

# Parental Acceptance of Children's Storytelling Robots: A Projection of the Uncanny Valley of AI

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## 12 **Abstract**

13 Parent–child story time is an important ritual of contemporary parenting. Recently, robots with  
14 artificial intelligence (AI) have become common. Parental acceptance of children's storytelling  
15 robots, however, has received scant attention. To address this, we conducted a qualitative study with  
16 18 parents using the research technique design fiction. Overall, parents held mixed, though generally  
17 positive, attitudes toward children's storytelling robots. In their estimation, these robots would  
18 outperform screen-based technologies for children's story time. However, the robots' potential to  
19 adapt and to express emotion caused some parents to feel ambivalent about the robots, which might  
20 hinder their adoption. We found three predictors of parental acceptance of these robots: context of  
21 use, perceived agency, and perceived intelligence. Parents' speculation revealed an uncanny valley of  
22 AI: a nonlinear relation between the human likeness of the artificial agent's mind and affinity for the  
23 agent. Finally, we consider the implications of children's storytelling robots, including how they  
24 could enhance equity in children's access to education, and propose directions for research on their  
25 design to benefit family well-being.

## 26 **1 Introduction**

27 “Once upon a time” is more than an opening line to children's stories. For many, it is a tender phrase  
28 from their fondest childhood memories, suffused with parental love. Story time has life-long  
29 implications for both children and parents. Parent–child storytelling shapes the family's identity  
30 (Kellas, 2013), culture (Kellas & Trees, 2013), rituals (Fiese & Winter, 2009), and cohesion (Frude  
31 & Killick, 2011). From their first words, children learn conversational skills through turn-taking,  
32 joint attention, and the facial expressions of their parents or others conversing (Casillas et al., 2016;  
33 Casillas & Frank, 2017). In brief, children's story time is often a critical practice in parenting,  
34 enculturation, and education. To make the most of children's story time, parents have used  
35 technologies including digital books, interactive games, and talking toys.

36 In recent years, robots controlled by artificial intelligence (AI) have emerged as an exciting  
37 innovation for education (Fabiane, 2012; Toh et al., 2016), entertainment (Hoffman & Ju, 2014),  
38 cognitive therapy (Chang & Evidence-Based, 2013; Dautenhahn & Werry, 2004), and healthcare  
39 (Broadbent et al., 2009; De Graaf et al., 2015; Shibata & Gerontology, 2011). During the COVID-19  
40 pandemic, the potential for deploying robots in real life was promoted (Yang et al., 2020). As Gates  
41 had predicted, robotic devices could become ubiquitous—“a robot in every home” (Gates, 2007).  
42 Thus, it is worth considering the potential acceptance and use of robots for children’s story time in  
43 the home.

44 Domain experts have started discussions on topics including human preferences regarding decisions  
45 made by machines (Awad et al., 2018), trust in robots (Hancock et al., 2011), explanations of robot  
46 behaviors (De Graaf & Malle, 2019), and so on. However, to ensure robots fit their context of use,  
47 their design principles should be derived from the study of their intended social ecology (Šabanović,  
48 2010). With notable exceptions (De Graaf & Ben Allouch, 2013), few studies have analyzed  
49 sociocultural influences affecting the acceptance of robotic technology for children’s story time. This  
50 study begins to fill this gap.

51 As parental beliefs and values about children’s technology inform their views on appropriate use  
52 (Eagle, 2012), our research questions were as follows: (1) To what extent do parents accept  
53 children’s storytelling robots in the home? (2) How do parents envision these robots in the future? (3)  
54 What aspects of the robots could support or hinder their acceptance among parents? To address these  
55 questions, we conducted semi-structured interviews with 18 parents of children, age 2 to 5. We used  
56 design fiction, a research technique for participants to envision the use of a fictitious technology  
57 (Blythe, 2014; Lindley & Coulton, 2015).

58 Our main findings were as follows: (1) Despite concerns, parents were generally willing to accept  
59 children’s storytelling robots. (2) Some parents viewed the robot as their replacement, a “parent  
60 double.” By contrast, they viewed screen-based technologies as a way to keep their children occupied  
61 when they are busy with other things. (3) Parents valued a robot’s ability to adapt and express  
62 emotion but also felt ambivalent about it, which could hinder their adoption. (4) The context of use,  
63 perceived agency, and perceived intelligence of the robot were potential predictors of parental  
64 acceptance. (5) Parents’ speculation revealed an uncanny valley of AI: a nonlinear relation between  
65 the perceived human likeness of the artificial agent’s mind and affinity for the agent. Two issues that  
66 could elicit cognitive dissonance were discussed: affordances of AI and mind perception of robots.  
67 Finally, we propose research directions for designing robots that enhance family wellness and meet  
68 the needs of parents and their children in everyday home settings.

## 69 **2 Background**

70 Our study connects with four bodies of work. We examine children’s story time with parents, review  
71 the design of story-time technology, investigate the role of parents in their children’s technology use,  
72 and revisit the pros and cons of existing protocols for evaluating technology acceptance.

### 73 **2.1 Children’s Story Time with Parents**

74 Storytelling is a common way for families to spend time together. It occurs as a form of family  
75 communication in either a discursive or unified fashion. Children are exposed to 1,000 to 2,000  
76 words every hour from parents who talk as they go about their daily activities (Hart & Risley, 1999).  
77 Regular exposure to stories promotes language acquisition (Soundy, 1993), emergent literacy  
78 (Allison & Watson, 1994; Speaker, 2000), and intellectual development (Kim, 1999). Exposure to

79 stories helps children acquire a first language while maturing and developing (Chomsky, 1972).  
80 Parental storytelling can promote reading readiness, positive attitudes, and achievement (Silvern,  
81 1985). Through stories told orally, children acquire syntax and listening comprehension, which later  
82 support reading comprehension (Shanahan & Lonigan, 2013).

83 Story time helps children learn how to make sense of their experiences and relate to other people  
84 (Wells, 1986). Children's language acquisition occurs in the "social context of discourse, in the  
85 miniaturized culture that governs the communicative interaction of children and adults" (Bruner,  
86 1981). The social nature of story time can support and extend children's social life. Stories help  
87 children develop an understanding of human behavior and the world through imagination (Benton &  
88 Fox, 1985).

89 According to narrative performance theory, storytelling is a way of performing family identity  
90 (Langellier & Family, 2006); family storytelling constitutes children's particular identities through  
91 content-ordering—for example, by drawing on and distinguishing social and cultural resources, such  
92 as class, race, and culture.

93 Bronfenbrenner's ecological model (1979) emphasizes the centrality of the family and especially the  
94 parents in a child's development. The ways children experience storytelling depend heavily on  
95 parental beliefs and involvement. For instance, parents may spend less time with their children as  
96 societal values shift toward individualism (Whitehead, 1991). Moreover, the goals parents set for  
97 their children's development can influence how they interact with them (Schneider et al., 1997).

98 Parent-child interactions during story time, such as turn-taking, does more to support children's  
99 language development than mere exposure to speech (Romeo et al., 2018). Additionally, parent-child  
100 attachment enhances the quality of children's involvement in story time (Bus et al., 1997). However,  
101 Bergin (2001) found that shared reading may not be beneficial if parents are hostile and critical of  
102 their children.

103 In sum, story time can play a crucial role in a child's upbringing. The efficacy of children's story  
104 time may differ widely because of parental attitudes and involvement, resulting in complex and  
105 unequal opportunities among children.

### 106 **2.2 Technology for Children's Story Time**

107 The use of artifacts during story time is not uncommon. In prehistoric times, parents may have told  
108 their children stories around campfires, employing props like stones, branches, bones, and so on. In  
109 ancient times, parents read stories from papyrus. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the printing press enabled the  
110 spread of books, which eventually led to a flowering of children's books, especially in the second  
111 half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, parents would sometimes use a record, CD player, or  
112 television program during children's story time. At the advent of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, new technologies  
113 have been reshaping children's experience. For instance, children can access storytelling with the  
114 click of a hyperlink thanks to the personal computer and the Internet.

115 Researchers in academia and industry have been using various technologies to facilitate and  
116 understand children's story time. For example, stories "read" by an iPod Shuffle were found to  
117 engage and motivate K-12 students (Boeglin-Quintana & Donovan, 2013). Using videoconferencing,  
118 researchers found ways to create children's story time for families separated by long distances  
119 (Ballagas et al., 2010). Interactive literature on smartphones and tablets has helped children improve  
120 their reading comprehension through role-playing (Borgstrom, 2011). Researchers have used 3D

121 virtual narratives to explore children's understanding of stories (Porteous et al., 2017). Recently,  
122 virtual assistants like Alexa were found to engage parents with their children in story time through a  
123 voice interface (Beneteau et al., 2020).

124 For children's story time, one technology stands out in the progression from artifact to agent: social  
125 robots. Robotic storytellers are also part of a historical progression. The first talking dolls date back  
126 to 1890; they were made possible by the invention of the phonograph in 1871 (Plowman, 2004). In  
127 1959, Chatty Cathy appeared as a pull-string talking doll. In 1985, Teddy Ruxpin, introduced as "the  
128 world's first animated talking toy," could move its mouth and eyes while "reading" stories played on  
129 a tape deck in its back. In 2002, Cindy Smart was marketed as the first doll that could recognize 650  
130 words in English and some foreign words.

131 Despite warnings that electronic toys might inhibit children's short- and long-term development (e.g.,  
132 Levin & Rosenquest, 2001), AI-enabled storytelling robots have helped children learn in various  
133 ways. For instance, robots supported children's language acquisition as learning companions in a  
134 storytelling game (Kory-Westlund & Breazeal, 2014). Affectively personalized robots can assume  
135 the role of a tutor for children's second language learning through storytelling (Gordon et al., 2016).  
136 In recent years, Codi, Trobo, and other storytelling robots have been marketed as providing  
137 developmental support outside of the classroom. Nevertheless, the influence of these robots requires  
138 investigation.

### 139 **2.3 Parental Mediation of Technology Use**

140 Novel technologies challenge most parents (Bowman, 2012). By letting children form more contacts  
141 outside the home, they can make it harder to establish family norms and sanctions (Lynd & Lynd,  
142 1929). Although most parents consider educational robots beneficial, they lack confidence in their  
143 ability to join the child-robot interaction (Lin et al., 2012). Parents' control of technology use  
144 influences the child's development and the parent-child relationship (Giles & Price, 2008).

145 The way parents view technology has always been complex. For example, parents value cell phones  
146 for letting them keep in touch with their children but also worry about their effects (Boyd, 2014).  
147 Parents typically mediate their children's use of technology, including television, video games  
148 computers, and the Internet. They implement strategies like co-using and restrictions with filters and  
149 monitoring software (Livingstone & Helsper, 2008).

150 A parent's beliefs about children's technology use could be shaped by the parent's age, education,  
151 employment history, geographical location (Haight et al., 1999), and childhood (Plowman, 2015).  
152 Moreover, parents' and children's behavioral patterns can affect each other in various ways.  
153 Regardless of their involvement in child-technology interaction, parents provide support and  
154 guidance to their children, which in turn affects children's behavior patterns and attitudes toward  
155 technology (Lauricella et al., 2015).

156 Owing to the increasing complexity of the technology landscape, traditional parental mediation  
157 theories need to be revisited (Jiow et al., 2017). So far, these theories have mainly examined social  
158 and psychological media effects and information processing (Clark, 2011). A common theme in this  
159 literature is that parental mediation of children's technology use reflects their effort to mitigate its  
160 perceived adverse effects. Therefore, assessments of social acceptance of children's technology,  
161 especially social robots designed for the home, should not overlook parental attitudes and family  
162 dynamics.

## 163 2.4 Technology Acceptance

164 Technology acceptance denotes a user's willingness to adopt a system and that system's social and  
165 practical acceptability (Nielsen, 1993). A practically acceptable system may not be socially  
166 acceptable. Examples of social opposition include movements to ban nuclear power and genome  
167 editing. The rationale for social opposition may reflect a complex mixture of concerns, including  
168 morals, religion, political ideologies, power, economics, physical safety, and psychological well-  
169 being (Otway & Von Winterfeldt, 1982).

170 Researchers have been formulating various theoretical models to assess user acceptance of  
171 technology, beginning with the technology acceptance model (TAM, Davis et al., 1989). Venkatesh  
172 and colleagues compared eight prominent models to extend TAM, empirically validating the unified  
173 theory of acceptance and use of technology (UTAUT, Venkatesh et al., 2003). Due to the  
174 increasingly complicated context of use, researchers have been revising acceptance models for recent  
175 technologies, such as multi-touch displays (Peltonen et al., 2008), gestural interfaces (Montero et al.,  
176 2010), and speech interfaces (Efthymiou & Halvey, 2016). With the development of AI technologies,  
177 the ethics of adopting novel technologies are gaining more attention (e.g., Awad et al., 2018; Malle &  
178 Scheutz, 2018).

179 Social acceptance of robots could predict comfort with being in contact with them regularly. To  
180 succeed a social robot must be emotionally acceptable (De Graaf & Ben Allouch, 2013). Popular  
181 technology acceptance models like TAM and UTAUT were found to be limited for social robots. A  
182 study of Polish professionals' acceptance of a humanoid robot for children with atypical development  
183 found attitudes towards technology were only a weak predictor of intention to use (Kossewska &  
184 Kłosowska, 2020). De Graaf and colleagues' study showed the role normative beliefs play in the  
185 acceptance of social robots in the home (De Graaf et al., 2017).

186 Evaluating the social acceptance of robots is challenging. First, social robots are not merely a new  
187 form of technology. They embody human values through their humanlike presentation. In Japan, for  
188 example, robots were deployed in ways that reify "traditional" values, such as the patriarchal  
189 extended family and sociopolitical conservatism (Robertson, 2007). Moreover, various factors can  
190 challenge the validity, reliability, and practical applicability of evaluation methods (Lindblom &  
191 Andreasson, 2016). For example, the high cost of manufacturing sturdy robots that can function and  
192 survive in a home setting may compel researchers to rely on laboratory studies.

## 193 3 Method

194 To explore parental acceptance of children's storytelling robots, we conducted a qualitative study  
195 employing design fiction, which is a form of speculative design that opens up discussions on the use  
196 of emerging technologies and their ethical and social implications (Cheon & Su, 2017; Dunne &  
197 Raby, 2013; Hales, 2013; Malpass, 2013). This activity let parents speculate on the future of  
198 children's robots and their expectations and concerns.

### 199 3.1 Participants

200 Participants received an invitation by email, campus forum, local Reddit community, or word of  
201 mouth. Inclusion criteria were adult parent of at least one child, age 2 to 5. The study focuses on  
202 preschool-aged children because they are more likely than older children to be cared for at home and  
203 because robots designed for this age group are less studied. These criteria provided a new baseline for

204 comparing robot acceptance because previous research focused on interactions between social robots  
205 and older children (e.g., Tazhigaliyeva et al., 2016).

206 Eighteen parents from a midwestern city in the United States and its environs participated in the  
207 study. For the method used, we believe the sample size of 18 parent–child dyads reached saturation  
208 because, in the last few interviews, no new themes were observed. Guest and colleagues found that  
209 for interview studies saturation occurs within the first twelve interviews, and basic elements for  
210 metathemes emerge as early as the sixth interview (Guest et al., 2006).

211 Fourteen participants (77%) were mothers.<sup>1</sup> Parents ranged in age from 24 to 38 ( $M = 32$ ,  $SD = 4$ )  
212 and had a range of education levels from some college to a doctoral degree. Twelve were White, two  
213 were Black or African American, one was American Indian or Alaska Native, one was Asian, and  
214 two were another race or ethnicity. Half of the participants were full-time employees, two were part-  
215 time employees, four were students, and three were unemployed. Throughout the paper, we attribute  
216 quotes to a specific participant by using *M* for mother or *F* for father followed by a number.

217 This study was approved by Indiana University’s Office of Research Administration (February 16,  
218 2018, No. 1801962828). Informed consent was obtained from all participants. Study protocols  
219 complied with federal, state, and university standards, policies, and regulations.

## 220 3.2 Robots

221 To help parents imagine potential robot features and to inspire them to brainstorm, we searched for  
222 commercial robots that can read or tell stories. Two robots, Luka and Trobo,<sup>2</sup> served as probes for  
223 design fiction (Schulte et al., 2016). We selected these robots because they vary in form (zoomorphic  
224 vs. humanoid), voice (human vs. robotic), materials (hard vs. fluffy), degree of autonomy, and ability  
225 to express emotions. Luka interacts with users autonomously. It can speak several sentences (e.g., “I  
226 am bored”) or blink to express emotions and attract attention. Luka has touch sensors distributed on  
227 its body. A small camera is mounted in Luka’s eye area, which enables it to “read” books. Trobo, by  
228 contrast, looks like a stuffed toy though with the shape of a humanoid robot. Trobo uses Bluetooth to  
229 read e-books on its phone application. To make Trobo appear to read physical books, we used the  
230 *Wizard of Oz* technique (Green & Wei-Haas, 1985). A researcher controlled Trobo’s reading pace  
231 remotely while the participants turned the pages.

## 232 3.3 Procedure

233 Parents provided demographic information on their family and their experience with robots via an  
234 online survey. Then, the researcher met with parents and their child at their home or in the lab.

235 Upon meeting, the researcher showed parents how to use the robots and asked them to use the robots  
236 for their child’s story time. Parents were free to choose which robot to use first and how to be  
237 involved in the two child–robot interaction sessions. For example, some parents helped their child  
238 turn the pages of the storybook, while others encouraged the child to have story time with each robot  
239 independently. Each session lasted until the story finished (about 5 minutes) or was terminated by the  
240 parents when their child was too antsy or inattentive.

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<sup>1</sup> In the U.S., 83% of primary caregivers are mothers (Laughlin, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> Manufacturer’s website for Luka, <https://luka.ling.ai/>, and Trobo, <https://mytrobo.com/>.

Table 1. Data themes and examples

Parent code	Subcode	Excerpt	Sample statement
Story time experiences	Approach	67	<i>We'll sit and read on my phone if we're out somewhere.</i>
	Motivation	30	<i>It's important for her development, for language development, imagination, and bonding.</i>
	Emotion	19	<i>I really don't like reading some of those books over and over and over again.</i>
	Content	17	<i>We tell stories from books. If we make up stories, it's just characters he knows, like Daniel Tiger or from PBS Kids.</i>
Envisioned storytelling robots	Robot-child interaction	108	<i>It looks more like having a friend, having a second person than having just toys everywhere.</i>
	Robot appearance	36	<i>Maybe a size as big as a human being can be... if it is possible.</i>
	Robot intelligence	13	<i>If the child is talking back while they're reading, the robot should be able to interact with the child.</i>
	Robot-delivered content	13	<i>Probably, no UFO stories or anything weird.</i>
Attitudes toward using robots	Concern	93	<i>I'm afraid she would lose interpersonal skills and knowing how to interact with humans.</i>
	Positive attitude	88	<i>If he (her child) would pay attention to the robot and sit there, then I could get something else done. That would be nice.</i>
	Robot-related experience	65	<i>... 'Cause Alexa doesn't understand the kids all the time.</i>
	Using robot vs. other technology	21	<i>The robot is made for a kid, and it had kid content, whereas iPads are not just made for kids. There's lots of other stuff.</i>

242 After the sessions, parents were interviewed for 20–50 minutes and were audio-recorded for  
 243 transcription. During the interview, the child was given toys and a drawing kit to stay occupied.  
 244 Some parents also brought a tablet computer or their partner to keep their child occupied so the  
 245 interview could proceed uninterrupted.

246 The interviews were semi-structured. Parents were asked to reflect on their motivations, routines, and  
 247 the technologies they used, if any, for children’s story time. Then, we introduced the prompt for  
 248 design fiction, which was a narrative of their own creation: “a robot designed to read or tell children  
 249 stories for daily use in the home” (Stanley & Dillingham, 2009). Parents were asked to envision the  
 250 context of use, the features of a robot they would accept, and their related thoughts (**Supplementary**  
 251 **material S1**). During the interviews, we avoided bringing up any specific topics, such as privacy,  
 252 security, and so on. In addition, we reminded parents that they were imagining a futuristic robotic  
 253 concept rather than evaluating any particular robot, including the two they had just interacted with. If

254 the parents had more than one child, they were asked to think only of their 2–5-year-old child  
 255 throughout the study. Parents received a \$25 Amazon gift card as compensation.

### 256 3.4 Data Analysis

257 To code the interviews, we employed grounded theory (Glaser, 1978). The first author analyzed the  
 258 interview data using open, axial, and selective coding in MAXQDA (vers. 18.0.7). The other authors  
 259 evaluated the trends and validity of themes. We extracted 570 excerpts from the transcripts. Through  
 260 iterative memoing and refinement of categories (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), we developed three  
 261 overarching themes: Story time experiences, envisioned storytelling robots, and attitudes toward  
 262 using robots. Within these themes we developed further categories (**Table 1**).

## 263 4 Findings

264 This section describes parents' experience of children's story time, their attitudes toward storytelling  
 265 robots, their context of use, their vision for robot features, and their concerns. It also relates these  
 266 descriptions to the literature.

### 267 4.1 Parent–Child Story Time

268 Parent–child storytelling is distinguished from other family activities by its combination of  
 269 instructional value for the child's literacy and its entertainment value for both parent and child. In  
 270 F2's words, story time was special because it was "*education and playing at the same time.*" Parents  
 271 commonly started reading for their children by their eighth or ninth month, if not earlier.

#### 272 4.1.1 Motivation for Parent–Child Storytelling

273 Parents often linked storytelling to literacy education. They reasoned that story time stimulates  
 274 children's curiosity, imagination, and creativity and builds their vocabulary, all of which benefit  
 275 brain development and language acquisition. M9, a children's librarian, stated, "*All the brain*  
 276 *synapses and connections are made in those first three years. So, it's really important to read to them*  
 277 *and tell them stories and have them learn as many words as possible because their brains are like*  
 278 *sponges; they soak up everything.*" M3, a mother of a daughter who had apraxia (i.e., motor-speech  
 279 disorder), explained, "*It was hard to get her to speak because what was going on in here was*  
 280 *processed differently. Reading out loud is very good for her because it's teaching her lots of words.*"

281 Some parents avoided telling their children stories because they thought it might harm their literacy.  
 282 F1 explained, "*I'm really bad at phonetics, because I'm really bad about adding letters. So, I'd feel*  
 283 *bad if he walked into school and said whatever word it was, and people made fun of him. That would*  
 284 *stink.*" This indicates how some parents tried to balance being a help or hindrance to their child's  
 285 development of literacy.

286 Parent–child story time was often valued as a family tradition and time for bonding. M8 stated, "*My*  
 287 *dad did it for me, and so it kind of reminds me of that time when I was a kid and my dad was lying in*  
 288 *bed with me reading to me. Like a cultural tradition.*" F3 explained, "*I grew up on them. It's kind of a*  
 289 *staple of growing up, having stories read to you by your parents.*" Story time builds closeness and is  
 290 one of the joys of parenthood. M11 said, "*We cuddle, so we sit close together, and I'll put my arm*  
 291 *around her, and it's just kind of a bonding time.*" Some parents simply enjoyed story time. F1 stated,  
 292 "*It's fun. We kind of lie in bed together and look at the pages and talk about it.*" In other words,  
 293 watching children get excited about stories and learn things was a treasured part of parenthood:



294 *I like watching the look on her face, 'cause sometimes she's confused, and I see her eyebrows*  
295 *go up and down and see her cock her head to the side. I just enjoy seeing her reaction and*  
296 *how curious she is. She's curious, cocks her head, moves her eyebrows. It's like I can see the*  
297 *wheels turnin'. I don't know what they're doing up there, but she's definitely thinking. [M14]*

298 Some parents use story time to set up their child's evening routine. As part of a bedtime ritual,  
299 parents use storytelling to help the child regulate affect (e.g., to settle down). M3 stated, "*When it's*  
300 *story time, she's not up running around and playing. And she knows that story time is the*  
301 *progression in going to bed.*" This ritual could also give children a sense of being part of a family  
302 and help to maintain the parent-child bond (Franklin & Bankston, 1999). Other parents hoped that  
303 their children would form healthy long-term habits through an early attachment to books. M14  
304 explained, "*We want her to be curious and learn, and we know that it starts at a young age. So, by*  
305 *reading stories to her now, we hope she's going to continue to want to read and continue to want to*  
306 *learn.*" These examples reveal storytelling as a way of parenting.

307 Stories took various forms. Some parents read fairytales or short stories because they fit their  
308 children's attention spans. Other parents told family stories. Their children enjoyed hearing about  
309 what happened before they were born. In particular, parents tended to involve younger children in the  
310 storytelling process, such as setting a scene, developing characters, creating a plot, and so on. In other  
311 words, they created stories with their children, instead of for them. This made story time a venue for  
312 self-expression as well as social interaction, which situated the children as active agents in  
313 constructing their sense of self (Korn, 1998):

314 *Sometimes, she'll say, 'Mom, tell me a story,' and I'll say, 'Okay, once upon a time there was*  
315 *a princess named Charlie [her daughter's name], ' and then I'll say, 'And then what*  
316 *happened?' and then she'll say, 'Oh a big dragon came and took her away,' and so we just*  
317 *kind of create stories doing that. As she got a little older, we would read books more. [M11]*

318 In sum, parent-child storytelling could serve multiple goals, involve dynamic interactions, and  
319 nurture mutual well-being. Balancing its contribution to a child's literacy with potential adverse  
320 effects could pose a challenge to some parents.

### 321 **4.1.2 The Role of Technology in Story Time**

322 Most parents preferred the use of physical books to technology. M4 stated that, although using  
323 physical books is "*old-fashioned,*" it is something children "*have to get used to, though things are*  
324 *becoming more and more digitized.*" A recurring reason screen-based devices were not favored was  
325 that parents doubted young children could benefit from stories played on such a passive medium.  
326 M14 explained that "*at her age, she's having fun [playing with a smart device], but she's not*  
327 *learning anything.*" She emphasized that during story time children should physically "*experience*  
328 *things*" like turning pages. Similarly, F1 observed that his child didn't look at the pictures in the book  
329 while listening to the story on a phone application. In this case, F1 mentioned, "*I try to make him*  
330 *pause and look at the scene that's on the page and kind of get an idea of reading comprehension, I*  
331 *guess, so that these words go with this picture.*" Indeed, brain connectivity in children increased with  
332 time spend reading books and decreased with time spend using screen-based media (Horowitz-Kraus  
333 & Hutton, 2018).

334 Nevertheless, some parents valued smartphones and tablet PCs such as Kindles and iPads for  
335 providing quick access to a large supply of reading material. M8 stated, "*We do actually read on my*  
336 *phone a lot. We've got one of those Kids Zone type apps, and it's got different books in there. We'll*

337 *sit and read on my phone if we're out somewhere. It's just easier than dragging three or four books*  
 338 *around."* Some parents used multimedia, such as online videos and TV programs, as a replacement  
 339 for story time to relieve the stress of parenting. M9 explained, *"The screens are the only thing that*  
 340 *can take his attention to the point where he won't keep asking me questions. Because he's an only*  
 341 *child, it's just me and him in the house. And he wants to interact with someone."* M5, an exhausted  
 342 mother, said, *"I don't have time to tell him a story. Those programs are already on the TV. Basically,*  
 343 *I would rather have him once in a while sit down and listen to stories."* These accounts reflect how  
 344 parents employed technology in "digital parenting" (Mascheroni et al., 2018).

#### 345 **4.2 Positive Attitudes toward Children's Storytelling Robots**

346 This section reports parents' vision of children's storytelling robots and the robot's context of use.  
 347 Parents generally held positive attitudes toward the robots, especially compared with screen-based  
 348 technologies.

349 Parents' positive attitudes were exhibited by their vision of the robot's role and suitability for  
 350 children. Parents envisioned a storytelling robot as a "parent double." For instance, M4 stated, *"If I*  
 351 *had an especially busy night, and my husband wasn't home, and it was time to do story time. You*  
 352 *know, that would maybe give me 10 minutes to pack their lunches while they listen to their story from*  
 353 *the robot."* Moreover, parents reported a desire to have a storytelling robot deal with "boring tasks"  
 354 like rereading a book. M12 stated, *"If she gets to a point where she does want to do the same book,*  
 355 *you know. Finish it and start right back over, a robot would definitely do that. I would not want to."*  
 356 Indeed, developmental studies suggested that requesting repetition in book reading is common for  
 357 young children (Sulzby, 1985). Having the same book read to children repeatedly can increase their  
 358 enjoyment and helps them learn new words (Horst, 2013). M10 also expected a robot to do  
 359 something she didn't enjoy doing during story time: *"My older one is almost doing chapter books. It*  
 360 *would be awesome if [the robot] read chapter books because that's what I hate—reading out loud."*  
 361 These examples show how parents value a robot contributing to children's story time and reducing  
 362 their stress.

363 Some parents wished to delegate tasks involving emotional support. M4 explained that when children  
 364 need to study, *"it would be nice to have an automated thing that could do that with them, and say,*  
 365 *'Hey, that's right!' or 'No, that's wrong.' You do the boring stuff, robot, and I do the fun stuff."*  
 366 Surprisingly, some parents wanted the robots to cover difficult topics like sex and death. M3  
 367 remarked, *"She was just watching Daniel Tiger, and they were talking about death, so [the robot]*  
 368 *could cover topics that are hard to discuss [or] at least start the conversation."* These findings show  
 369 the need for robots to perform social support.

370 Parents thought the robot could facilitate children's story time in many ways, most of which relate to  
 371 their perception of a robot as social. M13 explained, *"[The robot] would probably keep [my son's]*  
 372 *interest a bit longer. He might think, 'It's a person. I have to stay here because it's reading to me.'*  
 373 *He might be more fascinated with it too."* Parents speculated that robots would engage children in  
 374 social interaction while reading: *"an advantage is that your child is hearing somebody else talk."*  
 375 Parents envisioned robots acting as an educational peer. M3 observed, *"I could see that being useful*  
 376 *when they're learning to read just because it would be a buddy to practice with, and it could maybe*  
 377 *help her if she got stuck on a word."* Similarly, M4 looked forward to robots that could reinforce her  
 378 children's foreign language learning at home. F1, who was not confident with phonetics, said, *"If I'm*  
 379 *stuck on a word going, 'I'm not sure buddy,' then we could be with the robot and put him in front of*

380 *it and he could read the paragraph. That would be really nice.”* Some parents suggested that robots  
 381 could be an authoritative social mediator:

382 *Sometimes, when I’m reading with my five-year-old, she doesn’t believe that a word is*  
 383 *pronounced the way that I’m pronouncing it, and so I have gone on dictionary.com and had*  
 384 *to play it for her. And, I’m like, ‘See? Right here.’ And, she’s like, ‘No, no, no. You’re just*  
 385 *doing that.’ So, I’m kind of like, ‘Well, see the robot said this is how you pronounce the*  
 386 *word.’ And, she might be like, ‘Oh, okay.’ [M10]*

387 Parents indicated that robots would be more child-friendly than televisions, tablets, smartphones, and  
 388 other devices because a robot’s predetermined content was controllable and trustworthy. M4  
 389 explained, *“I would kind of trust a pre-programmed thing made for kids, whereas something like*  
 390 *YouTube, they could go down a wrong path and see things that they shouldn’t be seeing.”* As such,  
 391 parents preferred a robot that, unlike today’s Internet (Nikken & Jansz, 2014), would not require their  
 392 direct supervision. Some parents envisioned interacting with a robot would benefit children’s  
 393 development by reducing their screen time, which is *“bad for their eyes”* (M10). Moreover, robots  
 394 were seen as addressing usability issues that impede children’s technology adoption. M13 mentioned,  
 395 *“He gets upset because he doesn’t understand how to control the phone. A robot would be easier for*  
 396 *kids to interact with.”* This example shows how parents envisioned it being immediately apparent  
 397 how to use the robots. In other words, they expected them to have highly salient affordances.

### 398 **4.3 Children’s Storytelling Robots: Expectations and Concerns**

399 Despite the perceived usefulness of children’s storytelling robots, we observed a series of technical  
 400 and social challenges that would affect parental acceptance and adoption. Previous studies indicate  
 401 that people expect robots to have social traits that help them empathize with people (Breazeal, 2004).  
 402 The present study found that parents expect storytelling robots to have social intelligence. However,  
 403 a mechanical robot possessing this human quality might give parents cognitive dissonance. This  
 404 psychological pain arises from inconsistent cognitions (Festinger, 1957), such as perceiving the robot  
 405 as a social being while knowing it is just a machine. We identified two key factors impacting  
 406 cognitive dissonance: a robot’s (1) adaptive capability and its (2) affective capability. Parents  
 407 expected a storytelling robot to be competent at both, though their acceptance of storytelling robots  
 408 could be hindered by ethical concerns and by the uncanniness of robots that seem to be  
 409 electromechanical yet possess conscious experience.

#### 410 **4.3.1 Adaptive capability**

411 We define *adaptive capability* as the ability to adapt autonomously to a real-world context. Parents  
 412 doubted whether the adaptive capability of robots could meet the challenges of children’s  
 413 storytelling. A major concern was impromptu conversations between the child and the robot. In  
 414 particular, parents expected robots to respond to questions from children automatically. Enhancing  
 415 the robot’s autonomy would likely increase its perceived usefulness and thus acceptance (Thrun,  
 416 2004).

417 Prior research indicates that conversational interactions during story time lead to children’s literacy  
 418 success (Berk, 2009). These interactions happen naturally during parent–child storytelling. For  
 419 example, as M6 explained, *“When you are reading to children, they want to talk. They will not just sit*  
 420 *and not talk as you’re reading. Most times, they want to talk like ‘Oh am I flying? Am I ...?’”* Thus,  
 421 she envisioned the robot interacting in real time to help children engage with the story. *“[Children]*  
 422 *usually have questions when they are reading, and if the robot is not answering the questions, they*

423 *can't even think about their questions and all.*" Discussions could help children interpret the story,  
 424 including the character's facial expressions. M13 suggested, *"The discussion is definitely important*  
 425 *because she needs to be able to look at somebody and know if they're angry or if they're sad."*  
 426 Parents talking to their children would help them develop literacy and a love of reading (Burns et al.,  
 427 1999).

428 Additionally, parents mentioned that a robot would need to recognize a toddler's voice. M4 said,  
 429 "We have an Echo up there, and so, a lot of times when we ask Alexa questions, she's like, 'Oh, I  
 430 don't understand you. I don't understand you,' especially with the kids." She further explained that a  
 431 child's voice is "so different and high-pitched, or they don't pronounce words right, so I could see  
 432 that being really frustrating for a kid if the robot's not understanding them." The robot would need a  
 433 system for understanding a child's speech.

434 Another challenge was whether storytelling robots could maintain children's engagement to guide  
 435 their attention. In real life, parents often use linguistic skills, emotional expression, and gestures to  
 436 increase engagement. For example, M5 added rhyme so that the story is *"not going to be so boring"*  
 437 and to keep her child on track with the story. She insisted that the skill of storytelling is unique to  
 438 *"human beings."* Some parents upheld that humans were naturally better storytellers than robots  
 439 because they can gauge the child's reactions and decide what information is important to convey.  
 440 Another common concern was that the robot's synthesized voice with its flat intonation and  
 441 monotonous rhythm would hamper reading comprehension. Indeed, a recent study found a  
 442 storytelling robot's intonation and emotion predict concentration and engagement (Kory-Westlund et  
 443 al., 2017).

444 Paradoxically, some parents preferred a robot with a low level of autonomy to converse with their  
 445 child on security and ethical grounds. Parents feared that children trusting the robot could put them at  
 446 risk if someone hacked the robot or recorded their conversations. F3 noted, *"If the robot was like,*  
 447 *'What's your dad's social security number?' I might freak out."* F2 pointed out that some questions  
 448 (e.g., sexual orientation) were too sensitive for young children to discuss, even with parents. M7  
 449 thought a robot with a high level of autonomy would be threatening: *"I don't want something that's*  
 450 *going to take over my house. I don't want her to become reliant on a robot."* Given these concerns,  
 451 parents suggested that stories requiring limited turn-taking would benefit robot-child storytelling.  
 452 Specifically, alphabet books and nursery rhymes are good candidates because they are easy to follow  
 453 without a back-and-forth conversation.

454 A few parents found the idea of a robot talking with a human spooky. M9 remarked, *"It'd be like*  
 455 *'Hello Emily, how are you?' And I'd be like 'No! Stop talking to me.' But it's just because I watched*  
 456 *too many scary movies when I was a kid, where things that weren't supposed to talk started talking."*  
 457 Some parents recounted their impressions of early talking toys:

458 *You remember those Furbies? Those things would just start talking out of nowhere, and it*  
 459 *scared people. If the robot could just wake up and start telling a story in the middle of the*  
 460 *night, if it started talking on its own out of nowhere, I think I would be scared of it. [M8]*

461 Some parents wondered how storytelling robots could flexibly adapt to complex surroundings. M14  
 462 noted that a typical story time for children would be at bedtime in dim light. The robot may be unable  
 463 to "see" the book. Or, if a robot could only read in the sunroom, it could cause frustration because the  
 464 sunroom might be occupied. The children might have to choose between being with the robot or  
 465 being with their parents, and *"sometimes they just want to be close to mommy and daddy. They don't*

466 *want to be left alone*” [M14]. In other words, the adaptive capability of a robot could affect its actual  
 467 use and even make humans accommodate to it.

### 468 4.3.2 Affective capability

469 We define *affective capability* as the robot’s ability to express emotion appropriately, to influence the  
 470 user’s emotional engagement with the robot and topic or story, and to arouse the user’s affection. To  
 471 these ends, parents expected the robot to employ various features, such as appearance, emotion  
 472 contagion, empathy, and social engagement.

473 Parents generally expected the appearance of a storytelling robot to be anthropomorphic, for  
 474 example, *“having head and body, such as R2D2 in Star Wars”* [F3]. Some parents thought having  
 475 arms and legs could differentiate a robot from other devices. In particular, robots with eyes were  
 476 believed to help children take their reading time seriously. M5 reasoned, *“I like the fact that the robot  
 477 has got eyes, because it looks like, ‘Okay, we are looking at each other, so what are we talking  
 478 about?’ And then you could say, ‘No, that’s not a toy.’”* M11 expected the robot to have hands to  
 479 hold up a physical book and turn pages so children *“have to stay engaged.”* Parents tended to imagine  
 480 the robot resembling a human to support social engagement.

481 However, some parents felt threatened by the idea of the robot having a humanlike appearance  
 482 because the child might treat it as an alternative parent. M11 was concerned that a child would think  
 483 a humanoid robot was the one *“to get reading from or to spend time with.”* M13, who thought of  
 484 reading as mothering her child, explained that if the robot were not humanlike, she wouldn’t feel it  
 485 was taking her spot. Furthermore, several parents pointed out that robots would be creepy if they  
 486 were too lifelike. One mentioned Teddy Ruxpin, an animatronic toy in the form of a talking bear:  
 487 *“It’s just trying too hard to be human. I would like the toy to acknowledge that it’s a toy. I would  
 488 want it to have some kind of a toy appearance”* [M12]. In particular, a parent expressed her eerie  
 489 feeling when Teddy Ruxpin rolls its eyes and moves its mouth while talking:

490 *They were scary. I never wanted to own one, because it was just like these big eyes that  
 491 moved around and this tiny mouth. It was like ‘Hi, I’m Teddy Ruxpin.’ And I was like, no  
 492 you’re possessed by the Devil.* [M9]

493 Parents expected storytelling robots to act expressively. They emphasized that the manner of  
 494 expression was critical. In M5’s words, *“Robots should be able to express stories while they are  
 495 saying them.”* This aligns with Bauman’s “performance-centered conception of verbal art,” which  
 496 holds that “the formal manipulation of linguistic features is secondary” (Bauman, 1977). Specifically,  
 497 parents envisioned storytelling robots as being able to express emotions through body language,  
 498 gestures, eye gaze, and so on. Such communication would help make concepts easily understood by  
 499 young children. Children should not be *“just like sitting, watching something on a screen, or just like  
 500 listening to a tape play”* [M9]. A typical example would be indicating with the hands an object’s size  
 501 or shape.

502 Moreover, parents anticipated that emotions serve shared psychological and physiological functions,  
 503 which are critical in the context of storytelling. For example, humor can hook children into story  
 504 time, enhance learning, spark social interactions, and establish rapport (Savage et al., 2017).  
 505 However, some parents indicated that, because humans and robots lack a shared social grounding,  
 506 they would not be able to share in each other’s emotions. F3 reasoned that humor could give different  
 507 people different perceptions. He provided an example where a robot was reading a picture book  
 508 where characters were waving long arms: *“He can’t necessarily ask the robot why the arms are so*

509 *long and squiggly or laugh with it that the arms look squiggly and funny. That's something that*  
510 *humans would be like, from one person to another, subjective, but long, squiggly arms are funny. So,*  
511 *you can't really have that emotional interaction with the robot." In sum, an emotional exchange*  
512 *requires social grounding, which remains a nearly insurmountable challenge for social robotics.*

513 The affective capability of the robot led to another struggle concerning the relationship between robot  
514 and child. Some parents wanted the robot to have the affective capability to engage children in social  
515 interaction beyond story time. Unlike another device that might just be left on a shelf, they proposed  
516 children could carry the robot around, talk with it, and cuddle with it while going to sleep. However,  
517 parents worried whether interacting with the robot would impede the development of social skills or  
518 cause social dysfunction. M7 was reluctant to use the robot *"because I'm afraid she would lose*  
519 *interpersonal skills and knowing how to interact with humans."* M11 highlighted human-human  
520 interactions: *"that cuddling, that hug, I think that's important when they're young."* Parents  
521 commonly noted that, for young children to learn social cues and how to engage with others, real  
522 people were irreplaceable.

523 The idea of social robots that simulated human warmth perturbed some parents. In particular, some  
524 busy parents worried that leaving children to such robots might create a gulf between parent and  
525 child. The child might prefer the robot to the parents and spend more time hugging and cuddling with  
526 the robot. In this case, young children could switch their attachment from their parents to their robot.  
527 M4 worried that if she left her son with a robot, *"he might just get addicted to it and want to spend*  
528 *more time. He might find the robot's stories more interesting than your stories, even when you have*  
529 *the time to tell him stories."* M5 worried that using a robot could reduce time spent with children and  
530 chances to get to know them: *"So, they may have imaginations that you cannot know because you are*  
531 *not the one telling them the story."* These parents viewed affectively capable robots as a threat to  
532 parenthood.

533 Some parents disliked the idea of children's storytelling robots. They considered story time a unique  
534 part of parenting that should never be handed over to an AI-enabled robot. F1 explained, *"I think,*  
535 *[story time] is my bonding time, this is my time to spend with my kid. So, I don't want people to use*  
536 *them to separate themselves, because I feel that raising a kid is very personal."* M9 insisted that she  
537 would never give up any story time with her child, *"I love telling stories to him, and I love reading*  
538 *books to him. It is my job at home."* F4 discussed stories as a way to shape his children's morality,  
539 stating, *"I don't want to get to the point where robots are informing my child on topics. It's a*  
540 *parents' job to parent and be responsible for their kid. I don't ever want that responsibility to be on a*  
541 *school or a robot or anything but my wife and me."* These quotes underscore how some parents  
542 consider parent-child story time to be an activity exclusively for family members.

## 543 **5 Discussion**

544 In this section, we discuss parental acceptance of children's storytelling robots in the home. We argue  
545 that parents' expectations and concerns reflect an uncanny valley of AI, which may be interpreted  
546 using the metaphor of the *castle in the air*. Finally, we explore the implications of designing  
547 children's storytelling robots and propose directions for future research.

### 548 **5.1 Parental Acceptance of Children's Storytelling Robots**

549 Our findings indicate that, despite reservations, parents would generally accept storytelling robots in  
550 their home. Their acceptance relates to how they valued children's story time. Parents emphasized  
551 their three main goals: literacy education, family bonding, and habit cultivation. Correspondingly,

552 parents valued storytelling robots for pedagogy, felt they could threaten parenthood, and struggled  
553 with their potential effect on child development through daily use.

554 Parents also viewed parent–child story time as personally fulfilling and beneficial to their family.  
555 This explains the reluctance of some parents (e.g., M9, F1, and F4) to use a storytelling robot: It  
556 might steal from family time and weaken family cohesion. This concern is not without merit.  
557 Previous studies indicate task persistence reinforces attachment (Bergin, 2001). In other words,  
558 family cohesion increases with the time parents spend telling stories to their children. Family  
559 bonding during parent–child story time includes talking, cuddling, and joint attention, all occurring in  
560 a physically and socially shared space. Beyond giving comfort, parent–child touch could enhance  
561 prosocial behavior. To replicate this between child and robot is challenging (Willemse et al., 2017).  
562 In addition, storytelling gives parents a chance to start discussions that teach their children values.  
563 Thus, it supports family cohesion and shapes family identity.

564 According to parents’ narratives, a storytelling robot may require intentional agency, which assumes  
565 a strong AI position (Searle, 1980). The robot might then be able to establish an intricate microsocial  
566 environment for human children in the home. Although some parents viewed this conception as  
567 utopian (Segal, 1986), the context of children’s storytelling touched a nerve. The theory of *Ba*  
568 proposes that a living system maintains self-consistency by the contingent convergence of the  
569 separated self and the non-separated self (Robertson, 2007). Here, futuristic child–robot storytelling  
570 is a *Ba* that involves a dynamic tension between a roughly human storyteller and a developing human  
571 child. Some parents seemed disturbed by the thought of a robot guiding a child through emergent,  
572 uncertain states of development. Their concern runs counter to the expectation that a storytelling  
573 robot serve as parent double. These conflicting cognitions elicit the psychological discomfort of  
574 cognitive dissonance. Storytelling as the context of use could be a critical factor in parents’  
575 ambivalence regarding robots for children.

576 We interpreted a parent’s expectation as reflecting different perspectives on a robot’s ontological  
577 status—whether it could exhibit human likeness, agency, and emotions. In the storytelling context,  
578 parents spontaneously imagined the robot as anthropomorphic and anthropopathic. Parents tended to  
579 imagine child–robot interactions as mirroring human–human interactions such as turning the pages of  
580 a physical book. By contrast, screen-based technology typically involves a graphical or voice  
581 interface. These interfaces are often not child-friendly, which frustrates parents (e.g., McFarlin et al.,  
582 2007). Thus, a robot was deemed more suitable. Parents went on to envision scenarios where the  
583 robot acts as a peer or mediator. Parents thought a physical robot could engage socially with children  
584 and forge a relationship with them, which could benefit children’s overall development. Thus,  
585 parents’ perception of robot agency heightened their expectations of the future of child–robot  
586 interaction relative to other technologies.

587 However, some parents were also disturbed by the scenario of a robot simulating human interactions.  
588 Nevertheless, parents seemed optimistic about the ability of futuristic robots to reduce their parenting  
589 stress by serving as a “parent double” in performing “boring” or “difficult” tasks. They expected a  
590 robotic storyteller to simulate a human storyteller’s physical autonomy and social intelligence.  
591 Successful storytelling would involve verbal and nonverbal interactions laden with affect. In other  
592 words, to be effective, a storytelling robot needs to respond dynamically to young children, whose  
593 communication involves various resources, such as gestures, vocalizations, facial expressions, body  
594 movements, and so on (Flewitt, 2006). However, parents’ ambivalent, paradoxical feelings may have  
595 been sharpened by the robot’s perceived intelligence. They struggled with its adaptive and affective  
596 capability. Parents worried children would trust the robot and follow its instruction, which could be a

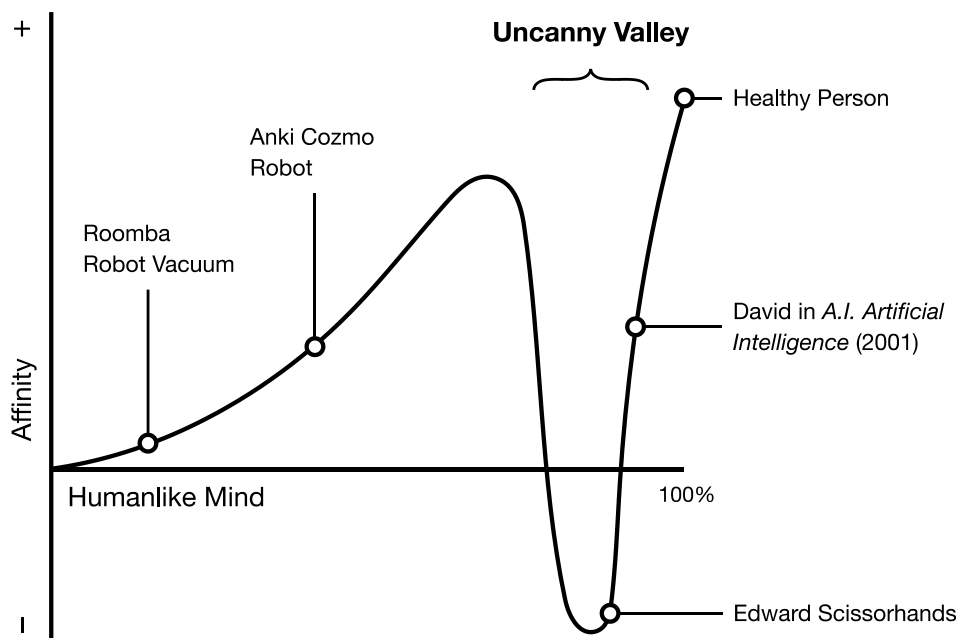
597 security threat if, for example, another person took control of it. Thus, perceived intelligence could be  
 598 a third influential predictor of parents' acceptance of storytelling robots.

599 In sum, the context of use, perceived agency, and perceived intelligence of a robot were promising  
 600 predictors of parental acceptance. Designers of children's storytelling robots should consider these  
 601 factors in the design and evaluation process.

602 **5.2 A Projection of the Uncanny Valley of AI**

603 We argue that the two factors impacting parents' cognitive dissonance, a robot's adaptive capability  
 604 and its affective capability, are a projection of the uncanny valley of AI. Why did some parents  
 605 envision a children's robot telling stories in a humanlike way—flipping storybook pages, pointing  
 606 out illustrations, acting out scenes, and responding to disinterest or spontaneous questions—yet  
 607 preferred the robot to have a low level of autonomy? Why did some parents feel weird when greeted  
 608 by a robot but not when it told their children stories?

609 Consider the Chinese idiom *castle in the air*. It denotes the impractical dream of building a  
 610 magnificent third floor before the first two floors are complete. Imagine building a three-story castle  
 611 of a robot's intelligence. The ground floor is weak AI. The robot combines bottom-up processes,  
 612 each designed for a particular task. For example, a robot obeying the command *read a story out loud*  
 613 or *open the window* might just be simulating some disconnected aspects of human behavior. The next  
 614 floor is strong AI. The robot has—or at least simulates—general human intelligence. It can apply  
 615 top-down processing to figure out what to do in new situations. For example, the storytelling robot  
 616 may be able to infer disengagement when the child responds slowly in a low voice. The top floor is  
 617 social intelligence. The robot creates the feeling of being in the presence of a living soul—with free  
 618 will or whatever being human entails. For example, if the child lost interest in a story, the robot  
 619 would be able to respond like a real person. Science fiction has dramatized the top floor. In the 2001  
 620 film *AI. Artificial Intelligence*, David, the robotic boy, felt desperate about his human mother  
 621 abandoning him and set out to find out why.



622  
 623 **Figure 1. The Uncanny Valley of AI**



624 As the floors of the castle of a robot's intelligence are constructed, and as its human characteristics  
625 increase, human perception begins to apply a model of a human other to the robot. If the bottom or  
626 middle floor is perceived as incomplete, the top floor becomes a castle in the air. It is unconvincing  
627 and even creepy. These perceptions reflect an uncanny valley of AI: a nonlinear relation between  
628 affinity and the perceived humanness of an artificial agent's mind (**Figure 1**).

629 Our proposal is a bit different from Mori's original concept of the uncanny valley of human  
630 likeness—that is, outward resemblance (Mori, 1970/2012). Specifically, as the intelligence of an  
631 artificial agent increases, it becomes more likable, up to the point at which its perceived intelligence  
632 begins to approach human intelligence. For example, an embodied storytelling robot capable of  
633 conversation while flipping pages, is more appealing than Roomba, the cleaning robot, because the  
634 former is capable of social interaction. However, when a robot's intelligence seems more human, but  
635 is still distinguishable from human, it could elicit an eerie feeling. This could explain why some  
636 parents preferred a robot with a low level of autonomy. For a more extreme example, Edward  
637 Scissorhands' human intelligence is betrayed by his atypical way of thinking and behaving, which  
638 makes audiences see him as uncomfortably deviant (Clarke, 2008). This uneasy feeling disappears  
639 when a robot's perceived intelligence becomes indistinguishable from a real human (e.g., when an AI  
640 passes the total Turing test, Harnad, 1991; Saygin et al., 2000; Turing, 1950).

641 Researchers have proposed different explanations of the uncanny valley (for a review, see Kätsyri et  
642 al., 2015; Wang et al., 2015). Most theories focus on how imperfect human appearance or movement  
643 triggers eeriness (Ishiguro & Dalla Libera, 2018; Paetzel et al., 2020). For example, when a robot's  
644 human resemblance exceeds a certain point, the expectation of human performance eclipses the  
645 robot's ability to perform (MacDorman & Ishiguro, 2006). Indeed, the idea of androids alarmed some  
646 parents (e.g., M9 and M12).

647 However, just as a real human being can be evaluated from the standpoint of mind or awareness, a  
648 robot's intelligence could play a role distinct from its appearance. People might be unsettled by AI-  
649 enabled voice assistants like Amazon's Alexa, although the shape of the device is just a black  
650 cylinder (Thakur, 2016). Factors other than a humanlike appearance influence mind perception (Gray  
651 et al., 2007; Gray et al., 2012). To extend Mori's observation, the uncanny valley of AI predicts that  
652 (1) a certain level of intelligence facilitates social interaction between humans and robots and (2)  
653 artificial intelligence that is similar to, but still distinguishable from, human intelligence could create  
654 the uncanniness of a castle in the air.

655 Perceptual issues with the first two floors of a robot's intelligence could lead to this. For example,  
656 why did a parent (M8) mention that it was creepy for Furbies to suddenly start talking? There could  
657 be at least two reasons. One is the lack of transparency of the first two floors (Kory-Westlund et al.  
658 2016; Wallkötter et al., 2020). The affordances for engaging with the robot's intelligence are unclear.  
659 For example, ordinary people have a limited understanding of the structure of the second floor (i.e.,  
660 the robot's perceived capability for top-down processing), which makes it difficult for them to  
661 establish a mental model of how a robot with a social capability operates (i.e., the top floor). As such,  
662 robots with the appearance of social intelligence could create an illusion. When our brain tries to  
663 falsify the illusion but fails, our expectations falter, our brain's prediction errors accumulate, and our  
664 feeling of a social connection with that robot oscillates between what Quinton (1955) called  
665 perceptual presence and pure thought. One practical way to relieve a user's weird feelings about a  
666 robot with high intelligence should be to make its AI understandable (Wang et al., 2019).

667 The other issue underlying the creepy feeling of a robot that suddenly starts talking could relate to  
668 mind perception, namely, the eerie feeling caused by the attribution of mind to a machine (Appel et  
669 al., 2020; Gray & Wegner, 2012). People may perceive mind along two dimensions: *experience*, the  
670 capacity to feel and sense, and *agency*, the capacity to act and do (Gray et al., 2007). In our findings,  
671 parents' linguistic use reflects these two dimensions of mind: adaptive capability relates to agency  
672 and affective capability relates to experience. A robot with weak AI is perceived as being low in  
673 experience but high in agency. The increasing perception of a robot's experience and agency tend to  
674 reinforce each other, creating a halo effect (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977).

675 For example, when a storytelling robot starts talking spontaneously, perhaps merely due to a bug in  
676 its program, it can create an illusory experience: The robot appears to be more than it is (i.e., the  
677 ground floor where a robot tells stories). Contradictory perceptions and cognitions cause cognitive  
678 dissonance. The robot seems to have the capacity to act and to do something unknown (i.e., the top  
679 floor). Parents are especially unsettled by unpredictable actions as they relate to their children.  
680 Because the middle floor of the robot's intelligence (i.e., strong AI) does not yet exist, people  
681 construct the top floor as a castle in the air, which is unnerving. However, more empirical research is  
682 needed to examine the interaction between a robot's perceived experience and agency.

### 683 **5.3 Children's Storytelling Robots: Implications and Future Directions**

684 Although the development of robots as a parent double still faces technical and design challenges,  
685 their social and economic value is clear. Not every child has a caregiver with leisure time for  
686 storytelling. Across the globe, we find social crises involving children: children in orphanages and  
687 other institutions—and sometimes refugee camps—without parental love and nurturance; children in  
688 foster care, perhaps separated from abusive or neglectful parents; children whose parents are  
689 illiterate, blind, deaf, or mute; children with autism who find it easier to interact with a robot, and so  
690 on (Scassellati et al., 2012). While artificial love may never replace human love, storytelling robots  
691 could lessen inequality by simulating parental warmth during early development.

692 The prospect of leading educational activities in the home causes some parents stress (Deniz Can &  
693 Ginsburg-Block, 2016). Alternatives, such as having relatives or babysitters read to their children or  
694 placing their children in literacy programs, may raise issues of trust or pose a financial burden.  
695 Sometimes a human assistant may be unavailable, such as during the lockdown period of a pandemic.  
696 Thus, robots acting as a parental double during story time could help relieve parental stress.

697 Using storytelling robots to address the social crises mentioned above is not whimsical. Robots have  
698 been used to address social crises elsewhere. For example, Japan's government identified robotics as  
699 a solution to its looming demographic crisis caused by a lack of young people to care for older adults.  
700 Robots are also used in Japan to care for children, to provide companionship, and to perform chores  
701 (Robertson, 2007). Robots were preferred as home healthcare workers to Asian foreigners. They  
702 were considered less likely to violate cultural norms or interpret history in a way that could cause  
703 conflict (Robertson, 2007). However, social acceptance of robots could vary with religious and  
704 cultural history, personal and human identity, economic structure, professional specialization, and  
705 government policy (MacDorman et al., 2009). Thus, crosscultural issues should inform future studies  
706 on the acceptance of children's storytelling robots.

707 Nevertheless, envisioning a storytelling robot has raised concerns (e.g., for M9, F1, F4). For  
708 example, a robot could become a threat to parenthood or parental identity if a child shifted  
709 attachment to the robot. A young child could develop a closer relationship with the robot through  
710 even boring activities like reading a book repeatedly (Sharkey & Sharkey, 2010; Kory-Westlund et

711 al., 2018). The embodiment and voice of a robot could be powerful indicators of social presence  
712 (Reeves & Nass, 1996). Therefore, interacting with a robot during story time could give a young  
713 child the illusion of rapport (Turkle, 2007). However, child–robot rapport is unlikely to threaten  
714 child–parent attachment. Children are predisposed to be attached to their mother, attachment has  
715 survival value (Bowlby, 1977), and begins in utero (Sullivan et al., 2011).

716 Future directions for designing children’s storytelling robots include research on how to create  
717 educational and affective experiences for at-risk young children, how to promote the well-being and  
718 quality of life of parents, and design principles for healthy human–robot relationships (MacDorman  
719 & Cowley, 2006; Miklósi et al., 2017). Moreover, as both children and parents are stakeholders, their  
720 individual differences and interaction patterns could predict the success of storytelling robots. One  
721 critical variable is parenting style, which correlates with children’s technology use (Chou & Fen,  
722 2014). In addition, to evaluate parental acceptance of children’s storytelling robots more accurately  
723 and to explore how the robots would be brought into the family, longitudinal studies are needed.  
724 Finally, more generalizable studies to support the proposal of the uncanny valley of AI can come  
725 from future work, including surveys, replications with a broader sample, and laboratory experiments.

## 726 **6 Conclusion**

727 The present exploratory study investigated parental acceptance of storytelling robots for young  
728 children in the home, a subject that has received scant attention. Using design fiction as a research  
729 technique, we found that household storytelling robots are more than a new type of technology for  
730 children. They provide an intricate testing ground for studies on cognitive perception, family  
731 dynamics, and human–robot interaction design.

732 Our findings showed that parents had ambivalent though generally positive attitudes toward  
733 storytelling robots and were willing to accept them in the home. Parents valued storytelling for their  
734 child’s literacy education, habit cultivation, and family bonding. These goals provide a framework  
735 for assessing the usefulness of storytelling robots. Likely predictors of robot acceptance include  
736 context of use, perceived agency, and perceived intelligence. Parents both valued and felt concern  
737 about the robot’s adaptive and affective capability.

738 We discussed possible mental models and cognitive mechanisms behind parental expectations.  
739 Unlike screen-based technologies, parents could see a storytelling robot as a parent double, which  
740 could relieve them of boring and stressful aspects of parenting but could also threaten parenthood.  
741 We also introduced the concept of an uncanny valley of AI to explain some of the parents’  
742 ambivalent views. Parents found it difficult to establish a mental model of how a robot with a social  
743 capability operates, which creates cognitive dissonance and a feeling of uncanniness. This feeling  
744 might be mitigated by making its AI more transparent and understandable. Finally, we explored the  
745 implications of using robots for children’s story time, including their potential influence on parental  
746 well-being, and suggested directions for future research.

## 747 **7 Conflict of Interest**

748 *The authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial*  
749 *relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.*

## 750 **8 Author Contributions**

751 CL: Conceptualization, Methodology, Validation, Resources, Investigation, Data Curation, Formal  
 752 analysis, Writing – Original Draft; SS: Writing – Reviewing and Editing; LD: Writing – Reviewing  
 753 and Editing; AD: Writing – Reviewing; EB: Resources, Supervision; KFM: Validation, Writing –  
 754 Reviewing and Editing, Supervision.

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1115 **Supplementary material 1: Outline of Semi-structured Interview Questions**

- 1116 1. Do you tell your child stories?  
1117 1.1. When, where, why, and how?  
1118 1.2. What do you enjoy or not enjoy about it?
- 1119 2. What do you think about having a children’s storytelling robot?  
1120 2.1. Are there any advantages or disadvantages of using a storytelling robot? Why?  
1121 2.2. Would you like your child to play alone with the robot or not? When and why?  
1122 2.3. Would you consider having a storytelling robot for your child? Why or why not?
- 1123 3. How would you envision a child’s storytelling robot?  
1124 3.1. What factors would affect your decision in choosing a storytelling robot?  
1125 3.2. What kind of interaction would you expect a robot to perform in a storytelling activity?  
1126 3.3. What physical appearance would you desire for a robot?  
1127 3.4. What kinds of stories would you expect a robot to tell your child?  
1128 3.5. What level of intelligence would you expect a storytelling robot to have?  
1129 3.6. What do you think is the role of a robot in story time?  
1130 3.7. How do you think the modality of a robot might be different from other technology you used  
1131 in telling your child stories?  
1132 3.8. Do you have any other comment, suggestions, or concerns related to storytelling robots for  
1133 children?
- 1134 4. What is your experience and general opinion about robots?  
1135 4.1. Do you have any experience with robots?  
1136 4.2. Do you have any robots at home? If so, how has your experience been?  
1137 4.3. What jobs do you think a robot could help you with in your home?