Parent-Child Shared Book Reading
Quality versus Quantity of Reading Interactions between Parents and Young Children

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The home literacy environment has an important role in young children’s emerging literacy and social-emotional development. An emphasis has been placed on storybook reading at home. However, it has been unclear how often (quantity) storybook reading should occur or how parents should interact (quality) with their young child while reading together. Results revealed the importance and role that both characteristics (quantity and quality) play in young children’s (emerging) literacy development and the parent-child relationship.

Introduction

The literacy environment created in the home by parents plays a crucial role in young children’s emerging literacy and social-emotional development (Bus, 2003; Bus, van IJzendoorn, & Pellegrini, 1995; Evans, Shaw, & Bell, 2000; Parlakian, 2004). One area of children’s literacy that has potentially received greater attention than others is storybook reading. Parent-child shared (or joint) book reading is one aspect of storybook reading that has been examined by researchers (Teale, 1987). Parent-child shared book reading has long been a family custom and has become a daily routine in modern families (Bus, 2001). While parent-child shared book reading is a form of entertainment (Sonnenschein et al., 1997; Sonnenschein, Baker, Serpell, & Schmidt, 2000), the interactions that occur between parents and young children has consequences for multiple areas of development (Leseman & de Jong, 1998; Senechal & LeFevre, 2001; Senechal, LeFevre, Thomas, & Daley, 1998). In fact, young children’s emergent literacy skills have been found to be related to the quality of the parent-child relationship (Bergin, 2001).

The purpose of this research summary is to examine and discuss the associations between parent-child shared book reading and young children’s developmental outcomes within the context of the parent-child relationship. The summary begins with background literature on the emergent literacy perspective and the home literacy environment. The parent-child relationship within the context of attachment theory is briefly explained. A summary of the seminal research on parent-child shared book reading is presented including outcomes for young children. Finally, conclusions and implications (for parents and caregivers) regarding parent-child shared-book reading interactions are discussed.

Background

Emergent Literacy Perspective

The emergent literacy viewpoint, borne out of child development and literacy research, dates to the beginning of the 20th century (Teale, 1987). Despite its early beginnings in the field, emergent literacy is the contemporary viewpoint of young children’s reading and writing development (Strickland & Morrow, 1988). It is the period of time between birth and when children learn to read and write in conventional ways through formal schooling (Sulzby & Teale, 1991; Teale, 1987; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998). Lesiak (1997) noted that literacy development appears earlier than previously believed, is multidimensional, and is associated with the natural surroundings of the child (such as the home). Proponents of the emergent literacy viewpoint have noted that there is no specific time in life when literacy begins, but rather that the literacy behaviors and competencies in 6-month, 1-year, 2-year-old etc. children are natural components of the developmental progression of literacy (Teale, 1987; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998).

Recently, interest and effort in studying young children’s emerging literacy have grown and ideologies about young children’s literacy development have changed (Teale, 1987; Teale & Sulzby, 1986). The emergent literacy field views literacy learning and development as including a broader set of skills than just letter naming and phonemic awareness. It also includes understanding syntax and word choices appropriate to written language. For instance, young children’s re-readings
of favorite books and writings (or scribbles) are also considered when studying emergent literacy. Emergent literacy includes all the competencies that are believed to be precursors to formal or conventional literacy (Teale & Sulzby, 1986) and the environments that support the development of literacy (Lonigan, 1994; Whitehurst et al., 1988).

The word literacy is important to understand because it signifies that reading and writing develop concurrently and interdependently, and need to be examined together rather than separately (Teale, 1987; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998). The term emergent implies something in the process of becoming. Hence, emergent literacy describes children in the process of becoming readers and writers, and stresses the continuous nature of literacy development (Teale, 1987; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998). Teale (1987) noted that the term emergent literacy (Clay, 1966) should not be confused with the term beginning reading (or prereading) which is associated with formal reading instruction (Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998). The term emergent literacy indicates a separate viewpoint from the maturational or readiness perspectives (such as reading readiness) which imply that children need specific levels of maturation and preliteracy skills prior to learning how to read and write (Senechal, LeFevre, Smith-Chant, & Colton, 2001). Due to the continuous developmental progression of emergent literacy in young children, seemingly the role of the home environment in early literacy experiences is essential, particularly given the viewpoint that emergent literacy is a construct that begins prior to formal schooling (Sulzby & Teale, 1991; Teale, 1987; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998).

Home Literacy Environment

The home literacy environment, consisting of a child’s early exposure to and participation in literacy activities with parents, is one of the most important predictors of various developmental and educational outcomes for children (Baker, Sonnenschein, & Serpell, 1999; Leseman & de Jong, 1998). According to Serpell, Sonnenschein, Baker, & Ganapathy (2002) a parent’s socialization practices are what matters most for a child’s literacy development. Home literacy, therefore, is rooted within social and cultural contexts, and vast differences can exist in home literacy experiences for children (Leseman & de Jong, 1998). The home literacy environment may include observing parents reading (books, magazines, newspapers, bills), writing (shopping lists, menu planning, checks, letters), opportunities and materials available for the child to draw and write on, the number of books in the home (adult and child), library visits with parent, opportunities for the child to “read” independently, and engaging in shared-book reading with parents (Baker, Sonnenschein, & Serpell, 1999; Leseman & de Jong, 1998; Teale & Sulzby, 1986). Thus, there are a range of opportunities within the context of the home for children to participate in literacy activities (Serpell, Sonnenschein, Baker, & Ganapathy, 2002) and for young children these activities are constructed and supported by the parent (Bus, 2001).

Social construction hypothesis. Book reading is a socially-formed and shared activity between children and adults (Sulzby & Teale, 1991). Bus (2001) noted that parents who begin reading to their child early in life may elicit their child’s interest in books and emergent literacy, which may continue throughout childhood. A child’s interest in books is a requirement and an outcome of book reading activities. However, young children may not be able to enjoy or understand books without the guidance and support of an adult (Bus, 2001). Therefore, it is the parent who assists the child in becoming interested in books and makes it part of the child’s normal routine. Often during shared reading activities, a parent and child will digress from the text of the printed-page, and instead the book reading interaction may take on new meaning through the joint-experience of talking about the pictures, words, and asking and answering questions about the plot (Bus, 2001). Social construction theory therefore implies that the parent plays an essential role in making the book enjoyable for the child (Bus, 2001).

Parent-child shared book reading. Bergin (2001) noted that “it has become common knowledge among parents that children should be read to at home.” However, some children are never read to while others are read to quite frequently by their parents (Adams, 1990). In addition, more does not necessitate better, and in fact, joint-book reading is not pleasurable for some parent-child dyads (Bergin, 2001; Bergin, Lancy, & Draper, 1994). For many dyads though, shared book reading is an enjoyable activity (Sonnenschein & Munsterman, 2002). Furthermore, book reading interactions are important to the development of emergent literacy and may be related to the quality of the parent-child relationship (Bus & van Ijzendoorn, 1988, 1997; Bus, van Ijzendoorn, & Pellegrini, 1995). The predictors of quality parent-child interactions during book reading have received greater attention in recent years (Froesch, Cox, & Goldman, 2001).

Parent-child shared book reading and home literacy environments are generally studied in a quantitative manner, such as examining how often children are read to, how many children’s books are in the home, and the frequency of library visits (Karrass, VanDeventer, & Braungart-Rieker, 2003).
Thus far, conclusions regarding the association between parents reading frequently to their children and various outcome measures have been controversial, specifically regarding whether statistical effect sizes are weak or moderate (Scarborough & Dobrich, 1994). In the past, the qualitative or affective component (as opposed to frequency or quantitative aspect) of the reading interaction between parents and young children has been given little attention by the emergent literacy field (Leseman & de Jong, 1998), but more recently has received interest (Sonnenschein & Munsterman, 2002). The qualitative or affective component of shared book reading is operationalized as behaviors reflecting pleasurable and engaging interactions between parents and children (Sonnenschein & Munsterman, 2002). This is distinctly different from interactions that are characterized by negative behaviors such as the parent disciplining the child during the reading interaction, not letting the child touch the book, and less attention to the book by the child (Bus & van IJzendoorn, 1997). Therefore, it is essential to recognize the difference between, and perhaps determine the importance of, quantity (frequency) versus quality (affect) of the parent-child shared book reading interaction because frequent book reading may not have positive outcomes for the young child if the parent-child interaction is conflicted (Bergin, 2001).

Parent-Child Relationship

Through repeated interactions with parents, such as shared book reading, children develop a mental model of their parents and this influences their expectations, responses, and future interactions with parents, which are essential features of attachment theory (Egeland & Erickson, 1999; Lamb & Easterbrooks, 1981). Attachment refers to the affective and emotional bond that develops between an infant and his or her parent(s) as a result of social interactions that occur early in life (Ainsworth & Bell, 1970). The Strange Situation procedure (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978) is the measure utilized most often to assess the security of the child’s attachment to their parent. Through a series of brief separations and reunions with their parent, children’s attachment patterns are categorized into one of several categories (Goldsmith & Alansky, 1987). Briefly, children who develop a secure attachment to their parent (or primary caregiver) will seek out their caregiver during times of distress and need, be visibly upset when separated from their parent, and will greet their parent warmly upon reunion (Ainsworth, 1989). Children who develop insecure-avoidant attachments tend to show little distress when separated from their parent, and will turn away from and avoid contact with their parent when they are reunited after separation. Insecure-resistant children are extremely distressed when separated from their parent and do not calm down easily when reunited with their parent. Insecure-resistant children will go back and forth between wanting to be near the parent and being angry at them (Frosch, Cox, & Goldman, 2001).

It is essential to note that the development of secure attachment has been found to be related to positive cognitive, social, and emotional development throughout childhood and early adolescence (Fagot & Kavanagh, 1993; Matas, Arend, & Sroufe, 1978). Given the complexity and importance of the parent-child relationship and its associations with other developmental outcomes, the relationship between children’s attachment patterns and parent-child shared book reading interactions has begun to receive attention in the field. Currently, few studies exist on this topic and further research inquiry is needed (Bus & van IJzendoorn, 1988, 1997; Frosch, Cox, & Goldman, 2001).

Based on the above review of literature, the purpose of the current summary of seminal research is to examine and discuss the relationships between parent-child shared book reading and young children’s developmental outcomes within the context of the parent-child relationship. Specifically, two methods of shared book reading research will be investigated: (1) frequency of shared book reading, and (2) quality of parent-child shared book reading interactions. Child outcomes related to emergent literacy and the parent-child relationship will be examined. In addition, parent and child behaviors during shared book reading interactions will be reviewed. Recent evidence suggests that the quality of the interaction may play an essential role in developmental outcomes and warrants further investigation.

Summary of Seminal Research

Search Strategy and Sources

In an effort to obtain relevant studies and seminal research on the topic of parent-child shared book reading the following search terms were utilized: parent-child shared book reading, parent-child joint book reading, dialogic reading, parent-child interaction, parent-child relationship, literacy, prereadiness, early literacy, emergent literacy, quality, and home experience. Electronic databases were searched using the search terms listed above. These databases included: Psychological Abstracts online (PsycINFO), Educational Resource Information Center (ERIC), Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), MEDLINE, National Library of Medicine (Entrez...
between parents and young children. The meta-analysis of joint book reading outcome measures, Bus et al. (1995) conducted the studies on frequency of parent-child shared book reading and the outcome measurements, Bus et al. (1995) utilized Cohen’s d to test the difference between the frequency of parent-child shared book reading and emergent literacy skills for young children. The authors then tested the effect sizes for each of the three literacy constructs separately. The combined effect size for studies on frequency of parent-child shared book reading and emergent literacy was $d = 0.58$ ($r = .28; N = 1,293$), indicating a moderate relationship. The combined effect size for studies on frequency of parent-child shared book reading and reading achievement was $d = 0.55$ ($r = .27; N = 2,248$), also demonstrating a moderate relationship. Although the effect size of the studies on language skills was the largest, the authors did not find significant differences between the frequency of parent-child shared book reading and any of the literacy areas, meaning that outcomes related to parent-child shared book reading was important in all three areas of literacy outcomes. Bus et al. (1995) also tested the effect of frequency of book reading and families’ socioeconomic status (low, middle, high) and did not find significant differences between groups, indicating that even in families with lower socioeconomic status, frequency of parent-child shared book reading is associated with children’s literacy skills. The authors also noted that whether book reading was measured as a frequency variable (quantitative) or composite variable (quantitative and qualitative) did not make a difference statistically, in the outcomes.

In sum, the results of Bus et al. (1995) indicate that frequency of parent-child shared book reading is related to literacy outcomes for young children, and that there is a need to further explore which aspects of shared book reading (parental and environmental components) are most beneficial. While there has...
been some discussion in the field regarding whether the effect sizes the authors found are weak or moderate, few would argue against shared book reading between children and parents. Bus et al. (1995) did not indicate or define what level of frequency leads to beneficial outcomes. There are various ways to interpret this and without turning to the original 33 studies for clarity on frequency, one interpretation could be that frequency may simply mean “often.” However, as Bus et al. (1995) noted, there are many variables in the home literacy environment that can lead to positive child outcomes and the home environment requires further exploration. In addition, the authors did not recommend frequent parent-child shared book reading unconditionally because presumably some conditions can optimize benefits while other conditions may not. Additional research is needed to further examine other aspects of the parent-child relationship, specifically affective variables related to parent-child attachment, in the context of parent-child shared book reading.

Quality of Parent-Child Shared Book Reading

Frosch, Cox, and Goldman (2001) were interested in identifying the predictors of quality storybook interactions between young children and their parents. The authors noted that there is growing evidence that parent-child storybook interactions have positive cognitive and emotional outcomes for young children and are an important social context for the development of literacy. It is important to understand that while different parents may read to their child as often as other parents, the interactions that occur during storybook reading between different parent-child dyads, including parental affect, may be vastly different and these differences may be related to later literacy development (Baker, Scher, & Mackler, 1997). In an effort to examine the affective aspects of parent-child shared book reading, Frosch et al. (2001) conducted a longitudinal study to examine the associations between early attachment security and parent and child behavior during reading interactions. The authors were specifically interested in whether differences in attachment relationship during infancy were related to differences in parent’s and children’s behavior during storybook interactions at 24 months of age.

Families were recruited from prenatal classes in four counties in the southeast United States. Complete attachment and storybook interaction data was compiled for 131 families (71 girls, 60 boys). Infant-parent attachment security was measured when the children were 12 and 15 months old using Ainsworth’s Strange Situation procedure (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). Attachment was assessed with both the father and mother on separate occasions, with at least one month between assessments. Based on patterns of child behavior displayed during the Strange Situation, children were categorized under one of the three major classifications: secure, insecure-avoidant, or insecure-resistant. For the infant-mother dyads, 60.0% were secure, 31.5% were insecure-avoidant, and 8.5% were insecure-resistant; the authors were unable to classify one dyad. For the infant-father dyads, 63.2% were secure, 28.8% were insecure-avoidant, and 6.4% were insecure-resistant; two children were unclassifiable (Frosch, 2001).

At 24 months of age, mother-toddler dyads and father-toddler dyads were observed interacting with a textless storybook. The parents were instructed to “read” the book to their child in a way that they were comfortable with. The authors believed that the textless books would elicit greater variability in child and parent behavior because there was no text to simply read. Both parent and child behaviors were coded from the storybook observational data. The focus was on behaviors that promoted children’s enjoyment of and participation in the interaction. Parents were coded for: sensitivity (emotional support and assisting child in a positive experience); intrusiveness (lack of respect for the child as an individual, and lack of recognition of the child’s effort to be independent); detachment (parent is emotionally uninvolved); positive regard (expression of positive affect and enjoyment); negative regard (hostility, impatience, abruptness, or dislike); flatness of affect (how animated parent is in terms of facial and vocal expressions); and stimulation of cognitive development (degree to which parent supports and encourages the child’s development). Children were coded for: enthusiasm (child acts with vigor, confidence, eagerness in the interaction); focused attention (child’s focus on the task); compliance (child complies with parents’ directions and questions during interaction); and child positive mood and negative mood were also scored. Both the parent and child scales were coded on 7-point scales (Frosch, Cox, & Goldman, 2001).

Frosch et al. (2001) were interested in testing the relationships between security of attachment at 12 and 15 months and behavior during storybook interactions at 24 months. Preliminary analyses revealed no existing gender differences for any child or parental variables during the storybook interactions. In addition, the relationship between the level of parental education and attachment security indicated that education level did not differ as a function of infant-parent attachment. One test did reveal a significant difference between mother’s and father’s behaviors: fathers tended to be more...
warm and supportive, development, significantly more stimulating of cognitive development, and less hostile/intrusive and less detached, then their children were more compliant and exhibited greater focused attention, enthusiasm, and positive mood during the storybook interaction. Contrary to the findings with mothers, father and child behavior during the storybook reading interaction was not related to secure infant attachment. These results confirm those from an earlier study which also examined the relationship between father-child reading interactions and infant attachment (Bus, Belsky, van IJzendoorn, & Crnic, 1997). Assessing the qualities of the toddler-father shared book reading interaction in relation to attachment security may not be the most appropriate method of study. Perhaps different behaviors or book reading contexts, such as examining the interaction in the home setting rather than a laboratory, or using books with words instead of textless storybooks, would reveal more about the associations between father-child attachment patterns and shared book reading interactions. Differences in patterns of associations for mothers and fathers cannot be attributed to differences in sensitivity, intrusiveness, or stimulation of cognitive development, because recall analyses revealed no significant differences between mothers and fathers on these constructs. Frosch et al. (2001) concluded that attachment and storybook interactions are related in different ways for mothers and fathers, perhaps because fathers are less experienced with reading to young children (Bus, Belsky, van IJzendoorn, & Crnic, 1997). Further research is warranted in order to examine this phenomenon. Additionally, these findings do not discount the importance of the father’s role in infant-father attachment security and young children’s emerging literacy skills. Other aspects of the father-child relationship may have significant associations with other areas of development not examined in the study by Frosch et al. (2001). The authors concluded by noting that storybook interactions are one context for the development of literacy and mother-infant attachment is one important contributing factor.

Conclusions

Based on the seminal research included in this research summary, several conclusions can be reached. First, frequent parent-child shared book reading interactions are related to literacy outcomes for young children (Bus, van IJzendoorn, & Pelligrini, 1995). Specifically, frequency of shared book reading was found to be related to language skills, emergent literacy, and reading achievement of school-aged children. In addition, socioeconomic status did not play a role in outcomes, therefore, the outcomes of frequent shared book reading in families with low socioeconomic status was not significantly different from families of higher socioeconomic status. There has been controversy regarding whether the effect sizes found by Bus et al. (1995) are weak.
or moderate but nevertheless, a relationship does exist between frequency of parent-child book reading and literacy outcomes, and therefore the importance of parent-child shared book reading should not be discounted on this basis. It is unclear what is specifically meant by “frequent” however defining a specific amount may not prove beneficial and may be arbitrary.

Second, positive parent behaviors, such as being warm and supportive, were found to be related to positive child behaviors, such as focused attention and enthusiasm, during the storybook interaction (Frosch, Cox, & Goldman, 2001). Further, infant-mother secure attachment is related to maternal and child behavior during storybook interactions and these behaviors are literacy-promoting. However, infant-father secure attachment was not found to be related to paternal or child behaviors in the storybook interaction. This is an interesting outcome because Frosch et al. (2001) did not find significant differences between mother’s and father’s behaviors during the storybook interactions except that fathers were more detached. While few if any would argue against fathers and children interacting in shared book reading together, on the basis of Frosch et al. (2001) findings, the nature of the child-father relationship in the context of the storybook interactions is not clearly understood and warrants further study.

In sum, while neither study examined the contributions of parent behaviors during parent-child shared book reading to attachment pattern outcomes for young children, presumably the behaviors that Frosch et al. (2001) measured and highlighted as literacy-promoting behaviors, would reinforce and strengthen the parent-child relationship. The literacy-promoting behaviors that Frosch et al. (2001) identified have also been identified by previous researchers as parental behaviors that best predict attachment security (De Wolff & van IJzendoorn, 1997; Kassow & Dunst, 2005). Further, it is unclear how frequency and quality interact together and are associated with outcomes because neither seminal bodies of work measured both constructs. While Bus et al. (1995) measured frequency of parent-child shared book reading and in some cases a composite measure of frequency that included quality, Bus et al. (1995) did not examine quality as an entirely separate component. Therefore it cannot be determined if frequency or quality is more important than the other. Further inquiry to measure frequency and quality as separate constructs in parent-child shared book reading interactions, and their associations with attachment and literacy outcomes is needed in future research. Despite these unanswered questions parent-child shared book reading is an essential interaction in young children’s lives and is associated with various developmental outcomes.

**Implications for Parents and Caregivers**

Based on the findings in this research summary there are a number of recommendations for parents and other caregivers to consider regarding shared book reading interactions with young children (birth to five). First, parents should begin reading to/with their child early in their child’s life, that is, during infancy. According to the emergent literacy perspective, literacy development is continuous in nature and begins early in life. Second, parents and children should engage in shared book reading interactions and other literacy activities, such as visiting the library, as often as possible. While “often” or “frequency” has not been defined by Bus et al. (1995), parents should incorporate literacy into their daily routine with their child as much as possible. It is best for parents to determine “frequency” in a manner that best suits their family’s life. Third, according to the social construction hypothesis, parents set the stage for eliciting their child’s interest in book reading. During storybook interactions parents should make the experience enjoyable and fun for both the child and themselves, using enthusiasm, smiles, giggles, praise, playfulness, and conversation about the story and pictures in the book. In addition, parents should model literacy behaviors for their children such as reading the newspaper and writing grocery lists. If parents demonstrate the pleasure of reading, children will enjoy reading too. Fourth, during parent-child shared book reading, parents should be warm, supportive, and encouraging of their child’s experience, be responsive to their child’s needs during the interaction (for example, if a child becomes restless, stop the interaction and start over later), be engaged and interested in the child, and be animated in vocal expression while reading or telling the story. Research findings have shown that these behaviors are literacy-promoting and are also predictive of secure child attachment. Lastly, avoid disciplining the child during shared book reading interactions; otherwise the child may learn to associate book reading with negativity. Avoid being impatient, abrupt, or angry with the child during the experience. If the child’s attention is waning, if he/she is restless or unable to sit still, or uninterested in the story, stop the interaction and start a new story at a later time when the child is ready to enjoy the experience. Parent-child shared book reading should be a fun and enjoyable experience for both partners.
References


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Why Is A Positive Parent-child Relationship Important? Loving parents create loving children. Your relationship with your children and how attached you are to them indicates how the child is going to be in the future. [Read: Parenting Styles And Their Influence]. The relationship between parents and children not only needs to be strong but also flexible because you can’t behave with a ten-year-old in the same way you behave with a three-year-old. 

Back to top. Parent-child Relationship At Various Stages. Teens need privacy, while younger kids need parental intervention and interaction. Prioritize your relationship with the child: Your kids are your priority. So show it to them in action: spend as much time as you can with your child instead of just fitting them in your schedule. Read these books with a glass of wine after bedtime to remind yourself your kid is not a fact a monster. Revel in the fleeting particulars of him at this age. Laugh when the best advice the authors can come up with for stubborn 3.5-year-olds is this: Send them to preschool, because they’ll behave better for people who aren’t their parents. For parents whose kids aren’t yet mean girls: This book is full of sympathy and brimming with tips (and an abundance of metaphors, be warned), and eases you in with an adorable cartoon porcupine. $15 at Amazon. Buy. 

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