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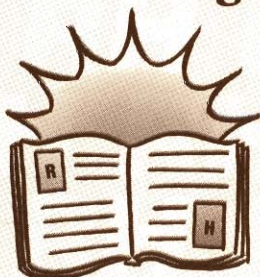
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College of Education
Western Michigan University



READING HORIZONS:
A Journal of Literacy and Language Arts

Editor: Karen F. Thomas
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READING HORIZONS

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“Why We Do This Is Important”: An Inner-City Girl’s Attitudes Toward Reading and Writing in the Classroom

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative case study explored an inner-city girl’s views on school-based literacy activities in relation to several factors identified in the literature as important to children’s attitudes toward reading and writing. They include: intrinsic satisfaction the child gains from the activities, the child’s beliefs about the importance of schooling, and her relationship with her teacher. The author/researcher’s purpose was to further understanding about ways to enhance children’s attitudes toward reading and writing.

Generally speaking, young children arrive at their first grade of school eager to read and write, but their attitudes grow increasingly negative from first through sixth grade (e.g., Kush & Watkins, 1996; Ley, Schaer, & Dismukes, 1994; McKenna, Kear, & Ellsworth, 1995). This change in attitude is a source of concern for two reasons. First, children with negative attitudes toward literacy are less likely to engage in reading and writing and thus are less likely to develop strong abilities in these areas. Second, even though some children develop good literacy abilities in spite of spending relatively little time reading, if they view reading negatively they will not engage in it frequently and thus will not make use of the opportunities for lifelong learning that regular reading affords (Baker & Wigfield, 1999). In order to know how to improve children’s attitudes toward the literacy learning activities in their

classrooms, it is important first to gain an in-depth understanding of what these attitudes entail.

The following study attempted to explore multiple facets of a fifth grade inner-city child's reading and writing attitudes in relation to several factors that have been identified in the literature as important to children's willingness to engage in school-based literacy. These include the intrinsic satisfaction the child gains from reading (Gambrell & Marinak, 1997), the teaching strategies and materials used in the classroom (Barnett & Irwin, 1994; Guthrie, Schafer, Wang, & Afflerbach, 1991), the child's relationship with the teacher (Au & Mason, 1981; Erickson, 1993), and the child's beliefs about the role played by schooling in her future success in life (Labov, 1983; Ogbu, 1993; Willis, 1978). The study is important because in spite of extensive previous research on each of these factors, many controversies remain with respect to their relative importance and the nature of the relationships between them. A case study approach can be useful in this regard because the inquiry is open ended, it accommodates multiple and diverse aspects of a phenomenon, and it lends itself to a focus on the participant's perspective within a specific concrete context (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1994).

Cathy's case is what Stake (1994) called an instrumental case within an intrinsic case study of her classroom. The larger study is termed intrinsic because it was driven by the classic open-ended question, "What is going on here?" I conducted this study in a fifth grade classroom in the inner city of a mid-sized Western city. The conditions in the surrounding neighborhood were similar to those described by Maynes (1990) as characterizing urban poor environments: a median income that was far below the national poverty line, a high crime rate, a high rate of transience, and a prevalence of open drug and alcohol abuse, as well as street prostitution. There were 24 children in the fifth grade classroom. Six of them had been formally identified as having special needs, three had been victims of documented sexual abuse, and two were formally identified as having a behavior disorder. Data were collected through classroom observations and interviews with the children and their teacher. Observations of the language arts period were made twice weekly over a period of six months. Four interviews were held

individually with each child, usually for one hour at a time, and were scheduled at regular intervals over the six-month period. The interviews were informal and open ended, focusing first on the children's perspectives on the work they did on a daily basis in the classroom and then on other aspects of life inside and outside of the classroom. Informal interviews were also held on a regular basis with the teacher. The interviews were audiotaped and transcribed.

Data analysis was carried out in accordance with procedures commonly used in qualitative research. The transcripts and fieldnotes were analyzed for recurring patterns, which then formed the basis for identifying the themes. This procedure was carried out while data collection was in progress so that questions arising from the preliminary analysis could guide further observations and interviews. In Cathy's case, research questions about her attitudes toward school-based literacy activities arose from observations that she often seemed to be avoiding them even though she sometimes appeared to enjoy reading and writing. According to her teacher, this avoidance led to a marked difference between her performance and her actual ability and was due to simple "laziness." From a research perspective, it seemed that exploring Cathy's literacy attitudes further would shed light on how a complex set of factors come together either to promote or to impede a child's involvement in reading and writing at school. Because Cathy's case was driven by specific research questions, it is considered instrumental (Stake, 1994).

Results

Background Information

Cathy was a Euro-Canadian girl of Dutch and German ancestry. Her parents had divorced when she was four years old. After the divorce she moved with her mother and older brother from a working-class neighborhood to an inner-city location which she described as "the worst place in the world to live." Her mother subsequently remarried, and Cathy was then living with her mother, stepfather, and older brother in a neighborhood not far from the school where the study was conducted. She stayed with her father and his parents every second weekend. Cathy

saw her parents as more supportive and stricter than those of many other children who lived in her neighborhood. As an example, she referred to a time when she and her parents were in a fast-food restaurant watching girls her age who were misbehaving. She quoted her stepfather saying, "Cathy, if you ever act like that in public, I'll whip your butt so hard that you won't even know what hit you." She laughed when she recounted her reply: an emphatic, "Don't worry! I won't!"

Cathy had attended her current school since third grade. Data from the observations and interviews with her teacher and classmates indicated that she was well liked because she was bright, funny, and generally easy going. On one occasion, while she and a friend were quarrelling in the classroom, a classmate seated made rude comments and urged them to escalate their insults. When the teacher caught the boy and disciplined him, Cathy quipped that his crime was "interfering with our right to fight." Her joke diffused the tension and resulted in laughter all around.

Views on Schooling and the Future

Cathy made several spontaneous comments about the importance of schooling during the interviews. When asked about the schoolwork the children did in the morning, she talked about arithmetic and said that it was important for getting a job. She then added, "My mom does math at work all day." Another time, when we talked about her home life, she said that her parents often helped her with homework and were sometimes annoyed with the quality of her efforts, such as when her mother said, "Oh, you're never going to get a job with spelling like this!" From Cathy's perspective, the importance of schooling was closely related to a work ethic that she viewed as essential for advancement. This was evident in the following response to a question about why some people are poor:

Well, some people, they don't feel like earning their money. They just sit back and let everyone else do it. And they're poor. They don't know how to do anything. They, like, they don't want to work for their money. But other people, they work for their money, and they get it. They try and try and try, and even at

their baddest stages they keep on working. They keep on trying and still--so they get their money. So I think that's what makes the difference.

Cathy's accounts of conversations with her parents indicate the source of her strength in the preceding belief. Her mother had dropped out of college, neither her father nor her stepfather had completed high school, and her stepfather had struggled to enter college so that he could learn a trade. Cathy related several anecdotes regarding the problems all three parents had encountered in the workplace: being laid off, having to "beg" for employment, working night shifts, doing unpleasant and filthy labor, working in demeaning conditions, and being harassed by the employer. On one occasion she told me of seeing her father cry when the only work he could find was at a fast-food counter. She used a metaphor of "going up the steps" to describe her future completion of high school, college, and then university. She linked this progression very specifically to her parents' goal for her to escape the problems they themselves had faced: "They want me to go to university, 'cause college is one step lower than university. That's what they say." Although she thought the process of completing higher levels of education through university was "gonna kill me," she believed it to be essential for a "good life" and explained what this meant:

A good life is where you have no problems, which is hardly ever. But you have hardly ever problems. You go to work regularly. . . . A good life is where you can choose your opportunities. I mean some people, they can't. They're just stuck with one opportunity 'cause they don't have a good education.

Relationship With the Teacher

Cathy received very little attention from Mrs. T. during whole-class lessons and discussions. She appeared to be actively interested in everything her teacher said and would occasionally raise her hand to ask a question or give an answer but was usually ignored. Whenever this happened, she would simply lower her hand and continue listening. A similar pattern was evident when the children were engaged in independent work, making the classroom a hive of activity with many of

the children vying for the teacher's attention. Cathy rarely approached the teacher, was often ignored when she did so, and never showed overt signs of disappointment or anger as a result. When I asked her if this lack of attention bothered her, she stated that Mrs. T. gave attention to "the ones that need it," such as the children with special needs or with poor attendance. She also said that in her allocation of attention the teacher treated the children "very fairly." To support this idea she quoted her teacher as saying, "Being fair is not giving everyone the same things. Being fair is giving everyone what they need."

Indeed, throughout the study Cathy consistently referred to her teacher favorably, describing her as "nice," "fair," "understanding," and "the best teacher I've had, actually." She said she started forming these opinions in September, when she used her journal to tell her teacher that her parents were divorced. The teacher subsequently took Cathy aside privately and told her that her own parents had also been divorced. Cathy expressed regret to me that she was not able to talk to Mrs. T. as much as she would like to. However, she was confident that she could get her teacher's attention if it was necessary. She said that whenever she wanted to have a talk with Mrs. T., she would watch carefully and approach her only "if she's smiling and if she's happy." Cathy also said that when she needed advice about a serious matter, she would wait until there were no other children around and say, "Mrs. T.," in a "serious, kind of quiet, lonely voice." One day, after the teacher lost her temper with the whole class, Cathy spoke about her in a forgiving manner: "No big deal. I mean, she was sorry. . . . I know that teachers lose it. I know that happens...Mrs. T. needs a holiday, I can tell." For the most part, she felt that she and her classmates were responsible for the teacher's moods, because "we're a bad class. We're always doing bad things." In other words, Cathy's attitude toward her teacher was extremely positive.

Between Cathy and Mrs. T. there seemed to be a tacit agreement that if Cathy met minimal requirements for work completion and if she did not cause problems with classroom management, then she could have more freedom than was otherwise allowed. Thus, when Cathy was supposed to be working on individual reading and writing assignments, she often stopped to gossip, joke around, watch others, or daydream. She was always very quiet when she was off task. When the teacher's

attention was drawn to her part of the room, often because of a loud remark made by another child in the vicinity, Cathy would quickly cast her eyes down at her work as if she had been engaged in it all along. The teacher frequently overlooked the fact that Cathy had not been working, but when she did check her work and found it incomplete, she would scold Cathy, who would lower her head, looking shamefaced until the teacher seemed satisfied. Then the teacher would turn her attention to another child, and Cathy would return only briefly to her work before drifting off into another digression. Sometimes, however, the teacher would scold her loudly and threaten to contact her mother. This almost always resulted in Cathy's rushing to complete the reading and writing that had been assigned.

Reading and Writing

Reading Stories

Cathy told me that she enjoyed reading at home and in school and that she preferred stories that were "funny" or "mysterious." Her stated preference is consistent with prior research indicating that girls tend to prefer narrative over nonfiction (Cherland, 1994) and that humor and mystery, and adventure are the types of literature most commonly identified by children at this age level as being their reading interests (Fischer & Ayers, 1990). Cathy reported that her family and teachers influenced her choice of books. When explaining how she came to read Nancy Drew books, her current favorites, she said that she had complained to her father about being bored while staying at his house, so he took her upstairs and showed her his sister's old collection of Nancy Drew books. Cathy started to read one and liked it, so her mother bought her another Nancy Drew book for Christmas. She said that she enjoyed reading additional books in the series because "they're all connected." Another example was her selection of Go Jump in the Pool (Korman, 1979), which was one of the humorous books she liked: "It looked funny. And Mrs. T. was reading us all these Bruno and Boots books. And she was reading all those kinds of books and so I thought it would be neat to read another one."

Cathy's reading record indicated that she had read many books involving humor and/or mystery over the course of the term, including Bunnicula and The Celery Stalks at Midnight. When telling me about books that she liked, she frequently described them with words such as "hilarious," "hysterical," and "really funny." She also recounted humorous episodes from these books and sometimes giggled when she retold them. Overall, the tone of her accounts was consistent with her belief that the purpose of reading was "to have fun." When recounting mysteries she had read, Cathy indicated that she manipulated the reading process in order to maximize the sensations she got from it:

Like, you read one chapter. And then at the end of this one chapter she got a note in her car. It said, "The clock is ticking, Nancy Drew, but not for long. Time's up." I stopped reading right there 'cause I wanted the suspense.

Cathy's replies were invariably negative when I asked her whether particular stories reminded her of problems that occur in real life. She said that sometimes characters reminded her of herself or people she knew. But when asked to elaborate, she described only relatively superficial character traits rather than the ways that people encounter and deal with life's dilemmas. As an example, she said one character from a book reminded her of her friend Ashley because "she's so weird and made this boy laugh." She also noted that Nancy Drew's friend, Bess, was like her grandmother because "she likes to shop." Additionally, when I asked her whether she had ever read stories about divorce, which was a personal event with which she was still trying to cope, she replied:

No, I try to stay away from that because if I do read books like that, it'll make me cry and everything. And I get like that. It'll make me cry. So my mom told me not to read that kind of book.

Cathy almost always chose to read books which were more lighthearted and did not deal with the dilemmas and realities of everyday life. In the six months of the study, the one exception was her reading of I Won't Let Them Hurt You (Barr, 1989) for her home reading program. In her response journal she wrote that the book was "about a babysitter that is babysitting a child that she thinks is being abused." She also stated

that it was “a great book” and that she “learned a lot about child abuse and what to do.” However, Cathy did not write about the book again; nor did she read another work of realistic fiction about a serious topic during the study. Although the teacher did not discourage the children from reading such books, she did not encourage them either.

Writing Responses to Reading

Following an increasingly common teaching practice (e.g., Bainbridge & Malicky, 1996), Cathy’s teacher had the children write regular “reactions” to the novels as they were being read. She introduced the children to the process by reading The Sign of the Beaver (Speare, 1994) aloud to the class and discussing questions with them, such as “What do you think will happen next? Why?” Later, she posted the questions around the room and told the students that they were responsible for selecting their own books from the ones available in the classroom. They were also given the task of writing entries in their journals at the end of every chapter and showing the entries to her regularly so that they could be checked.

Cathy’s written responses to her reading were comprised of brief summaries, short comments on the characters and the parts of the books that she liked, and some speculation on what would happen next. The general tone was conversational, as if she were writing personal letters to a friend. Sometimes her entries began with “Dear Mrs. T,” and ended with “Sincerely, Cathy.” When Mrs. T. felt that Cathy’s written reaction was adequate, she put a checkmark, a stamp of a happy face, or a sticker beside it. When she thought it was inadequate, she wrote reminders for Cathy to proofread and edit her work. She also made written comments, such as “You also need to tell me more detail about the story and your reactions to it,” and “Tell me about the characters. What are your impressions of the story so far? You need to read and respond more.” These comments were motivated by the teacher’s belief that her role was to encourage the students to develop their own responses independently.

For Cathy, however, the addition of a writing assignment to her novel reading transformed a pleasurable activity into one of meaningless work. She did not see that writing about what she had read might help her develop her own thoughts and feelings about it:

Cathy: I can never, you know, express my feelings. I just write down what I read.

Researcher: And she says that's not good enough?

Cathy: Yeah.

Researcher: Why would she ask you to do that?

Cathy: I think she just wants proof that you read it.

The requirement to write these responses inspired the only rebellion Cathy demonstrated over the six-month period. The rebellion occurred when the teacher implemented a reading program in which students had to read at home and write responses, much as they did for the novel study at school. Cathy complained to her teacher by writing the following passage in her journal:

Dear Mrs. T.,

I don't like the reading program that you have made up. Because not that I hate reading, its just that you have us reading all the time and we have a life too. Like, say I went out for supper and I was busy the rest of the week and I had to stay in [to complete the assignment]. I don't think its very fair.

The teacher read Cathy's complaint and subsequently met with her to remind her of the importance of reading for her future success in school and later in life. But in a follow-up interview, when Cathy was asked about her resistance, she indicated that the importance of reading was not the point:

[The novel study] was boring, and she makes another thing just like it for this home reading program. I mean, let us do what we want at home. That's what I think about this home reading program. It's just, like, when we go home, we can read if we want to, okay? Don't have to read [because] you say so, 'cause when we go home it's not her life; it's ours. She can't control it,

and that's what she's trying to do, control our life, 'cause I stay up almost all the night reading and trying to do that stupid report. All night. Since I got home I read, ate supper. I read, and then from 8:30 to 10:00, I was writing.

Further, in her explanation, Cathy pointed out that the writing requirement was inconsistent with the teacher's stated purpose for the home reading program, which was for the children to engage in recreational reading outside of school.

I hate [the home reading program]. . . . I can't read and write. I mean, if you read a book you have fun with it. You don't write. If you read a book and have to write all about it and write your feelings. And I just told you [earlier in the interview] I can't do that. . . . I read for recreation, not to write about it.

In the end, Cathy's teacher ceased arguing with her about the home reading program and started filling out a form to notify her mother of her daughter's refusal to do her homework. Cathy then tearfully pleaded with her to give her one more chance to complete the home reading program. She promised that if she were given the chance, she would live up to all the expectations for completing the assignment. Her teacher grudgingly agreed to let Cathy try again.

Reading for Information

As was noted previously, Cathy firmly believed that what she was learning in school was important for her job prospects later in life. Consequently, whenever she was asked about the specific purposes for which she had to read for information in her language arts class, she attempted to link what she was doing to the demands of the workplace. However, she tended to fall back on pat answers when trying to describe these links, possibly repeating what she had been told by others. When asked why the children in her classroom were required to read and write about dinosaurs, which was the theme around which most of the language arts instruction was oriented during the first part of the study, she replied:

Why we do this is important. If you don't know how to read you can't live, basically. Just can't. If I couldn't read, I'd be nowhere in life. You can't go anywhere if you can't read. Say you were a construction worker, okay? And you didn't know how to read, so you didn't read these danger signs. So you just walk into a pit and fall down. Others see the danger sign, so they walk away. And here you are knocked out in this pit 'cause you couldn't read.

In her classroom a collection of reading and writing activities was set up on cards and worksheets with a display of books on dinosaurs at the "Dinosaur Center" at the back of the room. The purpose of the activities was to build a variety of reading skills, such as finding the main idea in an expository passage. Cathy was rarely on task with the dinosaur activities and fell drastically behind with respect to the timeline the teacher established for completing them. When I asked her about this, she replied that the reading comprehension exercises were not only boring but also unproductive for her learning: "All you do was read and write. Read and write. It was easy. You had to read a card 'cause it had next to nothing on it. It just asks you questions and they were really easy questions."

Because she experienced the reading and writing as boring, Cathy simply did the minimum work necessary to satisfy her teacher and her parents. In a written response to a question about whether birds were related to dinosaurs, for example, she wrote, "I think birds did develop from reptiles because they are sort of the same thing."

Essentially, Cathy believed that there could be links between schooling, the possibilities for "a good life," and the demands of the classroom Dinosaur Center. However, this belief was not sufficient, or perhaps not specific enough, to engage her consistently and actively in those activities that she did not find immediately enjoyable. Even though the threat of sanctions served to get her on task, her work was carried out quickly and somewhat haphazardly, and as soon as one assignment was complete, she reverted to her avoidance tactics for the next.

Cathy's response to the next thematic unit, "Food," illustrates the importance of the immediate pleasure derived from reading. In contrast to the dinosaur activities, the Food Center was comprised completely of "authentic" articles on food that the teacher had collected over the years from a variety of children's and adults' magazines, which often contained accompanying instructions for hands-on activities. Cathy could relate to the topic of food quite easily and, at one point in the interviews, joked that her biggest complaint was that the readings "make me hungry." As well, she enjoyed the hands-on activities, which sparked her curiosity. In the following example, I asked her to describe her favorite reading activity at the Food Center and to explain what the purpose was. At the end of the response below, her voice rose noticeably when she told me about the origin of the word salt, suggesting that she was still fascinated by this discovery:

Cathy: Have to do this experiment [for the activity she was completing]. And have to put this water and salt in the water. And you have to put it by the window and let the water evaporate. And see what the crystals look like.

Researcher: What do you think of doing this kind of thing?

Cathy: It's kind of neat, but the water's not evaporating.

Researcher: Do you know Mrs. T's reasoning behind asking you to do those kinds of things?

Cathy: I think she just wants to learn more about it, and kind of become--like--kind of like she wants us to know all about it.

Researcher: All about what?

Cathy: Salt and stuff. Just in case we want to do that when we get older or something. If you work in a salt factory.

Researcher: Do you feel you're learning interesting things?

Cathy: [Excitedly] Yeah. Did you know celery is actually a Latin word for salt?

Creative Writing

Cathy found it much more motivating to write stories and poems in this classroom than to write responses to what she had read, in part because the teacher usually provided the whole class with formulas for the topics and/or genres for each writing assignment. Cathy said that having to work with the teacher's ideas sometimes made it more difficult to write. However, she preferred it when the teacher provided this guidance because "sometimes you feel lazy and you want someone to give you something like, kind of like, the answer." Additionally, there was always scope for each child to write about what was important to him or her within each formula. An example of this was the writing of the "name poem," in which the children wrote descriptions of themselves using words that began with each of the letters in their first names. Cathy enjoyed this activity and described it as "cool" because "you had to write about yourself." In a similar vein, in the following account of how she wrote a Halloween poem, Cathy indicated her awareness of the teacher's structure and of the openings she could take to draw on her personal experiences to make the writing her own:

Cathy: She told us to write this kind of poem, which is this kind [referring to the sample]. And we--it was Halloween so we could pick any kind of Halloween monster or anything we wanted and write about it. So I kind of thought of Frankenstein 'cause that's what my brother's being for Christmas [sic]. Well, actually he was Mr. Munster and I was Mrs. Munster.

Researcher: How did you make a poem like this?

Cathy: Actually, okay, you put two words that describe--you put one word. Title. You put two words that describe your title. Three words in kinda like a sentence, but describing the word. And then you write a sentence about it. And then put another word for the monster.

Researcher: That's a good poem.

Cathy: 'Cause, you know, his name is Victor Frankenstein.

The following is another example of how she synthesized ideas for writing. In this instance, the ideas were for a story she had to write to fit an assigned picture and title, "The Other Side of the Fence":

Cathy: The teacher gave us an opportunity for a couple [of different stories]. The fence was there, and there was something about a school. But I kind of put two of them together, the fence and the school one, 'cause mine was a school kind of thing behind the fence.

Researcher: Were you thinking of something from your life or from your story?

Cathy: Well, actually, I was kind of daydreaming while the teacher was talking. So I didn't have any ideas. So I was just daydreaming and then she said--and I was picturing in my mind a graveyard. I don't know why. And then I go, "Hey! That's it! That's what I'll do!" I was just daydreaming.

What also made this writing motivating for Cathy was the nature of the audience and the purpose of creative writing in this classroom. The reader-response journals were read only by the teacher and were graded, but stories and poems were always posted in the classroom or in the hallway to be read by other children. Cathy felt that the main purpose of this writing was to entertain her readers in the same way that professional authors entertained her. When she told me why she liked particular pieces she had written, she used the same criteria that she applied to the fiction she read. For example, she said that she liked one of her stories because "it's funny. It's hilarious. It's really good." A more specific example is from her description of why she liked her essay, "The Grossest Edible Sandwich":

The grossest edible sandwich. I put everything on it. Everything I could think of. Absolutely everything I could think of. All the

meat in the world and everything but--and so I named it The Grossest Edible Sandwich 'cause it had everything on it. That'd be kind of gross, wouldn't it? The grossest edible sandwich. Had mayonnaise, ham, mustard. Everything.

As with some of her reading, Cathy thought the purpose for her writing was recreational, as opposed to exploring the nature of human experiences. This was most evident when she criticized one of her own stories, a reworking of "Cinderella," because it did not have a problem in it. When asked to explain why characters in stories have problems, Cathy referred to the problem as being central to the entertainment value of the plot.

Cathy: 'Cause, like Little Red Riding Hood, Three Bears, you know. It's always something bad. If there's nothing bad, nothing happens.

Researcher: Can you say that again?

Cathy: Nothing happened. Everything's just--nobody's bad. It just seemed kind of weird.

Researcher: So if no one's bad, nothing ever really happens in a story?

Cathy: Not really. At least that's what I think.

Researcher: What could you do if you were writing that story again?

Cathy: I could make Cinderella bad and the three stepsisters good and the mom good [because] that's kind of weird.

Journal Writing

In addition to the creative writing assigned by the teacher on a frequent basis, the children were expected to write in their journals daily. Cathy's entries were like a series of disjointed friendly letters in which

she reported a variety of events and details about herself but did not explore any of them in depth. The following is her first entry of the school year:

My summer was great! Well, okay, there were some bad moments. First I went to my dad's house. You see my mom and dad are divorced. But anyway, I also went to my *tuntu's* house (it's Dutch for aunty's). She lives in Smithers. Oh, and a bad thing happened. My bunny died.

Later entries contained brief announcements of a variety of her activities outside of school, such as camping trips, a trip to another city with her family, and a sleepover. In response to these entries the teacher wrote comments such as "I'm glad you had fun," and usually asked for more detail about events that Cathy reported. For example, when Cathy wrote that her uncle had a birthday, the teacher asked, "Did you go to their place for a party?" When Cathy replied to this type of question, she gave a brief factual answer before writing a new entry. At no point did she use follow-up writing to elaborate on her experiences.

One day Mrs. T. told the children that if they could not think of what to write in their journals, they could write a wish. This is what Cathy wrote:

Dear Mrs. T.

I am going to tell you three wishes and why I want them. Number one wish, I want my dad to get remarried so that I can live with him instead of my mom. Number two wish, I wish Ashley was my sister 'cause Ashley's mom is nicer than my mom. Wish number three, I wish that my mom and dad were back together.

As usual, Mrs. T. responded in writing, asking for a detail, "When did your parents get divorced?" However, as discussed previously, she subsequently told Cathy that she understood how she felt because her own parents were divorced too. In new journal entries, Cathy explained that her parents had divorced when she was four. Then she added, "Dear Mrs. T. I love your class."

The rest of the journal continued with bits and pieces of personal news interspersed with the occasionally more serious message, such as the complaint about the home reading program. The journal was a way for Cathy to share some problems with her teacher. However, the expectation was that problems were best resolved through oral discussion and face-to-face interaction--not through writing:

Researcher: Some kids write about personal things in their journal. Sometimes you mention personal things [in yours], but you don't go on about it. Did you ever think of writing things down like that in your journal?

Cathy: I do, but I don't feel comfortable talking about it, like, writing it down. I feel like talking with a person. And looking at them. And talking like that. I just can't write down my feelings.

Researcher: Can you put into words how it feels different when you write it down?

Cathy: You just can't explain everything. I mean, I get into something. Get into it, you know? Like with my mom. Me and my mom talk about private things. We just go on for hours. It's just different when you write it down. You can't, you can't get it all, you know. 'Cause I don't want to. I'd mention it, but that's all.

Summary and Implications

The purpose of this study was to explore one girl's attitudes toward reading and writing in her inner-city classroom. As a qualitative case study, the inquiry was open ended, with particular attention given to how the girl's attitudes were embedded in her views of the reading and writing activities themselves, her beliefs about the value of schooling, and her relationship with her teacher. The following is a summary of the findings and a discussion of their implications for teaching.

With respect to intrinsic reasons for reading, I found that an important factor in Cathy's attitudes toward reading and writing was the

entertainment value of particular texts. She was most highly motivated to read books or other materials that evoked an element of surprise or novelty, as was seen in her preference for humor and mystery. The importance of novelty in reading was also apparent in the interest she showed in the reading associated with the food experiment and in her interest in learning interesting facts related to food. This finding is consistent with Fisher and Ayers' (1990) contention that "humor and excitement are an incentive to read" (p. 114). In Cathy's case, this applied to writing as well. She had very positive attitudes toward writing the short, imaginative stories and poems in which she could provide a twist to the plot, suspense, or, in the case of the Frankenstein poem, an image to entertain the reader.

The preceding purpose for reading and writing was consistent with the teacher's stated belief that literacy activities should be "fun" for children. It was also consistent with Cathy's more negative attitudes toward the response journal, in which she associated writing with accountability rather than with entertainment and with her disdain for the dinosaur activities, which she found uninteresting. This finding raises questions about the extent to which we can rely on entertainment to hold children's attention when the child does not sense deeper purposes for reading and writing, such as learning about the world and exploring the nature of one's experience. The sense of having learned something important could have been motivating for Cathy, as was indicated by her complaint that she was not learning anything from the dinosaur activities. As well, it seemed that she would have had a more positive attitude towards reading and writing if she had felt that she was engaged in authentic communication. This possibility is evident in the way she used her journal to open conversations with her teacher and the way she tentatively used reading as an opportunity to learn about issues such as child abuse. Cathy was eager to use oral language with her mother, her teacher, and me to learn and reflect on her experiences. When she did not experience this in her reading and writing, she became frustrated and was developing some negative attitudes as a result.

Another finding relates to the prior literature indicating that children's beliefs about the value of school for their futures may play a powerful role in supporting their motivation to participate in school-

based reading and writing, particularly when the children are from low socioeconomic or cultural minority backgrounds (Labov, 1983; Ogbu, 1993; Willis, 1978). Cathy was not only repeatedly reminded by her parents of the importance of schooling, but also seemed to have a vivid understanding of the kinds of problems that success in school might help to avert. Furthermore, her parents did not simply tell her about the importance of schooling, but also supported their beliefs in specific ways, such as by helping Cathy with her homework and providing discipline, which she understood to be in her interests, when she lapsed in her schoolwork.

If Cathy had not believed in the importance of schooling, the level of her participation in reading and writing might have been lower than what was observed in this study. However, it is important to note that this belief was not sufficient to ensure her ongoing involvement in school-based literacy activities. This is likely because she saw only vague connections between some of these activities and what she might do later in life. Perhaps if children are assisted to see specific connections between their school-based literacy and what people do in various jobs, their attitudes toward reading and writing will be more positive and their motivation stronger. If, for example, her teacher had related the dinosaur theme to the work of scientists, artists, museum directors, or even filmmakers, Cathy might have been able to see the significance of the topic in relation to a career. Alternatively, the teacher might also consider providing more explicit discussion with children with respect to how specific skills, such as recognizing the main idea in a piece of writing, are used in the workplace. Further research on children's beliefs about schooling would be necessary to discern whether it is this specificity that makes the difference between children who sustain their motivation for reading in the upper elementary years and those who do not.

The final finding is related to the literature which indicates that the child's relationship with the teacher may make a strong difference in the child's attitudes toward literacy events in the classroom. Drawing on Vygotskian theory, Erickson (1993) suggested that this is because all learning takes place in the zone of proximal development, where the child is unable to complete a task or solve a problem on his or her own

and thus is dependent on the support of others. Children who do not trust others, particularly their teacher, will be hesitant to enter this zone of uncertainty. Conversely, when children trust their teachers, they are more willing to take on the new challenges that are essential to learning. Cathy's case provides an example of a child who had a great deal of trust in her teacher. She was willing to share her personal problems with her, to seek her advice, and to comply with the rules of behavior the teacher set forth in the classroom. This relationship likely contributed to Cathy's positive attitudes toward school. Additionally, it was evident that the teacher had an influence on the books that Cathy chose to read and perhaps the enthusiasm with which she approached them.

The teacher-student relationship did not, however, seem to compensate for Cathy's experience of particular activities as boring or pointless. The teacher's influence was likely weaker than it could have been due to her lack of involvement with Cathy's reading and writing while it was in progress. As Vygotsky (1978) suggested, the process of scaffolding is a dynamic process in which one must always stay in tune with the child to provide assistance as necessary while the child is actively involved in a task. This does not mean that teachers need to engage in one-to-one teaching with all children. But they do need to arrange for social support in small-group and whole-class activities, as well as to interact with individuals during literacy events. As Cathy's case shows, interacting with the children before and after they do their reading and writing is insufficient for maintaining their active interest in it.

As case studies often do, this study served to illustrate the complexity of the phenomenon of concern; in this case, children's attitudes toward school-based reading and writing in the upper elementary grades. It is perhaps because of this complexity of children's attitudes that teachers find it so difficult to sustain their motivation. It seems that in order to address this problem, a multifaceted approach must be used. Providing choices for children enables them to choose these texts and activities they enjoy. Linking reading and writing to life goals outside of school will heighten their interest in literacy activities that are not otherwise gratifying. As well, teachers may need to become more aware of their potential influence on children--not just through the use of particular methods or resources, but also through the relationships they

establish with them. In Cathy's case, her teacher could respond in writing, rather than simply orally, to Cathy's communication about events in her life. She might also share her own responses to literature with Cathy and the other children and engage them in a more meaningful dialogue about what they read. This would extend the scaffolding process beyond introducing children to good books and providing structures for their writing. It would have involved scaffolding particular attitudes toward both reading and writing through enabling them to accommodate multiple and rich purposes for literacy.

Furthermore, educators and researchers need to consider that the "whole may be greater than the parts" when it comes to attitudes toward reading and writing. As discussed earlier in this paper, viewing literacy as "fun" may undermine the possibility that it can also be hard work. Alternatively, an overemphasis on the practical purposes for learning to read and write may undermine the message that reading and writing can be recreational. The point is not to isolate aspects of children's attitudes but to see how various aspects of those attitudes are in dynamic interaction. It is only when we broaden our vision in this regard that we can help children retain the excitement they bring when they start school.

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The Role of Storytelling in Effective Family Literacy Programs

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ABSTRACT

The family literacy movement, which emphasizes respect for diversity and the cultural heritage of participants, is gaining momentum. Acknowledging the importance of family-as-educator, researchers have searched for effective strategies to develop children's oral language and literacy more authentically. The art of storytelling provides an excellent vehicle for promoting and enhancing language and literacy development within families. A sampling of effective family literacy programs across the United States revealed that each included storytelling as a vital component.

The concept of family-as-educator has its origin in anthropological and sociological findings. The related research includes studies of the role of the family in developing children's literacy and oral language (Morrow, 1995; Morrow, 1997; Morrow, Tracey, & Maxwell, 1995). Morrow (1995) recognized that the term family literacy does not have a clear, concise definition due to the complexity of the topic. The Family Literacy Commission of the International Reading Association offered the following definition:

Family literacy encompasses the ways parents, children, and their extended family members use literacy at home and in their community. Sometimes, family literacy occurs naturally during the routines of daily living and helps adults and children "get things done." These events might include using drawings or writings to share ideas; composing notes or letters to communicate messages; making lists; reading and following directions; or sharing stories and ideas through conversation, reading, and writing. Family literacy may be initiated purposefully by a parent or may occur spontaneously as parents and children go about the business of their daily lives. Family literacy activities may also reflect the ethnic, racial, or cultural heritage of the families involved (Morrow, 1995, p. 7-8).

Continuing, Morrow (1995) emphasized that "the efforts of a variety of organizations and their potential for collaboration represent an invaluable strength in the continued study of family literacy. Only by examining many viewpoints in a field so complex and broad will we come to understand it fully" (p.8). Francis Kazemek, (1995), in an essay on his own family's literacy, advocated the importance of the affective domain. According to Kazemek, literacy "involves things like connection, sharing, individual interest and need, mutual purpose and vision and, yes, love.... Our efforts as educators will be more potentially useful if we begin to look seriously at the relationships among literacy, family, passion and love instead of the relationship between literacy and some abstract scheme of categorization" (p. 603).

Family literacy programs take advantage of the recursive nature of family relationships. Attitudes and behaviors of one member shape the attitudes and behaviors of other members, resulting in a sense of partnership or shared mission within families. The family literacy movement recognizes that children influence parents just as much as parents influence children. According to the Barbara Bush Foundation (1989), family literacy makes use of these influences to help each family member successfully achieve literacy.

While the concept is not new, legislative support for family literacy did not gain momentum until the latter part of the twentieth century. In the 1980s, federal legislation gave rise to the movement of what we know today as family literacy. The Adult Education Act, the Elementary Education Act and Secondary Education Act, and the Family Support Act of 1988 all had components of family/school partnerships. The Even Start program, signed into law in 1988, was the first federally-funded program that offered parenting education along with early

childhood education as a component of the program; it catalyzed much of the nationwide attention to family literacy (Schwartz, 1999).

Reporting on an investigation of existing programs, Morrow (1995) suggested that one must become aware of two opposing philosophies that exist in today's literacy programs. In the deficit or transmission model, information is transmitted in one direction from the school to the parents and then taught to the child (Schwartz, 1999). This model was investigated in family literacy programs that taught immigrant children and refugee parents to do traditional, school-type activities in the home (Auerbach, 1989; Morrow, 1995). Auerbach felt that the transmission model made many false assumptions, which in turn lead to a deficit model belief system. In contrast, the wealth model is more positive, emphasizing that all families have strengths, abilities, and literacy patterns within the home. The researchers favoring this model felt that in planning for family literacy programs, one must build upon existing family patterns and the needs of school and community (Auerbach, 1989); this model emphasized the partnership nature of the learning process.

Effective Family Literacy Programs

Building on the premise that the art of storytelling, with its many educational benefits, provides an excellent vehicle for promoting and enhancing language and literacy development within families, the authors of this article investigated a sample of effective family literacy programs across the United States to examine the use of storytelling. Consistently, the most successful programs included storytelling as a vital component. Reporting on five examples of successful programs, each used storytelling as a vehicle for participants to construct and use language within a meaningful context.

The Club Familiar de Narracion de Cuentos (Family Storytelling Club) was sponsored by Reading is Fundamental (RIF) and the Spanish Education Development Center in Washington, DC, in 1971, with the goal to increase the skills and self-esteem of Hispanic families by encouraging them to read for pleasure. The program offered workshops to parents, enabling them to use the bilingual library as a source for the stories. Parents also learned how to effectively use flannel boards and puppets during storytelling, which promoted the development of the language processes. With an emphasis on multicultural education, the importance of reading aloud to children was also covered as a workshop topic. According to the program coordinators, parent participation in the

program has increased and interest in Club Familiar has expanded nationally.

The Navajo Parent/Child Reading Program began in 1985 on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona. Stories were read to preschoolers at the Chinle Primary School in both English and Navajo, and the children were encouraged to take the books home and share them with their parents, via retellings. Parents were encouraged to tell stories to their children, incorporating intergenerational oral traditions and customs. As a result of the Navajo Parent/Child Reading Program, children expressed pleasure in everyday reading and the sharing of stories with their parents, and parents became more active participants in the school.

In 1988, Reading is Fundamental (RIF) joined a bilingual radio station owned by the California Human Development Corporation, KHDC-FM, in Salinas Valley, California, to form the Literacy Broadcast Project. The project's primary goals, aimed at the migrant Hispanic population, were to foster the desire to read, to improve reading skills, and to boost the self-esteem of Spanish-speaking families with low literacy levels. Radio broadcasts involving over 800 children featured storytelling, reading aloud, local history, and cultural experiences. During the 1989-1990 school year, the California State Department of Education continued the development of this project. RIF continues to serve the nation's neediest children through programs that provide books and other essential literacy materials (Reading is Fundamental, 2000).

The Parent Power Works Program in the Palm Beach County, Florida School District, grew out of the awareness that children need support from home in order to improve their literacy skills. Since 1993, this model program has provided adult education classes, time for parents and children to learn together, parent education, and opportunities for parents to volunteer at their children's schools. Currently, Parent Power operates in two schools; participants in one school are primarily African American and have low socioeconomic status, while all participants from the other school are Hispanic. The storytelling component of this program has been successfully incorporated into community field trips. In addition, participants who are particularly skilled in storytelling have been encouraged to visit different classrooms. Because of its ongoing success, the Florida Department of Education continues to support this program.

Since 1994, the Tellin' Stories Project has served as a bridge between parents, schools, and communities in the District of Columbia

area. This project enables parents to work with other parents from different backgrounds, thus creating a school environment that values all cultures and family traditions; in this model, parents naturally become part of the decision-making process in their children's schools. The project's activities include parent and teacher cross-cultural storytelling breakfasts, writing workshops, and resources for parents and students to do their own oral history projects. Through these storytelling activities, parents document the past, create visions of the future, and create literature for their children and communities (Network of Educators on the Americas, 2000).

The Storytelling Exchange

Storytelling has been accepted as an educational tool throughout the ages. According to Hamilton and Weiss (1991), "Storytelling is the oldest form of education. Cultures throughout the world have always told tales as a way of passing down their beliefs, traditions, and history to future generations" (p. 1). Storytelling, which involves the use of oral language, is "older than history ... not bounded by one civilization, one continent or one race" (Baker & Greene, 1977, p.1). Long before history was recorded, storytelling was the medium for transmitting human history (Roney, 1989). Today, storytelling can be used to continue these traditional purposes as well as to promote language and literacy development within families.

The goal of the storytelling process is to create an exchange (Cliatt & Shaw, 1988, p. 294). This exchange makes use of storytelling to promote and enhance literacy development as the cycle is repeated. To begin the exchange, adults or children tell stories. Telling stories or reading aloud to children provides a sense of story, thus establishing through modeling the idea that the purpose of language is to construct meaning. As they experience the many ways language is constructed, students take pleasure in language and learning.

Through listening to stories, children become more purposeful, attentive and active listeners. According to Hennings (2000), active listening helps to develop critical thinking and awareness of the communication process. Listening to stories broadens experiences, reinforces imagination, and enables children to better understand feelings of others. Furthermore, Peck (1989) advocated that "by listening to a variety of tellers, students learn to discriminate and evaluate storytelling styles, story genres, and the strengths and weaknesses of both" (p. 139).

The storytelling exchange is a reciprocal process that gives children a chance to tell their own stories. Children have the opportunity to develop their oral language and to practice speaking to nonthreatening groups of other students, enhancing their self-esteem (Hennings, 2000). The active participation of storytelling also allows students to express themselves creatively and dramatically. As an extension of telling stories, children begin to write their own stories. Just as in telling their own stories, they are developing their reasoning and thinking abilities as they construct and record meaning. As they move through the overlapping and recursive stages of the writing process, both reading and writing are developed and practiced. The reading-writing connection is reinforced again as children read their own stories. Children experience the joy of sharing their own creation with other children and adults, and are motivated to maintain the story time exchange.

Storytelling: An Educational Tool for Families

This description of the storytelling exchange shows that the art of storytelling can promote language and literacy development with learners of all ages. Storytelling promotes both receptive and expressive language development. Furthermore, it is an excellent vehicle for integrating the language processes in today's learning environment and strengthening communication within families.

Listening to stories is beneficial in many ways (Hamilton and Weiss, 1991). It provides a chance to learn concepts and skills, such as story structure, vocabulary and comprehension, in the context of an authentic activity. Fisher and Terry (1990) pointed out the purposeful relationship between meaningful context and vocabulary development: "Through encountering words in a meaningful context and having a chance to use them and to make them their own, students add new words and word meanings to their vocabulary" (p. 265). In addition to cognitive development, the affective domain is also enhanced by storytelling, which focuses on the recursive relationship between children and parents and/or other adults.

Mastering story structure through listening to stories seems to aid the comprehension process. The children from the Navajo Parent/Child Reading Program, who had heard many stories, began to enjoy reading and telling stories because they had the ability to understand and manipulate story structure for their own enjoyment. Students who understand story structure and connections between the various parts of stories have a better chance of comprehending the written word and

understanding the expressed meaning of the writer. As students become familiar with story language and the elements of story structure, the stories they read themselves will become clearer and more enjoyable (Vacca, Vacca & Gove, 2000). Research has shown that children learn story grammar best through repeated exposure to stories (Reutzel & Cooter, 2000). Storytelling is one way to introduce students to the parts of a story that can be found in all literature--setting, character, plot, etc. This knowledge of story structure can then be applied to enhance their own creations as storytellers and story writers.

Perhaps one of the most important benefits of hearing stories is the development of imagination and enhanced background knowledge. Stories take the listener to other times and places. As Fisher and Terry (1990) observed,

In hearing stories, children can visit the past and the future. Their knowledge of the world is expanded. They can read about experiences of others that they will never have and understand more fully what other people's lives are like (p. 266).

Palmer, Hafner and Sharp (1994) also pointed out that storytelling can be used "for developing language and cultural literacy" (p. 56); for example, "it can be used to introduce students to the traditions, beliefs, and history of folktales" (p. 56). One goal of the Tellin' Stories project is to help students understand a variety of cultures and family traditions, as well as to understand their own family heritages more fully. Because storytelling is the medium for these lessons, students do not feel like they are listening to a history lecture; instead, they are absorbing knowledge naturally.

The logical extension of hearing stories is telling one's own stories. "The storytelling process provides a meaningful purpose for oral expression" (Peck, 1989, p. 140). Storytelling provides models for demonstrating how ordinary events can become special and exciting through creative use of language (Hennings, 2000). The radio broadcasts of the Literacy Broadcast Project provided a purpose for telling stories and made the act of telling stories more meaningful and exciting by providing an audience for the stories.

Storytelling allows the imagination to be set free and even the "tall tale" to be acceptable; with storytelling students can construct language without worry about truth or accuracy (Hamilton & Weiss, 1991). This focus on storytelling, rather than accuracy, allows students to develop their oral expression skills (Peck, 1989). According to Fisher and Terry

(1990), "Storytelling is one of the few kinds of talk in the classroom that offers rich, complex, vivid language, which develops students' language in complexity and in vocabulary" (p. 264). Hearing stories, students learn the importance of choosing the correct spoken word; as Mark Twain said, "The difference between the right word and the almost-right word is like the difference between lightning and the lightning bug."

A natural progression from hearing, reading, and telling stories is the writing of original stories (Livo & Rietz, 1986). Many effective programs incorporate both storytelling and story writing. The Tellin' Stories project's collaborative parent/child writing workshop is one example. Roney (1989) observed, "Following a storytelling session, the children's desire to write is often as strong as their desire to read" (p. 520). Fisher and Terry (1990) offered the following to support the role of storytelling in helping students to learn the forms and conventions of writing:

Hearing the language of stories and poetry and other well-written material gives children a sense of the sound of written language and the convention used in writing... There are certain phrasings, structures, conventions that are part of the written register of language that can be learned partly through listening to written material read aloud (pp. 265-266).

Children often use literacy patterns from stories in their own writing; for example, young children often begin their stories, "Once upon a time..." or "Long ago in a faraway land...." Storytelling, then, becomes an exceptional teaching tool as the carefully constructed language of story exposes students to grammatical forms they will model and one day make their own.

The cultural literacy acquired by hearing stories benefits writing development. Knowledge of the world is expanded as children hear stories of other times and places and learn about the lives of others. Roney (1989) noted, "The benefit to novice writers, in addition to building their store of things to write about, is that storytelling can so enliven the curriculum that children become excited enough to want to write about it" (p. 522). Parent Power Works has documented an increase in literacy activities in the homes of participants, showing the enthusiasm and interest participants have in reading and writing. Storytelling, which exposes students to varied and new ideas, serves as a useful vehicle for conceptualization in order to construct meaning in writing.

Perhaps the greatest strength of storytelling as an educational tool is that it provides a bridge between community and school. Storytelling allows children to draw on resources from their homes and communities, including family and extended family members. One goal of family literacy is to use methods that are complementary to the culture of the community and that teach children the ways in which language is used within the community (Bloome, Katz, Solsken, Willet, & Wilson-Keenan, 2000). Storytelling accomplishes this within a low-risk environment. Family settings allow children to discover language with little anxiety or criticism (Vacca, Vacca, & Gove, 2000). Furthermore, storytelling encourages respect for cultural and linguistic differences.

All of the family literacy programs described in this article attempt to integrate learning into family life in a way that affirms the value of the family's knowledge and culture. The Club Familiar de Narracion de Cuentos taught parents to use flannel boards and puppets, giving them a new way to communicate with their children. The Navajo Parent/Child Reading Program built on oral tradition and encouraged interaction in English and Navajo. The Literacy Broadcast Project gave children the chance to share their culture with a wide audience. Parent Power Works has found that contact and positive communication between teachers and parents have increased as a result of the program. Tellin' Stories helps form positive connections between schools and families by bringing various cultures and experiences into the classroom.

As described in the foregoing family literacy programs, there are well-documented benefits of using storytelling as a vehicle for promoting family literacy and affirming diversity. Storytelling brings families together for active interaction, allowing them to share customs and traditions. It provides an enjoyable opportunity for connecting with others and learning about intergenerational history and tradition. The use of storytelling in family literacy programs also provides educational benefits, which include language development, increased listening and reading comprehension, and the promotion of reading, writing and speaking skills and cultural literacy development. The art of storytelling can enrich the family literacy movement, which is currently gaining momentum in the field of education. Storytelling is a timeless educational tool, which has made its way from the earliest cave drawings to the technological integration of modern times.

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From McGuffey Readers to Taking Notes on the Sermon: Literacy Experiences in a Catholic Home Schooling Group

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ABSTRACT

This study looks at the literacy practices of a Catholic home schooling group located in the Pacific North West. Semi-structured interviews conducted with each parent in the home schooling group comprised the primary data source. Researchers have called for more research looking at specific teaching practices of such individuals (Cizek & Ray, 1995; Knafle & Wescott, 1994) involved with home schooling. Findings of this study revealed that reading aloud was important to all parents. Benefits cited by parents included immediate feedback for children, ability to pace themselves as necessary, and the opportunity to tailor lessons to individual child. Parents used a variety of materials in the literacy lessons and television usage was restricted in each family. While the home schooling movement is growing quickly, the amount of research conducted with families involved in home schooling is still extremely limited (Cizek, G. J., & Ray, B.D., 1995).

Theoretical Framework

The idea of analyzing the home schooling movement is relatively recent. In fact the first major study on home schooling was completed in the early 1980s (Gustavsen 1981). Since that time a great deal of this research focuses on a few aspects of home schooling. Studies often look at who is home schooling (Wynn, 1989) why people

are home schooling (Mayberry & Knowles, 1989), the socialization of home schoolers (Johnson, 1991) and a comparison of the academic achievement of home schoolers with children attending public schools (Wartes, 1990; Williams, 1990).

Mayberry, Knowles, and Marlow's work (1995) informs us that the majority of people who home school are White. Also home schoolers often claim to have a fairly strong tie to their faith. While only 30% of the nation attends church weekly, 91% of home school families state a strong commitment to their religion. Approximately 33% of the parent educators belong to Evangelical, Pentacostal and other nondenomenational religious organizations. Furthermore, it has also been shown that in home schooling situations the mother is often the primary instructor (Ray, & Cizek, 1995; Wartes, 1988).

Research has revealed a variety of reasons why people choose to home school. Three decades ago most people who home schooled were living in isolated areas, traveling or stationed abroad, or did it because of religion (Lines, 1991). While religion often still plays an important factor in the decision to home school, it is usually not the only deciding factor. The reason (Mayberry, 1988; Mayberry & Knowles, 1989) commonly given (in order of importance) is religious beliefs, academic achievement, to provide learning environment conducive to the children's social development, and a New Age orientation.

Knowles (1988) believes that many parents decide to home school based on their past experiences with schooling. Therefore the teaching methods they decide to use are related to their past educational experiences. It is interesting to note that Knowles finds that parents often teach with the same teaching methods or instructional practices they condemn. Unlike beginning teachers, home schooling parents often have no formal training on how to teach and their early experiences are the major component of their teacher role identity. These parents rarely have the opportunity to see others teach and cannot fall back on a variety of teaching methods. Usually they rely on suggestions from friends, books and how they were taught.

Many studies have supported the belief that home schoolers are not academically disadvantaged. Ray's research (1988) reveals that home schoolers perform equal or better than school peers on measures of cognitive achievement. Ballmann (1987) shows that the students average 30 percentile points higher on standardized academic achievement tests than classroom students. While many studies look at standardized test scores and intelligence tests to compare groups, Quine and Marek (1988) look at levels of thought processes and find that home schoolers move into formal thought earlier than people who are schooled in the traditional sense.

People often express concern about the socialization of children who are not surrounded by peers and learning to deal with different types of people. Some people feel that kids actually walk away with a better self-concept (Sheffer, 1995). Home schoolers are also not totally isolated from peers. Research suggests that while home schoolers may not be in a formal school setting, they are often involved quite heavily with other home school kids in organized activities (Wartes, 1988). Studies of home schoolers also show that instead of being primarily limited to working with age group peers as in traditional schooling, the opportunity to interact with a wide range of people is beneficial (Knowles & Muchmore, 1995).

While some studies look at home schooling, it is evident that there is limited research. Research in home schooling magazines warns home schoolers about participating in research. Kaseman & Kaseman (1991) give a list of reasons why home schoolers should not participate in studies, and Knowles (1991) gives advice if home schoolers should decide to participate in research. As the number of home schooled children has grown, it is not uncommon to see the topic debated in newspapers and magazines. However it is almost impossible to find research-based articles in educational journals.

Given the limited amount of home schooling research, it is even more difficult to find research on literacy practices in home schooling situations. Such research has often focused on only one family (ie: Hafer, 1990, Hall, 1996; Treat, 1990). Treat (1990) looked at one

family's teaching while Hafer (1990) looked at one family's writing instruction.

Knafle and Wescott (1994) found that very few studies even look at specific teaching practices. Their research reveals that oral reading is an extremely important aspect of literacy instruction. Also while phonics is often emphasized in the early grades in traditional schools, phonics remains an important focus throughout the home schoolers' education. Furthermore, parents try to individualize, using various programs for different children. Parents will continue to work at the most basic levels until success is achieved instead of being concerned with covering a set amount of curriculum (Knafle & Wescott, 1996). Reading instruction in a home schooling situation often involves a heavy emphasis on decoding.

Even though a great deal of the home schooling literacy research hasn't been conducted, it is evident that quite a bit of time is being spent in developing literacy knowledge in home schooling situations. Knafle's and Wescott's surveys (1994) show that parents report that 41% of their total teaching time during home schooling is spent on reading and language arts activities. Thus more research needs to be conducted to find out what is being done during this time. Ray (1988) finds many studies look at generalities but stresses the need for studies looking at various dimensions of individuals home schooling. Cizek and Ray (1995) state that research is needed on the actual teaching strategies used by home educators.

The purpose of this present study is to expand on prior research. It will look at one Catholic home schooling group located in the Pacific Northwest. This research will take a close look at the literacy experiences of the children involved in the group.

Method

Participants

The city where the study took place has approximately 125,000 people and is the largest town in the state. The majority of people in the

town work in a professional capacity. A local university is a major employer in the town.

The respondents in this study are the parents involved in one Catholic home schooling group located in the Pacific North West. These parents were located through my employment at a local university. One of my students knew a parent in the home schooling group. After talking to that parent, the parent recommended I meet with the entire home schooling group so I could talk to more parents and meet the children involved in the group. Each of the respondents (N=5) are female, Caucasian, and Catholic. None of the participants had been home schooled as children. All participants and their husbands attended college. They each have two to four children who are involved in the group. The parents have been home schooling their children for a minimum of two years. The children range in age from preschool to middle school age. See Table 1 for specific information on each respondent.

Data Source

One primary data source provided semi-structured interviews (Merriam, 1988) conducted with each parent in the home schooling group. These interviews took place over the course of a few months in the spring during weekly group gatherings at a local library. Each interview took approximately 45 minutes. While I interviewed parents, students and parents not being interviewed often worked on individual student research projects. Students also made group presentations about information they learned, stories they wrote, etc.

I took notes during the interviews and later transcribed them. Member checks were held with many of the respondents in order to clarify questions the researcher had pertaining to responses (Lincoln, & Guba, 1985). Questions during the interviews began with a grand tour question (Spradley, 1979). Then questions of a general nature were asked regarding reasons behind their decision to home school, a look at a typical day, etc. After that, specific literacy questions were asked that focused on each parent's use of reading, writing, speaking and listening in the home schooling experience. This included questions related to

what materials were used, the selection of materials, perceptions of how their literacy instruction differed from traditional schooling, difficulties children experienced with learning to read, outside experiences related to reading, etc.

Table 1

Members of Catholic Home Schooling Group

Name	Years Involved in Home Schooling	Education of Parents	Number of H.S. Children	Grade Level of H.S. Children
Alexa	3	Two art degrees Husband-pursuing Ph.D. in Science	2	1 st & 3 rd Grade
Jo	3	Degree in Library Science Husband-Univ. Scientist	2	3 rd & 7 th Grade
Laurel	2 ½	Degree in Religious Ed. Husband-Degree in Industrial Tech.	3	2 ½ yr. old K, & 5 th Grade
Lisa	2	Two Science Degrees Husband-Some Junior College	2	1 st & 4 th Grade
MaryAlice	4	College Educated Husband-college degree	4	K, 3 rd , & 6 th Grade

Other data included written correspondence received from participants and notes taken as a participant observer in the weekly home schooling meetings. All data were broken down on cards into individual thought units. Cards were then sorted multiple times and put into data-driven categories using the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Results and Discussion

While the parents mentioned the importance of integrating their Catholic faith across the lessons, they stressed that faith was not the determining factor in choosing to home school. Many cited the benefits of immediate feedback for the children, the ability to not “push academics”, the freedom to linger over material for a longer period of time, and the opportunity to tailor lessons to individual children’s strengths and weaknesses. The participants felt that in traditional schooling, certain skills were demanded at specific ages (ie: reading). They did not feel that all children could be expected to develop skills at the same age. Laurel stated, “We can go at our own pace. We don’t just teach and hope they get it. We go until they catch on. It is more like a mentor relationship.”

Parents used a variety of literacy materials within each family. These included Accelerated Reader, SRA/Distar, McGuffey Readers, Spalding, Junior Great Books, magazines, and the newspaper. CD Rom and internet were also commonly used with the children. The materials were selected based on the individual child’s perceived strengths and weaknesses. Several families used different materials with different children depending on the assessed needs of the children in decoding or spelling. While Laurel chose to make reading the newspaper a daily event since kindergarten, Jo subscribed to ten different magazines in order to make reading relevant.

A number of common literacy practices were evident with these families. The adults modeled reading at home from a wide range of texts and frequently stressed the importance of reading aloud to children. The need for a wide variety of reading materials was discussed. The desire to

tie in literacy to all areas and not make it a separate section of time during the day was common. Often parents planned trips around academic content, developed thematic units, and used literature to teach history. Some participants felt that isolated grammar instruction was not necessary. Daily or weekly spelling lessons were not usually used unless a child appeared to encounter difficulty with spelling.

Participants stressed the importance of allowing children to see writing as meaningful. Common practices were taking notes on the sermon at mass, keeping dialogue journals, and writing letters on a regular basis. One parent also had her child write to a local store to complain about the price of an aquarium. The child had seen it advertised in the paper, and yet it was priced differently in the store. In the end, the child was able to purchase the aquarium at the price that was originally stated in the advertisement. The mother said that she felt the child learned something valuable. According to Laurel, "He learned that writing and reading are worthwhile, especially when he is paying for an item with his own money."

As in previous research (Williamson, 1989), each of these parents monitored the quantity and quality of television viewing. This ranged from 30 minutes to 60 minutes a day. Often the television viewing consisted of preapproved videos or shows. The parents stressed that their children don't look to television to entertain them, and thus their kids choose to pick up books during free time.

Children had the opportunity at weekly library meetings to share favorite books, accomplishments, or projects. Alexa organized a monthly park day and field trips to local establishments. It was evident that these meetings provided parents with an opportunity to network, exchange catalogues and materials for children, and have discussions on educational issues. Similar to adults involved in other educational contexts, these parents continuously participated in professional development. They read a great deal of educational material, talked to local principals, and attended home schooling conferences.

It was evident from conducting the research that these parents valued authentic, real-life experiences. These home schooled children

did not sit and copy identical paragraphs off the board or write letters to fictitious people. These activities are often viewed as contrived and limited in meaning by literacy professionals. Instead the children took trips, wrote letters to real people about their concerns, took notes on the sermon so that the notes could be used later, etc. Parents also tried to attend to individual children's needs and varied materials and methods when it seemed that appropriate progress was not being made. All of the traits mentioned are widely accepted as having value in quality literacy instruction. It may be easier for parents home schooling children to complete these activities and have the flexibility to change plans. They obviously have fewer restraints placed on them than teachers in a formal schooling situation. However, one thing is clear, these parents took their role as teachers and mentors very seriously and provided rich literacy experiences.

Recommendations for Future Research

Like all research, this study has limitations. First of all, only one group of home schoolers was analyzed. Future research might look at larger groups. While there are a number of large scale surveys that have been completed by parents involved with home schooling, research looking indepth at large groups was virtually nonexistent. Also research is needed which looks at the children's experience with home schooling. Often the primary caregiver is the one involved in any study. Finally, more work needs to be published in peer-reviewed journals by people who are not involved in the home school movement.

Educational Importance of the Study

In 1993-1994, estimations of home schooling families were that as many as 450,000-800,000 children were educated at home (Mayberry, Knowles, Ray, & Marlow, 1995). Yet a minimal amount of research has been done on the home schooling movement (Cizek & Ray, 1995). With the home schooling movement continuing to grow (Lines 1991), more research needs to be completed. Hall stresses (1996) that the understanding the home schooling movement is important because the children often enter school at some point. Therefore it is especially

important that persons involved in an educational context develop an understanding of it home schooling practices and reasons.

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Using Word Boxes as a Large Group Phonics Approach in a First Grade Classroom

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ABSTRACT

The purpose this study was to explore the effectiveness of word boxes phonics instruction on beginning first-grade children's word identification and spelling performance. Forty-eight children were randomly selected to participate in either the word boxes instruction condition or a more traditional phonics condition. All children were administered a word identification and spelling pretest. At the completion of experimental conditions, children were administered word identification and spelling posttest and transfer measures. Children in the word boxes condition significantly outperformed children in a more traditional phonics condition on all posttest and transfer measures. Results indicated that word boxes lessons can be a viable phonics approach to teaching children to make connections between phonemic and orthographic features about words.

Introduction

D. B. Elkonin (1973) first introduced the use of sound boxes in his work with preschool children. Sound boxes are a drawn rectangle divided into three sections resembling three connected boxes. Counters or tokens are placed below each divided section of the rectangle. Children are instructed to move counters into the boxes as they hear each sound in a word. Initially, the instructor articulates a word slowly, and the children place a counter into the first box as they hear the first sound,

place a counter into the second box as they hear the second sound, and so on. Eventually, the children complete the entire task themselves by placing counters in the respective divided sections as they articulate a word slowly. Sound boxes used in this fashion are designed to teach children to segment sounds sequentially. Elkonin also incorporated positional analysis exercises using the boxes and counters. For instance, a word was slowly articulated, and the children were asked to place a counter in the box where they heard the middle sound and then where they heard the beginning sound and so on.

Word boxes are an extension of Elkonin's sound boxes and have been used as part of Reading Recovery lessons (Clay, 1993). There are three phases of the word boxes lessons. Similar to Elkonin's sound boxes activity, the first phase consists of a child simultaneously articulating a word while placing counters into respective divided sections of a rectangle. In the next phase, the counters are replaced with magnetic or tile letters, and a child is asked to move the letters into the boxes as he/she articulates a word slowly. The last phase consists of writing the letters in the respective divided sections of the rectangle as the word is being stated.

Word boxes and sound boxes have not received considerable empirical examination but have been used as part of comprehensive phonemic awareness training programs in experimentally controlled investigations (e.g., Ball & Blachman, 1991; Hohn & Ehri, 1983). Additionally, Joseph (1998-1999) demonstrated the effectiveness of using word boxes with a sample of six children with learning disabilities. Through the use of multiple baseline designs, she was able to show that second-grade and third-grade children with learning disabilities improved their performance on making letter-sound correspondences while reading and spelling words as a function of using the word boxes. While the effectiveness of word boxes instruction has been examined using one-to-one instruction, their effectiveness has not been investigated in a large classroom context and has not been compared to a more traditional phonics approach. Moreover, former studies did not examine children's abilities to make generalizations on identifying words that were similar but not directly taught during word boxes instructional conditions.

The purpose of the present study was to compare word identification and spelling performances between beginning first-grade children who received large group word boxes instruction and children who received a large group traditional phonics instruction. Furthermore, this study sought to determine if there were significant differences between the two instructional groups on word identification and spelling transfer tasks.

Research Questions

The following are research questions addressed in this study.

1. Will students who receive word boxes instruction outperform students who receive a more traditional phonics approach on word identification and spelling measures?
2. Will students who receive word boxes instruction outperform students who receive a more traditional phonics approach on transfer measures?

Methodology

Participants

Forty-eight first graders participated in this study (age range = 6.1 to 7.3, mean = 6.6) from two first grade classrooms. The students attended an elementary school in Southwest Ohio. There were a total of 21 males and 27 females. These children resided in low middle to middle class industrial suburban communities.

Experimenter

The experimenter is a certified general education teacher and a special education teacher of students with learning disabilities. Specifically, the experimenter taught first grade for approximately three years. She currently teaches first grade at the school where the study took place. She is responsible for teaching reading to two first grade classrooms while another first grade teacher is responsible for teaching math at the school. Both teachers are responsible for teaching social studies, science, and art to their homeroom first grade class.

Independent rater

The independent rater was an upper primary grade teacher who specialized in reading. She taught upper primary grade children who needed special help in reading at the same school. She was given all participants' ungraded copies of the spelling pretests, posttests, and transfer tests. She was given tape recorded copies of all participants' word identification pretests, posttests, and transfer tests. The following formula was used to calculate interrater agreement on measures:

$$\frac{\text{Agreements} + \text{Disagreements}}{\text{Agreements}} \times 100 = \% \text{ agreement}$$

Instrumentation

Word identification and spelling pretests, posttests, and transfer tests were administered individually to all participants. Words were randomly selected from a pool of 200 consonant-vowel-consonant words (CVC) and were placed on word identification and spelling pretests, posttests, and transfer tests (see Appendix A for a list of these words).

Word identification Pretest and Posttests. Word identification measures consisted of a list of 30 words with CVC patterns. The words were typed in 18" font on a plain piece of white paper. The students were asked to read the list of words. They were given permission to skip any of the words that were unknown to them. No assistance on identifying words was provided by the instructor. All student responses were tape recorded.

Spelling Pretests and Posttests. Spelling pretests and posttests consisted of the same words as those presented on word identification tests. Each word was presented orally in isolation and then in a sentence, and then in isolation again. Students were asked to write the words on a numbered piece of plain white paper. This test was group administered.

Transfer Tests. Word identification and spelling transfer tests were similar to word identification and spelling tests except these tests consisted of CVC words that were different than the words directly taught to the students. Procedures for administering transfer tests were the same as those used with word identification and spelling pretests and posttests. Spelling and word identification transfer tests consisted of 30 words each.

Experimental Conditions

Word boxes and traditional phonics instruction were the two experimental conditions. The teacher/experimenter implemented these two approaches for 20 minutes a day over a four consecutive week period. The same words that were included on pretests and posttests were taught during the word boxes instruction and the traditional phonics conditions. In both conditions, the words with the middle /a/ vowel sound were taught first, then the middle /e/ vowel sound, then middle /i/, /o/ and /u/ vowel sounds. Some of the words previously taught in sessions were reviewed in subsequent sessions. There were approximately five words presented per session.

Word Boxes Instruction. Each student in the word boxes instruction condition received the following materials: 1) a drawn laminated word box that was divided into three sections; 2) laminated printed alphabets written on small square shaped plain paper; 3) small colored chips; 4) magic markers; 5) kleenex tissue. Materials were placed in ziploc bags on each student's desk just before word box instruction began.

At the start of the word boxes lesson, students were asked to take all of the contents out of the ziploc bags and place them on their desks. Each lesson consisted of a phonemic awareness, letter to sound matching, and spelling phase. The two former phases facilitated an understanding of orthographic as well as phonological features about words. The teacher demonstrated the task, shared the task, and allowed students to complete the task independently with feedback. In the phonemic awareness phase, the teacher would ask the students to find three chips and place them below each section of the divided box. As the

teacher slowly articulated a word, the students were asked to move the chips in the divided sections. The teacher then asked the children to slowly articulate the word while simultaneously moving the chips in the divided sections of the box. Chips were soon replaced with laminated letter squares and the students chorally articulated a word as they moved laminated letter squares into respective divided sections of the box. The last phase of the daily lesson consisted of children writing the letters with magic markers in respective divided sections of the box as they slowly articulated words.

Traditional Phonics Instruction. In the traditional phonics instruction condition, the teacher presented a list of words on the overhead, and the students were asked to chorally read the list of words. Words were written on the chalkboard by the teacher and letter-sound correspondences were taught by underlining each letter and naming the letter and saying its sound in sequential order. The teacher then lead the class in making choral responses during this demonstration. Afterwards, students were asked to complete worksheet exercises that contained the words presented on the overhead and on the chalkboard. The worksheet exercises involved drawing lines to connect two words that were alike and circling all the words on the page that were spelled with the same middle sound.

Procedures

Participants from two first grade classrooms were randomly selected to participate in either the word boxes instruction or the traditional phonics condition. There were 24 children in each group. The word boxes instruction group consisted of 11 males and 13 females (age range = 6-1 to 7-1, mean = 6-6), while 10 males and 14 females (age range = 6-1 to 7-3, mean = 6-7) comprised the traditional phonics group. The same teacher provided both types of instruction. While one group was receiving phonics instruction, the other children were receiving math instruction by the other first grade teacher in the school, and vice versa. All students received the same types of other reading instruction in addition to type of phonics instruction. Other types of reading instruction included individual, small group, and large group storybook reading.

All students were individually administered word identification and spelling pretests on two different days before the implementation of type of phonics instruction began. Spelling pretests were given first. At the completion of the four week experimental period, all children were administered word identification and spelling posttests. Once again, the spelling posttest was administered on one day, and students were given the word identification posttest the next day. Two days following the administration of the posttests, children completed transfer word identification and spelling tests. All tests were collected and later scored by the teacher and the independent rater. All measures were scored as the total number correct out of a total of 30 items. There was 100% agreement on the scoring of all measures between the independent rater and the teacher.

Results

The data were analyzed using basic descriptive statistic methods and multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) to control for initial differences on pretest measures. A multivariate procedure was used due to the interrelatedness of the dependent variables. Univariate procedures were also reported.

Table 1 presents mean and standard deviations of participants' performance on word identification and spelling pretests, posttests, and transfer tests. Type of instruction significantly separated the two groups (Wilks Lambda = .30, $F(1, 46) = 8.37$, $p < .001$). Two posttests and two transfer tests were subjected to analysis simultaneously, and the generalized proportion of variance among the groups which they explained was 45%. Univariate procedures revealed that all four measures significantly discriminated the groups: word identification posttest $F(1, 46) = 5.05$, $p < .05$; spelling posttest $F(1, 46) = 28.30$, $p < .001$; word identification transfer test $F(1, 46) = 21.32$, $p < .001$; spelling transfer test $F(1, 46) = 22.77$, $p < .001$.

Table 1

Performance on Word Identification and Spelling Measures By Group

Measures	Word Boxes		Traditional Phonics		Total*	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Word Id. Pretest	10.46	9.47	13.37	10.04	11.91	9.77
Spelling Pretest	10.29	7.93	12.33	10.54	11.31	9.29
Word Id. Posttest	27.00	4.69	20.66	9.73	23.83	8.21
Spelling Posttest	27.75	4.51	18.16	10.34	22.95	9.25
Word Id. Transfer	27.62	5.61	17.33	9.03	22.47	9.08
Spelling Transfer	17.79	5.61	17.79	10.28	22.73	9.59

Note: n = 48 total participants with 24 in each group.

Discussion

The results revealed that children who received word boxes instruction significantly outperformed children who received a more traditional phonics instruction approach on word identification and spelling posttest and transfer measures. Within both experimental conditions, children performed similarly on word identification and spelling measures indicating a reciprocal relationship between these two skills (Zutell, 1992). The word boxes instruction appeared to be a viable approach to teaching children phonics (i.e., letter-sound correspondences). Perhaps children in the word boxes condition performed significantly better because word boxes lessons incorporated explicit and interactive phonemic awareness, word identification and spelling instruction. As Stahl, Duffy-Hester, and Stahl (1998) indicated, good phonics instruction should include phonemic awareness, word identification, and an understanding of the orthographic features about words or spelling patterns of words. In other words, the way in which the word boxes lesson was presented in this study consisted of helping children bridge operating on words phonemically to operating on them orthographically. This process may have made it easier for children to identify and spell words presented on the transfer measures in contrast to

their peers who received the more traditional phonics approach. The students' ability to identify words that were not directly taught was consistent with previous studies. These studies revealed that children recognized words that shared similar spelling and sound patterns more readily as a whole once they grasped letter-sound by letter-sound analysis approach to pronouncing words (Bruck & Treiman, 1992; Leslie & Calhoun, 1995).

Although word boxes have been proven to be effective while teaching children in a one-to-one manner (Joseph), this study provided evidence that this approach can be successfully used in a large classroom context. As phonics instruction has been a mandated component of literacy instruction in some states (e.g., Ohio), educators will need to explore meaningful ways of incorporating important phonetic literacy processes. Since many educators view traditional ways of teaching phonics as boring (Stahl, Duffy-Hester, & Stahl), word boxes appear to be an inviting synthetic phonic approach for first-graders to grasp phonetic and orthographic features of language. Moreover, teachers who use the more traditional ways of teaching phonics (e.g., drill and skill worksheets) often do not have a clear understanding of the phonological processes that need to be developed and do not know how to facilitate internalization of component phonological processes (Pressley, 1998). In the word boxes condition, modeling and scaffolding helped the children become aware of word structures. Specifically, the divided boxes provided a scaffold or a supportive structure for helping children segment word parts sequentially and blend them together to make a whole. Thus, word boxes lessons provided children with one approach to studying about how words are formed.

While it is clear that one group outperformed the other, these findings cannot be generalized to all first-graders due to the relatively small sample size used in this study. Future studies need to replicate the procedures in order to establish more conclusive findings. Only phonogram (word family) words with CVC patterns were taught in the experimental conditions. It would be interesting to examine the effects of word boxes on student performance on other types word patterns. Future studies need to also investigate the effectiveness of word boxes on student performance on reading and writing words in connected text form.

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APPENDIX

List of Words Presented on Pretests and Posttests

big	top	bag
lip	fog	man
fin	pen	fat
win	hen	mat
pig	bed	sun
dog	vet	put
pot	pet	mud
hot	ham	cup
mop	cat	run
pop	fan	fun

List of Words Presented on Transfer Measures

Wig	hog	can
sip	fog	rat
sin	jet	sat
bin	den	rug
dig	red	mug
log	set	bug
rot	get	nut
dot	jam	hot
hop	bat	hut
cup	ran	hum

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