Teaching Black Students to Fly: An Exploration of the Literature on Supplementary Education

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Abstract

Supplementary education programs¹ play an important role in the educational development of Black students in the Global North. They provide students with knowledge, skills, and emotional support that is, generally, lacking in the mainstream public education system. For the most part, the community-based educational supports translate into Black students improving their academic performance significantly. This article uses Tara J. Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth theoretical framework to situate studies concerning supplementary education programs and explore their contributions to Black students' educational achievements in the United Kingdom, The United States of America, and Canada.

Keywords: Supplementary education, Black, Community Cultural Wealth, Education

Introduction

In this article, I adopt Maya Angelou's (1983) metaphor of the caged bird to examine Black students' experiences within the Canadian education system. I argue that the schooling environment is confining. It creates mental cages for Black students and engages in systemic, and institutional practices that limit Black students' aspirations and academic achievements. The limiting institutional practices include: disproportionately streaming Black students into vocational and special education streams, suspending and expelling Black students at higher rates than other racialized and mainstream students, subjecting Black students to over-surveillance and other forms of institutional and individual discrimination (Dei et al., 1997; James et al., 2017; Maynard, 2019; Toronto District School Board, 2017b).

In response, Black communities are organizing to free their students from such formidable, man-made cages, so that they can soar and in Angelou's (1983) words "claim the sky". In this article, I use Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth theoretical framework to explore how and in what ways these supplementary programs contribute to students' educational growth. I focus on how the programs deliberately incorporate aspirational, social, and resistant capital to help students to hope for success, dream of productive futures, and resist discrimination. Further, the programs provide students with a social network of persons who mentor and coach them regarding how to navigate successfully, formal public education and to flourish in the world of school. In doing so, the community-driven alternative, non-formal educational programs help to improve the life chances of Black students.

My Positionality, Hopes and Beliefs

As a Black educator, originally from the Caribbean, my early schooling occurred in Jamaican urban public schools where I learned that race and skin colour were no indicators of intelligence and academic abilities. In Canada, however, I encountered a different reality. Several years ago, I became aware of the important roles that public schools play in either improving or decreasing Black students' life chances. I learned of the generally poor academic outcomes of most Black students in Canadian public schools, for example, from the empirical research conducted by such academics as Brown & Tam (2017a) and Dei et al. (1997). Further, after learning more about the contributions of mainstream schools to Black students' poor academic performance (e.g., African-Canadian Working Group, 1992; Kelly, 1998; Maynard, 2017), I became increasingly interested in exploring the contributions of an important, non-formal educational initiative for my doctoral research. Specifically, I decided to examine the roles, functions, triumphs, and challenges of supplementary/community education programs for Black students in the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and Canada.²

In my emerging research, I grew to understand that supplementary education programs are a manifestation of community agency. Such programs, driven by knowledgeable community members, seek to combat the challenges Black students face in the formal education system which fails so many Black students in the Global North. Given the problems that I encountered in identifying supplementary education programs in the relevant empirical literature generated in Canada, and the United States of America, I believe that it is important that the community's involvement in non-formal education programs is well documented, appreciated, recognized, and further that the success stories are disseminated in the public domain. I hope that my research will play a small but important role in this endeavour.

As I completed my literature review, I grew to believe that there is potential for community-based education programs to be incorporated into a multi-pronged approach which addresses the difficulties Black students face in the mainstream education system. Furthermore, my social location as a Black educator who has had experiences in educational systems in the Caribbean and Canada has influenced my interest in finding out more about the educational experiences of Black students in the Canadian community-based and formal education systems. In my research, I plan to hone my interest in exploring the various ways in which communities are organizing themselves to provide the resources which firstly, alleviate the Black students' educational challenges and, as importantly, offer specific ways to improve Black students' educational outcomes and influence their future life chances.

Article's Structure

The article begins with an overview of Black students' experiences in the mainstream Canadian education system. Secondly, I outline the major characteristics and assumptions of Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth theoretical framework. Finally, using information from empirical studies in the public domain, I explore the ways in which supplementary education programs contribute in positive ways to the education of Black students within the context of Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth theoretical framework.

The Cages: Schools as Social Institutions that Limit Black Students' Academic Success

Notwithstanding the heterogeneity of Black communities in terms of levels of education, class, fluency in Canada's official languages, and countries of origin, a significant proportion of Black peoples in Canada have poorer educational, health, employment, and other social outcomes when compared with the mainstream Canadian population (Morgan, 2016; United Nations Expert Working Group, 2017). For the most part, the poor outcomes are a direct result of centuries of anti-Black racism which was developed to justify the inhumane treatment of enslaved Africans and their descendants. Indeed, eminent historian James Walker (1985) argued that "By the time Canada became a federation there was a colour line that differentiated Blacks as separate from the rest of society and belonging to the lowest class in society devoid of any desirable social status" (p. 8). Similarly, human and cultural geographer, Joseph Mensah (2017) opines that Blacks occupy a unique position in Canadian society because "they were the only people who were sent here as slaves with all the attendant baggage of stereotypes, which have persisted to this day" (Mensah & Williams, 2017, p. 86). Their forced labour contributed in the past to the establishment and maintenance of Canada's Western capitalist economy. In the present time, their labour continues to make significant contributions to the Canadian society.

Although Canada, unlike the Caribbean and the southern United States of America, did not have an extensive plantation system, slavery was practiced in Canada and anti-Black racism has been evident in education, immigration, and employment. For instance, some Canadian provinces such as Ontario, and Nova Scotia had a legalized system of segregated schooling that confined Black students to substandard education and in some instances, they received no schooling at all (Knight, 2012). Ontario's last segregated school closed in 1965 and Nova Scotia's closed in 1983. Historian Natasha Henry (2019) notes that in provinces that did not have official segregated schools such as Alberta, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, Black students were denied admission due to pressure from white parents. In terms of employment, Kelly and Cui (2012) indicate that historically, Blacks in Canada were deemed as suitable only for unskilled, manual work, and that even where Blacks worked in the same industry as whites they were not treated as equal to whites and were paid at lower rates.

Although there are more employment options for Blacks now, inequities persist. Laryea and Hayfron (2005), for example, found that continental African-born immigrants are usually underemployed and that even when they possess university degrees they are not as likely as other racialized groups to hold highly skilled jobs. In accounting for the disparities between Blacks and other ethnic groups, in terms of educational attainment and labour market integration, Martin Turcotte (2020), senior editor at Statistics Canada, asserted that: "the persistent gaps between the Black population and the rest of the population suggest that other factors not measured by the data used, including discrimination, could have an effect" (p. 9).

Many studies document the immense difficulties that Black students face in Canadian educational institutions. Firstly, Black students face discrimination from school staff, administrators and other non-Black students. Black students are seen by some educators as less academically capable than other students, and labelled as troublemakers (Dei et al., 1997; James et al., 2017; James, 2012). Black students constitute 11% of students in the Toronto District School Board (Toronto District School Board, 2017a). Yet they represent 30% of pupils in the self-contained, special education classes (called Intensive Support Programs in the Toronto

District School Board), 21% of pupils who obtain special assistance for half of the school day (Home School Program), and represent 22.2% of pupils who receive special needs assistance within their normal classrooms (Toronto District School Board, 2017b).³ In reviewing additional sources of information, Dei et al. (1997), and more recently James et al. (2017), state that Black students are suspended and expelled more than other students and at a rate that is disproportionate to their proportion of the total student population. Black students constitute 11% of the Toronto District School Board's student population (Toronto District School Board, 2017a), however, according to research by Zheng & De Jesus (2017), they represent 48% of all students expelled.

Further, Black students' maltreatment in schools is not only institutionalized and structural, it also comes from direct and symbolic forms of violence. For instance, Black students in Codjoe's (2001) study, state explicitly that they were the victims of verbal, and occasionally physical abuse from other non-Black students.

Secondly, the exclusion of Black history and further, the omission of the contributions of Black people to Canada's economic, social and cultural development from any explicit discussion in the formal school curriculum is problematic (African-Canadian Working Group, 1992; Brathwaite & James, 1996; Codjoe, 2001). The Eurocentric curriculum that is still developed and practised has significant ripple effects. Black students feel invisible and insignificant because there is little, if any, references to the contributions of Black people in the curriculum and teaching-learning resources. Specifically, there is silence regarding the past and present contributions of African-American, African-Canadian, and African-Caribbean peoples to the evolving Canadian society (Kelly, 1998).

Thirdly, the absence of Black teachers in many Canadian schools is a challenge for students. The students often feel that school staff do not understand them, nor do they know very much about their respective cultural and historical backgrounds (African-Canadian Working Group, 1992; Brathwaite & James, 1996; Codjoe, 2001; Dei, Mazzuca, McIsaac, & Zine, 1997; James, Turner, George & Tecle, 2017; Kelly, 2004). Even in cities such as Toronto, with a significant Black population, there are few Black educators in the schools. Some Black teachers argue that "Black students having critically-aware Black teachers can have a positive impact. These teachers would advocate for culturally responsive approaches, have high expectations for students, and attempt to keep disengaged students in" (Turner Consulting Group, 2015, p. 44). The lack of Black teachers also deprives Black students of positive representations of Blackness in their academic life.

Despite these major challenges, some Black students manage to excel, complete high school, and move on to complete a post-secondary education (Codjoe, 2001). However, many Black students struggle in the Canadian public school system and an alarming proportion (23%) of students in the Toronto District School Board, for example, did not even complete high school in 2016 (Brown & Tam, 2017a). The inadequacies of the public school system motivated Black communities to create interventions to improve the educational outcomes and improve the quality of life of their Black children and students. I discuss these initiatives as being community-driven, supplementary education programs, in the next section.

Supplementary Education Programs of Study

Black communities have not passively accepted the unacceptable circumstances outlined above and have resisted anti-Black racism in Canadian society. In the field of education, this resistance includes lobbying school boards to establish Africentric schools and establishing supplementary education programs. In this article, supplementary education refers to the non-formal education programs that demonstrate the agency and resistance to mainstream dominance by Black communities. The programs are conceptualized, developed, organized and implemented by the respective, local community. The programs provide academic and cultural supports for Black students in the K-12 public education system and are scheduled after the formal school day. The programs generally entail tutoring in core curriculum subjects such as, Mathematics, English, and Science, as well as, the teaching of the little known History of African countries and the history and contributions of African descended peoples in the diaspora (Andrews, 2013; Issa & Williams, 2009). Some programs also involve the creative arts such as, dance, music and art (Issa & Williams, 2009).

In the absence of a substantial number of published studies on Black supplementary education programs in Canada, I used primary sources of information. I liaised with persons active and knowledgeable about initiatives in Black communities who suggested some organizations. I then visited the websites of these organizations, where possible, to glean information about their programs. This use of primary sources revealed that there are many organizations offering supplementary education programs in Canada. For example, in Alberta supplementary education services are provided by Sinkunia Development Organization, The Africa Centre, The Council for Canadians of African and Caribbean Heritage (CCACH), and Black Women in Action. In Ontario organizations such as, Jamaican Canadian Association, Tropicana Community Services, The Canadian Alliance of Black Educators offer supplementary education programs. Similarly, in Nova Scotia, the Black Educators' Association of Nova Scotia provides educational assistance to students. These organizations offer tutoring, mentoring, teach Black history to students, provide scholarships, as well as, advocate for Black students' educational rights. The foregoing is a non-exhaustive list of some of the programs and there are many more programs across Canada.

Supplementary education programs contribute to the students' cognitive and affective educational development in a wide range of ways, such as: providing students with experiential learning opportunities, cultivating students pride in our Black cultural heritage, inspiring students to excel in school and providing them with positive role models to guide them and improve their overall academic performance (Andrews, 2013; Maylor et al., 2013; Reay & Mirza, 2000). Understandably, student participation in such schools is entirely voluntary.

Experiential Learning

As a part of the programs, students take part in experiential learning. They participate, for example, in field trips to visit significant places in Black history and culture. In the United States, students take trips to: The National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis, Martin Luther King Jr.'s home in Atlanta, and the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta (Nelson-Brown, 2005). I suggest that with the recent opening in 2016, of the Smithsonian, National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington, D.C. that this site is poised to become important for the community and mainstream educators.

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In Canada, admittedly, the government discouraged the settlement of Black people. Despite the history of intentional exclusion, student field trips could include visits to sites such as: (i) Amber Valley, in Alberta, once the home of the largest Black settlement in the province. (ii) In the Calgary region, students could trace John Ware's journey from the USA, to settle in Millarville and Brooks, near Calgary. John Ware was a famous cowboy and cattle rancher. Legend says that he was a founding member of the early Calgary Stampede. (iii) In Victoria, British Columbia, students could research and then visit the sites where the first Black people, the highly skilled craftsmen and artisans, invited by the first governor, Sir James Douglas, settled. Interestingly, James Douglas was of mixed race (Black and Scots), and originally from the former British Guiana. (iv) In Nova Scotia, the students could study the history of Africville, Halifax, and visit the cultural museum, the Black Cultural Centre in Cherrybrook, to learn invaluable information. In Ontario, students could visit historical sites in which Black people (often escaped, enslaved people from the United States) settled, for example, Chatham, Amherstburg, London and Windsor. (v) In Quebec, the students could find out, identify and visit, for example, some of the sites where Mathieu de Costa, the first free Black man in Canada, visited. Mathieu de Costa was an explorer and the translator for Samuel de Champlain's interactions with the First Nations. Also, visits to little known grave sites and memorials for Black people would provide further evidence that Black people's presence in Canada is a lengthy one (Source: Personal Communications with Cecille DePass, April, 8, 2020). Furthermore, in a contemporary context, visits to the homes of Canadian Black leaders such as Michel Jean (a former Governor-General), Lincoln Alexander and to the grave of Rosemary Brown (Vancouver), to name a few, would also help the students to see that Black people have made major contributions to Canada's past and present. I am sure representatives from local Black community organizations could identify more excellent sites that students could visit in other provinces. With so much information available online, the students could research several sites to inquire into the presence of Black people in Canada (e.g., BC Black History Awareness Society). The next section of the article summarizes key characteristics of the Community Cultural Wealth framework that I have found to be applicable and relevant in conducting my doctoral research.

The Community Cultural Wealth Theoretical Framework

Tara Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth theoretical framework is perhaps the best way to appreciate and understand the ways in which supplementary education programs function and flourish. Yosso (2005) developed the Community Cultural Wealth theoretical framework as an alternative and indeed, "a challenge to Bourdieu's cultural capital theory" (p. 70). She suggests that traditional interpretations of Bourdieu's cultural capital theory are limited, and usually interpreted through the lens of a White middle-class value system, thereby undervaluing and ignoring the perspectives, experiences and contributions of marginalized groups such as, peoples of colour. In contrast, her framework focuses on the "array of knowledge, skills, abilities, and contacts which people of color draw upon to persevere in the face of and to resist macro and micro forms of oppression" (Yosso 2005, p. 77).

Tara Yosso (2005) identifies six types of capital that contribute to the Community Cultural Wealth framework, namely: social, aspirational, linguistic, navigational, familial and resistant capital. First, social capital refers to the persons and relationships that offer practical and emotional support for students and their families. Second, aspirational capital speaks to the

strengths of marginalized peoples that allow them to dream and have high aims for their children despite the social and economic challenges they face. Third, linguistic capital speaks to the written and oral communication skills that marginalized peoples use to share information. Fourth, navigational capital consists of the skills needed to successfully advance through different social institutions such as, the formal education system. Fifth, familial capital refers to family relationships and friendship networks that provide a sense of group identity and, as importantly, a sense of belonging. Finally, resistant capital enables students to purposefully oppose forms of discrimination and achieve success. In the research studies that I reviewed for this article, three types of capital seemed to be most prominent, namely: social, aspirational, and resistant capital (Yosso, 2005). Further, I noted that in the studies reviewed, linguistic, familial, and navigational capital were not as evident.

Breaking Free of the Cage, Learning To Fly: Educative Process and Mentorship

The supplementary education programs contributed to students' educational growth by cultivating Black pride, providing inspiration, mentorship, increasing students' motivation to learn and improving student performance in core academic subjects (Andrews, 2013; Evans & Gillan-Thomas, 2015; Issa & Williams, 2009; Maylor et al., 2013; Mirza & Reay, 2000). I summarize each of these contributions in the subsequent paragraphs.

Cultivating Black Pride

Supplementary education programs cultivate a strong sense of a positive Black identity in students by presenting and centering on the life experiences, historical legacies, contributions, and ways of life of Black peoples. This focus is in direct contrast to the omission and erasure of Black peoples' histories, experiences and contributions to society (regionally, nationally and internationally) from the K-12 school curriculum in countries in the Global North. In the supplementary education program, students learn, for example, about fundamental aspects of Black history such as the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, resistance to enslavement and colonization, the Black struggles for civil rights, early civilizations in different African countries, among other topics (Andrews, 2013; Nelson-Brown, 2005). Additionally, they learn about Black inventors, leaders, scholars, and sportspeople. This allows students to see Black peoples occupying multiple positions and leadership roles in different societies. They learn that Black peoples have vital histories, cultures and heritages. They can see for themselves positive representations of Blackness. Such knowledge is likely to engender a sense of pride in their Black and African heritages (Andrews, 2013; Gerrard, 2013; Issa & Williams, 2009). Mirza and Reay (2000) demonstrated how the four Black supplementary programs that they studied, in London, England, integrated Black studies into their curriculum and purposefully integrated positive representations of Blackness to challenge the negative stereotypes evident in the society.

Inspiring Students to Achieve: Providing Mentorship and Positive Role Models

In addition to exposing students to positive representations of Blackness in an Afrocentric, informal curriculum, the programs provide students with positive role models at local, community and/or national and international levels (Andrews, 2013; Mirza & Reay, 2000). In Mirza and Reay's (2000) study, a parent related how excited her son was when he attended a Black Saturday school in England for the first time. He was excited to learn about Black history and expressed his desire that he could attend the school five days a week instead of the

mainstream school he was enrolled in. At local and community levels, student support may be in the form of the tutors that teach the students, guest speakers for events and workshops, and persons who volunteer with the organization in various capacities, including leadership roles. Generally, the tutors, workers and volunteers possessed a range of professional and other skills, and abilities, lived experiences, and educational backgrounds. Stories of their achievements are motivational for students and were real-life testaments to students that they, too, can aspire to higher education and professional jobs and eventually attain them. Additionally, these role models shared their strategies and actions that facilitated their successes and coached students into how they, too, can achieve similar goals. Andrews' (2013) study noted that supplementary education programs provided a space where Black students could discuss the challenges they faced at school, including racism, as well as, share strategies concerning how Black folks overcame such challenges in the past. Accordingly, supplementary education programs supplant mainstream anticipation and self-fulfilling prophecies concerning Black students' poor academic performance with anticipation and positive narratives of success. They give students the necessary supports to achieve success (Andrews, 2013; Dove, 1993; Gerrard, 2014; Issa & Williams, 2009).

Improving Academic Performance and Motivation to Learn

Students who attend supplementary education programs often see an improvement in their scores in core curriculum subjects (Evans & Gillan-Thomas, 2015; Maylor et al., 2013). Referring to research conducted in the United Kingdom, Evans and Gillan-Thomas posited that "there is a clear correlation between supplementary programs that focus on supporting the core curriculum subjects and increased pupil attainment in English, Maths, and Science" (p. 9). It is possible that in the community-based programs, the smaller class sizes, one-on-one tutoring, and overall high expectations of teachers and students contributed to improvements in their academic performance.

Maylor et al.'s (2013) study, in the United Kingdom, reported that students and parents indicated that supplementary education programs encouraged students to have a positive attitude towards learning and inspired them to perform well in school. Students are motivated to apply themselves, work hard and persevere so that they can achieve their academic goals. Further, Issa and Williams' (2009) who also carried out research in the United Kingdom, posited that small, class sizes, knowledge of students' contexts, abilities and potential, and as importantly, strong relationships with parents contributed to an environment conducive to student learning and improved grades.

The Roles and Function of Aspirational Capital

Aspirational capital is evident in the ways in which students in the programs were inculcated with a sense of pride in their heritage, how their motivation improved and the improvement in their academic performance. Students are given the opportunity to learn about aspects of Black history and culture that are not taught in regular schools and are exposed to positive aspects of Black culture. Additionally, they are encouraged to aspire for excellence, to work hard, set goals and work to achieve them. This means that even where students are not encouraged in mainstream schooling they received a different perspective of themselves, their race, and ethnic group than what is readily acceptable in society. This created a window where they can conceive of themselves as being more than the low expectations that society and their

school system has given them. Many Black students may not believe that they can excel in academics because of the stereotypes that Blacks are only good at sports and vocational subjects. This provides a limited range of options for them, however, when they become exposed to Blacks who have excelled in chemistry, physics, philosophy, law, as well as those who were excellent in sports and vocations, they know that they too can be successful in whatever area of study they choose. They become aware that their race, class, or other social positions may cause them to experience extraordinary challenges in achieving their goals, but they need not be seen as barriers that preclude them for success. Having an awareness of Black history allows students to reflect on how Blacks have resisted, overcome, and triumphed over historical atrocities to make considerable contributions to humanity. It lets them know that they belong to a great race of people and they too can overcome adversities to succeed in life. This is demonstrated in Maylor et al.'s (2013) study of supplementary education programs in Britain where Black parents shared that participating in supplementary education programs had made a marked improvement in their children's expectations for themselves and their desires to perform well in school.

The Roles and Functions of Social Capital

Social capital is apparent in the fact that students are able to draw on their social networks outside of their families for emotional support and for advice on school and career choices. Some students do not have family members who have successful experiences traversing the formal education system. This may be because these family members grew up in another country, or they did not have the opportunity to succeed in either school or university. Such students need support systems to know what to do in order to progress through the different grades and levels of school, and how to meet the requirements for professional jobs. Accordingly, supplementary education programs provide them with access to professionals, students, and other persons with valuable school and employment related skills and knowledge that they may not have in their respective families. For example, Maylor et al. (2010) reported that some Black supplementary program leaders, in England, worked with teachers in mainstream schools to prevent them using exclusion of Black students from attending school as the punishment for behavioural problems. These supplementary education leaders worked with families to ensure they understood acceptable behaviours in the school context. They were able to use their own experiences with the school system to give students advice and encourage them to modify their behaviours so that they could remain in school and successfully complete their education. Furthermore, high school students were coached to participate in initiatives to increase university access of underrepresented groups. Such proactive activities included going on campus visits, lasting several weeks, participating in university orientation and taking short courses.

The Roles and Functions of Resistant Capital

The supplementary education programs also exemplified resistant capital in practice. The programs were organized and implemented by Black communities, and were in direct opposition to: firstly, mainstream educators' low academic expectations for Black students; and secondly, to the ongoing negative discrimination the students faced in schools. Instead of acquiescing to the status quo, Black community members designed the programs to provide opportunities where

Black students encountered and lived an alternative reality. This reality was one in which a vision of their potential and their latent abilities moved from dream to reality.

In studying Black supplementary programs in Britain, Gerrard (2014) noted that the organizers of these programs explicitly identified racism as the key underlying cause of Black students' poor educational outcomes and designed their programs with a focus on Black pride and history as a means of counteracting racism. The focus on Black pride and activism was reflected in naming their programs after prominent Black leaders such as Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, Malcolm X and others (Gerrard, 2014). Further, Pillay and Asadi (2018), in studying a summer camp organized by Somali community members in Edmonton, asserted that the program was a "counter-hegemonic space that centered the culture, languages, and religion of the children and their families and enabled students to engage in the process of unlearning and relearning" (p. 211). The camp taught students the language, history and customs and as such helped them to unlearn the negative perception of their culture in mainstream schools and society, and cultivated a sense of pride in their culture. Additionally, Andrews (2013) demonstrated how students in the Lumumba [Saturday] School, in England, were able to discuss their experiences with racism and receive moral support and advice on how to address racism in an amicable way from their teachers at the school. Similarly, students' in Mirza and Reay's (2000) study in England also explained that they viewed their Black Saturday school as a safe space where they could de-stress from some of the racism they faced daily.

The many ways in which Black communities organize to provide education, inspiration, emotional and practical advice and support to Black students illustrates diverse forms of capital indicative of Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005). This organizing is a deliberate, systematic response to the inabilities, and limitations of the public schools. Community driven supplementary education programs are developed as intentional acts of resistance. They represent explicit opposition to the man-made cages of dis-information, mis-education, stereotypes, inequities, inadequacies, and daily discrimination that Black students face in the mainstream K-12 education systems in Canada and the Global North. The literature indicates that community educational programs have made important contributions to the educational development of the students who attend them. Supplementary education programs do not solve all the problems Black students face in schools and society, generally. However, they help some Black students to become free of society's stereotypes, mitigate constraints to their education, and to soar and achieve educational successes.

Endnotes:

¹ These programs are sometimes referred to as Saturday school in Canada. I chose to use the term supplementary education programs because although many programs are offered on a Saturday, some are offered on other days and may even be offered for several days of the week during school holiday periods. Also, the term supplementary denotes the idea that these programs were developed to provide elements of education that are absent from and/or insufficient in the mainstream education system.

² Many of the studies identified in my literature review such as Andrews (2013), Dove (1993), Evans and Gillan-Thomas (2015), Gerrard (2013), Maylor et al. (2013), and Mirza and Reay's (2000) were conducted in the United Kingdom (UK). I know that supplementary education programs have existed and still exist in Canada. Unfortunately, perhaps because they are community programs with limited resources, far fewer formal academic studies of these programs appear to have been conducted, published and disseminated in the public domain. Even with a search assisted by the university librarians, only a limited number of empirical studies on supplementary education programs in North America were identified in 2017. We used search terms such as supplementary, complementary, voluntary, after-school program, combined with Black. The main search engines consulted were ProQuest, ERIC, EBSCOhost, Child, Development and Adolescent Studies, Sociological Abstracts, and Canadian Business and Current Affairs Database: The Arts.

My Doctoral Dissertation, a case study exploring supplementary education in Edmonton, Alberta, will address that gap in the published literature. My research examines the experiences of current students, alumni, parents, volunteers and workers within an organization that offers tutoring and an annual Black history quiz competition to contribute to the educational development of Black students in the context of the systemic challenges they face in the Canadian K-12 mainstream education system.

I welcome suggestions from readers concerning relevant secondary and primary sources. Additionally, I welcome referrals to and contacts with community individuals who are involved (past and present) with supplementary education programs in Canada.

³ Alberta's public school boards do not collect students' performance data disaggregated by ethnicity and race. Thus, I have used information from the Toronto District School Board and from empirical studies conducted in Toronto.

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