared throughout Rosa's three interviews. In Mexico, she trained to be a secretary, having spent two years training in a preparatoria³, but in the United States, she often feels inadequate because of the language barrier.

When I asked Rosa how her life is different here than in Mexico, she said:

Bueno, pues empezando, este, porque allá tiene uno toda su familia y está uno ahí, sus papás, sus hermanos y todos ahí. Y pues otra cosa como aquí para ir a la tienda todo uno usa un carro. Nunca va uno caminando, y en México es diferente.

³ Elementary school is grades 1-6, secondary is 7-9, and the *preparatoria* comprises the three following years, comparable to the last three years of high school in the United States.

Para todo va uno caminando, bueno, otra porque no tiene uno carro [ríe] pero casi todo es así, más libre, todo, más, bueno. Los dos lados me gustan aquí y allá, me gustan los dos. Aquí nada más porque no está mi familia pero se me hace también bonito, lo único que es mi familia que está allá.

[Well, to begin with, well, because you have your family there and you are there, your parents, your brothers and sisters, and everybody there. And well, another thing is that here, to go to the store, you have to use the car. You never walk, and in Mexico, it's different. You walk everywhere, well, another thing is that you don't have a car (she laughs), but almost always it is freer, better. I like it on both sides, here and there, I like both. The only thing about here is that my family isn't here, but it's also pretty here; the only thing is that my family is there.]

This theme of homesickness is present throughout the three interviews with Rosa. Every time she mentioned her family, longing filled her voice, and a faraway look came over her. Rosa is representative of many of the Latinos with whom I interact; the theme of homesickness is ever present, especially for those who are unable to travel back and forth across the border, but they accept their situation.

Another theme that defines Rosa's conversation is her hope for a better life. By living in the United States, they hope that if life is not easier for them, someday it will be for their children. Despite long hours and backbreaking labor, they are grateful to have employment and tend to worry about keeping their jobs. The wages for manual labor are much higher here than they are in Mexico due to the flagging economy that has plagued Mexico for years. Many people with whom I talk mention at one time or another that in Mexico they can only buy the necessities, and have nothing left for any luxuries, such as a new pair of shoes or a movie, whereas here they are able to live more comfortably.

Rosa's father is now retired, but when he was farming, he worked hard. She does not know how much money he earned, but there were ten children, and he managed to send several of them to the city to study. Rosa and a sister prepared to be secretaries. Another sister studied to be a teacher, and another became a nurse. She speaks of her

father as someone who helped his children constantly, assisting them to buy homes or to come to the United States as well as paying for their education.

For Rosa's family, acquiring an education was important. She said her father helped them to go to school if they wanted because:

En México no es como aquí. Allá, "Si no estudias nunca vas a ser nadie en la vida" le dicen a uno en México. . . . te la vas a pasar de burro todo el tiempo, en los trabajos ahí más pesados vas a andar. No es como aquí. Aquí acaban la prepa y ya se ponen a trabajar casi todos, vea la mayoría de las personas y allá. No, allá casi todos quieren estudiar la universidad y pues yo la verdad yo estudié la preparatoria, la termine, pero yo no quise ir a la universidad, ya me había fastidiado la escuela ya.

[In Mexico, it isn't like it is here. There, "If you don't study, you aren't going to be anybody in life," they tell you in Mexico. . . . You will spend your life working like a dog all the time, in the heaviest jobs, that's how you'll work. It's not like here. Here they finish trade school and almost everyone goes right to work. No, there, everyone wants to study at the university, and well, the truth is that I went to high school, and I finished it, but I refused to go to the university, because I was already tired of school.]

Rosa's interviews were peppered with comparisons of the United States and Mexico. Her long tenure in this country has probably given her added insights. She is able to make the connections that compare the two cultures, so as the semester progressed, it was interesting to watch her change her preconceived notions of who and what Anglos are. The theme of cultural comparisons is constant for Rosa.

Rosa worked as a secretary for a lawyer for a while after finishing *la prepa* before joining a sister living in another state in Mexico. There she met her husband, the father of the two older children, whom she described as "*una persona muy diferente cuando éramos novios; era muy diferente a como era luego de casarnos*" [a very different person when we were engaged from how he became after we got married].

I asked her if she planned to stay here or return to Mexico, she replied:

¡Ay! pues, la verdad a mí me gustaría más quedarme yo creo que aquí en México. Ya me acostumbré a la vida de Estados Unidos. . . . Me gusta, a mis niños les gusta. . . . Quiero una casa; esos son mis planes porque aquí en Roanoke todavía está calmado, no hay mucha violencia, todavía está bonito. A mí me gustó, desde que llegué, me gustó.

[Goodness! Well, to tell the truth, I think I would rather stay here than in Mexico. I've already gotten used to life in the United States. . . . I like it, my kids like it. . . . I want a house; those are my plans because here in Roanoke it is still calm, there isn't a lot of violence, it is still pretty. I have liked it from the first day I arrived; I liked here.]

When I first entered the Latino community, if anyone had told me that some of the families I met would own homes by now, I would not have believed it. However, four families who participate in our program are now buying their own homes, and several others are like Rosa, dreaming of the day when they will be able to purchase a home of their own. I hope I never lose the sense of wonder and admiration that I feel when I see families who arrived here with literally nothing but the clothes on their backs who are now proud homeowners, working in stable jobs.

When I asked Rosa why she decided to participate in the program with the students, she said:

Para que ellos vengan aquí a la casa porque yo necesito aprender inglés y necesito que o sea que me ayuden con lo de las tareas de los niños porque yo por muchas cosas, realmente no entiendo las tareas aquí, ¿verdad? Y ellos nos pueden ayudar para que ellos hagan bien su tarea, nos oriente y este, como y ellos que hablan bien inglés, lo escriben y todo, lo pueden ayudar a uno porque hay este, yo he querido así comunicarme a la escuela pero luego digo no, pero no me van a entender y si tal vez tuviera alguien que me hiciera favor de comunicarse por mí a la escuela que me interpretara.

[So that they can come here to the house because I need to learn English and I need them to help me with the kids' homework because, for many reasons, I don't

understand the homework here, right? And they can help us so that they [the children] can do their homework well. They help us be successful, and since they speak English well, they write well and all, they can help you because I have wanted to communicate with the school, but then I say no, but they aren't going to understand me and if perhaps someone would do me the favor of communicating with the school for me and interpreting for me.]

Rosa continued with a litany of problems that have occurred with her daughter at school. She communicated a sense of frustration with her inability to communicate. As is typical of the Latinas I know, Rosa is a devoted mother who expressed more concern about the children than about herself.

Rosa regarded the students as being able to help her family be successful. She saw the students as the powerful ones in the society that she described in terms of being oppressive. She exemplifies Collins's (2000) assertion that we each live within a power system that "vests us with differing levels of power and privilege" (p. 457). Rosa's position in the hierarchy of society (cf. Ransford, 2000) created the framework that caused her to perceive the students as being more powerful than she could hope to be from her position in a society where discrimination intersected in the categories of ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic class. Although the service-learner who was coming to her house might suffer the same gender discrimination as Rosa herself, the student's power would reside in a hierarchical position granted by her ethnicity and socioeconomic level.

An additional aspect of Rosa's privileging Carol probably involved language. She viewed English as a mediational means (cf. Wertsch, 1991) that carried far more value than Spanish, an assumption that is true in Southwest Virginia, where Spanish-speakers are not abundant. Many residents of the area are not prepared to carry on a conversation in any language other than English. Often the linguistic barrier encompasses more than the inability to communicate words; language often provides a means of categorizing people, thus reinforcing the dominant-subordinate statuses (Schniedewind & Davidson, 2000). This theme of power and privilege was always present in my conversations with Rosa.

As she continued talking about her expectations for participating in CTB, Rosa said:

Bueno, pues, el inglés, que quiero aprenderlo. Tal vez ella, pues ella me enseñe, como yo le puedo enseñar cosas de nosotros de hispanos, culturas de allá de México, las formas que nosotros tenemos ella tal vez me pueda decir como son ellos también.

[Well, I want to learn English. Perhaps she [Carol] will teach me, just as I can teach her things about us Hispanics, culture from Mexico, the ways that we have, and maybe she can tell me how they are also.]

Again Rosa shows her ability to step outside her culture to see it as interesting to Anglos. Despite her own deep desire to learn English, she realizes that she has something to offer in the form of sharing her own native culture. Even at the beginning, she could see the possibility of reciprocal sharing of funds of knowledge (Greenberg & Moll, 1990). She saw that both she and Carol were bringing knowledge to the relationship, and that she would bring resources that Carol wanted to have. The themes that outlined Rosa's expectations for the class were exchange of language and culture, help with the children's schoolwork, and cultural mediation.

Rosa and Carol Meet

On the workday, we drove to Rosa's apartment. Carol was part of the group of students who crowded into the two-bedroom apartment. Rosa's shy nature was apparent as the students filed in, but she managed to get her children to meet everyone. Since that time, Rosa and I have chatted about the fact that we are both *chaparitas* [short little women] but at that time I did not realize how self-conscious she is about her height. On that first day, she stood briefly to meet Carol, and then immediately took her place on the couch between the children. During her first interview, she shared that she was afraid Carol would not like her because she is so short and Carol is so tall.

When I asked Rosa in a later interview about her feeling inadequate because of being short in contrast to Carol's being tall, she laughed, and said that Carol was not tall; she[Rosa] was short, but that, "Ella es muy buena; me cae muy bien; a todos nos cae muy bien." [She is very good; I really like her a lot; we all really like her a lot.] Physical appearance became unimportant once she realized how nice Carol was and how well they could get along. Up to the time of the last interview, the theme of desiring to acceptance continued to appear in our conversations.

Carol never did mention her first meeting with Rosa in a journal reflection, but when she talked about Rosa in class, it was in the same matter-of-fact way that she talked about her friends at the dorm. She did not echo the fears of not being accepted or of experiencing culture clash that Rosa mentioned frequently in the first two interviews. Her only mention of their differences occurred in an early reflection, in which she was referring to a reading by Varas (1999):

The final point that she [Varas] brought up was how the class made her students much more aware of the conditions that these people are living in. Sometimes it is so easy to get wrapped up in your own life that you fail to realize what some people have to live with every day. I already feel like I have become more aware of this and I have only been to Rosa's two times. I think that this class will give me, if nothing else, a better understanding of how different people live and what it would be like to have such a different life (Reflection 4, September 23, 2002).

In presenting the case of university students who enter the public schools to work with migrant children, Varas (1999) explores the experience as eye-opening for the students who were unaware of the situation of bilingual education. Carol has taken this critique of a public institution and transferred it to a person's home, referring to "how different people live." In future classes, I will either eliminate the reading or spend more time in class discussion of the differences between regarding the two in an attempt to avoid fostering an attitude of othering (cf. Fine, 1998). The theme of understanding different people and appreciating all she has are constant in Carol's data.

Friendship Develops

When I conducted a second interview with Rosa on Halloween, her mother and aunt were visiting from Mexico. The family seems to be close, because Rosa commented several times how much she wished her mother could stay and help with the children and keep her company for a longer time, but she said her father and mother missed each other so much that sheer mother could not be away for any longer.

I sat in the dim living room, waiting for Rosa and Antonio to finish eating. A Mexican *telenovela* [soap opera] was on the television, and the children were watching, while Rosa's mother and aunt sat in the two arm chairs by the window, the deep burgundy lace curtains providing a dramatic backdrop for the still life they portrayed, hands primly folded in their laps, reminding me of photos from Mora's (1997) memoir that we read in CTB. All they lacked were mantillas and combs in their silvery hair to complete the stereotype of Mexican upper class women from another age.

We chatted as I waited to interview Rosa; I answered their questions about Halloween, which seemed strange and exotic to these recent visitors to the United States. Rosa chimed in from the dining nook that opened to the living room. She was excited because Carol was coming later to take her and the children out in the car so the children could trick-or-treat.

Rosa was also pleased that Carol had questions about Día de los Muertos [Day of the Dead].⁴ As usual, Rosa was comparing the two cultures, fascinated with the differences and similarities, but also thrilled that an Anglo wanted to know more about her native culture. Before getting to know Carol, she intimated that a service-learning student might be interested in knowing about Mexican culture, but I am not sure she was prepared for Carol's deep interest in the Latino way of life.

Since the television was in the living room; her mother, aunt, two children, and husband were on the two couches, settled in for an evening of viewing Latino television.

⁴ In Mexico, *El Día de los Muertos* occurs at the end of October or the beginning of November, depending on the region and the individual family. The family prepares altars to welcome loved ones whose spirits return to visit their friends and families during this time.

Rosa led me into the bedroom and seated me on the mattress laid on the floor, then she locked the door, saying, “*Para que no nos molesten*” [So they won’t bother us]. She then folded her compact little body onto the bed and started talking. Her olive face is outlined by masses of dark curly hair, and her personality and energy give a sense of motion even when she is at rest. When I learned that she was 30 years old, I was surprised. Her appearance is youthful and vibrant; I figured she had her children when she was quite young and was only in her early twenties.

She finally got comfortable, and we began the interview. When I asked her if the experience of having Carol come to her apartment was what she expected, she said:

Bueno, este, no sé. Pensé yo que tal vez iba a ver que no pudiéramos entendernos como algo, ¿verdad? Como ella es una americana y, y este yo pensé que iba a estar así como, no sé como les dicen ustedes, así como con recelo, así como, tal vez que no le gustaba uno de hispano. Cuando ya la vi la primera vez, dije: “No, a la mejor no va a estar a gusto, o va a venir nada más una vez y ya no va a regresar tal vez” pero no, está bien, o sea sí estoy aprendiendo con ella y mi niña también, o sea todo está muy bien. Me gusta mucho, que bueno que vino.

[Well, I don’t know about that. I thought that perhaps I was going to see that we wouldn’t be able to understand each other or something, you know? Since she is an American, and well, I thought she was going to be like, I don’t know how you all say it, distrustful; that perhaps she wouldn’t like Hispanics. When I saw her the first time, I said, “No, perhaps she won’t feel comfortable, or she will come only once and will never come back,” but no, it is okay, and I am learning with her and my daughter is as well, so everything is going well. I like her a lot; it’s great she came.]

Throughout this interview, Rosa continued to mention that she had not expected Carol to like coming to her apartment, but that she realized Carol was a down-to-earth, common person without any airs. At this point, her realization that her stereotypes of Americans might have been erroneous was developing. It was almost as if I were seeing the other side of otherness, from the point of view of the othered. The two women represented differing experiences with oppression (cf. Collins, 2000).

It is interesting to note that Rosa always refers to Anglos as “Americans” and to Latinos as “Hispanics.” I would suspect it is because she has become Americanized in her labeling of people; I tried to ask her one day, but gave up because I was unable to communicate why I would want to know, which told me how ingrained the terms are for her. The theme of a change in perspectives was emerging from Rosa’s data.

In that same reflection, Carol related her reading of Freire (1970) to her situation with Rosa, writing:

I think that one of the hardest things I find about working with Rosa is that she is very nervous about speaking to people in English. She feels that if she starts to speak English, people will automatically begin to speak rapid-fire at her and she will not be able to understand. Because of this, for the past ten years while living in the United States she has pretended that she speaks no English when talking to people she does not know. I am hoping that by practicing with her often enough, she will find that there is nothing to be afraid of and she will be able to communicate with more ease. Another aspect of the article (Freire, 1970) I could relate to was that Freire says that “...dialogue cannot exist without humility.” When speaking to each other, in both English and Spanish, Rosa and I both realize that neither one of us speaks the other language perfectly. Just as I correct her when she is practicing her English, so she corrects me when I am speaking Spanish. I think that we both realize the fact that we both are not perfect makes speaking to each other a lot easier (Reflection 5, September 29, 2002).

At this point, Carol addresses the reciprocity of relationship that occurs with many of the partnerships between the students and the families. Frequently the students commented, both in reflections and in class, as did the families when I interviewed them, that their mutual struggles with the other’s language made speaking and communicating less threatening. Whereas in a classroom, the professor has the power of grades, in these service-learning relationships, they see themselves as equal partners who want to communicate and who forgive each other because each sees the other as being in the same predicament of not being fluent in the second language. Before their experiences

with the service-learners, the families, on the other hand, tend to regard Anglos as unsympathetic listeners who will ridicule or disregard them due to their lack of language skills. In the environment of CTB, the affective filter (Krashen, 1982) is lowered since both groups are motivated and not feeling anxious about performance. The theme of concern for Rosa's ability to communicate occurs repeatedly in Carol's reflections.

In this interview, Rosa talked about what she hoped to gain from her visits with Carol. Interestingly enough, learning English was not at the top of her list, contrary to the expectations she expressed in the first interview. She mentioned that she wanted to pass the driver's test to get her license, to learn to use the computer, to have Carol straighten out her children's Medicaid, and to have her help register the children for Salvation Army Christmas gifts, reflecting her desire to learn to navigate in her non-native culture.

Carol also commented on registering Rosa's children with the Salvation Army: In her transformation paper, she said:

When I first walked in and told the woman that I wanted to fill out the application, she said that that would not be possible. When I explained to them that I was from Tech and the Service Learning program, their perspectives changed completely. They became incredibly accommodating. As I sat and waited for my turn to fill out the application, I got more and more nervous because I watched them turn many women away because they did not have all of the required papers. While I did have most of them, I was missing a few things and they appeared to be very strict. When I got called in, I realized I would not be having any problems with getting the aid for Rosa. The woman who was helping me fill out the application was the one who had rejected a few women in front of me because they did not have the actual social security cards of their children. I was missing the cards of the two oldest children, but she had no problem with me just calling the next day and giving the numbers over the phone.

Throughout my entire time there, I could not help but think what would have happened if Rosa had gone by herself to fill out the application. I am almost positive that she would have been turned away. The only reason I was able to receive the aid was because of who I am. The more and more I think about this,

the more it disgusts me. Coming from the background that I come from, it is easy to believe that everyone in America really is equal. Once I started to work with my family in Roanoke, however, I began to see how much inequality still exists today. While I do think that some of it has to do with racism, I do not think this is the main source of this inequality. When I look around at who is living in the apartments in East Side with Rosa's family, it is not only the Mexicans who appear to be having a hard time. There are people there that are every color of the rainbow that seem to be in need of help. Likewise, when I was at the Salvation Army, there were all kinds of people that were getting turned down. I was able to get the aid for Rosa only because of the way I was dressed, what I looked like, and where I came from. I was able to act confident because of the way I have been raised (Transformation Paper, December 17, 2002).

Carol's realization of how differently Latino immigrants and other marginalized people are treated in by members of the dominant culture is representative of the awakening that happens with many students who participate in the program. Having grown up in a middle class environment all their lives, many of the students never had the opportunity to know that not everyone enjoys the same privileges they do. Consequently, it is often eye-opening when they are placed in the position of helping a Latino with whom they have established a relationship to navigate in their acquired culture (cf. Collins, 2000; Edgington, 2000).

Like many of the other students, Carol brought her personal history and background to the service-learning experience. She had never before experienced agencies where people can apply for economic assistance of any kind. Carol went to the Salvation Army acting as a cultural mediator (cf. Wertsch, 1991) for her friend. Because of the material she had read for class, she had developed an understanding that enabled her to step outside her birth perspective and to observe the injustice that she saw occurring in an agency set up to assist marginalized people. Her criticism was not that some people were ineligible for assistance, but rather that she perceived an inequality based on outward appearances. She realized that her background had privileged her. She understood that her physical appearance and her manner of conducting herself

automatically placed her in a privileged position, and that those who are marginalized are often automatically placed in an oppressed position (cf. Collins, 2000; Ransford, 2000). The emerging theme of solidarity with Rosa began to emerge with Carol's transformative meeting with the Salvation Army.

Rosa continued to mention the needs of her children, saying that her daughter Lidia was still having problems with reading. She was greatly relieved to find out that Carol experienced similar problems as a child:

Dice que ella cuando era niña aprendió a leer cuando estaba que, siete años, o algo así y que como yo estaba regañando a mi niña porque no sabe leer y ella dice: "no, yo aprendí muy tarde a leer, mi mamá me dijo." Dice que ella le platica a su mamá y entonces su mamá le dijo que me dijera que no me preocupara que ella había aprendido ya grandecita. ... Dice: "No te preocupes." Dice: "Yo le voy a enseñar" y si le ha enseñado. Le está enseñando bien a Lidia. [She says that when she [Carol] was a little girl, she learned to read when she was about seven years old, or something like that, and that since I was scolding my daughter because she doesn't know how to read, she [Carol] said, "No, I learned to read very late, my mom told me so. She said she [Carol] talked to her mom and then her mom told her to tell me not to worry, that she [Carol] had been big when she learned to read. . . . She says, "Don't worry." She says, "I am going to teach her to read," and she has taught her. She is teaching Lidia well.]

Statements such as this one make me uneasy, because Rosa's statement could be interpreted as her putting her faith in Carol's ability to find a solution to any problem. Once again the theme of privileging and power occurred as Rosa granted Carol the prestige of having all the answers (cf. Ransford, 2000).

Carol talked at length about Lidia's problems in school, and I never heard her express the feeling that she could fix Rosa's problems. I do think she saw herself as a cultural mediator. Where the school was concerned, she recognized that she knew how to call the school and talk to the teacher, a skill that Rosa felt she did not possess, and she enjoyed being able to help in such a way. It was also interesting to hear her comparing

herself with Lidia, just as I remember doing with the young mothers I knew when my children were small. In Carol's reflections and in this interview with Rosa, I began to see a relationship developing in which two people shared information and problems.

At this point it is also interesting to note that both Rosa and Carol were making comparisons that surpassed cultural observations. They realized that certain problems transcend cultures. Children who are natives of the United States can have the same problems with learning as children whose heritage is Latino. They recognized that certain similarities existed between them. The theme of commonalities defines this situation, whereas previously, Rosa's cultural comparisons presented a theme of cultural differences. The theme of Rosa's comparing Carol's childhood to that of her own children continued to emerge as well.

When I asked Rosa to describe her relationship with Carol, she said:

Pues es que son muchas cosas y tal vez con una pura palabra como: La quiero mucho. Tenemos una bonita amistad. . . . Yo creo que ella nos aprecia a nosotros también porque sí habla de nosotros con su mamá. . . . Ella quisiera hacer todo por nosotros. . . . Nosotros todos la queremos mucho. . . . Yo la admiro como si fuera mi hermana de mi familia. . . . Mis niños esperan cuando ella viene. "Ya viene Carolina," y corren a la puerta. La quieren mucho también. . . . Es que ella es una persona muy sincera, muy buena, muy buena, eso es ella, muy buena gente. . . . Me da más confianza hablar más inglés con ella. No me da pena hablar inglés con ella porque con algunas personas sí me da pena pero con ella, no. . . . Ella es muy linda, muy servicial. Sí, nosotros la queremos mucho a Carolina.

[Well, there are lots of things and maybe with a single word, like, "I love her a lot. We have a lovely friendship. . . . I think she appreciates us a lot too because she talks about us to her mom. . . . She would like to do everything for us. . . . We all love her a lot. . . . I admire her as if she were my very own sister. . . . My children wait when she is coming. "Here comes Carol," and they run to the door. They love her a lot, too. . . . She's a very sincere person, very sincere, very good, very good, that is how she is, a really good person. . . . I feel more confident speaking more English with her. I am not embarrassed to speak English with her

because with some people, it embarrasses me, but with her no. . . . She is very lovely, very helpful. Yes, we love Carol a lot.]

This interview surprised me, because at the beginning, Rosa was so reserved about Carol's perspective toward her, and now she was describing her as being like her sister and someone whom she loved very much. To understand the meaning of Rosa's words here, it is necessary to understand that Spanish has two words for "love:" querer and amar. The former is used to describe close friends and people who are dear to the speaker. Amar is used with family, and occasionally with lifelong friends; it is not a casual relationship that may not last forever. Nonetheless, by using querer to describe how she felt about Carol, she was saying that she cared a lot for her. At this point, Rosa seemed sure for the first time that she was accepted by Carol, that she and her family were important enough for Carol to mention them to her mother. The themes of affection and acceptance run throughout Rosa's conversation.

Rosa continued to express her belief that Carol could fix any problem. I would feel more comfortable if Rosa had told me Carol was navigating with her and not for her (cf. Fine, 1998; Harro, 2000). Carol, the pale-skinned, Anglo, college-educated woman was representing Rosa, the olive-skinned, Latin, working-class woman. By presenting herself as Rosa's agent, she granted authority to Rosa's voice, but by so doing (cf. Fine, 1998), she also granted herself a position of power and authority, enforcing her position of in society's hierarchy, and reinforcing Rosa's position as the oppressed person whose voice is not heard (cf. Ransford, 2000). The ideal situation would have been Carol's providing tools, possibly in the form of language and cultural knowledge, for Rosa to sense self-empowerment. The theme of Carol helping Rosa and her family was always present.

Carol communicated similar feelings of friendship with the family in an in-class journal, referring to Lidia sitting on her lap to work on her homework:

These little things make me feel like I am becoming more of a friend to my family than just a tutor. I see my family the same way. In the beginning I felt like I was just their teacher. Now however, Rosa and I usually just sit and chat about random

things, be it her children, our families, or food. I think we are both getting a lot out of this because before this I doubt that we would have made friends with anyone like each other (In-class Journal, October 21, 2002).

In this journal-writing activity, during class, I asked the students to reflect on their relationships with their families, thinking about how they felt about their families and how they thought their families felt about them. Carol is not a student who tends to be emotional and effusive, so I was surprised at the depth of feeling she expressed about Rosa and her family. At this point, approximately in the middle of the service-learning placement, she began to express feelings of friendship for the family. Carol had crossed the border from teacher to friend. From this point on, friendship continued to emerge as a theme in Carol's data.

Still referring to being able to speak English, Rosa talked about how her impressions of Americans have changed since she knows Carol:

Yo antes tenía la impresión de que no nos quieren, los americanos no nos quieren por hispanos. . . . pero yo con Carol me doy cuenta que no es así o sea que sí yo tengo una amistad con ella. Si yo supiera bien inglés yo podría tener una amistad con todos los americanos, ¿verdad? Porque, porque solamente es eso lo que nos separa el idioma y nosotros tenemos que aprender a hablar inglés para poder relacionarnos con todos, ¿verdad? . . . yo trato de amistar con todos, con todos para que ellos también nos conozcan a nosotros y no piensen que nosotros somos delincuentes sino gente trabajadora, gente buena, son muy buenas personas, bueno yo creo que ellos tal vez algunos digan que soy mala pero yo no creo, yo soy buena persona ¿verdad? . . .

Tal vez no hable inglés correctamente lo poco que sé pero yo trato para hablar con todos, ahm, en las mañanas. . . . yo llego primero, "Good morning," y luego "How you doing today?" Algo así, le digo yo: "Fine, I'm fine, how are you today?" Y así muchas cosas, o sea yo no hablo bien inglés, pero lo poquito que sé yo trato de comunicarme ¿verdad? Para aprender más y para que o sea para que

todos convivamos en el trabajo bonito porque es bonito que todos nso llevemos bien.

[Before, I had the impression that they don't care for us. The Americans don't care for us Hispanics. . . . But with Carol, I realize that it isn't that way. In other words, if I am friends with her, then if I knew English well, I would be able to be friends with all Americans, right? Because, because it is only the language that separates us, and we need to learn to speak English to be able to have relationships with all of them, right? . . . I try to be friends with all of them, with all of them, so that they can know us and so they won't think we are all delinquents, but rather hard-working people, good people. There are a lot of very good people, so I think some of them will say that I am bad, but I don't believe it. I am a good person, right?

Maybe I don't speak English correctly, the little that I know, but I try to speak to them, uhm, in the mornings ... I arrive, first, "Good morning," and then, "How are you doing today?" Something like that. I say, "Fine, I'm fine. How are you today?" ... And lots of things like that. In other words, I don't speak English well, but the little that I know, I try to communicate, right? To learn more and so that we all get along well at work because it is nice if we get along well with everyone.]

When Rosa told me this story, I felt as if I must have asked a leading question to get an answer that I hoped to hear, but the fact was that all this followed my asking her to think of four words to describe Carol. Up to this point, I thought of the students as agents of change, and I thought of the change in perspectives in the students, who in my mind represented Anglos. However, I had not expected to hear of a similar change in perspective on the part of the Latinos. In conversations prior to the study, I heard numerous friends describe Anglos as racists, but I had no idea that CTB could penetrate those feelings of discrimination they experienced. By interacting at a deep level with Carol, Rosa had transcended the barriers that her previous experiences with Anglos had constructed (cf. Collins, 2000). The theme of a change in perspective continued to emerge from Rosa's data.

In a like manner, Carol commented on the article on teaching for social justice by Cochran-Smith (1999) that she read for class:

I think her sixth principle [Cochran-Smith] is one of the most important for me in this class and also for my family. That is to “make activism, power, and inequity explicit parts of the curriculum [p. 131].” In this course, this idea is very important. I feel that if I am able to help Rosa with this, she will be far more likely to succeed. Right now she is very shy and unwilling to be active in her learning of the language outside of talking to me. She pretends that she knows no English when talking to native speakers because she is nervous of the reaction she will receive when they hear her not so perfect English. If she has a better sense of power that she can learn the language, I think she will have much greater success. I also think if she becomes more active in her community, for instance by going to the library, she will once again become more empowered (Reflection 6, October 6, 2002).

Carol continued to be concerned for Rosa’s English as she wrote in her next reflection:

One thing that I am having trouble with is having her speak in English. I do not really feel like it is my place to go into someone’s house and then make them speak English, especially when they are already tired from a long day of work. I find that a lot of time we chat in Spanish. This presents a problem because I think that Rosa knows more English than she lets other people know. I think that her main issue is not having the confidence to speak English to people outside of her home (Reflection 7, October 12, 2002).

Carol continued throughout the semester to express concern for Rosa’s speaking English. She was convinced that the knowledge and ability were there, so she encouraged her in every way. Knowing how hard she worked toward that goal, I was pleased that when Rosa attended the first LWSG in the spring semester of 2003, she entered the kitchen where I was chopping onions, and hugged me, speaking rapidly and perfectly in English. The entire evening, she tried to speak English to everyone possible. I could only

think of how pleased Carol would be to see the results of her encouragement and prodding.

As the semester continued, Carol's perceptions about Rosa continued to echo what Rosa told me in interviews, providing triangulation. By reading the academic materials required for the class and by talking to Rosa, Carol was able to understand Rosa's perspective. In an earlier reflection, Carol mentioned having the opportunity to see how other people live, but by the time she wrote this reflection, she began to understand how people in circumstances different from her own think and perceive the world.

It also seemed that Carol was moving away from the role of dominance when she said she did not have the right to enter anyone's house and to insist that they speak English. She is stepping away from the role of the privileged person who knows what is best for the oppressed person (Collins, 2000), developing liberatory consciousness (Love, 2000): "awareness, analysis, action, and accountability/ally-ship (p. 471). She had become aware that Rosa knew more English than she wanted Anglos to realize; she analyzed the situation and decided she did not have the right to decide what was best for Rosa; she took action by trying to provide a nurturing environment for Rosa to speak English in the home; and she accepted that Rosa's empowerment lay in her [Rosa's] own Self, and not hers [Carol's]. At this point, the themes of privilege and power take a different turn.

Carol also talked about her relationship with Rosa, comparing and contrasting their cultural perspectives. She enjoyed taking Rosa and the older children trick-or-treating on Halloween, using it as an opportunity to teach them about her culture. They talked about religion, discussing the differences in their religious traditions despite the fact they are both Catholic. Carol could see cultural assimilation occurring as the children learned about different customs such as the tooth fairy in their elementary school. Referring to Behar's (1993) emphasis on the importance of oral tradition, she expressed approval that Rosa is teaching her children the stories and customs of Mexico despite the fact the children were born in the United States.

The cultural exchanges that Rosa and Carol shared surpassed anything either of them could have learned from a textbook in a language class (cf. Ward, 1997). They experienced each other's cultures in a personal, meaningful way. They exchanged information as friends and peers, interested in knowing about each other, not to prepare for a test, but rather to enrich and deepen the understanding that existed between them (cf. Hale, 1999; Mullaney, 1999; Varona, 1999; Ward, 1997). Carol was able to relate much of her newly acquired knowledge to the readings she was doing. Rosa, on the other hand, loved learning about Carol's culture to know more about her personally, but she was also eager to learn information that would help her to understand the culture in which she had been living for the past ten years.

The Semester Ends

When I returned to Rosa's apartment for the last interview at the end of January, Rosa was waiting for me, her welcoming hug making me realize how much I have come to feel at home in her apartment. She was dressed in a baggy sweatshirt, her hair pulled off her face. Lidia had stayed home from school because she was sick, and she lay on the couch covered with a quilt. The television was on softly, its dim light providing the only illumination in the living room, already dim in the early evening of winter. Rosa and I went to sit at the kitchen table in the area separated from the living room by the metal strip present in all the Eastside Apartments. She pushed aside a tall stack of boxes perched on the table, explaining that they were her Herbal Life diet supplements. She is now on a diet and not eating anything but the supplements. Inspired by Carol's slenderness, she wants to lose weight.

We settled down for the interview, and in response to my question about how the semester had gone, Rosa began by telling me once again how fond her family is of Carol. Now used to the interviews, she needed no prompting to tell me how they spent their time talking in English. She listed all the activities they had participated in during the semester, ranging from taking the children trick-or-treating on Halloween to going to the library to prepare for the driver's test. She also talked about how much her mother liked Carol, inviting her to come to Mexico to stay with them for a while. One of Rosa's friends was getting married, and she and Carol had made plans for Carol to go with

Rosa's family to experience a Mexican wedding. As usual, the sharing of cultures had continued.

Rosa then asked me, "*Cómo le parecíamos nosotros a Carol?* [How did we seem to Carol?] I told her that Carol had said many lovely things about Rosa and her family and about how much she loved going to Rosa's. A sad and wistful look then settled on Rosa's face and she said:

A mí me gustaba mucho que ella viniera y yo quería que ella siguiera viniendo pero dice que tal vez ya no va a poder por las clases que ella tiene ahora. . . . Yo quería que ella siguiera viniendo a la casa pero pues yo lo entiendo que tal vez ella no puede y ahorita el tiempo está muy frío. Tal vez cuando ella cambie el tiempo, ella va a seguir viniendo porque ella también me dijo que quería seguir viniendo a mi casa y yo le dije que sí, que yo quería que ella viniera.

[I liked her coming a lot and I wanted her to keep coming but she says that perhaps she isn't going to be able to come because of the classes she has now. . . . I wanted her to keep coming to the house, but I understand that maybe she can't come now, and now the weather is really cold. Perhaps when the weather changes, she is going to keep coming to my house and I told her that yes, I want her to come.

Rosa once again presents the problem that often occurs with the program. The students are more accustomed to dividing their lives by semester timelines. They often live with a roommate for a semester, then leave, perhaps never seeing the roommate again. They make friends that last a semester, or a year, and then with promises to stay in touch, they gradually lose touch completely.

The Latinos, on the other hand, often develop relationships with the students, and when the semester ends, they do not understand the student point of view that the class is over, so their time of visiting the family has also ended. Some of the students continue to visit their families long after the semester ends, but more find that with their course load and their other responsibilities, they are unable to maintain the relationship. Generally, the Latinos who have participated in the program for several semesters understand the rhythm of the semester and are more prepared when the time comes for ending the

partnership, although there are occasions when even the repeaters in the program seem saddened by a student's departure, as was the case with Kathy and Isabel.

Since this was Rosa's first semester with the program, she expected that Carol would continue to come. Her feelings of friendship were strong and deep, and she felt disappointed when Carol did not come to visit. I frequently see Carol in the hall at school, and she often asks about Rosa, commenting that she plans to go see her but that she is overwhelmed with schoolwork. It is probably related to the difference in perspective about friendship between the two cultures as well. In the United States, it is not uncommon for friendships to be transient, whereas in Latino culture, friendships are regarded as more permanent. In all the time I have been teaching the course, this is one problem that I cannot solve.⁵ The theme of disappointment and sadness at the service-learner's departure emerged from this interview.

I asked her whether Carol's visits to her family made a difference in their lives, and when she failed to understand the question, I rephrased it by asking how many Anglos she had known before since she had lived in the United States for such a long time. She replied with her usual frankness:

¡Ah! Pues. . . Es la primera vez que yo trato con una americana, porque yo tenía la impresión de que no, no nos miraban bien a nosotros. . . bueno sí todas las personas son como Carol, pues, son muy buenas personas. Ella es bien buena, bien buena gente entonces pues sí este, ahora que yo la traté a ella como yo tengo un poco más de confianza con otras americanas de hablar y más bien con americanas blancas que con las afro americanas porque como cuando uno yo trato de hablar inglés con las americanas y ellas tratan de entenderme y las morenas no, las afro americanas se ríen, yo no se si todas sean igual[sic] ¿verdad? Pero con las que yo he tratado así son y las americanas, las gringas, no son así, entonces sí yo sé que son más buenas personas de lo que yo creía porque yo las tenía como sí nos miraban como más acajou a nosotros y no es así, ellas nos miran igual que ellas y nos tratan muy bien yo creo que mejor que nosotros las tratamos a ellas, ellas nos tratan mejor a nosotros. Son muy lindas, yo en mi

⁵ For further discussion, see chapter eight, pages 242-3.

trabajo también yo ahora convivo con otras americanas y son muy buenas, sí, así es, que ella me dio confianza de yo hablar con otras americanas.

[Ah. Well, it's the first time that I had dealt with an American, because I had the impression they didn't like us, but if all people are like Carol, well, they are good people. She is so good, so very good. Now that I have dealt with her, I am a little bit more confident about talking to other Americans, especially with White American women, more than with African Americans; they (White American women) try to understand me, and the Black women laugh at me. I don't know if they are all the same, right? But all the ones I have dealt with are like that and the American women, the *gringas*⁶, aren't like that, so yeah, I know they are better people than I had thought because I thought they looked down at us and that isn't true. They look at us as being the same as themselves and they treat us very well, I think better than we treat them; they treat us better. They are very lovely, and at work I now get along well with other Americans and they are very good, so that's it, she [Carol] gave me the confidence to talk to other Americans.]

As I listened to Rosa, I remembered talking to her in late October, when she first mentioned her change in perspective about Anglos. Probably due to the long period of time she had lived in this country, she had experienced more discrimination than many of the women, so she constantly evaluated her relationship with Carol through that lens. Her relationship with Carol had helped her cross the border of understanding as had Carol (cf. Collins, 2000).

Her comments about African Americans are also interesting; I wonder what would have happened had I placed one of the African American students with her? Would her perspective about racial discrimination have been affected? Does this mean that each cultural perspective has to be examined individually and that perspectives change slowly as people are exposed to different groups within a culture different from their own?

During Rosa's last interview and in Carol's final transformation paper, they both

⁶ *Gringo* and its variations are terms used by Mexicans to refer to White, non-Spanish-speaking citizens of the United States.

mentioned how much language they learned from each other. They both talked about other cultural information they shared. Rosa talked again about Carol bringing her information about anything she needed to know, and about her helping her with the driving test. Carol summed up their mutually beneficial relationship in her transformation paper: “I started out expecting only to be teaching English to my family, and in the end I believe that they taught me far more than I could have ever taught them” (December 17, 2002).

Rosa talked about their first visits:

Primero las dos teníamos como pena y yo también y ella también se sentaba y no hablaba ni yo tampoco porque pues no nos conocíamos pero ya después que nos empezamos a conocernos pues ya bien a gusto yo hasta me acostaba en el sofá con la confianza y ella, ella se sentaba hasta en la alfombra se sentaba con Verónica a ayudarle con sus tareas y si ya fue creciendo la amistad más y espero que me siga visitando.

[At first, we were both embarrassed, both she and I, and she also sat there and didn't talk, and me neither because we didn't know each other but then we began to know each other and to like each other and I got so I would lie on the couch and she would even sit on the carpet with Lidia and help her with her homework and that's how our friendship grew and I hope she keeps visiting me.

Similarly, in her transformation paper, Carol said:

I was incredibly nervous about going because I had no idea what to expect. . . . I can remember my first couple of trips there when we spent the majority of our time smiling at each other and watching a lot of television, simply because both of us did not know what to do with each other.

However, our relationship quickly grew from this and we turned out to think of each other more as friends than as a teacher and a student. . . . I was grateful once we began to talk more openly because it made me feel more like I had a purpose to be there.] (December 17, 2002).

Both Carol and Rosa expressed that their relationship grew from that of teacher/student to friends. They each perceived the other as nervous and uncertain as to what was expected of them, but over the course of the semester, the nervousness changed to a sense of comfort and enjoyment in each other's presence. However, Carol's comment about having a "purpose to be there" provides a discordant note. While those words still express a perspective of the "haves" helping the "have-nots" (cf. Jackson & Smothers, 1998), they are situated in a statement about friendship. Friendship emerged as a recurrent theme for both Carol and Rosa.

When I asked Rosa if she had any Mexican friends at work, she compared her friendship with Carol in terms of the Mexican women she deals with:

Más confianza, como más, que yo sé que no me va a estar criticando. Como con las mexicanas somos así desgraciadamente las hispanas somos así, de que estamos platicando y luego, se va uno y dice: "Fíjate que ella dijo esto y lo otro" y con Carolina yo tenía toda la confianza y yo sé que ella es así, que no es así, que ella lo que yo le digo y todo es este, como todo sincero y ella sincera conmigo, es, yo creo que es mejor mi amistad con ella que con las personas que yo trato.

[More trust, like I know she isn't going to be criticizing me. We Mexican women are unfortunately like that. We'll be chatting and then one person leaves, and someone says, "Can you believe she said this and that ...? And with Carol I trusted her completely and I know that I can trust her, that she isn't like that, and that whatever I say to her, she is sincere, sincere with me, and I believe my friendship with her is better than the other people I deal with.]

Just as the students crossed a cultural border to develop a sense of identity with the Latinas, here Rosa is choosing the friendship of an Anglo to that of Latinas. I was interested to hear her say she felt more trust toward Carol, a perspective that was a complete change from the one she had at the beginning of the semester. Working in relationship with an Anglo for a period of 15 weeks had provided a sense of connection

with a person from a privileged class in terms of ethnicity, language, and socioeconomic status (cf. Collins, 2000; Ransford, 2000; Schniedewind & Davidson, 2000).

Carol talked repeatedly in the transformation paper about the readings and her work with Rosa making her realize how lucky she is and how important it is to help others. She says, “This course has made me realize how important it is for people who have these privileges [going to high school and to college] to help those that do not have them” (December 17, 2002).

We read “Charity” by Nava (1998) at the beginning of the class, devoting considerable time to talking about the difference between helping others and walking alongside people in solidarity to be the cultural mediators who open doors so that people are able to empower themselves. All through the student-generated papers and interviews, however, there is a theme of wanting to help people in the sense of the privileged helping the less fortunate (cf. Jackson & Smothers, 1998; Ransford, 2000). This aspect of the course needs to be addressed. Even at the end of the semester, Carol is talking about her privileged position as a given, in opposition to the perspective of working for rather than with Rosa⁷.

In her last interview, Rosa said, “*Fue diferente; fue mejor. Yo pensé que no más iba a venir a dar clases y ya, se iba y no, ella venía, nos enseñaba, conversábamos y como no la tomé yo como si fuera una maestra sino como una amiga.*” [It was different; it was better. I thought she wouldn’t do anything but come to give classes and then she would be gone, but no, she came, she taught us, we talked, and I didn’t feel she was just my teacher, but rather that she was a friend. Yes, it was better.]

At the end of the semester, both Carol and Rosa delegated language acquisition to a less important role than it had occupied at the beginning of the semester; for both of them, the relationship that developed was most important. Carol talked frequently, both

⁷ For further discussion about charity, see chapter six, page 173.

in class and in her papers, first about her frustration and then her acceptance of Rosa's disinterest in learning English, but Rosa never spoke about Carol's Spanish. Perhaps this was because in class I stress teaching ESL, whereas Rosa had no reason to believe that Carol would learn Spanish from her. Both felt they learned the other's language.

Carol summed up the experience eloquently, saying:

I got far more out of this class than simply improving my speaking skills. The bond that I have created with the members of my family, especially Rosa and Lidia are ones that I will never forget. . . . I think my sense of cultural awareness has increased dramatically and I think this is something that is going to help me immensely throughout the rest of my life (Transformation Paper, December 17, 2002).

Second Case Study: Carol and Rosa

What Did It All Mean?

Expectations for CTB

Carol's and Rosa's expectations. From Carol's expectations for CTB emerged themes of linguistic proficiency, friendship with someone not from her own domain, and a desire to help someone outside her own privileged position. The themes of cultural and linguistic exchange, homework help for the children, and reciprocal relationship emerged from Rosa's data.

Language proficiency. At the beginning of the semester, Carol's expectations centered on experiencing an immersion experience that would give her the opportunity to become more proficient in speaking Spanish. By the end of the semester, language proficiency had become a secondary goal; relationship was more meaningful.

Friendship. She also mentioned being able to form a friendship with someone she would never have met in other circumstances, indicating that she automatically placed Rosa in a different domain than her own, reinforcing Harro's (1997) assertion that from the time we leave home, we tend to socialize only with those like ourselves, tending to separate ourselves from those who are different. Carol, however, desired to reach beyond

those like herself, hoping to form a friendship with someone unlike herself.

Community service. Similarly, she expressed a desire to participate in community service and to know personally those whom she helped. Service-learning replaces the paternalistic community service performed by volunteers who did not take grassroots needs into account (Sigmon, 1979). Her perspective of the “haves” helping the “have-nots” reflected this difference between community service and service-learning. By the end of the semester, Carol was beginning to consider Rosa’s needs and desires as more important than her own perceptions of what was good for Rosa.

Another important difference with service-learning is the emphasis on linking service with knowledge situated in academia ((Stanton, Giles, & Cruz, 1999). Part of Carol’s transformation in her perceptions probably had its roots in the readings and reflections done for the class, reinforcing that service-learning has a greater impact on students than community service alone.

Learning English. Rosa’s expectations were straightforward. She said she wanted to learn English, and despite Carol’s belief that Rosa knew more English than she wanted people to know, with Rosa’s general lack of self confidence, it is likely that she felt insecure about her English proficiency.

Cultural comparisons. Rosa also wanted to learn about cultural practices, but at the same time she had a desire to share her own culture with Carol. Her former experiences with Anglos had not led her to believe they would be interested to know about Latino culture, thus her delight when Carol was fascinated by her customs. Throughout the semester, Rosa remained enraptured with making cultural comparisons.

Homework help. Rosa was consumed with a desire for her children to do well in school, seeing education as a way for them to find success in the U. S. Since she herself felt inadequate in communicating in English, she longed for an Anglo who would be willing to call the school or help the children with their schoolwork. However, Carol’s help went beyond the routine tutoring that students normally provide. When Carol revealed that as a child, she experienced similar difficulties with school, but that she was eventually able to be a successful student, Rosa’s perspective about Lidia’s chances for success changed drastically. She no longer saw her as a failure in school who could not

live up to her brother's example, but rather as a child who would someday learn to read, albeit at her own pace.

Salient Issues in the Development of a Reciprocal Relationship

The following themes emerged as salient issues that helped Carol and Rosa form a friendship that was in many ways reciprocal: cultural mediation; commonalities and dissimilarities; affection, trust, respect, and mutual concern; desire for acceptance; changes in perspective; power and privilege; solidarity against an unjust society; and reciprocal relationship. Each of these themes influenced the formation of a reciprocal relationship between two women from disparate backgrounds.

Cultural mediation. Rosa wished for Carol to help her navigate in the Anglo world, a place she often found to be baffling. Nonetheless, Rosa knew how to network and figure out how to get information (cf. Greenberg & Moll, 1990), and she relied on Carol to be part of that network to help her with the driver's test, the children's Medicaid, and the Salvation Army Christmas gifts for children. In a sense, Rosa empowered herself by finding the information she needed, but at the same time, she granted to Carol the prestige accompanying her hierarchical position in society (cf. Collins, 2000).

Commonalities and dissimilarities. When the semester first began, Carol and Rosa regarded each other as total strangers who would have little in common, resulting in a sense of discomfort each time Carol visited Rosa's house. As the semester went on however, they realized they shared common interests in making cultural comparisons and talking about the social aspects of their lives. Also, they were aware they shared devotion to their families, and close relationships with their parents.

Carol, on the other hand, did not work; her parents were financing her university education. Her leisure time was spent with friends or studying. Her life represented stability and ease.

Rosa had lived a different life than Carol, situated in a working-class environment that required her to work long hard hours at a labor-intensive job, often returning home late to myriad household and family duties. The memory of an abusive husband who abused drugs and alcohol is never far from her, but with her current partner, she enjoys a safe, contented life. Her main concerns at this time deal with helping her children to be

successful and with learning to better navigate in her second culture in which she has spent more than a third of her life.

Affection, respect, trust, and mutual concern. Carol and Rosa felt sincere affection for each other. They enjoyed each other's company and shared a mutual respect for each other. Rosa trusted Carol with personal information that could have endangered her and the children. They shared mutual concerns such as a desire for Lidia to be successful in school and for the family to have a better quality of life. Carol's belief that a better life was related to the ability to communicate in English caused her to try constantly to bolster Rosa's confidence about communicating with the Anglo world.

Changes in perspective. During the semester, Carol's perspectives indicated change. She came to regard Rosa as her friend, and the othering that was prevalent in the early days of their friendship became somewhat blurred (cf. Fine, 1998).

Rosa still sees Carol as having the ability to fix her problems, and Carol seems to accept the role. Rosa's anxiety about being accepted by Carol is another facet of this perspective of placing herself in the position of being a member of the subdominant culture. Carol did not express a similar concern. Although I never witnessed any arrogance in her perspective, I did sense that she took for granted her ability to fix problems, just as she took it for granted that Rosa liked and accepted her. I do believe that Carol moved away from her perspective of helping other people somewhat, however, moving her closer to unity and solidarity with Rosa. Carol's ethnicity, language, and presence gave her entry into a world that is usually closed to Rosa. Carol used the privilege of her position in the dominant culture to gain entry to the Anglo world (Edgington, 2000), then "power inequality" functions as the "key variable for distinguishing strata in an ethnic-race hierarchy" (Ransford, 2000. p. 414). Possibly, it is this hierarchy of power that causes Rosa to grant the prestige of knowing the answers to her problems to Carol, who unknowingly accepts the position, thus perpetuating the inequality.

Power and privilege. Both Carol and Rosa brought up the constant theme of power and privilege. Rosa positioned herself as a member of the oppressed culture, granting Carol the prestige and power that gave her access to services and agencies that were closed to her. Carol constantly referred to her position as a privileged person,

wanting to use her position to help Rosa. Their different experiences with oppression caused their perspectives to be different as well. The otherness present in an unequal relationship of dominance/oppression was blurred by the end of the semester. In their final data, both women focused more on the friendship that resulted from their partnership than on any other issue.

Solidarity against an unjust society. Both women crossed the border to the other's culture. Carol became an advocate for Rosa and her family at the Salvation Army, and Rosa learned to make friends with other Anglos. Both of them became agents of change in their own cultures. Carol joined Rosa in solidarity, against a world they both deemed unjust in its treatment of Latinos. Carol took her realization one step further, extending her awareness to include marginalized people of all ethnicities who were unable to obtain the same opportunities that her privilege naturally granted to her.

Reciprocal relationship. In many aspects, Carol and Rosa's relationship could be described as reciprocal. Carol expressed a desire to develop fluency in Spanish, and I believe she had ample opportunity to use the language with Rosa. Similarly, Rosa communicated her desires to Carol, and Carol tried in every way to do the things Rosa requested, a process that Rosa once defined as "friendship."

However, their relationship never lost its hierarchical sense of the "haves" sharing with the "have-nots" (cf. Jackson & Smothers, 1999) despite the friendship that flourished between them. Carol never seemed to completely lose her sense of being a member of the privileged class although seeing the world through Rosa's lens did alter her perspective by the end of the semester.

Rosa's sadness at not having Carol visiting her any longer illustrates another dilemma that develops through the program. Carol accepts that the semester is over, and that she may not see Rosa again, but Rosa does not understand the end of the visits as the semester ends. Rosa did not understand the purpose and length of CTB, expecting a long-term relationship that would extend beyond the confines of the semester. Carol, however, seemed to view the relationship as a friendship that was enjoyable during the semester, but which would end with the semester, perhaps punctuated by an occasional, but doubtful, visit. This difference in expectations created a discordant note in the reciprocity of the relationship. Also, Rosa's reaction made me aware that I must prepare an explicit

document to give all participants at the beginning of the semester outlining the structure and dynamics of the course.

Wrapping It Up

Both Carol and Rosa felt the bonds of friendship by the end of the semester. They had spent more than fifty hours together, visiting, learning from each other, growing close as they shared more about their personal lives. Neither began the service-learning experience expecting that a friendship would develop, and both were pleased that it did. As Carol said in her transformation paper, she and Rosa would never have even known each other without the class. Whether it will be a lasting friendship, I do not know. Carol just sent me an email saying, “Unfortunately I have not had much time to get up to Roanoke to visit with Rosa and the family this semester. ☹ I am hoping that when I get back from Mexico next spring that my schedule will allow me to take service-learning again!” (Email correspondence, April 22, 2003).

Will the friendship resume when she returns? I do not know; only time will tell.