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Communities In Schools:
A Newfoundland School and Community Outreach in Need of Stability

Communities In Schools (CIS) was introduced to Cormack Trail School District in 1991. Using a whole-school philosophy it offers non-targeted programming to all children through the building of community-based partnerships and community involvement. The purpose of this article is to explore what participants said about their work with CIS: where they worked, what they did, what they liked about their work, what they disliked, their perceptions of barriers and supports, and their suggestions for positive growth. The field texts derive from three main sources: interviews with four CIS workers and one principal; documents and reports used as part of the reporting mechanism required by funding agencies and partners for both CIS and its parent organization (Community Education Networks) and minutes from principals' meetings; and personal correspondence with the Director of Community Education Networks and the District Coordinator for Communities In Schools. Results indicate that true community involvement in schools can exist and is of benefit to the education of children, but that challenges related to time frames, salaries, and employees' roles and expectations tied to government agency requirements need to be taken into consideration.

Le programme «Communautés à l'école» (Communitiies in School, CIS) a été introduit dans le district de Cormack Trail School en 1991. Reposant sur une philosophie «whole-school» qui établit des liens entre les ressources communautaires et l'école, ce programme offre, à tous les enfants, une programmation libre par le biais de partenariats et d'activités avec la communauté. Cet article étudie ce que disent les participants au sujet de leur travail au sein du programme – où ils ont travaillé, ce qu'ils ont fait, les aspects de leur travail qu'ils ont appréciés, ceux qu'ils n'ont pas appréciés, leurs impressions des obstacles et des supports, ainsi que leurs propositions visant des améliorations. Les textes recueillis dans le champ proviennent de trois sources principales : des entrevues avec quatre travailleurs de CIS et un directeur; des documents et des rapports découlant du mécanisme de communication qu'exigent à CIS et à son organisation satellite (Community Education Networks) les organismes de financement et les partenaires, et des procès-verbaux de réunions de directeurs; de la correspondance personnelle avec le directeur de Community Education Networks et le coordonnateur régional de Communautés à l'école. Les résultats indiquent que l'implication communautaire authentique peut se réaliser et que l'éducation des enfants en profite; il faut toutefois tenir compte des défis touchant les délais d'exécution, les salaires, les rôles et les attentes des employés dans le contexte des exigences des agences gouvernementales.

Introduction

Since the 1960s there has been a resurgence of community involvement in schools. Parent councils, volunteers as tutors and teacher assistants, and community-school initiatives have brought members of the community back into

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schools. Much of this involvement has evolved theoretically through the philosophy that schools belong to the community; people have a right to a voice (Gonder, 1977); learning occurs both inside and outside the classroom (Harris & Umbleby, in press); and learning through multiple supports and partnerships has a positive, long-term effect on learners (Blank & Berg, 2006; Fullan & Stiegelbaur, 1991; Miller, 1995). Demands on schools and school districts to provide services beyond those financed by departments of education force schools and school districts to seek alternate supports in volunteerism, community and corporate sponsorships, and government-funded projects. This study is about one such partnership, Community In Schools (CIS).

Purpose

As a result of the research and my own involvement with CIS, I support the notion that community capacity and, therefore, educational capacity can be built through partnerships of local school boards with other service-providers and community groups. The purpose of this article is to explore in one geographical context and through the narratives of some of its participants what CIS means and what the challenges are to its survival.

Setting the Context

The concept *community schools* was introduced to the Cormack Trail School Board region of Newfoundland and Labrador in 1991 when a small group of local citizens and other agencies met on the Port au Port Peninsula to explore the idea of addressing together education and community concerns. They formed Community Education Networks (CEN), a not-for-profit community-based organization the goal of which is to foster a "community-wide interest in learning, and to provide both the means to learn" as well as the specific learning opportunities relevant to the area's social and economic challenges (Kirby, 2003, *CEN Activity Report*). Its supporters use a holistic approach that embraces lifelong learning in a community context as central to solving any educational or social problems. To realize its aims, CEN facilitates partnerships between social services and funding agencies, brokers programs and processes, and acts as an umbrella for learning projects and programs (personal communication, ongoing). Projects of CEN include Understanding Early Years, Grand Friends, Family Resource Centres, Adult Basic Education, Lion's Quest, and CIS.

Communities In Schools

Operating under the umbrella of CEN, CIS has become an organization dedicated to mobilizing the southwestern region of Newfoundland to ensure the well-being of every child through peer support and effective community partnerships and alliances. It serves students based on five underlying principles that every child needs and deserves: (a) a personal relationship with an adult who cares, (b) a safe place to learn and grow, c) a healthy start in life, (d) a marketable skill to use on graduation, and (e) a chance to give back to his or her peers and community (www.sms.k12.nf.ca).

Approximately 124 staff members of CIS, with its head office in the town of Stephenville, have grown to support 19 of the 28 schools in the Cormack Trail School District. With the assistance of CEN and other funding agencies, CIS has leveraged $1,988,145 to support children and families in their region through

such initiatives as preschool classes, snack programs, mentoring, homework assistance, career education, and youth leadership (personal communication, April 5, 2002).

<div align="center">*Theoretical Framework*</div>

Fullan and Stiegelbaur (1991) identify the role of parents and community groups as being those who are "vitally concerned about and responsible for educational decisions but who often have limited knowledge" (p. 12). Corwin (cited in Fullan and Stiegelbaur) states that community support for schools has a positive correlation with innovation. LaRocque and Coleman (1989) point out, not surprisingly, that schools and communities that work together tend to achieve more positive outcomes than those in conflict. According to Sergiovanni (2001), the quality and type of relationship that will exist between a community and its school is determined through the consistency and similarity of values. Community, he says, "strikes at the heart of a school's institutional character. It provides the substance for finding and making meaning and the framework for culture building" (p. 74). From this perspective, community and its connection to schools is of major significance to those involved in community development and education. The theory of community (Lotz, 1998; Sergiovanni, 1994) and Connelly and Clandinin's (1999) work on teacher narratives guide this reflection on CIS.

Community as Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft

Lotz (1998) outlines the work of Turner, who sees community as a "form of 'anti-structure'—a counter force to the secularized, rational, ordered society in which we live and move and have most of our being" (p. 111). Such a community, says Lotz, "cannot be imposed on people or programmed by government," rather, it is a process that evolves through human interaction.

In a more communitarian vein, Sergiovanni (1994) states, "in communities … the connections of people to purpose and the connection among people are not based on contracts but commitments" (p. 4). These commitments are socially organized, founded on shared values and relationships, and nurtured through interdependence. "In communities," explains Sergiovanni, "we create our social lives with others who have intentions similar to ours" (p. 4). In this appeal to shared personal histories and values, Sergiovanni echoes Tonnies' three forms of *Gemeinschaft*.

Gemeinschaft by "kinship comes from the unity of being … that families and extended families provide. Gemeinschaft of place emerges from the sharing of a common … locale [such as classroom, school, or neighborhood]" (Sergiovanni, 1994, p. 6). And "Gemeinschaft of mind refers to the bonding together of people that results from their mutual binding to a common goal, shared set of values, and shared conception of being" (p. 6). Tonnies maintains that Gemeinschaft of mind, "in conjunction with [kinship and place] represents the truly human and supreme form of community" (p. 6). In Newfoundland and Labrador, CEN functions as a community in kinship, place, and mind. As a Gemeinschaft, the connections of the people who work in it are based on loyalties, purposes, and sentiments.

But CEN and its organizational outgrowths are purposeful as well as historically and socially oriented. Tonnies, after all, posed the idea of

Gemeinschaft in contrast to the kind of community that forms for a common purpose, but then disbands when the purpose has been realized, that is, to Gesellschaft. On the southwest coast of Newfoundland in 1991, school district personnel, law enforcement officers, health and community service workers, government agency representatives, and others believed that they needed to connect and cooperate with each other if they were to benefit the people of their region. Because geography was great and population was sparse, there was little room for competition for resources and duplication of services among agencies. Partnerships were a realistic necessity. Out of that sense of necessity emerged common ground for a sense of community and from this, as noted above, they formed CEN.

CEN as a purposeful organization embraces the following beliefs: (a) education is a lifelong process; (b) everyone in the community … shares responsibility for the mission of educating all members of the community; and (c) citizens have the right and a responsibility to be involved in determining community needs, identifying community resources, and linking those needs and resources to improve their community (http://www.ryakuga.org). The living out of these beliefs from my perspective creates a learning, purposeful community. Their ideologies help them make sense of their lives, give them direction, and commit them to a course of action. Community, in this sense, is the building of social capital as a means to providing enhanced educational services to children and their families.

Community Development
According to Miller (1995), "community development reflects any effort designed to improve the economic, social or environmental well-being of the community" (p. 163). Miller points out that community development has historically been focused on improving the economy, but that current globalization trends have created a need to shift the emphasis to social capital. He defines social capital as resources that are part of the social structure such as norms, social networks, and interpersonal relationships that contribute to growth.

Unlike most community economic developers, Miller (1995) includes schools and youth as necessary components of social capital. He identifies three approaches for thinking about how schools and communities can work together where: (a) the school forms a community center, serving as a resource for lifelong learning and as a vehicle for the delivery of a wide range of services; (b) the community serves as a curriculum from which students generate information for community development by conducting needs assessments and documenting local history; and (c) school-based enterprise emphasizes entrepreneurial skills from which students identify potential service needs and establish businesses to address those needs.

The Effects of School-Community Partnerships
Creating a strong partnership between school and community for the purpose of community development remains a challenge as community development, says Miller (1995), is not viewed as a traditional element of schooling. Tied to this tradition is the concept of schools as special places (Greenfield & Ribbins, 1993; Hodgkinson, 1991) where workers (administrators, teachers, and support

workers) have established roles. Teachers, for example, have identities as implementers of curriculum.

Connelly and Clandinin (1999) speak of schools as "a landscape of interacting stories that bear directly on teaching identity and, by association, on teacher satisfaction with their work" (p. 100). School stability is the sustenance of that embeddedness that makes up the traditional element of schooling. Broadening the schooling landscape through the introduction of others into this embedded framework may be interpreted as boundary-crossing that places teachers' identities at risk. Connelly and Clandinin's writing acknowledges the possibility of borders that are institutionally created and respected by the individuals who live in them. For most individuals these borders become so embodied in the life of the school that they go unnoticed until someone enters from the outside; then one is awakened to its borders signaling that something different is about to begin, alerting one to new tensions.

Research Methods

Data Collection

This qualitative study concerns the complexity of interactions among people who form school-community partnerships. It is an effort to understand CIS in its uniqueness as a part of schools and the interactions that occur as a result. As Patton (1985) states,

> This understanding is an end in itself … to understand the nature of that setting—what it means for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting—and in the analysis to be able to communicate that faithfully to others who are interested in that setting. (p. 1)

Although the analysis does not attempt to predict what may happen in the future, as researcher I make some suggestions based on participants' stories that may help create a more stabilized, long-term CIS initiative.

Selection of participants for the study was nonrandom, purposeful, and limited by the small number of CIS administrators and the instability of school-based workers who are hired on short-term contracts. Individual interviews were conducted between 1998 and 2001 with several CIS school-based workers, principals, teachers, community members, and other external agency representatives as part of a larger study (LaRocque & Harris, 1998) on educational restructuring.

For the purpose of this article, data came from semistructured interviews with four CIS workers and one principal. There were also conversations (2003-2005) with the CIS Coordinator and the Director of CEN in order to verify the historical and contextual information given here. A third source of information emerged from a collection of CIS and CEN minutes, reports, proposals to external agencies (2001-2005), and brochures as well as from minutes of principals' meetings between 2001 and 2004. Finally, I bring my own participation and observations made during five years as a high school principal and three years as the Assistant Director of Programs for Cormack Trail School Board. In both positions, I was privy to many conversations about CIS.

There is an inherent bias in this process. I do not come to the research as a neutral researcher looking in on the activities of people I do not know. I come

as a researcher-participant who has attended principals' meetings and CEN roundtable discussions, and I am writing from a point of view that supports the work of CEN and CIS. In this context I am also attempting to tell of the experiences that may occur when such partnership projects begin in such a traditional environment as schools.

Data Analysis

Marshall and Rossman (1989) maintain, "*narrative analysis* seeks to describe the meaning of experience for individuals, as they construct stories (narratives) about their lives" (p. 5, original emphasis). In analyzing the transcribed interviews of participants, I read them for narratives of CIS. As Clandinin and Connelly (2000) explain, "It is important to be aware not only that selectivity takes place but also that foregrounding one or another aspect may make other aspects less visible or even invisible" (p. 93). Although other questions were asked during the interviews, I reduced the information by highlighting what participants said about their work with CIS: where they worked, what they did, what they liked about their work, what they disliked, their perceptions of barriers and supports, and their suggestions for positive growth. The process was one of reduction and interpretation (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Because only four CIS workers were interviewed, the Coordinator and Director's reading provided further dialogue and a reality check between what I was writing and how it was being interpreted. It also verified whether issues were school specific or common to schools involved with CIS in general. Pseudonyms are used to maintain anonymity for the CIS workers.

The section on the principal is a composite narrative using the interview of one principal, my former experiences as a principal, as well as information expressed by principals at meetings. In such a small geographical area, I believed it necessary to use a technique of relaying the data that would help mask the identity of specific people's narratives.

Participants' Narratives

A Principal's Perspective

Jane was in charge of a grade 7-12 school. She and the staff worked hard to offer a wide range of core and non-core credits to provide students with a broad exposure to the various subject areas demanded by the provincial Department of Education. Many of the staff also took part in extracurricular activities. According to Jane, good things were happening in their school, but many supports were missing because staff numbers were inadequate to cover all the students' needs. It was not a question of whether students should have the supports, but rather how they could get them. CIS, in Jane's mind, helped to fill some of the gaps and to enhance services to their students. In a letter dated April 26, 1998, she wrote the following in support of CIS.

> The CIS project played a significant role in the day-to-day functioning of our school. [The CIS worker] was a valuable asset to both students and teachers as she assisted in the overall learning environment of our school. She ran Homework Haven two nights a week, giving students a safe, supportive and quiet place in which to study, do homework, and/or get help. She organized a breakfast program during Nutrition Week, met the needs of students through individualized learning support, decorated the school for various occasions,

worked with the Student Council, helped the staff, and supported by just continually being there for anyone who needed her. I often referred to her as the person who so vitally tied up the loose ends of the school.

In a funding proposal sent to Human Resources Development Canada, one principal (1998) wrote:

I do wish to take this opportunity to sincerely thank you and your organization for all the support rendered this year…. My primary regret about programs such as the one that [the CIS worker] has been instrumental in delivering is that they are rarely, if ever, given a life beyond their initial year. For this to happen to a program such as CIS … would be truly an injustice.

Another principal (1998) pointed out:

When I think of the CIS and what [the CIS workers] have contributed to the school, I can only think positive thoughts. They are such a valuable part of the school they must be allowed to continue this program again next year.

At principals' meetings as well as at some of the CEN round tables, descriptors such as *bridging the gap, connecting resources*, and *seamless partnerships* were used to describe the work of CIS and its sponsor CEN. Yet a perusal of principals' meeting minutes over a three-year period (2001-2004) indicates that for school principals, there were ongoing challenges to creating a more holistic educational experience for children through such community partnerships.

First, union issues surfaced as to who should be doing what job in providing services and supports to students. Principals had to be cognizant of not breaching collective agreements of both teaching staff and student assistants.

Second, principals experienced program instability in that they did not know from project to project whether they would receive a CIS worker and if they were to be assigned one, for how long, and what the hiring criteria would be. Because the survival of projects like CIS rely heavily on short-term contracts through agencies such as the former Human Resources and Development Canada and Human Resources and Employment, the criteria for hiring and the length of employment vary depending on the agency responsible for the funding. For example, the amount of time workers are employed may be determined by how many hours they need to qualify for employment insurance. Hence some of the workers made reference to a 14-week work project. At administrators' meetings, principals argued that if they were going to have CIS workers in their school they wanted them for the school year. Once parents were informed that programs such as Homework Haven were set into motion, principals did not want to end the service because of a CIS worker's departure.

A third issue was that principals did not want to be taking new workers in mid-year, as each time new workers came into the school, principals were required to provide them with an orientation to the school and the job. For example, Jane expressed concern over how "outside" workers, who may not be seen as lessening a teacher's workload or bringing much to the delivery of prescribed curriculum, may also not be perceived as valuable in the school. Hence she spent a fair amount of time paving the way for CIS workers becoming part of the school fabric.

Jane pointed to another issue when she spoke of teaching staffs being protective of school space. It was their staff room, their students, their school.

The staff room, for example, was described as one of the places where teachers are partly insulated and safe; where they get to know each other. They can say things there that they may not say anywhere else. When someone external enters that room, said the principal, some staff feel as if their privacy is being invaded. She commented that with so many tasks and responsibilities being placed on her, it was her hope that CIS workers would rise above any tensions created by any staff who might resist their presence and that the worker would provide the services needed by the students. To her, how that was played out depended on the skill set of the CIS workers. Some won the staff over; others chose not to go into the staff room, but rather invented projects that connected them directly with the students or waited for teachers to approach them. Either way, the principal did not want to be a long-term, primary negotiator for these interactions.

Who the worker would be was another concern. The pendulum of expertise for those awarded CIS positions swung from university degrees to basic skills and were sometimes determined more by the source of funding than by an actual skill set. For example, one principal felt that she sometimes had to let go of her own vision of providing specific supports for students and instead accommodate the worker who might be incapable of providing these supports. She learned not to be too rigid in her expectations, and she frequently left the process open-ended to build on the expertise of the worker.

This same principal also felt that sometimes CIS workers would expect things to change without staff knowing that the worker was part of the request for change. This often left the principal perplexed as to how she could approach the staff without implicating the CIS worker. Although the issues were generally resolved, it was at these times that she wrestled with whether she should have CIS workers in her school. It was sometimes easier not to, especially if there were signs of staff resistance that required ongoing negotiations. As principal, she felt she would have to lead any bridging that was to be done between the two groups. However, when she saw students receiving extra support through Homework Haven or adults taking part in arts and crafts, it always seemed as if it was worthwhile in that it connected with her vision of bringing the community into the school. These tensioned sentiments were validated by arguments presented at principals' meetings (Minutes 2001-2004). Although there were times when principals were voicing concerns and seeking advice, at other times they argued for at least one worker in their schools. And although CIS began with a junior-senior high focus, other principals made a case for its implementation into primary and elementary schools.

CIS Workers and Their Stories
Susan began her interview (1999) by saying that when she had started her job as a CIS worker, she had arrived at the school and wondered, "What am I doing here? I didn't have a clue what I could do." But when asked how she felt about it now, she answered, "Love it. Love it!" Her response drew my attention to the idea that these workers come from a variety of backgrounds and have to use their knowledge and skills to determine what they will be doing as CIS workers. For example, one went to college, completed a bookkeeping course, and then volunteered at a primary/elementary school. Hence when she found herself in the position of CIS worker for the local high school, she found it

"quite scary" (Interview, 1999). However, when she was told by the principal that the school lacked posters and bulletin boards, she took on the task. "Now I do bulletin boards," she stated, "for every occasion I put up a different bulletin board" (Interview, 1999).

Another worker (1999) told me how she invited parents to take part in a parent-as-teaching program she referred to as *Grand Friends*. Yet another spoke of being involved in working with an adult learning center established in a school so that adults and students at risk could learn through individualized programs. Janet (1999) said, "The position is wonderful because you will never get the skills and the training and the teaching.… anywhere else." Jennifer (2000) described how she had eight students with whom she wrote stories, "not just school-based activities, but also community-based activities—like updates on the fish plant or upcoming events, or anything that is happening in the community." She would give students a list of stories to cover; they would compile a video of the work and then show it on the local community television channel. To her the focus then was on the community. She remarked, "Sometimes you'll find that the school is disconnected from the community. They never know what is happening within the walls of the building." She saw her role as providing that missing link between school and community.

There was a sense of pride as Jennifer recounted the story of a memoir video. She and some students made a video showing pictures of the graduating class from their early to senior years. Jennifer and the students presented the video on graduation night as a farewell tribute. She noted that the following year the next group of graduates asked if they would also have a video. Their query seemed to her to validate that her work in the school was important.

The workers also told stories of challenge. For example, although Jennifer believed that she was working in a community school, she also felt staff resistance. Other workers felt this as well. In one school the CIS worker called her supervisor and said, "I have not done a presentation to the staff and I am not going to … I am not comfortable presenting to the staff" (Interview, 2000). The worker saw it not so much as staff resistance, but rather as "a breakdown in communication in what the actual role of the CIS person really is." She felt that for the most part principals both supported and promoted CIS, but in her school CIS had not been presented to staff as it should have been. She explained, "I don't think that the staff was informed of why I was coming, what I was going to do, and how I was going to go about doing it" (Interview, 2000). She would like to have seen an informal gathering of staff rather than a scheduled staff meeting where the staff was dealing with other issues. She felt that if it was going to work, "Everybody involved has got to be part of the process." She believed that "CIS [was] not there for the staff, it [was] for the students," so if teachers felt threatened, it was for the wrong reasons.

There were also frustrations with the bureaucratic process for hiring. As one worker explained,

> You are putting someone in the position and then pulling them out after 14 weeks. For the most part, in the 2-14 weeks you are starting to relax and feel comfortable in your position and things are starting to roll and then you have to say, sorry, can't do any more. (Interview, May, 1999)

With the approved projects, minimal salary benefits were also an issue. Some workers received $8.50 per hour; others received stipends that worked out to a little over $3.00 per hour. Although most of these interviews were completed between 1998 and 2000, the conversations I held with some participants between 2001 and 2004 indicate that these are still challenges. According to the workers, government restructuring of schools in 2004 is part of this challenge. Newly elected governments pose a threat to existing funded projects. Hence there is concern not only over low wages, but a fear of no wages at all.

Making Connections

Community Context

Newfoundland and Labrador is largely a rural province of seasonal and migrant workers, low wages, and an aging population. It is a province whose rural communities are in social and economic distress. Its vulnerability has been known to draw people together in diverse ways, as it did on the Port au Port Peninsula with the formation of CEN. For workers involved in CEN projects, low wages and a job in one's own region (even if temporary) may be better than no job at all or having to leave home. Hence workers are rarely in short supply and the CEN Director, in partnership with other agencies, keeps the funding proposals mobilized in order to sustain activities.

CEN is a collective representation of the schools and communities it serves, incorporated as a body for practical reasons. First, it unites representatives of education, health care, justice, and municipalities, who come together as one community capacity-building force. Second, as a partnership of service-providers and local citizens, it leverages funding for the projects identified by the communities as being needed. CEN then hires people from the communities to carry out its mandate: support that those schools and communities cannot access on their own. Third, CEN provides an umbrella for an integrated, holistic approach to community development through which strategic planning and priority-setting can be obtained. Its work concentrates on six strategic directions: (a) prevention and early intervention, (b) youth initiatives, (c) career education and enterprise, (d) community literacy, (e) community leadership, and (f) participatory communications (http://www.ryaguka.org). CIS is one of the projects that speak to the six strategic directions. It provides resources and assistance in connecting schools and communities, a need that has been identified by Miller (1995) as foundational in building healthy communities.

CIS workers, I believe, exemplify the importance of including schools and youth as one of Miller's (1995) necessary components of social capital. Jennifer, for example, in encouraging students to write stories about their community and create videos, created student-activated community involvement.

One of the CIS workers in this study lived out Miller's (1995) community-as-curriculum story as she involved students in documenting local events for the local community television station. For others, the learning or curriculum component involved working with adult learners and students at risk, inviting parents to take part in Grand Friends, and assessing and addressing the needs of students.

The third approach, that of school-based enterprise, was the least demonstrated in the participants' stories. There were no stories of students developing

entrepreneurial skills, identifying potential service needs in their community, or, of course, establishing businesses to address those needs. Although it is recognized that the reliance of social capital on the economy and environment cannot be overlooked, it is not an area in which CIS workers have become involved. Its mandate, however, leaves room for future involvement.

Implications for Policy

Participants' stories in this study highlight some specific interconnected issues that are important considerations for those working at the local level, but also for those responsible for provincial and federal policy. I address these issues through three themes: schools as special places, border crossings, and workers as social capital.

Schools as Special Places

In choosing schools as the home base for CIS workers, CEN has penetrated an organization steeped in centuries of tradition. Schools, like hospitals, have become sanctified as special places (Greenfield & Ribbins, 1993; Hodgkinson, 1991); places that demand expertise. Workers employed through CIS find themselves outside that expertise, yet working with programs that according to the workers and their Coordinator, require similar skill sets. For some CIS workers this felt like being a teacher without the recognition.

Also CIS workers were more likely to be described as temporary supports. According to CIS workers, the tenuous nature of the program may be one of the factors that influences how staff members view and interact with them. In the interviews, workers indicated that they did not feel as if they belonged. The principal's story suggested that teachers sometimes did not want CIS workers in their staff room. What CIS workers felt in this kind of unstable and unfriendly environment may be the politics of nonrecognition and the politics of resistance experienced through border crossings.

Border Crossings

Border crossings speak to the administering and managing of schools as a humane science (Greenfield & Ribbins, 1993) lived out through values. Traditionally, the main storyteller has been the teacher. Teachers come into a school bringing their own values. Some will be collective values, the norms of which are negotiated and renegotiated and entrenched over time. It becomes a *this is the way we do it here* story. Often when the established culture of the school is challenged by new relationships, there is the possibility of resistance from the seasoned staff, those who have established themselves in the school. As Fullan and Stiegelbaur (1991) point out, people who have their lives established collectively like teachers do not shift easily. These may be considered examples of boundary crossing described by Connelly and Clandinin (1999). Their work and Fullan and Stiegelbaur's suggest that there needs to be a process for cultivating, awakening, and transforming new ideas, new roles, and new stories into an already existing situation. Consistent job descriptions supportive of core programs, of CIS roles—with enough flexibility to build on workers' individually expressed interests—might go a long way in strengthening the identity and acceptance of CIS workers by others in the school.

Principals play a pivotal role in introducing CIS workers into their schools. They must lead the process by informing staff, students, and parents, negotiat-

ing the roles, addressing needs through inservices, and keeping communication open to all parties. CIS workers and their coordinator play an equally important role in assisting principals in the process of alerting staffs to the nature of CIS. The four CIS workers in this study made reference to the importance of having supportive relations with staff. If it takes a whole community to raise a child, renegotiation needs to go beyond communication that is the responsibility of one person; it needs a more intensified capacity-building that speaks to an implementation approach in which a community in the making can be transformed together.

The Coordinator of CIS (personal communication, 2004) pointed out that over the years and through the evaluation process, her organization has grown in its own expectations of how workers see themselves in schools. The CIS management now attempts to hold an inservice with all teachers of all schools where workers are to be placed. This, the Coordinator believes, has helped set the stage for all involved. CIS has also begun to develop professional growth plans that are linked with school growth plans. School growth plans were part of the Strategic Education Plan for the Cormack Trail School Board. Each school went through a process of determining its strengths and weaknesses and then of setting goals with accompanying objectives and action plans. Integrating plans as a team is another way to bring people together and help solidify the work being done in schools by both teachers and CIS workers. According to the Coordinator, on one occasion the CIS community was invited to take part in school district inservice that elicited a positive response from the CIS workers. As well, the District Coordinator for CIS sat on one of the school board's working committees; this again helped build connections between schools, senior management at district office, and CIS.

Workers as Social Capital
There are issues of social capital in terms of the work being done by CIS workers. Since 2004 there has been some stability in the life of the project itself, for government funding that will allow it to continue for another 10 years has been approved. The wages of the workers, however, remain at the mercy of proposal-writing and funding justification to various government agencies. If CIS is to become an accepted part of student support, the wages and length of employment need to be at a reasonable level. By Canadian standards, wages that fluctuate from minimum wage to stipends and short-term lengths of employment dominated by employment eligibility reflect poverty levels. These factors and how they are treated by some staff members were identity-shapers in terms of how CIS workers felt.

These inconsistencies continue to be raised and championed by CEN's executive level, who present to both federal and provincial governments on local needs. One of the struggles for both CEN and CIS is getting their work to transfer into systemic change so that it becomes not only a sustainable project where the workers no longer have to leverage funding for their own survival, but also one that signals the importance of the work of its participants. At this point, the gratification, I believe, is found in the rich service that is provided for children rather than in any perceived financial benefits to its workers.

Final Reflections

Community is neither fixed nor static. Community growth requires norms, networks, and trust (Miller, 1995) in order to facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Human interaction and negotiation are significant mediators for this process. CIS workers enter schools with a mission, vision, and a set of goals they are asked to achieve. They enter into an already existing learning community that has a mission, vision, and goals of its own. Together they may not be a community, but rather a community in the making, thus leaving room for dialogue, for doing things together, for sharing concerns, negotiating, and renegotiating.

The agencies that met in 1991 and continue the work today were obviously on the cutting edge of a concept of community development that illustrates the building of social capital through Gemeinschaft (local values) and Gesellschaft (a purposeful organization). Through CEN, these agencies make schools the focal point of the community and demonstrate that it takes a whole community to raise a child. To reiterate the importance of this point I conclude with an ancient Chinese story that I believe represents an image of CIS.

> Hell seems to be a beautiful place full of lush green vegetables, rolling hills, and clear, deep blue skies. The fragrance of rice fills the air and dishes are plenished to capacity. There is only one problem, the chop sticks are four feet long which makes it impossible for anyone to eat from the bowls and satisfy their hunger. Heaven, too, is an identical paradise filled with dishes of rice. And again, the chop sticks are four feet long. However, the people who live here, feed each other. (cited by Yoemans, 1972)

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