

# The Promise and Limits of Service Learning: How Are Aspiring Teachers of Color and Those Who Are Children of Immigrants Affected?

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This text explores how service learning may offer aspiring teachers' (those not yet admitted to teacher education programs) opportunities to interact with and support the learning of children from low-income families of color. The article shows the potential of service to impact how aspiring teachers talk and think and what they can do in community centers serving children living in challenging circumstances. It also critiques their understandings of who they are with regard to race, social class, and language background when conducting service learning. Implications for teachers and teacher educators' practices when mentoring university students conducting service in communities of which they are not a part are offered.

**Keywords:** *service learning, race, social class, language background*

## Introduction

This text examines the promise and limits of service learning for aspiring teachers (those not yet admitted to teacher education programs). The service learning in which these students engage is embedded within an undergraduate course focusing on social justice. The course emphasizes "...fair and just structural arrangements and personal/social/professional relationships that provide access, opportunity, and inclusion of historically marginalized or oppressed individuals and/or groups of people" (Brantmeier, 2011, p. 432). The article shows how two aspiring teachers, one who is biracial and another who is a child of immigrants, drew on their personal knowledge of difficulty to build engagement and relationships with children attending community center programs. I ask the following questions:

1. What understandings did aspiring teachers bring to and gain from their service learning with children from low-income families of color?
2. How do Bakhtinian ideas concerning authoritative and internally persuasive discourses help us understand aspiring teachers' notions about students and themselves?
3. What is present as well as absent from these aspiring teachers' talk about their service? And, how might we push them to extend what they know and can do in communities of which they may not be a part, including racial, economic, and/or language background groups?

## Conceptual Framework

I draw on M. M. Bakhtin's notions of the role that discourse practices of groups play in one's ideological becoming or ways persons view the world (Freedman & Ball, 2004). That is, the words of others provide us with opportunities to elaborate our contemporary knowledge, or to develop alternative understandings to those that we have been acclimated as children, young adults, or community members. Bakhtin stated (as translated by Holquist, 1990),

... in order to see ourselves, we must appropriate the vision of others. ... It is only the other's categories that will allow me to be an object for my own perception. I see myself as others might see it. In order to forge a self, I must do so from outside. (p. 28)

Alternatively stated, fresh perceptions of ourselves can be generated via interactions and talking with others. Through interactions with other persons, we may develop alternative notions about who we are, how we might interact with others, and what we might do when encountering unfamiliar, uncomfortable, or puzzling contexts. Everyone encounters such contexts each day. What seems significant is how we receive these often confusing and conflicting messages and what we do with them. Bakhtin (1981) believed that one must struggle continually with such messages and the turmoil they engender from confronting "...various available verbal and ideological points of view, approaches, and values" that we face (p. 346). Indeed, Bakhtin (Holquist, 1990) argued that from such struggles, learning occurs and that one's ideological becoming rests on these tensions among viewpoints. Our own perspectives are refined through opposing viewpoints continually bumping up against one another. As Bakhtin (1981) asserted,

Internally persuasive discourse ... as it is affirmed through assimilation ... is tightly interwoven with "one's own word" ... the internally persuasive word is half ours and half someone else's. Its creativity and productiveness consists precisely in the fact that such a word awakens new and independent words, that it organizes masses of our words from within, and does not remain in an isolated and static condition. It is ... developed, applied to new material, new conditions; it enters into interanimating relationships with new contexts. (p. 346)

Those discourses that persons understand as personally resonant may enable their recognition of internally persuasive ways of thinking, as opposed to those that are authoritative discourses. The latter derive from what Bakhtin (1981) called the "words of a father" (p. 342) and may represent the thinking of community leaders, families, religious leaders, or others who influence persons, especially those who may shape young persons' thinking. Discourses that are internally persuasive also may build on those that have origins in ideas introduced to young persons in their homes and communities. Either of these, authoritative or internally persuasive, is more or less influential at various points of time in what we do and say.

One example of such authoritative discourses that university students may bring to campus from their home communities, schools, and friendship groups locates peoples' poverty in their own lack of ambition or hard work. These discourses neglect to consider that not all persons are able to propel themselves to upward mobility due to myriad reasons, including the amounts of racial, social, and economic capital they possess. By offering service learning opportunities to university students, my hope is that they may develop internally persuasive discourses that are "... what each person thinks for him- or herself, what ultimately is persuasive to the individual" (Freedman & Ball, 2004, p. 8).

Bakhtin (1981) wrote that such internally persuasive discourses “... enter into the struggle for influence within an individual’s consciousness (just as they struggle with one another in the surrounding social reality)” (p. 348). In other words, what is internally persuasive will change as individuals have opportunities for more interactions with persons who differ from themselves. It is to this end that the service learning in my course is aimed. I hope to provide rich experiences with persons that university students previously have thought about as differing from themselves and also to discuss and be questioned about these.

## Literature Review

The term *service learning* was coined in the 1960s as both a pedagogy and a philosophy (Giles & Eyler, 1994), emphasizing the power of service to encourage what Nussbaum (1997) has called “... attention to fundamental moral values such as justice” (p. 52). Bryant, Schoenemann, and Karpa (2011) argued that service learning merges explorations of theoretical notions and the practical needs of communities, instilling civic ideals and a belief that individual and communal action have the potential to change the world. They wrote that, “When students feel comfort with discomfort, first, they find a willingness to accept the challenges life presents—sometimes or even quite often, in contrast to their world view” (p. 16). This suggests that everyone can benefit from service learning, even those whose family discourse patterns (like the aspiring teachers featured here) have emphasized values such as altruism, may still have some things to learn.

Service learning is designed to engage university students in projects that reciprocally serve communities and students, enhancing communities’ assets, and supporting participants in critical thinking about themselves and so-called others (Boesch, 2007; Campus Compact, 2003). According to Eyler and Giles (1999), there are three key components to service learning: The service should serve as a “text” for a secondary school or university course, offer structured reflection on the experience students have had, and provide students opportunities to meet genuine community needs. Morton (1995) wrote that there are three paradigms for service: those of charity, project, and social change. Morton described these as ranging from a charity dimension of service with power remaining with the service provider and little understanding of the institutional and structural roots of challenges faced by those served on a continuum to a social change perspective. The latter recognizes relationship building between the “served” and service providers, enabling more ownership of their needs and solutions by served persons. The danger in various paradigms of service learning is that it may encourage university students to view social problems not as deeply rooted, but as individual deficiencies that may be resolved with simple volunteerism that locate “Band-Aids” on serious systemic issues.

Several scholars (Butin, 2006; Clayton, 1995; De Costa, 1994; Zeichner & Hoeft, 1996) have argued that prospective teachers benefit from extending their student teaching into the communities in which schools are located. All agree that without these community-based experiences, prospective teachers cannot adequately understand the cultural backgrounds of students they teach. Additionally, Stachowski and Mahan (1998) provided evidence from the Cultural Immersion Projects at the University of Indiana—Bloomington that student teachers benefit greatly from interacting with community members outside of school sites. They encourage students to conduct a service learning project in the community in which their student teaching site is located (either internationally or on American Indian reservations), familiarize themselves with local cultural resources, interview community members to understand who they consider good teachers are, and write about and critically reflect on what they have learned.

Further, Warren (2012) reported a meta-analysis of studies of 2,129 students engaged in service learning between 1993 and 2008. The results of this meta-analysis suggest there is a positive effect on what students learn in service to others. Positive effects include increases in multicultural awareness and social responsibility, as well as increases in student learning.

With Dewey (1938), Jacoby (2015) argued that all education is grounded in experiences, but that some experiences can be miseducative unless those experiences also engage persons in critically reflective thinking. Further, Ladson-Billings (2001) contended that unless prospective teachers have experiences with those who differ from themselves and guided opportunities to consider the meanings of these, they only may have their pre-existing notions about persons reinforced. The course I created offers aspiring teachers opportunities to serve communities differing from students' own, as well as a time and a context for reflecting on meanings of what they are seeing and learning.

## The Context

The context for this study is a Midwestern university (here called State University<sup>1</sup>) with a population of 29,000 undergraduate students (State University Data Digest, 2012–2013), 13% of whom are persons of color. State University also enrolls large numbers of students from economically prosperous families. Average family income for out-of-state students is \$100,000 or more and resident students' families' averages \$80,000 in annual income (State University Data Digest, 2012–2013).

State University is located in Lake City, a community populated by 230,000 persons. Lake City is 79% White with African Americans, Latinos/as, and Asian Americans composing 21% of residents (with nearly equal percentages of these groups). Lake City's elementary schools now are enrolled by 50% students of color, and in the last 2 decades, there has been a 500% increase in English language learners, most of whom are Spanish speakers (Lake City Schools Data, 2008).

Lake City and the county in which it is located have high incarceration rates of males of color, particularly African Americans, and low graduation rates and low achievement rates (as measured by state and national tests) for students of color (Race to the Top Equity Report, 2013). There also have been increasing tensions between Whites and persons of color in the Lake City community. One example is the shooting death by a White police officer of an unarmed and allegedly drug-impaired African American male teenager. Other disturbing incidents include an effigy of an African American superhero character hanging by his neck outside of a building at a campus house party, White fraternity brothers allegedly throwing glass containers at African American females walking near their fraternity house, and a White conservative group's appearance on campus alleging preferential treatment for non-White groups in admissions and hiring at the university. These cumulative events create a context of racial tension on campus and confusion on the part of many undergraduates. They ask, who should they believe about allegations concerning admissions and hiring? Who is responsible for seemingly race-based heinous acts—are these grounded in harmless fun and too much alcohol consumption, or are they based in distrust and dislike of groups of persons who are not White? Next, I discuss the course and its service learning component.

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<sup>1</sup> All names of person, geographic places, and institutions are pseudonyms.

## The Course

The three-credit undergraduate course Critical Aspects of Teaching, Schooling, and Education encompasses a 75-min lecture and 75-min discussion section each week of a 15-week-long semester. Most students who enroll are aspiring teachers; however, others major in nursing, psychology, or human development. All enrolled are asked to conduct 25 hr of service learning at local schools or community centers serving large numbers of low-income families of color and to reflect on these experiences with one another and in writing. Nearly all of the university students are White and come from small towns or rural or suburban areas in the Midwestern state where the university is located. Their high schools are populated by large numbers of other Whites. And their contact with persons of color or those living in poverty is limited to playing on sports teams or outside-of-school jobs. This opportunity for service often is a first experience with large numbers of people whose lives differ substantially from university students' own.

Hopefully, the service learning (combined with readings, guest lectures, and discussions) embedded in my course nurtures a social justice orientation towards teaching as well as critique of these experiences. Young (1990) highlighted the structural nature of oppression in this country, that oppression is more than the actions of individuals but that it grounds our institutions. She argued that oppression is ingrained in unchallenged talk and norms—what Bakhtin might have called authoritative discourses that guide our behavior. In the following section, I detail how I generated, collected, and analyzed narratives of students' life histories.

## Methodology

Linde (1993) wrote that people draw on particular stories to exemplify ways that earlier as well as contemporary life experiences influence their talk and behaviors. She called these events “culturally defined landmarks” in one's life that demonstrate what we know and do. Cole and Knowles (2001) elaborated, writing that life history concerns

... understanding the relationship, the complex interaction, between life and context, self, and place. It is about comprehending the complexities of a person's day-to-day decision-making and the ultimate consequences that play out so that insights into the broader collective experience can be achieved.  
(p. 11)

I retell stories that Lacey Davis and Eva Ivanov narrated to me about understanding the intersections of their service learning with earlier contexts in which they lived. I chose their stories from the corpus of interviews conducted over past semesters as these aspiring teachers exemplify how service learning builds on students' understandings of who they are, what they can do, and how they talk about themselves and others. Further, these students represent the few students of color, or those who were children of immigrants in the course. Lacey is the biracial daughter of an African American man and his White spouse who live in a large metropolitan area of the Midwestern state where the university is located. Eva is the daughter and granddaughter of a Russian immigrant family who came to the United States when Eva's father was 12 years old. They settled in the same large city where Lacey's family now lives.

## Participant Recruitment

The Institutional Review Board at State University granted me permission to interview and collect artifacts (course papers, for example) from students enrolled in the course. A graduate student unfamiliar to the students came to one of our final classes and explained the research project. She offered students an opportunity to be interviewed after I submitted grades. After the graduate student gathered permission forms, I requested interviews with all students enrolled in the course in spring of 2013 and fall of 2013. Sixty-two students agreed to and were interviewed from a total of 86 enrolled in the course during these semesters.

I particularly was interested in students of color or those who were children of immigrants, as I believed these might reveal different perspectives than their White and nonimmigrant peers. Seven students either were students of color (four) or the children of immigrants (three) from a total of 10 enrolled in these semesters. All of the students of color spoke of incidents of discrimination that either they, family members, and/or friends had experienced. Students who were children of immigrants spoke of struggles they or family members had in learning English and of economic challenges their families faced. I selected Lacey's and Eva's narratives because they represented students about whom I was curious, and they told long and elaborate stories of their personal experiences and those of their service learning.

## Data Collection

I conducted interviews in a location participants chose, often in a building where our class was held. These semistructured interviews were 90 min to 2 hr in duration and sometimes required subsequent interviews for member checks or clarifying my understandings. Interview questions focused on aspiring teachers' K-12 schooling and family experiences, friendship groups, their own and their families' perspectives on diverse persons, and their experiences in the service learning conducted in the course. Interviews were audiotaped and transcribed. Transcripts were then returned to students for additions or deletions they wished to make.

## Data Analysis

I analyzed data inductively and deductively (Graue & Walsh, 1998). Initially, I read interview transcripts on multiple occasions and examined the data for patterns within and across interviews. My analyses are inductive in that I first sought reoccurring themes in aspiring teachers' ways of talking about their life experiences, including their service learning. Next, I collapsed these after comparing transcripts across participants.

Inductive themes included Lacey and Eva imagining children as lively, energetic, and playful rather than unruly and boisterous. They saw children not as lacking in knowledge and skills, but as needing an extra boost to achieve their promise. Further, they willingly took on any task assigned to them, accomplishing it with zest. Finally, Lacey and Eva often worked longer hours than their assigned "shifts" as they recognized how children appreciated their efforts.

My analyses also are deductive in that I reread data for themes that I expected might be present in students' narratives from my personal and professional experiences concerning who succeeds and who fails at school. My personal experience includes a Latino father who spoke Spanish as his first language and learned English at school. While he graduated from high school after 5 years (in a

4-year program of study), he encountered few teachers who saw his promise as a scholar. Seven of his eight siblings dropped out of high school in discouragement. Subsequently, my father worked as a low-wage laborer in bars, grocery stores, and factories, eventually becoming a postal worker.

My professional knowledge derives from 5 years of teaching many low-income children of color in public and parochial schools located in the Midwest and South. For the past 30 years, I have educated prospective elementary and secondary teachers as well as practicing teachers (returning to earn graduate degrees) at a large Midwestern university.

Also, for many years, I have read literature that discusses the perspectives of racially and economically privileged individuals about people of color, those who are immigrants or from immigrant families, and those living in poverty. From these, I gained knowledge that I drew on in my deductive analyses. Among themes gleaned from my reading are that persons who are from privileged racial and economic groups often believe those from lower status groups are responsible for their own suffering, that the achievement of students of color and those from low-income families are their own responsibility, and that immigrants often do not wish to learn English. I drew on these themes to understand how Lacey and Eva were experiencing their service and talking about children and youth with whom they worked in relation to their own childhoods and contemporary lives.

While I gathered a lot of data from interviews and related artifacts from these participants, I understand that I could not capture all of someone's life in one or more interviews. I did try to apprehend salient events in students' lives that led Lacey and Eva to their past and present understandings and what they hoped to achieve in the future (Viernes Turner, 2007).

## Participants

### *Eva Ivanov*

Eva Ivanov was 20 years old when she enrolled in the course in the fall of 2013. She is the daughter and granddaughter of Russian immigrants who came to the United States nearly 40 years ago to begin more prosperous economic lives. At age 12, Eva's father was the only member of his family who could speak any English. The family relied on him for support in negotiating their new lives. As soon as Eva's grandfather had acquired some English, he became a traveling salesman. Years later, he opened a small shoe repair shop in the large city where they lived. Eva told me that she appreciated all of the sacrifices her family had made—immigrating to the United States; living in a tiny, cramped apartment; learning English as adults; and living on her grandfather's low-income salary. Because of her grandparents' sacrifices, her father was able to attend college and became an accountant.

Eva knew that without her grandmother's support as a summer caretaker for her and her brother, her family could not have achieved economic success. She said,

We went to "Camp Grandma" every summer when we were small children. My brother and I would go to Grandma's one-bedroom apartment and watch the television show *The Price Is Right* and she would cook for us and stuff us with food all day long. Those years were incredibly important to us as my parents left home early and came home late. We could count on Grandma. She made everything possible. We did not go outside much to play as it was not the safest neighborhood, but we were fed, my Grandma was kind, and we had each other for company.

It was not an ideal play space, but Eva fondly remembered the summers of going to “Camp Grandma.” Her story of attending “camp” in her grandmother’s apartment is one example of what Linde (1993) refers to as a landmark event in her life. Eva recounts this story as a way to recall how everyone in a family can contribute to its success and well-being. Now recognizing that her individual contributions are important for funding her education, Eva works over 20 hr a week in a local toy store, supplementing her financial aid and family contributions to her education.

For the service learning portion of the course, Eva volunteered at a community center located in a low-income neighborhood accessible by bus from campus. There, she participated as a “homework helper” and serving snacks to children who came after school. Eva said that she was surprised to see how hungry they were for the snacks she prepared, which sometimes turned out to be their dinner as well. She frequently sent children home with extra fruit and cookies to eat in the evening.

In an end of semester essay, she denounced policymakers who fail to provide adequate schools for students like those she supported at the community center:

Policymakers have an idea of what an ideal student looks like, but by having this idea, they perpetuate their own ideology. By rewarding schools with better student performance with money, which inherently have better materials and qualified teachers, policymakers are creating a cycle of performance and subsequent reward. This cycle shuts out schools that don’t have the money and qualified teachers to begin with. As we saw in the Pipeline to Prison articles (Christienson, 2011/2012; Fuentes, 2011/2012) and readings for our discussion of affirmative action, these schools can’t catch up enough to gain the rewards for progress and hold their institutions at the caliber of the wealthier schools.

When providing homework help for the children, she saw that many struggled with the work they were completing. Often, this was composed of worksheets that Eva commented were “boring and not at all engaging.”

This was not the first time Eva had worked with children. In the summer of 2013, she traveled to Zanzibar (under the auspices of a private organization) to teach English to Swahili-speaking children and adults. She paid for the 22-day trip from money earned at the toy store. Eva said, “That trip reminded me to be conscious of everything I was doing.” She was responsible for creating materials, curriculum, and teaching two shifts per day of students. Since returning from Zanzibar, she created more materials to supplement the small amount the center had in its library. She talked delightedly about how the children enjoyed learning through play and how she had brought these understandings to the neighborhood center where she conducted her service.

Eva also helped to support herself by babysitting, which she had done since she was 12 years old. While enrolled in my course, she took a weekly babysitting job at an apartment complex near campus. There she worked for a couple who both worked nights in a local community college. Eva cared for their two young daughters when they rushed off from their day jobs to other low-income work. She was shocked by their lack of furniture and bedding and the few possessions that the family owned. She said she might have expected this in another country, but not in the United States, and particularly not near the State campus. She contrasted this experience with her babysitting in Callis, a suburb of a large city where her family now lived, “In Callis, Wisconsin,

babysitting is completely different! Children all have their own bed and often their own bedroom. I never had an experience there where children snuggle with their parents on the floor because they don't all have a bed."

She continued, mentioning Anyon's (1981) article on different schools and how some aimed curriculum for different social classes of children. She commented that the two children referenced in her babysitting story would be "groomed for the world" by how their parents worked to provide for them. She said,

This class shook me out of a haze that sought to cover the inequities of the educational system and forced me to believe that my education was the standard for all children in the U.S. and beyond. I believe I have just begun a transition into consciousness.

Social class differences between Eva and the children and families with whom she worked may explain some of her misunderstandings about poverty and the students who drew on the neighborhood center for support or the living conditions of the family for whom she babysat in Lake City. She said she especially valued the feelings of community she gained from working at the community center.

I think that as a future teacher I have definitely taken away the importance of involvement, both for the teacher and for the student. This center has taught me the importance of connecting with each student, and making him feel included as an individual, not just as part of a group. ... The children and staff at the neighborhood center have taught me so much, and I hope they continue to teach me as I work there next semester.

With these words, Eva shows how teachers need to connect with each child and to help them feel included in a community of which they are a part.

### ***Lacey Davis***

Lacey Davis is a biracial student who enrolled in the course in the spring of 2013. Nineteen when she enrolled, she is the daughter of an African American father, a director of youth programming at a local YMCA, and a White mother, a middle school teacher. She is the oldest of three children, and the one with the fairest skin color. Lacey narrated several stories of when she and her father were in various locations in their community and persons they encountered were suspicious that she was not his daughter. This always was upsetting for both of them, and generated a great deal of conversation around the family dinner table about racism and skin privilege.

She recounted that once her father came to pick her up from afterschool daycare when she was first grader, and the staff did not recognize him. Initially, they would not allow him to take her home. The staff could not imagine how this dark-skinned African American man was the father of whom they saw as a White child. Another staff member intervened, hearing Mr. Davis arguing with the teacher in charge, and witnessing Lacey's tears. She said, "That *is* [italics indicate Lacey's emphasis] Lacey's father. They live down the block from me." Only then was he allowed to take her home. Relieved, Lacey remains angry many years later. She said, "My own father could not bring me home—this was outrageous!"

On another occasion, when Lacey was a teenager, she and her father were buying groceries. Among the products in their cart was a carton of beer. The store clerk refused to sell him the alcohol. When

Mr. Davis complained to the store manager, the clerk said that she believed he was buying it to give to Lacey, whom she interpreted as his “girlfriend.” As Lacey told me,

My dad was furious! He was more than old enough to buy beer! For me? My dad would never have given me beer. I think it was about him being Black and me being seen as White. That clerk was racist! Do you want more examples like this? I have loads of them!

Both of these incidents represent what Linde (1993) refers to as landmark events in Lacey’s life. They made an indelible impression on her as a girl and young woman.

Lacey recognized the privileges that her fair skin offered. She lived with White roommates on campus and moved easily between African American and White friendship groups as a child and young adult. She regularly reminded her White friends about her racial identity as an African American. She was frustrated with her friends, as they often ignored her African American heritage and talked to her about “other” people as though she, too, was White. “My brother and sisters do not get this same treatment; I look like my mom and they look more like my dad. We have a lot of conversations about this at home!”

Like Eva, she chose to conduct her service learning at a community center in a low-income neighborhood where many persons of color lived. Lacey tutored children in mathematics and said, “I need to be the best teacher of math I can be. I want the children to enjoy math like me, to be good at it in school, and be able to use it for their future careers.” Lacey saw her job as helping them achieve success in careers in engineering, business, or healthcare. While the course required her to conduct 25 hr of service learning, Lacey did much more than that, seeing her service as a pivotal point of assistance for students with few other resources.

What Lacey did recognize was the role race plays in shaping one’s experiences. She saw how her fair skin had awarded her many entitlements, contrasted with those her siblings and father were granted. However, naively, she also believed that becoming skilled at a subject such as mathematics might alleviate some of the prejudice that the children whom she tutored experienced every day. Overlooking factors that ground prejudice, she innocently saw that mathematics achievement might mitigate many challenges that youth of color faced at school. Further, she looked past barriers to college enrollment and tuition payments for so many students with whom she worked.

In many ways, Lacey was viewing their promise as students, as well the biases that blocked these, from a middle class economic perspective. Her parents had achieved college graduation and incomes sufficient to send all of their children on to some form of higher education. She was very sincere in how she thought about her responsibilities to the youth with whom she worked. Lacey believed if she worked very hard to be the best teacher she could be, and provided needed resources for children’s achievement, then they, too, might enjoy advantages similar to her own.

## **Implications and Conclusion**

The first question of my inquiry was to investigate the understandings that aspiring teachers brought to and gained from their service learning with children from low-income families of color. Lacey and Eva both were young, middle-class residents of a Midwestern state when enrolled in my course. Both had two parents who lovingly cared for them. While experiencing challenges in their personal lives due to race or early poverty, both threw themselves into committed service in the community centers where they worked. Lacey saw herself as supporting students’ mathematics

learning and hoped that her efforts would serve students well. Eva greatly enjoyed the fun she and students had together, working to create a safe and enjoyable afterschool environment for them, just as her grandmother had done for her and her brother.

Second, I ask how Bakhtinian ideas concerning authoritative and internally persuasive discourses help us understand aspiring teachers' notions about students and themselves. Both of these aspiring teachers strengthened personal beliefs brought to campus with greater internally persuasive discourses they developed from reading, listening to guest speakers, and viewing videos, for example, regarding the history of racism on college campuses in the United States. As Lacey said, "One thing that had not been completely clear to me was what my family has experienced has a very long history in this country. What happened at the University of Mississippi [referring to incidents depicted in the video series *Eyes on the Prize*; Hampton & Bagwell, 1987] is sort of like what happens to my dad all the time. It is not nearly as violent as what happened in the 1960s, but people treat him all the time with suspicion and sometimes, White people move away when he is coming towards them on the sidewalk. Lots of things have not changed for African American people."

Ironically, while Lacey understood racial biases encountered by her father and her students, she did not see how bias simply could not be eliminated by her students becoming more knowledgeable about mathematics or other subjects. She assumed if she taught them well, it would provide pathways to success for children of color, helping them gain academic and economic success. Like Lacey, Eva's understandings regarding persons who differ from herself demonstrate her naiveté about differences in social class. In many ways, they both echo authoritative discourses articulated by many economically privileged persons. Eva did not see that for everyone, hard work and sacrifice does not always translate into economic success as it did for her family. Both the children at her community center and at her babysitting job had hardworking parents, but their low-income wages failed to provide adequate resources for their families.

And, third, I inquire into what is present as well as absent from these aspiring teachers' talk about their service. Also, I consider how we might push them to extend what they know and can do in communities of which they may not be a part, including racial, economic, and/or language background groups. While Lacey and Eva were hardworking and earnest about their service, they also might have thought more deeply about the work they performed and what benefits children with whom they work accrued. As their teacher, I accept responsibility for not pushing them to think more deeply about their service. What could I have done differently? Instead of thinking that one or two conversations regarding their service and writing about it might extend aspiring teachers' discursive practices, many more such discussions clearly were needed. Only when university students become very comfortable in talking with one another, will they be open enough to question their own and others' practices. Rather than move on each week to guest speakers talking about poverty, race, and ethnicity or showing video clips around historical and present racism in the United States, such sessions should have been more skillfully interwoven with conversations about how these affect all persons conducting service learning. Only in hindsight can I see how even committed and skillful tutors such as Lacey and Eva required more adept questioning of ways they talked about their service. All too often, aspiring teachers in the class have so few interactions with persons unlike themselves in race, social class, and other challenges that Lacey and Eva stood out from their peers. Unlike many other university students, they had no hesitation about stepping into unfamiliar locations and becoming enthusiastic participants. Unlike many of their peers, neither made veiled or direct disparaging remarks about children or their families. Both worked enthusiastically to support children in any way possible. Their work does warrant critique, but also deserves praise. What I seek from those conducting service learning is what Lacey and Eva found—

enjoyment in the work they were doing, and belief that children could achieve in school with some help from families, community members, and themselves as well. The only other dimension of persons' service I hope university students pursue, and this is significant, is self-critique concerning how they talk about, and serve purported "others." Self-critique is a goal for which all who conduct service in communities both like and unlike our own might aim.

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