DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 392 016   CS 012 349

AUTHOR   Serpell, Robert; And Others
TITLE   Home and School Contexts of Emergent Literacy.
                Instructional Resource No. 18.
INSTITUTION   National Reading Research Center, Athens, GA.;
                National Reading Research Center, College Park,
                MD.
SPONS AGENCY   Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED),
                Washington, DC.
PUB DATE   95
CONTRACT   117A20007
NOTE   23p.
PUB TYPE   Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE   MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS   Classroom Environment; *Cultural Context; *Early
                Childhood Education; *Emergent Literacy; *Family
                Environment; *Kindergarten; Learning Processes;
                *Parent Attitudes; Reading Research; Teacher
                Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS   Baltimore City Public Schools MD

ABSTRACT
        A study examined what children learn in their
transition from home life to the world of school and how they learn
it. Subjects were students enrolled in pre-kindergarten and
kindergarten classes at 10 public schools in Baltimore, Maryland,
their teachers, and their families. A total of 42 families, each with
a 4-year-old child enrolled in pre-kindergarten, from 6 neighborhoods
in Baltimore City, Maryland, have been recruited so far. The total
number of families involved is expected to reach 90. Data gathering
focuses on three different aspects of the contexts of school and
home: the recurrent activities that feature in each context; the
meanings of those activities, and the ways in which those who
participate in them interact with one another. Preliminary results
indicated that: (1) systematic variations are emerging in the degree
to which cultural themes are emphasized in the home environment; (2)
a good deal of commonality exists in parents' ideas on child
development; (3) children often produced elaborate narratives of
exciting events that occurred outside the context of the testing
session, but produced dull, flat retellings of events staged for the
testing session; (4) teachers can steer their students' playful
discourse in the direction of "appropriating literacy"; and (5) many
teachers expressed ideas that differed considerably from the
"implicit theories" that seemed to be held by some caregivers. (An
appendix presents a 23-item select bibliography of further readings.)
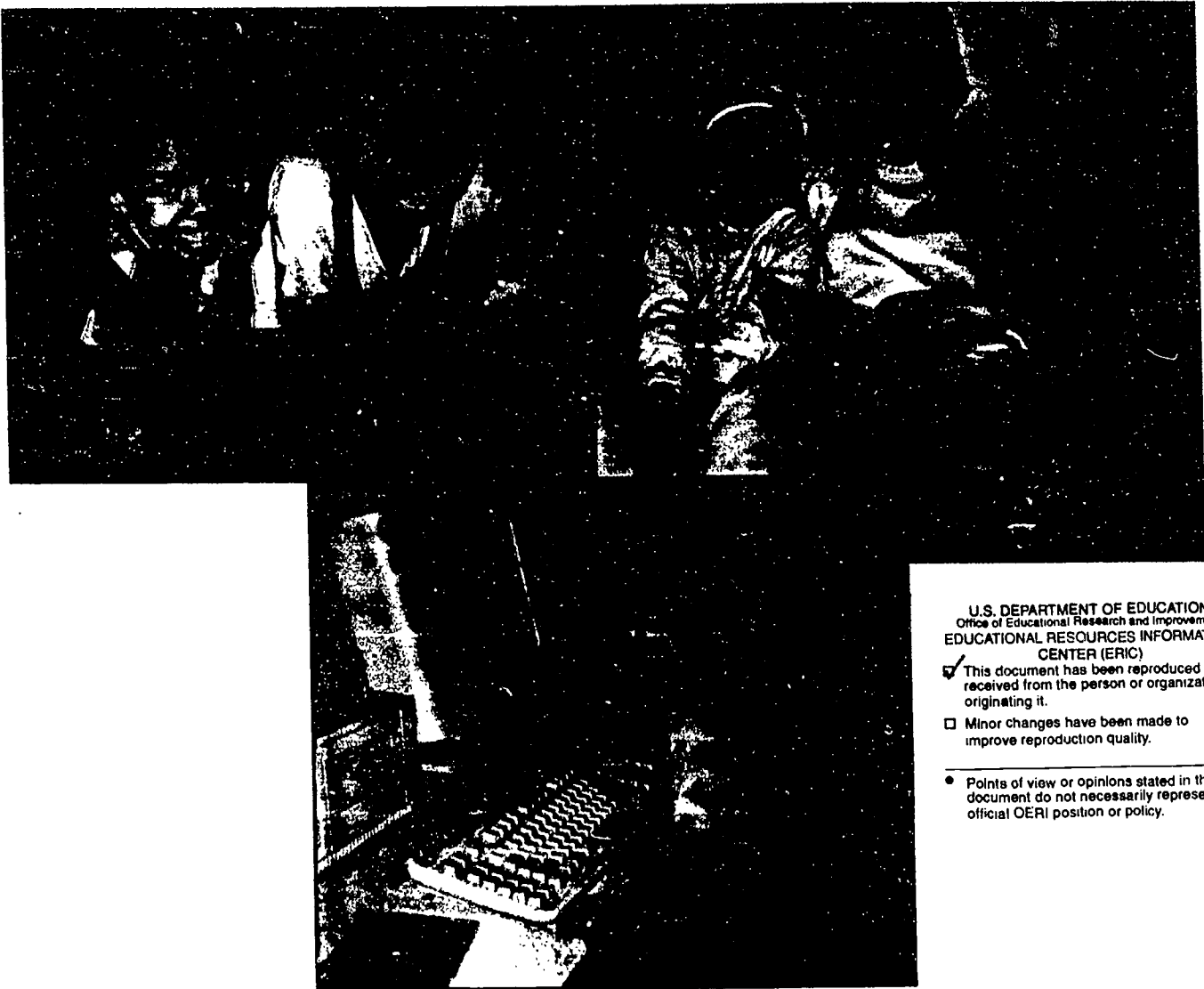(RS)

HOME AND SCHOOL CONTEXTS OF EMERGENT LITERACY

ROBERT SERPELL   LINDA BAKER   SUSAN SONNENSCHEIN

NRRC

National Reading Research Center

NRRC

National Reading Research Center

Home and School Contexts of Emergent Literacy

Robert Serpell
Linda Baker
Susan Sonnenschein
University of Maryland Baltimore County

INSTRUCTIONAL RESOURCE NO. 18
Winter 1996

NRRC National Reading Research Center

About the National Reading Research Center

The National Reading Research Center (NRRC) is funded by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement of the U.S. Department of Education to conduct research on reading and reading instruction. The NRRC is operated by a consortium of the University of Georgia and the University of Maryland College Park in collaboration with researchers at several institutions nationwide.

The NRRC's mission is to discover and document those conditions in homes, schools, and communities that encourage children to become skilled, enthusiastic, lifelong readers. NRRC researchers are committed to advancing the development of instructional programs sensitive to the cognitive, sociocultural, and motivational factors that affect children's success in reading. NRRC researchers from a variety of disciplines conduct studies with teachers and students from widely diverse cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds in pre-kindergarten through grade 12 classrooms. Research projects deal with the influence of family and family-school interactions on the development of literacy; the interaction of sociocultural factors and motivation to read; the impact of literature-based reading programs on reading achievement; the effects of reading strategies instruction on comprehension and critical thinking in literature, science, and history; the influence of innovative group participation structures on motivation and learning; the potential of computer technology to enhance literacy; and the development of methods and standards for alternative literacy assessments.

The NRRC is further committed to the participation of teachers as full partners in its research. A better understanding of how teachers view the development of literacy, how they use knowledge from research, and how they approach change in the classroom is crucial to improving instruction. To further this understanding, the NRRC conducts school-based research in which teachers explore their own philosophical and pedagogical orientations and trace their professional growth.

Dissemination is an important feature of NRRC activities. Information on NRRC research appears in several formats. *Research Reports* communicate the results of original research or synthesize the findings of several lines of inquiry. They are written primarily for researchers studying various areas of reading and reading instruction. The *Perspective Series* presents a wide range of publications, from calls for research and commentary on research and practice to first-person accounts of experiences in schools. *Instructional Resources* include curriculum materials, instructional guides, and materials for professional growth, designed primarily for teachers.

For more information about the NRRC's research projects and other activities, or to have your name added to the mailing list, please contact:

Donna E. Alvermann, Co-Director
National Reading Research Center
318 Aderhold Hall
University of Georgia
Athens, GA 30602-7125
(706) 542-3674

John T. Guthrie, Co-Director
National Reading Research Center
3216 J. M. Patterson Building
University of Maryland
College Park, MD 20742
(301) 405-8035

NRRC Editorial Review Board

Susan Mazzoni
Baltimore, Maryland

Ann Dacey McCann
University of Maryland College Park

Sarah McCarthey
University of Texas at Austin

Veda McClain
University of Georgia

Lisa McFalls
University of Georgia

Randy McGinnis
University of Maryland

Mike McKenna
Georgia Southern University

Barbara Michalove
Fowler Drive Elementary School
  Athens, Georgia

Elizabeth B. Moje
University of Utah

Lesley Morrow
Rutgers University

Bruce Murray
University of Georgia

Susan Neuman
Temple University

John O'Flahavan
University of Maryland College Park

Marilyn Ohlhausen-McKinney
University of Nevada

Penny Oldfather
University of Georgia

Barbara M. Palmer
Mount Saint Mary's College

Stephen Phelps
Buffalo State College

Mike Pickle
Georgia Southern University

Amber T. Prince
Berry College

Gaoyin Qian
Lehman College–CUNY

Tom Reeves
University of Georgia

Lenore Ringler
New York University

Mary Roe
University of Delaware

Nadeen T. Ruiz
California State University-
  Sacramento

Olivia Saracho
University of Maryland College Park

Paula Schwanenflugel
University of Georgia

Robert Serpell
University of Maryland Baltimore
  County

Betty Shockley
Fowler Drive Elementary School
  Athens, Georgia

Wayne H. Slater
University of Maryland College Park

Margaret Smith
Las Vegas, Nevada

Susan Sonnenschein
University of Maryland Baltimore
  County

Bernard Spodek
University of Illinois

Bettie St. Pierre
University of Georgia

Steve Stahl
University of Georgia

Roger Stewart
University of Wyoming

Anne P. Sweet
Office of Educational Research
  and Improvement

Louise Tomlinson
University of Georgia

Bruce VanSledright
University of Maryland College Park

Barbara Walker
Eastern Montana University-Billings

Louise Waynant
Prince George's County Schools
  Upper Marlboro, Maryland

Dera Weaver
Athens Academy
  Athens, Georgia

Jane West
Agnes Scott College

Renee Weisburg
Elkins Park, Pennsylvania

Allen Wigfield
University of Maryland College Park

Shelley Wong
University of Maryland College Park

Josephine Peyton Young
University of Georgia

Hallie Yupp
California State University

About the Authors

Robert Serpell is Director of the doctoral program in Applied Developmental Psychology at the University of Maryland Baltimore County. Born and raised in England, he received his Ph.D. in Experimental Psychology from the University of Sussex. Dr. Serpell worked at the University of Zambia from 1965 to 1989, and is a naturalized citizen of Zambia. His research has focused on socio-cultural factors in cognitive development and childhood disabilities. His publications include *Culture's influence on behaviour* (London: Methuen, 1976) and *The significance of schooling* (Cambridge University Press, 1993). Dr. Serpell and his co-authors may be contacted at the Department of Psychology, University of Maryland Baltimore County, 5401 Wilkens Avenue, Baltimore, MD 21228-5398.

Linda Baker is a Professor of Psychology at the University of Maryland Baltimore County and a principal investigator at the National Reading Research Center. She received her Ph.D. from Rutgers University. Her current research focuses on the social and cultural contexts of children's early literacy development. She is also interested in the development of metacognition and comprehension monitoring.

Susan Sonnenschein is an Associate Professor in the Applied Development Psychology Program at the University of Maryland Baltimore County. She has conducted research in children's language development. She also has explored how parental beliefs and practices impact on children's cognitive development. She is currently one of the principal investigators, along with Linda Baker and Robert Serpell, in the Early Childhood Project, a longitudinal project investigating the development of literacy for children from different sociocultural backgrounds.

Home and School Contexts of Emergent Literacy

some of the factors that contribute in important ways to children's prospects of success in later life.

A Contextual View of Child Development

Young children experience a variety of different contexts, each of which provides distinctive opportunities, challenges, and supports for their development. One of the goals of our research project is to provide a detailed and accurate description of two important types of context between which most young children in America from the age of 4 or 5 onwards start commuting on a daily basis: the home context and the school context. Each of these types of context is made up of a complex system of activities that occur again and again. Each recurrent activity has a meaning for the people who participate in it. The process of development in early childhood involves a gradual discovery of those cultural meanings by the child.

For example, a child who often accompanies his/her mother to the supermarket gradually learns that this activity is called shopping, and that it involves the use of money for buying food. A child who often sits down with a teacher or parent and listens to him/her tell about the pictures in a book gradually learns that this activity is called reading a story. The understanding that a young child acquires from joining in these everyday activities begins to lay the way for becoming a competent member of society. Through interaction with adults and with other children, the young child has an opportunity to discover the cultural meanings of these activities, and to acquire relevant skills

and dispositions for increasingly competent participation in social life. A child who takes full advantage of this opportunity makes the activity his/her own (or "appropriates" it), which involves not just passively absorbing how it is done by others, but also transforming it into a new version of a recognizable cultural activity: everyone shops or reads stories in his/her own unique way.

By studying how children achieve this, we hope to identify ways in which their caregivers at home and their teachers at school can assist each child to make a successful transition into school and to derive benefits from schooling that parents and others in the home community will appreciate. Most educational theorists and policy-makers in contemporary American society express the view that the early years of schooling will be easier for children if the transition is a gradual one. Hence, the emphasis placed on preschool enrollment, parent involvement in schools, student homework, parent-teacher conferences, and so forth. By comparing the home and school environments of our cohort of children over time, including the ideas about child development held by their parents and their teachers, we hope to identify areas of commonality and of discontinuity between home and school, and to examine their significance for children's development.

Research Design

Since the winter of 1992–93, we have recruited a total of 42 families, each of them with a 4-year-old child enrolled in Pre-K, moving on into Kindergarten in 1993–94. The families are distributed across six neighbor-

1 6

hoods in Baltimore City, each of which is served by a different public elementary school. In some of these neighborhoods, the population is predominantly Black (or African-American), in some it is predominantly White (or European-American), and in some there is a mixture of both ethnic groups. We expect in the coming months to increase the number of participating families from the present total to about 90. With this larger sample, we shall be able to assess the generality of our findings with greater confidence. Meanwhile, the present interim report describes our research procedures and outlines some preliminary findings.

Our research examines three different aspects of the contexts of home and school: the recurrent activities that feature in each context, the meanings of those activities, and the ways in which those who participate in them interact with one another. We plan to explore the relationship between these details of context and the child's emerging competence over time: the understanding, skills, and dispositions that define what it means to become literate. Details of our methods of inquiry are presented in a series of Research Reports published by the NRRC (Baker, Sonnenschein, Serpell, Fernandez, & Scher, 1994; Serpell, Baker, Sonnenschein, Hill, Goddard-Truitt, & Danseco, 1995; Sonnenschein, Baker, Serpell, Scher, Fernandez-Fein, & Munsterman, 1995).

For the home context, we have asked the primary caregiver of each child to describe for us in detail the various activities in which the child participates, and to explain to us the meanings of those activities from her or his perspective as a caregiver (in other words as a parent, or a grandparent, etc.), as well as discussing with us what those activities may mean to the young child. Each family has been visited by one or more members of our research team several times over the past year. On the first visit, we requested the primary caregiver to keep a *diary* of their child's everyday activities at various times of day throughout one week (either in writing or by dictating to a tape recorder). On later visits, we used a series of questions to guide the caregiver in expanding the preliminary account sketched in the diary into a more comprehensive *inventory* of the child's home environment. At the same time, we prompted the caregiver to share with us his/her *implicit theories* about child development and about ways in which parents, playmates, schooling, and other factors can influence the course of a child's development. We also have observed the child interacting with members of the family, adults and children, in the setting of his/her own home. In each home, we have arranged to make a videotape of the child playing some rhyming and writing games together with an older sibling or neighborhood playmate, and of an adult caregiver reading a storybook to the child.

For the school context, we have asked the class teacher to describe the various class activities and to explain to us the significance of those activities from her perspective as a teacher, as well as discussing with us the progress of each child within the curriculum. We have also observed the child interacting with the teacher and with other children in the classroom setting. In each school, we have arranged to videotape the participating children while they were playing with classmates in a "literacy corner" set up by the teacher in a

corner of the classroom and designed to look like a little Post Office. We have also videotaped several of the class teachers reading a storybook to the children.

Finally, we have conducted one-on-one sessions with each child where s/he is encouraged to talk with us and perform various tasks to demonstrate skills and understanding. These "competency testing" sessions were held at each of the participating schools once in the spring of 1993, and again in the spring of 1994 and of 1995.

We expect to repeat most of these procedures in 1996, as well as expanding some of them to include additional dimensions of the children's emergent literacy in the contexts of home and school.

Some Preliminary Findings

Home Environments

The caregivers' own diaries of their child's everyday life, and the more comprehensive inventories of the child's home environment that were completed in our follow-up interviews, taken together, provide a rich description of various recurrent activities in which these preschool children participate. Whether or not their caregivers explicitly think of these activities as educational (and many do), the participating children encounter many opportunities for learning: about the people and objects that make up the world in which the family lives, about how adults behave in various situations, about how they describe and interpret what they are doing, and about many important functions served by reading and writing. Some of these learning opportunities connect in obvious ways with the school curriculum, while others may serve as inspiration for imaginative teachers to design new and effective instructional activities.

Strands of experience. Based on our analysis of previous research, we distinguish five different personal characteristics in early childhood, each of which contributes to becoming literate: (1) familiarity with print; (2) knowledge of the world; (3) awareness of the sounds of language; (4) competence in telling and understanding stories; and (5) orientation toward the value of literacy. Different strands of experience are likely to influence the development of each of these characteristics. The information we have analyzed to date about the home environments of children in our sample suggests that all five strands of experience are available to the children in their everyday lives at home and in the neighborhood. Families in all the sociocultural groups we have sampled reported that their children frequently engage in relevant activities. As the size of our sample expands in future years, we plan to explore individual differences among families in the intensity of relevant experience they provide along each of these strands.

Recurrent activities. Our inventory of the home environment was divided into the following broad categories: games and play activities; mealtime activities; TV, video, and music activities; recurrent outings; and reading, writing, or drawing activities. Examples of each type of activity were found in many of the caregiver's own diaries, and all of the caregivers were able to describe several such activities when we inquired about them directly.

Table 1 illustrates the range of activities described. Next to each activity, the letter P or K indicates that caregivers reported on average that their child participated in this type of activity more than once a week, either in the first year of the project when the children were enrolled in Pre-K, or in the second, Kindergarten year.

Cultural themes. Reflecting on the ways in which caregivers spoke to us about their children's home environment, we identified three complementary cultural themes about the nature of emergent literacy, which were endorsed in varying degrees by different families:

- Literacy is a source of entertainment; book reading itself is fun, and there are many other enjoyable activities in which literacy plays a role.

- Literacy consists of a set of skills that should be deliberately cultivated; children should be given opportunities to practice their emerging competencies.

- Literacy is an intrinsic ingredient of everyday life; by virtue of participation in their daily living routines such as shopping and food preparation, children come to see the functional value of literacy.

In our present sample of families, systematic variations are beginning to emerge in the degree to which each of these cultural themes is emphasized by the caregivers. But the numbers are too small at this stage to warrant any firm generalizations.

Parental Perspectives

Much of the character of a child's home context is determined by the perspective on child development, care, and education held by the adults who organize the child's everyday life. In most families, a key role is played by the child's parents. Sometimes other caregivers also make important contributions. We are trying to probe these perspectives by asking caregivers to explain to us the thinking that lies behind their everyday decisions that affect the child. Some of our questions have seemed surprising to a number of parents, who indicate that they have tended to "take for granted" these everyday cultural practices. In most cases, however, they have agreed to reflect on them for us, and many of the interpretations they have offered are both clear and consistent. Eventually, we hope to generate an account of some *implicit theories* of child development and socialization that make sense of the care-giving practices of individual families and to explore how these relate to the caregiver's personal experience; membership of a particular community, cultural group, or social class; and interactions with the child's school, and with American society at large through the media and other channels of communication.

Our first step was to ask each caregiver to interpret for us the meanings of particular activities reported in the diary as recurrent in the child's everyday life. We have noticed three different ways in which our respondents expressed their ideas about child development and socialization. Often the caregiver would illustrate personal views with a description of an episode which s/he regarded as a typical

Table 1. Recurrent Activities in which Pre-K and Kindergarten Children Participate at Home

Games and Play Activities		
Pretend Play	P	K
Storytelling		
Word games		
Hand-clap games		
Singing	P	K
Board games		
Educational toys		
Mealtime Activities		
Food preparation		
Fridge displays		
Conversation	P	K
Television		
Television, Video, and Music Activities		
Specific Types of Shows watched:		
Cartoons	P	K
Situation comedies		K
Educational shows	P	K
Game shows		
Dramas, movies		
Sports		
News		
Music		
Listens to music	P	K
Outings		
Visiting people	P	K
Shopping		
Errands		
Library		
Lessons/classes		
Reading, Writing, and Drawing Activities		
Specific types of books read to the child:		
Preschool		
Picture books		
Storybooks	P	K
Nonfiction		
Other kinds of print		
Drawing	P	K
Writing	P	K
Looks at books on own		K

Note: P indicates that children in Pre-K were reported on average to engage in this activity more than once a week; K indicates the activity was reported as occurring more than once a week for these children when we reinterviewed their parents during their Kindergarten year.

Table 2. Socialization Goals Mentioned by Caregivers

Developmental goals cited by caregivers of preschool children:
   caregivers were asked to specify: "things you see as important for your child as s/he is growing up; goals or hopes that you have for your child."

Social or moral development:
   safety or escape from hazards; rejection of violence; prosocial attitudes, relationships, social skills, tolerance, nurturance; moral, polite, and respectful behavior; wisdom, good judgment.

Personal development:
   self-esteem, confidence; pleasure, fun, relaxation, happiness; self-actualization; imagination; independence; responsibility.

Intellectual development:
   practical, everyday intelligence, competence, self-help skills; communication skills; general knowledge, learning; specific knowledge, learning strategies.

Academic development:
   achievement motivation, motivation to learn; academic achievement; literacy.

example of the child's behavior. Some, but not all, of the caregivers tried to explain their child's behavior and/or their own caregiving practices with reference to some generalized principle, such as "being there" for the child, or "preparing" the child for the challenges of schooling. And sometimes caregivers cited a well-known cultural theme to support their explanation for their particular child's situation. Themes that were often cited in this way were: how society should do away with violence, how children deserve to have fun, and the importance of motivation for achieving success at school.

Socialization goals. We have analyzed the meanings expressed by caregivers for the recurrent activities in their child's everyday life in terms of how much emphasis they placed on various domains of development. Some parents emphasized developmental goals in the social

and moral domains, such as the rejection of violence. Others tended somewhat more to emphasize personal, intellectual, or academic goals, such as the cultivation of independence and imagination. Table 2 summarizes the full range of socialization goals mentioned by the caregivers in our sample. Only some of these goals were mentioned by any given caregiver in our initial round of interviews. Among the goals they specified, those which they ranked highest in importance tended more often to be in the broad domains of social/moral or personal development than of intellectual or academic development.

In our continuing analysis of these interviews with parents, we are exploring the connections perceived by parents among their various goals, their beliefs about the degree to which children's characteristics are modifiable through care and education, and their views on

the most effective and appropriate ways to try to influence the course of a child's development. We are also analyzing their expectations from the schools, their views on the ways in which their own socialization practices at home complement and/or contrast with the educational practices of the schools, and their impressions of the existing channels of communication between homes and schools.

Many factors contribute to a given parent's implicit theory of child development and socialization. We are finding some evidence of differences between parents of girls and boys, between low-income and middle-income neighborhoods, and between African-American and European-American parents. However, we are also finding a good deal of commonality among the views held across all these groups.

What Children Bring to School

Children experience their first few years of schooling as commuters between two worlds with somewhat different cultures: their home culture and the culture of school. As they grow older they must learn to deal with the different demands of these two cultures. At home, their parents and other caregivers expect certain forms of behavior; while at school, other forms of behavior are often called for. Part of our project is designed to analyze the repertoire of competencies and dispositions that these young children acquire at home, and to explore ways in which teachers may be able to build on their strengths as well as offering them new and complementary knowledge, skills, and attitudes.

We have examined a wide range of specific skills and knowledge relevant to emergent literacy, including recognition of letters, numbers, and words; recognition and naming of commercial products by their labels; detection and production of rhyme and alliteration; concepts about print; knowledge of the functions of printed materials; and expression of ideas in narrative speech. The child's performance on these various measures provides a profile of his/her range of competencies, as well as a baseline against which we shall be able to assess developmental progress over subsequent years.

In this preliminary report, we will summarize what we have learned so far about two aspects of the children's home-based repertoire: narrative accounts of personal experience, and playful discourse with other children. In the coming year, we also plan to explore children's growing awareness of the sounds of language, and their motivation for reading.

Narrative accounts of personal experience. The ability to give an account in words of something that has happened in one's own life is the foundation of all other forms of storytelling. This part of our study revealed that young children's narratives are complex to assess, and that much depends on how adults phrase their requests for performance.

One member of our research team, Susan Hill, compared two different ways of inviting the 4-year-olds in Pre-K to talk with us. One method was to ask the child to *provide an account* of some recent out-of-school experience mentioned to us by the child's primary caregiver. The other was to ask them to *retell*

a short event in which the child had participated earlier in the testing session, together with the researcher who was requesting the retelling. This event, which was staged in the same way for each child, involved a special box covered with a picture of the TV character, Barney, an excursion to carry the box from one part of the school to another, an accident in which the researcher dropped several items in the corridor and the child assisted her to gather them up, and a search for another special box in which the child discovered a colorful sticker that s/he was allowed to keep.

The children responded quite differently to these two types of question. When the researcher asked the child to describe the Barney Box episode, the child's reply was generally quite brief and flat. But when the researcher requested the child to tell her about an exciting recent event in his or her own life that had occurred outside the context of the testing session, the narratives children produced were often quite elaborate, providing not only a description of what happened but also a strong indication of the child's point of view—what s/he liked about the event, the characters, and their actions.

This finding was predicted in advance on theoretical grounds. The children's *accounts* of personal, out-of-school experience were addressed to an audience (the researcher) who was naive as to the details of what had transpired, whereas the *retellings* were addressed to an audience who was already informed. Thus, while the first method could be regarded as an authentic request for descriptive information, the second was more likely to be interpreted by the child as a request for a display of his/her competence. Some children readily agree to such requests for display, while others evade or resist them as unauthentic. To express a point of view about the events described seems to have appeared more appropriate to the children when providing authentic accounts than when merely displaying competence (Hill, 1994).

Playful discourse with other children. In each Kindergarten classroom of the participating schools, in 1993–94, the class teacher cooperated with another member of our research team, Akintunde Morakinyo, in setting up a *literacy corner* designed to look like a little Post Office, with writing materials, envelopes, stamps, and play money. Children took turns to play in the "Post Office" and wore a special "mailman's jacket" when doing so. Inside the lining of the jacket was sewn a portable transmitter microphone which enabled us to record the children's speech while they played. Analysis of these records together with the videotape is generating some very interesting information about how young children incorporate literacy materials within their imaginative play. It is clear from our findings that teachers can steer their students' playful discourse in this context in the direction of "appropriating" literacy.

All of the children showed signs of enjoying their activities in the literacy corners. But the degree to which they incorporated any of the literacy materials into the fantasy world they created varied considerably. One important factor influencing the degree to which this happened was the amount of interest shown by the class teacher. Teacher's input in the form of comments and suggestions tended to steer the play toward literate themes. Another influ-

ential factor was the length of time allocated to play sessions in the corner. Children in classes where more time was spent in the corner tended to display more connections between their play and the practices and concepts of literacy (Morakinyo, 1994).

Teacher Perspectives

Each of the teachers in whose pre-Kindergarten classes our children were enrolled gave us an extensive interview about personal educational philosophy, classroom practices, and impressions of the child and his/her developmental progress. Similar interviews were conducted in the Spring of 1994 with the Kindergarten teachers. In addition to providing valuable information about the behavior of each child in the classroom context, these interviews provide a window into the perspective of an important group of professionals on child development and socialization. Although our sample of school teachers is still small, it is apparent that they share some of the beliefs expressed by the children's home caregivers. In other respects, many teachers expressed ideas that differed considerably from the "implicit theories" that seemed to be held by some caregivers. Furthermore, some teachers indicated that they regard a certain proportion of their students' parents as holding radically different views about child-rearing from themselves.

Such apparent contrasts in perspective, whether or not they are completely valid, pose a significant challenge for cooperative communication among the adults responsible for child rearing in the complementary contexts of home and school. During the third year of the project, while our study cohorts were enrolled in first grade, we began to share our findings on this topic with a group of in-service, preschool teachers, as a basis for stimulating them to undertake their own action-research projects. Each of these teacher-inquiry projects was designed to enhance the quality of cooperative communication among parents and teachers about children's emergent literacy (Serpell, Baker, Sonnenschein, Gorham & Hill, 1995).

Conclusion

The complexity of the research design of the Early Childhood Project is deliberate. Understanding the early development of children's literacy from a contextual perspective calls for the integration of many different variables. This report has focused on the patterning of recurrent activities in which children participate, the implicit theories of the adults responsible for their care and education (including their goals for the child's development), and the various strands of the children's emerging competence (including the narration of personal experience and the incorporation of literacy materials within imaginative play). Each of these elements is part of a complex jigsaw puzzle that we are trying to assemble as we track the development of these children over time. We hope that this preliminary account will be a valuable resource for the preparation of teachers to define their roles in this complex configuration.

Principals and Teachers of the Baltimore City Schools for their support and participation. The research we describe has been a joint endeavor with our team of Graduate Student Research Assistants: Hibist Astatke, Marie Dorsey, Sylvia Fernandez, Victoria Goddard-Truitt, Linda Gorham, Susan Hill, Akintunde Morakinyo, Kim Munsterman, and Deborah Scher. In preparing the present version for wider dissemination by NRRC, we decided that a bibliography (see Appendix) of more technical documents emanating from the project could usefully be appended. We have also included a short list of papers that we assigned for reading in our in-service course for preschool teachers. The richness and intensity of the discussions generated by these readings at the course sessions encourage us to believe that they were an appropriate selection for this audience.

References

Baker, L., Sonnenschein, S., Serpell, R., Fernandez, S., & Scher, D. (1994). *Contexts of emergent literacy: Everyday home experiences of urban pre-kindergarten children* (Reading Research Report No. 24). Athens, GA: NRRC, Universities of Georgia and Maryland College Park.

Hill, S. (1994). *Culture, context, and personal narrative.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Maryland Baltimore County.

Morakinyo, A. (1994). *Discourse variations among African-American and European-American kindergartners' literacy-related play.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland Baltimore County.

Serpell, R., Baker, L., Sonnenschein, S., Hill, S., Goddard-Truitt, V., & Danseco, E. (1995). *Parental ideas about development and socialization of children on the threshold of schooling.* Manuscript in preparation, University of Maryland Baltimore County.

Serpell, R., Baker, L., Sonnenschein, S., Gorham, L., & Hill, S. (1995). *Cooperative communication among parents and teachers about children's emergent literacy.* Manuscript in preparation, University of Maryland Baltimore County.

Sonnenschein, S., Baker, L., Serpell, R., Scher, D., Fernandez-Fein, S., & Munsterman, K. A. (1996). *Strands of emergent literacy and their antecedents in the home: Urban preschoolers' early literacy development* (Reading Research Report No. 48). Athens, GA: NRRC, Universities of Georgia and Maryland College Park.

Appendix

Suggestions for Further Reading

The following select bibliography falls into four sections. Section 1 contains another resource we have produced, that was, like this report, specifically designed to be useful to teachers. Section 2 contains some chapters by one or more of the principal investigators that attempt to relate the Early Childhood Project to various issues of concern to teachers. Section 3 contains some reports about other research designed to improve communication between families and schools about young children's development. This set of readings was compiled for an in-service course sponsored by the NRRC for preschool teachers at schools that participated in the Early Childhood Project in 1993-94. Section 4 contains some detailed, technical reports and graduate student reports on various aspects of the Early Childhood Project.

Section 1

Instructional Resource

Sonnenschein, S., Baker, L., & Serpell, R. (1995). *Documenting the child's everyday home experiences: The ecological inventory as a resource for teachers* (Instructional Resource No. 11). Athens, GA: NRRC, Universities of Georgia and Maryland College Park.

Section 2

The Wider Educational Context of the Early Chi!-"ood Project

Baker, L., Allen, J. B., Shockley, B., Pellegrini, A. D., Galda, L., & Stahl, S. (1996). Connecting school and home: Constructing partnerships to foster reading development. In L. Baker, P. Afflerbach, & D. Reinking (Eds.), *Developing engaged readers in school and home communities* (pp. 21-42). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Baker, L., Serpell, R., & Sonnenschein, S. (1995). Opportunities for literacy-related learning in the homes of urban preschoolers. In L. Morrow (Ed.), *Family literacy: Connections in schools and communities* (pp. 236-252). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Serpell, R. (1993). Interaction of context with development: Theoretical constructs for the design of early childhood intervention programs. In L. Eldering & P. Leseman (Eds.). *Early intervention and culture* (pp. 23-43). Paris: UNESCO.

Sonnenschein, S., Brody, G., & Munsterman, K. (1995). The influences of family beliefs and practices on children's early reading development. In L. Baker, P. Afflerbach, & D. Reinking (Eds.), *Developing engaged readers in school and home communities* (pp. 3-20). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Thompson, R., Mixon, G., & Serpell, R. (1995). Engaging minority students in reading: Focus on the urban learner. In L. Baker, P. Afflerbach, & D. Reinking (Eds.), *Developing engaged readers in school and home communities* (pp. 43-64). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Section 3

Recommended Reading about Other Research

Multiple entries into inquiry: Dissolving the boundaries between research and teaching. By: Jervis, K., Carr, E., Lockhart, P., & Rogers, J. (1995). In L. Baker, P. Afflerbach, & D. Reinking (Eds.), *Developing engaged readers in school and home communities* (pp. 247-270). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. By: Moll, L. C., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (1992). *Theory Into Practice, 31*, 132-141.

Learning to read and write in an inner-city setting: A longitudinal study of community change. By: McNamee, G. D. (1990). In L. C. Moll (Ed.), *Vygotsky and education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Extending the literate community: Reading and writing with families. By: Shockley, B. (1993). *The New Advocate, 6*, 11-24.

What no bedtime story means: Narrative skills at home and school. By: Heath, S. B. (1982). *Language in Society, 11*, 49-76.

The role of culture in minority school achievement. By: Jordan, C. (1992). *The Kamehameha Journal of Education, Fall*, 53-67.

Educating poor minority children. By: Comer, J. P. (1988). *Scientific American, 259*(5), 42-48.

Effects of literacy materials from school on Latino children's home experiences and early reading achievement. By: Goldenberg, C., Reese, L., & Gallimore, R. (1992). *American Journal of Education, 100*, 497-536.

Section 4

Technical Research Reports Arising from the Early Childhood Project

Baker, L., Sonnenschein, S., Serpell, R., Fernandez, S., & Scher, D. (1994). *Contexts of emergent literacy: Everyday home experiences of urban pre-kindergarten children* (Reading Research Report No. 24). Athens, GA: NRRC, Universities of Georgia and Maryland College Park.

Sonnenschein, S., Baker, L., Serpell, R., Scher, D., Fernandez-Fein, S., & Munsterman, K. A. (1995). *Strands of emergent literacy and their antecedents in the home: Urban preschoolers' early literacy development* (Reading Research Report No. 48). Athens, GA: NRRC, Universities Georgia and Maryland College Park.

Student Reports Based within the Early Childhood Project

Astatke, H. (1995). *Older playmates' contribution to preschoolers' acquisition of emergent literacy skills.* Master's thesis in preparation, University of Maryland Baltimore County.

Danseco, E. (1995). *African-American mothers' and teachers' ethnotheories on child development: child problems and home-school relations for children with and without disabilities.* Doctoral dissertation in preparation, University of Maryland Baltimore County.

Fernandez, S. (1995). *Knowledge of rhyme and alliteration in preschoolers from different sociocultural backgrounds.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Maryland Baltimore County.

Goddard-Truitt, V. (1995). *An exploratory study of the relationship between parents' implicit models of socialization and child-rearing customs.* Doctoral dissertation in preparation, University of Maryland College Park.

Hill, S. (1994). *Culture, context and personal narrative.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Maryland Baltimore County.

Morakinyo, A. (1994). *Discourse variations among African-American and European-American kindergartners' literacy-related play.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland Baltimore County.

Scher, D. (1995). *Attitudes towards reading and children's home literacy environments.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Maryland Baltimore County.

NRRC National
Reading Research
Center