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για την
παιδική
ηλικία

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ΜΕ ΔΙΕΘΝΗ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ

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Ανα-στοχασμοί

για την Παιδική Ηλικία

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READING DISPOSITIONS OF PRESCHOOL AGED CHILDREN FROM
TWO DIFFERENT SOCIO-CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was the investigation of reading dispositions of preschool aged children in Greek family settings. Forty eight preschool aged children participated in a semi-structured interview. The children were asked to give an extended reference to what they prefer to do when they are alone or what they like to do with other members of their family. If there was no mention of reading, then the children were explicitly asked about their preferences on reading. In order to investigate possible differences on attitudes and practices on reading habits, we utilize the Bourdieu theory on habitus. So, the families were divided into two social groups according to the parents' occupation and educational level. The data were analyzed with content analysis. The results showed that there are significant differences between children from these two discrete social groups. It is much more possible for a child coming from well-educated parents to be strongly motivated to read than a child coming from less-educated parents. The findings indicate that preschool teachers have to put special efforts especially for children that come from less privileged social backgrounds.

Keywords: *reading dispositions, family influences, early childhood education, social groups*

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the research presented in this paper was the investigation of reading dispositions of preschool aged children in Greek family backgrounds. In contrary to what happens elsewhere, reading habits of young children and pupils have not been investigated in Greece (Stamou, Griva & Tsioulis, 2013). The lack of this data has important educational implications, since kindergarten teachers should have a deep knowledge of their pupils' habits and dispositions for reading in order to facilitate reading in and outside their classrooms.

Moreover, motivation and engagement in reading seem to be of great importance for early literacy development supporting not only both code-related and oral language abilities (Storch & Whitehurst, 2002) but, also, the establishment of reading for pleasure. As Clark & Rumbold (2006: 17) argue "if children

do not enjoy reading when they are young, then they are unlikely to do so when they get older”. Secondly, we would like to examine if children from lower social and educational backgrounds read less for enjoyment than children from more privileged family backgrounds (Clark & Akerman, 2006; PISA in Focus, 2011).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

By adopting a sociocultural perspective on literacy development, we see literacy mainly as a social practice than an acquisition of a set of cognitive skills (Heath, 1983; Street, 1984; Purcell-Gates, 1995; Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Gee, 2000; Tracey & Morrow, 2006). As Cairney (2002: 159) argues “*literacy is in essence a set of social practices situated in sociocultural contexts defined by members of a group through their actions with, through and about language*”. Bourdieu theory can contribute to the analysis of literacy practices and their sociocultural dimensions (Sterponi, 2007). In this paper we will reclaim the concept of habitus, which is the “*system of acquired dispositions functioning on the practical level as categories of perception and assessment or as classificatory principles as well as being the organizing principles of action*” (Bourdieu, 1990a: 13). From this perspective we see the formation of reading dispositions of preschool aged children as a result of socialization processes in the framework of a certain family background. Thus, children’s preferences and choices on reading depend on cultural capital, which has been invested by the family. This is because family is the most basic factor for accumulation and transfer of different forms of capital (cultural, economic, social, and symbolic) in children and mainly of habitus, which plays a very crucial role in shaping the personality, as well as, children’s current or future preferences and choices (Bourdieu, 2000; Atkinson, 2011; Reay, 1998b). Even though habitus is subject to changes during the life of a person, early experiences are of crucial importance for his/her behaviors and attitudes. This is why Bourdieu (1990a) argues that the habitus of a person is the result of both his/her own history and the history of his/her own family. Moreover, the child in the family receives the influences of literacy socialization, whereby she/he obtains specific dispositions, preferences and capabilities on reading (Bourdieu, 1996). These specific dispositions “encourage” or “don’t encourage” active participation in literacy practices and especially reading for pleasure. Bourdieu (1984: 170) states that “*different conditions of existence produce different habitus – systems of generative schemes applicable, by simple transfer, to the most varied areas of practice*”. Thus, parents’ habitus depends on their socio-economic status. Therefore parents’ attitudes, choices and appraisals for many issues, including literacy and book reading, differ (Bourdieu, 1990b). Finally, parents’ level of education seems to affect their children’s literacy socialization, since it seems that poorly educated parents are less likely to possess a literacy-focused habitus (Lareau, 2003; Reay, 1998a). In this case, it is expected that reading practices do not exist or are very limited in

the daily family life. This is why children from low socio-cultural background, by internalizing the beliefs and attitudes of their family members (Reay, 1998b), are expected to develop dispositions which do not pinpoint reading for pleasure, as a behavior that will flourish. It is noteworthy that this doesn't mean that these children have not experience with print at home. Observational studies (e.g. Heath, 1983; Teale, 1986) showed that in low-income families, children had many opportunities to observe the use of print in their daily lives. But as Teale (1986) observed, reading books was not a stable routine in these families. But it is exactly book exposure at home which contributes and directly predicts vocabulary growth and reading for pleasure in the following years (Sénéchal, 2006).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS – METHODOLOGY

Based on the assumption that joyful engagement in reading, during early childhood, offers the “fuel” that feeds a lifelong thirst for literacy, the scope of this research was to study the preschool children's interest and enjoyment of books, as also to investigate if the possible differences in children come from different socio-cultural backgrounds.

The subject of this research consisted of 48 children, 24 girls and 24 boys, with average age of 5:8 (years/months). All of them were pupils in two public kindergartens in the area of Patras, Greece, and they were in the last year of preschool education. They were all native speakers of the Greek language and, according to their teachers, all of them were within the expected age language development and had no strong emotional experiences during the last two years. The two kindergartens were in areas which differ in their socio-cultural background. The first one was located in a typical working class area and the second in the University.

According to our observation during visits before applying the research, both kindergartens followed a similar literacy program. They had a relatively rich library corner, they were both relatively rich in inserting texts in activities and they both followed emergent literacy practices with no formal teaching of letters or copying words.

Moreover, children's families were divided into two social groups according to parents' occupation. In order to distinguish social locations we used the framework proposed by Hasan & Cloran (1990) and Williams (1999), which is based upon professions. This framework is based on the decision – making and control over work practices and that of others in the workplace. So, the first group consisted of those children having parents whose professions were characterized as “low autonomy profession” (hence fore: LAP) and the second of those having parents with “high autonomy profession” (hence fore: HAP). The division of subjects to social group in the case of the two investigated kindergartens is presented on Table 1.

ΑΝΑ-ΣΤΟΧΑΣΜΟΙ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΙΔΙΚΗ ΗΛΙΚΙΑ

Parents' Professions	Subjects	%	1 st Kindergarten	%	2 nd Kindergarten	%	TOTAL
LAP	28	58,3	22	91,7	3	12,5	25
HAP	20	41,7	2	8,3	21	87,5	23
Total	48	100	24	100	24	100	48

Table 1: Kindergartens and social groups

Having visited many times the classrooms, the researcher was a familiar person to the children. So, it was easy for the researcher to be accepted as a teacher and be involved in classroom activities. In the beginning, the researcher explained to the children that he is interested in learning about what they like to do when they are alone and for that reason he would be very grateful if they could draw what they like to do. Then the children were given a sheet divided in six sections in order to draw what they prefer to do when they are alone. After completing this task, the children were asked to explain their drawings to the researcher. The researcher wrote every child's comments in the sheet in his/her presence and after completion, he read them to the child in order to verify them. After a few days, the participants were called for a semi-structure interview on their drawings with one of the researchers. This methodology has a number of advantages, the main of which is that it allows children to express themselves freely and the interviewer can add questions in order to be sure that the opinion of the child is exact and clear. Actually, the questions were concentrated on reading alone and being read to by other persons. The first step of the interview was the discussion about the child's drawing. If the child had included reading in her/his drawing, the interviewer asked about it. If the child had not included reading, after discussing the child's favorite activities, the interviewer asked about reading when (s)he is alone. If the answer was positive the interviewer asked about her/his favorite books, feelings, as well as, how the child reads without knowing the letters. After completing the "reading alone" session, the interviewer asked the child what (s)he prefers to do when (s)he is with any other person in the house. When reading was included in the child's answer the interviewer asked about the time of shared reading, the books and her/his feelings. When reading was not included in the child's answers the interviewer asked about it. At the end the interviewer thanked the child for her/his time and valuable ideas. Usually, the discussion lasted around 5 to 7 minutes, but there were instances in which it took much longer. The whole protocol of the semi-structure interview is presented in Appendix I.

It has to be mentioned that in case a child was not willing to participate or

not willing to fulfill the interview, the procedure stopped and the researcher thanked the child for her/his contribution. Generally speaking, the children seemed to be very happy to share their views and practices. There were only two cases in which these children did not want to be taken to the interview. A girl wanted to stay and play with her friends and later she said that she was a little bit tired and a boy seemed to be very shy and stressful. In that case the researcher told him that he could discuss about his free time another time with his teacher.

All the parents of the participants were informed about the scope and the procedure of the research and they had given the permission to the researchers to discuss with their children. After the application of the research, the parents were informed about the general results and conclusions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this section we will proceed with both quantitative and qualitative presentation, analysis and discussion of our research findings.

The quantitative results showed a great variety between the two social groups. In Table 2 one can see the numbers and the percentages of children who mentioned reading and some other activities in their drawings. The children who had been categorized in the second social group, that of the parents with High Autonomy Professions, stated reading in a very higher percentage than their counterparts of the first group (45% and 21,4 % respectively). Moreover, even though watching TV seems to be a common activity, the findings indicate that the access and use of PC was much more possible to happen in the second group than the first one (75% and 25%). Finally, it is not noteworthy that a girl from the second group mentioned that she reads books via internet. More specifically, she mentioned the website of a Greek National Book Center (www.mikrosanagnostis.gr), in which a children's book is read every week by an actor or actress.

GROUPS	Subs	%	READING	%	TV	%	PC	%
1st (LAP)	28	58,3	6	21,4	20	71,4	7	25
2nd(HAP)	20	41,7	9	45	14	70	15	75
Total	48	100	15	31,3	34	70,8	22	45,8

Table 2: Quantitative results of drawings about activities done alone

In Table 3 the findings of interviews concerning reading alone as a favorite

activity, are presented. The study of this table shows that during the semi-structure interview 40% of the children coming from a more privileged social group added reading as a like-to-do activity; while the percentage of children from the first group (LAP) remained lower (25%). Based upon the results, reading is much more possible for children coming from HAP group to be addressed as a favorite choice when they are alone. A high percentage (85%) of children having parents from the second group and 46,4% of children having parents from the first group explicitly mentioned reading either in their drawings or after be questioned about. It is obvious that the dispositions on reading for pleasure correspond to a great extent to the habitus, which has been cultivated in family settings (Bourdieu, 2000; Reay, 1998b). It seems that this situation reflects the cultural capital of families, in which children are exposed and enculturated from the very beginning of their lives (Bourdieu, 1990a).

GROUPS	Subs	%	READING IN DRAW- ING	%	ADDING READING IN INTERVIEW	%	TOTAL	
1 st (LAP)	28	58,3	6	21,4	7	25	15	53,6
2 nd (HAP)	20	41,7	9	45	8	40	3	15
Total	48	100	15	31,3	15	31,3	18	37,4

Table 3: Reading alone

As it is presented in Table 4 the same pattern was found when children were asked about what they like to do when they are with other people in their home. Half of the children of the first group (LAP) mentioned reading, while three out of four of the children of the second group (HAP) mentioned reading. Even though the numbers are not that bad, it should be taken into consideration that the subjects were at their final year of preschool education. According to our observation that period, parents, and especially those from the first group (LAP), are very worried about their child's success into primary school and they usually start reading at this age and in many cases they introduce to their child books with pre-writing activities and not narrative or informational books for children. But the kind of shared reading activities, the duration and the quality of the interaction are far from the scope of this research.

GROUPS	Subs	%	READING WITH OTHERS	%
1 st (LAP)	28	58,3	14	50
2 nd (HAP)	20	41,7	15	75
Total	48	100	29	60,4

Table 4: Reading as a shared activity

Consequently, from the study of the results concerning reading (Tables: 2, 3, & 4) it is deduced that it is much more possible for children coming from more privileged family environments to form a habitus about reading than those children coming from less privileged family environments. More specifically, in Figure 1, in which the paintings of two children from HAP category are presented, it is obvious that their choices are strongly connected with reading and new technologies, and presumably with digital literacy. In particular, reading enjoyment (5th choice of Gregoris) and participation in school culture and life (see the last choice of Chrisanthi) seem to constitute basic elements of family culture of these children and affect the configuration of their own habitus (Bourdieu, 2000). This kind of family culture, which corresponds to school culture, facilitates both school integration and success in school for these children (Bourdieu, 1986; Reay, 1998a).

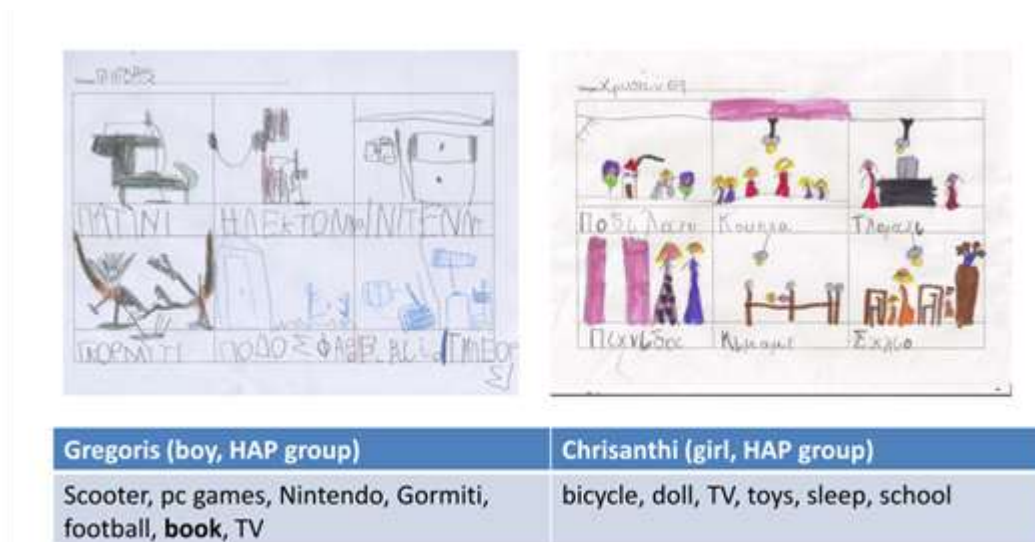


Figure 1: Pupils' drawings from HAP group on the topic "what do you like to do when you are alone?"

As one can see in Figure 2, of children coming from LAP family environments, it is much more possible to choose activities which are connected with everyday family life activities, such as taking care of babies, watching TV or playing. These choices reflect in some extent the cultural climate of these families. Reading does not seem to be a favorable activity. The development of reading dispositions in all probability is not included in the priorities of these families (Bourdieu, 2000; Reay, 1998a). What seems to be common in both social groups is the reference to TV. Watching TV seems to be a very common daily activity in families with very young children (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990). As it has been shown “the TV constitutes an element of the habitus of the modern man” (Koustourakis, Pefani & Panagiotakopoulos, 2010: 69) and this fact calls for further investigation on possible impact of television viewing on young children's literacy development (Moses, 2008).

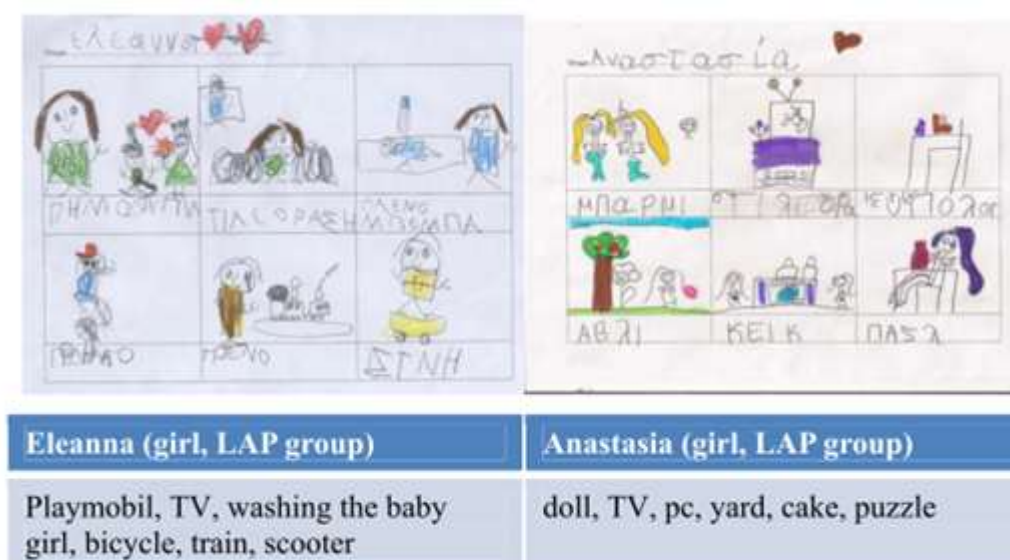


Figure 2: Pupils' drawings coming from LAP group on the topic “what do you like to do when you are alone?”

Dealing with children, parents or other members of family, such as grandparents or older brothers and sisters, and getting involved in literacy events (Heath, 1982) and especially reading books and discussions about their content contributes to children's socialization, development of oral language and communication skills and formation of their of their habitus on reading (Bourdieu, 1990a, 1996). This kind of activities necessitate children's use of both extended discourse and specific vocabulary, and thus empower their route to literacy (Dickinson, Freiberg, & Barnes, 2011; National Early Literacy Panel, 2008). The content analysis of the interviews shows that children admire their "significant others" from their family environment and for that reason the experiences gained in daily interaction with them contribute to the formation of a literacy focused habitus to their children (Reay, 1998a). Moreover, it has been shown that the affec-

tive quality of literacy interaction in home fosters children's motivation for reading (Sonnenschein & Munsterman, 2002) and places the most important foundation for literacy development.

"My grandmother is the best reader ever. I like her to read to me, one, two, three books. She knows all the mythology by heart" (boy, HAP group).

This boy seems to be thrilled because his grandmother reads to him books, especially those with stories from Greek mythology. These books usually contain large images with vivid colors to portray the actions of heroes. This habit seems to be one of the major factors that led this boy to develop devotion and love for books. It is obvious that he feels the need to use books for enriching his knowledge on his favorite topic and more significantly he considers this engagement as entertainment. Therefore, the involvement of family members in literacy practices during their interaction with children leads to the cultivation of a habitus to use a book for pleasure (Bourdieu, 1984). In agreement with the previous boy, a second boy from the HAP group says that, in order to cope with feelings of loneliness and boredom, he finds refuge in a book and through reading he makes an exciting imaginary journey:

"When I am alone and I am bored I read a book and I travel. I travel everywhere I want, but sometimes I go where the book is about, let's say in the ocean with the pirates" (boy, HAP group).

The cultural capital of the family affects moods, preferences and choices of children on reading. This in turn contributes to the inclusion or not of the book as a significant part in the kids' existence (Atkinson, 2011; Bourdieu, 2000). Thus, a child, regardless of whether (s)he is able to read by decoding, can feel great satisfaction when leafing through some of the books containing interesting and attractive images. The meaning in that case is derived by the pictures and by remembering the content from previous readings. In this case it seems that the child acts based on patterns (s)he has observed in her/his family and acts like her/his parents. By "breathing" the cultural atmosphere of the family, the child develops gradually the habitus of the cultured man, which creates a feeling of safety and power:

"I don't read. I look at the pictures and I understand. Then I feel strong!" (boy, HAP group).

Moreover, children coming from families with well-educated parents and have developed positive reading dispositions seem to be more possible to use reading events for empowering their own literacy abilities:

"I like to be read to because I hear the difficult words" (girl, HAP group).

Apart from storybooks, information books (Duke, 2003) seem to attract children's interest. By reading this kind of books children strengthen and enhance their cognitive and linguistic abilities as well as their background

knowledge for natural and social world. Therefore, it shows how important for children are the influences of literacy socialization by their families (Bourdieu, 1996).

“I am crazy with books for countries, continents, seas and things like that. I want to be a geographer” (boy, HAP group).

In the case of children coming from less educated backgrounds (LAP group), the absence of cultivation of a habitus for reading is more possible. This could be explained with two reasons. Firstly, reading or literacy activities may not be included in a steady routine for the pupil’s parents, even when the child asks parents to read to her/him.

“Mom has no time to read with me only on Saturdays and Sundays” (girl, LAP group).

The second reason has to do with what the parents believe is of importance for literacy development. In some cases there is a pressure upon the child to study alone. But this kind of behavior has just limited benefits, especially when the members of the family explicitly value other kind of activities, such as watching TV:

“Some children want to play but their mom shouts to them “If you will not read, you won’t play”. But my brother goes and watches TV in secret” (boy, LAP group).

In that case the models of the family, consisted of poorly educated parents, do not support the development of a literacy-focused habitus (Lareau, 2003), since they face reading only as part of school obligations.

Another finding, which seems to deepen the differences between the two social groups, has to do with reference to beloved authors. Only three girls and two boys, all members of LAP group, mentioned the names of specific authors and explicitly declared their preference for their work. Three of the above mentioned five references that had to do with the same author, Evgenios Trivizas. One of the boys said:

“I adore Trivizas. I have all of his books [he mentioned five titles and described four others]. Evgenios is such a funny person. He makes me laugh, without being able to stop.”

CONCLUSION

Even though the sample of this study does not allow conclusions for the whole population, it provides some evidence that there are remarkable differences in reading for pleasure experiences between those children coming from well-educated parents and those who are not. In other words, it seems more possible for children from less privileged families to have less reading experiences at home than their peers coming from families with higher education and better

professional status. These findings are consistent with similar results of other researches (Neuman & Celano, 2001) and could partly explain the observed gaps at school entry of children from more and less advantaged groups (Brooks-Gunn & Markman, 2005; Goldenberg, 2001). Since there is a broad consensus that literacy journey starts at home, parents play a key role in their children's literacy development and the interactions they share with their children define the depth of this start. Even though all children seem to have experiences with print (Purcell-Gates, 1996; Lynch, 2008), it has been shown that engagement in literacy activities with more complex level of discourse, such as reading, strengthens children's literacy development (Purcell-Gates, 1996). Our study showed that this kind of literacy events is connected with parents' level of education and occupational status.

In conclusion, we suggest that reading habits in family settings as well as preschool aged children's motivation should be investigated in depth. Secondly, kindergarten teachers should follow vocational training programs in order to be able to provide the conditions for growing motivation for reading for all children in their groups.

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APPENDIX I

The semi-structure interview protocol

R. I would be happy if you would like to discuss your painting. I see that you are doing a lot of interesting things when you are alone. (The researcher “reads” the drawing and makes some general questions and comments)

A. 1. When reading is included:

I see that you like to read. Would you like to tell me some of your books that you like more? Would you like to tell me how do you feel when you are reading? Could you explain to me how do you read, since you do not know the letters?

A.2. When reading is not included:

> I would like to know if you like to read when you are alone. If “yes” R continues, otherwise R stops.

B. I would be very interested in learning what you prefer to do when you are with others (parents, brothers or sisters, grandparents) in your house?

B.1. When reading is included:

> You told me that you like to read with XXX. Would you like to tell me when do you usually read? What kind of books do you read? How do you feel when you are reading with XXX?

B.2. When reading is not included:

> Some questions on the topics the child has mentioned (e.g. watch TV, play cards) and then the child is asked about if (s)he likes to be read.

The R thanks the child for the discussion and he asks him/her if he could take its drawing in order to remember their discussion.