

Bringing Neighborhood Dads Into Classrooms: Supporting Literacy Engagement

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Discover the benefits of fathers reading to students in schools—from the fathers' own perspectives—and strategies for educators and administrators to incorporate father engagement in reading at school.

Parental engagement in elementary school education is important for students' overall school success (Englund, Luckner, Whaley, & Egeland, 2004; Newland, Chen, & Coyl-Shepherd, 2013). Yet, we still have limited knowledge about the role of fathers in students' literacy success, although the research field is growing (Cabrera & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013; Downer, Campos, McWayne, & Gartner, 2008). Some father engagement research suggests that, "when involved with their children, fathers were more likely to be cognitively stimulating, including providing more problem-solving demands, than were mothers" (Kim & Hill, 2015, p. 920). Such interactions are predicted to influence in-school learning. In their meta-analysis, Kim and Hill found a positive relation between both fathers' and mothers' involvement in education and students' achievement.

Flouri and Buchanan (2004) indicated that father involvement can be a protective factor in countering conditions that lead to low achievement. Boys, in particular, may benefit from father involvement, given that some students in urban primary schools, especially young boys, have difficulties with literacy learning or are less motivated for reading and writing activities (Farris, Werderich, Nelson, & Fuhler 2009; Logan & Johnson, 2009). A lack of male role models in elementary schools has been proposed as a possible contributor to differences in literacy motivation and achievement among boys (Zambo & Brozo, 2009). Although there has been an increase in the number of studies conducted on fathers' role in students' learning over time, we still know considerably less about fathers' versus mothers' engagement with schools and fathers' role in children's literacy development (Gadsden, 2012). Father involvement

has increased, yet fathers still seem to be underrepresented when it comes to family literacy programs, which are geared toward mothers (Gadsden, 2012).

Book Reading and Diversity

One area that has received much attention as a means for parents to engage with children in an enjoyable literacy practice is reading to or with children. Shared book reading can provide children with many literacy benefits, including increased comprehension and vocabulary knowledge (Cunningham & Zibulsky, 2011).

Book reading in schools has been studied extensively, and for many students, it can be a positive experience (Preece & Levy, 2018; van Kleeck, Stahl, & Bauer, 2003). Nevertheless, some concerns have been raised about book reading in diverse school contexts. For example, it was reported that Black boys in some classrooms do not like to read (Boykin & Noguera, 2011), and according to Meier (2015), it is for good reason. The limited availability of culturally relevant literature is one concern. "Whenever one looks in most elementary schools, positive Black male images and role models are notably scarce" (Meier, 2015, p. 337).

Culturally relevant books can assist with breaking the mold of stereotypes (Meier, 2015). However, it may not only be the content of books that influences

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students' interest in reading. According to Stead (2014), we provide a great deal of information by the act of reading itself. Who participates in the reading, and how they interact with the text, can provide meaningful engagement with text for some students (Preece & Levy, 2018; Zambo & Brozo, 2009). Fathers, therefore, might provide a role model for some students' motivation to read texts.

Motivation is a key component of engaged reading and has implications for reading achievement (Guthrie & Taboada Barber, 2019). Making connections between student interests and teaching can influence motivation (Guthrie & Taboada Barber, 2019; Hindin, 2018). These connections can include asking questions that link reading material to student' lives and creating in-class support for students' real-world needs.

Theoretical Perspective

To further understand the role of fathers in children's early literacy development, literacy as a social practice was incorporated into the current study. Sociocultural theory stipulates that children's literacy beliefs and practices are affected by those in their cultural communities, including their families. Literacy as a social practice is an evident part of sociocultural theory. Perry (2012) postulated,

Although the theory of literacy as social practice may not explain the process of *how* people learn to read and write, it can help to describe *what types* of knowledge are needed in order to effectively engage in given literacy practices. (p. 55)

Who engages in the reading process, the function of reading, and the text used can mediate students' purpose for engaging in reading.

Purpose

Because some students from low-income families may be at higher risk of reading difficulties compared with students from middle- or upper-class families (Hemphill & Tivnan, 2008), there is a need for comprehensive school- and community-based programs aimed at improving family engagement in education and literacy. Few studies have examined fathers' role in supporting children's literacy learning during the

elementary school years, yet fathers as role models, particularly for sons, have been well established in the research (Lamb, 2010).

Jacqueline (first author), a university professor, and Holly (second author), a community partner, both with strong interests in father engagement in children's lives, worked together to review a program that

has been successful at involving fathers or male father figures in Title I elementary schools. Our goal is to share insight on the fatherhood reading program in one of those schools, including reasons that fathers participated. Often, what we know about the effectiveness of fathers' role in literacy programs is based on interviews with mothers (Rose & Atkin, 2011). This research captures father voices as well as teachers' feedback on the program.

PAUSE AND PONDER

- In your view, are fathers less visible in classrooms than mothers? If so, what do you attribute to this situation?
- What are some of the benefits of father engagement? Are these the same benefits as incorporating mother engagement?
- What are some of the barriers to fathers reading to students on a regular basis in your classroom? How might you address those?
- What can educators do to increase fathers' engagement with schools?

Fatherhood Reading Squad Program

Table 1 describes the process of organizing an ongoing program that engages neighborhood fathers in our schools. Fathers or father figures do not need to have a child at the school but do need to pass a background check before volunteering at the school. The table also describes the role of a school leader and information on book sharing presented to fathers or father figures.

For the school participating in our research, optional books for fathers to select from were donated to the school by a local organization. The books were age-appropriate, focused on a value such as empathy, tolerance, or diversity, and sometimes had a father figure in them. The goal was that all students would feel included with the books. The books were in English, Spanish, and Haitian Creole, and there were wordless books for fathers who could not read in any of these languages or who may have had low print literacy skills.

Method

Participants and Procedure

The Fatherhood Reading Squad program is currently promoted by a public school district in the Southeastern

Table 1
Process for Organizing a Fatherhood Reading Squad Program at Your School

Steps for administrators and lead teacher	Reading tips to share with fathers
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A principal discusses with a lead teacher (or school counselor or community-engagement specialist) the incorporation of the Fatherhood Reading Squad program at their school. 2. Advertising the program to recruit dads is discussed (e.g., class website, flyers, PTA). Furthermore, teachers can encourage fathers of students in their class to participate. 3. The dads come to a one-hour instructional session where they can meet other dads. The lead teacher discusses volunteering times, the importance of father engagement, and ways to support students with the text when book sharing. 4. Once a month, on their scheduled volunteer day, the fathers review books and select one they want to share. Books are provided by the school, or fathers can bring their own. Fathers can also tell a story instead of reading. Books for browsing are laid out on a table where all fathers meet before going to the classroom to read (all fathers volunteer on the same day that month). Coffee and small snacks may be provided in the gathering room at each session. This process takes 35 minutes: 15 minutes to meet other fathers and to choose a book if needed, and 20 minutes for reading in the classroom. 5. After the class reading, the dads return to the meeting room to drop off their books and have an opportunity to meet with other fathers and the lead teacher to talk about parenting issues, their experience in the classroom, and how to improve the program (approximately 10 minutes). The total father time commitment at school is 45 minutes per month. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Familiarize yourself with the book you choose to share. 2. Talk to children about the book and its cover; explain new words and relate them to the story. 3. Express your interest in the book by the questions and ideas you share. 4. Use the main character to talk about emotions and challenges in everyday life. 5. Read adventure stories to encourage imagination, a sense of humor, and curiosity. 6. Select books on families to talk about diverse traditions that help to build empathy and tolerance. 7. Give positive feedback to boys and girls for participating and sharing their ideas in the session.
<p><i>Note.</i> This framework was modeled after Zwerling (2017).</p>	

United States, and nine Title I elementary schools, or schools with many students from low-income families, have participated in the program. The Fatherhood Reading Squad began under the auspices of a larger non-profit fatherhood organization. We selected one of the first schools to begin the program for examination. As part of our sample, there were two elementary school teachers and five fathers involved in providing feedback. Fathers had read in the classroom approximately twice prior to their focus group session. Although we did not gather descriptive data on fathers, it seemed that fathers were African American, Caribbean, or Latino.

We collected data through a focus group with fathers, interviews with individual teachers, and observations of father classroom reading. At a morning session, before reading to students, fathers were asked to participate in this focus group. There were five fathers present. Following this, two fathers were observed reading to students in two different primary-level classrooms (grades 1 and 2). We also interviewed two teachers who had fathers volunteering in their

classrooms. Both the focus group and interviews were semistructured (Patton, 2015), audio recorded, and then transcribed in their entirety. The focus group was held for approximately 30 minutes, and the interviews with individual teachers lasted about 20 minutes. Reflection notes were made at the end of the two 20-minute observation reading sessions as we did not want to make fathers feel uncomfortable during their classroom session by taking notes. These notes centered on fathers' engagement with students, including types of book interactions, such as questions asked to build students' comprehension knowledge and ways to make the book relevant to students. Students' responses to father interactions were also noted.

The following are some of the questions asked of fathers in the focus group:

- Why did you decide to join the Fatherhood Reading Squad program?
- Are there barriers that may prevent you from participating? If so, please share an example or two.

- Are there benefits of the Fatherhood Reading Squad program that you have observed (e.g., to self, child, and teachers/school)? If so, please describe them.

The following are some of the questions asked of teachers during the interview:

- Why did you decide to participate in the Fatherhood Reading Squad program?
- Are there benefits and/or limitations of having this program in your classroom?
- What are students' responses when a father reads or tells a story in your class?

Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis focused on exploring meaning inductively (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). The process involved reading through the father focus group transcript and then assigning codes that reflected content-based analysis. We then read the two teacher interview transcripts multiple times and made notes on items stated in the interviews, as well as those recurring across interviews. These notes informed codes that were then modified and expanded on as the father focus group codes were compared. After this, we compared our reflective notes based on observations of fathers reading to the class. Categories and themes were created from the overall examination of these codes (Saldaña, 2014). Both of us discussed and agreed on the themes (Merriam, 2009).

Findings

Two major categories were developed from this research with fathers and teachers: beliefs about how the program benefits children, and benefits of the program for fathers. Within each of these categories, two themes developed. For the category on benefits to children, a theme of positive male role models for students evolved, as did an increase in student motivation for reading. Within the father benefits category, themes of gaining confidence in their parenting role and experiencing respect for volunteer reading at the school evolved from the data.

Beliefs About How the Program Benefits Children

Positive Male Role Models. Several of the fathers reported joining the program because they wanted to

change some students' views of the fathering role and their views of books and reading. As father 2 stated,

When you see the kids, they laugh, they get to know your name. Go to class and they're happy. They're like, dads are not just there to buy food or to provide money; we're there for the holistic growth of our children.

Father 5 also wanted students to view male figures as thoughtful role models. Father 4 stated that he hated reading but that he also wanted to change students' impressions of some fathers:

I am more of a kinesthetic and auditory learner, but I figured doing this will help not just the kids to envision what's in the book and broaden their horizon and imagination, but I also want to change the way they look at us, especially as Black fathers. Sorry, but as Black fathers, they see us as being very aggressive and not always as being in the household and stuff like that. I want to change the concept of how kids relate to fathers, especially African American or Caribbean fathers—Black fathers—that we're not always aggressive and that we are warm, we are caring, and we are educators. That's what my father taught me, so that's why I am doing this.

Teacher 1 reported that in her class, the father knew all of her students by name: "His son is in my class, but you would never know it. He conducts himself so that he interacts with all of the children." Overall, the fathers strived to be positive role models at the school.

Fathers and teachers also focused on the importance of fathers as role models for reading (see Figure 1). As father 1 shared, "I am just trying to be a positive individual and let the kids see a positive individual coming in there reading. I expect all fathers to trust me in front of their children." Teacher 2 reported the following:

I think it is good for the students to hear a different reader, especially a father figure. We obviously know a lot of kids may have fathers at home, and a lot of them don't. And those that have fathers at home, they are busy and may not have time to read to children. So, it's good for them to see a male role model.

Father 5 claimed that there is a need to dispel the notion that reading to children is female-dominated and to show that fathers actively participate in the reading process:

We're leading by example. I mean, most of the time, you got a mother doing reading to the children before bed, but this time around, we have the fathers in the morning reading and showing that we're participating and it is not always the mother.

Figure 1
Father Reading to Grade 1 Students

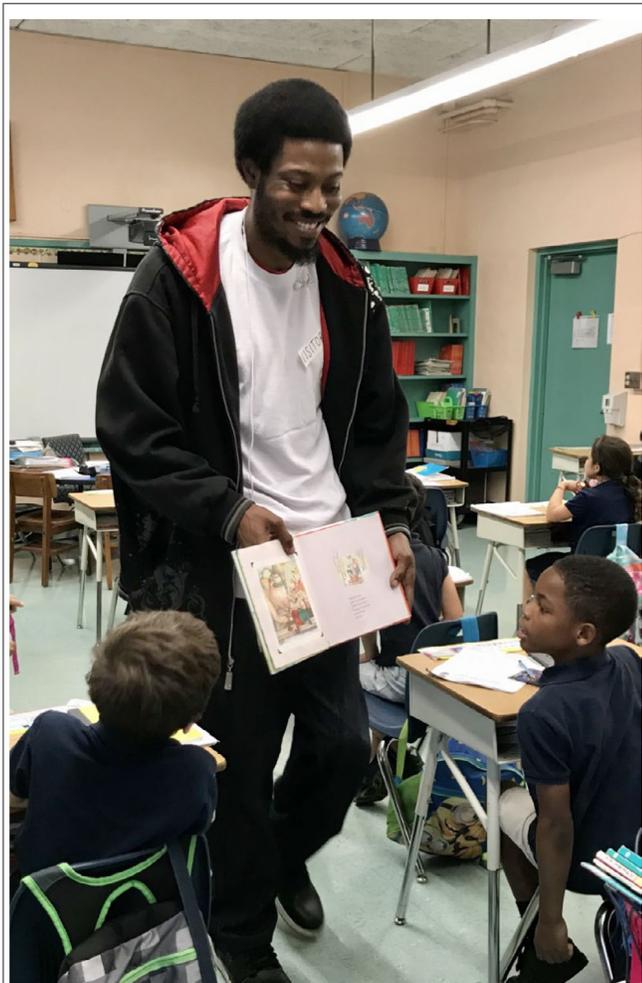


Note. The figure can be viewed in color in the online version of this article at <http://ila.onlinelibrary.wiley.com>.

Overall, fathers wanted to have an impact on students' beliefs about males in society, including the role of males in reading. Father 1 extended the impact to teachers as well as students: "I think we have to make an impact not only on just the students but the whole school staff."

Reported Increase in Student Motivation. According to the teachers and several fathers, as well as from our classroom observations, students seemed to be motivated when fathers read to the class (see Figure 2). Fathers discussed why and how they motivate students. Father 3 indicated that it is important to

Figure 2
Father Showing Illustrations to Grade 1 Students



Note. The figure can be viewed in color in the online version of this article at <http://ila.onlinelibrary.wiley.com>.

motivate students so they develop an interest in reading and believed that fathers have an important role in reading motivation. He referred to his experiences at home with his children:

Sometimes it's very difficult [to motivate children] because when I arrive home, the children are always on the TV, tablet, or phone. They need to read a lot to imagine everything in a book, and I see they like it [when I read to them].

Father engagement in the reading program seemed to have an impact on fathers' own children. Father 1 reported noticing that his wife had to call his son to read, but after his involvement in the reading program, the son now brings a book to him

without having to ask the son to do so. Similarly, teacher 1 suggested that the effect on motivation may not only be for the students in her class:

For the father's child (who is not in my classroom), I think that she is like, "Oh, my dad is involved and thinks reading is important." The child knows the father is coming to school, she knows the father is involved, and that boosts something inside of them.

The type of books introduced by fathers also seemed to contribute to student motivation. For example, father 2 spoke about his love of comic books and that he wanted students to learn more about comic books to help them read, including their motivation to read: "I collect comic books and I've gotten them for her [daughter] and for me. I think comic books are awesome for kids to learn how to read, and that's how I learned how to read."

Teacher 2 described the motivation students have for reading when fathers share a book in her class:

I think it is amazing. The kids get excited. The first time, they were a little surprised. They really like him to come. It's been the same father each time, so they are building a little bit of a relationship with him, which is nice. He interacts with students as he is reading the story, which they like. He makes them part of the story, which they love, and we discuss the story after he leaves. We get feedback and follow up on it.

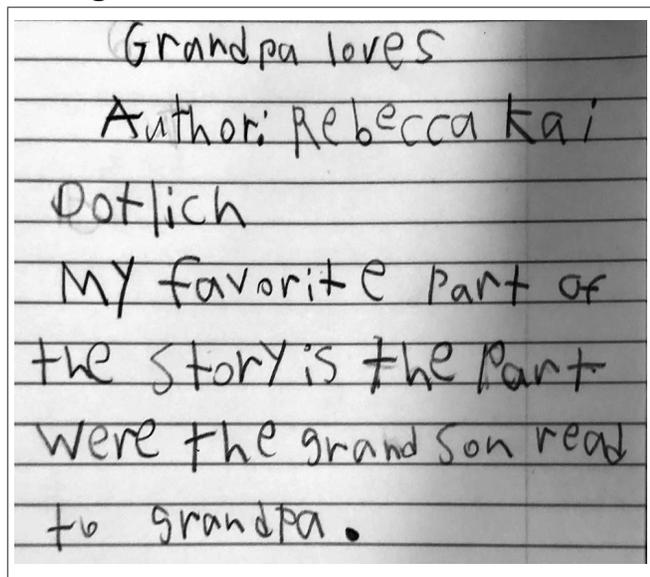
In our classroom observations, both fathers discussed how the book related to their own lives and how the book's events might impact students' lives. The fathers did this through questioning, and students often responded with their own questions for fathers along with sharing their experiences, demonstrating their interest in the text. Teacher 1 reported that she noticed an attitude change in her students and that the students also got excited when fathers come to read:

I see them wanting to read more. They'll want to go to the library and check out a book more, and they will hound me if they don't get to go. A lot of them are looking for the books that they see the fathers read...and if they find that book, they get really excited.... It motivates them.

Teacher 1 also reported that students' motivation for listening to a father read affects their writing motivation: "A major benefit is children's engagement in the writing that follows" (see Figure 3).

Teacher 2 saw student motivation evolving from the teacher-father relationship: "Children see a positive relationship between the father and teacher...

Figure 3
A Student's Writing Response to a Father's Book
Reading in a Grade 1 Classroom



and it kind of helps them to have motivation or self-confidence or to feel like a dad is involved.” Overall, fathers seemed to believe that motivating students was an important part of helping students learn to read, and teachers and fathers believed that father engagement in the classroom seemed to affect students’ motivation at school and fathers’ own children at home.

Benefits of the Program for Fathers

Confidence in Parenting Role. Several of the fathers commented on how reading to students made them more responsible and confident as parents, particularly as they compared their role with their child’s mother’s role. Father 1 commented that he engages with his son more and that he often initiates the process with his son now: “I allow him to read to me more, just to be more engaging, and initiating that instead of his mom being the one to initiate it all the time.” This father then said, “Yeah, it can’t just be her [his partner]. This right here [Fatherhood Reading Squad program] put that in my chest. Just seeing their faces—I see that same face at home every day now.” Similarly, in reflection on his fathering role in relation to mothers, father 5 shared that he was “breaking a cycle” on what it means to parent and to be involved, which alluded to confidence in his parenting role.

Father 2 described how the program makes him more confident as a parent: “I am more of an introvert personality, so coming here helps me, and my

daughter laughs and says, ‘Dad, you are actually reading to someone else!’ I give more to the kids, and it’s better for me.” Another father commented on how his involvement has given him confidence to share a book in another language. Father 3 reported that his English was “not the best,” so he had previously selected a book written in Spanish to read to the class; however, on that day, he practiced with the English book he was using.

Several of the fathers had suggestions for their children’s improvement in school, such as the need for more time for reading in the classroom, which demonstrated their knowledge of classroom literacy learning and their confidence in making recommendations. From our observations, fathers seemed very confident with the text content and asking students questions about it.

Personal Gratification and Respect for Class Reading.

Several of the fathers spoke about how the program was personally gratifying to them. Students’ reception of their presence in the classroom and feedback from students and school staff seemed to be a reason for fathers to continue their involvement. Father 2 stated, “I have one son who is 6 years old. He’s in first grade. I have been to his class, and they [students] all love me. You know, it’s a really fulfilling experience what we are doing here.” In addition, father 1 reported,

I think it is an opportunity to see us [fathers] in action. I don’t know how many fathers come in and do things like this. The few we do have, it is really important. When we come in, we get a lot of love and a lot of respect for doing this. It takes a village to raise a child, and we’re all part of the village. This is our village right here.

Father 4 felt personal gratification from bonding with students. He also viewed reading as an opportunity to connect with his child at home: “I like kids reading with me all the time, and then family bonding is important to me.” Furthermore, fathers seemed to be personally satisfied in being a role model for students, as described earlier.

Discussion

Based on fathers’ and teachers’ reports, the Fatherhood Reading Squad program seemed to have a positive influence on both fathers and students. Specifically, fathers and teachers believed that fathers’ reading to students had a positive impact on students’ view of fathers in society as well as students’ reading motivation. Student motivation, as evident through book engagement in the classroom, was also observed.

Second, the program seemed to have an impact on fathers themselves, including their confidence in parenting and a personal sense of accomplishment for reading in class.

Because father engagement has a positive influence on students' educational outcomes and motivation (Flouri & Buchanan, 2004; Ransaw, 2014), gathering insight into fathers' reasons for joining and remaining committed to a school program, particularly for those in a low-income area, may assist educators in recruiting fathers in a similar program at their school. The findings from this research address Gadsden, Wortham, and Turner's (2003) recommendation that it is important to recognize the purposes for which fathers read to or support their children.

Swain, Cara, and Mallows (2017) reported on why fathers were motivated to read to children. Fathers in Swain and colleagues' research expressed the benefits of enjoyment of reading (father and child), the development of children's skills (e.g., being successful in school), the ability to bond with the child (or closeness with the child), an expectation to read to children (being a father and what is expected), and reproduction (i.e., their parents reading to them). Most of the reasons fathers from mostly middle-class and well-educated backgrounds had given for reading to children in Swain et al.'s study were also expressed by fathers in the current study, who were from generally lower socioeconomic status backgrounds.

Fathers in this research study did not report having difficulty in engaging students with the text. Perhaps this was because fathers had choice in the text they read, the content of the chosen text (i.e., often books with an adventure or a moral), or the freedom they had to share the text in a meaningful way based on their interests. As Swain et al. (2017) and Ortiz and Ordoñez-Jasis (2005) identified in their research, fathers can generate curiosity of print by exemplifying reading with children and by connecting their personal values and beliefs during their reading.

Fathers interacted with text with authentic purpose and real-life connections (Smith & Wilhelm, 2002). Fathers chose texts that had social or cultural relevance to them and topics related to their own lives. Although the program provided general reading tips to fathers, control over the book sharing process was with fathers, rather than having them complete a school-directed book interaction. From a sociocultural view of learning, fathers created learning opportunities through meaning making in relation to their personal experiences with the text. Such opportunities can provide a purpose for learning for

some students when they view a function for reading. Students' intrinsic motivation to read may be impacted, and this has implications for their literacy achievement (Guthrie & Taboada Barber, 2019).

Motivation for reading and writing may be particularly critical for students who lack interest in literacy learning. Limited male readers as role models have been proposed as contributing to boys' lack of reading interest (Senn, 2012). The U.S. Census Bureau has reported that more than 1 in 4 children live without a father in the home (National Fatherhood Initiative, n.d.). Brozo (2002) questioned how we expect some boys to become readers when men are not seen reading. For some students in this research who may not see men reading at home, the image of fathers reading to them may offer similar opportunities to those discussed by Meier (2015) as inspiring and hopeful. For other students, images of fatherhood may not be the ideal in their communities. As one father in this study explained, representations of males in society are not always positive ones. Fathers in this study helped address these stereotypes.

Recommendations and Conclusion

More research should include fathers in programs that focus on home-school engagement. Kim and Hill (2015) called for increased research efforts focusing on parents' educational involvement in school settings because of limited encouragement of father engagement in past research (Rane & McBride, 2000). "Reaching these fathers and documenting their attitudes and perceptions of fatherhood, we can begin to understand the breadth and scope of motivating factors and impediments to father involvement" (Gadsden et al., 2003, p. 397). In addition to gaining information about motivating factors for father engagement, which the current study addressed, learning more about why some fathers may not regularly engage with children in literacy practices or participate in a program like this one could inform future practice. Barriers were not reported by fathers in the current study perhaps due to the level of school support for the program and that these fathers were regular program participants.

Father engagement in literacy practices can impact child outcomes. Baker (2014), in a sample of African American fathers, found that those who participated more in home literacy activities, such as reading or telling stories, and provided more books in the home had children with higher reading and math scores in preschool than those who did not provide these opportunities. Including measures of students'

literacy development in relation to fathers' engagement in reading in elementary schools may provide further insight on fathers' role in children's learning.

Swain et al. (2017) indicated that it seems unlikely that anything fathers learn about early literacy comes from fellow fathers and that there was a sense that fathers were working in isolation in their research. Providing opportunities for fathers to bond with other fathers in literacy programs may support their knowledge and continued engagement in a school reading program. The father reading program described in the current study provides an opportunity for fathers to connect with other fathers before shared reading in classrooms. It has been reported that parent bonding influences school engagement (Ratliffe & Ponte, 2018). Consequently, more research is needed on the effect of fathers meeting before or after volunteering to read in classrooms.

As Gadsden (2012) reminded us, including fathers in family literacy does not come without effort and preparation of staff. However, the benefits for student engagement and learning may be worth the effort. Teacher 1 observed that when fathers read in her classroom, she did not see it as another item to add to the curriculum but rather an integrated aspect. She stated the following in reflection on a father's reading about camping:

Some of them [students] talked about going fishing. Some of them enjoyed the part where they talked about being on the river. Some of them talked about going camping. I had two or three talk about camping because of making different things, including s'mores.... So, that's an evaluation right there.... Students can respond to it [the shared reading], so that means whether or not you are able to spell all your words correctly, you can still express your appreciation for the reading process, and to me, that is just as important as getting an A+ on a piece of paper with 10 questions and answers.

Father involvement in classrooms is not the only means to support children's literacy engagement (Kim & Hill, 2015; Lynch, 2019). However, as educators strive to provide diverse perspectives of shared reading and more shared collaboration between homes and schools (Mapp & Kuttner, 2013), inviting fathers into the classroom can offer far-reaching benefits. Not only does the process of reading in classrooms offer reported benefits to students, but some fathers also shared how it can have a positive impact on their practices at home. In this study, we examined one school's participation in a fatherhood reading program, but, given the deficit in knowledge of fathers' perspectives on reading to students in low-income areas, our findings can further support

TAKE ACTION!

1. Work with the school administration in supporting a fatherhood reading program at your school, including attending a meeting on the process.
2. Invite fathers or a male role model who may be available during school hours to come to the school to read to students and to attend a general fatherhood reading session.
3. Share general reading tips with fathers, such as relating personal experiences to the text (see more tips in Table 1).
4. Invite fathers to tell stories or have a question-and-answer period on something relevant to their lives when they are less comfortable reading to students.
5. Encourage the same father to return to your class for another reading (typically once a month).
6. After fathers complete the reading for that day, ask students what they liked about the story or reading to learn more about student interests, which can inform your teaching.
7. When fathers read to students, follow up with an activity in class tied to that reading, which can extend students' learning (e.g., a writing activity).

educators' engagement of fathers reading to children in schools.

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MORE TO EXPLORE

- “Fatherhood Reading Squad and Mentoring Program Video,” provided by the Fatherhood Task Force of South Florida: <https://ftfsf.org/site/>
- Read Charlotte. (2018). *ABCs of active reading*. Retrieved from <https://readcharlotte.org/active-reading/>
- Fatherhood research by the National Fatherhood Initiative: <https://www.fatherhood.org/fatherhood-research>
- Some children's picture books with positive diverse male images:
 - *I Am Perfectly Designed* by Karamo Brown with Jason “Rachel” Brown
 - *Grandpa Loves* by Rebecca Kai Dotlich
 - *I Love You, Grandpa* by Jillian Harker and Daniel Howarth.
 - *Daddy Calls Me Man* by Angela Johnson
 - *Quiero a Mi Papá Porque.../I Love My Daddy Because...* by Laurel Porter Gaylord
 - *My Papi Has a Motorcycle* by Isabel Quintero