

FAMILIES MATTER: ADULTS READING ALOUD TO CHILDREN IN THE HOME AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR LANGUAGE EDUCATION

Julie Spreadbury

I began a PhD study of 25 Brisbane families reading aloud to children in the home with two sons of my own who had been read to from birth by our extended family, and the belief that families do matter in children's literacy development.

This study examined the complex three-way interactions that take place when a parent and child share a text. It endeavoured to tease out the particular variables in this interaction that facilitate the child's later reading ability. As part of this, the study also investigated parent styles in such book reading episodes and how these changed from when the child was a dependent reader to when the child was an independent reader, i.e. the transition period from the end of the child's preschool year to the end of the first year of primary school - a period neglected by researchers in early literacy.

The subjects were 25 children drawn randomly from the two Year 1 classes at State Primary School in Brisbane. This school was chosen because it has varied socio-economic levels. Fifteen of the children were boys and eleven were girls. One of the girls left the study in March of her Grade 1 as her family moved to seek employment. At the beginning of Grade 1, the majority of the children (sixteen) had turned six, nine were five-year-olds and one child was slightly older, at seven.

The fathers' occupations ranged from medical doctor, research scientist and engineer to three fathers being unemployed. On the other hand, the occupations of the mothers who worked outside the home were not as varied, ranging from a bank officer down through secretary and shop assistant to a nursing home aide.

At the end of the child's preschool and at the end of Year 1 at school, I went in to each child's home and interviewed the parents about demographic aspects of the

family, the family's literacy practices and parents' attitudes and ideologies about literacy. On both occasions, the parent(s) and child were videoed reading the picture book **Sloppy Kisses** (Winthrop 1986), which was chosen because it had just been published and so was an unknown text to all the families. By videoing all the dyads of parent and child reading the same text, there was a basis for comparison. In most homes only one parent read to the child, in others both mother and father read the texts. I also interviewed the children's teachers in both preschool and Year 1 and videoed them reading to groups of the children as part of their daily routine.

Throughout Grade 1, various standardised tests were conducted on the individual children in the project. Children were tested early in the year for their concepts of literacy using Kemp's Children's Understanding of Reading Language test (1982), then at various times throughout the year for language and reading abilities, using the Test of Early Language Development (Hresko, Reid & Hammill 1981) and the Test of Early Reading Ability (Reid, Hresko & Hammill 1981) respectively. Towards the end of Grade 1 they were tested using the Revised Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Dunn and Dunn 1981) and the Piers-Harris Self Concept test (1969). Running records on whether the children were dependent or independent readers were also carried out at the end of Grade 1 and, because the findings of the study were so similar to those of Wells' Bristol study (Wells 1981 a & b, 1982, 1985, 1987, 1988), Holdaway's Informal Prose Inventory (1979) was used at the end of Year 3 to assess the children's reading ability at age 8 and the TORCH test (Mossenson, Hill & Masters 1987) was used to assess the children's reading ability at age 10. At these times the children were also interviewed about how they had learnt to read and their reading strategies. The videos of the parent(s) and child reading **Sloppy Kisses** were transcribed and coded using different analyses shown in Diagram 1. Only some of the results of the study will be discussed in this paper (for full results see Spreadbury 1993).

**DIAGRAM 1 : ANALYSIS OF PARENT-CHILD-
TEXT INTERACTIONS DURING BOOK READING IN THE HOME**

UTTERANCE

PARENT <----->CHILD

BOOK
CHARACTER
KISSING
NOT SLEEPING

TOPIC
(LARGE UNIT)

TOPIC

BOOK
CHARACTER
KISSING
CONTROL

FOCUS
(SMALL UNIT)

FOCUS

PROVIDING INFO.
QUESTION
DIRECTING ATTENTION

FUNCTION
(Snow & Goldfield 1982)

FUNCTION

DETERMINE
ALTERNATE
INFERENCEAL
HYPOTHETICAL

QUESTIONS

QUESTIONS
LEVEL OF COMPREHENSION
(Hasan 1986)

CONFIRM
APPRIZE
NETWORK

QUESTIONS

QUESTIONS
(Hasan 1989)

NON VERBALS

EXPRESSION

PROXIMITY

During both readings parents showed great variation in their individual style of reading **Sloppy Kisses**. It is interesting to note that contrary to Flood's findings (1977), no parents discussed the cover of the text but a few contextualised the narrative by linking it to their child's past experience, as Brendan's mother does in this preschool reading:

Mother: We'll read **Sloppy Kisses** first.
Sloppy Kisses
Brendan, that's like the kids don't like me kissing them with my lipstick on, eh?

Brendan: (laughing) Yeah!

During the reading, parents focussed on the story meaning, not on word meaning. Only one parent explained a word meaning to her child - 'papa' for 'daddy' or 'father' - a word used by only one family in the study. There was no discussion in either the preschool or the Grade 1 reading about letters or indeed 'print'.

Several parents focussed the discussion on the illustrations in the text as in this Preschool reading by Samantha's mother:

Mother: *Emmy-Lou kissed Papa goodbye when she went to school. And when they came home, it started all over again. Emmy Lou's family just loved to kiss.*

Mother: There's Papa going to work.
They're a funny family aren't they?
They look like piggies.

Sam: They are! (laughs)
Oh look at that! (points to illustration)

Mother: Have you ever seen a piggy kiss?
I reckon they grunt. (makes grunting noise)

Sam: Yes! (Mother and Sam both laugh)

There are also frequent examples in the transcripts of children modelling questions on those of the parent reading to them, for example, in the preschool reading of **Sloppy Kisses** after 'Emmy Lou snuggled down under her covers. It took her a long time to get to sleep', Alice's mother asked 'I wonder why?', an inferential question that Alice did not answer. Later during the same reading, after 'One night Emmy Lou couldn't get to sleep ...No matter what she did she could not get to sleep', Alice asked the same question, 'I wonder why?' Her mother answered, 'I don't know. Let's read on.'

During both readings parents asked many inferential questions which their children did not respond to. Alice's mother's - 'I wonder why' - was asked by 10 parents over both readings and was mostly allowed to 'plop' or be ignored by the child. In some readings where the child was unable to answer the question, the parent 'scaffolded' or helped the child succeed by providing more information as in this interaction between Sean and his mother during the Grade 1 reading:

Mother: *It took her a long time to get to sleep.*

Mother: Why do you think it took her so long to get to sleep?

Sean: Cause she was thinking.

Mother: She just had a pat on the shoulder instead of her usual kiss goodnight, didn't she?

Here, Sean's mother provided him with the necessary information in the form of a confirm-verify-reassure type question, a tag question which threw the conversation over to him. He responded non-verbally by nodding his head to show he understood.

When a child could not answer an inferential question, some parents provided more information, as Sean's mother did, but then dropped the level of comprehension required by asking a determinate comprehension question, as in this interaction between Brian and his mother during the Grade 1 reading:

Mother: Why do you think it took her a long time to get to sleep?
(INFERENTIAL)

She's thinking about what they said about kissing.
(PROVIDING INFORMATION)

You find it easy to get to sleep cause you always have a kiss
goodnight, don't you?
(DETERMINE)

In the highly interactive dyads, many parents 'upped the ante' during the Grade 1 reading by asking questions that demanded a higher level of comprehension from their child. The parents were unaware of doing this, that is, they were interacting with their child during the reading, not consciously teaching the child. This is similar to the parent using simpler lexis and grammatical structure in language to converse with a baby or scaffolding the child's language or tasks in the early years. This is in keeping with the research findings of Snow, Perlmann and Nathan (1986).

During the readings of **Sloppy Kisses** some parents even focussed their discussion at a deeper level on the ideology of the text. An analysis of the discourse between two dyads during the reading of **Sloppy Kisses** shows that both mothers used similar strategies to transmit the ideology of the text. Both used tag questions, i.e., confirm-verify-probe or confirm-verify-reassure questions, to include their child in the conversation while directing attention to the ideology by explicit information providing statements. They also linked the ideology included in the text to their child's own everyday experience, thus making it real and powerful for the child.

Unlike in Flood's findings (1977), no parent asked any comprehension questions at the end of the text at either preschool or Grade 1 levels. They did, however frequently comment on their own enjoyment of the book or ask if the child enjoyed the text. Although the parents had more utterances overall than the children, in the highly interactive dyads the power was shared by parent and child, with the child contributing questions and comments, not merely responding to the parent's questions and comments. This was in contrast to the Grade 1 teachers' readings, where the teacher alone controlled the interaction.

There was great variation in parent reading style, ranging from those who were highly interactive with their child during the reading to those who had little or no verbal interaction. The decrease in interaction from the preschool reading to the

Grade 1 reading can be seen at the non-interactive end of this continuum where there were three dyads with no interaction at the preschool level but ten dyads with no interaction and five with only one or two utterances at the Grade 1 level. This is in keeping with Heath's findings (1980) that interactive behaviour during story reading episodes in the home changes as the child gets older. Initially, parents encourage interaction but by the age of three [in this study age six] parents expect the child to sit still, listen quietly to the text, and gain information from it as they are expected to do in many classrooms.

The amount of child comment at the Grade 1 reading fell to a highly significant degree (to .05), which may suggest that even after one year of formal schooling children have learned to be passive listeners to stories, not actively interacting with either the person reading the text or the text itself. This may be because at Grade 1 level these children had been read to as a whole class of twenty children, not individually or in small groups as they had been at preschool and in the home, and although there was some interaction between children and teacher during Shared Book reading sessions, children's comments or questions were discouraged and regarded as 'interruptions' at other times when the teacher read aloud to all the children. These reading aloud sessions were more performance oriented than interactive.

Children's Understanding of Reading Language, which tested the children's understanding of literacy, correlated not only with the other tests but correlated highly with the children's reading scores at six, eight and ten years of age. This is in keeping with Wells' Bristol Project findings.

The correlations of greatest significance in the study were found in the fact that the number of parent utterances correlated with the child's reading at six, eight and ten years, suggesting it is not merely reading to the child which facilitates their reading but the amount of interaction between parent and child - not merely the amount of talk but also the type of talk. This is shown by the correlation of the child's reading at age six, eight and ten with tag questions which, as Snow suggests (1977), pass the conversation over to the child thus affirming the child and also increasing the interaction between the two. There is also a correlation of confirm-enquire-ask questions where the verbal process comes first as in 'Did you see the mother?' and apprise-precise-specify questions - the 'wh' questions that require specific information also correlate with the child's reading ability. This

may highlight the particular parent language behaviours which expedite the child's reading. Many parents use these unconsciously during reading aloud interactions.

Overall, the number and level of correlation between the variables strongly suggest that reading aloud in the home is of great influence on the child's reading ability at school.

This study has revealed that parent, child and text reading aloud in the home changes in the transition period from preschool to Grade 1, from when most children are dependent readers to when most are independent readers at least on suitable text. It shows that reading is a social process, learnt in interaction with other people. Family storybook reading is seen as a vital social construct for the child's later independent reading.

Parents and literacy (PAL)

As a direct result of this first project, I devised an intervention program for parents to both support them in their role as their child's first teacher and inform them of the changes in literacy teaching since they were at school.

This Parents and Literacy Project focussed entirely on low socioeconomic families in the Logan area of Brisbane. Parents, especially from low socioeconomic areas where self-esteem may be low, often do not recognise their significance to their children's literacy learning. No known research of this kind has been carried out in Brisbane on family literacy practices in low socioeconomic families, although research overseas (eg Heath 1983, 1984) has shown important socioeconomic differences in families in the U.S.A. Heath comments on the need for more in-depth analyses of different individuals in the same cultural conditions so that 'we can identify the habits of perception and conceptualisation which are the unconscious supports behind the sustained symbolic structures of literacy in varied societal contexts' (1984: 71).

The Parents and Literacy Project was originally trialed with a small group of parents from Woodridge Catholic Primary School who had a child in Year 1 in 1992. In 1993 PAL was extended to include twenty Crestmede mothers. Crestmede is a low socioeconomic suburb where the parents were young, only

educated to the compulsory Year 10, and most had only each other as a support system.

PAL is practical action research, based on the proven fact that parents play a critical role in children's literacy learning. The Intervention Program differs from any other in Australia in that, far from trying to make parents more skilled 'teachers', it endeavoured to help parents and children escape from the 'non-literacy trap' by firstly supporting parents and literacy in the home and secondly by informing them of how home literacy practices foster literacy learning in children at school. It included practice in communication skills such as self-esteem building and positive appreciation of others and emphasised that the attitudes and skills gained in a warm and interactive family constitute 'a resource that is just as real as economic resources and security' (Eastman 1989: 45). Indeed, it may be the key to giving their children a brighter future.

The aims of the program were

- to investigate family literacy practices in a low socioeconomic suburb of Brisbane;
- to run a Parents and Literacy Program for parents in this area with a child in Year 1 in 1993; and
- to evaluate the program to improve its ability to support and educate future low socioeconomic families.

The parents and Literacy Program was trialed over a 4-week block of 2 hours a week. It was held on Tuesdays 12:45-2:45 in the community hall of the school. The program was as follows :

Week 1	Fostering learning in the home
	Self-esteem for parents and children
	Listening to and affirming your child
	How children learn to speak

Week 2 Reading at home and school

Parents reading aloud to children in the home
What is reading? Where does it start?
New teaching approaches to reading
How to help your child with reading aloud

Week 3 Writing at home and school

What is writing? Where does it start?
New teaching approaches to writing
How to help your child with school written work

Week 4 Technology and literacy

Films, video games and computers at home and school
How to continue to support your child in literacy learning
Parents are important!
Evaluation of the course

Evaluation of the program

A highly interactive workshop approach was used and this worked well with the number of parents involved. Parents were encouraged to see themselves as equal participants in the program with the facilitator, as they were the 'experts' on their own children. There was some attrition in that only 12 parents out of the original 20 attended all 8 hours of the course. This was attributed to sickness in the family and other family commitments. Those who attended all of the course were asked to complete an evaluation form. All rated PAL as either 'good' or 'excellent'. Their evaluation comments were very positive with almost all saying the program could be improved by either lengthening it or by having all parents attend the sessions! All reported learning from it and most said they also found the sessions 'enjoyable'.

All parents were video-taped reading a narrative and a factual text to their Year 1 child before PAL began. Those who attended all sessions of PAL were also

video-taped reading the same texts to their child three months after completing PAL. These videos were transcribed and analysed. A comparison showed there was twice as much interaction between parent and child during reading after completing PAL. As the amount and quality of interaction between parent and child correlated significantly with the child's reading ability at age six, eight and ten from my first study, this may help with literacy achievement in the children whose mothers attended PAL.

The program's value lies in that it seeks to update parents on school literacy teaching, support what parents are doing with their children in the home, and in turn encourages parents to support teachers in the school. All parents involved in the program felt it was time very well spent. They regretted that more parents had not attended to gain the same insights that they had gained from it.

Collaboration for successful learning - A partnership of parents, teachers and students

The third project is one that has been funded by the Australian government for the Australian Parents Council. This project has two parts. The first, for which I was responsible, was to access and document the literature and information about programs that involve parents in their children's schooling with a view to identifying best practice. I found this to be quite a difficult task as most parent programs originate in individual schools usually conducted by innovative teachers and are rarely written up or evaluated in any way.

The second part of the project was to develop and pilot a program of parental participation as an integral part of school organisation. The program, which was jointly written by an experienced primary teacher and parents, was piloted in twelve primary schools in three states of Australia. What is different about this program was that parents conducted it in schools, not teachers or university educators. Parents responded very positively to the program and there has been widespread support from both school administrators and classroom teachers.

Implications for language education

In my first study, parents showed they facilitate their child's literacy learning long before the child begins formal schooling. Parents do this across all educational and socio-economic levels. Instinctively they adapt the language they use in interactions with their child to suit the language level, including the reading level, of the child:

Learning to read is a gradual process that begins early in the child's life, not a sudden happening that comes about when the child enters school. The roots of literacy are anchored within the social network of the family (Chapman 1986: 11).

It is the interaction between parent and child that takes place when a parent reads to a child that facilitates this child's reading. In particular, reading is aided by the types of questions that the parent uses. These not only make the child responsible for his/her own learning but also, and perhaps more importantly, appear to strengthen the relationship between parent and child. Heath (1984) found that when a black teenage mother was encouraged to read to her young son she grew to know him better and many discipline problems disappeared - 'When parents and children read stories together, they learn about themselves and gain a deeper understanding of one another' (Strickland and Taylor 1989: 1).

I would encourage every parent to make time to read individually with their children. Often this is the only time in a busy day where parent and child can really talk to each other. Try to read your child something beyond their own level of reading yet within their understanding level. When my older son was eleven we cried together over **Bridge to Terabithia**, in which Leslie, the twelve-year-old friend, is drowned. Often he would go to sleep with the sounds of Dylan Thomas' poetry echoing in his ears:

*Now as I was young and easy under the apple
boughs ..
Time held me green and dying
Though I sang in my chains like the sea.*

My younger son and I have laughed at the antics of Fudge in Judy Blume's books **Tales of a Fourth Grade Nothing**, **Superfudge** and **Fudge-a-Mania**. We have discussed the birth of a baby by reading Paul Jennings' latest popular book **Undone**. Try looking at the ideology and values that come through different books with your child. We can thus make children aware of prejudice and bias in books so they can judge better for themselves not only in books but also in the videos and television programs that are now a very important part of their world. Above all, reading aloud to your child should be an enjoyable time for both of you - a time of caring as well as sharing.

Parents matter! Parents need to be told that they are most important to their children's intellectual growth, not least of all because of these close affective links between parent and child. The importance of the parent-child relationship in literacy learning must not be under estimated:

The years before a child reads are replete with the impact of environmental experiences which present him to the reading teacher with certain skills, concepts, feelings and knowledge which form the pre-reading base from which she will need to build ...The role of 'parenting' is so vital to the arranging of such accumulations that the role of being 'the first teacher of reading' is unmistakable. (Ward 1970: 756)

From my third study, which was truly a collaboration between parents, teachers and schools I made these recommendations. Firstly, parents indeed do teach literacy to their children and to do so they often use different strategies from those used by teachers. Both parents and teachers need to accept that they each bring the child special attitudes, skills and knowledge necessary for success in reading. Both parents and teachers need to value the contribution of the other and work together as partners in children's learning.

Secondly, parent and literacy programs should be on a continuum from home-based learning to school-based learning.

HOME<.....>SCHOOL

parents as literacy tutors
of their own children
in their home

parents as literacy tutors of their own
and/or other people's children
in the classroom

Programs at the home-based learning end should be taken by parents while those at the school-based end where the end product may be to train parents as literacy teacher-aides for in school literacy sessions should be taught by qualified teachers.

Within these two contexts of home and school there needs to be a wide variety of parent and literacy programs offered to parents, ranging from the informal to the more formal. Perhaps the more formal of these may be offered by outside organisations such as local universities and such courses would be counted as credits for degree courses such as Education in general and more specialised courses such as Adult and Community Literacy.

Thirdly, there is a great need for parent programs in literacy to be taught by *parents*. It is significant that the research for this project did not find any parent and literacy program in Australia conducted by parents for parents. Instead of always relying on the professional teachers, parents must educate themselves and each other in how they teach their children literacy and how they can do this better.

Fourthly, parent and literacy programs emphasise the importance of a balance in power between parents and teachers. In the past, teachers have been reluctant to relinquish their power over children's learning by even acknowledging the important educative role of homes and parents. On the other hand, there are those groups in our community who wish to redress this balance by giving parents great power in formal education settings. It is time to stop this power broking which emphasises competition instead of co-operation and isolation between homes and schools, instead of building bridges between the two. In the words of Moore, over twenty years ago:

It would seem rational to propose that alteration of the prospects for educational success of any student requires interaction between home and

school which results in a deep and sympathetic understanding between the two and almost certainly results in compromise of policy and goals for both (Moore 1973: 21).

Parents and teachers need to see the unique contribution they each give to children. Parents and teachers need to see each other as *partners* in children's learning - as collaborators, communicators and people who make connections between the different contexts of home and school.

Children who have been read to by parents in the home will continue to pass on their love of books and reading to younger children. As parents of the future they will know that families matter and that

the attitudes and skills gained in a family with warm and secure relationships within the family and supportive, reliable relationships with extended family, friends and wider community constitutes a resource that is just as real as economic resources and security (Eastman 1989: 45).

If parents were to interact more with their children they would realise the great enjoyment and satisfaction to be found in sharing a text together. Families would grow closer together. This may have profound social implications, resulting in not only a more literate society but also a more emotionally stable one. One thing is certain - FAMILIES MATTER!

References

- Ahlberg, J.A. (1980). *Each peach pear plum*. London: Fontana Lions.
- Blume, J. (1981). *Tales of a fourth grade nothing*. St. Ives: Piper.
- Blume, J. (1983). *Superfudge*. St Ives: Piper.
- Blume, J. (1990). *Fudge-a-mania*. New York: Yearling.
- Chapman, D.L. (1986). Let's read another one. In Tovey D. & Kerber, J. (eds.) *Roles in literacy learning - A new perspective*. Newark: International Reading Association.

- Dunn, L. and Dunn, L.M. (1981). *Peabody picture vocabulary test - Revised*. Minnesota: American Guidance Service.
- Eastman, M. (1989). *Family: The vital factor*. Melbourne: Collins Dove.
- Flood, J. (1977). Parental styles in reading episodes with young children. *The Reading Teacher* 864-867.
- Hasan, R. (1986). The ontogenesis of ideology: an interpretation of mother-child talk. In Threadgold, T., Grosz, E., Kress, G. and Halliday, M. (eds.). *Semiotics, Ideology and Language*. SASSC.
- Hasan, R. (1989). Semantic variation and sociolinguistics. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 9: 221-275.
- Heath, S. B. (1980). The functions and uses of literacy. *Journal of Communication* 30: 123-133.
- Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heath, S.B. and Thomas, C. (1984). The achievements of preschool literacy for mother and child. In Goelmen, H., Oberg, A. and Smith, F. (eds.). *Awakening to literacy*. London: Heinemann.
- Holdaway, D. (1979). *The foundations of literacy*. Sydney: Ashton Scholastic.
- Hresko, W., Reid, D. and Hammill, D. (1981). *The test of early language development (TELD)*. Austin: Pro-Ed.
- Jennings, P. (1993). *Undone*. Middlesex: Puffin.
- Kemp, M. (1982). *Children's understanding of reading language (CURL)*. Melbourne: Nelson.
- Moore, W. (1973). *In loco parentis: A research report from the generation study of secondary school students*. Canberra: Centre for Research in Measurement and Evaluation.
- Mossenson, L., Hill, and P. & Masters, G. (1987). *Tests of reading comprehension (TORCH)*. Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research.
- Paterson, K. (1978). *Bridge to Terabithia*. Middlesex: Puffin.
- Piers, E. and Harris, D. (1969). *The Piers-Harris children's self concept scale*. Tennessee: Counselor Recordings and Tests.
- Reid, D., Hresko, W. and Hammill, D. (1981). *The test of early reading ability (TERA)*. Austin: Pro-Ed.

- Snow, C. (1977). The development of conversation between mothers and babies. *Journal of Child Language* 4: 1-22.
- Snow, C. and Goldfield, B. (1982). Building stories: the emergence of information structures from conversation. In Tanner, D. (ed.). *Analysing discourse: Text and talk*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Snow, C. and Goldfield, B.A. (1983). Turn the page please: situation specific language acquisition. *Journal of Child Language* 10: 551-569.
- Snow, C., Perlmann, R. and Nathan, D. (1986). Why routines are different: towards a multiple - factors model of the relation between input and language acquisition. In Nelson, K. (ed.). *Children's language*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Spreadbury, J. (1993). *Parents, child and text factors in reading aloud in the home*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Brisbane: University of Queensland.
- Strickland, D. and Taylor, D. (1989). Family storybook reading: Implications for children, families and curriculum. In Strickland, D. and Morrow, L. (eds.). *Emerging literacy: young children learn to read and write*. Delaware: International Reading Association.
- Ward, E. (1970). A child's first reading teacher - his parents. *The Reading Teacher* 23: 756-760.
- Wells, G. (1981a). *Learning through interaction*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Wells, G. (1981b). Some antecedents of early educational attainment. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 2: 181-200.
- Wells, G. (1982). Story reading and the development of the symbolic skills. *Australian Journal of Reading* 5: 142-152.
- Wells, G. (1985). Preschool literacy related activities and success in school. In Olson D., Torrance, N. and Hilyard, A. (eds.). *Literacy, language and learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wells, G. (1987). Apprenticeship in literacy. *Interchange* 18: 109-123.
- Wells, G. (1988). Creating communities for literacy development. *Australian Journal of Reading* 11: 84-95.
- Winthrop, E. (1986). *Sloppy kisses*. Middlesex: Puffin.