A SCHOOL-WIDE COMPONENT TO ADDRESS BARRIERS TO LEARNING

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In the first article, we focused on classroom reforms. Here, we move to a school-wide perspective to explore the mulitfaceted interventions schools must evolve if they are to make significant headway in addressing barriers to learning. Specifically, we review how schools currently address barriers to learning, discuss deficiencies in current approaches, and outline work designed to provide a new conceptual and programmatic framework for policy and practice, emphasizing school-wide approaches and weaving together school-community resources.

As reforms reshape and restructure school environments, a critical matter is defining what the entire school must do to enable all students to learn and all teachers to teach effectively. This means ensuring school reforms are not only designed for those students who are motivationally ready and able to profit from "high standards" curriculum and instruction, but they can also address the needs of those encountering external and internal barriers that interfere with their benefitting from improved instruction (see Figure 1). Such barriers include all those factors that make it difficult for teachers to teach effectively. School-wide approaches to address barriers are especially important where large numbers of students are affected and at any

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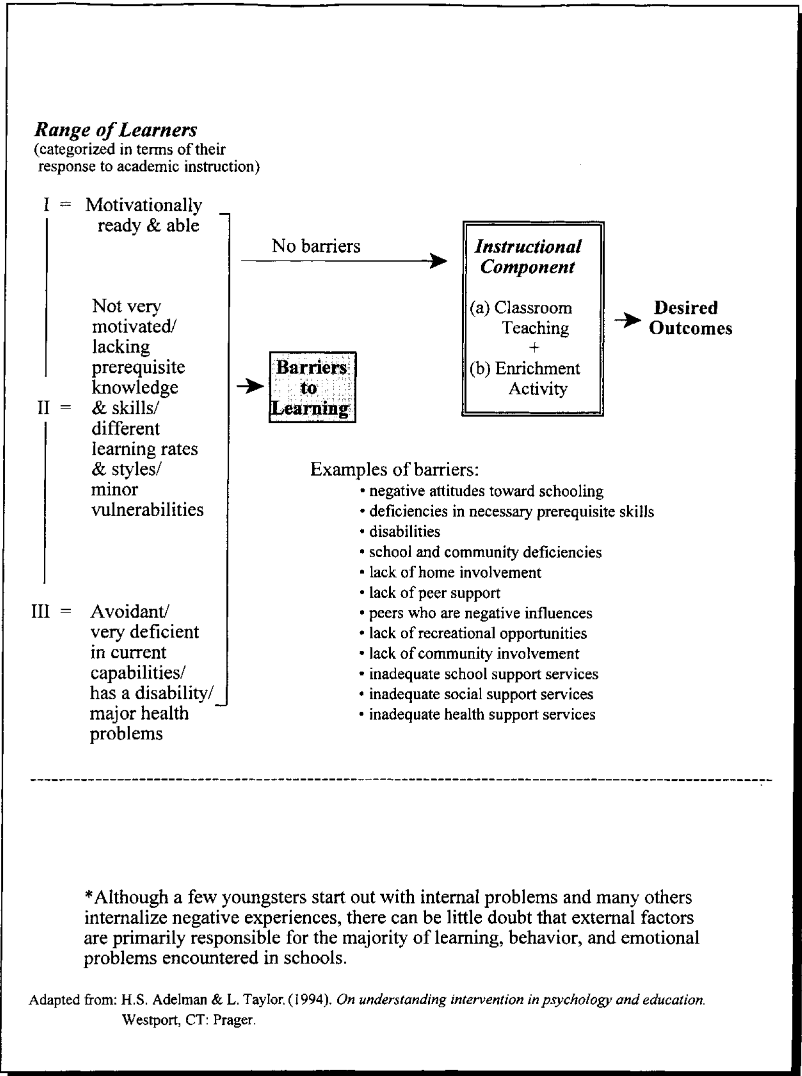

FIGURE 1 Barriers to learning.*

school that is not yet paying adequate attention to considerations related to equity and diversity.

Although some youngsters have disabilities, it is important to remember how few start out with internal problems that interfere with learning to read and write. Even those who do have these problems usually have assets/strengths/protective factors that can

counter deficits and contribute to success. The majority of learning, behavior, and emotional problems seen in schools stem from situations where external barriers are not addressed and learner differences that require some degree of personalization by instructional systems are not accounted for. The problems are exacerbated as youngsters internalize the frustrations of confronting barriers to development and learning and the debilitating effects of performing poorly at school (Adelman & Taylor, 1993; Allensworth, Wyche, Lawson, & Nicholson, 1997; Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development's Task Force on Education of Young Adolescents, 1989; Comer, 1988; Dryfoos, 1990, 1998; Sarason, 1996; Schorr, 1997).

The litany of barriers is all too familiar to anyone who lives or works in communities where families struggle with low income. In such neighborhoods, school and community resources often are insufficient for providing the type of basic opportunities (never mind enrichment activities) found in higher income communities. Furthermore, the resources are inadequate for dealing with such threats to well-being and learning as gangs, violence, and drugs. In many of these settings, inadequate attention to language and cultural considerations and to high rates of student mobility creates additional barriers not only to student learning, but to efforts to involve families in youngsters' schooling as well.

How many are affected? Estimates vary. With specific respect to mental health concerns, between 12% and 22% of all children are described as suffering from a diagnosable mental, emotional, or behavioral disorder, with relatively few receiving mental health services (Costello, 1989; Hoagwood, 1995). If one adds the many others experiencing significant psychosocial problems, the numbers grow dramatically. Harold Hodgkinson (1989, p. 24), director of the Center for Demographic Policy, estimates that 40% of young people are in "very bad educational shape" and "at risk of failing to fulfill their physical and mental promise." Many live in inner cities or impoverished rural areas or are recently-arrived immigrants. The problems they bring to the school setting often stem from restricted opportunities associated with poverty, difficult and diverse family circumstances, lack of English language skills, violent neighborhoods, and inadequate health care (Dryfoos, 1990, 1998; Knitzer, Steinberg, & Fleisch, 1990; Schorr, 1997). The reality for many large urban and poor rural schools is that over 50% of their students manifest learning, behavior, and emotional problems.

Clearly, with so many students encountering barriers to learning, schools need to address such concerns in a comprehensive manner. This article reviews what schools currently tend to do, discusses the

deficiencies in current school-wide approaches, and describes work designed to provide a new conceptual and programmatic framework for policy and practice.

WHAT SCHOOLS TRY TO DO TO ADDRESS BARRIERS TO LEARNING

Looked at as a whole, one finds in many school districts an extensive range of preventive and corrective activity oriented to students' needs and problems. Some programs are provided throughout a school district, others are carried out at or linked to targeted schools. Some are owned and operated by schools; some are owned by community agencies. The interventions may be offered to all students in a school, to those in specific grades, to those identified as at risk, and/or to those in need of compensatory education. The activities may be implemented in regular or special education classrooms and may be geared to an entire class, groups, or individuals, or they may be designed as "pull out" programs for designated students. They encompass ecological, curricular and clinically-oriented activities designed to reduce substance abuse, violence, teen pregnancy, school dropouts, delinquency, and so forth (e.g., Adelman & Taylor, 1993; Albee & Gullotta, 1997; Borders & Drury, 1992; Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1988; Dryfoos, 1990, 1994, 1998; Durlak, 1995; Duttweiler, 1995; Goleman, 1995; Henggeler, 1995; Hoagwood & Erwin, 1997; Karoly, Greenwood, Everingham, et al., 1998; Kazdin, 1993; Larson, 1994; Schorr, 1988, 1997; Slavin, Karweit, & Wasik, 1994; Thomas & Grimes, 1995).

Few schools, however, come close to having enough resources to respond when confronted with a large number of students who are experiencing a wide range of psychosocial barriers that interfere with their learning and performance. Most schools offer only bare essentials. Too many schools can't even meet basic needs. Primary prevention often is only a dream. Education support activity is marginalized at most schools, and thus the positive impact such activity could have for the entire school is sharply curtailed.

While schools can use a wide range of persons to help students, most school-owned and operated services are offered as part of what are called *pupil personnel services*. Federal and state mandates tend to determine how many pupil services professionals are employed, and states regulate compliance with mandates. Governance of daily practice is usually centralized at the school district level. In large districts, counselors, psychologists, social workers, and other specialists

may be organized into separate units. Such units straddle regular, special, and compensatory education. Analyses of the situation find that the result is programs and services that are planned, implemented, and evaluated in a fragmented and piecemeal manner. This contributes to costly redundancy, weak approaches to intervention, and very limited effectiveness (Adelman, 1996b; Adelman & Taylor, 1997a, 1999).

School-community Collaborations

In recent years, there has been increasing interest in school-community collaborations as one way to provide more support for schools, students and families. This interest is bolstered by the renewed policy concern about countering widespread fragmentation of community health and social services and by the various initiatives for school reform, youth development, and community development. In response to growing interest and concern, various forms of school-community collaborations are being tested, including statewide initiatives in California, Florida, Kentucky, Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio, and Oregon, among others. This movement has fostered such concepts as school linked services, coordinated services, wrap-around services, one-step shopping, full service schools, and community schools.

The contemporary literature on school-community collaborations is heavy on advocacy and prescription and light on data. Each day brings more reports from projects such as New Jersey's School-Based Youth Services Program, the Healthy Start Initiative in California, the Children's Aid Society Community Schools and the Beacons Schools in New York, Communities-in-Schools, Caring Communities in Missouri, and the Family Resource and Youth Services Centers in Kentucky (Knapp, 1995; Melaville & Blank, 1998; SRI, 1996; White & Whelage, 1995). Not surprisingly, the reports primarily indicate how hard it is to establish collaborations. Still, a reasonable inference from available data is that school-community collaborations can be successful and cost effective over the long-run. By placing staff at schools, community agencies make access easier for students and families, especially those who usually are underserved and hard to reach. Such efforts not only provide services, they seem to encourage schools to open their doors in ways that enhance recreational, enrichment, and remedial opportunities and greater family involvement. Analyses of these programs suggest better outcomes are associated with empowering children and families, as well as with having the capability to address diverse constituencies and contexts. Families

using school-based centers are described as becoming interested in contributing to school and community by providing social support networks for new students and families, teaching each other coping skills, participating in school governance, and helping create a psychological sense of community. It is evident that school-community collaborations have great potential for enhancing school and community environments and outcomes (Center for Mental Health in Schools, 1996, 1997; Day & Roberts, 1991; Dryfoos, 1994, 1998; Knapp, 1995; Lawson & Briar-Lawson, 1997; Melaville & Blank, 1998; Schorr, 1997; U.S. Department of Education, 1995; U.S. General Accounting Office, 1993).

MARGINALIZATION AND FRAGMENTATION ARE STILL THE NORM

Despite the emphasis on enhancing collaboration, the problem remains that the majority of programs, services, and special projects still are viewed as supplementary (often referred to as support or auxiliary services) and continue to operate on an ad hoc basis. Staff tend to function in relative isolation of each other and other stakeholders, with a great deal of the work oriented to discrete problems and with an overreliance on specialized services for individuals and small groups. At most schools, community involvement is still a marginal concern, and the trend toward fragmentation is compounded by most school-linked services' initiatives. This happens because such initiatives focus primarily on coordinating community services and linking them to schools, rather than integrating such services with the ongoing efforts of school staff. Drug prevention programs provided by law enforcement are an example.

Fragmentation also stems from the failure of educational reform to restructure the work of school professionals who carry out psychosocial and health programs, as well as the dearth of policy establishing effective mechanisms for coordination and integration. In some schools, the deficiencies of current policies give rise to such aberrant practices as assigning a student identified as at risk for grade retention, dropout, and substance abuse to three counseling programs operating independently of each other. Such fragmentation not only is costly, it works against cohesiveness and maximizing results.

Also mediating against developing school-wide approaches that address barriers to student learning is the marginalized, fragmented, and flawed way in which this concern is handled in providing on-the-job education. School policy makers allocate few resources directly to considerations related to addressing barriers to learning and enhanc-

ing healthy development. Thus, almost none of a teacher's inservice training focuses on improving classroom and school-wide approaches for dealing effectively with mild-to-moderate behavior, learning, and emotional problems. Another concern is that paraprofessionals, aides, and volunteers working in classrooms or with special projects and services receive little or no formal training/supervision before or after they are assigned duties. Little or no attention is paid to cross-disciplinary training (Adelman, 1996b, 1996a; Adelman & Taylor, 1997a; Adler & Gardner, 1994).

NEEDED: COMPREHENSIVE, MULTIFACETED APPROACHES FOR ADDRESSING BARRIERS TO LEARNING

Ultimately, as indicated in the first article of this series, addressing barriers to learning and enhancing healthy development must be viewed from a societal perspective and requires fundamental systemic reforms. From this viewpoint, the aim becomes that of developing a comprehensive continuum of community and school programs for local catchment areas. The framework for such a continuum emerges from analyses of social, economic, political, and cultural factors associated with the problems of youth and from reviews of promising practices (including peer and self-help strategies). It encompasses a holistic and developmental emphasis. Such an approach requires a significant range of multifaceted programs focused on individuals, families, and environments. Implied is the importance of using the least restrictive and nonintrusive forms of intervention required to address problems and accommodate diversity. With respect to concerns about integration activity, the continuum of community and school interventions underscores that interprogram connections are essential on a daily basis and over time. That is, the continuum must include systems *of prevention*, systems *of early intervention* (to address problems as soon after onset as feasible) and systems of care for those with chronic and severe problems. Each of these systems must be connected seamlessly (Adelman, 1999).

Currently, most reforms are not generating the type of multifaceted, integrated approach necessary to address the many overlapping barriers, including those factors that make schools and communities unsafe and lead to substance abuse, teen pregnancy, dropouts, and so forth. Developing such a comprehensive, integrated approach requires more than outreach to link with community resources (and certainly more than adopting a school-linked services model), more than coordination of school-owned services, more than

How does current policy, practice, and research address barriers to student learning?

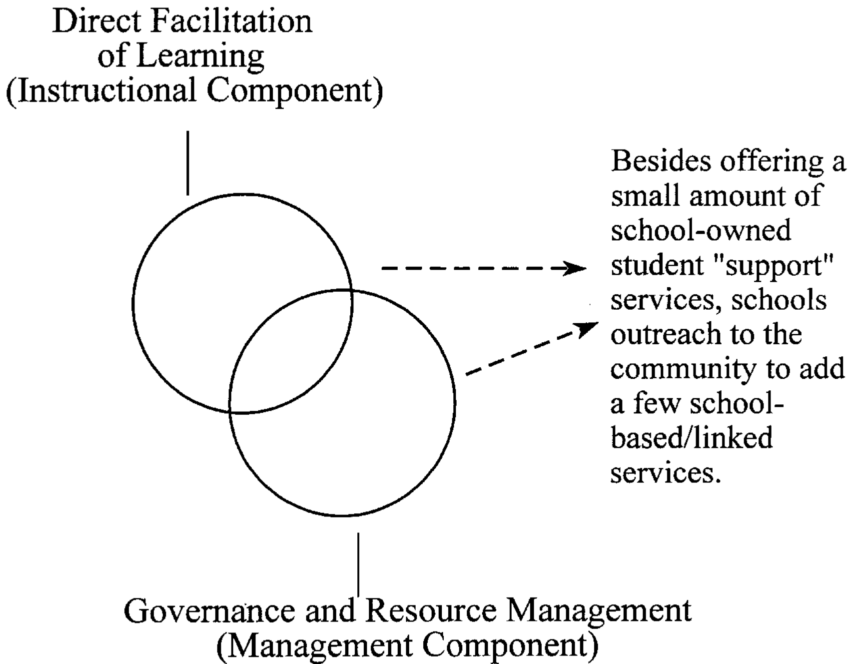

FIGURE 2 A two-component model for reform and restructuring.

coordination of school and community services and more than Family Resource Centers and Full Service Schools.

Moving from a Two- to a Three-Component Reform Framework: Adding an Enabling Component

Viewing school/community environments through the lens of addressing barriers to development, learning, and teaching suggests the need for a basic policy shift. Policy is needed to elevate efforts to address barriers (including social, emotional, and physical health problems) to the level of one of three fundamental and essential facets of education reform and school and community restructuring. With respect to schools, this perspective suggests that to enable teachers to teach effectively, there must not only be effective instruction and well-

managed schools, but that barriers must be handled in a comprehensive, integrated way.

The current situation is one where, despite awareness of the many barriers, school and community reformers continue to concentrate mainly on improving efforts to directly facilitate learning and development (e.g., instruction) and system management (see Figure 2). In effect, current policy pursues school and community reforms using a two- rather than a three-component model. This ignores the need to fundamentally restructure school and community support programs and services and marginalizes efforts to design the type of environments that are essential to the success of school reforms (e.g., environments that are designed to effectively address barriers to teaching and learning).

To address gaps in current reform and restructuring initiatives, a basic policy shift must occur. To this end, we have introduced the concept of an "Enabling Component" as a policy-oriented notion around which to unify efforts to address barriers to development, learning, and teaching (Adelman, 1996a, 1996b; Adelman & Taylor, 1994, 1997a). The concept is intended to underscore that (a) current reforms are based on an inadequate two-component model for restructuring school and community resources, and (b) movement to a three-component model is necessary if all young people are to benefit appropriately from their formal schooling.

A three component model calls for elevating efforts to address barriers to development, learning, and teaching to the level of one of three fundamental and essential facets of education reform and school and community agency restructuring (see Figure 3). That is, to enable teachers to teach effectively, we suggest there must not only be effective instruction and well-managed schools, but that barriers must be handled in a comprehensive way. All three components are seen as essential, complementary, and overlapping.

By calling for reforms that fully integrate a focus on addressing barriers, the concept of an enabling component provides a unifying concept for responding to a wide range of psychosocial factors interfering with young people's learning and performance, encompassing the type of models described as full-service schools and going beyond them (Adelman, 1996a; Adelman & Taylor, 1997a). Adoption of such an inclusive unifying concept is seen as pivotal in convincing policy makers to move to a position that recognizes the essential nature of activity to enable learning. More specifically, the enabling component concept calls on reformers to expand the current emphasis on improving instruction and school management to include a comprehensive component for addressing barriers to learning.

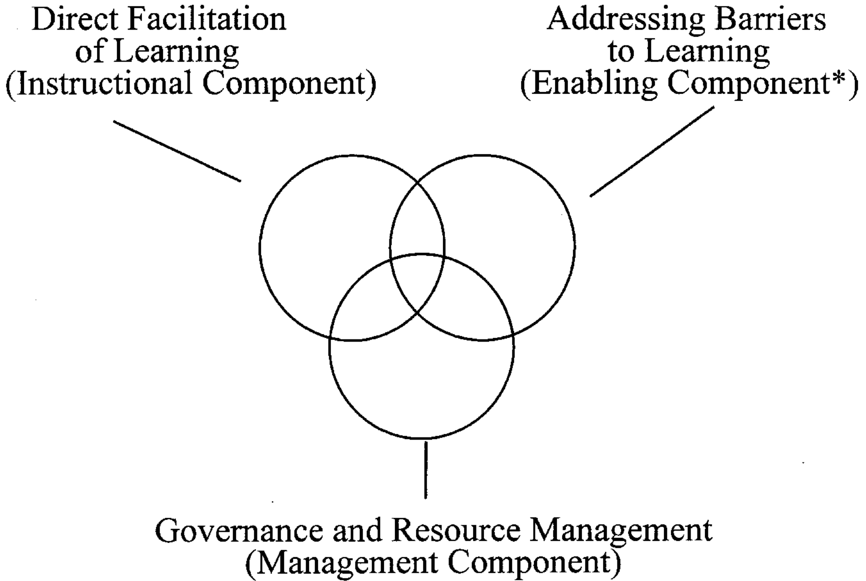

FIGURE 3 A three-component model for reform and restructuring.

Emergence of a cohesive enabling component requires policy reform and operational restructuring that allow for weaving together what is available at a school, expanding this through integrating school, community, and home resources, and enhancing access to community resources by linking as many as feasible to programs at the school. This involves extensive restructuring of school-owned enabling activity, such as pupil services and special and compensatory education programs. In the process, mechanisms must be developed to coordinate and eventually integrate school-owned enabling activity and school and community-owned resources. Restructuring also must ensure that the enabling component is well

integrated with the other two components (i.e., the developmental/ instructional and management components).

Although some calls for comprehensive, integrated approaches are attracting attention, they do not fully convey the point that interventions addressing barriers to development, learning, and teaching are essential to the success of school reform. The next step in moving toward a comprehensive approach is for school and community reformers to expand their vision beyond refining processes to facilitate instruction/development and improve system management. To this end, the following message must be brought home to policy makers at all levels: current reforms cannot produce desired outcomes as long as the third primary and essential set of functions related to enabling development, learning, and teaching is so marginalized.

Evidence of the value of rallying around a broad unifying concept, such as an enabling component, is seen in the fact that one of the New American Schools design teams adopted the concept (Urban Learning Center Model, 1995). Moreover, in 1995, the state legislature in California considered including the concept as part of a major urban education bill (AB 784). In 1997, California's Department of Education included a version of the concept (calling it Learning Support) in their school program quality review guidelines (California Department of Education, 1996, 1997).

A Model for an Enabling Component at a School Site

Operationalizing an enabling component requires first formulating a delimited framework of basic program areas and then creating an infrastructure to restructure and enhance existing resources. Based on an extensive analysis of activity used to address barriers to learning, we cluster enabling activity into six interrelated areas (see Figure 4).

A brief description of the six areas is provided below. For detailed discussion of how the enabling component is developed at school sites, see Adelman (1996b) and the Urban Learning Center Model (1995).[1]

1. Classroom focused enabling. This area provides a fundamental example not only of how the enabling component overlaps the

[1] A set of surveys covering the six areas is available from the Center for Mental Health in Schools at UCLA. These surveys can be used as part of a school's self-study or quality review processes to map what a school has and what it needs to address regarding barriers to learning in a multifaceted and comprehensive manner.

Range of Learners
(categorized in terms of their response to academic instruction)

I = Motivationally ready & able

II = Not very motivated/ lacking prerequisite knowledge & skills/ different learning rates & styles/ minor vulnerabilities

III = Avoidant/ very deficient in current capabilities/ has a disability/ major health problems

No Barriers

Barriers to Learning

Instructional Component

(a) Classroom Teaching
+
(b) Enrichment Activity

Desired Outcomes

Enabling Component

The Enabling Component:
A Comprehensive, Multifaceted Approach for Addressing Barriers to Learning

Such an approach weaves six clusters of enabling activity into the fabric of the school to address barriers to learning and promote healthy development for *all* students.

Adapted from:
H.S. Adelman & L.Taylor, (1994). *On understanding intervention in psychology and education.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

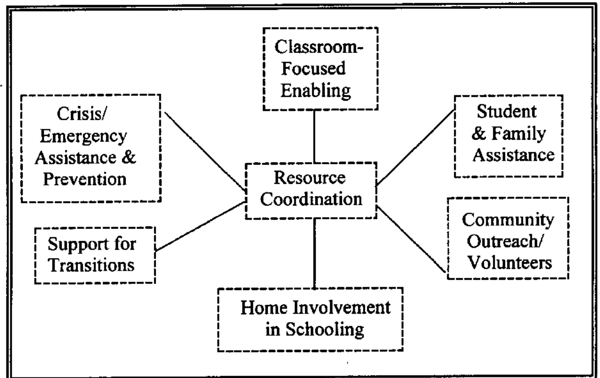

FIGURE 4 A model for an enabling component at a school site.

instructional component, but also how it adds value to instructional reform. When a teacher has difficulty working with a youngster, the first step is to address the problem within the regular classroom and involve the home to a greater extent. Through pro-

grammatic activity, classroom-based efforts that enable learning are enhanced. This is accomplished by increasing teachers' effectiveness so they can account for a wider range of individual differences, foster a caring context for learning, and prevent and handle a wider range of problems when they arise. Such a focus is seen as essential to increasing the effectiveness of regular classroom instruction, supporting inclusionary policies, and reducing the need for specialized services.

Work in this area requires programs and systems designed to personalize professional development of teachers and support staff, develop the capabilities of paraeducators and other paid assistants and volunteers, provide temporary out of class assistance for students, and enhance resources. For example, personalized help is provided to increase a teacher's array of strategies for accommodating, as well as teaching students to compensate for, differences, vulnerabilities, and disabilities. Teachers learn to target the activity of paid assistants, peer tutors, and volunteers to enhance social and academic support. The classroom curriculum already should encompass a focus on fostering socio-emotional and physical development; such a focus is seen as an essential element in preventing learning, behavior, emotional, and health problems. As appropriate, support in the classroom is also provided by resource and itinerant teachers and counselors. This involves restructuring and redesigning the roles, functions, and staff development of resource and itinerant teachers, counselors, and other pupil service personnel so they are able to work closely with teachers and students in the classroom and on regular activities. All this provides the teacher with the knowledge and skills to develop a classroom infrastructure that transforms a big classroom into a set of smaller ones.

2. Student and family assistance. Student and family assistance should be reserved for the relatively few problems that cannot be handled without adding special interventions. In effect, this one area encompasses most of the services and related systems that are the focus of integrated service models.

   The emphasis is on providing special services in a personalized way to assist with a broad range of needs. To begin with, social, physical, and mental health assistance available in the school and community are used. As community outreach brings in other resources, these are linked to existing activities in an integrated manner. Additional attention is paid to enhancing systems for triage, case and resource management, direct services for immediate needs, and referral for special services and special education

resources and placements as appropriate. Ongoing efforts are made to expand and enhance resources. A valuable context for providing such services is a center facility (e.g., Family/Community/Health/Parent Resource Center).

A programmatic approach in this area requires systems and activities designed to support classroom focused enabling, with emphasis on reducing teachers' need to seek special programs and services, provide all stakeholders with information clarifying available assistance and how to access help, facilitate requests for assistance and evaluate such requests (including strategies designed to reduce the need for special intervention), handle referrals, provide direct service, implement effective case and resource management, and interface with community outreach to assimilate additional resources into current service delivery. As major outcomes, the intent is to ensure that special assistance is provided when necessary and appropriate and that such assistance is effective.

3. Crisis assistance and prevention. Schools must respond to, minimize the impact of, and prevent crises. This requires systems and programs for (a) emergency/crisis response at a site, throughout a school complex, and community-wide, including a focus on ensuring follow-up care, and (b) prevention at school and in the community to address school safety and violence reduction, suicide prevention, child abuse prevention, and so forth.

   Desired outcomes of crisis assistance include ensuring provision of immediate emergency and follow-up care so students are able to resume learning without undue delay. Prevention activity outcomes are reflected in indices showing there is a safe and productive environment and that students and their families have the type of attitudes and capacities needed to deal with violence and other threats to safety.

   A key mechanism in this area is often the development of a crisis team. Such a team is trained in emergency response procedures, physical and psychological first-aid, ensuring aftermath needs are addressed, and so forth. The team also can take the lead in planning ways to prevent certain crises by facilitating the development of programs for conflict mediation and enhancing human relations and a caring school culture.

4. Support for transitions. Students and their families are regularly confronted with a variety of transitions (e.g., changing schools, changing grades, and encountering a range of other daily hassles and major life demands). Many of these can interfere with productive school involvement.

A comprehensive focus on transitions requires systems and programs designed to (a) establish school-wide and classroom specific activities for welcoming new arrivals (students, their families, staff) and rendering ongoing social support, (b) provide counseling and articulation strategies to support grade-to-grade and school-to-school transitions, moving to and from special education, going to college, and moving to post school living and work, and (c) organize before- and after-school and intersession activities to enrich learning and provide recreation in a safe environment. Anticipated outcomes are reduced alienation, enhanced positive attitudes toward school and learning, and increased involvement in school and learning activities. Outcomes related to specific programs in this area can include reduced tardiness (as the result of participation in before-school programs) and reduced vandalism, violence, and crime at school and in the neighborhood (as the result of involvement in after-school programs and increased experiencing of school as a caring place). There also are suggestions that a caring school climate can play a significant role in reducing student transiency. Articulation problems can be expected to reduce school avoidance and dropouts, as well as enhance the number who make successful transitions to higher education and post school living and work.

5. Home involvement in schooling. This area expands concern for parent involvement to encompass anyone in the home who plays a key role in influencing the student's formal education. In some cases, parenting has been assumed by grandparents, aunts, or older siblings. In many cases, older brothers and sisters are the most significant influences on a youngster's life choices. Thus, schools and communities must go beyond focusing on parents in their efforts to enhance home involvement.

   This area includes systems and programs to (a) address the specific learning and support needs of adults in the home, such as offering them ESL, literacy, vocational, and citizenship classes, enrichment and recreational opportunities, and mutual support groups, (b) help anyone in the home learn how to meet basic obligations to a student, such as providing instruction for parenting and helping with schoolwork, (c) improve communication that is essential to the student and family, (d) enhance the home-school connection and sense of community, (e) foster participation in making decisions essential to a student's well-being, (f) facilitate home support of a student's basic learning and development, (g) mobilize those at home to problem-solve related to student needs, and (h) elicit help (support, collaborations, and partnerships) from

those at home with respect to meeting classroom, school, and community needs. The context for some of this activity may be a parent center (which may be part of a Family Service Center facility if one has been established at the site). Outcomes include indices of parent learning, student progress, and community enhancement specifically related to home involvement.

6. Community outreach for involvement and support (including a focus on volunteers). Most schools do their job better when they are an integral and positive part of the community. Unfortunately, schools and classrooms often are seen as separate from the community in which they reside. This contributes to a lack of connection between school staff, parents, students, and other community residents and resources. For schools to be seen as an integral part of the community, steps must be taken to create and maintain collaborative partnerships. Potential benefits include enhanced community participation, student progress, and community development.

   Outreach to the community can build linkages and collaborations, develop greater involvement in schooling, and enhance support for efforts to enable learning. Outreach is made to public and private agencies, organizations, universities, colleges, and facilities; businesses and professional organizations and groups; and volunteer service programs, organizations, and clubs. Activity includes systems and programs designed to:

   - recruit community involvement and support (e.g., linkages and integration with community health and social services; cadres of volunteers, mentors, and individuals with special expertise and resources; local businesses to adopt-a-school and provide resources, awards, incentives, and jobs; formal partnership arrangements);
   - train, screen, and maintain volunteers (e.g., parents, college students, senior citizens, peer-cross-age tutors and counselors, and professionals-in-training to provide direct help for staff and students—especially targeted students);
   - outreach to hard to involve students and families (those who don't come to school regularly—including truants and dropouts); and
   - enhance community-school connections and sense of community (e.g., orientations, open houses, performances and cultural and sports events, festivals and celebrations, workshops and fairs).

   A good place to start is with community volunteers. Greater

volunteerism on the part of parents, peers, and others from the community can break down barriers and increase home and community involvement in schools and schooling. Thus, a major emphasis in joining with the community is the establishment of a program that effectively recruits, screens, trains, and nurtures volunteers. Another key facet is the opening up of school sites as places where parents, families, and other community residents can engage in learning, recreation, enrichment, and find services they need.

Learning is neither limited to what is formally taught nor to time spent in classrooms. It occurs whenever and wherever the learner interacts with the surrounding environment. All facets of the community (not just the school) provide learning opportunities. Anyone in the community who wants to facilitate learning might be a contributing teacher. This includes aides, volunteers, parents, siblings, peers, mentors in the community, librarians, recreation staff, college students, etc. They all constitute what can be called the teaching community. When a school successfully joins with its surrounding community, everyone has the opportunity to learn and to teach.

A well-designed and supported infrastructure is needed to establish, maintain, and evolve the type of comprehensive approach that addresses barriers to student learning outlined above. Such an infrastructure includes mechanisms for coordinating among enabling activity, enhancing resources by developing direct linkages between school and community programs, moving toward increased integration of school and community resources, and integrating the developmental/instructional, enabling, and management components (see Adelman, 1993; Adelman & Taylor, 1997a; Rosenblum, DiCecco, Taylor, & Adelman, 1995).

KEEPING MUTUAL SUPPORT, CARING, AND A SENSE OF COMMUNITY IN MIND

In clarifying each element of an enabling component, there is danger of losing the "big picture." Within the school context, such a component must ultimately blend with the instructional and management/governance components in ways that create a schoolwide atmosphere encouraging mutual support, caring, and a sense of community. The degree to which a school can create such an atmosphere seems highly related to how well it is likely to prevent and ameliorate learning, behavior, and emotional problems. Thus, in

developing an enabling component, there must be a constant focus on enhancing a supportive and caring context for learning in ways that contribute to a psychological sense of community. Throughout a school and in each classroom, a psychological sense of community exists when a critical mass of stakeholders are committed to each other and to the setting's goals and values, and they exert effort towards the goals and towards maintaining relationships with each other.

People can be together without feeling connected, feeling they belong, or feeling responsible for a collective vision or mission. A perception of community is shaped by daily experiences and is probably best engendered when a person feels welcomed, supported, nurtured, respected, liked, connected in reciprocal relationships with others, and feels like a valued member who is contributing to the collective identity, density, and vision. Practically speaking, such feelings seem to arise when a critical mass of participants are committed not only to a collective vision, but also to being and working together in supportive and efficacious ways. That is, a conscientious effort by enough stakeholders associated with a school or class seems necessary for a sense of community to develop and be maintained. Such an effort must ensure effective mechanisms are in place to provide support, promote self-efficacy, and foster positive working relationships. There is an obvious relationship between maintaining a sense of community and sustaining morale and minimizing burn out.

Building a sense of community and caring begins when students (and their families) first arrive at a school. Classrooms and schools can do their job better if students feel they are truly welcome and have a range of social supports. A key facet of welcoming encompasses effectively connecting new students with peers and adults who can provide social support and advocacy.

On an ongoing basis, caring in a classroom is best maintained through the use of personalized instruction, regular student conferences, activity fostering social and emotional development, and opportunities for students to attain positive status. Efforts to create a caring classroom climate benefit from programs from cooperative learning, peer tutoring, mentoring, advocacy, peer counseling and mediation, human relations, and conflict resolution. A caring school culture pays special attention to students who have difficulty making friends. Some need just a bit of support to overcome the problem (e.g., a few suggestions, a couple of special opportunities). Some, however, need more help. They may be very shy, lacking in social skills, or may even act in negative ways that lead to their rejection. Whatever the

reason, it is clear they need help if they and the school are to reap the benefits produced when individuals feel positively connected to each other. School staff (e.g., teacher, classroom or yard aide, counselor, support/resource staff) and parents can work together to help such students. This may include use of a "peer buddy" (e.g., a student with similar interests and temperament or one who will understand and be willing to reach out to the one who needs a friend) and creating regular opportunities for the student to work with others on shared activities/projects at and away from school (e.g., cooperative tasks, being teammates for games, sharing special roles, such as being classroom monitors). If the youngster really doesn't know how to act like a friend, it is necessary to teach some guidelines and social skills. There are, of course, a myriad of strategies that can contribute to students feeling positively connected to the classroom and school.

Given the importance of home involvement in schooling, attention also must be paid to creating a caring atmosphere for family members. Increased home involvement is more likely if families feel welcome and have access to social support at school. Thus, teachers and other school staff need to establish a program that effectively welcomes and connects families with school staff and other families to generate ongoing social support and greater participation in home involvement efforts.

Also, just as with students and their families, school staff need to feel truly welcome and socially supported. Rather than leaving this to chance, a caring school develops and institutionalizes a program to welcome and connect new staff with those with whom they will be working. And it does so in ways that effectively incorporates newcomers into the organization and builds their capacity to function effectively.

In discussing "burn-out," many writers have emphasized that too often, teaching is carried out under highly stressful working conditions and without much of a collegial and social support structure. Teachers must feel good about themselves if classrooms and schools are to be caring environments. Teaching is one of society's most psychologically demanding jobs, yet few schools have programs designed specifically to counter job stress and enhance staff feelings of well-being. Recommendations to redress this deficiency usually factor down to strategies that reduce environmental stressors, increase personal capabilities, and enhance job and social supports. However, most schools simply do not have adequate mechanisms in place to plan and implement such recommendations.

Fundamental to the above concerns and to improving instruction, it is evident that teachers need to work closely with other teachers

and school personnel, as well as with parents, professionals-in-training, volunteers, and so forth. Collaboration and teaming are key facets of addressing barriers to learning. They allow teachers to broaden the resources and strategies available in and out of the classroom to enhance learning and performance. As Hargreaves (1994) cogently notes, the way to relieve "the uncertainty and open-endedness" that characterizes classroom teaching is to create "communities of colleagues who work collaboratively [in cultures of shared learning and positive risk-taking] to set their own professional limits and standards while still remaining committed to continuous improvement. Such communities can also bring together the professional and personal lives of teachers in a way that supports growth and allows problems to be discussed without fear of disapproval or punishment."

Collaboration and collegiality are fundamental to morale and work satisfaction and to transforming classrooms into caring contexts for learning. Collegiality, however, cannot be demanded. As Hargreaves stresses, when collegiality is mandated, it can produce what is called contrived collegiality, which tends to breed inflexibility and inefficiency. Contrived collegiality is compulsory, implementation-oriented, regulated administratively, fixed in time and space, and predictable. In contrast, collaborative cultures foster working relationships that are voluntary, development-oriented, spontaneous, pervasive across time and space, and unpredictable.

Collaborative cultures also can foster a school's efforts to organize itself into a learning community that personalizes inservice teacher education. Such "organizational learning" requires an organizational structure "where people continually expand their capabilities to understand complexity, clarify vision, and improve shared mental models' [Senge, 1990] by engaging in different tasks, acquiring different kinds of expertise, experiencing and expressing different forms of leadership, confronting uncomfortable organizational truths, and searching together for shared solutions" (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 14).

Finally, collaborative cultures recognize the need to build capacity for dealing with working relationship problems. Despite the best of intentions, relationships often go astray, especially when those staff become frustrated and angry because students don't respond in desired ways or seem not to be trying. To minimize relationship problems, inservice education must foster understanding of interpersonal dynamics and barriers to working relationships and sites must establish effective problem solving mechanisms to eliminate or at least minimize such problems.

GETTING FROM HERE TO THERE

Development of comprehensive school-wide approaches is easy to call for and hard to accomplish. Anyone who has been involved in systemic reform can describe the difficulties in terms of lack of time, insufficient budget, lack of space, disgruntled stakeholders, inadequate capacity building, and on and on. Such difficulties and various strategies for dealing with them are well-discussed in the literature on systemic change. Key references are included in the ensuing article in this issue that highlights some of our work related to scaling-up reforms across a school district. At this point, we simply want to highlight a few fundamentals, with the caveat that each facet described carries with it a myriad of implementation difficulties.

As noted above, development of comprehensive school-wide approaches require shifts in prevailing policy and new models for practice. In addition, for significant systemic change to occur, policy and program commitments must be demonstrated through allocation/redeployment of resources (e.g., finances, personnel, time, space, equipment) that can adequately operationalize policy and promising practices. In particular, there must be sufficient resources to develop an effective structural foundation for system change. Existing infrastructure mechanisms must be modified in ways that guarantee new policy directions are translated into appropriate daily practices. Well-designed infrastructure mechanisms ensure there is local ownership, a critical mass of committed stakeholders, processes that can overcome barriers to stakeholders effectively working together, and strategies that can mobilize and maintain proactive effort so that changes are implemented and renewed over time. From this perspective, the importance of creating an atmosphere that encourages mutual support, caring, and a sense of community (as discussed above) takes on another dimension.

Institutionalization of comprehensive, multifaceted approaches requires redesigning mechanisms associated with at least five basic infrastructure concerns. These encompass daily (a) governance, (b) planning-implementation related to specific organizational and program objectives, (c) coordination/integration for cohesion, (d) leadership and capacity building, and (e) management of communication and information. In reforming mechanisms to address these matters, new collaborative arrangements must be established, and authority (power) must be redistributed, all of which is easy to say and extremely hard to accomplish. Reform obviously requires providing adequate support (time, space, materials, equipment), not just initially but over time, to those who operate the mechanisms. Moreover,

there must be appropriate incentives and safeguards for those undertaking the tasks.

And, let's not forget about linking schools together to maximize use of limited resources. When a family of schools in a geographic area collaborates to address barriers, they can share programs and personnel in many cost-effective ways. This includes streamlined processes to coordinate and integrate assistance to a family that has children at several of the schools. For example, the same family may have youngsters in the elementary and middle schools and both students may need special counseling. This might be accomplished by assigning one counselor and/or case manager to work with the family. Also, in connecting with community resources, a group of schools can maximize distribution of such limited resources in ways that are efficient, effective, and equitable.

In terms of task focus, infrastructure changes must attend to interweaving school and community resources for addressing barriers (a component to enable learning), direct facilitation of learning (instruction), and system governance and resource use (management). Such changes also must reframe inservice programs, including cross-training, and establish appropriate forms of quality improvement, accountability, and self-renewal. Clearly, all this requires greater involvement of professionals providing health and human service and other programs addressing barriers to learning. This means involvement in every facet, especially governance.

Furthermore, comprehensive institutional changes cannot be achieved without sophisticated and appropriately financed systemic change processes. Restructuring on a large scale involves substantive organizational and programmatic transformation at multiple jurisdictional levels. For example, at school and district levels, key stakeholder and their leadership must understand and commit to restructuring. Commitment must be reflected in policy statements and the creation of an organizational structure that ensures effective leadership and resources. The process begins with activity designed to create readiness for the necessary changes by enhancing a climate/culture for change. Steps involved include: (a) building interest and consensus for developing a comprehensive approach to addressing barriers to learning and enhancing healthy development, (b) introducing basic concepts to relevant groups of stakeholders, (c) establishing a policy framework that recognizes the approach is a primary and essential facet of the institution's activity, and (d) appointment of leaders (of equivalent status to the leaders for the instructional and management facets) at school and district levels who can ensure policy commitments are carried out.

Overlapping the efforts to create readiness are processes to develop an organizational structure for starting-up and phasing-in the new approach. This involves establishing mechanisms and procedures to guide reforms, such as a steering group and leadership training; formulating of specific start-up and phase-in plans; establishing and training of a team that analyzes, restructures, and enhances resources with the aim of evolving a comprehensive, integrated approach; phased-in reorganization of an enabling activity; outreach to establish collaborative linkages among schools and district and community resources; and establishing systems to ensure quality improvement, momentum for reforms, and ongoing renewal.

Although most of the above points about large-scale systemic change seem self-evident, their profound implications are widely ignored; relatively little work has been done to build conceptual models and develop specific interventions for dealing with the processes and problems associated with scaling-up reforms (e.g., see Adelman, 1993; Adelman & Taylor, 1997b; Argyris, 1993; Elias, 1997; Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991; Knoff, 1995; Replication and Program Services, Inc., 1993; Sarason, 1996; Schorr, 1997). To help redress this unfortunate state of affairs, the following article in this issue outlines the model our work group is evolving for the wide-spread diffusion of new approaches, such as an enabling component.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

In many schools, major improvements in students' reading and writing performance continue to be hampered by the deficiencies of school-wide approaches for addressing barriers to learning and teaching. Clearly, establishment of comprehensive, multifaceted, and integrated school-wide approaches is not an easy task. Indeed, it is likely to remain an insurmountable task until school reformers accept the reality that a comprehensive enabling component is essential and does not represent an agenda separate from a school's instructional mission. In terms of policy, practice, and research, all enabling activity, including the many categorical programs funded to deal with designated problems, must be seen as embedded in a cohesive continuum of interventions that provide the foundation for this essential component of school and community reforms.

With appropriate policy in place, work can advance with respect to restructuring, transforming, and enhancing school-owned programs and services and community resources, and include mechanisms to coordinate and eventually integrate it all. To these ends, the focus

needs to be on all school resources (e.g., compensatory and special education, support services, adult education, recreation and enrichment programs facility use) and all community resources (e.g., public and private agencies, families, businesses; services, programs, facilities; volunteers, professionals-in-training).

The ultimate aim is to weave all resources together into the fabric of every school and evolve a comprehensive component that effectively addresses barriers to development, learning, and teaching. Once policy makers recognize the essential nature of such a component, it will be easier to weave together all efforts to address barriers and, in the process, elevate the status of programs to enhance healthy development. Furthermore, when resources are combined properly, the end product can be cohesive and potent school-community partnerships. Such partnerships seem essential if we are to strengthen neighborhoods and communities and create caring and supportive environments that maximize learning and well-being.

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