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The Challenges of Teaching Reading Using the Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (CIRC) Method

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Abstract: Reading is one of the most fundamental language skills that students must master to succeed in education and beyond. Yet, teaching reading in formal education often encounters multiple obstacles, ranging from low student motivation to the dominance of teacher-centered approaches. To address these issues, Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (CIRC), a cooperative learning model that integrates reading and writing, has been widely introduced and tested. This article investigates the challenges faced by teachers in applying the CIRC method in the teaching of reading comprehension at MTs Negeri 4 Kediri, Indonesia. Using a qualitative descriptive design, the study collected data through observations, interviews, and documentation with teachers, students, and the school principal. The findings indicate that while CIRC enhances student engagement, collaboration, and comprehension, it also poses challenges such as time management, unequal participation among students, and adaptability issues during remote or pandemic learning. This paper discusses these challenges in light of previous research, theories of cooperative learning, and broader educational implications, while suggesting strategies for teachers and institutions to optimize the use of CIRC in diverse contexts.

INTRODUCTION

Language education is universally recognized as one of the most fundamental pillars of human development. Within this domain, the four skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing are interconnected competencies that support overall communicative ability. Among these, reading has traditionally held a special place, not only because it provides access to information and knowledge but also because it functions as the

foundation for academic success across subject areas. A student who cannot comprehend written texts will inevitably struggle in science, mathematics, history, and other disciplines that require engagement with written material. For this reason, reading comprehension is often regarded as both a skill in itself and a gateway to broader intellectual development.

In the Indonesian educational context, the importance of reading is particularly emphasized by national curricula, which position literacy as a central competency for students at every level. Yet, despite this recognition, large-scale assessments such as PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) have consistently revealed that Indonesian students' reading literacy lags behind global averages. Factors contributing to this gap include limited exposure to diverse reading materials, insufficient school libraries, and a tendency toward teacher-centered pedagogical methods. Students are frequently trained to memorize facts rather than to engage critically with texts, which undermines the development of higher-order comprehension skills.

In response to these issues, various instructional innovations have been introduced. Among them, cooperative learning has attracted significant attention because it redefines the classroom as a collaborative community rather than a space for individual competition. Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (CIRC), developed as part of the Student Team Learning Program at Johns Hopkins University, is one such model. Unlike conventional approaches that isolate reading from writing, CIRC integrates the two processes and situates them within a framework of teamwork, mutual accountability, and shared learning outcomes.

While the theoretical promise of CIRC is compelling, classroom implementation is rarely straightforward. Teachers often report difficulties related to classroom management, the allocation of instructional time, and ensuring equal participation across diverse groups of students. Moreover, contextual factors such as large class sizes, limited teaching resources, and

varying levels of student motivation further complicate the process.

The challenges became even more pronounced during the COVID-19 pandemic, when schools were forced to adopt remote learning models. Cooperative methods like CIRC, which depend heavily on in-person interaction, proved difficult to replicate in online environments. Teachers struggled to monitor group discussions, while students encountered technological barriers such as poor internet connectivity and limited access to digital devices. As a result, the cooperative ethos of CIRC was weakened, raising questions about its adaptability under crisis conditions.

Thus, the central problem addressed by this study is not simply whether CIRC can improve reading comprehension—this has already been demonstrated by multiple studies—but rather how teachers and students navigate the obstacles that arise during its application in real classrooms.

In light of the problem above, this research sets out with the following objectives: To describe in detail how the CIRC method is applied in teaching reading comprehension at MTs Negeri 4 Kediri.

To identify the challenges experienced by teachers and students in implementing CIRC, including logistical, pedagogical, and contextual issues.

To analyze these challenges in relation to existing theories of cooperative learning and prior empirical studies.

To propose practical strategies that may help overcome these challenges, thereby improving the feasibility and sustainability of CIRC in diverse educational settings.

The significance of this research can be considered on three levels: theoretical, practical, and policy-related: Theoretical significance: By documenting the challenges of implementing CIRC, the study contributes to the broader discourse on cooperative learning. It shifts the focus from purely positive outcomes to a more balanced understanding that acknowledges contextual constraints.

Practical significance: For teachers, the study provides concrete insights into common pitfalls and potential

strategies for addressing them. This can inform lesson planning, classroom management, and professional development initiatives.

Policy significance: For curriculum developers and educational policymakers, the study highlights the need for structural support—such as appropriate time allocation, training for teachers, and investment in learning resources—to ensure that innovative pedagogies can thrive.

Reading has long been regarded as a fundamental skill in language education, often considered both a cognitive and a social process. On the one hand, reading requires the ability to decode symbols and words into meaningful units; on the other hand, it involves interpreting those units within broader social, cultural, and disciplinary contexts. According to Niliawati et al. (2018), reading is an activity of absorbing information, knowledge, and insights that contribute directly to one's intelligence and capacity to learn. Readers who engage with diverse texts develop not only vocabulary but also the ability to provide interpretive feedback on the material they encounter.

Reading comprehension, specifically, is not merely the recognition of words but the construction of meaning. Sunarti (2021) describes comprehension as the process through which readers understand both silent and oral texts. This includes identifying the main idea, drawing inferences, integrating new information with prior knowledge, and evaluating the credibility of arguments. In short, comprehension is a higher-order cognitive skill that requires students to synthesize information rather than passively consume it.

In the Indonesian educational system, reading has been prioritized as a gateway to broader learning. Nevertheless, the results of PISA assessments have consistently revealed weaknesses in Indonesian students' ability to interpret, analyze, and evaluate texts. These findings highlight the limitations of traditional instructional methods such as rote memorization and teacher-dominated instruction. Hence, innovative approaches are urgently needed to

strengthen reading comprehension in schools.

Reading and writing are complementary skills. Cognitive research has demonstrated that when students are required to write about what they read—whether by summarizing, reflecting, or composing critical responses—they engage with texts more deeply. Writing fosters active processing, forces students to clarify ideas, and helps consolidate memory.

Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (CIRC) places special emphasis on this integration. As Oktafiani, Irdamurni, and Damri (2018) argue, the incorporation of writing tasks within cooperative learning models enhances comprehension, particularly for students with reading difficulties such as dyslexia. By requiring students to summarize texts, predict narrative outcomes, and respond in writing, CIRC ensures that reading is not an isolated activity but part of a broader cycle of meaning-making.

From a pedagogical perspective, integrating reading and writing develops multiple literacies simultaneously. Student's practice identifying textual structures while also learning how to organize their own written output. The act of writing responses to readings encourages metacognition: learners must reflect on what they understood and how they can express that understanding coherently. Thus, integration benefits both skill domains and contributes to deeper literacy.

Cooperative learning has emerged as a significant alternative to traditional teacher-centered pedagogies. Johnson and Johnson (1999) define cooperative learning as the instructional use of small groups to encourage students to work together toward shared academic goals. Its core principles include: Positive interdependence – group members rely on each other to succeed.

Individual accountability – each student is responsible for their own contribution. Face-to-face promotive interaction – members support each other's learning. Interpersonal and small-group skills – students develop teamwork and communication abilities.

Group processing – groups reflect on their collaboration to improve future performance.

In language education, cooperative learning is particularly powerful. It provides opportunities for authentic communication, peer teaching, and negotiation of meaning. Instead of learning vocabulary and grammar in isolation, students use language as a tool for collaboration. Moreover, cooperative models align closely with Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, which emphasizes the role of social interaction in cognitive development. The concept of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) is operationalized when stronger students scaffold weaker peers, enabling both to benefit.

Empirical studies have confirmed these benefits. For example, Gillies (2007) found that cooperative learning increased student engagement, promoted critical thinking, and enhanced achievement in language classrooms. However, such benefits depend heavily on effective teacher facilitation, well-structured tasks, and supportive classroom cultures.

CIRC is one of the most widely recognized cooperative learning models. Developed in the 1980s by Stevens, Slavin, and colleagues at Johns Hopkins University, CIRC was initially designed to address problems in reading and writing instruction in upper elementary schools. The model integrates reading comprehension, vocabulary development, spelling, and writing into a comprehensive program.

The typical CIRC cycle involves: Group formation – students are assigned to heterogeneous groups of four to six.

Reading aloud – group members take turns reading sections of text. Discussion and prediction – members predict what might happen next or identify key points.

Summarizing and retelling – each member writes or retells the passage. Vocabulary and spelling practice – groups reinforce language mechanics.

Writing response – students produce written reflections or compositions. Presentation and feedback – groups share their work with the class, receiving teacher and peer feedback.

Shoimin (2014) lists several advantages of CIRC: it reduces teacher dominance, increases motivation, supports peer teaching, and improves

comprehension and writing skills simultaneously. Students learn to check each other's work, which develops both responsibility and accountability. Additionally, CIRC encourages weaker students by situating them in supportive groups, thereby reducing fear or embarrassment.

Yet, the model is not without weaknesses. As Liani Niliawati et al. (2018) noted, CIRC requires significant time and preparation. It may also be less effective in contexts with large class sizes or during pandemic-induced online learning, where physical group work is constrained. Therefore, while CIRC offers significant pedagogical benefits, its implementation requires adaptation to specific contexts.

A growing body of research has examined the impact of CIRC in improving reading comprehension. Safitri and Ngaisah (2018) found significant differences between students taught with CIRC and those taught with conventional methods, with CIRC students demonstrating higher comprehension levels. Similarly, Rahmi and Marnola (2020) reported that the cooperative approach improved learning outcomes when properly implemented with attention to design, implementation, and evaluation.

Other studies highlight CIRC's broader educational impact. Yulia and Ilham observed that CIRC not only improved comprehension but also increased motivation and teamwork. Oktafiani, Irdamurni, and Damri (2018) emphasized its effectiveness for students with learning difficulties, noting that the cooperative context provided scaffolding that facilitated comprehension.

Nonetheless, limitations remain. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the effectiveness of CIRC declined sharply because it relies on in-person collaboration. Niliawati and Hermawan (2018) documented by online adaptations were difficult, and the absence of physical presence undermined student accountability. In addition, some researchers observed unequal participation within groups, where high-achieving students dominated tasks while weaker peers remained passive.

Overall, the literature demonstrates that CIRC is a promising model with

proven benefits but also practical constraints. The present study contributes to this body of knowledge by focusing not just on effectiveness but also on the challenges faced in implementing CIRC in Indonesian junior high school classrooms.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative descriptive research design. Unlike quantitative approaches that seek to measure variables through statistical tools, qualitative descriptive studies aim to provide a rich and detailed account of phenomena as they naturally occur. According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), qualitative description is particularly valuable in education because it allows researchers to "stay close to the data and the participants' own words."

The goal of this research was not to test a hypothesis or establish causal relationships, but rather to document the implementation of Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (CIRC) and to analyze the challenges teachers and students encounter. A descriptive lens allowed the researchers to present authentic accounts of classroom realities and to interpret these in light of existing theories of cooperative learning.

The study was conducted at MTs Negeri 4 Kediri, a state Islamic junior high school located in East Java Province, Indonesia. The school has a diverse student population drawn from both urban and rural areas. Many students come from families with limited educational resources, which makes the school an important site for investigating literacy development.

The participants included:

One English teacher responsible for teaching reading comprehension at the seventh-grade level.

The school principal, who provided institutional perspectives on the curriculum and support for cooperative learning.

Thirty students from a seventh-grade class, representing a heterogeneous group in terms of gender, academic ability, and socio-economic background.

The selection of participants was purposive, as they were directly involved in the application of CIRC. Heterogeneity among the students

allowed the researchers to observe how the model functioned across different ability levels.

Data were collected using three main techniques: Classroom observations were conducted over multiple sessions to document the actual implementation of CIRC. Observers recorded details such as how the teacher introduced lessons, how groups interacted, and how students responded to tasks. Special attention was given to moments of difficulty, such as when groups struggled with participation or when time constraints limited activities.

Semi-structured interviews were held with the English teacher, the school principal, and selected students. For the teacher, questions focused on experiences with planning, implementing, and evaluating CIRC. For students, interviews explored perceptions of group work, engagement, and difficulties. The principal was asked about institutional policies and support structures for literacy and cooperative learning.

Documents such as lesson plans, student worksheets, and school literacy programs were analyzed to provide additional context. These documents helped triangulate observational and interview data, ensuring a more complete understanding of how CIRC was integrated into the school curriculum. Data analysis followed the model proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994), which involves three stages:

Data reduction: Organizing and simplifying the raw data collected through field notes, interview transcripts, and documents. This step involved coding instances of "challenges," "strategies," and "outcomes" related to CIRC.

Data display: Arranging the data into thematic categories and visual displays such as matrices or charts. For example, one display compared teacher-reported challenges with student-reported experiences.

Conclusion drawing and verification: Identifying recurring themes, making interpretations, and cross-checking these against the data. For instance, the recurring theme of "time constraints" was verified through

classroom observations, teacher interviews, and lesson plans.

To enhance credibility and dependability, the study employed several strategies: Triangulation: Both source triangulation (teacher, students, principal) and method triangulation (observation, interviews, documentation) were used. Member checking: Preliminary findings were shared with the teacher, who confirmed the accuracy of interpretations.

Thick description: Detailed descriptions of classroom activities were provided to allow readers to understand the context.

Audit trail: All data, including transcripts and notes, were systematically organized to enable external review if necessary.

The study adhered to basic ethical standards for educational research. Participants were informed about the purpose of the study and gave consent for participation. Student anonymity was protected by using pseudonyms in transcripts and reports. The researchers ensured that classroom activities were not disrupted by the observation process.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Findings

This section presents the findings of the study based on classroom observations, interviews, and document analysis. The focus is twofold: (1) how the Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (CIRC) method was implemented in the classroom at MTs Negeri 4 Kediri, and (2) what challenges emerged during the implementation process.

Group Formation

The teacher began the process by dividing students into groups of four to six, ensuring heterogeneity in terms of gender, academic achievement, and personality. This grouping strategy reflected the cooperative principle of positive interdependence. Each group contained students with varying levels of ability so that stronger students could assist weaker peers.

During observations, group formation appeared to be well-received by students. Many expressed enthusiasms at the opportunity to collaborate with classmates, although some initially resisted being placed in groups with peers they were less

familiar with. Over time, however, students adjusted and developed cooperative routines.

Presentation of Reading Material

Reading materials consisted of narrative and expository texts aligned with the national curriculum. The teacher provided printed handouts and occasionally used short passages from textbooks. Before group activities began, the teacher explained learning objectives and outlined the steps of the CIRC process.

Students reported that having clear instructions at the outset helped them stay focused during group work. The teacher's role was primarily as a facilitator rather than a lecturer, ensuring that groups remained on task and offering guidance when necessary.

Collaborative Reading and Discussion

The core of CIRC lay in collaborative reading. Students took turns reading passages aloud to the group. This not only allowed weaker readers to practice fluency but also encouraged listening and attention among peers. After reading, groups discussed the main ideas, vocabulary, and potential narrative outcomes.

Observation notes indicated that groups displayed different levels of participation. Some groups engaged actively in discussion, with all members contributing. In others, stronger students dominated while weaker peers remained quiet. The teacher intervened by reminding groups to rotate roles and encourage participation from all members.

Writing Component, A distinctive feature of CIRC was the integration of writing tasks. After discussion, groups produced summaries of the texts. Each student also wrote short individual responses to comprehension questions. This dual approach ensured both group accountability and individual responsibility.

Interviews with students suggested that writing tasks helped consolidate their understanding. Many admitted that without writing, they might forget details of the text. By summarizing, they were forced to process the content more deeply. Teachers also noted that written work provided a tangible record of student progress.

Presentation and Feedback, At the end of each session, groups presented

their summaries and responses to the class. Presentations fostered confidence and public speaking skills. Other groups were encouraged to ask questions, creating a culture of peer evaluation. The teacher concluded by providing additional feedback and synthesizing the main points of the lesson.

Overall, the implementation of CIRC at MTs Negeri 4 Kediri followed the established steps of the model. It fostered a more interactive classroom environment than traditional methods, with students generally more engaged and enthusiastic.

Despite its benefits, several challenges emerged consistently across observations and interviews:

Time Management

One of the most pressing challenges was time. Each CIRC session, involving reading, discussion, writing, and presentations, required significantly more time than conventional lessons. Teachers frequently reported that they struggled to complete the full cycle within a single 90-minute class.

As a result, some components—particularly presentations—were occasionally shortened or omitted. Students expressed disappointment when they did not have the opportunity to present, as they viewed this as a moment of recognition and validation.

Unequal Participation

Another common issue was unequal participation within groups. While some groups successfully shared responsibilities, others fell into patterns where high-achieving students dominated reading and summarizing tasks, leaving weaker students passive.

Interviews revealed that weaker students often felt anxious about making mistakes in front of peers. Teachers noted that rotating roles and assigning specific responsibilities helped mitigate this issue, but it remained a persistent challenge.

Teacher Workload

Implementing CIRC placed heavy demands on the teacher. Preparing reading materials, designing worksheets, monitoring multiple groups simultaneously, and providing feedback on both oral and written work required considerable effort. The teacher admitted that balancing these

tasks was exhausting, especially in large classes of more than 30 students.

Adaptability During Remote Learning

The COVID-19 pandemic forced periods of remote learning, which disrupted the cooperative nature of CIRC. Online platforms made it difficult to replicate face-to-face group interaction. Breakout rooms in video conferencing applications were used, but internet instability often hindered participation. Students with limited access to devices were unable to engage fully, and teachers struggled to monitor multiple groups simultaneously in the online environment. Both teachers and students agreed that CIRC was less effective under remote learning conditions.

While heterogeneity was intended to encourage peer support, it sometimes created tension. Advanced students complained that group progress was slowed by weaker members, while weaker students felt intimidated and reluctant to contribute. This dynamic occasionally led to frustration and disengagement.

Interviews with students provided additional insights. Many students appreciated the interactive nature of CIRC, reporting that they felt more motivated compared to traditional lessons. One student remarked, "When we work in groups, I feel more comfortable asking questions than when the teacher asks me directly." Another observed, "Writing the summary helps me remember what we read, because if I only listen, I forget quickly."

At the same time, students acknowledged the challenges. Some admitted they preferred to let stronger classmates do most of the work, while others expressed nervousness about presenting in front of the class. These perspectives highlight the dual nature of cooperative learning: while it can reduce anxiety through peer support, it can also heighten anxiety for students unaccustomed to public participation.

The teacher emphasized that despite the difficulties, CIRC had improved student engagement. "Students who used to be silent are now at least trying to contribute in their groups," she noted. However, she also underlined the strain of planning and monitoring group activities, especially

without additional institutional support.

The school principal recognized the potential of CIRC but expressed concern about time allocation. He noted that while cooperative learning aligns with the school's literacy goals, the curriculum requires coverage of multiple competencies, making it difficult to dedicate long periods to group work.

The findings demonstrate that CIRC was implemented effectively at MTs Negeri 4 Kediri, producing notable benefits such as increased engagement, stronger comprehension, and integration of reading and writing. However, significant challenges—including time management, unequal participation, teacher workload, adaptability during remote learning, and heterogeneity of student abilities—limited its overall effectiveness.

Discussion

The findings of this study confirm both the potential and the limitations of Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (CIRC) when applied in Indonesian junior high schools. In this section, the results are interpreted in light of existing theories and prior research, with attention to the pedagogical and institutional implications.

The implementation of CIRC at MTs Negeri 4 Kediri demonstrated key features of cooperative learning as described by Johnson and Johnson (1999). Students experienced positive interdependence by working together on reading and writing tasks, while individual accountability was maintained through personal responses and written assignments. The activities also encouraged promotive interaction, as students supported each other by explaining vocabulary and checking summaries.

From a sociocultural perspective, the cooperative setting reflected Vygotsky's concept of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). Stronger students scaffolded weaker peers by modeling pronunciation, summarizing ideas, and clarifying difficult vocabulary. This peer-assisted learning provided weaker students with access to higher levels of comprehension than they could have achieved independently.

The results align with those of Safitri and Ngaisah (2018), who found that CIRC improved students' reading comprehension compared to conventional methods. Similarly, Rahmi and Marnola (2020) emphasized the importance of systematic design and evaluation in cooperative models, which was evident in the teacher's efforts at MTs Negeri 4 Kediri.

However, the findings also resonate with concerns raised by Niliawati et al. (2018), who argued that CIRC can be less effective in situations where time and resources are limited. Teachers in this study echoed those concerns, noting the difficulty of completing the full cycle within restricted class periods. Moreover, consistent with Liani and Hermawan (2018), this study confirmed that CIRC faced significant challenges during remote learning, as online platforms could not replicate the richness of face-to-face group work.

Despite challenges, the pedagogical benefits of CIRC are noteworthy. Observations revealed that students were more engaged compared to traditional teacher-centered methods. Many reported feeling more motivated, as group work allowed them to share ideas without fear of direct teacher judgment. Writing tasks strengthened comprehension, confirming research by Oktafiani, Irdamurni, and Damri (2018), who highlighted the importance of writing in consolidating reading.

Another important benefit was the development of social and communication skills. Presentations encouraged public speaking, while group discussions nurtured active listening. These skills extend beyond literacy to broader competencies required in the 21st century, such as collaboration and critical thinking.

Nevertheless, the challenges identified must be taken seriously. Time management was a critical issue. Teachers felt torn between completing the CIRC cycle and covering the required curriculum. Without adjustments in scheduling or curriculum design, the sustainability of CIRC may be compromised.

Unequal participation was another concern. Although CIRC is designed to ensure every member contributes, in practice weaker students often withdrew while stronger peers took

control. This echoes the findings of Shoimin (2014), who warned that cooperative methods can unintentionally reproduce classroom inequalities. Teachers in this study attempted to mitigate this through role rotation, but success was limited.

Teacher workload emerged as a structural challenge. Effective CIRC implementation requires preparation of diverse reading materials, careful monitoring, and detailed feedback. Without institutional support—such as training, teaching assistants, or reduced class sizes—the burden on individual teachers may hinder effective application.

The pandemic highlighted another limitation: adaptability. CIRC relies heavily on in-person interaction, and while technology offered partial substitutes, the cooperative spirit was diluted. Unequal access to devices and unstable internet connections compounded the problem. This suggests that future adaptations of CIRC must include strategies for digital implementation, such as collaborative online documents or hybrid models that combine asynchronous and synchronous learning.

The findings underscore the need for greater curriculum flexibility. If cooperative learning is to be genuinely integrated, time allocations must be adjusted to allow for group work and reflection. Policymakers should avoid overloading syllabi with content at the expense of deep learning.

Additionally, professional development for teachers is essential. Facilitating cooperative learning requires skills in group management, formative assessment, and scaffolding. In-service training, peer learning communities, and mentoring programs can help teachers overcome implementation challenges.

Finally, investment in resources—such as school libraries, digital infrastructure, and teaching assistants—can reduce barriers. Without systemic support, even the most effective pedagogical models may falter in practice.

In summary, the discussion highlights a dual reality. On one hand, CIRC offers clear pedagogical benefits, enhancing engagement, comprehension,

and collaboration. On the other, practical challenges related to time, participation, workload, and adaptability limit its impact. The findings confirm the effectiveness of CIRC under supportive conditions but caution against assuming that innovative models can succeed without institutional adaptation.

CONCLUSION

This study investigated the challenges of teaching reading through the Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (CIRC) method at MTs Negeri 4 Kediri, Indonesia. The findings reveal a balanced picture: CIRC is both a promising pedagogical approach and a demanding instructional model.

On the positive side, CIRC fostered greater student engagement, collaboration, and comprehension compared to traditional teacher-centered lessons. Students demonstrated higher motivation, improved ability to identify main ideas, and stronger retention through writing tasks. Group work provided opportunities for peer scaffolding, allowing weaker students to benefit from stronger classmates. The method also supported the development of broader skills, including communication, critical thinking, and teamwork.

At the same time, the study identified persistent challenges. Time constraints made it difficult to complete the full CIRC cycle within limited lesson periods. Unequal participation often occurred, with stronger students dominating and weaker ones remaining passive. Teacher workload was heavy, requiring extensive preparation and monitoring. The COVID-19 pandemic highlighted adaptability issues, as online environments failed to replicate the richness of face-to-face cooperation. Finally, the heterogeneity of student abilities created tensions within groups, sometimes discouraging participation.

Taken together, the findings suggest that CIRC is not a "magic bullet." Its success depends on careful implementation, teacher facilitation, and supportive institutional structures. Without adjustments, the challenges risk undermining its potential benefits.

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