

Full Service Schools: The Children’s Aid Society Model and How it Changes Students’ Lives

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Abstract

Full service schools offer a wide array of services and programs that aim to address the various needs of students and foster healthy development and academic achievement in students and their communities. An increase in the number of full service schools in the United States has compelled those involved in the planning processes to ask questions pertaining to how communities benefit from the goals of the schools and from the actors involved in the schools. This review explores how full service school planners examine these questions and how they apply their gained knowledge to their school policies.

Introduction

Full service schools or “community schools” aim to think outside of the box and transcend traditional schools which usually only take into account the academic needs of a student for the eight hours that he is in the school building (Blank, 2008; Mitra, 1994). In “traditional” schools, it difficult to address all of the issues that children deal with that affect their development, quality of life, and preparation for success in the classroom.

Full service schools attempt to focus on a more holistic view of the student and consider the multitude of needs that the student has. These needs can range from assistance with mathematics homework, to transportation to school, to a visit to the doctor’s office for an annual checkup (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005 p.21; Tough, 2004). Ultimately, the goal of community schools is to help the student prepare to arrive to the classroom ready to learn. The teacher will then be able to transmit the information to the student and expect that he will readily accept it (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005, p.19).

In order for the teacher to step in and do his job, a number of other actors must become involved in the process to move the student toward academic success. The full service school invites numerous people to prepare the child to learn. These people include doctors, community volunteers, social workers, funders, lead agency directors, and a host of others. The focus of the community school is to include everyone in the community who affects the child’s life—not just those who are typically involved in the schooling process (Harris & Hoover, 2003; Terreon,

2006). In addition, the community school aims to include others who may benefit from the services provided in the school. It's called a "community school" because it is meant to tend to the needs of the residents of the community (Curtis & Simons, 2007). The services that are provided at the school, or the programs that are run there, are dependent on the needs of the particular community. This is one of the reasons why the idea of community schools is so appealing—it is not a one-size-fits-all approach (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005, p.152). Each community has unique needs and depending on the resources available, a plan can be designed which caters to a given community (Albert 2005; Blank, 2008; Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005, p. 190).

This fact also relates to the different terminology that is often used in describing community schools and the services that are available in them. The term "community school" is often interchangeable with the term "full service school." While some scholars explain differences such as the array of services available and the number of actors involved in the school as real differences between full service and community schools, the terms typically describe the same type of school—one that is open to a large number of consumers, not just school-aged students and offers services that aid in fostering healthy development in students and in developing the community surrounding the school so that people can lead fulfilling lives with the opportunity to reach their personal goals. The services that are available are called *school-linked services* because they are provided within the school or at a nearby location through a partnership between the school and some outside social service agency or organization. In some communities, while there is no full service or community school, there are *integrated social services*. Integrated social services are a series of services—health, educational enrichment, immigration, and a host of others, that may be available to a community. The services are provided in conjunction with each other in order to approach all of the issues that community members may have that have a negative effect on their health and quality of life. At full service and community schools, the integrated services are school-linked (Dryfoos, Quinn, & Barkin, 2005; Sullivan & Sugarman, 1996)

A survey of the literature on community and full service schools suggests that many efforts have been successful; however, to be successful, a school does not simply need to designate itself as a community school and offer a host of services to the community (Crowson & Boyd, 1996). There are specific components that are helpful in building a community school and working to make it successful (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005, p.193). In order to incorporate these components as they relate to a given school, school administrators, lead agency staff, and community members must ask a number of questions to identify the ways that these elements will be most beneficial for the community in which the school is located (p.197).

The Children's Aid Society The Children's Aid Society (CAS) schools were chosen for deeper focus because of the wide range of schools that the society has planned and operated and for the variety of services that are offered. Also, many look to these schools as models for full service schools as they have been in operation for over a decade and have had considerable success in reaching the goals of full service schools by looking at student's needs holistically and facilitating collaboration between various agencies, by increasing academic achievement, and by helping communities to develop towards being places where neighbors work together to create healthy environments for their children and fellow residents.

In 1990, the Children's Aid Society (CAS) entered a legally-binding partnership to have planning power in thirteen schools in low-income neighborhoods in the Washington Heights area

of New York City. Washington Heights was chosen because of its population of recent immigrants and residents dealing with poverty, unemployment, and a host of other problems, but with little resources to deal with the problems. Traditionally, CAS had provided remedies to such problems, but in order to address them on such a large scale, the partnership realized that the children and families of these communities needed more resources and influence than just any single group could provide. The residents needed the help of CAS, the school district, government social service agencies, and private organizations. The coalition involved elementary, middle, and high schools, and aimed to provide a range of services, depending on the needs of individual communities (Dryfoos, 2002; Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005).

For this review, I focus on two schools in particular when discussing community schools. They are the first schools that were operated through the partnership between the Children's Aid Society and the New York City Board of Education—Intermediate School (IS) 218 and Primary School (PS) 5. IS 218 is a middle school, located in the Washington Heights area of New York City. Residents of the community surrounding the school are described as “low income.” The area is marked by violence, drugs, and high rates of teen pregnancy. In addition, the community has a large immigrant population, and much of the residents are English Language Learners (ELL) (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005, p. 14; The Children's Aid Society 2006). Families are typically large and the services available to deal with their problems are few. PS 5 is an elementary school in a neighborhood that is demographically similar to the neighborhood where IS 218 is located. There is a large immigrant population, services are few, and families are in need of help (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005).

The interest in these schools arose after reading *Community Schools in Action: Lessons from a Decade of Practice*. These schools were highlighted as they could provide a great amount information regarding the starting process of full service schools. The schools had also been evaluated and thus could provide some information regarding student outcomes as a result of turning the schools into community schools. After reading this book and other literature regarding full service schools and studies conducted in them, specific aspects of the schools stand out as being very important. This review examines those aspects and how they differ from what is commonly found in traditional schools. The aspects that are examined here are:

- The goals of the schools and the communities in which they are located and how these differ from the goals of traditional schools.
- The actors who are involved in the schools and how these differ from the actors in traditional schools.
- The issues that arise in full service schools and how those involved in the schools can deal with them

With regard to the first two items, this review explains how the students of full service schools benefit as opposed to if they had attended traditional schools. By explaining this fact, one can consider the idea that converting traditional schools to full service schools may be a worthwhile endeavor and can benefit those involved, including students, parents, school staff, and other community members.

Methods

In order to gain a basic understanding of the structures and functions of full service schools, I conducted a search of available resources using the catalogue for the social science library at The Pennsylvania State University. Using keywords such as: *full service schools*, *community schools*, and *integrated services*, I was able to obtain a list of books, dissertations, and articles that related to the topic at hand. I collected these resources from the library and read relevant chapters, sections, and paragraphs for a better understanding of full service schools.

After formulating a fairly general understanding of full service schools, I then used databases including the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC), Sage Publications Online, and a multiple database search on the Penn State University Library website for the area of Educational Policy. I searched for the keywords: *full service schools*, *integrated services*, *community schools*, and *Children's Aid Society* to identify articles that related to the topic of full service schools. While reviewing the search results, I looked especially closely for articles that focused on specific studies of various full service schools and programs and which could offer numerous details and learning experiences from the programs and their successes and failures. Once I identified relevant articles, I read each one to get a deeper understanding of the particular study, its results, and implications.

When the database searches did not provide any more relevant and up-to-date articles, I used the references from the articles that I had already read to learn more about the topic. In most cases, I used an online service called "citation linker" on the Penn State University Libraries website which allows students to enter information about an article; the system then locates the article and makes it available to the student for use. I also found that a few relevant articles had come from the *School Community Journal*, so I went directly to the online site for this journal and was able to search past issues using the keywords that I used in other databases and found more articles.

I decided which sources to keep and use for my study based on a number of factors. The first important factor was the relevance to the main topic at hand—full service schools, the services provided within them, and the people who work together to deliver the services. I also considered the number of studies or cases included in the article. If an article was a review of various studies, I used it as a source for general information, but if the article focused on one study, or compared a few, I used it for its details and deeper understanding of the individual studies. Finally, I kept sources based on their ability to answer the questions that I am interested in answering in this paper: what are the goals of full service schools, who are the people involved in full service schools, and what are the issues that full service schools face and how can they be addressed?

I used articles to answer these questions by dividing the articles into categories based on the questions that they will answer best. This is dependent on the focus of the articles as well as the results of the studies. Some studies answer all three big questions while some only answer one or a part of one. It is important though that each study contributes something unique to the greater understanding of full service schools and their role in society.

For specific data regarding the CAS schools, PS 5 and IS 218, I used information from a number of evaluations done by scholars at Fordham University's Graduate School of Social Service. The studies were conducted from 1993-1999 and are summarized in *Community Schools in Action: Lessons from a Decade of Practice* and the American Youth Policy Reform's *Summary of the Children's Aid Society Community Schools Results to Date*. The studies provide

data not only on PS 5 and IS 218, but on two other schools: Intermediate School 52 and Primary School 152. These schools were included because they were demographically similar to IS 218 and PS 5 and could serve for good comparison schools to examine the changes in IS 218 and PS 5 after they became CAS community schools.

Ideal Goals of Full Service Schools

Full service schools ideally tend to the many needs of children. Unlike traditional schools, full service schools adopt a broad approach to addressing the myriad of problems that face today's children. They focus on more than just the educational needs of children and instead address their emotional, psychological, vocational, social, and physical needs (Blank, Ferrera, & Santiago, 2008; Curtis & Simons, 2007).

In addition to addressing the needs of the child, the full service school also considers what the community that surrounds the school needs. Full service schools are built on the idea that the condition of the community surrounding the school affects the progress of the school. The school—the administration, the teachers, the lessons taught in the classroom do not stand alone. Many factors contribute to the life of a student and many of those factors affect the student's educational success; thus, if the school is to be successful in developing students academically, it needs to consider how to first develop the community so that it can provide a healthy environment for the student (Canada, 2001).

Regardless of the location of the school and the condition of the neighborhood, the full service school should be adaptable. Whether parents in the community note that unemployment is a problem and that they need help acquiring some skills to be more marketable in the workforce, or whether the community has a large immigrant population and parents need English as a Second Language (ESL) classes to remove the language barriers that exist when they try to communicate with school staff, the full service school takes all of this into consideration, noting that all of these factors have an influence on the student's success in the school (Blank, et al., 2008). In deciding which services should be available and what the community needs to progress, collaboration and communication between parents, school administrators and teachers, and other community members is crucial (Abrams & Gibbs, 2000; Blank, et al., 2008; Harris & Hoover, 2003). Table 1 below shows just some of the services that are commonly provided at full service schools. The services have been divided into four broad categories that correspond to the areas of children's lives that full service schools aim to address.

Table 1.

Services Provided by Community Schools

Student Academics	Family	Community	Health Services
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After-school tutoring • Educational Academies based on student interests and future career prospects • Saturday Enrichment Programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adult Education Courses • Childcare • Parenting Classes • Social Worker 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adult Education Courses • Clubs based on Hobbies/Interests • Cultural Events • Immigration Services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dentist • Physician • Psychologist

Usually, various agencies, all tending to one particular dimension of the “big problem” compete with each other rather than work together to help children and families (Harris & Hoover, 2003). The “big problem” is one that results from some underlying matter. A child may have health issues, arrive to school hungry, and perform badly academically because his family has a low income. A state agency can provide the child with health insurance, but who will insure that the child is taken to the doctor? A parent can insure that this happens but maybe the parent’s low-paying job does not allow any time off. The student does not get much to eat at home because there is no money to provide all meals, so another agency can provide free breakfast and lunch at the school. No one is at home to help the child with his homework, so he does not perform well in school. A student at a local community center may provide tutoring. All of these problems arise out of a root issue, but typically, if the agencies that can remedy the issues are contacted, they are contacted separately and thus, only treat a symptom of the larger problem, rather than looking at the problems as a system, a package that is affected by another force (Mitra, 1994). Another important element of full service schools is to increase communication between the various actors in children’s lives to achieve better results. One step in this increased communication involves sharing power and trusting that the other people involved in the process have the ability to make decisions. Collaboration is crucial as far as it allows the various agents in the children’s life to work together to achieve academic success and healthy development.

Various full service programs exist across the country as partnerships with universities, nonprofit organizations, neighborhood groups, and single-service agencies such as those that provide medical services, help with immigrations issues, and social services (Dryfoos, 2002; Kronick, 2002). Beacons schools and community centers are a well-known example of full service programs. These programs are based on the same premise as many full service schools—that various influences penetrate students’ lives and that these influences all affect the students’ wellbeing and educational success; thus, the Beacons aim to fill the students’ lives with positive influences so that the students will have positive outcomes in different areas of their life. The

Beacons are commonly structured as after-hours programs—available when the school building would usually be closed, at night, on the weekends, and during the summer. The staff of the Beacons centers organizes programs and events that focus on educational enrichment, family involvement, community safety and partnerships, youth development, and various other programs that cater to the needs of the community. Various community organizations and agencies work with the schools to make the efforts possible (Canada, 2001; Constancia, Feist, & Nevarez, 2002).

The important link here and with all full service schools is that each of these programs, with its special purpose and population that it serves, should be identified by its theme or defined by its specific goal or set of goals. In reaching that point, all full service schools must consider this important step of exploring what full service schools are exactly: what are they supposed to do ideally and how they have been implemented across the country. By doing this, those involved in the planning process for new full service schools, or in the reforming process for existing programs can use a wealth of knowledge to make decisions and develop a map for their schools that are based on specified goals and purposes, and also on experience (Abrams & Gibbs, 2000; Crowson & Boyd, 1996; Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005).

CAS Community School Goals versus Comparison Schools

School Focus In their study, Fordham University Scholars found significant differences between the focus of the CAS community schools IS 218 and PS 5 and the focus of the comparison schools PS 152 and IS 52. As “traditional” public schools, PS 152 and IS 52 taught students the basics—English, mathematics, and reading to prepare them for exams, which people typically consider as goals of a school. In addition, these schools did not take a precautionary approach but rather reacted to the problems in children’s lives on a case-by-case basis (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005).

In comparison, PS 5 and PS 218 consider the many elements that go into making a healthy life experience for students when creating the goals that should be met in the schools. The schools tend to the educational needs of students. In PS 5, students are enrolled at a very young age for preschool programs so that the community school director, teachers, and program coordinators get accustomed to working with children of different age groups, even those not typically served in public schools. Preschool classrooms are housed in the same buildings as the elementary school so younger students experience the academic experiences of older students and get to witness a model of academic life before they are fully immersed in it. Some children never step into a school or never get exposed to the idea of school until it is time for them to attend. Students at PS 5 are well-prepared to begin school on a proper level (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005, p. 22; American Youth Policy Reform, 2006).

In IS 218, students are enrolled in one of four educational academies based on their personal interests. Academies are centered on arts, business, science and technology, and community service. A number of after-school and Saturday enrichment programs are also available to supplement the regular school day instruction. The principal, teachers, and parents are all accountable for students’ academic success and thus have an interest in working towards that success (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005).

PS 5 and IS 218 also tend to the medical need of children. Both schools offer dental, medical, and mental health services on site for students and their families. At PS 5, pregnant

women can enroll in prenatal programs to develop normally and prepare to care for healthy children and young children are brought to the center for regular check-ups and dentist visits. At IS 218, there is an adolescent health center and students can take advantage of services related to pregnancy prevention and drug treatment (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005; The Children's Aid Society, 2006).

The schools also consider children's social needs by providing English as a Second Language courses for students and their families. Immigration services are available to secure support or documentation and community school staff helps students and other community members to find employment. At IS 218 students organize cultural events and attend workshops on how to maintain healthy relationships in different social contexts (American Youth Policy Reform, 2006; Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005). At PS 5 parents are welcomed into the school before students are old enough to attend. Students who are not yet school-aged are able to join together with their peers at school events and also witness older students in school interacting and working together.

As described above, CAS community schools have a wider focus than schools that are not classified as full service schools or community schools. The community schools focus on different aspects of a child's life and aim to target all of those aspects—academic, health, and social, among others. The schools offer various services to address those aspects and tend to students and other community members.

Community Involvement Community schools also differ in their encouragement of community involvement in the schools. Unlike the non-full service schools, IS 218 and PS 5 consider what the community surrounding the schools needs. The non-full service schools typically attempted to isolate the school from the community. Recognizing that many negative influences are present in the community such as violence, drugs, and lack of motivation or encouragement, non-full service schools try to bring students into the school and wash them free of those influences (Abrams & Gibbs, 2000; Kirkner, Meyer-Adams, & O'Donnell, 2008; The Children's Aid Society, 2006).

CAS community schools acknowledged the presence of these negative influences and realized that students needed positive influences in the community to counteract these negative influences. At IS 218, the school building is open fifteen hours each day so that parents and other community members can visit and take advantage of resources when they are available to do so. The comparison schools did not have long extended hours and typically, schools are open for eight or nine hours each day and working community members never have the opportunity to visit the school while it is open (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005, p. 20; The Children's Aid Society, 2006). At PS 5, parenting classes are available and town hall meetings are held frequently at both schools to bring in community members' input for school improvement. A host of other services are available to cater to the needs of the specific community and its members (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005).

Collaboration CAS community schools also differ from the comparison schools in the collaboration that the schools encouraged between different actors in students' lives. The comparison schools typically only considered the child's needs for the eight hours that he was in the school building. The schools did not attempt to address the outside influences and actors that entered the child's life outside of the school building and affected his healthy development.

At IS 218 and PS 5, the school principal actively sought out community organizations that could use the school building to promote their causes. These organizations ranged from those that focused on drug prevention to neighborhood catering businesses. The school principal also worked closely day-to-day with the community school director who was employed by CAS. Social workers took visits to the students' home and it was a common occurrence to see parents visiting the building to meet with teachers and other staff. By housing medical services in the building, the workers in this area were able to work with teachers and social workers to consider the causes of students' issues and attempt to solve their problems rather than treat different aspects separately (American Youth Policy Reform, 2006; Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005).

Actors in Full Service Schools

Lead Agency In full service schools, the lead agency serves as the facilitator for the goals of the program and the interactions that occur to reach the goals. If the goal of the full service school is to provide dental services to students at an elementary school so that the students receive regular check-ups and so that any of their existing dental problems are corrected, then the lead agency focuses on this goal. Whether the practice that provides the service is low-staffed, or whether the funding source is not providing enough funding, the lead agency makes the effort to remedy these issues. Its goal is to keep all plans on track to reach the schools' goals (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005).

With individual organizations, groups often make efforts to maintain the practices, or even the existence of their agencies. Even if it doesn't help the problem at hand, those in the organization will attempt to approach the problem with the restraints of their specific organization (Crowson & Boyd, 1996; Harris & Hoover, 2003; Mawhinney & Smrekar, 1996). At the same time, the issue at hand—the dental care of the students, is not the first priority, because those involved are focused on their agency. The role of the lead agency is to eliminate this factor, which is simply a hindrance to the task at hand (Canada, 2001; Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005).

The reason why this overarching partner is necessary is because the full service school aims to look at the child holistically. No single issue is isolated and no single problem occurs without affecting other factors in the child's life. If a student needs dental care because he has not visited the dentist in five years, then there is a good chance that he also has not visited a physician in five years. If the student simply goes to the dentist, the dentist will not typically ask when the student last visited the physician or how he or she is doing in school. The dentist will perform the task that he, as a dentist, is supposed to perform, and be satisfied knowing that he has done his part. The lead agency focuses on all of the "parts" and attempts to make them one. Anyone can refer a student to an agency for one single issue that he is dealing with, but then that does not take into consideration the source of the problem. A hungry child does not only need food, but rather a parent who can obtain a paying job and provide food for the household. A student who can't read doesn't only need a reading tutor, but he needs a daycare center so that his mother can attend an academic enrichment program with him and learn how to help him with his homework while his younger siblings play nearby and learn their alphabet (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005; Harris & Hoover, 2003).

In reaching towards this goal of dealing with the issues of children holistically, through partnerships with various agencies, there is no single model that a lead agency follows to accomplish this task. The lead agency may operate in a top-down manner, whereby all other

partners—the school administration, the dentist, the physician, the nutritionist, and the immigration services representative—“report” to the agency. The lead agency may also work as a referee, controlling the interactions of the various partners and making sure that they keep on track and working on the task at hand—to provide a healthy, meaningful, educational school and community experience for the student. The most important factor is that the lead agency, in facilitating the collaborations, does not exclude any actors from the process, which is contrary to the purpose of having a lead agency (Mitra, 1994; Smrekar, 1998).

As discussed previously, the Children’s Aid Society, in 1990, partnered with thirteen different schools in low-income areas in the Washington Heights area of New York. In this partnership, CAS worked with the existing school power structure as well as with the agencies that were providing services within the school in order to insure that the full service schools would meet their mission in looking at children holistically and considering their many needs. By engaging the outside agency, not just those that provided the services, this partnership included a “checking system”—CAS always kept the core goals of the partnership at heart, even if other actors only paid attention to the specific areas that they were supposed to address, not at the big picture (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005).

Along with CAS, a number of other agencies and organizations have taken on the role of lead agency in full service schools across the country. These lead agencies can be thought of as fitting into categories—general and specific. Some agencies, such as CAS, incorporate the missions of various other agencies for health, education, poverty relief, etc. into their approach, while other agencies, which specialize in one area, maybe health, may develop a program in that area. Either approach may work, depending on the needs of the community, provided that the lead agency considers how the various problems in the child’s life are connected and how they can be remedied through the work of the agency. Lead agencies may have a health, cultural, or educational basis, among a host of other focuses.

Funders Funding for full service schools comes from a number of sources, based on the focus of the school and the community in which it is located. A number of foundations and charity-based organizations provide money to full service schools, such as the Anne E. Casey Foundation and the W.K. Kellogg Foundation. The Annie E. Casey Foundation, based in Baltimore, Maryland, and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, based in Battle Creek, Michigan, both aim to improve the quality of life for children and families both in the United States and in other countries. Various community programs and full service schools have been granted money and support from these foundations (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2009; Curtis & Simons, 2007; Smrekar, 1998; W. K. Kellogg Foundation, 2009).

Full service schools are also largely funded by government monies. These resources may have been allocated for the school and education, or they may have been given to social service agencies to provide services to the community. At times, money may be given to the school because it is a full service school—because it tends to numerous needs of children. Usually, because full service schools tend to operate in low-income areas, where students are likely underprivileged, the resources available for programs may not always be abundant; thus, the efficient usage of funds becomes an important task.

Funds may also be provided by various other private and public programs. There are countless organizations and institutions that are concerned with the wellbeing of children, their educational success, and the development of communities; thus, these organizations and

institutions invest money and effort in these programs. The exact source of resources depends largely on the location and focus of the program.

School Administration/Staff The first word that many people hear in the phrase “full service school” is “school.” For this reason, the original school staff—administrators, teachers, nurses and others—plays a very important role in the full service school. This makes sense, considering that the purpose of incorporating various services into the school is to make it possible for the educational initiatives of the school to be met.

Traditionally, school staff serves a specific purpose—to concern itself with the educational achievement of students while they are in the school building. For some this extended beyond the regular school day because a student’s achievement in school was affected by what happened at home, but largely, the tasks of a teacher, a school principal, a school nurse, a cafeteria server could be defined and were fairly rigid across the board. Principals are expected to oversee the work of other school staff, implement district policy, and maintain the stability of the school. Teachers are to relay the academic material to students, and other staff fit in to allow these things to happen. A school nurse takes care of students’ minor health needs so that they can stay in class. Various other staff, such as non-teaching assistants, monitors halls or lunchrooms to insure that things are in order long enough for the students to get through the school day. In Many cases, no one steps outside of the actions that are absolutely necessary to accomplish the minimal goals of the school (Abrams & Gibbs, 2000).

In interactions with parents and community members, school staff has also traditionally had an interesting approach. Because administrators and teachers believe that they occupy a very different sphere from parents, they have often allowed interaction with “outsiders” to occur only on their terms. Thus, administrators and teachers have not always been welcoming to invite others into their schools to critique their work and offer suggestions, especially in low-income areas, where full service schools are typically cited as being most necessary (Abrams & Gibbs, 2000).

Full service schools invite school staff to take on a new role—as a partner for parents, community members and agency workers. Rather than excluding, school staff invites others into the school with open arms, realizing that the school and its children need many perspectives in order to thrive (Abrams & Gibbs, 2000; Curtis & Simons, 2007; Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005). Administrators move towards including many voices in the planning process for the school and its functions. Decisions are not made and blindly followed, but rather families should have a voice in what occurs in the school. Teachers invite parents to understand what happens in the classroom, they show parents how to help their children with their homework, and they take a stake in the child’s success. No one is viewed as being “in charge” because no one has all of the answers for what it takes to make a child successful (Abrams & Gibbs, 2000; Curtis & Simons, 2007; Mawhinney & Smrekar, 1996; Smrekar, 1998).

Social Service Organizations In addition to school staff, full service schools also need the assistance of staff from the various social service organizations that enter the school to provide services and resources. These commonly include medical staff and social workers, but may include adult education instructors, ESL teachers, and agents from various housing, immigration, and employment agencies (Curtis, 2007; Dryfoos, 2005, p.15).

In traditional schools, health staff usually consists of a nurse or two, and not much else. The nurse is there to tend to the minor needs of a child while he or she is in school. If a student

scrapes his knee while playing or if he falls ill during the day, he may visit the school nurse. In addition, nurses check a student's medical background to insure that he is in proper health to be allowed in school with other students. Otherwise, the school nurse does not engage in the health of the student too much. She does not take many preventative health measures, but rather responds to the immediate health needs of the child while he is in the school building. Because the nurse serves this role, students whose major health concerns are not taken care of before they enter the school building miss out on class time and work while their issues are being tended to (Brown & Bolen, 2003).

In a full service school, the health staff may consist of a nurse, a dentist, a physician, and even a psychologist. All of these people are needed because a child's health consists of many concerns and each agent tends to one aspect of the child's health. In addition, because a dentist or physician may be present, the child's preventative health care can be assured. Maybe the child hasn't gone to the dentist or doctor in a while because access to these services is difficult to attain. By putting all of these services in the school building, the student can visit the doctor or dentist by appointment like at a stand-alone clinic, and not miss time out of class because of a minor health issue that may have been remedied at a regular visit or that may have never occurred. School-based health clinics and dental services aim to tend to children's current health issues, but also to make preventative health care central to their programs (Albert, McManus, & Mitchell, 2005; Brown & Bolen, 2003; Jennings, Pearson, & Harris, 2000; Larsen, 2009).

Social workers are also important members of the full service school staff. In traditional schools, they usually serve as advocates for children who are identified as needing a mediator between the home and school. Social workers may visit with students in the school, or visit both the students' home and school in order to build a bridge and begin to solve some of the problems that exist. In the full service school, a social worker serves as a mini lead-agency. Each social worker is usually paired with a manageable number of student and family cases—maybe about fifteen to twenty total families. The social worker can connect the little pieces to the problems that exist for the student. While many services may be available at the school and useful for the larger student population, the social worker tends to the needs of individual students and families (Blank et al., 2008; Curtis, 2007; Dryfoos, 2005, p.107).

As previously mentioned, depending on the types of services and programs that are offered at the full service school, the staff and its role varies. Many full service schools not only include services for its students that go beyond the traditional academics, but they also include services for families and for the general community. Often times, these services are related to the wellbeing and academic achievement of the student such as parenting classes, afterschool academic enrichment programs and summer camp, but many full service schools offer services that are not directly related to the students' academic achievement; rather, the services are meant to foster relationships and development in the community for individuals and between common residents.

In areas with large immigrant populations, full service schools often contain English as a Second Language (ESL) classes for students and all community residents. Schools may provide childcare for parents so they can go to work or attend programs at the full service school such as pottery, cooking, writing, and GED classes. The list of people who are involved in the full service school is virtually endless because it depends largely on the specific community and its needs and the services that are made available to community residents (Blank, 2004; Kirkner, et al., 2008).

Parents Traditionally, parents are recognized for their role outside of the school. They take care of the child's needs at home and prepare him for school. Once he goes into the school, the parent follows the rules of the school and interacts with the school staff and builds a relationship as the parent, separate from the school or from the people in the school. This means that parents often don't have a say in what occurs in the school. Some schools have a Parent-Teacher Association (PTA), but even the PTA has boundaries. In a traditional school, parents do not typically have a real say in the school's policies, whether they are related to curriculum, behavior, or dress code (Abrams & Gibbs, 2000; Kirkner, et al., 2008; Schutz, 2006). They may offer opinions, but these opinions are usually in response to the established practices of the school. Parents do not sit at the planning table with teachers and administrators and make big decisions. The reasoning behind this may simply be that parents don't have the expertise to decide what their children should learn, who should be the principal of the school, or how achievement should be scaled. This divide is especially great in low-income areas where parents feel that teachers and school administrators don't seriously consider their input because of their lack of education or income (Abrams & Gibbs, 2000; Schutz, 2006).

This may be true, but in a full service school, a parent's opinions are crucial to the mission of the school. Parents are not only to become involved in the school for the sake of collaborating with their children's teachers on plans for their children's educational success, but rather parents are supposed to become deeply connected to the school. Parents can also take advantage of classes and services available in the school. Parents can serve as liaisons between the school and community organizations. Parents should become invested in the school so that the success of the entire school, not just of one's own children, is important. The full service school is typically concerned with the wellbeing of the community, so parents' input is absolutely necessary for the school to create goals and then meet them (Abrams & Gibbs, 2000; Gareau & Sawatzky, 1995; Kirkner, et al., 2008; Terreon, 2006).

Students In traditional schools, students are expected to obey the rules and absorb material. Most traditional schools don't seriously take into account that if a student is hungry or tired, or worried about an issue at home, he or she cannot focus on the material that the teacher is presenting. The full service school aims to tend to all of the needs of the child. The student then can truly focus on his role in school which is to receive the academic material, discover interests, and interact with his peers (Schutz, 2006).

In some full service schools, an important element is that students truly serve as actors—they may have a hand in the planning process of the school by articulating what they feel should be included in the school—whether it is a certain course that should be taught or a service that should be available. It is also important that students do not simply absorb material as they are typically expected to do in traditional schools. A full service school is supposed to foster healthy development for students so they should be involved in what occurs in the school, not just merely observe and consume (Canada, 2001).

Community Members Because full service schools are often open to the community, it is expected that various community members will be involved in the planning process of the school and also benefit from the services that are provided. University students are a common example of community members who are involved in the full service school. Some students are involved because their universities are involved in partnerships with the school for a number of reasons—as lead agency, to provide teachers for courses, to find a case for students' studies, and for many

other purposes (Murtadha-Watts, 1999). Students also serve as volunteers to help out with various programs, depending on their field of interest. Other community volunteers also often help in the full service school, depending on their skills and where they are needed the most. The full service school, ideally, serves as a hub for community activities and neighborly gatherings (Canada, 2001; Hackman & Walker, 1999; Kirkner, et al., 2008).

Actors in CAS Community Schools versus Actors in Comparison Schools

While many of the actors in full service schools are the same as the actors in traditional schools, these actors play a very different role in community schools than they play in other schools. As described in the previous section, there are also actors who are not typically seen in traditional schools such as dentists and mental health care professionals. This section focuses on select actors: parents, the lead agency, and social service organization workers, and how they function in IS 218 and PS 5. Parents were chosen because ideally, they serve a greater role in community schools than they do in traditional schools. The lead agency was chosen because it is central to the CAS community school model in order to facilitate collaboration between other actors, and the social service organizations were chosen because they create one of the greatest differences between CAS community schools and the comparison schools. These organizations provide the services that allow the schools to be classified as *full service*.

Parents At IS 218, parents are invited to come into the school on any terms, not just those set forth by the school. Parents are involved as volunteers and as paid workers. A parent coordinator serves as a liaison between parents and the school and may be either a parent or a graduate of the school. In addition, parents serve on a parents' committee and are involved in the decision-making processes of the school (American Youth Policy Reform, 2006; Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005, p. 43). At PS 5, parents take advantage of parenting classes, serve on a parents' committee, and have decision-making power in the school for programs that should be offered and services that should be available. At both schools, a family resource center is arranged like a living room with comfortable chairs, plants, and brewing coffee (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005, p.77).

Lead Agency In IS 218 and PS 5, the Children's Aid Society aimed to be a partner, not a rescuer to save the schools from all of their problems, and not a bully to force the schools into accepting a host of programs that were perceived to be beneficial for students and families. In this case, the area Board of Education gave CAS a considerable amount of power to make decisions within the schools and control the changes that occurred. With this power, CAS decided that it never wanted to exclude any organizations or other actors, especially since its goal was always to foster communication between actors in the children's lives. CAS puts a community school director in each school who serves as a point of contact for the principal, parents, school board superintendents, and other actors in students' lives. CAS also offers professional development and training for its workers and aims to assure that everyone works together to benefit the children (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005, p. 28).

Social Service Organizations Social service organizations are present in the CAS schools more commonly than they are present in traditional schools and in the two comparison schools PS 152 and IS 52. Both IS 218 and PS 5 offer a number of health services to students and communities.

Residents can visit the schools for a dentist visit or to visit a mental health professional. Social workers refer parents to housing or nutrition services within the school building or at a nearby community organization. Services are available depending on the needs of residents and on the focus of the school. Parents can take adult education classes and receive help obtaining employment through various programs at both schools (The Children's Aid Society, 2006).

Outcomes: Successes

The idea of full service schools sounds compelling and when put into action, it may appear that all of the pieces fit together to meet the goals of full service schools; however, it is important that the schools actually match up to the goals that they are expected to meet. The Fordham University evaluations show that CAS community schools have been successful in a number of areas. Overall, parents, students, school administrators and teachers feel that the atmosphere of the community schools is positive. Academic achievement has increased, parental involvement has improved significantly, and many community members are taking advantage of the services that are available in the schools. This section outlines the successes in the areas of academics, community and parent engagement, and student health in IS 218 and PS 5. Some of the successes relate the community schools to the comparison schools as outlined in the Fordham University evaluations.

Academics The Fordham University evaluations show that both IS 218 and PS 5 had considerable improvement in academic achievement within the first few years of the program. At PS 5, the study followed a group of students who were in the third grad in 1993. In the first two years of the community school programs, students' reading and math scores increased tremendously. Reading scores started at 10.3% proficiency and increased to 16.2% proficiency in 1994 and 35.4% proficiency in 1995. Math scores increased in those two years as well from 23.3% proficiency, to 32.1% and finally 56.0% in 1995(American Youth Policy Reform, 2006; Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005). At IS 218, eighth grade students' writing competency scores were compared to the scores of students at the comparison school IS 52. Even though the schools were demographically similar and students started on similar levels, after the implementation of community school programs, IS 218 students were 79.3% proficient on the exam while students at IS 52 were 64.2% proficient(American Youth Policy Reform, 2006; Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005). At both schools, the number of academic enrichment programs that students attended positively correlated to their academic achievement in the classroom.

Community/Parent Engagement Another indicator of success of the community school programs is the significant increases of community involvement in the schools. At PS 5, parents and other community members felt more welcome in the school than they had previously. As a result, parental involvement was 78% higher than in the comparison primary school PS 152. At IS 218 parent involvement was 147% higher than in the comparison school IS 52. Parents also took more responsibility for their children's success. They said that they felt the school was a special place for their children to go (American Youth Policy Reform, 2006; Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005).

Student Health The number of health programs available at IS 218 and PS 5 were an improvement from the previous programs in the schools and school staff and community

members noted a significant advantage to having the services available in the school. In both schools, CAS is able to provide almost all of the services that students need within in the buildings. Staff spans many disciplines and are able to cater to students' medical needs (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005, p. 91). At IS 218, \$250 is allotted to the school for each student's medical needs and Medicaid covers most other fees for services that are provided (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005).

Overall As described previously, students at both PS 5 and IS 218 have experienced many positive outcomes as a result of attending a CAS community school in three areas: academic achievement, parent and community engagement, and student health. In addition, many other aspects of the schools and of students' lives have seen positive results. At PS 5, students differ in appearance and behavior than previously, and they have a better attitude towards school. At IS 218, incidences of violence and graffiti were almost at zero and attendance improved greatly. Compared to IS 52, attendance at IS 218 was at 90% —5 % higher than at IS 52 (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005, p. 169).

Issues that Arise in Full Service Schools

The most common issues that are encountered in the planning of full service schools and in the implementation of the plans deal with leadership, the restructuring of the schools and social service organizations, and sustainability. When considering leadership, actors in the schools are concerned with who should lead and who is allowed to make decisions. When considering the structures of the schools and social service organizations, actors must consider how the current structures of the systems will be rearranged to meet the community schools' goals. Sustainability involves how long the programs will be able to continue and how well the programs can be duplicated and successful in different places and at different times. This also relates to funding and the availability of funding.

Leadership An issue that arises often in the formation of full service schools and in the implementation of their policies is who should lead in the school. Because there are so many actors in the school—administrators, teachers, the school district, the directors of various service programs—it is difficult to create a system where someone oversees what everyone else is doing. In a traditional school, people think of the principal as the leader of the school and in charge of everything that happens. Department heads oversee the details of academics in their given areas, teachers lead in their classrooms, and everyone else falls into place whether they are leading or following. In a full service school the structure is so different from the structure of a traditional school that it is not so simple to say that the principal should be “in charge” of everything (Abrams, 2000; Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005, p. 130).

Many full service schools operate through the facilitation of a lead agency. The lead agency will likely have a general director and then directors in charge of the various services that are offered in the school. In this case, there is no single person that anyone can look to for direction or advice because everyone has something to offer. The lead agency director can offer information for a broad overview of programs in the school and of interactions between different departments, but the directors of the various service programs can give detailed information regarding specific services. At the same time, the principal, academic department heads, and

teachers are still operating and working around what happens in the classroom. A conflict can often arise here (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005).

In reality, it is not necessary to have one single leader. Everyone can be a leader and no one can be a leader. Because everyone in the full service school may have a single area of the child to focus on, the work that is done is not necessarily hierarchical. Rather, people interact in order to fulfill the goals of the school. Also, in order for the full service school to look at the child holistically, it is necessary for interaction to occur across the board without anyone feeling as if their approach to the child is insignificant or lesser than someone else's approach. After all, the purpose of the full service school is to attack the problems that plague the child's life all at once, instead of one at a time and in an uncoordinated manner. Because of this, no one has to be the supreme leader. Of course it is necessary for someone to look at the big picture and to always refer back to the master plan—the big goal of the school, but that person does not have to rule over everyone. In a full service school, those who are working with the students every day, following the school's policies laid out by a committee that sits in a large office far away may have more to offer for the planning process because of their hands-on experiences. The full service school ideally invites everyone's input because everyone has a different outlook on the best approach to making children successful (Abrams & Gibbs, 2000; Trepanier, Pare, Petrakos, & Drouin, 2008).

Restructuring Another conflict arises from the existing structures of the various agencies involved in the school. Agencies often attempt to maintain their structures in order to preserve themselves. Thus, if by combining with other agencies, one aspect of an agency may be eliminated, it is likely that the agency will not collaborate wholeheartedly with other agencies. By including a health services center in the school, this may eliminate the need for a nurse who is available for some number of hours during the day to tend to minor health issues. If a physician is available to deal with a problem directly, the nurse may not be needed to quell the problem. By allowing parents to join in the original planning of the school, those who are typically in charge of the planning might not like the idea of this new structure—including parents and other community members in the school. By offering adult education courses and helping parents secure employment, hunger may become less of a problem so the company that typically supplies lunch to the school may no longer be needed. Changes that at first seem insignificant can have a huge impact on those previously and currently involved in the school and addressing conflicts that arise out of these changes is crucial when planning a full service school (Crowson & Boyd, 1996; Mawhinney & Smrekar, 1996; Smrekar, 1998).

Sustainability When considering CAS community schools, the issue of sustainability deals with a number of components. The first component involves how long the CAS schools currently in operation can continue to operate and be successful in reaching the goals that the school originally set out to meet. Some elements that the Children's Aid Society believes are crucial to its model are: a focus on education, collaboration between the various actors in children's lives, and intense parent and community engagement. Not only should schools continue to focus on these elements, but schools should be improving in these areas. If student achievement increased at the beginning of the program, then the best case scenario involves continued increases in student achievement. It is important then, that community schools already in operation stick to these objectives as the programs continue and the years go on (Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005, p. 193; The Children's Aid Society, 2001).

A second component is whether or not the model of CAS community schools can be transferred to new schools in other locations and with different student demographics. Again, the schools should focus on the central goals of CAS community schools; however, without the same structures already in place, it may be difficult for the system to work the same way in a different place. Various full service programs exist around the country and some have looked to the CAS community schools as a model for how their schools should be run. More time will tell how successful these efforts have been.

The third issue that arises when discussing sustainability is how to fund the schools' services and community programs. Depending on the school and the area in which it is located, as well as the services that are offered, money is provided by a number of sources. The money may be money that was originally allocated to the school for academic programs from the state as well as money that was allocated to various social service agencies to provide the services that they typically offer. Money also comes from various foundations and private agencies as well as grants or money that is reserved for programs such as those that can be found in full service schools which focus on community development and academic achievement amongst other things (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2009; Dryfoos, Quinn & Barkin, 2005, p. 168; W.K. Kellogg Foundation, 2009).

The money then may be applied to various parts of the school depending on what the money was originally given for. Some money is solely for academic programs while other money is solely for health services or adult education courses. The way in which money is used is completely dependent upon what works best for the given full service school and those involved in the school. Typically, money that was originally used for academics is used for academics; the various social service agencies bring money over for their services to be offered in the school, and additional money is secured to cover other costs that have not been taken care of (Sullivan & Sugarman, 1996).

Conclusion

Given the purpose of full service schools, those involved in the school, and how they work together to achieve that purpose, one can explore given cases in order to develop solutions to common conflicts that arise, to bypass conflicts altogether, or to simply learn about how to better plan for the school. In order to accomplish the goals of the full service school, those involved have to keep a few things in mind—the explicitly decided upon goals of the school and the fact that many people are needed to reach those goals. The full service school's success is built upon the successful implementation of its plans and upon the reaching of its goals. If the full service school is mostly focused on offering medical and dental services, then those involved must constantly refer back to those goals when making plans and carrying them out. Smaller issues that arise out of the school or its structure become less significant.

As demonstrated with IS 218 and PS 5, the results of converting the schools to community schools were positive and fairly significant. The schools saw improvement in students' academic achievement, parental involvement, and available health services. In addition, students' attitudes, behaviors, and attendance improved greatly. However while these successes are significant, there is still much research that needs to be done in the area to further explore full service schools and the effects that they have on students, schools, and communities. That research involves not only recording the outcomes of the programs for students but also

considering if programs are sustainable and continue to have considerable positive results over time. It is also important to examine whether given models and programs can be implemented elsewhere. Future projects may also focus on the positive results as they relate to all school programs such as medical services and academic enrichment as opposed to revised teaching methods and changes made that directly affect academics. It is important to discuss all of these issues in order to fully understand the aspects of full service schools that can be successful and the aspects that need to be reformed. With more studies in the area, it will become more clear the effect that full service schools have on communities and what this means for students and their families.

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