ABSTRACT
        This document examines the importance of access to
educational resources that are supplementary to what is available in school
for all students. Supplementary education is the formal and informal learning
and developmental enrichment opportunities provided for students outside of
school and beyond the regular school day or year. While supplementary
education significantly increases students' chances for academic success,
many families do not know how or are not positioned to access it. Studies of
high achieving students show that they tend to have combinations of strong
home and school resources to support their intellectual and personal
development. They tend to participate in a wide range of supplementary
educational activities and come from families of middle to high socioeconomic
status. High achieving students are actively engaged in school events and
extracurricular activities and maintain positive links with adults and peers
who continually advocate high expectations for achievement. It is important
to reduce the dissonance between hegemonic and ethnic minority cultural
identities as reflected in the "fear of acting white" and fear of stereotype
confirmation. Targeted strategies include facilitating cooperative learning
cadres among students, facilitating social environments that nurture academic
achievement as instrumental to personal and political agency, and developing
facility in using electronic and digital technology. (Contains 22
references.) (SM)

THE IDEA OF SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION
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The Idea of Supplementary Education

Informed parents, scholars, and educators have known for some time now that schools alone cannot enable or ensure high academic achievement (Coleman et al., 1966; Gordon & Bridglall, 2001; Wilkerson, 1985). James Comer asserts this position more forcefully in *Waiting for a Miracle: Why Our Schools Cannot Solve Our Problems and How We Can* (1997). Colloquial knowledge among many parents "in the know" reflects awareness that there are a number of things that occur outside of school that appear to enable schooling to work. Examples can be found in the many education related opportunities that affluent and academically sophisticated parents make available to their children, i.e., travel, dance lessons, scouting, tutoring, summer camp. In 1966, James Coleman concluded that differences in the family backgrounds of students, as opposed to school characteristics, accounted for the greatest amount of variance in their academic achievement. This finding was later found to be less valid for low-income and ethnic minority children than for the general population (Gordon, 1999), but typically, family background and income stand as strong predictors of achievement in school (Jaynes & Williams, 1990; Gordon & Meroe, 1989; Sexton, 1969). In related works, Mercer (1973) and Wolf (1966; 1995) posited that it is the presence of family environmental supports for academic development that may explain this association between family status and student achievement. They made the now obvious point that books, positive academic role models, help with homework, and a place to study in the home are associated with school achievement.

It is reasonable to assume that the most academically successful populations (primarily European Americans and Asian Americans with mid to high socioeconomic status [SES] backgrounds) tend to have combinations of strong home and school resources to support their academic development. The least successful groups (African American, Latina/o American, Native American, and the poor) have on average a much weaker combination of home and school resources (Birch & Gussow, 1970; Gordon & Meroe, 1989; the National Task Force on Minority High Achievement, 1999). Without demeaning the importance of adequate and appropriate school resources, we focus in this issue of *Pedagogical Inquiry and Praxis* on the crucial importance of access to educational resources that are supplementary to what is available in school.

In the second issue of *Pedagogical Inquiry and Praxis* (2001), we referenced Bourdieu's (1986) notion that varieties of human development capital* are among the resources necessary for effective schooling. We argued that access to these varieties of capital is unequally distributed, yet it is this access that enables a wide variety of supplementary education experiences. It is the inferred association between access to human development capital and supplementary education, and between supplementary education and the effectiveness of education that led to the inclusion of supplementary education as a component of our advocacy for the affirmative development of academic ability.

The idea of supplementary education (Gordon, 1999) is based on the premise that beyond exposure to the school's formal academic curriculum, high academic achievement is closely associated with exposure to family and community-based activities and

learning experiences in support of academic development that occur outside of school. For low-SES and non-Asian students of color, these opportunities are generally underutilized. In the home environment, for example, high achieving students benefit from literate adults, home computers, books, magazines, journals, and the academic assistance and encouragement of older siblings and parents. In terms of community resources, the combination of local library privileges, mentoring and tutoring programs, peer-based study groups, Saturday and/or after-school academies, and participation in various folk and "high" cultural events and faith-based activities, influence the development of proactive and engaged dispositions toward academic learning.

In general, high degrees of congruency between the values promulgated at school, at home, and in a student's immediate community are associated with high academic achievement. What may be equally critical are students' perceptions that what happens at school matters and is consistent with what parents and other family members consider important (Wilkerson, 1985). This is conveyed through expectations, physical provisions for academic pursuits, attitudes toward intellectual activity, and the models that are available for children to emulate. Participation in supplementary education activities contributes to the development of a sense of membership in high performance learning communities and shared values for the importance of academic achievement for personal fulfillment, community development, and social and political upward mobility (Gordon, 1999).

Supplementary Education Defined

We define supplementary education as the formal and informal learning and developmental enrichment opportunities provided for students outside of school and beyond the regular school day or year. Some of these activities may occur inside the school building but are beyond those included in the formal curriculum of the school. After-school care, perhaps the most widespread form of supplementary education, includes the special efforts that parents exert in support of the intellective and personal development of their children (Gordon, 1999). These efforts may range from provisions for good health and nutrition to extensive travel and deliberate exposure to socialization to life in the academy, as well as to mediated exposure to selected aspects of both indigenous and hegemonic cultures. Many activities, considered routine in the settings in which they occur, are nonetheless thought to be implicitly and deliberately engaged in to ensure adequate intellective and academic development of young people. These routines include reading to and with one's children; dinner table talk and inclusion in other family discussions of important issues; exposure to adult models of behaviors supportive of academic learning; active use of the library, museums, community and religious centers as sources of information; help seeking from appropriate sources; and investments in reference and other education materials (Gordon, 1999).

In a related but different domain are efforts directed at influencing children's choice of friends and peers; guiding and controlling use of their spare time; guiding and limiting their time spent watching television; and encouraging their participation in high performance learning communities. Thus, we find a wide range of deliberate and incidental activities that serve to supplement the more formal and systematically structured learning experiences provided through schooling. These more

intentional child development practices are no doubt dually responsive to the folk knowledge of academically sophisticated families and the empirically derived knowledge of experts in child development and education (Gordon, 1999).

Rationale for Supplementary Education

We have found no evidence that specific individuals or groups have formally agreed on the name or need for the components of what we call supplementary education. It seems that over time parents have come to realize that schools are limited in their ability to address all of the needs of individual children. Those of us who are parents can recall situations in which our own children have experienced difficulty with school subjects and we have felt the need to hire tutors or seek the help of counselors. Many of us have had experience with children who were in trouble or were disturbed in some way (beyond our capacity to help or endure) and we have sought guidance for them and/or ourselves. Most of us who are able and well informed will, almost automatically, seek out the additional help that our children need. In less critical situations, many of the things we do quite naturally for recreation or cultural pleasure, or out of anxious concern for the optimal development of our children, are implicitly supplemental to schooling. The problem is that all children do not have parents who know how or are well positioned to do these things. In advocating for increased access to supplementary education, we are arguing for making available and accessible, to all children, those supplements that many of us automatically provide to ensure the effectiveness of education for our own children.

The Need for Supplementary Education

Studies of high achieving students, many of whom have been exposed to a wide range of supplementary education efforts, show that they seem to actively engage in school events and extracurricular activities, identify with high achievement values; have good study skills and other learner behaviors; demonstrate personal skills such as independence, interpersonal facility, and flexibility; and maintain positive ties with adults (parents and mentors) and peers who continually advocate high expectations for achievement. These students tend to come from adequately resourced families and experience less housing mobility and greater social stability than their lower achieving counterparts. Support for their intellectual and personal development appears to flow from parents, peers, and school environments that encourage and expect high academic achievement (Gordon & Meroe, in press).

Obviously, some of these circumstances and conditions are school dependent. Mastery of the academic content of schooling may be disproportionately a function of exposure to and participation in effective schooling. With the exception of a relatively small number of students who are effectively educated at home, we see strong and adequate schooling as an essential feature of modern societies. However, much of what it means to be an educated and intellectively competent person involves attitudes, appreciations, dispositions, tacit knowledge, and metacognitive abilities that depend on good schooling and good out-of-school activities and experiences that support academic learning. Thus we argue that those cultural and social factors associated with academic learning are as important as the substance of what is to be learned and the processes by which it is to be learned. Consequently, those of us concerned with replicating the circum-

stances and conditions associated with high academic achievement need to focus on creating positive social and psychological conditions for academic learning inside and outside of schools. This includes developing and implementing cooperative and supportive learning experiences, explicating and mediating the critical demands of academic learning situations, organizing tutorial and study groups, using mentoring and athletic coaching models, and creating ubiquitously high expectations. We must also be aware of the need to reduce the dissonance between hegemonic and ethnic minority cultural identities as is reflected in the phenomenon described as fear of "acting white" (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986) and fear of stereotype confirmation (Steele, 1997).

In addition, given that students are greatly influenced by the social contexts in which they develop, their academic achievement and competencies may be dependent upon the extent to which their social contexts, both natural and contrived, support desired ends. Some of these essential contextual supports have been described as various forms of human and social capital that enable and facilitate academic learning and personal development. The necessary human capital includes adults and peers who themselves are sources of know how and are models of the behaviors and achievements that students can emulate. The social capital is represented in the networks of support, the connections to sources of information and resources, and the expectations of the group to which a person belongs. For students who are not naturally exposed to academically demanding environments, parents as well as educators will need to create high performance learning communities (whether they are in the form of families, peer groups, classrooms, social groups, or institutions) where serious academic work is respected, standards are explicit, and high achievement is rewarded (Gordon, 1999). Some parents may need help in developing the capacity to advocate for and access varieties of human development resource capital and to place these at the disposal of their children's academic and personal development. We advocate the following targeted strategies:

(1) The facilitation of cooperative learning cadres among students and social environments that nurture academic achievement as instrumental to personal and political agency.
(2) The implementation of specific interventions designed to enhance students' skills and understanding, including:
  ○ socialization to the demands of serious academic engagement;
  ○ metacognitive competence and metacomponential strategies—an understanding of how one thinks and learns, and strategies to use this understanding in the self-regulation of one's learning behavior; and
  ○ diagnostically-targeted instruction and remediation.
(3) The development of facility in the use of electronic and digital technology for accessing various types of information, resources, and extended learning experiences.
(4) The academic and political socialization to the requirements and rewards of high levels of achievement as instruments of personal agency and social responsibility.

The last strategy suggests that for low SES students and/or students of color, negative school experiences such as low-level tracking, persistent failure, and manifestations of racism can result in failure to develop positive self concepts and the outright rejection of aspirations for academic achievement. These reactions may be ameliorated through school-, community-, peer-, and family-mediated supplementary education interventions that allow students to grasp the relevance of education not only for potential individual gains in future careers, but also as a means for developing an informed understanding of issues of social justice and for recognizing academic abilities as vehicles for political advocacy and action (Gordon, in press; Gordon & Meroe, in press). Moreover, familiarity with how knowledge and skills can be used in the struggle for emancipation and justice can add an element of politicalization as an instrument of pedagogy. In the process, students can be socialized to their responsibility for personal agency and the empowerment of others, as well as for an understanding of the potential relationships between academic mastery and their own political agendas (agency). Raised political consciousness can be seen as a particular form of supplementary education (Gordon, in press) and as an organizing principle for the creation of high performance learning communities among subaltern populations.

Taxonomy of Supplementary Education

Related types of supplementary education include those that are implicit (parenting, nutrition, family talk, parental employment, decision making, reading along with the children, socialization and acculturation, social networks, travel, and environmental supports (Mercer, 1973; Wolf, 1966), and those that are explicit (academic development, tutorials, advocacy, remediation, one-on-one tutoring SAT preparation, Saturday academies, specialized services, socio-cultural and child-centered social groups). These interventions are further impacted by the ethos of students' homes and communities, cultural and socioeconomic demographics, the economic and cultural infrastructure students and families may or may not have access to, incidental and informal experiences, formal and explicit exposure to high performance learning communities, aspirations, expectations, and access to available resources. As indicated throughout this discussion, these interventions can be directed at students who are performing academically at different levels and achievement ranges: to those who are at risk of underachievement and to those who are high achievers.

Conclusion

Efforts to improve schools on a widescale basis for students from the least successful groups have produced many positive results, but there continue to be formidable obstacles to eliminating the differentials in academic achievement between students from high status and low status families. In our program of affirmative development of academic ability, described in the second issue of *Pedagogical Inquiry and Praxis* (2001), we have identified several in-school initiatives that we believe will contribute to the closing of this gap, but we are pessimistic about the possibility that schooling alone will solve the problem. We therefore propose concentrated efforts at introducing a wide variety of supplementary education opportunities for low-income minority families and communities. It may be simplest to start with an initiative that has already taken root. After-school programs are among the most widespread forms of supplementary education, and are being reconceptualized as opportunities to influence the narrowing of the pervasive academic achievement

gap between majority and some ethnic minority student groups. The After School Corporation, for example, cited some of the educational impacts of this form of supplementary education (TASC, 1999). They include improved academic performance and school behavior, improved attendance and graduation rates, improved family relationships, and decreased pregnancy and drug use rates. Although the after-school movement addresses a range of student needs, it is giving increased attention to the academic development of students. This direction should be encouraged.

School districts and communities that serve low-income populations and families of color might well take a page from Koreatown in Los Angeles, where some 300 agencies provide supplementary education services, most requiring payment by parents (Bhattacharya, in press). Not only do many more communities need to have such services readily available, but consideration must also be given to ways of involving families within their abili

ty to pay. While we are sensitive to the problem of placing additional financial burdens on already hard-pressed families, Gordon (1999) has raised the possibility that a parent's decision to invest in supplementary education may be an important part of the treatment. When parents extend themselves or even make sacrifices to make an extra education service available, the message to their children is that parents consider this to be important. In a proposal currently being considered for funding, the possibility is raised for organizations like ASPIRA, NAACP, The Urban League, Jack and Jill, The Links, faith-based institutions, etc., to become local community sponsors of supplementary activities, with the cost subsidized by philanthropic or public sources. The core idea here is that if supplements to schooling are important (if not essential), we must find ways to ensure the availability of such services independent of family status.

—*Beatrice L. Bridglall and Edmund W. Gordon*

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* Bourdieu asserts that health, social networks, educated humans, money, membership, and culture are forms of capital which are invested in the development of successfully educated persons.

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