Bilingual Latino High School Boys' Reading Motivation:

Seven Case Studies Examining Factors that Influence Motivation to Read

by

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative case study examines seven bilingual Latino boys who were motivated readers. Several theories were examined in relationship to the study: sociocultural theory, reading motivation theories, and gender schema theory. Prior studies involving reading motivation of boys and Latinos showed a gap between boys and girls in reading achievement, high school completion, and college enrollment. Studies about reading motivation included choice in books, reading amount, social context of reading, habitual reading habits, and out-of-school reading as important factors that influence reading motivation. Additionally, Latino cultural factors such as machismo and familismo were examined as factors that influence motivation to read.

The study participants attended a large, urban school in Arizona and were selected from senior English classes after completing a participant selection survey. On the participant selection survey, boys self-identified their gender, language, and ethnicity; by several questions about attitudes toward reading and reading amount rated on a 10-point Likert scale gauged reading motivation. Each participant participated in an individual interview, completed a 60-question questionnaire/survey, and either attended a group interview or a second individual interview.

Data were triangulated by using data from these three sources and was coded as it was collected using Nvivo qualitative coding software. Coding began with five, basic categories derived from the study questions: motivation, home experiences, school experiences, school performance, and attitude toward reading. As coding continued, the coding categories expanded to include categories such as location of reading materials, access to books, choices in reading, format of texts, and many others. Eventually, there

were four distinct categories that stood out in the findings: reading self-perception, purposes, preferences, and practices. The findings have a correlation to previous studies about reading motivation, but also add to the growing field of literature in the area of Latino boys' reading motivation.

Keywords: reading, motivation, self-efficacy, situational interest, Latino, boys, high school, gender, types of reading, reading purposes

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Study's Purpose

The purpose of the study was to explore factors that affected motivation in seven bilingual Latino boys that were motivated to read. The study took place in a school community where 40% of the students were Latino. This study attempted to unearth similarities and differences in motivational factors among these boys. Findings included reading self-perception, purposes, preferences, and practices. Information from the study will be useful to inform culturally relevant interventions for ELA (English Language Arts) teachers to assist in motivating Latino boys to read fiction.

Research questions

The following questions were be addressed in this study:

Main Question:

- What are the characteristics and practices of bilingual Latino, male motivated readers?

Sub Questions:

- What are the past and present home influences on reading?

- What are the past and present school influences on reading?

- What motivates bilingual Latino boys to read?

- How do bilingual Latino, male readers view their reading practices?

Methodology

        This case study was conducted using qualitative methods of data collection. To triangulate data (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2010; Yin, 2014), data sources included individual interviews (Merriam, 2009; Rubin & Rubin, 2011; Seidman, 2013; Yin, 2014), a focus group interview (Krueger & Casey, 2009; Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2014), and questionnaires/surveys (Atwell, 1995; Chapman & Tunmer, 1995; Greaney & Neuman, 1990; Logan & Johnston, 2009; McKenna & Kear, 1990; Möller & Bonerad, 2007; Sheifele et al., 2012; Wigfield & Guthrie, 1997).

        The study took place in Arizona in a school district where Latino students made up approximately 30% of the student population. The school where the study took place actually had a higher percentage of Latino students (40%) than the district. The site was selected because it closely represented the demographics of the state and also because of accessibility and convenience for me.

        I chose seven participants in their senior (12th grade) year of high school. Using purposeful sampling (Merriam, 2009), each of the participants was selected based on characteristics in the pre-determined categories of motivation, language, ethnicity, and gender. In order to determine these characteristics, seniors at the school were surveyed in their English classes. Students self-identified their gender, ethnicity, and home language. Motivation was determined by several questions about reading rated on a 10-point Likert scale. I conducted meetings with each of the boys that met the criteria for the study to determine willingness, availability, and attitude. The seven boys who most closely adhered to the criteria, along with willingness, availability, and attitude were chosen.

Data collection involved three sources: individual interviews, a group interview, and a questionnaire. Participants each met with me in the school library for the first interview. I made appointments with the boys by emailing and texting to find out which times and dates would be most convenient. Each interview took an hour to complete, and at the end of the hour, I let the participants know that I would contact them in a week to go over the transcript of the interview. After the member check meeting (Stake, 2010), I emailed each participant the web link the questionnaire/survey that was to be completed online via Google forms. Finally, the boys met me after school to complete the group interview. Five participants were able to come to the group interview, and the other two boys met me for a second individual interview.

Coding was completed during and after data collection. Interviews were transcribed as they occurred. Using Nvivo software, I began by examining the transcripts with five umbrella categories representing the main categories for my research questions: motivation, home experiences, school experiences, school performance, and attitude toward reading. I listened to and read the data multiple times. As I coded, I made comparisons between the data, and more codes became evident in the data. I created more categories in Nvivo, eventually having almost thirty different codes. After all of the interviews were completed and questionnaires submitted, I examined the data again and was able to sort the codes into five primary categories: sense of reading self, purposes, preferences, practices, and challenges.

Arriving at the Study

Many English Language Arts (ELA) teachers have encountered students in their classes that are unmotivated readers. Most of these teachers have tried strategies to

motivate students to read, often with the purpose of completing assignments or to developing lifelong enjoyment of reading. As an ELA teacher for over twelve years, I often encountered students who were "alliterate" (Reis, 2000) meaning that they knew how to read but did not choose to read. I made it my goal to help these students to become motivated readers, so I tried to match these students to books. But, I was often unsuccessful. I practiced reading workshop in my classes and provided time in class to read and talk about books. Still, I found some students were resistant to my efforts. Since I taught in the Southwest, many of the unmotivated readers in my classes were Latino boys.

When during the 2010-2011 school year I conducted an action research study in my own classroom, I hoped to discover the answer to motivating my reluctant readers. I gathered data over the course of the school year from over 70 students in my classes. One of those students, Javier, was a capable reader who simply did not read. I tried throughout the school year to match Javier to book after book after book, only to witness Javier abandon the book a few weeks later.

Javier was a bilingual student whose parents spoke to him in Spanish. I discovered during an interview with Javier that his mom often read books in Spanish, but Javier seemed to disregard this reading because they were just "Mexican books" (Shaffer, under review). Because of my experience with Javier, I became interested in discovering the practices of motivated, bilingual Latino boy readers. By uncovering information about the reading practices of this group, I hoped to help students like Javier. This led me to the current study.

A Growing Demographic

Once I decided to study the reading practices of bilingual Latino boy readers, I discovered that learning more about this demographic could be impactful for another important reason: Latinos are the fastest growing demographic group in the United States (United States Census Bureau, 2011).

To grasp the importance of examining bilingual Latino boys' motivation to read, I looked at the broader demographic context. According to the United States Census Bureau (2011), Latinos are the fastest growing ethnic minority group in the country: "Between 2000 and 2010, the Hispanic population of the United States grew by forty-three percent, which was four times the growth in the total population" (p. 2). A large portion of the population in the American Southwest consists of Latinos; in 2010, 41% of Latinos lived in the West, and 36% lived in the South (United States Census Bureau, 2011). In the state where this study took place, the Latino population grew from 25% in 2000 to 30% in 2010 (United States Census Bureau, 2011), almost double the national average. Embodying two million of the state's five million residents (United States Census Bureau, 2011), 91% of Latinos were of Mexican origin, and 67% spoke a language other than English at home (Pew Research Center, 2014).

The increasing proportion of the population of the United States originating from Latino descent affects the number of Latino students enrolled in public schools, which increased by 93% from 1990-2006 (Fry & Gonzales, 2008). Latino students now account for 1 in 5 students nationwide, making up 20% of the total national school population and representing the largest minority group in public schools in 22 states in the US (Fry & Gonzales, 2008). In the state where my study took place, 43% of students are identified

as being from Latino origin (Pew Research Center, 2014), accounting for more than 2 out of 5 students statewide. According to a report by the US Census Bureau (as cited in Fry and Gonzales, 2008), by 2050 the percentage of Latino school-age children will outnumber school-age children from all other groups. With this in mind, improving scholastic achievement for this group is essential.

Importance of reading

There is a significant gap in reading achievement among Latino students compared to White students. According to NAEP (National Center for Education Statistics, 2014), the gap between Latino and White students is 20 points nationwide on reading proficiency tests. Hart et al. (2012) report that state and national tests demonstrate Latino students trailing significantly behind White students in reading in Arizona. Just 17 out of 100 Latino students entering high school in Arizona are prepared to work at grade level or higher in reading or math. 63% of Latino students passed the high school state proficiency test in reading compared to 76% of White students in 2011 (Hart et al., 2012). In 2013, Hispanic students had an average score that was 20 points lower than White students in Arizona on NAEP (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2013b). According to NAEP (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013b) "this performance gap was not significantly different from that in 1998 (25 points)" showing that Arizona Latinos are not closing the gap.

In addition, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 for states, school districts, and schools mandates that assessment results and state progress reports be broken down by race, ethnicity, gender, disability, and English proficiency (United States Department of Education, 2002), making the issue of students completing high school a concern for

policy makers in the United States. Graduating high school is one of the pathways of achievement that students need to succeed, and the high dropout rate for male Latino students affects their ability to compete in the job market. According to Lopez and Fry (2013), the dropout rate for Latinos has significantly dropped since 2000 when the rate was 32%; yet, compared to the national average (7%), Latinos still have a higher dropout rate (13%) than other ethnic or racial groups in the United States (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013a). Even more alarming, the dropout rate of 14% for Latino males is 3% higher than the 11% dropout rate for Latina females (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013a).

Both low reading scores and a high dropout rates are concerns many educators share in regard to Latino males. Although motivation to read is not directly linked to lower dropout rates, success in reading could make a difference in Latino males' decision to stay in school.

<div align="center">**Theoretical Framework**</div>

Multiple theories helped me to understand the lives of the young Latino men I studied.

Theories of motivation deliver a framework to examine Latino boys' motivation to read. I used self-efficacy theory (Bandura, 1997), the Four Phase Model of Interest Development (Hidi & Renninger, 2006), and the flow experience model (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). Furthermore, gender schema theory (Bem, 1981; Martin & Halverson, 1981) offers an approach to explain gender roles, expectations, and interactions of Latino boys both at school and home. Sociocultural theory (Vygotsky

1978; 1986) provides a lens by which to examine my cases in relationship to larger cultural norms and expectations. I used these theories to examine my data.

Theories of Motivation

Three theories of motivation are examined in regard to the literature about reading motivation. The theories—self-efficacy, the four phase model of interest development, and the flow experience model—each provide a lens to examine bilingual Latino boys' reading motivation.

Self-Efficacy Theory. Bandura's (1997) theory of self-efficacy closely relates to social cognitive theory. Bandura (1997) explains that people are agents in their own lives. Self-efficacy can develop in a variety of areas on a person's life, and the more comfortable and confident a person is at a task, the more likely he or she is to have high efficacy toward the task. Bandura (1997) emphasizes that people will repeat tasks that they have been successful with, but may not repeat tasks where they have experienced failure. Using Bandura's (1997) theory, Schunk and Zimmerman (2007), Unrau and Schlackman (2006), and Wigfield and Guthrie (1997) studied the effects of self-efficacy on children's reading motivation discovering that when children have positive experiences with reading, their self-efficacy becomes stronger and they are more likely to read.

Four Phase Model of Interest Development. Hidi and Renninger (2006) developed another model for examining motivation called the four phase model of interest development. The model describes the phases of interest experienced with most activities. The phases range from situational interest to developed personal interest. Hidi and Renninger (2006) developed this model to describe the way that interests can

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transform from situational to long-term. In regard to developing students' interest in reading and other academic tasks, interest development occurs because students become more intrinsically motivated to complete a task due to the topic, instructional conditions, or environment.

Latinos, Reading Motivation, and Boys. Many researchers have examined Latinos' motivation (Espinoza, 2013; Hill & Torres, 2010; Knape, 2010; Segrest, Romero, & Domke-Damonte, 2003; Schultz-León, 2012; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995). There is also a significant body of research discussing the reading motivation (Groenke, Maples, & Henderson, 2010; Hernández, 2013; Richison, Hernandez, & Carter, 2006; Unrau & Schlackman, 2006; Wigfield & Guthrie, 1997). Boys' literacy practices have also been studied by many previous studies (Alloway & Gilbert, 1997; Martino, 1995; 2003; Newkirk, 2002; Pirie, 2002; Sanford, 2005; Smith & Wilhem, 2002; 2006; West & Zimmerman, 1987; Young, 2000).

As I reviewed the literature, I noticed a lack of qualitative research that specifically examines factors that motivate bilingual Latino high school males to read. Qualitative research provides depth of information about the reading motivation of this demographic group which is lacking from some of the previous studies.

Flow Experience Model. Csikszentmihalyi (1990) describes the experience of "flow" as achieving a balance between the level of challenge and boredom. During a flow experience, the participant of the activity will lose track of everything but the activity itself. When readers experience flow, they become so involved in the activity that hours pass and it only seems like minutes. Smith and Wilhelm (2006), using Csikszentmihalyi (1990) as their theoretical framework, examine flow experiences of boys, working "to

make literacy learning in school resemble the passionate engagements students seek outside the classroom" (p. 3). Smith and Wilhelm (2006) say that the problem with some school reading may be that the challenge is inappropriate. If the challenge (reading a book at school) if beyond the reader's capabilities, flow will not occur. The boys in Smith and Wilhelm's (2006) study sought out challenges that they thought they could complete, but rejected those challenges they thought were too hard.

Gender Schema Theory

Finally, I chose to look at gender schema theory (Bem, 1981; Martin & Halverson, 1981) to help examine any effects gender had on reading motivation.

Bem (1981) describes the "central figure of gender schema theory as the sex-typed individual" (p. 362). As children grow up, they develop the schema for their "own" sex and lack development for schema of "opposite" sex (Martin & Halverson, 1981). Martin and Halverson (1981) suggest that rigid adherence to gender stereotypes causes children to establish "good" and "bad" perceptions of gender related behavior. Gender schema is prominently based on stereotypes of gender and is relative for males and females of various races and ethnicities. Machismo (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008; Segrest, Romero, & Domke-Damonte, 2003), a term that describes masculinity in Latino culture, influences the way that Latino boys interact with people around them. Machismo is the way that gender schema is adhered to in Latino culture.

In several studies regarding reading motivation of boys, Alloway and Gilbert (1997), Martino (2003), and Sanford (2005) found that gender roles affected literacy practices of boys.

Also, achievement comparisons between gender on recent standardized assessments illustrate a gap between male and female reading proficiency in school. In reading, female students had higher percentages at or above the proficient level than male students at both 4th and 8th grades, with a 6 point average difference (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013c). Forty-two percent of females were proficient nationwide compared to 31% of males on the 8th grade reading NAEP (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013c). Comparably, in 2013, female students in the Arizona had an average score that was higher than male students by 8 points (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2013b).

Sociocultural Theory

Sociocultural theory considers the context of learning in which children grow and develop while discovering who they are and where they fit in relation to the world around them (Miller, 2011; Pérez, 2004; Vygotsky, 1978; 1986). School-age Latinos belong to at least two distinct cultural groups representing differing contexts and expectations: a home culture and a school culture. Fitting in with these discrete worlds sometimes involves codeswitching, a skill in which someone shifts from one social language or custom to another (Gee, 2014; Harris, 2006). Sociocultural theory helped me to understand how Latino males straddled these two worlds. Familism (Calzada, Tamis-LeMonda, & Yoshikawa, 2013; Desmond & Lopéz Turley, 2009; Marin & Marin, 1991; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2008; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994) also provides a framework to examine how Latino families work.

Conclusion

Bilingual Latino boys' reading motivation is examined in detail over the course of the next chapters. The seven participants selected to illustrate factors that motivate bilingual Latino boys to read provide in-depth data. The findings can be used to inform ELA classroom practices. Teachers in ELA classrooms facing reluctant bilingual Latino boy readers may gain insight from the findings presented in the following chapters.

The literature review (chapter 2) will go into more depth about each theory and the corresponding studies. Chapter three describes the methods of the study in more detail, chapter four includes detailed findings from each of the four primary coding categories, and chapter five connects the findings from the study to applicable implications for educators and teacher educators.

Definitions

American Dream. The "American Dream" describes the hope that many immigrants have when they move to the United States. The "American Dream" includes improving life for your family by getting a good job and education, owning a home, having money and other material possessions, and succeeding at making a better life.

Bilingual. The word "bilingual" is used to describe who speak two or more languages fluently.

Codeswitching. "Codeswitching" is a skill in which someone shifts from one social language or custom to another (Gee, 2014; Harris, 2006).

Familismo. The value of familismo is embodied by strong feelings of loyalty, responsibility, and solidarity within the Latino family unit, often taking priority over the individual (Calzada, Tamis-Lemonda, & Yoshikawa, 2013; Desmond & Lopéz Turley,

2009; Marin & Marin, 1991; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Valenzuela &
Dornbusch, 1994)

Flow. The goal to a flow experience is to achieve a level of concentration where
the person cannot concentrate on anything but the task at hand (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).

Hispanic or Latino origin. "'Hispanic or Latino' refers to a person of Cuban,
Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin
regardless of race" (The United States Census Bureau, 2011, p. 2).

Latino. "Latino" is used as the core descriptor for students of Spanish and Latin
American Descent, such as Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Columbian,
Dominican, Hispanic, and other of Spanish ancestry or descent.

Machismo. "Machismo" refers to a standard of behavior for men in
Mexican/Latino culture (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008; Segrest,
Romero, & Domke-Damonte, 2003).

Reading practices. When the term "reading practices" is used in this manuscript,
it refers to the ways that the participants engaged with texts. It is a broad term that can
describe reading choices, amount of reading, places reading takes place, and reading
strategies used during reading.

Reading. The term "reading" refers to any text with words that participants
engage with. It is not limited to books and can include Internet, magazines, and other
texts.

Self-efficacy. "Self-efficacy" is defined as the "belief in one's capabilities to
organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments"
(Bandura, 1997, p. 3).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

To familiarize readers with research that has been done in the area of high school, male, Latino, fiction readers, this chapter highlights studies that have been done in the areas of reading motivation, boy readers, and cultural practices. The first section of the chapter focuses on theories and studies about reading motivation. The second section presents information about boy readers, examining studies about Latino boys in particular. The final section contains information about studies that have investigated Latinos in the United States.

Reading Motivation

Reading motivation has often been studied. There are various approaches that researchers have used to examine reading motivation that occurs in-school and out-of-school.

Reading Motivation Theories

Motivation theory provides a strong context to discuss reading motivation. Three main theories to examine reading motivation, Bandura's (1997) "Self Efficacy Model," Hidi and Renninger's "Four Phase Model of Interest Development" (2006), and Csikszentmihalyi's (1990) "Flow Experience Model," are discussed.

Self-efficacy. Bandura (1997) developed the theory of self-efficacy, or a person's belief in his/her own competence. Schunk and Zimmerman (2007) state,

Compared with students who doubt their learning capabilities, those with self-efficacy for acquiring a skill or performing a task, participate more readily, work

harder, persist longer when they encounter difficulties, and achieve at higher

levels. (p. 9)

Children's evaluation of their competence in reading plays a significant role in their

motivation to read (Wigfield & Guthrie, 1997; Schunk and Zimmerman, 2007). To

develop positive efficacy, people need to experience success with the task: positive

experiences develop higher efficacy and negative experiences develop lower efficacy

(Bandura, 1997; Schunk & Zimmerman, 2007).

Bandura (1997) argues that as children have successful experiences with skills,

they develop higher efficacy in regard to that skill. "A strong sense of efficacy fosters a

high level of motivation" (Bandura, 1997, p. 174). Brunner (2009) explains how

successfully completing a reading assignment can help modify a student's opinion about

reading. The more positive the experience, the more likely the student will be to try it

again. Unrau and Schlackman (2006) state, "if a reader is frequently frustrated when

reading, those frustrating experiences can contribute to a belief that reading is a

frustrating experience" (p. 82). As a result of having a negative experience, the reader's

attitude (and motivation) would become more negative. On the other hand, when readers

have positive experiences with reading, they are likely to feel more capable, thus

developing a higher self-efficacy toward the activity. Hidi and Renninger (2006)

communicate the need for teachers to support student's development of self-efficacy in

order to develop and sustain interest in an activity.

Unrau and Schlackman (2006) administered the Motivation for Reading

Questionnaire (MRQ) and Gates-McGinitie Reading Test to middle school students to

study their motivation to read in relationship to ability. The authors found that readers

who have lower self-efficacy toward reading often seek alternative forms of entertainment, such as video games, and as their time devoted to reading decreases, so does their reading skill. Findings showed that intrinsic and extrinsic motivation's relationship to reading achievement was stronger for Asian students than for Latino students. Latino students in the study tested one grade level lower than the Asian students on the Gates-McGinitie Reading Test. This could lead to a development of lower self-efficacy toward reading in Latinos due to a frustrating or otherwise negative experience with the test itself.

McCabe (2009) discusses ways that we can enhance adolescents' self-efficacy toward literacy. McCabe (2009) says that often students make decisions about a text based on first glance: "A student who struggles with reading, and who perceives textual material as difficult or intimidating, will likely not choose to read that material" (p. 60). McCabe (2009) also suggests that teachers should bridge the gap by helping students to summarize, annotate, create concept maps, use reading guides, and reciprocal questioning procedures when reading challenging materials. McCabe (2009) says that if students read material that is too easy, this can also contribute to lower efficacy toward reading. Students need to read material that is challenging and experience success with reading challenging material in order to build self-efficacy. Having students work toward goals with their reading will also help build efficacy toward reading. Overall, McCabe (2009) suggests providing multiple opportunities for students to experience success with literacy in order to build self-efficacy toward reading.

The Four Phase Model of Interest Development. The Four Phase Model of Interest Development, developed by Hidi and Renninger (2006), describes the phases in

the development of learner interest. The first stage is called "triggered situational

interest," which typically is sparked by a trigger in the learner's environment. It is

externally supported, includes interesting instructional conditions, and is often a

precursor to more developed phases of interest. Therefore, situational interest is not long-

term but could develop into long-term interest. Hidi and Renninger (2006) call the second

phase "maintained situational interest." This stage shares the same factors as the first

stage, but takes place over an extended episode or repeated period of time. The third

stage, "emerging individual interest," refers to the beginning phases of an enduring

interest in which learners seek to be repeatedly engaged in the activity.

Phase 1 Triggered Situational Interest	Phase 2 Maintained Situational Interest	Phase 3 Emerging Individual Interest	Phase 4 Well-Developed Individual Interest
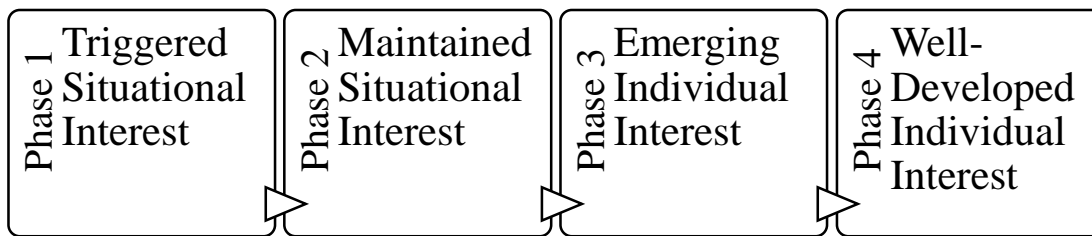
Figure 1. Four Phase Model of Interest Development. Adapted from Hidi, S., & Renninger, K. A. (2006). The Four-Phase Model of Interest Development.

An individual with emerging individual interest requires modeling and encouragement

from peers and experts to assist in his/her interest development. The final phase of

interest development is called "well-developed individual interest." Well-developed

individual interest involves positive feelings, choosing to engage in the activity, and

personal meaningfulness of tasks.

Hidi and Renninger (2006) discuss the need to establish conditions that support

student's interest development so that students can make a shift from external support to

internal support as interest develops. Unrau and Schlackman (2006) investigated the effects of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation on urban middle school students. The study found that intrinsic motivation decreased significantly between grades 3-8. However, extrinsic motivation changed little through the grades and correlated negatively with academic performance: the higher students' extrinsic motivation, the lower their academic performance. In their discussion of interest development, Hidi and Renninger (2006) also state that students with lower ability are more likely to engage in a text they are interested in than higher- ability students who have less individual interest in the subject.

Flow Experience Model. Csikszentmihalyi (1990) describes the experience of "flow" as a motivational factor. "We become what we do," states the author when describing what the flow experience entails (p. 115). Flow describes an experience in which a person could develop both efficacy (Bandura, 1997) for and interest (Hidi & Renninger, 2006) in the action. Flow exists when there is a balance between anxiety, worry, and perplexity and frustration, boredom, and anxiety. When flow is achieved, it is the optimal experience.

Csikszentmihalyi (1990) uses the flow experience model to describe events that are intrinsically rewarding for the person; therefore, there must be at least triggered situational interest (Hidi & Renninger, 2006) in the activity for the person to begin to enter into a flow experience. There must be a perfect level of challenge for the person to achieve flow; however, that level of challenge will be different for every person. There needs to be enough challenge that the task needs individual focus says Csikszentmihalyi

(1990); the goal to a flow experience is to achieve a level of concentration where the person cannot concentrate on anything but the task at hand.
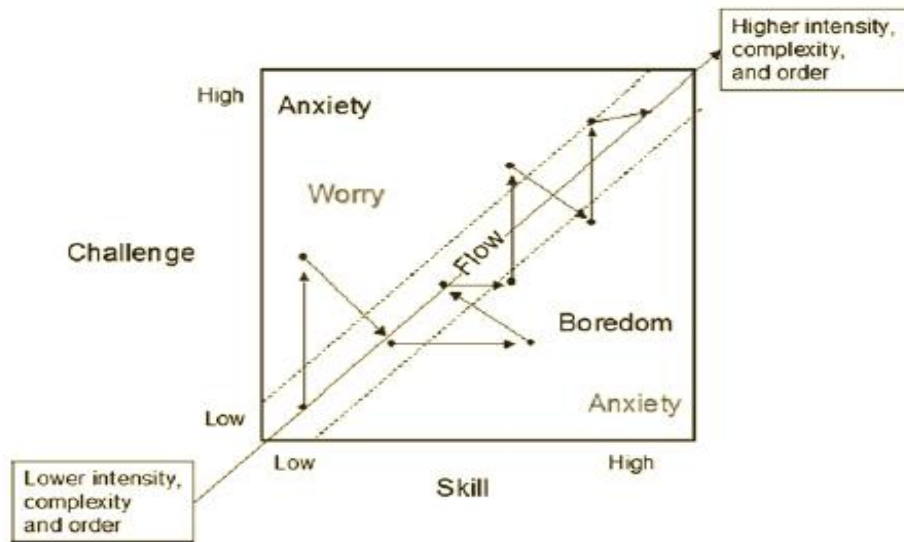
Figure 2. Flow Experience Model. This figure illustrates the idea of flow experience. From Moneta, G. B. (2012). On the measurement and conceptualization of flow.

Smith and Wilhelm (2006) studied flow experiences of boys. They found the boys in their study would "read and enjoy and learn from almost any kind of text *if* the conditions of flow were met in the context of instruction" (p. 55). Smith and Wilhelm (2006) point out that when students do not see the importance or relevance of what they are being asked to learn, flow is nearly impossible to achieve. They write,

> The boys' favorite activities were those that gave them immediate enjoyment.
> They did them for the pleasure they gave, not to prepare for the future. Although
> their literate activity often was intrinsically rewarding, they also sought a very
> quick practical payback. This functional value took various forms that
> corresponded to flow conditions: feedback from meeting clear goals and applying

what they learned; the enjoyment and engagement of negotiating an appropriately

challenging task; displaying competence and control by applying what they

learned to their everyday lives; the joy of immersing oneself in the immediate

experience; the fun of working together. When the boys read or voluntarily

engaged in other activities, it was to do this kind of healthy work. (p. 158-159)

Smith and Wilhelm (2006) call for creating these types of experiences in the classroom in

order to create the opportunity for flow experiences to occur more often.

Park, Sung, and Cho (2015) examined flow experiences with e-book devices.

Their results show that e-book characteristics such as mobility and perceived usefulness

contributed to user acceptance of these devices. They found that flow increased when e-

book devices had a high quality display. The researchers concluded that not only

hardware-related characteristics, such as mobility and usefulness, but also cognitive and

psychological experiences contributed to the ability of readers to experience "flow" when

using these devices.

Habitual Reading Motivation

Schiefele, Schaffner, Möller, and Wigfield (2012) describe somebody who

repeatedly shows a form of reading motivation to be a habitually motivated reader.

Habitually motivated readers are shown to read more often.

Reading Amount. Wang and Guthrie (2004) found that intrinsic motivation is

more strongly related to amount of reading for enjoyment than extrinsic motivation.

Wigfield and Guthrie (1997) discuss the difference between extrinsic and intrinsic

motivation in relationship to reading behavior. Their study found that students with the

highest intrinsic motivation read nearly three times as many minutes per day as the group

with the lowest intrinsic motivation. However, the groups with high and low levels of extrinsic motivation did not differ nearly as much. Schaffner, Schiefele, and Ulferts (2013) also found "intrinsic reading motivation contributed strongly positively to reading amount, which in turn significantly predicted higher-order reading comprehension" (p. 379).

Wigfield and Guthrie (1997) made the assumption that there was a positive connection between intrinsic reading motivation, reading comprehension, and reading amount. Cunningham and Stanovich estimated that 23% of the progress in reading comprehension made from grade five to grade ten can be predicted by reading amount (as cited in Schiefele et al., 2012). In a study by Morrow, students who had more time to read at school outperformed students who did not have as much time to read in school (as cited in Schiefele et al., 2012).

Several methods have been used to evaluate reading amount. These include students' self-reports, parents' recording of their children's reading times, and the Reading Activities Inventory (RAI) (Guthrie, McGough, & Wigfield, 1994). Schaffner, Schiefele, and Ulferts (2013) used the Reading Motivation Questionnaire (RMQ) to study the connection between reading amount, reading motivation, and reading comprehension. The RMQ includes questions about object-oriented reading motivation, experience-oriented reading motivation, competence-oriented reading motivation, competition-oriented reading motivation, and social-reading motivation. They found that "intrinsic reading motivation contributed strongly positively to reading amount, which in turn significantly predicted higher-order reading comprehension" (Schaffner, Schiefele, & Ulferts, 2013, p. 379). The results of Schaffner, Schiefele, and Ulferts' (2013) study

showed the effects of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation on reading comprehension directly correlated to amount read. However, the study also showed that even though reading amount was predicted by intrinsic motivation, reading comprehension was not significantly related to reading amount.

Reading Dedication. Swan, Coddington, and Guthrie (2010) describe dedication to reading as the students' willingness to persist even when what they are reading is not particularly interesting. Swan, Coddington, and Guthrie (2010) relate the notion of reading dedication to "grit," defined by Duckworth, Peterson, Matthews, & Kelly (2007) as "perseverance and passion for long-term goals" (p. 1087). Dedication and grit can be connected to completing reading assignments for the purpose of getting good grades, which in turn helps students to work toward long-term goals such as graduating high school, going to college, or getting a good job. Swan, Coddington, and Guthrie (2010) say that dedicated readers read many kinds of texts during silent reading time at school and at home.

Reading Purpose

Agency as defined by Moore and Cunningham (2006) emphasizes freedom and is focused on autonomy, unique thoughts, beliefs, and feelings. Moore and Cunningham (2006) say that people acting under their own agency make decisions and carry out their own intentions based on individual purposes.

Choice. Self-selected reading, where students choose their own texts, is a great way to motivate students. Studies that compare students engaged in self-selected reading to students engaged in more traditional instruction show that self-selected reading correlated to higher levels of achievement across all levels (Krashen, 2009). Adolescents

feel a sense of independence when they are allowed to choose their own reading materials. They deserve the opportunity to select topics, genres, and materials they prefer (Moore, Bean, Birdyshaw, & Rycik, 1999). Schiefele et al. (2012) state,

> A student who reads to experience excitement during reading probably prefers different texts (e. g. criminal stories, adventure books) than a student who is highly motivated by the desire to outperform other students in school. The question of whether reading motivation is related to students' preferences for particular text genres (e.g. narrative vs. expository text) or text materials (e. g. comics vs. books) has been examined in only a few studies. (p. 449)

In Moore et al.'s (1999) study, a greater percentage of boys indicated a preference for science fiction, fantasy, sports related, and war/spy stories than girls. Boys also read more comic books, joke books, annuals, and humorous fiction. Crime and detective books were equally interesting for both boys and girls.

Crafting positive experiences with literature involves giving students access to books and other literature that is meaningful, safe, and engaging for them (Appleman, 2006; Bandura, 1997; Brunner, 2009; Groenke, Maples, & Henderson, 2010; Hidi & Renninger, 2006; Moore et al., 1999; Richison, Hernandez, & Carter, 2006).

Lenters (2006) says that "struggling readers may become resistant readers" and "resistant readers may become struggling readers" (p. 142). Lenters argues that listening to student voice can help schools to minimize consequences to resistant reading. There is a disjuncture between the interests and life purposes of students and their school expectations and literacy experiences. Lenters says that students begin to realize that reading is something they are graded on, which causes many to become disengaged with

the reading taking place. "Giving space to ungraded, independent reading in secondary schools may help widen some adolescents' conception of literacy and enable reading to regain a place of importance in their lives" (Lenters, 2006, p. 143).

Castañeda (1995) studied eight and nine year old Latino children to describe the choices of books the students prefer to read. Fifty students and two teachers were studied, and the data revealed that this age group preferred realistic fiction, fantasy, folktales, and information and concept books. Castañeda (1995) found that the greatest influence on students' book choice was the teacher, followed by other students. Parents' influence was not significant. Castañeda (1995) did not find a significant difference in gender preferences, with the exception of legends, a genre more preferred by boys, and rhyming stories, a genre more preferred by girls. The data revealed that familiarity with the books, along with teacher influence, made a difference in the books students selected.

Connections. Keene and Zimmerman (1997) discuss the types of connections readers make as text-to-self, text-to-text, and text-to-world. These connections are personal for each reader. An important component researched in reading motivation is the emotional impact of books. This can be determined by the types of reading experiences, types of texts readers are exposed to, and the connections made between books and life experiences.

Phillip (as cited in Schiefele et al., 2012) suggests that the nature of reading material should be assessed along with amount and frequency of reading. Hernández (2013) researched reading motivation of Latino students in middle school classrooms and found that students responded positively to culturally responsive literature. Schiefele et al. (2012) suggest future studies should study the amount of reading for enjoyment in

regard to reading comic books, web, magazines, or books and that the types of reading done for enjoyment could also be examined more closely. Schiefele et al. (2012) also state, "Students' breadth of reading and preference for both informational and literacy text materials seem to depend more on their intrinsic than extrinsic motivation."

Young adult literature provides an emotional bridge to student's lives. Characters in young adult literature often grapple with social situations and complexities youth are confronted with in their own existences. Groenke, Maples, and Henderson (2010) say this form of literature gives students a way to confront complex issues such as drug abuse, racism, or even the war in Iraq, and this is an important way to motivate students to read. Rosenblatt (1994; 1995) and Gallagher (2004) describe the important transaction that occurs between a reader and the text he/she is reading. Rosenblatt (1994; 1995) makes the distinction between efferent and aesthetic reading. Efferent reading means reading for facts, and aesthetic reading is making more personal connections.

According to Brunner (2009), the connections students make between their lives and the literature they read should be personal and meaningful. The Commission on Adolescent Literacy describes reading as a vicarious experience that "can nourish teen's emotions and psyches as well as their intellects" (Moore et al., 1999, p. 102). By providing students with literature that forms a connection to them emotionally, teachers are on the way to producing more motivated students.

A strong relationship between positive reading experiences and attitude toward reading is discussed by Carlsen and Sherrill (1988) and Burke (1999). Carlsen and Sherrill (1988) analyzed thousands of reading autobiographies from college students. They found that students who had a more positive emotional experience with books when

they were young were more likely to be positive towards books as adults. Similarly, Burke (1999) shares a collection of letter-to-the-editor responses he received after writing his own letter-to-the-editor about a frustrating experience in his high school classroom. Hundreds of respondents wrote about reading experiences that influenced their reading attitude and motivation.

Barrier between School Reading and Reading for Pleasure

Appleman (2006) also considers the barrier there seems to be between classroom reading and reading for pleasure. She asserts, "The books adolescents read for English class are often not books they end up liking. How, then, do we expect our students to become lifelong readers if reading for them is not a pleasurable activity?" (p. 5). Bridging the divide between popular fiction and canon is vital since adolescents are more motivated to read young adult literature than more canonical texts (Groenke, Maples, & Henderson, 2010).

Richison, Hernandez, and Carter (2006) recognize the importance of creating positive experiences within the ELA classroom. The authors suggest scaffolding canonical literature with more accessible picture, children's, and young adult books. "Readers will develop the interests, willingness, and abilities to take on more sophisticated literature if they have first had the opportunity to experience the pleasures of text that is meaningful, safe, and engaging for them" (Richison, Hernandez, & Carter, 2006, p. 3). Bridging the divide between popular fiction and canon is vital since adolescents are more motivated to read young adult literature than more canonical texts (Groenke, Maples, & Henderson, 2010). Sanford (2005) makes the claim that "school" texts cannot compete with all of the diverse texts available today.

Throughout the years, quantitative studies of Latino students' reading attitudes and motivation have been conducted. In 1993, Gies-Scoggin studied middle school Latino adolescents' attitudes toward reading activities. Latino 7th and 8th grade students completed a survey of reading motivational activities. Gies-Scoggin (1993) found that students preferred to have a choice in reading materials, playing games before or after reading, reading books with pictures, incorporating art/media activities, and reading for competition and reward. Gies-Scoggin (1993) found that students were least motivated when activities were related to writing. No significant difference was found between male and female respondents.

Hernández (2013) examined a teacher's approach to culturally responsive pedagogy, looking closely at its impact on Latino students' motivation and engagement in a middle school Language Arts classroom. Hernández (2013) found that the teacher's implementation of this type of curriculum motivated and engaged the Latino students in the classroom. Hernández (2013) found that "collaboration and community ethos," which he describes as enjoyment, choice, relationships/social bonding, knowledge construction, and collaborative structures, were central to the findings. "Collaboration and community ethos" was central to the other four themes ("culturally responsive literacy," "instructional framework: gradual release," academic discourse," and "motivation/reading engagement") found in the study (p. 82). Hernández's (2013) findings illustrate how a culturally responsive curriculum can motivate Latino middle school students.

Robinson (2010) found that English language learners' motivation to engage with reading tasks in school was connected to the type of text and the tasks accompanying the

reading. The text and accompanying tasks either ignited the students' motivation or extinguished it. Tasks that followed up reading by making connections were effective at engaging students. Teachers were often catalysts, as well, and often "flow experiences" (Csikszentmihalyzi, 1990) occurred when the teacher read aloud to students. As Trelease (2013) points out, students' listening vocabulary is on average, two grade levels above their reading vocabulary. Due to this fact, students are often able to understand a text more clearly when the teacher reads aloud.

Out-of-school Reading. Teachers of English have an opportunity to link students' out-of-school interests and experiences with in-school reading by employing the practice of using self-selected reading in the classroom. The connection between home and school is what Gutierrez (2008) refers to as the third space.

Splitter (2009) examines the concept of authenticity, arguing that the relationship between "school" work and "real" work has been too simplified. Splitter (2009) argues that even when teachers make real world connections, teaching and learning may still not be authentic for students. Splitter (2009) says that only when there is a dialogue between the teacher and students will the learning become authentic.

Like Gutierrez (2008) suggests in the third space, Martino (2003) and Alloway et al. (cited in Martino, 2003) propose importing popular culture texts into the classroom as motivating for boys in order to connect to their out-of-school literacies. Csikszentmihalyi (1990) argues for boys' appropriate level of challenge to be met in the classroom as another way to motivate them.

Gainer and Lapp (2010) discuss ways that teachers can bridge out-of-school literacies with in-school literacies. Engaging students in school reading, according to

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Gainer and Lapp (2010), needs to involve being attentive to their interests and strengths. "Engaged learning can occur if their outside-of-school knowledge and interests are acknowledged, respected, and used as part of the instructional picture within the culture of the classroom" (p. 6). Gainer and Lapp (2010) claim that students will be able to make stronger connections in the classroom when their out-of-school interests are honored and valued. They call for "remixing" the curriculum by using new literacies that students regularly engage in out-of-school, such as blogging, fan fiction, texting, using the Internet, and many others.

Collins and Blot (2003) discuss the multiple forms of literacy that exist outside of the school and outside of the classroom. They argue that because school literacy is a form of power, many marginalized groups continue to be treated as outsiders due to the limited literacy that is taught in school. "School shapes identity by accepting, promoting, rejecting, and transforming senses of self and social belonging that children bring to and take from this institutional encounter" (Collins & Blot, 2003, p. 106). English, as taught in school, has become a tool to create students who are assimilated to "American" society and "schooling is also where lessons are learned about class, gender, and race, where one's self or one's literacy are deemed adequate or inadequate" (Collins & Blot, 2003, p. 98). Collins and Blot (2003) discuss the historical context of literacy in the United States and argue that standard "American" English has evolved as a way for the dominant group to maintain power.

Morell and Duncan-Andrade (2008) discuss how to bridge out-of-school literacy with in-school learning by using hip-hop in conjunction with teaching the canon. They say, "Students who are not from the dominant culture in a society often struggle to merge

their culturally coded representations of reality with those reflected in the school curriculum" (Morell & Duncan-Andrade, 2008, p. 248). The unit Morell and Duncan-Andrade (2008) studied at East Bay High was culturally and socially relevant to the students. It provided a bridge between hip-hop and the canon, and students were motivated to learn material that they may not have otherwise been engaged in learning.

Hill (2009) also discusses ways to create culturally relevant curriculum by creating a space for "voice and silence, centering and marginalization, empowerment and domination" (p. 10). Hill worked in a high school with a former colleague, Mr. Columbo, to create a hip-hop based curriculum in the school. Throughout the course of the school year, Hill and Mr. Columbo taught "hip-hop class" to a group of students from varied ethnicities, race, and gender. The curriculum was able to engage students from all backgrounds in critical reading, making connections to the text, and with writing. The study showed that students' interests, when given a place within the curriculum, can produce valuable learning.

Time to Read. There are two components to motivating students that are missing in many secondary classrooms: (1) time to read and (2) a variety of reading materials that students can and want to read (Moore et al., 1999; Richison, Hernandez, & Carter, 2006). When students spend more time reading, their increased word knowledge, fluency, and comprehension directly corresponds to higher motivation, and when students are more motivated to complete a task, they enjoy it more and may continue to do it in the future (Moore et al., 1999; Richison, Hernandez, & Carter, 2006).

Silent reading. One way to provide time to read in school is by providing time for silent reading from self-selected texts. White and Kim (2010) conducted a study of

students involved in a summer reading program to discover the effects of silent reading over the summer on socioeconomic differences in reading achievement. In two experiments, the study found that the treatment groups almost universally improved their reading achievement. In particular, Hispanic students' scores reflected 2.1 additional months of learning in experiment one and 5.1 additional months of learning in the second experiment.

Swan, Coddington, and Guthrie (2010) studied engaged silent reading, which they define as "intrinsically motivated, strategic reading" (p. 96). The researchers say that reading for fun is not always fully engaged reading according to this definition because it may not require higher order systems of processing in order to comprehend the text. They say that there are six practices to foster engaged silent reading:

> (1) emphasizing mastery goals based on content concepts, (2) providing choice and control, (3) making content and tasks relevant, (4) providing interesting texts, (5) providing opportunities for social collaboration, and (6) encouraging success." (Swan, Coddington, & Guthrie, 2010, p. 102)

When these practices are implemented, reading motivation can be increased.

Latino Male Reading Practices

Many studies have been conducted that examine male readers in comparison to female readers. These studies encompass schools and districts across the globe. Even so, the results are strikingly similar: boys do not read as well (on tests) or as much as their female counterparts. Several recent studies have also examined male Latino readers. In these studies, male Latino readers have been measured against their male counterparts in other races and ethnicities as well as their Latino female counterparts.

Gender schema theory (Bem, 1981; Martin & Halverson, 1981) and machismo (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008; Segrest, Romero, & Domke-Damonte, 2003) provide tools for looking at Latino boy readers. Practices of masculinity within communities such as school and Latino culture can also affect boys' motivation to read.

Gender Schema Theory

Gender schema theory (Bem, 1981; Martin & Halverson, 1981) provides a framework for examining gender. Bem (1981) and Martin and Halverson (1981) claim that gender is established by the creation of sex-types or stereotypes. Children learn these gender expectations as they grow up and observe the world around them. Sanford (2005) defines gender as a social construct rather than simply as a biological definition, which confirms gender schema theory (Bem, 1981; Martin & Halverson, 1981). Martin and Halverson (1981) also claim that when children are taught that one way of being either a "boy" or a "girl" is more valued by those in authority, children learn to adhere rigidly to the sex-type. Barry, Bacon, and Child (as cited in Bem, 1981) argue,

> Although societies differ in the specific tasks they assign to the two sexes, all societies allocate adults roles on the basis of sex and anticipate this allocation in the socialization of their children. Not only are boys and girls expected to acquire sex-specific skills, they are also expected to have or to acquire sex-specific self-concepts and personality attributes, to be masculine or feminine ad defined by that particular culture. (p. 354)

Building on sociocultural theory (Vygotsky, 1978; 1986), Bem (1981) claims that children learn schemas, or cognitive structures, that organize and guide their individual

perception. By learning these schemas, children learn their identities in terms of their gender sex-type.

Gender as a Community of Practice. Using Gee's (1996) definition of discourse as the way people act, speak, listen, value, think, read, write, feel, dress, and gesture in their community of practice(s) (Wenger, 2000), West and Zimmerman (1987) describe masculine identity and practices as part of the program within the discourse of masculinity and claim that the repetition of these practices within social contexts sustains the discourse. "Gender is constructed in a complex array of social practices within communities, practices that in many cases connect to personal attributes and to power relations but that do so in varied, subtle, and changing ways" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992, p. 484). How one performs gender determines status and acceptance: "Sex is seen as one of the several attributes determining social address or 'place' in a community" (Eckert & McConnell, 1992, p. 465).

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) go on to argue that we must abandon the idea that gender can be isolated from other social practices and that it has the same meaning across various communities of practice. Depending on the social and cultural expectations, gender may be practiced in varying ways (Alloway & Gilbert, 1997). According to Kessler, Ashedon, Connell, and Dowsett (1985):

> Gender is a complex social structure, not a simple one. It involves a range of institutions, from the family, to the state, together with their interaction. It involves different levels of personality, a very wide range of types of social interaction, and it produces a complex differentiation of people around the axes of masculinity and femininity. (p. 44)

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Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992) state, "Gender can be thought of as a sex-based way of experiencing other social attributes such as class, ethnicity, or age (and also less obvious social qualities like ambition, athleticism, musicality, and the like)" (p. 471). They go on to contend that gender cannot be examined independently from these other social attributes.

Gender is a framework in which all of these other attributes are experienced. "Gendered practices construct members of a community 'as' women or 'as' men (or members of other gender categories) (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992, p. 463).

> Rather than try to abstract gender from social practice, we need to focus on gender in its full complexity: how gender is constructed in social practice, and how this construction intertwines with that of other components of identity and difference, and of language. (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992, p. 472)

Martino (2003) questions whether parents' different expectations of boys and girls influence how they learn and what they learn whether in-school or out-of-school. Parents, Martino (2003) says, influence the ways that their children practice gender and learn the hegemonic practices of the community. Martino (2003) also examines the expectation that boys practice "compulsory heterosexuality." Boys see reading as "schoolish" (Martino, 2003; Smith & Wilhelm, 2002) and criticize other boys for participating in this type of behavior. Although the boys may not refer directly to reading as feminine, it clearly does not fit into the social expectations of boys. Martino (2003) states, "boys deploy to position reading as a social practice against other acceptable or desirable modes of relating" (p. 22).

Literacy practices that are valued in school clash with boys' and young men's' desire to exercise hegemonic masculine identities. Hegemonic masculinity is defined as the dominant culture's expectation for how masculinity should be practiced. But, the expectations of schooling are at odds with traditional hegemonic practices of masculinity (Alloway & Gilbert, 1997).

Machismo and Latino Masculinity. Machismo refers to the gender schema roles for masculinity that are evident in Latino, particularly Mexican, culture (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008; Segrest, Romero, & Domke-Damonte, 2003). Machismo can have both a negative and positive connotation, according to Segrest, Romero, and Domke-Damonte (2003). For outsiders, machismo could paint a picture of male dominance and superiority exercised by Latino males; however, for Latino males, machismo represents pride, identity, responsibility, and self-respect (Segrest, Romero, & Domke-Damonte, 2003).

To explain this difference, Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, and Tracey (2008) link traditional machismo to the term *caballerismo*, which refers to horses or horsemen. They claim that caballerismo is associated with English chivalry and has a more positive connotation than machismo. Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, and Tracey (2008) studied Mexican men to determine the existence of machismo and caballerismo by developing the "Machismo Measure," a survey instrument that measured machismo. The study findings:

    indicated two independent dimensions of machismo, which were labeled as

    Traditional Machismo and Caballerismo. Traditional Machismo can be described

    as aggressive, sexist, chauvinistic, and hyper-masculine, whereas Caballerismo

can be described as nurturing, family centered, and chivalrous. (Arciniega,

Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008, p. 29)

The findings confirmed that machismo can be both positive and negative. For Latino

boys, machismo can influence behavior at school and cause stress between teachers that

are females or who expect behavior that goes against machismo.

In 2013, Espinoza studied motivation and achievement of high school students.

Espinoza (2013) compared Latino male and female students who were juniors in high

school to determine if there was a statistically significant difference between these two

groups. Espinoza (2013) did not find a difference between levels of motivation for

achievement between Latino boys and girls in the study. There was a slight difference

between interpersonal strengths, with females ratings reported slightly higher than the

males. This, Espinoza (2013) attributed to Latino culture's socialization of females and

males. Espinoza (2013) cited the expectation of Latino boys to have more autonomy and

independence than Latino females to this difference.

Social Class and Masculinity. Kessler et al. (1985) found that gender roles were

being performed differently based on social class. For example, in four of their cases,

conducted at three different secondary schools, the way boys and girls adhered to

traditional hegemonic roles of masculinity or femininity, based upon gender schema

theory (Bem, 1981; Martin & Henderson, 1981), depended largely on family background

and parents' education.

For upper class boys, adherence to a certain construction of masculinity was

practiced and valued. It celebrated a tough and macho kind of masculinity, centered on

sports and endurance, above more school-related forms of practicing maleness. At a

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working class school, boys acted out their masculinity by aggressiveness and resistance to school as well as by sexism. The "unofficial" school, or peer group, influenced much of how gender roles were acted out by the boys and girls in the study.

Kehler and Martino (2007) cite studies which have found that boys within various social classes perform differently in terms of literacy; therefore, gender is not and should not be the only basis that educators use to determine an individual boy students' needs. Kehler and Martino (2007) further state that hegemonic masculinity is actually at the heart of many problems young men experience in school.

Alloway and Gilbert (1997) found that boys from higher socio-economic backgrounds were more likely to conform to school expectations while still being comfortable with their out-of-school masculinities. Boys from lower socio-economic backgrounds tended to express their masculinity at school and refuse to comply with the context of school.

Gender Binaries. Many binaries have been discovered between boys and girls. The binary between boys' and girls' social experiences was discussed by Hunsader (2002) who found girls' social lives revolved around verbal communication, while boys' social experiences revolved around play and activity. Binaries between the traditional cultural expectations for women and men were also found by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992). Findings showed that while women sought connections to others, boys competed; while women offered intimacy, men avoided vulnerability.

Young (2000) found that boys do not always adhere to the prevalent expectations for masculinity. The boys in Young's (2000) study often seemed to be at odds with the expectations of society and how they actually felt and acted. There were loopholes to

hegemonic masculinity, which Bakhtin (1984) would refer to as diglossia, or words that could have multiple meanings in the same context. For example, even as the boys described men as brave, they recognized that there were times when they were not brave. This finding shows that young boys are willing to challenge gendered beliefs.

Boys' School Motivation

Cowdell (2005) studied factors that motivated Latino boys in middle school. The findings showed that cultural differences did not significantly impact students' academic motivation. Cowdell (2005) concluded that the students in the study were highly acculturated (Castillo, Lopéz-Arenas, & Saldivar, 2010; Rothe, 2004; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995). Grades were motivating for the students in the study, and the usefulness of the lesson was also an important factor in motivation. Cowdell (2005) found that "if the students perceived the lesson as boring, it then took extra effort on the part of the teacher to retain the students' interest" (p. 131). Boys in the study were more motivated when they were allowed to choose. Cowdell (2005) describes frustration as another important factor that impacted motivation for the Latino boys in the study. Because the students often got off task when they were frustrated, this affected their self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997) and boys were not able to achieve "flow" (Csikszentmihalyzi, 1990). Another main factor that Cowdell (2005) found to impact motivation in class was peer interactions. The Latino middle school boys that Cowdell (2005) studied were more motivated when work was completed in small groups or partners.

Hunsader (2002) said that there is a prevalent belief that "real boys" don't work hard in school. Unrau and Schlackman (2006) state, "Girls had more positive attitudes

than did boys at every grade level for both forms of reading; however, the differences between boys and girls were unrelated to ability" (p. 83). According to Appleman (2006),

> Girls keep journals; boys don't. Girls identify themselves as avid readers; boys frequently do not. Preferences for reading material also appear gendered, with boys articulating preferences for action books, science fiction, or plot driven stories while girls tend to prefer character driven stories. These gendered predispositions toward reading affect both males' and females' roles in literature classrooms as well as their reading habits. (p. 3)

Kehler and Martino (2007) are particularly adamant that binaries between boys and girls: active/passive, less/more reading, slower/faster, narrative/expository simplify the problem and do not address the needs of individual boys.

> Hunsader (2002) claims that,
> Boys are given 70 percent of the Ds and Fs on school report cards. Boys are 50 percent more likely to be retained than girls. Boys are three to five times more likely than girls to be labeled learning disabled. Boys account for 71 percent of all school suspensions. (p. 29)

In particular, Latino boys have a higher representation of suspensions, learning disabilities, and lower grades than their White peers (Aud, Fox, & KewalRemani, 2010; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2008).

Boys' Reading Motivation. Unrau and Schlackman (2006) found a connection between boys and extrinsic motivation to read; however, intrinsic motivation was a stronger indicator of developing long-term motivation to read for both boys and girls.

Wigfield and Guthrie (1997) noticed a difference between girls' reading motivation and boys' reading motivation.

> Boys and girls also differed in their motivation for reading, with girls generally showing more positive motivation for reading…Children's reading performance is an important predictor of their school success; thus boys' lower reading motivation should be viewed with some concern. (p 430)

Wigfield and Guthrie (1997) point out that motivation, when viewed as an indicator of school success, can cause concern over boys' lack of motivation to read.

Gustafson (2008) used extrinsic motivation to motivate boys to read. The author administered a contest between boys and girls in the school library each month. The number of boys entering the contest rose significantly as a result of the contest, while girls' entries remained steady. In turn, boys read more and may have developed a higher sense of efficacy toward reading as a result. Gustafson (2008) says that if educators want to create a culture of readers at their school that includes both genders, they should consider competition.

Brozo and Gaskins (2009) suggest five principles of engagement that are supportive for motivating and engaging adolescent boys. First, Brozo and Gaskins (2009) suggest that boys' self-efficacy needs to be built up. Boys respond positively to experiences that help them to feel successful. They will be more eager to learn and engage with the material if they feel confident about being successful. Second, Brozo and Gaskins (2009) say that educators must engender interest in new reading for boys. Students should discover that reading can be fun and informative. Also, reading needs to connect outside-school to inside-school literacies. Using materials that boys are interested

in, such as music, can provoke the necessary interest to get boys involved in the lesson. Next, Brozo and Gaskins (2009) suggest making interesting texts available. This includes making not only books available, but also magazines and the Internet. Along with having interesting texts available, educators must also provide boys with choices and options in their reading and activities. Many boys rely on their teachers to guide them in their literacy choices and options. The researchers found that boys may need teacher to be responsive to their needs. For example, some boys may need to have the option of taking small breaks instead of being expected to read for long periods of time.

Martino (2003) raises the question that because literacy is so narrowly defined. Martino (2003) points out that boys are very literate at digital literacy and other electronic modes of literacy practice is not reflected on official measures of literacy. Because boys are generally more literate at electronic forms of literacy, they often are still able to bypass girls in terms of marketability for jobs. Alloway and Gilbert (1997) call for the definition of what is legitimate as a school text be broadened to include the cultural experience and literate practices of boys outside of school.

Social Context of Reading. Appleman (2006) focuses on the social context of reading as a way to motivate students. Appleman examined two schools in Minnesota for several years as they implemented book clubs. Students' identities as readers became more positive when they had the opportunity to discuss text with others. This motivation toward reading transferred, in many cases, to the English classroom. Appleman (2006) also discusses the differences she observed in an all-boys book club.

Literacy instruction often meets the needs of girls better than boys. Appleman (2006) voices that, "Literacy practices do not seem consistent with social constructions of

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masculinity" (p. 54). The "Guys Quarterly" book club met once a month at the school to discuss books that were chosen specifically based on their appeal to boys. It was a boys-only club, led by two adult, male teachers. When Appleman (2006) asked the librarian of the school about the club, the librarian stated, "There are not enough male role models for young men when it comes to reading. So, what if teenage guys could talk to adult guys about books? This idea is something I had wanted to try…"

Lattanzi (2014) also studied boys' experiences in an after-school book club. Lattanzi's (2014) study of middle school boys who were reluctant readers revealed that boys often rejected school reading due to pressure they felt due to writing assignments associated with the books. The findings also showed that boys had trouble achieving "flow experience" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990) even when reading books of their choosing because of the tasks associated with the books. However, Lattanzi (2014) found that the book club afforded boys the opportunity to find enjoyment and forge relationships with other readers, something that had been lacking in the boys' school experiences with books.

Boys' Reading at Odds with Measurements of Reading Achievement. Sanford (2005) brings up the point that girls' and boys' literacy was being measured in school to reflect traditional school literacies; however, boys were engaging in different kinds of literacy, such as computer-based or technology based literacies. Concerns about boys' performance in literacy usually refers to their test scores from school-based literacy tasks; however, boys often possess literacy skills that are not tested at school, such as surfing the Internet, playing video games, and engaging with other computer-based activities (Alloway & Gilbert, 1997). This binary, between out-of-school and in-school literacy was

referred to by Sanford (2005) and is illustrated by the constraints of school's definition of literacy created by high stakes tests. Students must limit their own definition of literacy to fit within the narrow confines of school literacy. "High stakes testing limits the potential to develop connections between traditional literacy practices and those of (mostly male) adolescents today" (Sanford, 2005, p. 314).

Achievement test results show a gap between boys and girls. Newkirk (2002) and Pirie (2002) both discuss a significant literacy achievement gap between boys and girls in school. The NAEP assessment in reading in 2013 showed female students had higher proficiency than male students at both 4th and 8th grades (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013c). Forty-two percent of females were proficient nationwide compared to 31% of males on the 8th grade reading NAEP (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013c). These NAEP results are also reflected in Arizona where in 2013, female students had an average score that was higher than male students by 8 points (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2013b).

Hall and Coles (1997) found in a replication study comparing results from 1971 to 1994 in 1971, boys age 14 read 1.77 books during the month prior to the survey, in 1994, boys read 1.45 books. Girls read more books than boys: 2.15 in 1971 and 2.06 in 1994. The data was gathered from 10-, 12-, and 14-year-old students and showed a decline as children got older. Hall and Coles (1997) also call for the development of boys as critical readers.

The Educational Testing Service, for example, reports that the gap in writing between eighth grade males and females is more than seven times greater than the differences in mathematical reasoning (Cole, 1997). Elley (1992) also discusses the

international reading gap, pointing out that boys start to catch up in informational/expository texts, but never catch up with narrative. This points to a gap in the type of reading boys are doing compared to girls.

In a study of 232 ten year old school children in England, Logan and Johnston (2009) found a correlation between boys' reading comprehension and attitude to reading. Logan and Johnston (2009) found that "frequency of reading correlated most strongly with attitude to reading" (p. 207). Girls had a better reading ability, but not significantly. Schaffner, Schiefele, and Ulferts (2013) also found that "controlling for gender did not change the bivariate correlations among study variables in a notable way" (p. 381).

Klein (1977) examined studies conducted in several nations around the world comparing boys' and girls' achievement levels in reading. The results were inconsistent. In some countries, such as Finland, Germany, and Nigeria, boys scored higher than girls. In other countries, such as the United States, United Kingdom, Sweden, and Canada, girls scored higher than boys. Klein (1977) argues that the level of achievement for boys versus girls in the United States and in nations around the world is due to cultural factors rather than genetic maturation. It also depended on the type of assessment used to indicate whether boys or girls scored higher. The assessments in various countries differed in the way that they were either multiple choice or cloze format. "Boys have fallen so far behind girls that the very fabric of our society is in jeopardy" (Hunsader, 2002, p. 29).

Policy Concerns. Alloway and Gilbert (1997) discussed the point that boys' literacy achievement performance, while historically lower than girls, has generated less

concern by policy-makers and educators than when girls were achieving lower in math/science tests than boys. Alloway and Gilbert (1997) comment,

> It is interesting that boys as a group have not, until recently, been seen as needing attention with respect to their results. Despite the fact that boys dominated literacy remediation classes, reading remediation educators and school administrators seemed almost blind to the gender imbalance in remediation resourcing, and to the gendered difference in children's literacy performance at school. (p. 50)

Alloway and Gilbert (1997) question the fact that boys' literacy achievement has not been addressed until recently despite the fact that they have been trailing girls.

Alloway and Gilbert (1997) point out that despite the fact that boys' literacy achievement in school is lower than girls, this has not held back boys in the job market. School success in literacy seems to be not a valued competence, as boys still hold more jobs in language-based professions than girls (Alloway & Gilbert, 1997). Epstein, Elwood, Hey and Maw (1998) question the efficacy of academic achievement and testing as a measure of success, when males still continue to lead in the job market and through higher earnings than their female counterparts.

Teachers' Effects on Boys

Martino (2003) discusses the impact that teacher threshold knowledge may have on boys' literacy achievement; teacher threshold knowledge relates to subject discipline knowledge, knowledge of student development, knowledge of purpose of schooling, knowledge of educational policies, and knowledge of gender concepts and their impact of students' attitudes and learning. When teachers do not have this threshold knowledge,

Martino suggests that a 'dumbing down' of the curriculum occurs so that teachers can manage the boys' rather than challenging them with content in the classroom.

Another issue discussed by Martino (2003) is the feminization of school. Since many school teachers are female, this influences the way that boys interact with the teacher and learn in the classroom. School and teacher expectations often contribute to hegemonic gender beliefs/practices (Sanford, 2005). In the study, Sanford (2005) found that both Ms. F and Mr. M perpetuated gender stereotypes in each of their classrooms through varied expectations each teacher had for boys and girls. Both teachers categorized girls as capable and interested, but saw boys as being more creative and willing to challenge rules.

The typical expectations in literacy classrooms which ask the reader to be sensitive, introspective, aesthetic, and empathetic go against the hegemonic idea of masculinity (Alloway & Gilbert, 1997). Alloway and Gilbert (1997) describe hegemonic masculinity as being practiced outside of self, while traditional school literacies focus on inside of self-reflections, moral regulation, and creative expression. Hegemonic masculinity, as well, ultimately refuses to be controlled, while students are controlled by the rules of school and the teacher (Alloway & Gilbert, 1997). Kehler and Martino (2007) argue that hegemonic masculinity imposes limits on the ways boys can engage with literacy.

Hegemonic practices of masculinity are at odds with the expectations of schooling. (Alloway & Gilbert, 1997). Martino (2003) discusses three links between issues of masculinity and boys' literacy learning practices: pedagogical issues, ways masculinity endorses and/or authorizes certain relationships, and including contemporary,

commercial youth culture in the literacy classroom. Martino refers to Smith and Wilhelm (2002) when he brings up the point that there are variations within the dominant masculine culture that should be looked at by teachers and researchers.

Suggestions for Teachers of Boys. Alloway and Gilbert (1997) call for a reform to the curriculum not the child, which goes against many traditional forms of remediation for boys in literacy classrooms, where teachers attempt to "fix" their boys rather than examine how and what they are trying to teach boys.

Hunsader (2002) suggests that teachers adjust their behavior management strategies when working with boys. In regard to motor activities, Hunsader (2002) suggest, "Some boys seem to benefit from being allowed to perform a motor activity, such as squeezing a stress ball, while reading or working a problem" (p. 31). Teachers may also help boys to be more successful in class by employing longer wait time. Hunsader (2002) contends that "Boys benefit from having more time to process questions before being asked to respond" (p. 31).

In a study conducted in Australia, Kessler et al. (1985) argue for the breakdown of stereotyped expectations. Martino (1995) argues for a deconstruction of phallocentric, hegemonic practices in the English classroom. He suggests that if English teachers work to dismantle and challenge gender-based ideologies, alternative ways of being masculine and/or feminine can be constructed in the English classroom. He describes this as a counter-hegemonic space.

Martino (1995) further argues that the binary emphasized by traditional masculine and feminine roles serve to define sex-appropriate behavior for boys and girls and can be linked to the underachievement of boys in the subject of English. There are multiple other

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masculine identities that are marginalized in the traditional hegemonic order of the classroom. Boys that identify themselves as gay or a non-dominant ethnic group feel oppressed in the dominant discourse. English teachers, according to Martino (1995), should reject the dominant attitude and provide alternative forms of knowing and being for men and boys so that they are not constrained. Martino (1995) argues that Foucault (1972; cited in Martino 1995) and Derrida (1967; cited in Martino 1995) can provide an alternate analysis for the positionality of boys and girls in the English classroom.

What Martino (1995) suggests is using texts in the English classroom that show different versions of masculinity such as a boy playing with a doll. "Moving gender outside of one's self is a way to talk about hegemonic masculinity without personal confrontation" (Young, 2000, p. 333). Young (2000) found that the young men in her study began to question themselves. The boys began to feel insecure in their role in the Discourse (Gee, 2014) of masculinity. Young (2000) describes the case of Blake, one of the case studies, who became adamant when he was questioned about crying. He never admitting to crying when the family dog died. Blake's gender display took the shape of his clearly being masculine by not crying.

Young (2000) also describes critical literacy using Freire (1970) and Giroux and McLaren (1986), using a lens to examine a world where power is not equal. Examining texts through the lens that the language of texts is influenced by social constructs including institutional, language, and society practices (Young, 2000) creates the opportunity to use critical literacy to challenge roles of masculinity. Young (2000) also mentions the hierarchical relationships produced when gender interacts with race, class, and sexual orientation. The boys in Young's (2000) study described goals for their

futures that reflected White, middle class masculinity, including going to college, getting married, having kids, and becoming professional soccer players.

Latinos in the United States

The United States was founded by immigrants, and throughout the history of this country, immigrants have continued to populate it. When the land now known as the United States was explored, English, Spanish, and French settlers came to the "New World" in search of treasures and gold or a new route to "The Indies." What these original immigrants found was a place rich in natural resources and new possibilities. People came in search of new beginnings, better opportunities, and social mobility. People came with dreams of better lives. People from throughout Europe and Asia came to America in search of "The American Dream," which the Declaration of Independence defines as "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness" (Declaration of Independence, n.d.). The search for "The American Dream" continues to be a source of inspiration for immigrants trying to start a new life in the United States.

In 2012, 1,031,631 people legally immigrated to the United States (Napolitano, Heyman, & Rytina, 2013). Of those, Latinos constituted large numbers: 145,000 from Mexico, 77,000 from South America, and 45,000 from Central America (Napolitano, Heyman, & Rytina, 2013). In a nation of immigrants, Latinos currently represent a large minority population; yet, dominant American culture still expects immigrants to assimilate and Americanize themselves. This has created difficulties for many Latino/as who have come to call America home.

Latino Demographics

Latinos are the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States: "Between 2000 and 2010, the Hispanic population of the United States grew by forty-three percent, which was four times the growth in the total population" (United States Census Bureau, 2011, p. 2). Not only has the Latino population grown, but this diverse group now represents 16% of the total population in the United States. "The Hispanic Population: 2010 Census Brief" (United States Census Bureau, 2011) reports that 308.7 million people resided in the United States on April 1, 2010, and of those 308.7 million people, "50.5 million (or 16 percent) were of Hispanic or Latino origin" (p. 2).

The official definition of Latino or Latino origin as used in the census says, "'Hispanic or Latino' refers to a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race" (p. 2). With this definition in mind, the United States Census Bureau reports that the three largest representative groups of Latinos are Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans. Latino/as of Mexican origin increased from 20.6 million in 2000 to 31.8 million in 2010, with Latino/as of Cuban and Puerto Rican descent also increasing exponentially (36% and 44%, respectively) (2011).

The Latino population grew in every census region between 2000 and 2010 and is represented in every state across the union. In 2010, 29% of the population in the West census region (consisting of: Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming) was Latino, making up the largest proportion. 16% of the South (consisting of: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland,

Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia), 13% of the Northeast (consisting of: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont), and 7% of the Midwest (consisting of: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin) were also Latino (United States Census Bureau, 2011). Latinos from Mexican, Guatemalan, or Salvadorian origin were most likely to reside in the West. Other than Guatemalans and Salvadorians, all other Central American Latinos were likely to reside in the South. South American Latinos, as well as Dominicans and Puerto Ricans were more likely to live in the Northeast. Cubans were most likely to live in the South (United States Census Bureau, 2011).

Notably, 37.6 million Latinos lived in just eight states: California, Texas, Florida, New York, Illinois, Arizona, New Jersey, and Colorado (United States Census Bureau, 2011), making the distribution of Latinos throughout the United States extremely unequal. For example, California has 28% of the nation's Latino population, and Texas has 19% (United States Census Bureau, 2011). The other six states with high Latino populations account for an additional 28% of Latinos (United States Census Bureau, 2011). All other states share the remaining 25%.

In Arizona, the Latino population grew from 25% in 2000 to 30% in 2010 (United States Census Bureau, 2011), almost double the national growth rate. Embodying 2 million of the state's 5 million residents (United States Census Bureau, 2011), 91% of Latinos were of Mexican origin (Pew Research Center, 2014).

The Mexican population of the US, according to the 2011 Latino origin profiles data (n.d.), is made up of 35% foreign born and 65% US born. This is reflected closely in the data regarding the state where this study took place. In that state (with 91% Mexican Latinos), foreign-born Latinos made up 28% of the Latino population compared to 72% of native-born Latinos (Pew Research Center, 2014). In US public schools, Fry and Gonzales (2008) report that the majority of Latino students were born in the United States (84%), with even more kindergarteners (93 %) being born in the US. Native-born Latinos in the state were younger, on average, than foreign-born Latinos. The median age for native-born Latinos was 19, but the median age for foreign-born Latinos was 40(Pew Research Center, 2014).

Socioeconomic Status. Latinos, in general, are more likely to be living in poverty than Whites and earn an average annual income that is $12,000 less than their White counterparts (Hart et al., 2012), and foreign-born Latinos are more likely to live in poverty than their native-born counterparts (Fry & Gonzales, 2008). Hart et al. (2012) reported that in 2010 [in the state where the study takes place] unemployment rates for Latinos was currently trending higher than for Whites (12.1% compared to 8.6%).

Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (1995) discuss the identity issues related to socioeconomic status facing Latinos in the United States. "One common denominator in the experience of most immigrant Latinos is that they come from relatively impoverished developing countries, and typically from the lower socioeconomic strata, into a more affluent society" (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995, p. 51). As immigrants, they must straddle between two worlds, and as Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (1995) point out, new immigrants constantly compare their new lives to their old lives. Latinos

have immigrated in recent generations to increase the prosperity of their families, and family members living in America work to increase the standard of living for themselves and their family that was left behind in the original country (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995).

Latino Students. Latino students account for a growing number of students in United States schools. Between 1990 and 2006, the number of Latino, school aged children nearly doubled. Fry and Gonzales (2008) reported that there are now almost 10 million Latino students in our nation's K-12 public institutions. According to United States Census Bureau projections (n.d.a), Latino student enrollment is expected to continue on this upward trend. There are currently 11.6 million Latino family households in the United States (United States Census Bureau, n.d.b). Latino students now account for 1 in 5 students nationwide, making up 20% of the total national school population and representing the largest minority group in public schools in 22 states in the US (Fry & Gonzales, 2008). In 2006, Latinos accounted for almost half of public school students in California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas (Fry & Gonzales, 2008). Additionally, in five states (Nevada, Colorado, Illinois, Florida, and New York), Latino/a students comprise between 20-40% of all students (Fry & Gonzales, 2008). 43% of students [in the state where my study takes place] were of Latino origin (Pew Research Center, 2014), accounting for two-fifths of public school students statewide.

Retention and Academic Success. The study found Chapman, Laird, Ifill, & KewalRemani (2011) status dropout rates for all racial and ethnic groups have trended downward; however, there were still certain groups of young people who have maintained higher dropout rates than others (Chapman, Laird, Ifill, & KewalRemani,

2011). Overall, findings showed that males had a higher dropout rate than females and Latinos had a higher dropout rate than any other ethnic group (Chapman, Laird, Ifill, & KewalRemani, 2011; Lopez & Fry, 2013; National Center for Education Statistics, 2013a). Latino males had an even higher dropout rate than Latino females (14%versus 11%) (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2013a). Fry (2002) found that Latino boys are likely to drop out so that they can work.

Even with dismal numbers in regard to Latino dropouts, 86% of Latino boys are succeeding in earning either a high school diploma or GED (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2013a). However, Lopez (as cited in Hart et al., 2012, p. 17) reported that while 90% of Latinos (age 16-25 years old) acknowledge the importance of going to college, only half plan to get a college degree. Hart et al. (2012) also discuss AP (Advanced Placement) and SAT (Scholastic Aptitude Test) scores for Latino students compared to White students, and scores were significantly lower on both of these tests, indicating a gap in Latino students' preparedness for college.

However, many Latino high school graduates are enrolling in college and other training programs at higher rates than ever before (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014; Lopez & Fry, 2013). Lopez and Fry (2013) claim that the percentage of Latino students enrolled in higher education has surpassed Whites for the first time. Citing new Census Bureau data, the authors write "49 percent of young Latino high school graduates were enrolled in college. By comparison, 47 percent of White non-Latino high school graduates were enrolled in college" (Lopez & Fry, 2013). Despite this good news, Lopez and Fry (2013) acknowledged that Latinos age 25 and older still had the lowest rates for earning a bachelor's degree (only 14.5%) compared to other groups (51% of Asians,

34.5% of Whites, and 21.2% of blacks). Saenz and Ponjuan (2008) also claim that Latino males are being outpaced by their Latina female counterparts in higher education.

Another concern is the percentage of Latino males compared to Latino females enrolled in higher education. The Bureau of Labor and Statistics (as cited in Saenz & Ponjuan, 2008, p. 67) states that Latino females outpace their male counterparts in enrollment and graduation rates. Saenz and Ponjuan (2011) also report that 63% of degrees awarded to Latinos were earned by Latina females, demonstrating a deficit in Latino males earning college degrees.

Socio-Cultural Theory's Relationship to Latino Culture

Socio-cultural theory (Miller, 2011; Perez, 2004; Vygotsky, 1978; 1986) provides a helpful framework for examining Latinos in the United States. "Socio-cultural theory" was first developed by Vygotsky (1978; 1986) and emphasizes the social nature of psychological development. Going against research which emphasized the development of the individual (Piaget, 1997; Singer & Revenson, 1996), Vygotsky (1978; 1986) claimed that everyday activities were socially determined (Miller, 2011). For Latino youth, Vygotsky's (1978; 1986) sociocultural theory makes the most sense.

Familism. Sociocultural theory connects to strong ties to the family in Latino/a families due to a cultural trait known as "familism" or "familismo" (Calzada, Tamis-LeMonda, & Yoshikawa, 2013; Desmond & Lopéz Turley, 2009; Marin & Marin, 1991; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2008; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994). Familism often leads to children taking on more responsibilities at a young age, such as language brokering, babysitting younger siblings, or working to support their family.

There are two types of familism: attitudinal and behavioral. According to Lugo, Steidel, and Contreras (as cited in Calzada, Tamis-LeMonda, and Yoshikawa, 2012), there are four main components that describe *attitudinal familismo*; "(a) belief that family comes before the individual, (b) familial interconnectedness, (c) belief in family reciprocity, and (d) belief in familial honor" (p. 1697). *Behavioral familism* describes behaviors that transpire as a result of attitudinal beliefs. When followings the components of familismo, decisions are made for the "good of the family," sometimes at the expense of the individual, but Hill and Torres (2010) say that Latino families teach an understanding of self through social interactions rather than by developing individual rights. This exemplifies the tenets of familism.

Desmond and Lopéz Turley (2009) studied the role that familism played on college enrollment for Latino students. Latino students were the least likely to apply for college (54%) compared to Whites (66%) and Blacks (70%). One of the big factors that Desmond and Lopéz Turley (2009) attributed to low college enrollment statistics was the fact that on average 59% for high school seniors felt that living at home during college was important; however, 74% of Latino high school seniors indicated that living at home during college was important. They also found that for Latino students whose parents were less educated, living at home was even more important than those Latino students who had more educated parents. Desmond and Lopéz Turley (2009) attributed the finding that Latinos who apply to college preferred to live at home to familism: "This study, therefore, has demonstrated that attitudinal familism is a powerful predictor of Hispanic students' college application rates" (p. 328). This study showed one important way in which family ties disadvantage Latino students who are transitioning to adulthood.

Calzada, Tamis-LeMonda, and Yoshikawa (2012) studied familism and its effects. In the study, they found both costs and benefits to familism. For example, there was a high financial strain on individuals while trying to provide for and support live-in relatives, but the benefit was the pooling of family financial resources and a lower cost of living (Calzada, Tamis-LeMonda, & Yoshikawa, 2012).

Latino Families. The influence of parents on their children's educational goals has been acknowledged by several studies (Aud, Fox, & KewalRamani, 2010; Behnke, Piercy, & Diversi, 2004; Davis-Kean, 2005; Gratz, 2006). Behnke, Piercy and Diversi (2004) found that Latino children tended to have similar aspirations for occupation and education as their parents, and Aud, Fox, and KewalRamani (2010) found in their 2008 study that Latino children were more likely than children from any other race/ethnic group to have parents with less education. Thirty-nine percent of Latino mothers and 41% of Latino fathers had less than a high school education while only 11% of mothers and 13% of fathers had a bachelor's degree or higher (Aud, Fox, & KewalRamani, 2010).

Delgado-Gaitan (1992) studied Latino families' expectations for schooling. Delgado-Gaitan (1992) challenged the deficit viewpoint that Latino families do not value education. Rather, she found:

> In Mexican-American families, the transmission of educational values is shaped by the family's low socioeconomic condition and the parents' low levels of formal education in the U.S. Mexican-American parents have viewed the educational system as a means of economic mobility for their children. Thus, education is highly valued. (Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, p. 498)

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Robinson (2010) found that parental practices and support influenced students' motivation at school. Robinson (2010) states that students often have to simultaneously participate in the school culture and environment while maintaining familial obligations and needs, often having to perform a balancing act. Robinson (2010) found that parents were able to motivate students with advice, encouragement, and sometimes with the threat of punishment for poor grades. Robinson (2010) found that students in study were concerned with grades and wanted to know their grades before their parents. Even though parents were not able to help students with homework and school tasks at home, students were still expected to earn high grades. In the study, two students' parents were involved with school even when it meant relying on translators.

Schultz-León (2012) found that Latino students were more motivated when their fathers played an active role in their child's education. These findings validated Knape's (2010) study of Latino males whose motivation was linked to parent expectations. Both of these reports suggest students who have a more positive experience with books when they are young are more likely to be positive towards books as adolescents and adults.

An interesting aspect of the Latino population is that is goes against the typical model of immigrants, where second and third generations do better than the first generation (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995); rather, Latino youth often either maintain or earn less than their parents as adults. Hill and Torres (2010) discuss the paradox between aspirations and achievement for Latino youth.

Language. Latino students are likely to speak more than one language. Seventy percent nationwide report speaking a language other than English at home (Fry and Gonzales, 2008). However, the data suggests that most Latino public school students

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speak English fairly well. In Arizona, 67% of the Latino population report speaking a language other than English at home (Pew Research Center, 2014).

language brokering. This creates a role for many Latino youth as "language brokers" for their families. Language brokering is an integral, embedded part of immigrant communities (Eksner & Orellano, 2012; Tse, 1995). In Tse's (1995) study of Latino children, students were surveyed using the language broker survey, and study members reported participating in brokering. The children identified their fathers as having higher English proficiency than their mothers, but all parents were identified as having significantly lower levels of English proficiency than their children.

The effects of brokering on adolescents is two-fold: it develops social skills but changes family dynamics. Espinoza (2013) claims,

> Adolescents become the acculturating ambassadors for their family members. This process helps the adolescent develop a strong repertoire of skills in the development of social self-efficacy and acquiring knowledge to enhance his/her cultural capital. (p. 14)

As Espinoza points out, Latino youth who provide language brokering for their parents can develop skills that will enhance their ability to interact in various social situations. Tse (1995) says that "the role students play as transmitters of information is a critical factor" (p. 189). The parents value the knowledge that their children can provide, and the children feel satisfaction by providing the service.

Eksner and Orellano (2012) studied three immigrant child language brokers. The children in their study often took on roles that were not traditional "child" roles. This led Eksner and Orellano (2012) to claim that language brokering seems to violate Western

cultural norms by shifting the roles. In the case of language bartering, both parents and children are contributing to the interaction, but the child "assumes a huge amount of responsibility on behalf of the family" (Espinoza, 2013, p. 14). Eksner and Orellano (2012) suggest that children in Latino culture are expected to help their families and the expectation to be language brokers is similar to other "chores" Latino children would have at home.

Behro (2009) studied themes associated with lack of motivation for middle school students who were Heritage Speakers of Spanish. Behro (2009) examined both parents' and students' attitudes and beliefs about school and education, making across and within comparisons. The study found that children of Mexican immigrant parents viewed their parents as ineffective adults, that parental expectations and children expectations about school were in conflict, that students were motivated extrinsically rather than intrinsically, and that many obstacles to school success were perceived by the students. Students viewed their parents as ineffective or non-engaged due to the fact that many parents did not help students with school work. Behro (2009) writes, several parents "mention[ed] specifically that they were unable to because they didn't understand it [the homework] or had not gone that far in school themselves" (p. 55). Parents and students conflicted about the importance of missing school. Behro (2009) found that Latino students in the study often missed school due to family obligations (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995). Long-term goals also revealed a connection to familism (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995), with Mexican children in the study focusing on short-term goals rather than looking too far in the future. Only two of the thirty four students in the study described intrinsic motivation as motivating factor, revealing that extrinsic

motivation was heavily relied on by most students. The finding showing obstacles to school was also culturally bound, with students revealing fear of disruption of studying often due to job difficulties and deportation.

Acculturation and Biculturalism

Rothe (2004) used sociocultural theory to examine concerns in immigrant, Latino families. This qualitative case study examined social factors that contributed to problems with acculturation among Latino youth. Castillo, Lopéz-Arenas, and Saldivar (2010), Rothe (2004), and Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (1995) describe acculturation as the adoption of host culture norms and the maintenance of one's own cultural norms.

DeVos (1980) and Ogbu (1978) (as cited in Rothe, 2004, p. 255) established three themes that affect adaptation and acculturation for immigrants: circumstances of the immigration, social hierarchy, and cultural ethos or stereotypes. Rothe (2004) explains that since children and adolescents do not often participate in the decision to migrate, they are uprooted from their social and physical environments, often not having time to say goodbye to friends or their homes. Since familismo encourages Latinos to rely heavily on their social networks, including family and friends, being uprooted from an environment where those resources were readily available to one where they are lacking can be traumatic. Many researchers have investigated what is known as the "stresses of acculturation" (Castillo, Lopéz-Arenas, & Saldivar, 2010; Roth, 2004; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995).

Rothe (2004) says, "migration is today considered to be a transformative process in which the immigrant adds new elements to his or her identity that belong to the new culture and deletes elements from the old culture that are no longer useful" (p. 257). For

Latino immigrants, this transition is extremely stressful, and many retreat into "marginalization," a form of acculturation in which the immigrant holds on tightly to his/her original culture at the expense of transformation, or "assimilation," a form of acculturation in which the immigrant completely adopts the host culture (Rothe, 2004). The reasons behind marginalization and assimilation vary from discomfort to defiance to conformity to desperation, but both marginalization and assimilation can produce negative feelings of alienation, depression, and confusion (Rothe, 2004).

Differences in acculturation (or lack of acculturation) are most evident at school, where Latinos are still the minority. Collins and Blot (2003) explain that schooling is where lessons are learned about class, gender, and race and where one's self or one's literacy are deemed adequate or inadequate. Vega, Hough, and Romero (1983) determined that when adolescents feel devalued, it may lead to ethnic self-hate. This may lead to problems such as drug abuse, depression, and violence.

Bilculturalism. Rothe (2004) advocates for a new model of acculturation: biculturalism. Biculturalism "allows for the validation and reaffirmation of the person's identity by both the old and the new culture" (p. 260). Latino adolescents who are able to establish biculturalism are able to belong to both cultural groups, and by being able to be proud of where they come from while successfully navigating American culture, they are also able to be more productive in their lives.

Codeswitching. In relationship to sociocultural theory, the existence of "communities of practice" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Gee, 1996; Smith, 2003; Wenger, 2000) influences the way Latinos develop identity and function within the community. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) define a community of practice as a

group of people who come together for some sort of mutual experience. For example, a classroom in school, a church group, or a softball team would all be considered communities of practice according to this definition.

Since Latino youth belong to various communities of practice, they often are involved in a practice called codeswitching. Codeswitching is described as a switch between community language to a more dominant language or a mixture. Harris (2006) and Gee (1996; 2014) point out that codeswitching occurs for a variety of reasons, including who people are talking to, why an exchange occurred, and what expertise the participants have. Studying sociocultural factors involved in belonging to a Latino, male community of practice may help me to understand the different roles (including gender roles), boundaries, and identities within the Latino community that young Latino males strive to emulate.

Conclusion

This review of literature illustrates a gap of in-depth, qualitative research regarding factors that influence bilingual Latino, high school boys' motivation to read. Many previous studies have examined reading motivation, boys, and Latinos. These studies have focused on factors that have motivated students in school and in the classroom and have revealed strategies that have worked in improving motivation. Studies on boys' motivation in school and literacy have shown that hegemonic masculinity often influences motivation. Among studies of boys' literacy practices, researchers have suggested pedagogy for teachers that can improve boys' motivation.

Because Latinos are a growing demographic in the United States, information about how to improve motivation in literacy practices is vital. In particular, an

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examination of Latino boys' interests and needs is necessary and may increase their success in school if they are addressed. Although studies have examined Latinos' motivation in school and Latinos' motivation to read, most of the previous studies centered on elementary or middle school students. These studies are informative, but high school boys may be motivated to read for reasons that differ from elementary and junior high students from this demographic.

This study is designed to fill the gap and add to the existing research in the area of Latino high school boys' reading motivation by providing an in-depth analysis of seven high school boys who currently demonstrate a motivation to read. Even though the size of this study limits the generalizability of the findings, the information discovered through this study will help teachers to understand factors that have worked for these boys, which could inform future practices in regard to the growing number of Hispanic, bilingual boys appearing in schools across the United States.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Study's Purpose

The purpose of this study was to determine the characteristics of bilingual (English/Spanish), Latino boys who were motivated readers.

Research Questions

The previous chapter discussed literature examining reading motivation, boys' reading practices, and Latino youth. While many studies focused on Latino youths' motivation to read, few prior studies focused on high school aged, bilingual Latino boys' reading motivation and practices. Previous studies included both qualitative and quantitative methods, and the current qualitative study hopes to add to the growing body of research about Latino youth reading practices by providing an in-depth study of seven high school aged Latino boys who were motivated readers.

To try to unearth the practices of bilingual Latino boys in high school, I investigated the following questions:

Main Question:

- What are the characteristics and practices of bilingual Latino, male motivated readers?

Sub Questions:

- What are the past and present home influences on reading?

- What are the past and present school influences on reading?

- What motivates bilingual Latino boys to read?

- How do bilingual Latino, male readers view their reading practices?

Design of Study

This study followed a qualitative method, multiple case-study design (Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2014). Seven individual cases were reported to discover factors that influenced each boy in the study to become a motivated reader. The case study method allowed me to "achieve a full understanding of the phenomenon" (Merriam, 2009, p. 42) being studied. As per Yin (2014), this case study attempts to answer "what" and "how" questions.

I chose to focus on seven boys in their senior year of school that fit my profile criteria (discussed in the participant selection section in more detail) because they were able to report about experiences from throughout their childhood. Since the study took place in the second semester of each boys' senior year, near the end of the subjects' secondary schooling, these boys were able to report on school reading experiences from high school, junior high, and elementary school, as well as home reading experiences from throughout their childhoods.

I collected data from three sources: individual interviews, a focus group interview, and a survey/questionnaire. By using three different sources of data, I was able to triangulate the data (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2010; Yin 2014), improving the reliability of the study. By choosing to study seven cases, the companion cases supplemented each other and delivered even more compelling results (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2010; Yin, 2014). Even though seven cases is much too small for generalizability, this study provides some valuable depth of information for researchers hoping to know more about bilingual Latino boys' reading motivation.

Site Selection

The study took place at Mountain High School (NOTE: Pseudonyms used for school and participant names throughout), which is located in a large, suburban community in the Southwestern United States. The school, located within a large district with ten high schools, had a student population of 2,745 in 2013-2014, consisting of 57% Caucasian, 33% Latino, 4% African American, 2% Native American, 2% Asian, and 1% indicating more than one race (PublicSchoolStats.com, 2014; U.S. News and World Report, 2014). 56% qualified for free/reduced lunch in 2013-2014 (PublicSchoolStats.com, 2014; U.S. News and World Report, 2014), 8% of the students lived in single-family home dwellings, and 20% lived in one parent homes.

The school had a 75% graduation rate with 52% of the graduating seniors attending college immediately upon graduation, and 54% of graduating Latino seniors were enrolled in college in 2012-2013 (School Profile, 2013). Only 1% of the students at the school were enrolled in English as a Second Language classes. The school had a 3% drop-out rate in 2012-2013 (School Profile, 2013). 86% of students met the state reading assessment in grade ten in 2012-2013 (School Profile, 2013).

This site was selected because of the diverse population that reflected the demographics of the state. Also, convenience affected my decision to use Mountain High School as the site for my study. Due to my experience working with this district, I had access to the site and students.

Subjectivity

"Interaction effects" (Smagorinksy, 2008, p. 395), often described as researcher's subjectivity, must be acknowledged in qualitative studies. Merriam (2009) says that

researchers "need to explain their biases, dispositions, and assumptions regarding the research to be undertaken" (p. 219). When I began the study, I needed to be aware of any bias and subjectivity I had. Throughout the study, I worked hard not to allow these factors to influence the data collection and analysis in the study.

On one hand, I was an "insider" because I was studying the boys' attitudes toward reading in school. Anderson-Levitt (2006) points out that all researchers who "study schooling are insiders to some degree" (p. 286). During this study, for example, three of the students who participated were my former students. I was an eighth grade teacher at the junior high that used to feed into the high school the students attended, and I was their eighth grade English teacher. This helped me to have immediate strong rapport with those three students. During the interviews, a few even mentioned eighth grade English as a positive reading memory. To avoid tainting the data, I excluded any mention of my English class in the findings section. During the study, I was working as a part-time teacher at the high school where the study took place. Although I was not currently teaching any of the students in the study, they could have heard about my teaching and interests which could have impacted the students' answers during interviews.

One the other hand, I am a White, female researcher. I have lived in the Southwestern United States for over 30 years, so I do feel like I have developed awareness of Latino culture, but I conducted this research from an "outsider" perspective (Anderson-Levitt, 2006). Anderson-Levitt (2006) mention that outsiders "have the advantage of noticing what insiders do not notice" (p. 286). Since I studied Latino boys, and I was concerned with cultural factors affecting reading motivation, studying this

group from an outsider perspective enabled me to notice cultural factors that insiders may not have noticed.

Participant Selection

The study used multiple case-study design because the "more cases included in a study, and the greater variation across cases, the more compelling an interpretation is likely to be" (Merriam, 2009, p. 49). By choosing seven bilingual Latino boys from the senior class at Mountain High School, I was able to compare within and across cases (Yin, 2014).

I used purposeful sampling (Merriam, 2009) to choose participants for the case, looking for bilingual Latino boys who were motivated readers. Bilingual boys were chosen to illustrate a representative sample in the state. My sample was "replication" (Yin, 2014). The reason I chose to conduct cases that were replications was to show that there were similarities and differences across experiences for bilingual Latino boys who were motivated readers. As Yin (2014) explains, "each case must be carefully selected so that it either (a) predicts similar results (a *literal replication*) or (b) predicts contrasting results but for anticipatable reasons (a *theoretical replication*)" (emphasis in the original) (p. 57). By purposefully choosing participants that were literal replications, I was able to determine which motivational factors were strongest and which factors were not important among the participants. The attributes that were essential to my study included: reading amount, ethnicity, home language spoken, gender, and grade level. Because I hoped to offer a literal replication (Yin, 2014), I chose carefully to make sure that students in the study represented these essential attributes.

Two-Phase Approach. Using a "two-phase approach" for participant selection (Yin, 2014), I used purposeful sampling that reflected the purpose of my study (Merriam, 2009). The IRB paperwork was approved in early December of 2014, and I quickly began recruiting participants.

To find motivated, bilingual Latino boys, the first phase involved a questionnaire that was administered to three teachers' senior English classes at Mountain High School (Appendix A). This survey determined reading motivation, ethnicity, and home language spoken. Approximately 360 boys and girls completed the survey in December of 2014.

For stage two of the selection process, I sorted through the participant selection surveys to find bilingual Latino boys. Selection was based on survey answers which indicated all of the following: Latino ethnicity, male gender, and Spanish as a home language. Only male students who identified themselves as "Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin" were considered. Students indicated if a language other than English was spoken by circling each language that was spoken at home, and only students who indicated Spanish as a home language were considered.

After narrowing down the surveys to only male, bilingual Latino students, I looked at each of the surveys to determine reading motivation and reading amount. Students indicated reading motivation by rating several statements in regard to their reading habits on a Likert scale and by indicating their reading amount for the past twelve months. I only selected boys who rated themselves high on most items of the scale.

I met with several boys that met the criterion for the study to determine which candidates were most viable. Seidman (2013) suggests,

A contact visit before the actual interview aids in selecting participants and helps build a foundation for the interview relationship. A contact visit can also convince an interviewer that a good interviewing relationship with a particular, potential participant [is or] is not likely to develop. (p. 50)

I told each boy that he had met the criterion for a study which would be examining motivated, bilingual Latino boy readers. I explained that the study would entail one one-on-one interview for about an hour, one focus group interview which would take place with all of the case study students for about two hours, one meeting to go over and discuss the transcript of the interviews, and completing one survey/questionnaire which would take about 30 minutes to an hour.

I used this initial meeting to determine which boys were willing and available to participate and also gave each consent and assent forms to complete. Students who were under 18 needed to complete assent forms and also have their parents complete consent forms, as per IRB. During the meeting, I also explained to each participant that his answers and participation in the study were completely voluntary and all data would kept confidential. I gave each student the option to decide upon his own pseudonym to be used throughout the study so I was able to begin to use pseudonyms immediately.

From the first group of boys that I met with, three returned contact information (including cell phone numbers and email addresses), assent, and (as needed for those that were under 18 years old) consent forms. I followed up with the other boys I had spoken to. Two chose not to participate, and two others did not return their forms. I returned to my participant surveys and talked to four more boys, visiting each in their third hour classes at school. Although I had originally anticipated studying just six cases, all four of

these boys returned their forms, and rather than cutting one participant, I decided to keep all seven cases.

By choosing participants that fit the predetermined criteria for the study, I was able to purposefully sample (Merriam, 2009; Seidman, 2013; Yin, 2014). Merriam suggests, "Good respondents are those who can express thoughts, feelings, opinions— that is, offer a perspective—on the topic being studied" (p. 107). From the initial survey and meeting, I felt that each of the participants would be "good respondents," as per Merriam (2009).

I used email and text messaging throughout the study to contact participants and to set up interviews or deliver messages. I only had two issues using this method. (1) Erick did not own a cell phone, so I often had to talk him in person about times that he was available to meet. (2) Mark had a cell phone. But at one point during the study, Mark's phone was disconnected, so I was unable to contact him via text message. Other than these two issues, using technology to communicate with the participants was efficient and convenient for both myself and the participants.

Participant Descriptions. There were seven participants. Each boys' family life and history is described below to provide a clearer picture of each participant.

Alejandro was a 17 year old senior at Mountaintop High School. He is the oldest child in his family and lived with his mom and step-dad, who are both native Spanish speakers and Mexican immigrants. Alejandro was born in a coastal village in Mexico and immigrated to the United States when he was a toddler. Alejandro was involved in three clubs on campus: Key Club, National Honor Society, and Mountaintop Connection

Leaders. He was also part of the city's Mayor's Youth Committee. He planned to attend a public university to pursue a career in environmental engineering.

Eduardo was an 18 year old senior at Mountaintop High School. He lived with his older brother and sister-in-law. Eduardo grew up in a single parent home with a Mexican mother who spoke Spanish. Eduardo was born in the United States, but he spent his first four years of childhood living in Mexico. He planned to pursue a career in diesel and heavy equipment.

Erick was a 17 year old senior at Mountaintop High School. Erick's parents are both undocumented immigrants from Mexico. Erick has one younger sister. He started kindergarten in the United States. Erick planned to attend a public university in the state in the fall to pursue a career in law enforcement. He also hoped to run track or cross country in college.

Huey was an 18 year old senior at Mountaintop High School. He is the youngest son of a Mexican immigrant mother and Mexican American father. Huey's father has a job as a landscaper. The youngest of eight children, Huey lived at home with two sisters. Two of his older brothers were incarcerated for gang related activities. Huey worked at a local grocery store part-time on nights and weekends. Huey's plans after graduation were not set.

Mark was an 18 year old senior at Mountaintop High School. Both of Mark's parents are Mexican immigrants. Mark moved to the United States from Mexico when he was in first grade. He has one older sister who is in college. Mark planned to attend a medical institute locally to get training that will help him work his way through college. His dreams include becoming a sound engineer, technician, or music producer.

Martín was an 18 year old senior at Mountaintop High School. Martín's dad is a construction worker, and his mom is a housekeeper. While living in Mexico, his mom attended college. His dad, who lived in a poorer village, did not finish school. He has one younger brother. He planned to attend a local community college because of a film program offered there.

Tommy was a 17 year old senior at Mountaintop High School. Tommy lived at home with his mom and step-dad. His mother is a Mexican immigrant, and his step-dad is an American from New York. Tommy's step-dad did not speak Spanish, so the home language was English. He is a middle child, with both an older and younger sister. Tommy did not plan to attend college, but he planned to pursue a career in music production after high school.

Data Collection

Three methods of data collection were used for this study: individual interviews, a focus group interview, and questionnaires.

Individual Interviews. One semi-structured interview (Merriam, 2009; Seidman, 2013) took place with each participant. Using the semi-structured interview technique "allows the researcher to respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic" (Merriam, 2009, p. 90). The semi-structured format allowed me to ask the same questions to each participant, while asking open-ended questions allowed me to follow each interviewee's interests and follow up with questions that helped me to understand each participant's point of view. As Rubin and Rubin (2011) suggest, case study interviews should be fluid rather than rigid.

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As Merriam (2009) states, "Interviewing is necessary when we cannot observe behavior, feelings, or how people interpret the world around them" (p. 88). Because this study investigated the motivation of bilingual Latino boy readers who were already highly motivated and I wanted to discover the reasons these boys were motivated, interviews allowed me to ask these participants about their attitudes toward books, their prior experiences with books at home and school, and what motivated them to read books. In another format, I would not have been able to gather the type of in-depth, specific information that I sought.

Developing the Interview Protocol. The interview protocol contained questions that helped me to understand the characteristics of each boys' reading and factors that contributed to their motivation to read. While developing the interview questions, I followed Becker's (1998) suggestion of asking "how" questions rather than "why" questions. Becker (1998) points out the difference between "why" questions and "how" questions, saying that "why" questions cause defensiveness on the informant's part. Patton (2002) also recommends not asking "why" questions because this type of question asks the respondent to speculate about causal relationships. As I designed questions, I made sure that I followed my line of inquiry and wrote the questions in an unbiased manner (Yin, 2014).

Questions for the individual interview focused on discovering reading practices, family and school experiences with reading, efficacy toward reading, grades, access to reading materials, types of reading, and social aspects of reading. (See Appendix B for a complete list of interview questions.)

Doing the Individual Interviews. Each case study participant completed an individual interview at the beginning of the study. Each of these interviews took an hour to complete and took place in the school library from January 6-27, 2015. The library in the school had a magazine room with a long conference table. Interviews and member checks usually took place in this room although Eduardo and Martín's interviews and member check meetings took place in other parts of the library because the magazine room was being used on those days.

I contacted each of the participants via text message or email to set up dates and times for the interview. I gave each boy multiple options for times and dates in order to work around his schedule. For example, when contacting Tommy, I texted:

Hello, [Tommy]. This is Ms. Shaffer. I was wondering if you were available to meet me for the first interview next week either on Monday after school or on Thursday. Do either of those times work? The other option is if your study skills teacher 6th hour would allow you to meet me during study skills. Then you wouldn't have to come after school. (text message, January 9, 2015)

Tommy responded that he could meet me on Monday during sixth hour.

Because the boys were seniors, Huey, Erick, and Eduardo attended school for only part of the day, which made it possible for me to meet them immediately after they finished their classes. Tommy and Mark had study hall during sixth hour, and both were able to get permission from their teacher to meet me during that period for the interview. The other students, Alejandro and Martín, met me after school.

During the interview, I loosely followed the interview protocol, but because of the semi-structured nature of the interview, I allowed the students' responses to guide the

inquiry. I also took field notes (as needed) during the interviews to note body language and other non-verbal cues.

Audio Recording. I audio recorded each interview with a digital recorder, as suggested by Merriam (2009) and Seidman (2013), which allowed me to easily transcribe the interviews.

transcription. Interviews were transcribed within one week of completion. I transcribed the first interview with Huey (January 6, 2015) by plugging in the digital recorder to the computer and listening closely multiple times. I used a program called Digital Voice Editor 3 to slow the speed of the recording as I typed the transcript. As Yin (2014) suggests, I listened carefully to "[capture] the mood and affective components, [understand] the context from which the interviewee is perceiving the world, and [infer] the meaning intended by the interviewee" (p. 74).

After transcribing the first interview, I followed the suggestion of one of my dissertation committee members to use the transcription service Rev.com. I accessed Rev.com from my computer and uploaded the second individual interview with Mark (January 9, 2015). The completed transcript was delivered to my in-box in less than 24 hours. I listened to the audio while reading the transcript to check for any errors. There were a few errors that needed corrected, but for the most part, the transcript was accurate, and I decided to use Rev.com as a transcription service for the rest of the interview transcripts during the study.

Member Checks. Individual transcripts were fact-checked by the respondents during a second meeting which took place approximately a week after the first interview. Member checking, say Stake (2010) and Merriam (2009), involves presenting a draft

copy of an interview to the participant asking the person to correct and comment on the material. Stake (2010) says "member checking is a process vital to qualitative research" (p. 127). Member checks aid in protecting human subjects from being hurt, and Stake (2010) and Merriam (2009) say that researchers should persist in getting confirmation from the participants in order to ensure accuracy.

During the member check, I made certain that I had accurately captured the intended meaning of the responses. Member check meetings took between 30 minutes to one hour for each participant and took place in the school library. I asked the participants to read their transcript of the interview and provide feedback and corrections as needed. I used the member check meeting as an opportunity to ask participants clarifying questions.

Focus Group. Group interview is discussed by Krueger and Casey (2009), Merriam (2009), and Yin (2014). Using a group interview or focus group, I was able to ask questions that I was unable to ask during one-on-one interviews and to follow up with additional questions and themes developed from the individual interviews. As Krueger and Casey (2009) state,

> The purpose [of a focus group] is to uncover factors that influence opinions, behavior or motivation. Focus groups can provide insight into complicated topics when opinions or attitudes are conditional or when the area of concern relates to multifaceted behavior or motivation. (p. 19)

A focus group differs from an individual interview because the group format means that answers are not private. Members of the focus group can hear answers from other group members, and they may agree, disagree, and even ask their own follow up questions.

During my focus group, the boys were able to feed off of each other's answers and have a conversation about topics as I moderated the discussion. Patton (2002) explains,

> unlike a series of one-on-one interviews, in a focus group participants get to hear each other's responses and to make additional comments beyond their own original responses as they hear what other people have to say. (p. 386)

For example, when one respondent answered a question in an interesting way, it caused another respondent to think about the question in a new way and add to the answer. Krueger and Casey (2009) say, "You want ideas to emerge from the group. A group possesses the capacity to become more than the sum of its parts, to exhibit a synergy that individuals alone don't possess" (p. 19). During one part of the discussion about the effects learning English had on reading motivation, one of the participants began asking questions to the other members of the group. This development was interesting because the participants began to learn from each other and take ownership of the group.

With a focus group composed of students who were all motivated readers and who had similar ethnic and language backgrounds, I was able to delve into topics related to language acquisition, Latino cultural norms, and friends. "The focus group presents a more natural environment than that of an individual interview because participants are influencing and influenced by others—just as they are in life" (Krueger & Casey, 2009, p. 7). During a focus group, for example, I was better able to understand factors at home and school that had influenced these boys to be motivated readers. I was also able to find out whether attitudes about gender within the group had an effect on motivation.

Focus Group Protocol. I began the focus group interview as Krueger and Casey (2009) suggest, by pointing out the commonalities among the participants, saying, "You were all invited here today because you all are motivated readers. I wanted to tap into the experiences that have influenced this trait" (group interview, February 19, 2015). I had questions prepared for the focus group but was open to allowing the conversation to deviate from prepared questions when appropriate, following a semi-structured format (Merriam, 2009; Seidman, 2013). (See Appendix C for protocol questions for the first interview.)

Krueger and Casey (2009) suggest using 10-12 questions for a two hour period and devising a clear route from general to specific questions. I began the focus group by asking an opening question. All participants were expected to answer, and I went around the group asking each boy to share his answer with the other boys: "What book are you currently reading?" This got each participant talking as soon as possible. Krueger and Casey (2009) state that the purpose of opening questions is to help participants to see their similarities.

Then, the questions turned to what Krueger and Casey (2009) call introductory questions. These questions are more specific to the topic being researched, and get the people thinking about their connection to the topic. I asked boys about qualities of "good" books, the kinds of books they liked to read, and some titles of books that they considered "good."

Following these introductory questions, I asked transition questions before beginning the discussion of the "key questions" (Krueger & Casey, 2009). Transition questions included: "What has been your experience with reading at home?" and "What

have your experiences been with reading at school?" Key questions delved into the cultural and motivational attitudes of the boys. Some of these questions asked about students' perceptions of reading in Latino culture and what "reading to learn" meant to each boy.

After the key questions were asked and discussed, which took the majority of the allotted time, I asked an "all things considered" question (Krueger & Casey, 2009, p. 40) where participants determined their final position on the topic, allowing for reflection and clarification. I summarized what I heard and asked for feedback from all of the participants as a closure to the group.

Doing the Focus Group Interview. The focus group took place after school in one of the English teacher's rooms on the school campus. Five of the participants were present for the focus group: Eduardo, Erick, Tommy, Mark, and Huey. Alejandro and Martín were not present for the focus group. The interview took approximately 90 minutes. All participants stayed for the entire interview except Erick who had to leave 15 minutes early for track practice.

Participants moved desks in the classroom to be more comfortable during the interview. Two of the interviewees had English in this same classroom: Mark and Huey. Tommy and Mark borrowed "comfy" chairs from the teacher's desk in order to feel more comfortable, and Huey and Erick sat on top of the desks to stretch out and talk. Only Eduardo sat in the desk. The recording device was placed in the center of the group on a desk in order to capture the sound better. I sat off camera.

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Figure 3. Focus group interview. This figure illustrates the format and environment for the focus group interview.

I provided pizza, snacks, and soda for the participants as an incentive to attend the group as Krueger and Casey (2009) suggest. I thought that this would help to motivate the students to attend the focus group. The food and drinks contributed to the comfortable environment I established during the group interview, and after a few minutes of talking and eating, I started the interview questions.

The influence of the boys on each other was another important factor that affected the focus group. Upon entering the classroom where the focus group took place, Erick realized that his friends Tommy and Mark were also part of the study. He had no idea that both of the other boys were participating as well. Huey and Eduardo were also friends prior to the focus group, and these pre-existing friendships helped the boys to feel more comfortable within the discussion. At times, it felt more like friends talking than an interview.

Audio and Video Recording. The focus group interview was audio and video recorded to help with transcription. I used a digital recorder to record the audio and used my computer to record the video portion. The entire interview was transcribed within two

weeks of the focus group interview taking place. Rev.com completed the transcription. When the transcript was complete, I watched and listened to the interview in order to identify each of the speakers on the transcript because the transcript was labeled "Male 1," "Male 2," etc. As I listened, I carefully added names for each of the boys to the typed transcript.

Second Individual Interview. Two of the participants, Alejandro and Martín, were interviewed individually during a second interview since each was not able to attend the focus group interview. Each of these second interviews took place in the school library and lasted approximately one hour.

Doing the Interview. The second interview with Alejandro and Martín followed the group interview protocol (with a few alterations to the wording of questions). The interviews followed a semi-structured interview strategy (Merriam, 2009; Seidman, 2013). I built on respondents' answers and followed up when necessary to help with understanding. Since these interviews replaced the group interview, I also preceded and followed some of the questions with summaries of what had been discussed during the group interview, asking Alejandro and Martín to share their opinions about the responses of the other boys. This was done in order to derive opinions that would build on the group interview responses. This strategy worked well, and Alejandro and Martín's answers provided insight into Latino cultural norms and attitudes about reading.

Audio Recording. Each of these second interviews took place the week following the focus group interview and was audio recorded to ease transcription. The transcript was submitted to Rev.com and was transcribed within one week after the completion of the interview.

Questionnaire. Using questionnaires, or surveys, to measure reading motivation has been a common practice for both classroom teachers and researchers (Atwell, 1995; Chapman & Tunmer, 1995; Greaney & Neuman, 1990; Logan & Johnston, 2009; McKenna & Kear, 1990; Möller & Bonerad, 2007; Sheifele et al., 2012; Wigfield & Guthrie, 1997). Yin (2014) suggests using structured questionnaires in case study research in order to produce quantitative data as part of the case study evidence. Yin (2014) says that case studies use survey data differently compared to other types of research designs. In a case study, the role of the survey is to triangulate data (Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2014) in relation to other sources of evidence.

Gay, Mills, and Airasian (2011) say the "major difference between a questionnaire and an interview is that, with a questionnaire, the participant writes the responses on the form provided" (p. 388-389). This provides the respondents with time to think about responses before answering which can be an advantage. But, the written format also makes it more difficult than a face-to-face interview because the researcher is not present when participants take the questionnaire. This can make it more difficult for participants to answer questions that are not worded clearly, and misinterpretations are more likely to occur.

Questionnaire Protocol. The questionnaire that I administered contained 60 questions. I used Google Forms to create and administer the questionnaire to the seven study participants. Gay, Mills, and Airasian (2011) suggest that tabulating the results should be considered when designing a survey, and I chose Google Docs because of the ease in which to collect and tabulate the results. An advantage of questionnaires is that they "allow the researcher to collect large amounts of data in a relatively short period of

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time" (Gay, Mills, & Airasian, 2011, p. 389). Participants were able to answer questions about reading motivation, preferences, and attitude in about thirty minutes using the Google form link I sent to them via email.

For my questionnaire, I used questions from Wigfield and Guthrie's MRQ (1997) that fit with my research questions and also added questions I wrote. I used the survey as an opportunity to ask students about specific book preferences, favorite authors, and other questions that I was not able to ask during the individual or focus group interviews. (See Appendix D for the complete protocol.).

I created the survey in electronic format on Google Forms. Not only did this help me with the distribution of the survey, but also with the tabulation of the data. The format also allowed more flexibility for informants, giving them the chance to complete surveys at a time that was convenient.

prior reading motivation surveys. Categories used in previous studies regarding reading motivation were reviewed by Schiefele et al. (2012) who found several common categories among the survey instruments used. Since Wigfield and Guthrie's (1997) MRQ is the most commonly used questionnaire used for quantitative studies about reading motivation, the categories from the MRQ were compared to the other studies. The MRQ categories that corresponded with at least two other studies were: curiosity, involvement, competition, recognition, grades, and efficacy. Two categories that did not correspond to the MRQ that appeared in Greaney and Neuman's (1990) and Möller and Bonerad's (2007) studies respectively were escape and enjoyment. McKenna and Kear (1990), Chapman and Tunmer (1995), and Atwell (1995) devised surveys for students to complete on reading attitudes and habits in class for teacher use.

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Doing the Questionnaire. I emailed the questionnaire link to all seven participants after the first interview with each boy had been completed. Five respondents completed the survey in a timely manner, but two boys, Mark and Martín, did not complete the survey online. After several emails to them with the survey link, I still had not received a response. So, I printed and copied the survey on paper for each of them to complete. I delivered the survey to them in class and returned the following day to retrieve the survey from them both.

Once I collected the paper surveys from Mark and Martín, I entered the data from the handwritten surveys into the Google form exactly as the participants had written it. I did this so that the data from each survey would be available in the charts and graphs created in Google forms.

Data Analysis

The method of data analysis was influenced by Merriam (2009) and Yin (2012) and their processes of coding and analyzing data. The data was analyzed as it was collected. Data analysis began, as Merriam (2009) suggests, as I transcribed the first interview and continued to occur throughout the entire process of data collection. She urges, "Collection and analysis should be a simultaneous process in qualitative research" (Merriam, 2009, p. 169).

Coding. Throughout the data collection and analysis process, transcripts of data were reviewed multiple times, looking for codes, or categories. I downloaded audio files of the interviews onto my phone in order to listen to the interviews as I exercised and traveled. This helped me to become extremely familiar with the data. In addition to listening to the audio multiple times, I read and reread the transcripts. While I read, I

made comments and notes in the margins, wrote additional questions, and highlighted and circled key ideas, as per Merriam (2009). This process is what Merriam (2009) refers to as "open coding" because I was "open to anything possible" (p. 178). I looked specifically for units of data that appeared important and that informed my research questions.

After I read through each of the transcripts several times looking for "open codes," I read back through the notes that I had written, looking for ways to group my comments and notes together into categories. This process of grouping codes is called "axial" coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2007). As I read each transcript again, I wrote a master list of concepts that recurred in multiple sources, which helped me begin to recognize patterns in the data. Merriam says, "Making sense out of data involves consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people have said and what the researcher has seen and read—it is the process of making meaning" (p. 176).

I used constant comparative analysis (Merriam, 2009) by returning to earlier transcripts as more interviews and transcripts were completed. Merriam (2009) says "the task is to compare one unit of information with the next in looking for recurring regularities in the data" (p. 177). This helped me to keep in mind previous codes that had stood out and connect these codes to new information in the more recent transcripts. Merriam (2009) says, "Comparisons are constantly made within and between levels of conceptualization until a theory can be formulated" (p. 200).

By collecting data from multiple cases, I was able to compare the extent of replication (Yin, 2014) among the cases and look for similarities and differences. The cases contained comparative samples (Merriam, 2009), or what Yin (2014) refers to as

literal and theoretical replications. This allowed me to compare across participants. Findings from among the multiple cases supplemented and augmented the findings, making each of the findings more compelling because of the number of cases.

Naming the Codes. Merriam (2009) says that names of the categories can come from at least three sources: "yourself, the researcher, the participants, or sources outside the study such as the literature" (p. 184). Merriam (2009) cautions that categories should be responsive to your research, so when naming categories, researcher have to take care that the categories are the answers to the research questions. I named codes from each of these sources. One example occurred when I used the code "codeswitching" (Gee, 1996; 2014; Harris, 2006) to describe the way that the boys in my study straddled the two communities of practice (Wenger, 2000) that they belonged to. This code came from the prior literature, but clearly illustrated what was occurring in the study.

As I worked to develop codes for my study, I returned to the previous literature as coding possibilities. However, as Merriam (2009) suggests, I stayed focused on my research questions, so these pre-existing codes were only used when they answered my research questions. Merriam (2009) says, "The answers to your research questions are the findings to your study" (p. 176). I found some similarities between the findings of previous studies and my own findings, but since my study had a focus on not only reading motivation, but also on bilingual Latino boys, my categories often differed from these prior studies. Based on my research questions, my tentative coding categories were: home reading experiences, school reading experiences, reading motivation, school performance, and attitude toward reading. (See Appendix E for the breakdown of coding categories that were found.)

Previous Reading Motivation Studies' Codes. I also looked at codes used in prior qualitative studies about reading motivation. Codes found in four previous qualitative studies about reading motivation studies conducted by Guthrie et al. (1996), Greaney and Neuman (1990), Nolen (2007), and Schiefele and Schaffner (in press as cited in Schiefele et al., 2012) about motivation to read were compared by Schiefele et al. (2012). All four previous studies arrived at the categories of involvement and competition and three of these four also arrived at the categories of recognition, grades, challenge, social, compliance, investment, and emotional tuning.

Specifically, Schiefele et al. (2012) found Guthrie et al. (1996) utilized the following categories: curiosity, involvement, competition, recognition, grades, challenge, work avoidance, social, compliance, investment, emotional tuning, rewards, utilitarian, and efficacy. Greaney and Neuman (1990) used the following codes in their study: escape, stimulation, enjoyment; general learning; self-respect, utility, general learning; goals; relief from boredom, escape; morality; and convenience/flexibility. Nolen's (2007) study found: interest, mastery; interest, enjoyment; ego concerns; mastery; reading avoidance; social motives; reading as a school task; and utility reading as important findings. Schiefele and Schaffner (in press, as cited in Schiefele et al., 2012) grouped their findings into the following: imagination, absorption, suspense, enjoyment, relaxation; competition; social context; competence; school task; regulation of emotions, relief from boredom, relaxation; facilitation of sleep; and filling time.

Nvivo. I used an electronic, qualitative coding tool to help me with the coding process. Nvivo was purchased and loaded onto my computer in January 2015. I began uploading data into the Nvivo database and classifying data into the coding categories

during February 2015 after I had read and reread transcripts several times and completed most of the initial open coding and axial coding process (Corbin & Strauss, 2007; Merriam, 2009).

I started adding "nodes" in Nvivo based on the codes I had determined through my close reading and notes. As I worked to link data into axial codes (Corbin & Strauss, 2007), I was able to move data around within Nvivo to create umbrella categories. This was extremely helpful because I simply had to drag categories under a new name or hierarchy in order for it to be reclassified. When I realized that the umbrella categories I was using need to be rearranged to better reflect the themes of the findings, this ease of rearranging the categories was something that I appreciated.

The program also enabled me to view and print nodes that showed links between the various data from the individual interviews and the group interview. With 256 pages of interview transcripts, being able to link nodes across the data was important. Being able to pull up a certain node category as I was writing my findings was extremely helpful. Since the data was classified by both node and source, I was able to cite each data source and organize the findings more easily.

The program also was able to run reports called "queries" which allowed me to search for terms across the data. It showed me the number of times certain words were mentioned across the data sources. For example, I created a word tree for the terms "learn" and "knowledge." The tree shows words that appeared before and after the term in the data sources and gives a visual representation of the saturation of the words. (See Appendix F for the word tree of "learn" and "knowledge" occurrences.)

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This study examined bilingual Latino boys' reading motivation. The findings are presented in this chapter.

The purpose of this qualitative study was to determine factors that influence the motivation of bilingual Latino boys to read. Experiences with reading at home and at school were considered. Language and cultural influences were also investigated. The findings include data from individual interviews, a group interview, and from surveys. There are seven cases representing motivated readers.

The results reveal many factors that influence bilingual Latino boys' reading motivation and provide insight into the study questions.

Main Question:

•   What are the characteristics and practices of bilingual Latino, male motivated readers?

Sub Questions:

•   What are the past and present home influences on reading?

•   What are the past and present school influences on reading?

•   What motivates bilingual Latino boys to read?

•   How do bilingual Latino, male readers view their reading practice?

The main findings fall into four categories: reading self-perception, practices, purposes, and preferences. These categories were determined after close examination of the data and determining its relationship to the study questions.

Reading Self-Perception

Each of the boys' experiences with literacy and reading throughout their lives contributed to the sense of reading self that each exhibited. Each of the participants had a strong sense of who they were as readers, and this identity was partly formed by the experiences each had growing up.

Family

The families of the participants were often supportive of their education and reading. The participants reported parental expectations for school that were high, but participants reported low levels of support from parents as reading models and homework helpers. This section discusses findings related to the participants' experiences with reading in their homes and families.

Educational Expectations. The parental expectations for education, as reported by the participants, were high. This illustrated a positive attitude toward education. The boys' reading was generally supported by their parents.

The survey responses to "My parents often tell me what a good job I am doing in reading" illustrated that reading was not often acknowledged by participants' parents. Two boys agreed that their reading was acknowledged by parents, rating themselves "6" and "8" on the Likert scale. Three participants scored themselves "neutral" by choosing "5" on the Likert scale. Two participants disagreed, rating themselves "1" and "4."

My parents often tell me what a good job I am doing in reading.

1	1	14.3%
2	0	0%
3	0	0%
4	1	14.3%
5	3	42.9%
6	1	14.3%
7	0	0%
8	1	14.3%
9	0	0%
10	0	0%

Figure 4. Parental Recognition of Reading. This figure illustrates parental recognition for reading as reported by the study participants. (online survey, March 28, 2015)

Erick said that his parents were sources for his motivation to read because they inspired him through their struggles. Erick said, "For my parents, it's difficult, being undocumented. Definitely for me, they're always encouraging me and striving, and always telling me, 'You can do it'" (group interview, February 19, 2015). Both of Erick's parents moved to the United States with the hope of creating a better life for Erick. He said,

Hopefully one day [I will] probably make them citizens once I'm 21. Having that good background, getting good grades, giving back to my parents because they've been through a lot, and I honestly feel they deserve the best. That's what drives me every day. I always tell [them], once I grow older I'll supply you with this and that. I'll buy my dad a 1940 Ford truck. My parents, I want to make them the

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happiest people because they truly are courageous and the most hard working

people I know in my life. They are two of my most important [people] so that's

what drives me every day. (interview #1, January 27, 2014)

Erick's motivation to read and do well in school stemmed from the importance of his

family.

Mark's mom encouraged him to read so that he could learn English faster in

school.

My mom just … She wanted me to read, because as I learned English, she said the

more I read, the better I will learn faster and stuff. I never really paid attention

because I felt like I was starting to get it. So at first I didn't like reading, but after

a while, I started reading. (group interview, February 19, 2015)

Eventually, Mark began to enjoy reading even though he did not like it at first.

Reading was often viewed as a positive alternative to running around with friends,

getting involved in gangs, or playing video games by Eduardo, Tommy, and Erick's

parents. Because Eduardo grew up in a rough neighborhood, his mom encouraged him to

stay inside every day after school to read. Tommy, who also had a violent childhood, also

reported that his parents encouraged him to read and stay out of trouble. Erick's parents

encouraged him to "read a book instead of playing video games, read books instead of

watching movies" (interview #1, January 27, 2014). During the group interview, Erick

said,

I'm sure I'm not the … I'm sure my parents aren't the only ones, but they would

always encourage [me] to read, or go outside instead of staying home and playing

[my] Gameboy or something. My parents know that reading will help you, you

know, with your either vocabulary, gaining knowledge, and so they will always

encourage me to read over video games. Some days I would just play for hours.

They will even tell my sister, 'Read a book, or do something.' As much as,

probably, I didn't read, still I would try to go on line and read stuff about monster

trucks when I was a little kid, because I was a big fan of those. Read something,

but like books as much … My parents will always do their job and to encourage

me, and expect me to read more. (group interview, February 19, 2015)

Erick's parents saw reading or playing outside as a better alternative to video games. This

encouragement led Erick to develop not only a habit for reading but also an active

lifestyle as a runner.

Alejandro said, "I know that early on I did show an interest in books, and I think

that really made my parents happy" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). During the second

individual interview, Alejandro commented on his childhood.

Alejandro: There was never an expectation of me to be a good reader. I know

that they're [his parents] worried about me going to school. They thought I didn't

know English at all, but thanks to watching endless cartoons, I did enter

kindergarten knowing some English and understanding people. I think that made

them happy especially since it did worry them that since I was a native Spanish

speaker that I wouldn't be as… I had a disadvantage compared to all the other

kids.

Shelly: Now that you're in your senior year in high school, have you felt like that

expectation has changed or how did they feel about you reading now that you're

older?

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Alejandro: My parents really like when I read. Now that I really don't have a lot of time for it, considering that I just got a job. I know that it makes them happy knowing that I am participating in this activity which is reading which is something they didn't grow up with, something that just isn't important in our culture. I'm not saying that it's not important in the country of Mexico but definitely in our economic status, our class or whatever. It's just not an important thing. It's not normal. Their expectations haven't changed. They don't pressure me to read. We don't talk about it, but when I'm reading, when I do ask to go to the library and check something out, I know that it does make them happy that I'm doing this rather than something else that other teenagers would be doing. (interview #2, February 21, 2015)

Alejandro's experiences with reading were not shared with his parents; nevertheless, his parents were supportive of this reading. Alejandro also mentions that his parents were pleased that he had chosen to read over other activities.

Huey's parents also "like that [he] read[s] a lot because they didn't" (interview #1, January 6, 2015). He said, "Basically when they [his parents] see us [Huey and his siblings] reading, they say, 'Hey, they are just trying to get their education going" (interview #1, January 6, 2015).

The study participants all reported that they felt like their parents were supportive of their reading throughout their lives. Even though parents did not often verbally acknowledge the reading habits of the participants, the parents' attitude toward their sons' reading was viewed as positive by each participant. This finding illustrates how parental expectations shaped each boys' sense of reading self-perception.

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Reading Role Models. Alejandro, Eduardo, Erick, Huey, Mark, and Tommy attributed their parents' reading habits to Latino cultural norms.

Alejandro discussed the fact that his mom did not read to him as being influenced by Latino culture during our first conversation: "It's a funny thing in my culture, I suppose, or the way I was grown up. Like reading isn't that big of a deal" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). Alejandro went on to add,

> It's just one of those culture aspects to it that I don't want to put every Mexican or Hispanic parent together and say that none of them read to their children, but at least my own personal experience was my parents never read to me. It wasn't something that I feel like that now my childhood is incomplete. It was just weird just because I did see that idea of having a bedtime story in TV shows. I saw that everywhere. I saw it in the doctor's office. There were all these posters of 'It's healthy to read to your children.' There were always things that I knew my parents never performed, but at the same time, I don't feel uncomfy or at least my childhood doesn't feel uncomfortable. (interview #1, January 23, 2015)

Alejandro linked his mother's reading habits to Latino culture.

None of the other boys mentioned a cultural link during the first interview, so I followed up during the group interview in order to discover whether Alejandro's view was shared by other participants.

Shelly: How do you think reading is viewed in your culture?

Erick: Like the Hispanic culture?

Tommy: It's not. It's not viewed in our culture. I feel like people don't pay attention to it as much as they should.

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Mark: They really don't.

Eduardo: They mostly focus on work

Huey: Especially in like Mexico, it's mostly dedicated to working, because that's where your incomes coming from to really make a living. They'll cut off reading, because it's seen as something they don't need at the moment. It's mostly to work. It's a focus on labor, instead of getting their education.

Mark: Plus, education isn't free in Mexico, either.

Huey: Yeah, it's expensive.

Erick: The books, I have cousins. One, you have to pay for books and education. My mom had to drop out of junior high, because she didn't have money to go on for an education and read, so she started working. She knows how to read, but you know …

Huey: My mom dropped out when she was 16. She wanted to be a nurse, but she never got to.

Mark: I feel like they don't read a lot, because Hispanics mostly like … They would rather watch television than read, and stuff like that.

Erick: It's work ethic, too. They're always working out. Talking with stats, a lot of them are working out in the fields or stuff. They're always tired, coming home. They get some of the hardest jobs nature has to offer.

Huey: They're exhausted.

Erick: They're worried about having their kids being able … Getting fed, and making sure their job is to focus on school, so they don't have to go through what they had to go through. (group interview, February 19, 2015)

The participants' discussion of reading being unimportant in Latino culture aligned with Alejandro's earlier claim. They attributed lack of reading in Latino culture to economic factors.

When they were younger, 6 of the 7 boys in the study reported no memories of parents reading books to them. Even with the importance of school and reading acknowledged by the participants' families, most of the parents did not read to their children when they were young. Erick said,

> They really didn't read to me, I guess. I don't remember how I got those books [referring to *The Giving Tree* (Silverstein, 1964) and other books he remembers from first grade]. I got all these books, but I don't think they ever read to me. No, I can't remember. (interview #1, January 27, 2014).

Erick was not the only study participant who had this experience. Huey, Alejandro, Tommy, and Mark all experienced the same thing. When Huey was asked about reading at home as a child, he shook his head, saying "un uh [no] tired from work, you know, just go to bed. Just make the food and go to bed" (interview #1, January 6, 2015). Huey's parents were too tired from work to read to him when he was growing up, reflecting the claim made by participants that reading habits in working class Latino culture were often influenced by socioeconomic factors.

Parents' Reading Habits. Reading habits varied in the lives of the participants' parents. Several participants reported never seeing their parents read at home, while others often saw their parents reading. The participants' parents read almost exclusively in Spanish.

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Martín and Mark reported their mothers reading at home. Martín described seeing his mom read. Martín said, "She mostly reads Spanish books" (interview #1, January 15, 2015). He said that she had a bookshelf with novels that she read. Mark reported that his mom "might read a book, like one or two, but she doesn't read a lot" (interview #1, January 9, 2015). Mark seemed to discount his mom's reading as "not a lot" because she read "one or two" books.

Alejandro and Erick mentioned both parents' reading. According to Erick and Alejandro, their parents read in Spanish when they read at all. Erick said,

My parents aren't really readers. I guess my dad was coming home from work tired. I mean, newspapers I guess closest to reading but reading books, I've never seen them really. It's rarely, sometimes I did see my mom read a book once just like how to manage your teenager. They are not big fans of reading. (interview #1, January 27, 2015).

Both of Erick's parents read for the purpose of learning information. Erick's dad read the newspaper to catch up on current events, and his mom read a "how to" book that helped her with parenting. Erick mentioned that they do not read "books" but that they do read other types of texts.

Alejandro also mentioned that his parents read but said he "wouldn't say they're chapter book readers" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). His dad often read the newspaper and online articles. I asked if his dad read the newspaper every day, and Alejandro said, "Yes" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). He added,

I do know that he loves international news. That's something that I got or at least… because he's not my biological father, but it's something that he always

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talks about. 'Did you hear about what happened in the Middle East, in Europe?'

(interview #1, January 23, 2015).

He said that books were not something that his parents grew up with because "they came

from a lot of poverty where books weren't really essential" (interview #1, January 23,

2015). Like Erick, Alejandro made the distinction between reading "books" and other

types of texts.

During the first interview, Huey talked about his parents' reading. He said he

"never [saw] them read unless it [was] bills or something" (interview #1, January 6,

2015). He said, "My mom was an immigrant, and she didn't read a lot. She was like, 'I

can't really read, especially in English'" (interview #1, January 6, 2015). He said that

since his dad worked so much he did not really have time to read.

 After the first interview, Huey decided to ask his dad about his reading habits. He

came to the member check meeting surprised and excited to share. He told me that he

found out that his dad used to read a lot when he was younger, but that he had not read a

lot since Huey was born (field notes, January 13, 2015). Huey's dad told him that he

would love to read longer books but that since most books were in English, he could not

read them. Huey told me he thought his dad's reading habits might be different if Spanish

language books were available for him to read.

Homework Helpers. Many of the parents did not have skills to help the boys

when they came home with homework from school.

For example, Huey did not have support at home with homework because his

parents only knew Spanish.

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My parents didn't even know nothing in English, so they couldn't read to me. They could always find an English book for me to read when I was home. Probably like third grade, they took me to the library, and I got my first library card. That's when I started getting a lot of books off the shelves. And going off of it. Overall, my parents, they encouraged me to read English, but since they didn't know English, I think that was part of the reason why they wanted me to read English, so that I can help them. Right now, currently, I'm trying to help my mom learn English. (group interview, February 19, 2015)

Huey's experience conveyed the importance of learning to read in English in order to be able to help the family. During the first interview, he said, "My dad can read a little bit in English, but sometimes, I will help him define some words he doesn't know" (interview #1, January 6, 2015).

Families often did not get involved in the boys' schooling. Alejandro described this and also mentioned the lack of help with homework.

Alejandro: I never got help from my parents when it came to homework and not because they didn't know or they didn't want to help but I never asked for help. I was in such a weird position because I was the first born so I didn't have any older siblings. Now that I think about it, it is that my parents weren't part of my school life. That my parents were just part of my home life and that's where they stayed because of that language barrier. I understood that. I accepted that and I did very well in elementary. It might've helped me to do it myself, and that's how I learned vastly. But it was these double worlds that I was in that school life, you think that your parents are part of. It was really just me. I'd go to school. That was

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my life for half the day and then I would come home and interact with parents. That was the other half. Not that they were bad parents and that they didn't care about school but they just really couldn't because of that language barrier. Also because I didn't need that help that much I suppose. I don't know why I didn't ever ask but maybe it was just that my instinct that, 'Hey, I have to read this little book. Then I have to, I don't know, write a summary about it. I'm not going to ask my parents because how can they help me?' First of all, my dad always works so that's one reason. He's the one who was more bilingual. My mom didn't speak English that much. She does now a little bit but back then definitely, I couldn't. I just couldn't. I knew that it would have just been best for me to do it by myself.

Shelly: Did they remind you to do your homework or you just did it on your own?

Alejandro: They definitely knew that school was important. I did grow up always having to do my homework. They were part of my education in that type of way but as far as of course, reading a story to me or helping me write a paper, it was just me on my own. Math was of course different because those are numbers and I suppose that's universal but with English, it was just me in my own, I would say. (interview #2, February 21, 2015)

Alejandro was very isolated when at home doing homework. He felt like reading and writing were something that he had to tackle on his own because his school life was separate from his home life.

Language

All seven participants were chosen because they had a home language other than English. Parents' language was frequently a barrier to helping the boys with schoolwork and being reading role models; however, the participants' own experiences with language also influenced their self-perception.

Learning English. All of the participants spoke Spanish as a home language as a child. Many clearly remembered the first time they were expected to know English.

For Huey, Eduardo, and Mark, starting school in the United States, with the expectation to learn English was extremely difficult. For each, the learning process took a year or more and was very alienating.

When Huey started school as a kindergarten student, he had never spoken English. He said, "I was always at home, or shopping, and I really didn't talk to strangers" (interview #1, January 6, 2015). Huey said, "In kindergarten, I didn't really know anything in English. I didn't make any friends because I just kept speaking pure Spanish, and no one wanted to talk to me" (group interview, February 19, 2015). He recalled learning English at school as being "really hard because they pull you out of your class into a tiny room that's kind of confined" (interview #1, January 6, 2015). Huey said that he felt pressure and that the expectations from the teachers made it difficult for him to learn to read. He remembered being "mostly alone" in the ELL class (interview #1, January 6, 2015).

Eduardo began school in the United States in first grade. His experience with learning English at school was also a hard experience. He said,

Spanish is my first language. I was taken over here [to the United States] when I were like five so I could start school. Starting off was pretty hard because I didn't know anyone. There was no Hispanics in my class. There was no one to help me, really. (group interview, February 19, 2015)

Eduardo expressed the feeling of being alone in school due to the lack of other "Hispanic" students. He said, "For the first few months, I couldn't understand the teacher at all. There was no translator in the room. I would pretty much just sit there and watch people" (interview #1, January 14, 2015).

Mark started school in the United States in second grade, later than any of the other study participants. He attended school in Mexico for two years while living with his grandmother. When he moved to the US to rejoin his mother, he recalled, "I didn't know English that well so I didn't really have friends" (interview #1, January 9, 2015). He described it as being difficult because he grew up in Mexico and came to the United States "not knowing a single word of English" (group interview, February 19, 2015). During the group interview, Mark cited his lack of access to cartoons as a factor in his ability to learn English before starting school.

Both Alejandro and Martín related experiences that occurred during their first day of school that surprised them. Alejandro's experience on the first day of kindergarten was memorable from the time he arrived at the school. He says his mom did not expect him to understand English on his first day, "I just remember waking up and being taken to this school, and I had no idea what was going on" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). However, he remembered being dropped off in class and the surprise he felt when he understood everyone who was speaking English. He said, "There were other Hispanic children and

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they were also speaking English, but I understood them. I thought it was normal"
(interview #1, January 23, 2015). He asked his mom about it later, "There was no one to
teach me English, so how did I understand them?" His mom responded, "Well, you did
watch a lot of cartoons" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). Alejandro's mom credited his
knowledge of English when beginning school to watching cartoons.

The first day of school was also surprising for Martín who had never been around
people who did not speak Spanish. Martín remembered talking to his teacher in Spanish
on his first day. When she did not understand him, he "thought it was weird because up to
that point, everyone I knew spoke Spanish" (interview #1, January 15, 2015). Martín had
never encountered a non-Spanish speaker, so when he met his kindergarten teacher, he
was surprised that she was not able to understand him. He said that he could understand
English (on the first day), but that he could not "talk it until a year later" (interview #1,
January 15, 2015).

Erick and Tommy had the least difficulty when transitioning from Spanish to
English. Tommy said when he was younger he was "able to learn English a lot quicker
than some of [his] peers" (interview #1, January 12, 2015); he said this made a big
difference because "some kids still have a rough time speaking English" (interview #1,
January 12, 2015). Both Tommy and Erick had a parent who spoke some English and
was able to help each boy with English prior to starting school.

Erick said, "My transition wasn't that hard at all, because my dad did know how
to speak English" (group interview, February 19, 2015). Erick said that he knew basic
words and phrases like "hi," "hello," and "how are you [Erick]?" His parents would
repeat the words in Spanish and English so that Erick learned the words in both

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languages (group interview, February 19, 2015). He said that although he "didn't do it with joy," he learned English because he knew it was going to help him (group interview, February 19, 2015).

Tommy grew up speaking in both English and Spanish. He said, "I have close family friends that helped me learn English. I would say Spanish was my primary language" (interview #1, January 12, 2015). Tommy was the only study participant who currently spoke English at home to his parents. His step-dad does not know Spanish, so English became the primary language at home.

Because Tommy's experience was different from the other participants, he was interested in the other boys' struggles learning English in school. He asked several follow up questions during the group interview: "How long did it take you guys to learn English?" "Was it hard for you?" "What I'm getting from is that you guys are saying that it was hard for you guys to learn English" (group interview, February 19, 2015).

"Spanglish." "Spanglish" refers to the mixing between English and Spanish that often occurs in bilingual speakers. Erick's transition between the school expectation to speak English and the home expectation to speak Spanish involved speaking "Spanglish."

Even though Erick's first language was Spanish, when he started kindergarten, his parents wanted him to focus on English. He said, "I was speaking more Spanglish because they [his parents] didn't teach me a lot of basic words" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). Alejandro also recalled his transition to bilingualism as involving Spanglish: "You really do develop Spanglish even though it's a made up term" (interview #1, January 23, 2015).

Erick, Tommy, and Mark discussed "Spanglish" and the transition of going back and forth from school to home.

Erick: Throughout the years, I've been somewhat Americanized. English …. I'm pretty good at English, especially with more vocabulary. Because so my parents taught … My first language was Spanish, then going to school, learning English wasn't so much trouble for me. I know for like the difference between a person who's really learning Spanish, they have to think of the word in English, and then translate it into Spanish. For me, it doesn't … I just think a Spanish word, or an English word. There's really no translation in my head, it just comes natural to me. The thing … The problem was, going home, I would sometimes make up Spanglish words, kind of thing, like "pantalones cortes" ….

Tommy: We all do that.

Erick: …And then "shortes." That was one issue my mom would always try and correct me, and I would get annoyed, because I didn't want to be corrected. For me, it wasn't so much trouble, it was just Spanglish, combining those two languages. Also, I didn't know basic Spanish words until I took "Spanish I" in eighth grade, like "pupitre," which means desk, and many pronouns. So, there was a lot of catching up, but it was easy for me to catch up, because I already had the Spanish base language at home. Definitely, I was missing a lot of basic stuff into the Spanish language, as well as mixing them. My parents also had me reading Spanish, so I could be fluent in it. I really didn't like reading, because I felt like it was a chore doing homework, when I could be playing video games. I

did read it a little bit, but if my mom was cooking, I'll be in my room playing video games or something.

Mark: I learned Spanish first, because I didn't live in the U.S. When I came here, it was hard transitioning. All my life, or as a child, I felt like I had to learn Spanish, and learn, learn, learn. Once I had learned it, I had to come here [to school], and I had to learn English. I had to go home, and still learn Spanish from my parents. It was a hard transition, because I would go home from learning English, and I would learn a little bit, but I'd probably forget it by the next day, because I'd go home and just talk Spanish the whole time, because I wouldn't have someone to talk English with me, so I would forget it right away. After a while, it became kind of hard to learn English. Once I caught on, I just learned it by myself.

As discussed earlier, the lack of English speakers at home made it difficult to get help on homework, and this also made the transition between the two languages more difficult for the participants.

For both of these native Spanish speakers (Erick and Alejandro), English eventually became natural. And, even though their initial development involved Spanglish, both participants moved beyond Spanglish and were able to seamlessly transition between Spanish and English, depending on their audience and setting. Erick described his language development, saying,

The difference between a person who's really learning Spanish, they have to think of the word in English, and then translate it into Spanish. For me, it doesn't…I

just think a Spanish word, or an English word. There's really no translation in my head. It just comes natural to me. (group interview, February 19, 2015)

Alejandro and Erick both felt that it became a natural routine to be able to switch back and forth between the two languages. Alejandro described the language transition between school and home. He said that he knew "how we [bilingual speakers] respond to other people. Obviously, in school, if there are friends who don't know Spanish, we have that automatic knowing that this is the language I'm speaking" (interview #2, February 21, 2015) and "it's the same thing with us and that speaking Spanish is the respectful thing to do toward your parents" (interview #2, February 21, 2015).

Huey discussed going from speaking English at school and then switching back to Spanish at home. Huey said, "You always have to transition back and forth, which is really hard" (group interview, February 19, 2015). Huey compared the activities that he did at school, like writing essays, to a different mindset he used when at home. He said, "They give you homework to do at home, too. You're trying to do homework, then you have to do all this other stuff in Spanish. So like…sign the homework, speak the Spanish" (group interview, February 19, 2015). Huey described the level of concentration he had to use in order to do homework (read and write) in English while speaking and listening to Spanish.

Mark also found it difficult to balance the two languages. To describe the difficulties he had, he explained,

> I would spend all day at school trying to learn English and go home and have to speak Spanish…School's harder…Because like when I was a kid, when I'd get home it would be hard for me to do my homework sometimes. I would get home,

I'd be learning, talking English all day. I'd be concentrated and then they'd like start talking to me in Spanish, and then I'd just forget about most of the stuff. (interview #1, January 9, 2015)

The transition back and forth from school was a struggle for these participants, which resulted in difficulties with learning to read.

Mark said that the language barrier affected his motivation to read at first because he "still had to learn transfer of languages" (group interview, February 19, 2015). He often gave up on books because he did not understand the vocabulary: "I don't understand this part because I haven't learned this much yet" (group interview, February 19, 2015). He said that eventually he picked up books and started reading them, surprised that he could finally understand them clearly.

By becoming acculturated in English at school, the boys in the study lost fluency in Spanish. Eduardo talked about his fluency in being able to read in Spanish.

Shelly: Can you read in Spanish?

Eduardo: Not that well.

Shelly: Not really, okay.

Eduardo: I lost Spanish learning English.

Shelly: Is that something that's hard for you to deal with or it doesn't really matter?

Eduardo: I'm slowly learning it again. (interview #1, January 14, 2015)

Eduardo was trying to learn how to read in Spanish on his own, feeling like this was something that he "lost" when he learned English.

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Huey said, "In elementary, they mostly force you to read in English. Since my parents never had books from Mexico, so I never could read in Spanish, so that's my other problem" (interview #1, January 6, 2015).

Huey thinks that there is a loss when Latinos do not speak their "original" language. He thinks that where people come from is extremely important (field notes, January 13, 2015). Huey talked of the difference between "Chicanos" and "Latinos," referring to those who know and do not know Spanish. Huey's identity as a Latino is linked to speaking Spanish. He is very interested in his Latino heritage and wants to conserve as much as possible (field notes, January 13, 2015).

Mark started school in Mexico, so he was able to read a little in Spanish. When I asked him: "If your parents had Spanish books or a magazine at home, you'd be able to read it?" he said,

> I would be able to read it, but it will take me a longer time. I can read words, it's just not the big, big words…But, there's words that I might not understand that I need to find out what they mean first, but I can read Spanish, but not like fluently or that good. Because I came here as a kid, so I grew up reading English rather than Spanish. I started learning Spanish on my own. So there are some words I might not know or like pronounce. (interview #1, January 9, 2015)

Mark also was trying to learn Spanish on his own now that he was older in order to become more fluent in his home language.

School Reading

In addition to experiences with learning English in school, experiences with reading in school also factored into the reading motivation for the study participants.

Teacher recognition of reading was mentioned by several of the boys in the study. Huey remembered reading in class, and he liked when his teachers asked about his reading. He recalled a teacher in fourth grade who "used to like to see [him] read" (interview #1, January 6, 2015). Huey also mentioned a high school teacher, Ms. Clark that encouraged him to read. He said, "Ms. Clark was going, 'So how are you guys doing reading that?' I [told] her I've been ordering the books and reading the books" (interview #1, January 6, 2015). It was important to Huey that his teacher asked him about what he was reading and checked in with him.

Tommy's teachers made a difference with his reading motivation even though he did not recognize the impact they had on him while he was in their classes. He said,

I'm trying to remember who my teacher was in tenth grade. I know there was [a] teacher. There were multiple teachers, it wasn't just one teacher who had an effect on me but there were like multiple teachers who I was like they are making good points. And, I feel bad because I was a bad student when I was younger. I look at it and I'm thinking to myself, "They wanted to help me." Now, I'm kind of basing my interest in this kind of stuff because of them. I'm focused because of them.

(interview #1, January 12, 2015)

Tommy recognized that teachers were making good points, and now that he looked back and reflected on it, those teachers helped him to develop his reading. He said, "Now, I'm kind of basing my interest in kind of this stuff [reading] because of them. I'm focused because of them."

Figure four illustrates the participant responses to "I like having my teacher say I read well." All seven boys rated themselves between "5" and "9" on the Likert scale with

no boys rating themselves in the "disagree" part of the spectrum. This suggests that

recognition of reading by teachers was motivating.

I like having the teacher say I read well.

1	0	0%
2	0	0%
3	0	0%
4	0	0%
5	2	28.6%
6	1	14.3%
7	1	14.3%
8	1	14.3%
9	2	28.6%
10	0	0%
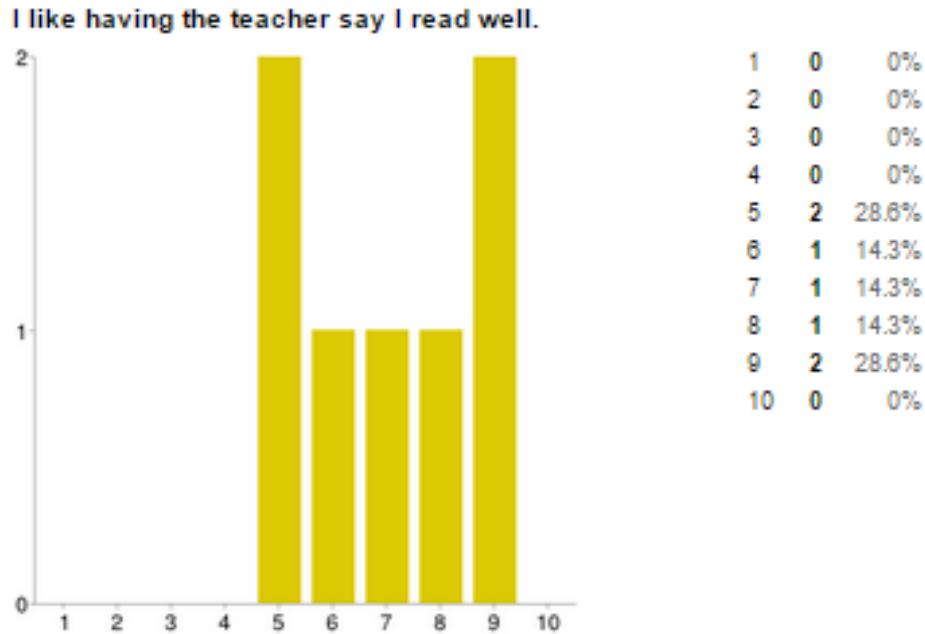
Figure 5. Teacher Recognition of Reading. This figure illustrates that study participants liked being recognized by their teachers for being good readers. (online survey, March 28, 2015)

For Alejandro, learning to read was also influenced by his language learning. He

remembered having trouble speaking English. When in kindergarten, he was supposed to

read aloud to the teacher, and he recalled having trouble with this particular activity.

"Reading was difficult but I just kept doing it, not just for the grade, but it started to

become natural. It really did spark the beginning of my love for reading in a sense"

(interview #1, January 23, 2015). Alejandro viewed reading aloud to his teacher as being

beneficial to his reading development.

Alejandro's sixth grade teacher motivated him. This teacher, Alejandro said, "started reading with certain voices to certain characters [and it] was very exciting" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). Since books in sixth grade no longer had pictures, according to Alejandro, he was able to not only listen to the story, but imagine the story more clearly due to the teacher's use of different voices.

Alejandro, Martín and Erick each had experiences in high school classes that were motivating. Erick recalled reading *Hamlet* (Shakespeare, 1603/1992) and reported that it "was a good play" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). He said that he liked reading books as a class because the teacher's chapter reviews helped him to understand the books more clearly. He liked reading *The Great Gatsby* (Fitzgerald, 1925) and *Of Mice and Men* (Steinbeck, 1937) and then watching the movie of both afterward to compare. He said his teacher had the class complete a Venn diagram of the similarities and differences, which helped him with comprehension.

Alejandro and Erick both mentioned Socratic seminars as a motivating technique that teachers in high school have used. Alejandro said,

> In English class, we've had what are called Socratic seminars especially after reading certain books. To me, I always find that pure academic and very fun…but to me, of course, if feels forced. It's part of your grade. I do enjoy just talking about the analysis of this book with other people. (interview #1, January 23, 2015)

Even though these seminars were solely completed for grades and academic purposes, Alejandro enjoyed the peer-centered discussion about books. Erick referred to Socratic seminars in history class and described them as motivating. Erick attributed his enjoyment to "doing the research and finding facts" (interview #1, January 27, 2015).

Both boys enjoyed a school activity related to reading because it involved talking to peers and thinking deeply about what they read.

But, school experiences with reading were not always motivating. Huey remembered, "Back in elementary school, they used to have us read to take tests on books. I would score averagely high or averagely around there because they were books I like" (interview #1, January 6, 2015). However, he went on to say,

> It wasn't really encouraging because the fact that you only had a certain amount
> of time to read the book. I couldn't get a book that really interested me because
> sometimes there were big books that I really wanted to get, but certain amount of
> time won't let you, so I couldn't get that book. So I went for the lower book that
> was all right, but, you know, I just couldn't get it. (interview #1, January 6, 2015).

I followed up and asked, "Without the tests, you might have tried some other books?" and Huey said, "Yeah" (interview #1, January 6, 2015).

Alejandro also was not excited by the reading that was completed for tests. He mentioned the ACT, saying, "There's no spirit there. I'm not good at reading academically I would say with these types of tests, but I do, of course, enjoy fictional books that would never be incorporated into our lesson plan, unfortunately" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). Alejandro's frustration that books he enjoyed would "never be incorporated into our lesson plan" illustrated a tension with the reading that was taking place at school.

"Reading is Cool"

During the group interview, participants had a conversation about attitudes toward reading when I asked the question, "Do you guys think it's considered cool to read?"

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Erick: I think of it this way; like the quote says, if you read more, you gain more knowledge. If you have knowledge, and you're talking with your friend and you sound smart they're like, "Who is this kid?" You start talking with high vocabulary … [Mr. Wilson], my AP government teacher, he's so smart. He always says these big words, and I'm just sitting there staring at him like, "Dude, you're a baller." It sounds dumb like, "Bro, you read?" I go, "Yeah" or something, but in the end, it'll probably be worth it. I'll probably be greater than doing nothing…

Huey: In your personal view? Yeah, reading is cool. It's for yourself. It's for yourself, to expand your mind to all the things that other people don't realize. But, as a social standpoint, I guess like all throughout history it wasn't that great of a thing.

Erick: Society.

Huey: Society kind of out ruled it. As a personal thing for yourself, for your own benefit. It's the best thing you can do. It's the coolest thing you can be.

Erick: Look at Abraham Lincoln. He had to self-educate himself. He didn't go to school. He got up to second grade level and started reading books; one of the most successful men.

Mark: Reading, people don't think it's cool, but that's their personal belief. Personally, I think reading is cool. But, it's not what people think, it's what you think and what you care about. If you care about reading, then yeah, it's cool. If you don't care about reading, then you don't. It's your own thing.

Tommy: I honestly … I don't think it matters. I don't think we should care about, caring if it's cool.

Erick: There shouldn't be a judgment whether reading is cool or not?

Tommy: Yeah, it's all about like personality, what you like to do.

Mark: What you enjoy doing.

Tommy: Yeah, exactly. I don't think it's necessarily cool. I don't read a book and I'm like, "Wow, I'm the coolest guy." Like how they were saying, when you educate yourself, sounding smart … That's something you should be proud of, like gaining knowledge and having all of that. Like, I don't know. (group interview, February 19, 2015)

This conversation shows that Tommy, Mark, Erick, and Huey all viewed reading as personally cool, and the opinions of their friends did not interfere with their own personal views of reading.

The participants did not talk about books with their friends. This was evidenced when I asked, "What percentage of your friends are readers?" Tommy and Mark, friends outside of the study, said, "Out of a big group, you're looking at the only two readers in the group" (group interview, February 19, 2015). Even though books were not brought up in conversations with friends, Huey said, "It's not a big secret. I mean, it's just a book! It's not like I did a crime!" (interview #1, January 6, 2015).

Huey reported back in the group interview that one of his friends did like to read. He said,

I've asked around, and only like … Probably very little of my friends like to read. One of my friends, he never reads a book. But when I asked him he was like, "I

love reading books, but the only problem is, I haven't found a book that I like. I

guess he's just struggling, finding the perfect book that he likes. Not a lot of them

read. Not a lot of them like it. (group interview, February 19, 2015)

Until the study, Huey did not know that one of his friends needed help finding books to

read. Because Huey was curious about whether his friends read, he asked around and

discovered that one of his friends was also interested in reading.

Erick said, "I would say, the thing is, I don't know" (group interview, February

19, 2015). Erick did not know how many friends read due to the fact that he and his

friends did not talk about reading or books. Erick said, "We don't talk about books unless

it's a homework assignment. 'Did you read chapter this and that,' but we don't talk about

books" (interview #1, January 27, 2015).

When talking to friends that were interested in similar topics, boys sometimes

would bring up books with their friends. For example, when I asked, "Do you think they

[your friends] would care to find out that you read a lot at home?" Erick said,

I don't know, I mean, they always bring up the fact, we're talking about running

and I'll say, "I was reading this book about this guy. This is what he did in high

school.' They are like, 'What book is that?' They are interested. I could tell them,

'Hey, I'll let you borrow my book.' I just wake up one morning, go to school I'm

like, 'Hey, I just read this book.' I guess, I mean reading is fun but I mean just to

bring up, 'Hey, I read a book,' you know? I mean, if it gets brought up I guess we

could talk about books. (interview #1, January 27, 2015)

For Erick, books were not a topic of conversation that he would bring up to friends, but if

his friends brought it up, he would talk about it with them.

Reading Practices

Habitual reading and using comprehension and reading strategies were part of the reading practices reported by the participants. Reading regularly and being able to understand the text was important for these readers. For the participants in the study, these strategies occurred naturally although teachers were sometimes mentioned within the interviews and discussion.

Habitual Reading

Some of the participants have been lifelong readers while others recently adopted their reading habits.

Lifelong Reading Habits. Alejandro, Martín, and Eduardo each have had a lifelong reading habit and can be referred to as "habitual readers" (Schiefele et al., 2012). Alejandro described his reading habit from a young age. He often read when he was alone since he did not have older siblings, saying "I grew up with no older siblings so I really didn't have anyone to play with so I guess books were just there to make up for times to be alone I guess" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). Eduardo said, "I would usually start a book and finish it the next week" (interview #1, January 14, 2015). He waited a couple of days between books, but he constantly read. As a kid, he said, "I stay[ed] inside reading books" (interview #1, January 14, 2015). Martín also always had a strong reading habit. He said, "Usually when I find a good book and then I'll end up reading it like in one day. That's how fast I'll eat it up. Whenever I find an interesting book, I'll start it and that's pretty much it" (interview #1, January 15, 2015). He said, "I read on my lunch, in my free time" (interview #1, January 15, 2015). Alejandro, Martín,

and Eduardo reported reading from a young age and continued to cultivate their reading practices.

Recently Developed Reading Habits. Recently developed reading habits were described by Mark, Tommy, Erick, and Huey. Each boy developed reading habits later for different reasons.

Mark was not a reader his whole life due to language barriers when he first started school in the United States. He described learning to read in English as a slow process. He said that he did not understand the vocabulary and language in many books, so he was forced to abandon them. Mark continued to attempt reading, and he said, "After a while, I just started picking up books and reading them" (group interview, February 19, 2015). He indicated that he was surprised when he finally picked up a book and could understand all of the words. Mark said, "[I have not read] through my whole life. Maybe I picked it up. As I grew up, I picked it up (the habit of reading). When I was a kid, I didn't like reading, so I picked it up maybe around like sixth or seventh grade" (interview #1, January 9, 2015).

Tommy explained his reason for not reading earlier in his life as lack of effort. He said,

> I didn't really pick up reading until later. I've always been all right at reading and writing, I just didn't put any effort into anything I did. I think that's because I was young. We all make mistakes. I think I got serious, like [Erick] was saying, just to educate myself and to try to become something better than what I was. Now that I look back, I hate what I was doing because I would be in a completely different spot right now, on my way to college. (group interview, February 19, 2015)

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Tommy's reflection on his previous reading habits showed regret. He wished that he had been more serious about school when he was younger so that he was in a better position to pursue college.

Erick used to think that reading was a waste of time and preferred to watch movies. When he discovered that reading could provide him with knowledge about his running passion, he finally picked up reading. When reflecting on his reading habits, Erick said,

> No. I did not like reading at all. That was a waste of time. I was always the guy, I'd rather watch the movies and read the book.' A lot of my friends have, I guess girls, because I do have friends that have read Harry Potter books. '[Erick], this *Lord of the Rings* [Tolkien, 1954] book is good. This book is good.' I'm like, I guess when I think of those books I just think big, fat, thick, 2,000 pages. I'm just, 'Okay,' running like I said that interests me a lot. I probably started [reading] my high school year when I actually started getting competitive with the sport and hearing more knowledge and terms and famous runners and what they've done. (interview #1, January 27, 2015)

Erick's reading developed into a habit when he discovered that he could read about his own interests.

Huey picked up reading "about a year and a half ago" (interview #1, January 6, 2015). He said, "I started reading more nonfiction stuff. Ninth grade, I stopped reading for a while. Ninth grade to junior year, I just stopped reading in general. I didn't feel it anymore, and I just came back to it later" (interview #1, January 6, 2015). Huey became interested in reading nonfiction as a result of sharing books with his brother who was in

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prison. Huey said, "[My brother] was a reader even before he went to prison" (interview #1, January 6, 2015). Huey and his brother often wrote letters to each other about books. Huey said, "It keeps you on the road. It keeps you going with it because you have someone who can relate to your areas and is going along with you so you are not going alone on the path" (interview #1, January 6, 2015), referring to shared reading experiences with his brother. Sharing reading experiences with his brother helped motivate Huey to read more books. Huey's reading habit continued to grow even though he does not share every book he now reads with his brother.

Amount of Reading. Reading amount can be an indicator of habitually motivated reading (Schiefele et al., 2012). The reading amount varied for each of the boys in the study.

Each of the boys listed their reading amount per year on the participant selection survey. The survey asked: "How many books have you read during the past year?" Erick and Mark both circled "1-3" and Huey, Alejandro, Martín, Eduardo, and Tommy all circled "5-7" books (participant selection survey, December 9, 2014).

Erick, Tommy, Martín, and Mark all mentioned their reading amount. Erick said so far this year he had read a "college book as a guide to get ready for college" and "a book called *The Perfect Mile* [Bascomb, 2004] which is breaking a four minute mile" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). Tommy admitted to reading one book every two months: "I read a decent amount" (interview #1, January 12, 2015). Martín read five books so far during senior year. Mark described his current reading habits:

I probably read about… per day, I probably might read like an hour maybe, not a lot. I don't finish books real quick. I just take my time on them because otherwise

I feel like if I just read through them, I won't learn as much if I take my time on it.

(interview #1, January 9, 2015)

Mark downplayed his reading amount even though reading an hour a day is an indication that Mark was a habitual reader (Schiefele et al., 2012).

When the boys made time to read, most finished their books fairly quickly. Martín read the fastest. "Usually when I find a good book, I'll end up reading it like in one day. That's how fast I'll eat it up. Whenever really I find an interesting book, I'll start it and that's pretty much it" (interview #1, January 15, 2015). Eduardo and Erick both said that when they start a book, they usually finish within the next week. Erick liked "quick, easy reads" that he can finish within a week (interview #1, January 27, 2015). Tommy said, "I'm a pretty good reader. So, it doesn't take too long. Maybe for like a 500 page book, it would take me maybe a week and a half, depending on what I'm doing" (interview #1, January 12, 2015). Mark, on the other hand, liked to take his time with his books. He said, "I don't finish books real quick. I just like to take my time on them" (interview #1, January 9, 2015). He thought that he learned more when he took his time on books rather than by rushing through.

Time. Time was a factor often mentioned by the study participants. The coding category of "time" had 35 references in the data.

Lack of time was an important factor that influenced the reading habits of all seven boys in the case study. All boys cited that they did not have as much time to read as they would have liked. Activities, such as school and work, drained time away from each boys' reading.

For Alejandro, Erick, and Martín, time was sparse during their senior year in high school compared to previous years. Each cited getting ready for scholarships and college as a reason they had less time to read this year. Alejandro reported a change in his reading habits during his senior year, "I'm very busy with both school and then clubs for college" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). Alejandro did not even want to check out a book from the library because he knew that he would not have time to finish reading it. Even though he loved participating in the four clubs and committees that he was involved in, he acknowledged that it took time away from his reading. Erick said, "My schedule is busy, senior year, especially looking for scholarships" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). Looking for scholarships took time away from Erick's reading. Martín also said, "I usually read a lot more, but now it's my final year of high school, so I don't have as much free time as I used to" (interview #1, January 15, 2015). Each of these boys noted that senior year had interrupted their reading practices.

Time spent on schoolwork and worrying about grades also had an impact on the boys' reading habits. Alejandro said, "I try my hardest" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). He went on to say, "During the school year where you have to read other things, the last thing you want to do is read another thing" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). Alejandro's motivation to read was impacted by the amount and type of reading that was assigned by his teachers. He liked reading late at night, but "only when I don't have homework, things to stress about" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). Erick said, "I [don't] have much time to read unless it [is] assigned" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). Erick did not have time to read unless it was an assignment for class. Mark mentioned having to do book

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reports for school although he still read for pleasure in his free time (interview #1, January 9, 2015).

Not only did time spent on schoolwork and school related activities impact time to read, work schedules also factored into the time available each day for reading. For Eduardo, looking for a job and paying bills took precedence over his reading: "Recently, I haven't had a chance to read. I've been busy trying to find a job and paying for bills" (interview #1, January 14, 2015). He said that if he does read at home, it took place "probably after work" (interview #1, January 14, 2015). Eduardo said, "Once I find a stable job, I can work around the schedule and start reading again" (interview #1, January 14, 2015). He said that he usually read, "before I go to sleep or on the weekends" (interview #1, January 14, 2015). Huey, who worked at a local grocery store, said, "It depends on how busy I am in real life. That's what it all comes down to. If you're a busy guy, you can't get to the book" (interview #1, January 7, 2015). Reflecting on time available to read, Martín said, "If you have a lot more money, you have a lot more time to do stuff like that"—meaning reading (interview #2, February 24, 2015).

Alejandro and Martín discussed how they found time to read at home. Alejandro said that if he was able to create time in his schedule for reading, it would be "late evening when my entire family is home, but they're in their rooms. My parents are in the living room and I can be in my own room. Those are just the physical times, I guess, during the day that I feel most compelled to read" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). For Martín, free time and a good book were the two factors that influenced his reading. He said, "If I have free time, I'll read. If I have a good book, and I have free time, I'll read it" (interview #1, January 15, 2015).

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For Alejandro, Eduardo, Erick, and Tommy, breaks from school offered a great opportunity to read. Alejandro said, "I always look forward to summer vacation or spring break next because we are not attending school, but you do have a lot of free time. If I had a month off school, I would read every day" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). Erick and Tommy also mentioned school breaks as being a time when they could spend more time reading what they chose. Erick said, "I really want to read about him [Allen Wheat] but like I said, I don't have time right now so I'll probably look into that once I go into summer or spring break" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). Tommy said, "I feel like as soon as school is over, I will be reading and writing a lot more…" (interview #1, January 12, 2015).

Comprehension and Reading Strategies

The participants often engaged in comprehension and reading strategies while engaged with texts. Using reading strategies helped the participants to navigate the texts that they read. Because each boy was a confident reader, each had developed skills that helped them to recognize when they needed to use strategies for making connections, figuring out vocabulary, rereading, or asking for help.

Figure six shows each boys' rating of his reading ability. In data from the participant selection survey, each gave himself a high rating on the Likert scale. The participants felt strongly about their abilities as readers and were confident that when they encountered difficulties in a text, they would be able to overcome the challenges.
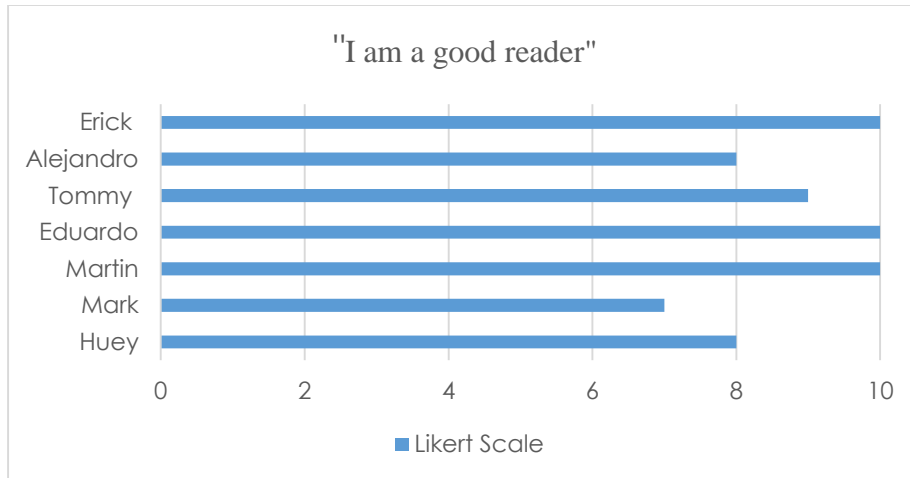
Figure 6. Self-efficacy. This figure illustrates the participant's initial answers about their reading abilities. (participant selection survey, December 9, 2014).

Connections. Making connections with the text was a reading strategy that all seven boys reported. These connections included text-to-text, text-to-self, and text-to-world connections (Keene & Zimmerman, 1997).

Text-to-self. Making connections to the characters in a book or piece of literature was a strategy that worked for Alejandro. Using his imagination to relate to the characters was one of his primary strategies when reading fiction books. "Every time we [readers] meet a new character, it's like meeting a new person" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). He said, "You can already imagine the characters. You literally make up your own actors, people you've never seen which I always find exciting" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). Alejandro learned how to imagine the characters as separate people in elementary school. His sixth grade teacher who read "with certain voices for certain characters" (interview #1, January 23, 2015) helped him to imagine the characters in the story more clearly. Prior to sixth grade, it had been easier to imagine characters because there were often pictures in the book. He said that in chapter books, "When I imagine characters, when I

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read these small details about them, I always make sure to think of them as individuals to make the story more real" (interview #1, January 23, 2015).

Alejandro put himself into the story to help him imagine the characters even more clearly. He said,

I have imagined myself as the main character. I think that's something that the author, depending on who the author is, has to master in a way that the reader will lose themselves…to be the main character or someone else and see themselves [as that character]. Not only with qualities that I already share with the main character, but things that I like to strive for. Fictional or nonfictional characters in any books can be role models with qualities you wish you had. (interview #1, January 23, 2015)

Alejandro imagined the plot of stories as they occurred, but he made sure to give the author credit for coming up with the story. He said, "Although you have all these pictures and the words with them, you can't make it up because the words are telling you what's happening" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). He said that books "create these infinite worlds within our own infinite world" (interview #1, January 23, 2015).

Mark liked to read books that had examples to help him imagine what was happening in the story. Milton Cooper, an author he recently read, "uses like a lot of examples to explain what it means…I understand them because of the way he writes them…He puts like imagery in your head, illustrates it for you" (interview #1, January 9, 2015). Mark said that if he was not able to put an image in his head, he quickly forgot what he read. The examples that he had found in the Cooper books provided him with proof of what happened.

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Both Eduardo and Tommy used their imaginations to connect to the texts they read. Eduardo said that he imagined "mainly what's happening in the story, the background, the setting" as he read a book (interview #1, January 14, 2015). As he read, he did not imagine himself as a main character; rather, Eduardo escaped into the world of the book. He enjoyed the story as an observer. Tommy also made up scenes in his head and really appreciated the author's imagination. Tommy was fascinated with authors who were creative and unique.

Text-to-text. Alejandro and Mark were both able to connect their self-selected reading to learning that occurred in school. Mark was able to make the connection between events mentioned in a book, such as World War II and Pearl Harbor, to facts he learned in history class. This aided his comprehension of the material. He felt like he was adding on to what he already knew because he was able to make connections between his reading and prior knowledge. He also said that the historical connection was motivating: "I feel like the more history that comes up in the book, the more I get into it" (interview #1, January 9, 2015). Alejandro also encountered facts in the books he read. He said, "It's always fun or exciting to read something you're like, 'Hey! I learned about that in school and I understand that because I learned about it'" (interview #2, February 21, 2015).

Many of the participants connected books to other texts, such as movies. Reading books that had been made into movies was a common practice. As a result of the connection between movies and books, many of the participants made comparisons between the two formats. Mark said, "There's some books that they make into movies on like [sic] the book's better than the movie" (interview #1, January 9, 2015). Martín had

the same opinion as Mark; he said, "Honestly, the movie will never be as good as the book" (interview #1, January 15, 2015).

Tommy rated himself "5" on the Likert scale in regard to his preference of reading a book or watching a movie. He said, "A movie allows me to see what one person was thinking when they read the book," but he went on to say, "I also would like to read books instead of the movie because I get to make up *my* [emphasis added] version of it, and I don't know, I get to see things from my point of view, I guess" (interview #1, January 12, 2015). He said that his version of a book versus the movie version is usually "completely opposite" (interview #1, January 12, 2015).

Alejandro and Martín often chose books to read based on mainstream society. Alejandro said that when he looks for a particular book it is often "because it's being turned into some movie and people are talking about it" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). By the time of the second interview, Alejandro had read *The Hobbit* (Tolkien, 1937) "just because the third movie came out" (interview #2, February 21, 2015). Alejandro often reread books that he had read to refresh his memory of the plot when he heard a movie about the book was coming out. Alejandro and one of his friends, Sierra, had discussed books that had been turned into movies: *The Lord of the Rings* (Tolkien, 1954) and *Percy Jackson* (Riordan, 2005-2009). Martín described two movies he had recently watched that were also books: *The Perks of Being a Wallflower* (Chbosky, 1999) and *The Fault in Our Stars* (Green, 2012). During the second interview, Martín also mentioned reading *Abraham Lincoln Vampire Hunter* (Grahame-Smith, 2010) which was turned into a movie.

Erick, on the other hand, would "rather watch the movie *and* (emphasis added) read the book" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). He said this was because he referred to himself as "a visual person" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). He said that he prefers watching the movie first because he liked to compare the book to the movie. He said he liked to realize when parts of the book were not included in the movie or vice versa.

When reading books based on movies, Martín said, "For me, it's kind of like I'm watching a movie. I'm in there just observing everything that's going on. That's how I picture it" (interview #2, February 24, 2015). Martín also read about movies online. He mentioned looking up movie tropes and clichés. He said that a certain website he visits regularly had a giant list of clichés and tropes that a lot of directors use in movies.

Alejandro said that he usually watched the trailer of a movie to determine whether he would check out the book. However, he preferred to read the book to watching a movie because:

> I think it's more fun when you read because it's like you're not necessarily making up the scenes because they are already written, but you can already imagine the characters. You literally make up your own actors, people you've never seen, which I always find exciting. (interview #1, January 23, 2015)

Alejandro used movie terms, such as "scenes" and "actors" to describe the book he was reading. Even when he was reading a book, he was still thinking in terms that described movies. He also said, "With a book you can imagine whatever you want. With a movie, it pretty much shows you what they want" (interview #1, January 23, 2015).

Huey also used movie vocabulary to describe the books he read. Huey said, "A movie will always be better [than the book], but still, if there's like a sad scene, place

yourself in that sad scene" (interview #1, January 6, 2015). Huey also used movie term

"scene" to describe the book. He said that often the movie and book were different, and

"whatever happens in a movie isn't going to exactly happen in a book" (interview #1,

January 6, 2015).

     Text-to-world. The participants also made text-to-world connections by relating

their reading to society and culture.

     None of the participants chose books because the characters were Latino;

however, when asked, most admitted that books containing Latino characters were easier

to relate to. When Alejandro mentioned *The House of Scorpion* (Farmer, 2002), a book

that contains a Latino character, he said,

> It's nice to read about people who might share the same culture as you because
>
> you truly identify with them better. It wouldn't be a reason why I wouldn't read
>
> another book just because, "oh, this character is African-American so I'm not
>
> going to read it"…It shows there are certain characters that if they're about your
>
> culture, you're like, "a comedy about Latinos, I identify with that. That's actually
>
> funny. That's true." That's exciting for me, but I won't stop watching shows that
>
> have Caucasian actors. If you see your culture in the books, in the pages, that's
>
> always exciting" (interview #1, January 23, 2015).

Alejandro's opinion was also shared by Mark during the group interview. Mark's

response was:

> I had a better connection to it, but it doesn't affect the way you pick a book, for
>
> me, from my point of view. It doesn't affect me. If he's Latino, I relate better
>
> sometimes, but it's not like, "I'm going to read this book, over this book, because

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he's Latino and he's white." It doesn't really matter to me. (group interview,

February 19, 2015)

Both Mark and Alejandro reported strong connections with books containing Latino

characters, but those choices seemed to occur by accident rather than by a conscious

decision.

In his effort to learn while reading, Huey made world connections to the texts.

One topic that he was interested in learning more about was transgenderism. He said,

Someday, a while back, I think it was last year, I was reading about the

transgenders because, you know, they face a lot of conflicts even within the gay

community. It interests me and what if there's a day, if I meet a transgender and

they are going to be my friend and you are going to have to relate to them

somehow, and you have to learn how and their minds are pretty fragile in reality

too. (interview #1, January 6, 2015)

Huey's sensitivity to this cultural group showed his ability to connect what he read with

society.

Vocabulary. Participants had various strategies that they used when they

encountered unfamiliar vocabulary in their texts.

Mark preferred to figure out his books, independent from a teacher. He had his

own reading strategies for understanding unfamiliar words. Mark said when "you're

trying to learn it by yourself, you've got nobody to tell you what it means. It's more like,

you've got to like stay and read that book to understand it" (interview #1, January 9,

2015). He said, "It was kind of hard at first because they use words like I never heard of

before" (interview #1, January 9, 2015). He said that he read a little bit past the word, but

if he could not figure out the meaning of a word by using context clues, he referred to Google or got a dictionary to figure out what the word meant.

Martín also had his own strategies for figuring out unfamiliar words. He mentioned the *Game of Thrones* (Martin, 1996) series. He said, "I can read those pretty well" (interview #1, January 15, 2015). He said that when he encountered words that he did not know, he got interested in the words and looked them up. This helped him to gain more background knowledge on the subject, and he remembered the words when he encountered them in other contexts after reading the book.

Most of the case study participants had at least one type of reading that they struggled with comprehending. When this occurred, they often turned to their teacher.

For Alejandro, the struggle existed with "old material," which he described as "the romantic authors who used a lot of analogies or details" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). He said that although these older pieces of literature were written in English, it was a different form of English than what he was familiar with. He specifically mentioned a struggle with Shakespearean plays. He said, "I am not one of those classic readers" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). As Alejandro mentioned, while reading Shakespeare and romantic authors, he often struggled with the language. These texts were read during class, and he was able to ask for help from the teacher; however, because he was not able to read these texts independently, it was not motivating for him.

Mark was wary of poetry. He thought that the meaning of words in poetry were not as straight forward as in other texts; he said, "I feel like poetry uses a lot of words, sometimes like they may like mean something but like they say something else" (interview #1, January 9, 2015). He worried that the meaning of poetry was different for

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different people because he had encountered teachers who wanted a "right" answer. He often struggled because he understood the poem differently from what the teacher understood or expected. Therefore, when reading poetry, Mark often needed to rely on the teacher.

Eduardo, Martín, and Erick also turned to teachers for help. Eduardo asked the teacher whenever he encountered unfamiliar words in assigned texts. Martín also remembered turning to a friendly teacher to help with his reading. In particular, he recalls the *Percy Jackson* series (Riordan, 2005-2009). He said he would "always ask [his] teacher what some words would mean because [he] didn't understand" (interview #2, February 24, 2015). He asked her as he read during class, and even remembered one word in particular that she helped him to understand: kleptomaniac. Erick acknowledged his senior English teacher, Mr. Morrison, telling him that the more he read, the better his vocabulary would be.

Rereading. Case study students practiced strategies of good readers. They were able to "fix" their comprehension by rereading texts when they realized they did not understand. For example, Eduardo said, "I usually go back when I'm done with a story to see what I missed" (interview #1, January 14, 2015).

Tommy also reread to help with his comprehension of a complex text. For example, he said, "When I read with myself, I go back a little bit and try to understand clearly what everything is saying. That way I know what is happening and I have an in-depth view of everything that's going on" (interview #1, January 12, 2015). Tommy asked himself questions while he read: "Did I read that properly?" (interview #1, January 12, 2015). These questions helped him to understand the text more clearly. He was

constantly reflecting on his comprehension, making sure that he understood what the text said and making meaning.

Rereading was also a common practice for Mark. He mentioned rereading several times during the first interview. For example, he said,

> Sometimes if I didn't understand a chapter, I'll go back just in case. You know in the book, as you progress, it gets harder to understand it if you don't understand what happened before? So, if I don't understand it, I'll just go back. (interview #1, January 9, 2015)

Mark also reread when he got further in a book and realized that the author had foreshadowed events that occurred. He said,

> It will trigger something in my head. That I know I read that, so I try to move back a little bit. If I find it, I'll just reread it and then move back and if it makes sense then I'll keep moving. If it doesn't, like I'll try to read the chapter again. (interview #1, January 9, 2015)

For Mark, rereading helped him to understand foreshadowing and make connections in the text.

Erick's rereading often occurred due to his mind wandering as he read. He said, "Sometimes when I read, I do, I guess my mind does fly away sometimes. He [Erick's English teacher, Mr. Morrison] actually has to say, 'Get back, focus on the book.' My brain just wanders" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). Reading speed also caused Erick's mind to wander. He said, "I can read fast but there's no point in reading fast if you don't know what you just read. I don't like reading slow either. I read in a moderate pace but sometimes my head wanders off, and I'll have to go back and try to reread again"

(interview #1, January 27, 2015). Another problem that caused Erick's head to "wander off" was when he listened to music while he read. He said, "I guess my head wanders off when I'm reading just imagine the music. I just close my eyes and just pretend to go with the music" (interview #1, January 27, 2014).

Access

The way participants accessed texts varied. The various forms of access included purchasing books, using library cards, and using technology.

Buying and Owning Books. Buying and owning books was one way in which the participants gained access to books. The boys in the study had some access to books in their homes. Figure seven illustrates the number of books that each boy reported to have access to at home. Two participants reported that they had 6-20 books at home, three participants had 21-50 books at home, and two participants had more than 50 books at home.
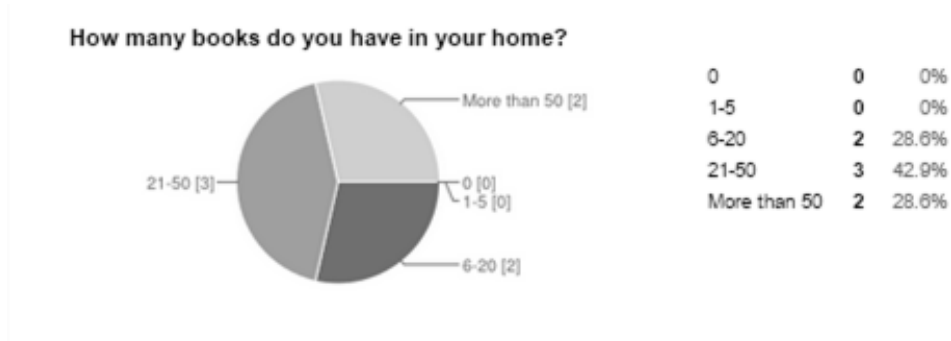
Figure 7. Number of Books in the Home. This figure reports the number of books the participants have available in their homes. (online survey, March 28, 2015)

Books were located throughout the homes of the participants, but the most prominent location for books was in the participants' bedroom, which was also where all of the boys preferred to do their reading when at home.

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Where are the books in your house located?

My room	6	85.7%
Family library	0	0%
Living room	2	28.6%
Sibling's room	1	14.3%
Other	0	0%

Figure 8: Location of books in the home. This figure illustrates the location of books in the participants' homes. (online survey, March 28, 2015)

Mark had four books in his room; he also read on his bed. One of the books Mark owned was a book called *A Million Little Pieces* (Frey, 2005). He liked that he had that book on his shelf at home because it was a book that he could relate to.

Alejandro and Tommy both estimated that they currently owned ten books. Tommy said that "if somebody tells me it's really good, I'll actually go out and buy it" (interview #1, January 12, 2015). Alejandro remembered the first "big book" that he bought: *The House of Scorpion* (Farmer, 2002). This book, purchased at the Scholastic Book Fair in sixth grade, was the first big chapter book that he bought. He still owned the book, even though the cover was now falling off. He said, "I don't know where it's at, but the book is like…I don't want to throw a book away. That's a sin to me" (interview #1, January 23, 2015).

Alejandro thought that having his own library would be "cool but nerdy at the same time" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). Alejandro said, "I can't be affording every book I want to read although I would like to" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). He also said, "It's a lot more convenient, I suppose. If you own the book, you'll have it forever"

(interview #1, January 23, 2015). Alejandro was jealous of one of his friends who was able to buy a lot of the books that she read. He said, "When I got to her house and she actually has that shelf full of books from *Harry Potter* [Rowling, 1997] to like I said, every *Lord of the Rings* [Tolkien, 1954] book" (interview #2, February 21, 2015).

Erick said "having books overall [was] cool" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). Erick read in his room, often sitting in his desk chair or laying on his bed. Erick said, "I am the only one with a bookshelf" (interview #1, January 27, 2015), saying he had about ten chapter books and a lot of kids books. Erick bought books from Half-Price Books, a family-owned, local bookstore that sold second-hand books. He said that he was able to find "good books there and cheap" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). Erick had recently gone to Half-Price Books in search of a book about a marathon runner, but was unable to find it at the store. He lamented, "Half-Price doesn't really have new books" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). However, he said that he often found books at the bookstore that he was interested in, and he got those so that he had an extra books waiting (to be read).

Were any books in your home bought for you?

Yes	6	85.7%
No	1	14.3%

No [1]

Yes [6]

If yes, who bought these books for you?

my parents
Myself
My mother
Parents
My parents.
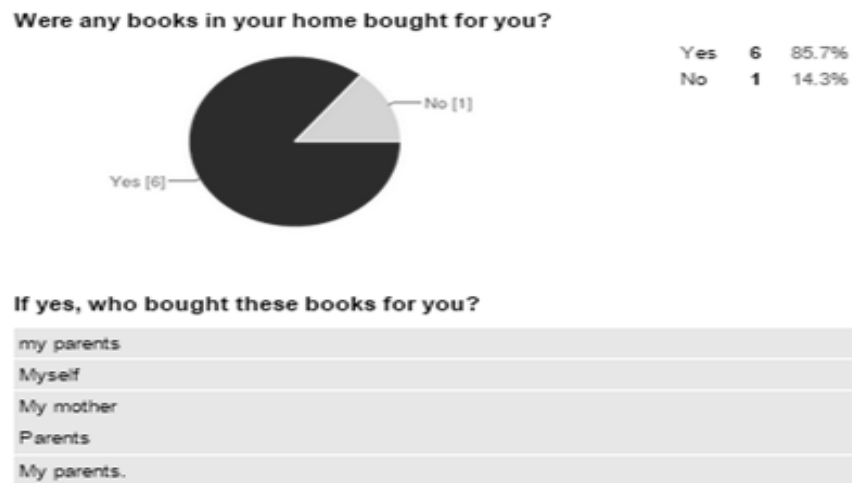
Figure 9. Buying and Receiving Books. The figure illustrates the number of books participants report being bought for them. (online survey, March 28, 2015)

Eduardo read in his room at his desk and had books in his room. He currently had thirty books collected at home, all of which he said he had already read. Eduardo's mother gave him money throughout elementary school to buy books whenever there was a book fair or book order. In this way, he was able to build his collection of books to where it is today.

Martín had the most access to books at home, with a "section in my room where I have all my books on my wall," reporting to "have a lot" of books. He said he had a, "giant bookcase and [he has] a box full of other books" (interview #1, January 15, 2015). Martín had numerous boxes of books at home. When asked how many, his response was "a lot" (interview #1, January 15, 2015). Any time Martín went to Costco or another place that sold books, he was able to buy a new book if he asked. Martín recently had to searched for the book *Feed the Dog When I'm Dead* (Browde, 2000) so he could read it. He was not able to buy the paperback because it was out of print and very expensive. He was, however, able to find the Kindle edition for just ten dollars. He said, "Every book I wanted, my mom would usually get me…I am very fortunate. I probably would still be reading, but I'd just be going to the library a lot more [if his mom didn't buy him books]" (interview #2, February 24, 2015).

Flow. Having a place to read at home helped participants to achieve reading "flow." Participants were able to concentrate on their reading by creating an environment where they could focus on the book and forget about their surroundings.

Eduardo and Alejandro achieved flow when they read. Eduardo read to lose himself in the book: "Books can take hours at a time" (interview #1, January 14, 2015). Eduardo said that reading relieves stress and helps him to relax. When reading in his

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room, Alejandro described his reading experiences. He said, "It's suddenly been an hour and you think, 'I thought I just started reading.' It's a beautiful thing" (interview #2, February 21, 2015). Alejandro said, "I have lost myself in that," referring to imagining himself as the main character in a story (interview #1, January 23, 2015). For all Alejandro and Eduardo, time flew by when they got lost in a book.

Environmental noise had an impact on the boys' ability to concentrate on their reading. Huey and Mark were able to achieve flow when they read by listening to music. Huey said, "I just read on my bed. I just put my music on, put my earbuds in and just read" (interview #1, January 6, 2015). Mark also achieved better concentration by listening to music while he read: "[I] sit on my bed, hear some music while I read sometimes. It helps me like concentrate more" (interview #1, January 9, 2015). Erick and Tommy, on the other hand, could not concentrate on their reading when they listened to music. Erick said, "A lot of people like to read books, while they sing to music but I just like it all quiet just I'm alone, just getting to the book" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). The music was distracting to Erick, who said, "I guess my head wanders off when I'm reading just imagine with the music I just close my eyes and just pretend, just go with the music" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). Tommy said, "I concentrate a lot better with it being quiet" (interview #1, January 12, 2015).

Libraries. The school library, public library, and librarians played an important role in the reading practices of the boys in the study. The library was an important place for the participants to access books. Study participants regularly used both the school library and the public library. Figure 10 illustrates that 5 out of 7 boys in the study reported currently having a library book in their home.

Were any of the books in your home borrowed from the library?

Yes	5	71.4%
No	2	28.6%

No [2]

Yes [5]
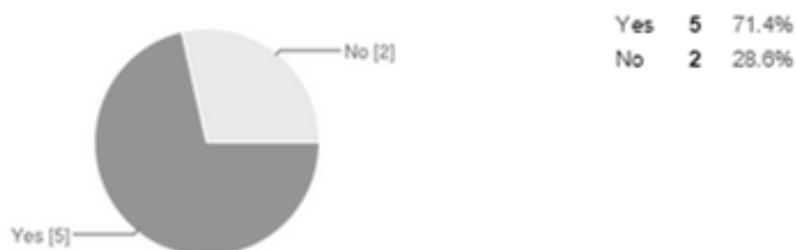
Figure 10. Books Borrowed from the Library. The figure illustrates that five out of seven respondents reported books currently in their homes that are borrowed from the library. (online survey, March 28, 2015).

Eduardo often used the school library as a place to find reading materials. His greatest resource was the librarian, who he asked for book recommendations. He reported that he asked her what she would like and usually read the books she pointed him to. For Eduardo, who relied upon other people's recommendations for books, a visit to the school library involved a collaboration with the staff in order to find a book to read.

Martín did not mind "renting" books from the library (interview #1, January 15, 2015). He preferred the public library to the school library because it was so much bigger and there were more books available. He also liked the fact that he could "rent a lot more books"—the public library allowed patrons to check out up to 25 books at a time (interview #1, January 15, 2015).

Mark struggled to find books at the school library that suited his interests. He said that the library did not have any Milton Cooper books. He thought that the library did not carry these books because they were about conspiracy. He did, however, read a couple of books about mythology and religion from the school library and was able to learn about those topics. When Mark went to the school library, he reported that he often just

browsed in the mythology section. Mark, also, occasionally visited the public library, but admitted that he did not go a lot, preferring to get his books from other sources.

Erick also commented on the limited selection in the school library. He said when he finished his work in the library, he would venture to the little sports section in the school library and look at the same ten books each time. Erick preferred to read books about athletes and running, and the school library was not a very good resource for him. Erick had not visited the public library in at least three years and said that his library card was expired.

Like Erick and Mark, the school library was not Alejandro's first choice for books. He believed that books were limited at the school library due to censorship. He told me of coming to the school library last year looking for *The Game of Thrones* (Martin, 1996) book. The fact that the school library did not have the book appeared to Alejandro to be censorship.

Alejandro loved hanging out at the public library. He especially liked visiting the main branch of the public library in his town because it was the "biggest" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). He related the story of when he found out that he could have his own library card: "I begged my parents to drive me to the library and get it for me. I didn't have to be an adult to have my own library card which is fun" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). He remembered his first visit to the library.

> I do remember going into the library for the first time. I think that was the first time I'd ever walked into a library which was very exciting and just having all those books in front of you. Of course, they were all picture books and I also like that they were all illustrated" (interview #2, February 21, 2015).

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He liked the atmosphere of the public library and believed that the public library had an adult atmosphere. He believed that there was a wider variety of books available at the public library compared to the school library.

When going to the public library, Alejandro preferred browsing the shelves rather than going to the library with a particular book in mind. He asked for help only if he was looking for a certain book and could not find it. He viewed the experience in the public library as a very independent venture. He loved that the public library provided books for free, saying, "public libraries are perhaps one of the best things that taxpayer money could have done…the opportunity to actually read and touch a book" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). Alejandro reflected on the experience of going into a new library. He said, "I think every time I go into a new library, I think it's exciting just because you don't know exactly what books they have—what books you couldn't find in this other location. That's always exciting to me" (interview #2, February 21, 2015).

When Alejandro read a book, he began to feel as if he owned the book himself. He said "to give it back kind of hurts your soul" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). When Alejandro borrowed books from the library, he hated returning the book, saying that it "hurts."

Tommy and Huey both visited the public library with their families. Tommy sometimes went to the public library with his mom. He had his own library card, so he would go to the library on his own time. When he went with his mom, he said, "we'll both get something" (interview #1, January 12, 2015). Tommy's method for choosing books usually involved wandering around and looking for something that caught his eye.

Huey also had not visited the public library recently, saying he lost his library card; however, he had visited the library in the past with his brothers.

Purposes

The boys in the study read for a variety of purposes. These purposes included learning, escape, pop culture, entertainment, grades, and research. Table one provides a summary of the various purposes for reading identified by each of the participants. Data for the table was taken from the first interview with each of the boys.

Table 1. Participant Reading Purposes.

Participant	*Reads to…*
Huey	Learn: "gain knowledge" (interview #1, January 6, 2015) Connect: bond with brother Prove everybody wrong: "I am not like them. So I just started reading" (interview #1, January 6, 2015)
Eduardo	Take up time: "Books can take hours at a time" (interview #1, January 14, 2015) Relieve stress
Tommy	Learn: "good way of finding out…" (interview #1, January 12, 2015) Be creative: "I love things that are different and odd and weird" (interview #1, January 12, 2015)
Erick	Learn about running: "The running community is the football to me. I know every runner...best times…" (interview #1, January 27, 2015) Learn about topics that interest him Get good grades
Mark	Learn: "Learn something more than just what you learn at school" (interview #1, January 9, 2015) Make connections: "You just feel like you are adding on to like what you know" (interview #1, January 9, 2015)

Martín	Escape: "I used it [reading] as a crutch to not be so sad or lonely" (interview #1, January 15, 2015) Learn: "I just like knowing a lot of stuff, I guess" (interview #1, January 15, 2015)
Alejandro	Escape: "Made up for times to be alone" (interview #1, January 23, 2015) Learn about new places and experiences: "I've never gone further east than Texas and nowhere west than California" (interview #1, January 23, 2015)

Note. From first interview data with all participants.

Reading to Learn

The participants in the study were often motivated to read to learn about various topics that interested them. The words "learn" and "knowledge" were mentioned 148 times in the transcripts, as found by a query using the data analysis program Nvivo. (See Appendix B for the "learn and knowledge frequency" word tree, which shows the five words before and after each use of the terms "learn" and "knowledge.") Reading to learn involved both fiction and nonfiction reading, as well as incorporating both in-school and out-of-school reading.

During the group interview, Erick remembered a quote from his English class. He pulled it up on his phone to help him describe the importance of reading to learn. The quote, from Dr. Seuss, said (according to Erick), "The more that you read, the more things you will know, and the more that you learn, the more places you will go" (group interview, February 19, 2015). He later referred back to the quote saying, "Like the quote says, if you read more, you gain more knowledge" (group interview, February 19, 2015).

All seven respondents viewed reading as a way to learn new information. Figure

11 illustrates that six of seven participants rated the statement: "I read to learn new

information about topics that interest me" with a score of seven or higher on the Likert

scale. This shows that interest often motivated the participants to read.

I read to learn new information about topics that interest me.

1	0	0%
2	0	0%
3	0	0%
4	0	0%
5	1	14.3%
6	0	0%
7	3	42.9%
8	2	28.6%
9	0	0%
10	1	14.3%
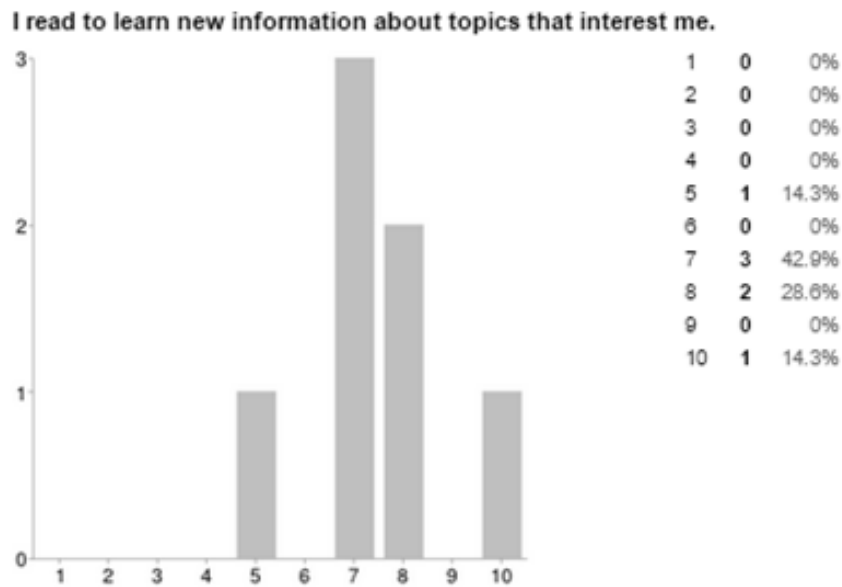
Figure 11. Reading to Learn New Information. This figure illustrates participants'
willingness to read about topics that interest them in order to learn new information.
(online survey, March 28, 2015).

Fiction and Nonfiction. Most of the participants preferred to read nonfiction to

fiction in order to learn. However, a few of the boys recognized that even when they read

fiction books, they were able to learn.

For example, Mark preferred nonfiction books; he said, "I like educational books,

educational…more like nonfiction than fiction, and then mythology books, stuff like

that—ancient, about history and stuff" (group interview, February 19, 2015). Mark

referred specifically to nonfiction books, such as biography, that would be read for

knowledge.

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During the first interview, Tommy told me that he liked to learn from reading fiction books.

Tommy: When I read people talking about wealthy people, how they talk about their problems, I don't ever think about that because I'm too focused with what I'm doing. It's also hard having money because a lot of times, money can't buy you happiness and things like that. They go through a lot of the same things you do even if you don't realize it.

Shelly: With the books with wealthy people, that's kind of like giving you a whole new picture of what they go through versus what your life has been like?

Tommy: Yeah, it gives me a better idea of how to not really handle but like how to communicate and find things that I can relate to with a person because I don't really know a lot of wealthy people, but I plan to. I don't know. It just gives me an idea of what things could happen to me or could happen to them and how I could help out or how we could solve things rather than just everything going downhill from there like they would in a story.

Shelly: Do you feel like books are like providing almost a road to help you to get where you goals are because you're learning these things?

Tommy: Yes, definitely. I feel like I wouldn't be thinking about any of this if it wasn't for reading books. (interview #1, January 12, 2015).

This exchange demonstrates the way that books expanded Tommy's thoughts about the world. He learned about the lives of people he had never met, and educated himself about their lifestyles, something he said would help him in his future.

During the group interview, Tommy, Mark, Huey, and Erick discussed whether learning could occur while reading fiction books. Tommy disagreed with Mark and Erick about the necessity of reading nonfiction in order to learn.

Mark: If it's a nonfiction like biography or something like that, then you read it for knowledge or something.

Tommy: I disagree with that. Just because…you can find education in anything.

Mark: No, but it depends. If you're reading a book that's like a biography of someone that's mostly education, you're not just reading it for entertainment, really.

Tommy: Either way. You get what I'm saying?

Shelly: What Tommy was talking about, when we were talking [during the first interview], is that you can read fiction books, and you can learn about what life is like for people who live in New York. Even though it's fiction, you're still learning about that.

Erick: Yeah, definitely.

Shelly: I think that his point of view was that, 'Hey, you can read fiction, and you can still learn.'

Huey: Yeah, if it's a fake book with realistic settings, you can still be learning something.

Mark: Not every fiction book is all the way fake, it's just a made-up story, but it's based on real things.

Tommy: I don't think it necessarily has to have any type of setting. I was just going like off of that…

Erick: You're saying, just a fiction book on how to kill a dragon, that knowledge

is going to help me when the dragon actually comes? (group interview, February

19, 2015)

The conversation continued as Tommy attempted to explain his point of view about

reading (and learning) from fiction books. Erick was not convinced that reading fiction

books could help him to learn.

Interest

Interest in topics often developed through exposure to the topic. Martín, a

frequent Internet user, often let hyperlinks on Wikipedia and other sites guide his reading.

He said, "I'll usually go on Wikipedia binges where I'll just read article after article about

different stuff" (interview #1, January 15, 2015).

Tommy, on the other hand, let conversations with friends guide his reading. He

said,

Just hearing some of the things that other people have to say or just going around

to social events like hanging out with people and hearing their ideas made me

interested in reading because I wanted to hear what other ideas people had. Books

were a really good way of finding out what kind of things were going on.

(interview #1, January 12, 2015)

Huey also developed situational interest (Hidi & Renninger, 2006). Although he

read frequently, the topics he read about varied depending on his interest in the topic at

the time.

Mine [reading habit] lifted off and lands a lot. Mine's kind of an on-off

switch…Most of the time, it's probably stuff that interested me and then I'll get

bored and get off. Then I'll get on it again when something else interests me.

(group interview, Huey, 2/26/15)

Huey's description of his reading habit included some interesting comparisons. He compared his reading habits to an airplane, lifting off and landing; he also compared it to a light switch being turned on and off. Even though his interest in topics was not consistent, Huey was interested in many topics. Throughout the individual interview and group data, he mentioned various topics of interest, including Aztecs, transgendered people, war, and gangs, each of which he had read about.

School Reading. Several of the boys said that when a teacher discussed something in class, they often became interested in it and read more about it.

For Martín, even reading classics in English class could be motivating due to the quality of the book and the discussion during class. He said, "Because they are usually American classics, *To Kill a Mockingbird* [Lee, 1960], which is a really great book. Yeah, I usually get into them" (interview #1, January 15, 2015).

Erick was interested in history. "My favorite subject is history because I'm always fascinated learning about history…" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). His AP senior government class often included reading court cases as homework, which were then discussed during class. He was interested in reading these because he had a career goal of becoming a lawyer. Erick also said that he enjoyed researching and finding facts that he used during Socratic seminars in AP government and related this type of activity to his goal of becoming a prosecuting attorney. However, Erick still viewed these court cases as homework, and it was not the same type of reading he would do on his free time.

This finding showed that both Martín and Erick, when assigned, would read (and enjoy) texts from their classes.

While reading and choosing topics to learn about, the participants connected with topics learned in class. Erick became interested in class about historical topics and said, "I also would…look more about Pearl Harbor and World War II or watching documentaries on Netflix" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). His learning about these topics often involved using the Internet or online resources, such as videos or documentaries. Mark, also, made connections between what he learned in class to texts that he was reading on his own.
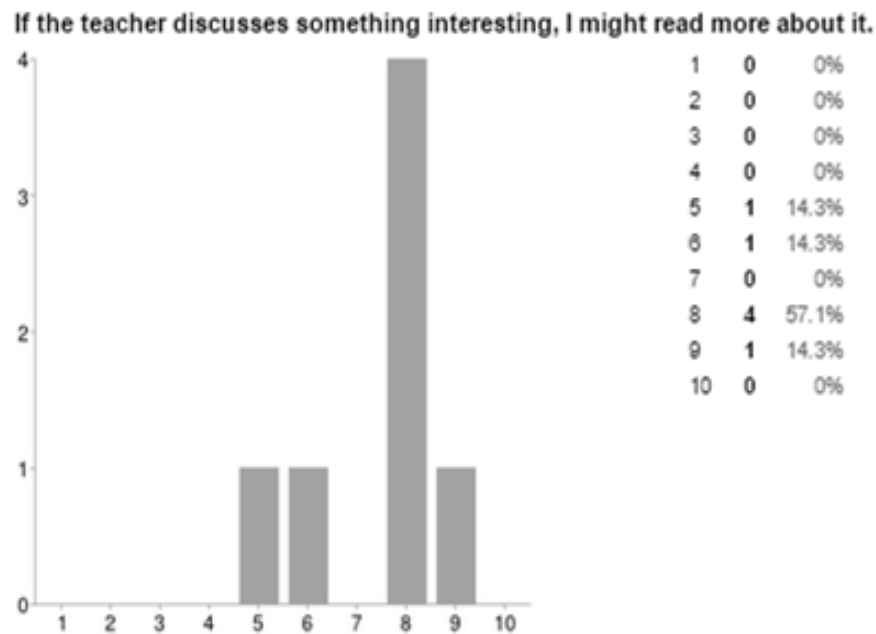
Figure 12: School reading and situational interest. This figure shows respondents' willingness to read about a school topic that is interesting. (online survey, March 28, 2015).

Figure 12 illustrates the participants' responses to the statement "If the teacher discusses something interesting, I might read more about it." As noted on the figure, all

seven respondents rated themselves with a 5 or higher on the Likert scale for this item. Five of the seven rates themselves at "8" and "9" on the scale. This shows a willingness for all participants to read about a topic that interested them.

Even though these students indicated that they would be willing to read more about topics from class that interested them, this opportunity was not often taken advantage of by the teachers. Erick said "I don't think I was ever assigned a book to read during any of my history classes" (interview #1, January 27, 2015), and based on his previous responses, he would likely read the book (and like it) if it had been assigned by the teacher to read.

Grades

Grades were a motivating factor for some of the boys in the study. But, not all of the study participants were motivated to read by the allure of getting good grades because their reading occurred outside of school. For the boys who were motivated by grades, in-school reading was often enjoyable.

Figure 13: Grades as a Way to Measure Reading Achievement. This figure shows the results on the survey for all seven boys. (online survey, March 28, 2015).

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Three boys rated themselves above a five on the survey question, while three rated themselves at a one, or strongly disagree, suggesting that participants do not strongly connect grades and attraction to reading.

Erick, as I previously mentioned, read *Hamlet* (Shakespeare, 1603/1992) in his English class last semester, and liked it. However, he also said, "I guess that was just for the grade."

I read to improve my grades

1	1	14.3%
2	0	0%
3	2	28.6%
4	0	0%
5	2	28.6%
6	1	14.3%
7	1	14.3%
8	0	0%
9	0	0%
10	0	0%
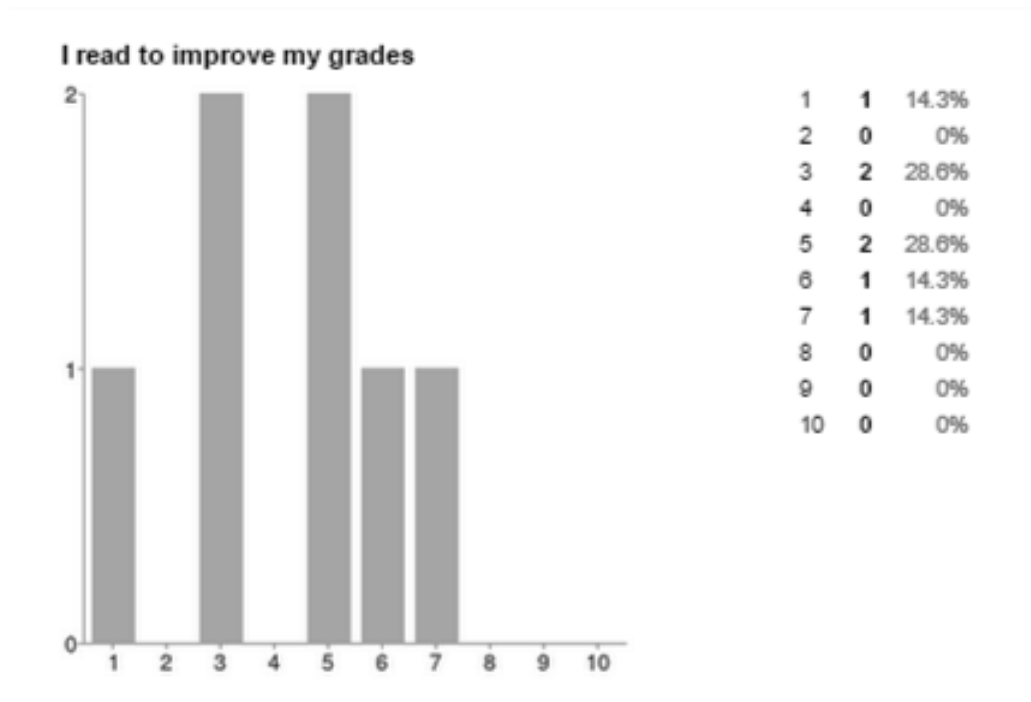
Figure 14: Reading to improve grades. This figure shows the response to the statement: "I read to improve my grades" from the survey. (online survey, March 28, 2015).

This figure shows responses that are on the lower end of the Likert scale. Three participants rated themselves below a five on the scale, while only two rated themselves above a five on the scale. These responses seem to show that the reading of the participants was not motivated by improving their grades; rather, as the interview data illustrates, the boys were, overall, not motivated by grades.

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Huey described his school habits. He was currently taking personal finance, English, economics, and AP psychology for his senior year. When I asked Huey about his grades in school, he said,

> I do averagely good. But, then again, for me, when it comes to school stuff, you are only doing things in school to look good on a piece of paper. What you really need to look good for is out in reality. Because that's where your flowers will bloom. That's where you'll get watered. That's where you'll get everything from. School is just, you are just learning stuff to get a good grade. In reality, you are learning stuff to get further. (Interview #1, January 6, 2015).

Obviously, for Huey, grades were not a strong motivating factor. He "wants to look good on a piece of paper;" however, from this excerpt from the interview, Huey described an awareness that much of what he learned for a grade was not necessarily useful for his future.

Preferences

The boys in the study exhibited a variety of preferences for reading. These preferences fell into categories such as text medium, genre, and book length.

Genres

The boys read from a myriad of genres. Figure 15 illustrates the preferences participants indicated on the survey. On all categories, except sports, more than half of the participants indicated a preference for that type of book. Action/adventure is the highest scoring category, with six of seven boys indicating preference for this type of book.

What genres of books do you like to read?

Genre		
Sports	3	42.9%
Fantasy	4	57.1%
Action/Adventure	6	85.7%
Mysteries	4	57.1%
Realistic	4	57.1%
Biographies	4	57.1%
Fiction	5	71.4%
Non-fiction	4	57.1%
Other	0	0%
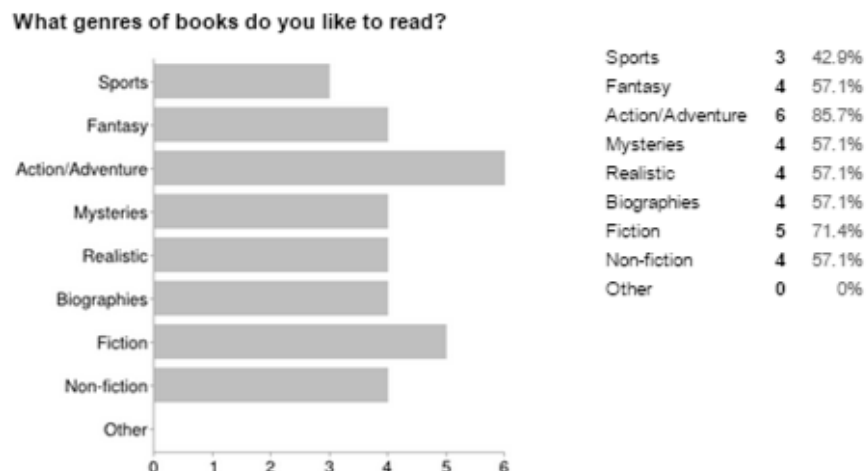
Figure 15. Book Genre Preferences. This figure illustrates the preferences for reading certain genres. The question asked participants to rate these genres in regard to books, so these categories do not illustrate preferences for online reading. (online survey, March 28, 2015)

Nonfiction. Many of the boys indicated a preference for reading nonfiction. Erick preferred reading running books "because running is my passion" (group interview, Erick, February 19, 2015). He read biographies about other runners in order to learn what they have done and how they achieved their running success. Mark's preference for reading educational books was mentioned in both the group interview and the individual interview. He preferred "more like nonfiction than fiction" (group interview, Mark, February 19, 2015). Mark says, "I like nonfiction because I feel like fiction doesn't really teach you most of the stuff like you learn from nonfiction books" (interview #1, January 9, 2015). Huey also liked to read nonfiction books, including biographies about war generals. Eduardo said that he has not "found many good books in nonfiction" (interview #1, January 14, 2015).

Fiction. A preference for reading fiction books was also evident in the data. Among the fiction readers, however, there was a difference between whether the story was realistic or fantasy.

Tommy, Eduardo, Martín, and Alejandro all preferred fiction over nonfiction reading. Tommy did not like reading realistic texts because it made him depressed. He said, "I'd rather have something that's fun, and creative" (group interview, 1/19/15). Eduardo read fiction books but liked them to be "mostly more realistic" (interview #1, January 14, 2015). Alejandro said that he could "never read an autobiography or anything like that" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). Huey liked fantasy books. He reported that magic and war or books that "entwine[e] them both" caught his attention (interview #1, January 7, 2015). Huey also liked realistic fiction, citing books that "required a story of war" (interview #1, January 7, 2015).
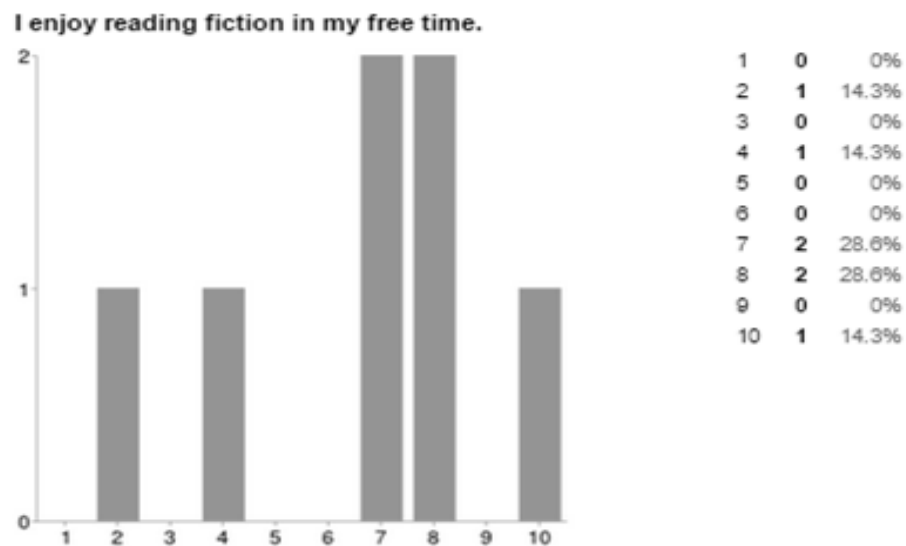
Figure 16. Reading Fiction. The figure illustrates the response to: "I enjoy reading fiction in my free time" (online survey, March 28, 2015).

Alejandro's preference for fantasy was evident. He mentioned favorite authors and favorite books. "JK Rowling is my second messiah when it comes to book" (interview #1, January 23, 2015). He mentioned reading *The Hunger Games* (Collins, 2008),

Table two illustrates the responses on the survey for preference for reading fantasy, mystery, adventure, and cultural books. All responses were rated from strongly disagree to strongly agree on a 10-point Likert scale (online survey, March 28, 2015).

Table 2. Categories of Fiction.

Category	*Likert Score*									
	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*
Fantasy	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	
Mystery			1		2		1	2	1	
Adventure			1		2		2		2	
Cultural		1			1	1		2	1	

Number of responses

Note. From online survey data (March 28, 2015).

Eduardo, whose preference for fiction varied between realistic books and fantasy, also mentions *The Hunger Games* (Collis, 2008).

Book Length

For the study participants, there was also a variation between preferences for book length. Many of the boys chose books based on length and preferred books that were shorter in length.

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree

```
┌──────────┐            ┌──────────┐  ┌──────────┐
│    1     │            │    5     │  │    7     │
│ Eduardo  │            │Mark, Huey,│  │Alejandro │
└──────────┘            │  Martín, │  └──────────┘
                        │   Eric   │
                        └────┌──────────┐
                             │    6     │
                             │  Tommy   │
                             └──────────┘
```
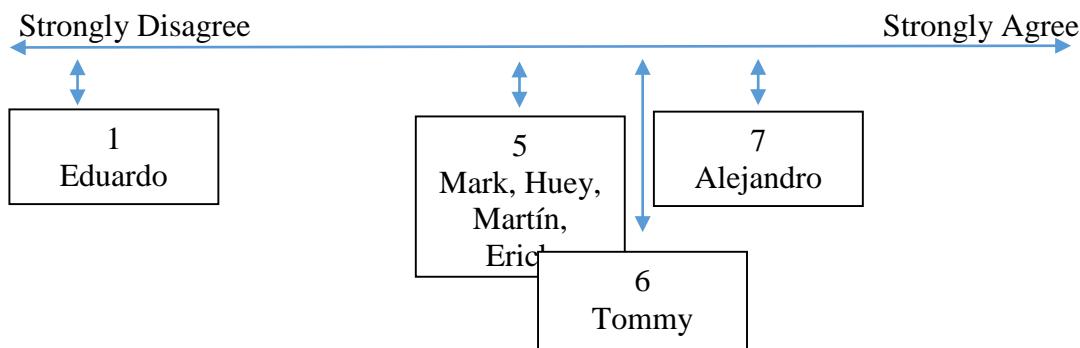
Figure 17. Continuum of Book Length Preference. This figure illustrates the participants'
preference for reading books that are less than 300 pages by responding to the following
statement from the initial survey: "I usually read books that are less than 300 pages"
(participant selection survey, December 9, 2014).

Several of the participants mentioned *The Lord of the Rings* (Tolkien, 1954) series

when book length was brought up in the interview. Erick reported that when friends

suggested books, such as *The Lord of the Rings* (Tolkien, 1954) book series, the thought

that went through his mind was: "big, fat, thick, 2,000 pages" (interview #1, January 27,

2015). Huey also mentioned *The Lord of the Rings* (Tolkien, 1954), holding up his

fingers, saying, "They were that thick!" (interview #1, January 7, 2015). *The Lord of the*

Rings (Tolkien, 1954), "big, door-stopper books," were also too long for Martín, who

reported to have never "even attempted to read [the trilogy] because they're really big"

(interview #1, January 15, 2015). Martín did, however, read *The Hobbit* (Tolkien, 1937),

the prequel to the series, which "was a lot smaller, a lot easier to read" (interview #1,

January 15, 2015). (Note: My copy of *The Hobbit* (Tolkien, 1937) is 366 pages long

while *The Lord of the Rings* (Tolkien, 1954) trilogy is 1216 pages for all three books.)

Length influenced the books boys chose to read. Erick's decision about whether

or not to pick up the book was determined by the book length. He said,

Most of the average books I read, I guess, is 200 or 300 no more than that, pages. I think that's a lot because like I said, I'm not a big fan, a big reader, but if there's something that interests me, I'll read 200 pages, 300 pages. They'll keep me going 500 pages or more. I think that's too much. (interview #1, January 27, 2015).

Huey mentioned book length as a factor in his book choice in regard to books he read for school. He often chose shorter books when books were assigned due to time constraints and his worry about completing the book on time: "I couldn't get a book that really interested me because sometimes they were big books that I really wanted to get, but certain amount of time won't let you, so I couldn't get that book. So I went for a lower book" (interview #1, January 6, 2015). However, when reading on his own time, he said, "I just grab them. If it ends up being a long book, and I like it, you know, I just go with it" (interview #1, January 6, 2015).

Text Medium

The boys in the study often read texts using various mediums, including paper books and electronic texts, such as e-books or online reading. The findings did not show a clear preference among the seven participants for a particular medium; rather, it was split between a preference for reading paper books and reading e-texts.

Erick did not like to read on phones or tablets, preferring the actual books. He lamented over the closing of another popular bookstore in town, blaming it on the rise of tablets and iPads.

Erick: I'm not a big fan of reading books on phones or tables. I actually like the book. I'm feeling the pages which is sad why probably [local bookstore] closed

down because tablets are rising. Actually if I want to read a book, I want the physical thing not the one, the iPad or tablets.

Shelly: Do you know why you feel like that?

Erick: I guess one thing is having it on display too on the bookshelf, having books and just I don't want that *little* tablet or phone. I actually want to flip the pages. I guess the smell of a new book. I don't know. I like the books more than having it on a *little* phone or tablet. (interview #1, January 27, 2015)

Erick used the word "little" several times in the previous statements. This indicated a need for Erick to have larger pages to look at, but he did not wear glasses. He also mentioned the physical qualities he appreciated in a book: "feeling the pages," "flip the pages," and "the smell of a new book."

Tommy, too, preferred paper copies of books to electronic versions. Tommy worried about his phone losing its charge, and then he would not have access to his book until the phone was charged again.

Alejandro said that there was an attraction to having a physical book and being able to turn the page, and also said that he loved the way books were shaped. He even had a collection of drawing journals on his shelf because he liked the aesthetic of having books on a shelf. He said,

There's no replacing actual books. I certainly wouldn't want to get rid of all the books to save paper and just have it electronically although I love the environment. There's something about actually having a physical book and just being able to flip the pages yourself and really just having it there with you. It's something that can be calm or can be used to calm you. It's, I think, an attraction

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or my attraction to books and that they bring good memories (interview #2,

February 21, 2015).

Alejandro connected physical books to "good memories," and he was able to associate

holding a book and flipping pages with something that calmed him down.

Alejandro read news online, modeling his father's habits, and he also listened to

audiobooks. He enjoyed reading articles about science and new discoveries. He said that

audiobooks helped him to imagine the characters in the books. He was currently listening

to *The Perks of Being a Wallflower* (Chbosky, 1999). He said that he really liked

listening to stories: "It's pretty amazing to sit down and maybe just listen because

sometimes you want to close your eyes and have to story or listen to the story like that,

not by looking at the words" (interview #2, February 21, 2015).

Alejandro also often read books from his phone using Google play. He liked

reading on his phone because "it's easier to just scroll" which helped him to be in a more

comfortable position while reading (interview #1, January 23, 2015). When he read, he

said that he often squirmed and rolled around, so holding his small phone was much more

convenient and comfortable for him. "Of course, the plus of having books in electronics

is that they are more convenient" (interview #2, February 21, 2015). For Alejandro, being

able to carry around 100 books on a phone or e-reader was much more convenient and

economical.

Eduardo also liked to read his books electronically, saying "I mostly buy them

online and read them on a tablet or something" (interview #1, January 14, 2015). He liked

a tablet because the book does not get worn down or destroyed the way that physical

copies of books do.

Mark preferred to get his books through his e-reader subscription on his phone. He said that he was allowed to purchase a certain number of books per month on his phone, and it was the most convenient for him. He often took his phone out during class to read. He cited convenience as one of the advantages to using an e-reader. He always had his phone with him, so he could read anywhere. He preferred the e-reader to carrying a bulky book around with him and was able to find more of the books that he wanted on the phone's app compared to the school library.

Martín only liked to read on an e-reader as a last option. He still preferred the actual book, but would read electronically if it was the only thing available, as was the case in his most recent book *Feed the Dog When I'm Dead* (Browde, 2000).

Recap

The data from this study revealed several important findings which could be sorted into four categories. The categories, reading self-perception, reading practices, reading preferences, and reading purposes, provided an in-depth picture of the factors that have influenced the reading motivation for the seven bilingual Latino boys who participated.

Reading self was influenced by family, language, school experiences, and social aspects which contributed to the formation of each participants' identity as a reader. Family expectations for education, reading role models, parental reading habits and help on homework were all crucial components in the boys' family experiences that formed their reading selves. Language experiences also formed their sense of self; learning English, along with learning to balance English and Spanish, factored into the boys'

motivation to read. Additionally, findings revealed that school and friends also influenced the sense of identity toward reading that each boy exhibited.

Reading practices, preferences, and purposes illustrated how each of these readers acted upon their reading motivation. Reading practices exhibited by the participants included habitual reading motivation, using various reading strategies, and creating access to books. Reading purposes varied widely among the seven boys in the study, but reading to learn was a common purpose among all of the boys. In addition to reading to learn, several boys read for interest and grades. Preferences varied among the participants and included text medium, genres, and book length.

By examining all of the findings and sorting the data into these four cohesive categories, I was able to create a picture of who each of the participants was as a reader.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND LIMITATIONS

The findings from this study of seven motivated, bilingual Latino boy readers connect to previous studies in numerous ways, adding to the growing corpus of data regarding this important demographic.

The first section of this chapter connects the findings to previous studies and illustrates how this study adds to the field. The second section discusses the implications and limitations of the study. This will involve making suggestions and strategies that teachers could utilize to motivate students based on the findings from Huey, Martín, Eduardo, Erick, Tommy, Mark, and Alejandro's reading selves, practices, purposes, and preferences.

Discussion

The findings revealed many factors that influenced the bilingual Latino boys' in the study to be motivated readers. The characteristics and practices of the boys in the study provide an in-depth look into the many influences that impact their reading lives. The findings connect in many ways to prior research conducted in the fields of reading motivation, boy readers, and Latinos.

Reading Self-Perception

The findings illustrated the numerous ways boys in the study shaped their sense of reading self. Not only did home and school experiences factor in, language experiences and friends also played a role in the way the boys viewed themselves as readers.

Family. Familism (Calzada, Tamis-LeMonda, & Yoshikawa, 2013; Desmond & Lopéz Turley, 2009; Marin & Marin, 1991; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2008; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994) had an impact on the development of positive attitudes toward school. Parents' encouragement motivated each of the participants to do well in school. Erick, in particular, mentioned that he hoped to help his family once he grew up and became successful in his own career. Lugo, Steidel, and Contreras (as cited in Calzada, Tamis-LeMonda, & Yoshikawa, 2012) call the familism practiced by Erick as "attitudinal." Erick demonstrated his belief in family by expressing the desire to reciprocate, or return, his family's help and support when he grows older by "mak[ing] them citizens once [he's] 21" (interview #1, January 27, 2015). Erick's plan to attend college three hours away from home, however, was in contrast to Desmond-Turley's (2009) finding that Latino college enrollment was affected by the proximity of college to home. The practice of familism (Calzada, Tamis-LeMonda, & Yoshikawa, 2013; Desmond & Lopéz Turley, 2009; Marin & Marin, 1991; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2008; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994), in this case, did not limit Erick's plan to attend college.

The influence of Latino parents on Latino student's educational goals was discussed in several previous studies (Aud, Fox, & KewalRemani, 2010; Behnke, Piercy, & Diversi, 2004; Davis-Kean, 2005; Gratz, 2006). These studies showed that Latino students had similar aspirations for their education as their parents. Both Mark and Erick's parents encouraged them to learn English and do well in school. The influence of parents on the educational goals of the students in the study show what Delgado-Gaitan (1992) and Robinson (2010) described. The parents of the participants valued education,

as reported by the participants, and this seemed to indicate that they viewed education as a way to improve their children's lives. Eduardo, Tommy, and Erick were all encouraged to read by their parents as an alternative to other behavior. Alejandro and Huey's parents both liked that their sons read.

Schultz-León (2012) found that Latino fathers' active role in their children's education often motivated the children. Many of the participants mentioned their fathers as being more fluent in English, which also supports Tse's (1995) finding that Latino fathers had higher proficiency in English than Latino mothers. Alejandro's reading habits were influenced by his father.

Robinson (2010) found that Latino parents expected students to earn good grades even though parents were not able to help with homework. The fact that the participants' parents had high educational expectations for their sons despite the fact that the parents offered little or no help at home on school work supports this previous study. Reading role models were not always evident in the homes of the boys in the study. Huey reports "never" to have seen his parents reading if it was not bills or news. He became curious after the first interview and went home to ask his parents about their reading habits. He told me during the member check meeting that his dad told him that he used to read when he was younger but did not have time to read now.

Several of the boys also reported that their parents did not read because there were no Spanish language books at home and this is the type of book that parents would need access to in order to read. Alejandro, whose dad often read on the Internet, read articles in Spanish.

Language. Fry and Gonzalez (2008) reported that 70% of Latino students report speaking more than one language. Each of the participants in the study spoke Spanish at home. The important role of language in the lives of the participants factored into their development of reading self.

As bilingual students, language brokering (Eksner & Orellano, 2012; Tse, 1995) was a role that study participants had served in. Because of this role, the boys' reading played an important role in the family. Huey's parents viewed his reading as a way to help them learn English. Since his parents did not know English, he often served as an ambassador for his family (Espinoza, 2013). Huey's parents valued his knowledge of English, as per Tse (1995). Language brokering (Eksner & Orellano, 2012; Tse, 1995) is also a characteristic of familism (Calzada, Tamis-LeMonda, & Yoshikawa, 2013; Desmond & Lopéz Turley, 2009; Marin & Marin, 1991; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2008; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994) with the participants in the study realizing that their knowledge of English could help their families.

Contrary to Behro's (2009) study, the boys in the current study did not have negative views of their parents because of their parents' varying language proficiencies. However, parents in Behro's (2009) study, were not able to help students with homework, and this finding was evident in the current study. The participants mentioned that parents were not able to help with homework and did not often get involved with school and grades. Alejandro mentioned this when he said that his home life and school life were completely separate: "I never got help from my parents when it came to homework" (interview #2, February 21, 2015).

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Acculturation (Castillo, Lopéz-Arenas, & Saldivar, 2010; Rothe, 2004; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995) played a role in the development of the participants' sense of reading self-perception. Rothe (2004) pointed out that Latino immigrants often experience marginalization; Huey, Mark, and Eduardo all felt isolated when learning English at school. "There were no Hispanics in my class. There was no one to help me," said Eduardo (group interview, February 19, 2015). This demonstrates the isolation he felt at school from being the only Latino in his class. Vega, Hough, and Romero (1983) determined that immigrant youth may often feel devalued in the school environment.

The participants in the study belonged to at least two distinct "communities of practice" (Wenger, 2000). The participants reported speaking "Spanglish" during their transition to becoming bilingual due to their attempts to navigate both communities of practice (Wenger, 2000).

Eventually, the youth in the current study were able to become bicultural (Rothe, 2004). They were able to maintain their home culture and also navigate the culture of school. Because of their involvement in distinct communities of practice in regard to language and culture, the participants developed identities that allowed them to function in each community.

Participants all talked about how speaking a home language that was different from their school language influenced their school experiences. Many reported a transition between English at school and Spanish at home, which scholars often refer to as "codeswitching" (Gee, 1996, 2014; Harris, 2006). The codeswitching (Gee, 1996; 2014; Harris, 2006) became second nature for Alejandro and Erick. Both boys talked

about the ease with which they were able to switch back and forth from Spanish to English depending with whom they talked.

They were able to show "biculturalism" rather than "acculturation" (Rothe, 2004) because both were able to maintain their home culture when talking to and being around other Latinos, in particular their families. At school, both were successful at navigating the school culture. Erick and Alejandro were also the most successful (self-reporting grades that were As and Bs throughout high school). Both planned to attend college after high school.

Alejandro and Mark mentioned cartoons as a way to learn language prior to attending school in the United States. Cartoons as a way to learn language was not mentioned in previous studies.

School reading. Teachers were able to influence the boys in the study to develop their sense of reading self. Robinson (2010) discussed reading tasks that were engaging. The boys in the current study demonstrated that teachers could often motivate them by recognizing their reading, which supports self-efficacy development (Bandura, 1997). Hernández (2013) described culturally responsive pedagogy and found that teachers who implemented curriculum that encouraged collaboration were able to motivate Latino students effectively. As the findings indicate, Socratic seminars and discussion about texts was a motivating practice. Both Erick and Alejandro specifically mention collaborative strategies that teachers had used during class that helped them to engage with the texts being read during classes.

Alejandro's sixth grade teacher, who was able to motivate him by reading aloud, accomplished flow experiences (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). Alejandro was able to picture

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the story more clearly and engage with the text as Trelease (2013) describes. During the study participants' early school experiences, teachers provided time in class to read, which was motivating for the students (Gies-Scoggin, 1993; Moore et al., 1999; Richison, Hernandez, & Carter, 2006).

The teachers mentioned by study participants were able to create positive experiences with books, as mentioned by Burke (1999) and Carlsen and Sherrill (1988). Hidi and Renninger (2006) discuss the need to develop students' interest development.

Reading is cool. A notable finding is that machismo (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracy 2008; Segrest, Romero, & Domke-Damonte, 2003) did not appear to have played a role in the boys' reading motivation. However, the boys in the study demonstrated what Espinoza (2013) described as the expectation for Latino boys to have more autonomy and independence. The boys in the study seemed to be unaffected by what other people thought about their reading, which shows this sense of independence.

Reading Practices

Reading was practiced in a variety of ways by the boys in the study. They were able to utilize effective reading strategies when reading on their own and encountering difficult words, noticed a lack of comprehension, or got distracted. The results found in this study of seven, high school, bilingual Latino boys' reading motivation provides insight into the how home and school experiences with reading influence and shape reading practices. Although each boy brought a unique set of experiences to the study, the varied experiences helped to form a clear picture of possibilities. The boys in the study reported high self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997).

Habitual Reading. Habitual reading habits (Schiefele et al., 2012) were demonstrated by the study participants. Each of the boys in the current study read regularly. For example, Alejandro, Eduardo, and Martín, who had been readers their entire lives, read books quickly and usually started a new book right away after finishing one. Mark, Tommy, Huey, and Erick also demonstrated habitual reading motivation even though their habits were more recently developed. All four of the boys who developed reading habits later became interested in reading due to interest development as described by Hidi and Renninger (2006). The boys began reading due to triggered situational interest in the topic, but the interest in reading developed into well-developed individual interest in the activity. Because their experiences with reading were successful, their competence in reading helped to develop positive efficacy toward the activity (Schunk & Zimmerman, 2007; Wigfield & Guthrie, 1997). Brozo and Gaskins (2009) found that boys develop self-efficacy when they engage with reading that makes them feel successful. The boys were able to become interested in reading that was fun and informative, as per Brozo and Gaskins (2009).

Guthrie, McGough, and Wigfield (1994), Schaffner, Schiefele, and Ulferts (2013), and Wigfield and Guthrie (1997) studied reading amount and found that it significantly impacts reading motivation. An hour a day is an indication of strong reading habit, and Mark, who reads for an hour per day, shows the signs of being a habitually motivated reader (Schiefele et al., 2012). The boys in the current study indicated reading between 1-7 books this year.

Erick and Alejandro demonstrated reading dedication (Swan, Coddington, & Guthrie, 2010) by persisting when reading assigned texts. These two boys were motivated

by long-term goals, such as grades and college, as per Duckworth, Peterson, Matthews, and Kelly (2007).

Time. Time to read (Moore et al., 1999; Richison, Hernandez, & Carter, 2006) was a factor that influenced the boys in the study. Because of increased out-of-school time constraints, each of the boys in the study had spent less time reading during the previous months. Moore et al. (1999) and Richison, Hernandez, and Carter (2006) found that time spent reading can be linked to motivation. Time to read is often missing in secondary classrooms, and this finding was supported by the study participants, who did not read during school. Moore et al. (1999) and Richison, Hernandez, and Carter (2006) both claim that when students spent more time reading, their motivation is increased. The study participants indicated that they would have liked to spend more time reading than what they were currently doing.

Comprehension and reading strategies. The study participants demonstrated effective reading and comprehension strategies. The boys in the study had strong self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997) toward their ability as readers. This was shown by their willingness to read difficult books and by their sustained interest in reading (Hidi & Renninger, 2006).

The connections made by the participants is a reading strategy described by Hernandez (2013), Keene and Zimmerman (1997), and Scheifele et al. (2012). Making strong connections to texts is also discussed by Brunner (2009), Gallagher (2004), Groenke, Maples, and Henderson (2012), and Rosenblatt (1994; 1995).

Participants were able to make different types of connections to the texts that they read (Keene & Zimmerman, 1997). Emotional connections were made by participants

that related texts they read to their own lives. These strategies include both efferent and aesthetic strategies (Rosenblatt, 1994; 1995). For Erick, reading books about runners and running connected to his interests and his life. He was able to use the information he learned in order to improve his training and to participate in the online running communities he followed. Alejandro mentions making connections with characters in the books he read, often putting himself in the character's position. Being able to make these connections with YA literature is mentioned by Groenke, Maples, and Henderson (2010). Huey was also able to empathize with characters in stories and mentions feeling emotional connections with them. This reflects a text-to-self connection (Keene & Zimmerman, 1997) and also what Rosenblatt (1994; 1995) refers to as "aesthetic" reading. Huey made an emotional connection to the text when he read rather than simply reading the text for factual knowledge. Many of the emotional connections to books were possible because the study participants used young adult literature as an emotional bridge to their lives, as per Groenke, Maples, and Henderson (2010).

The study participants were able to make text-to-text connections by making comparisons between the books they read and movies they had watched. This indicates a strong connection between reading and out-of-school literacy, as mentioned by Collins and Blot (2003), Gainer and Lapp (2010), Gutierrez (2008), Morell and Duncan-Andrade (2008), and Splitter (2009). Furthermore, boys also made connections between the texts they read in school and books or texts they read on their own time. Both of these connections illustrate a way that texts in school can be connected to Latino boys' out of school texts.

Making connections between the text and society was another reading strategy used by the study participants. Tommy was able to make text-to-society connections (Keene & Zimmerman, 1997). He read books that contained real-life scenarios and connected "learning about rich people" (interview #1, January 12, 2015) to the fact that he aspires to meet and work with wealthy people in the future. As well, Huey connected with society when he read about transgender people. He realized that he would likely meet and be friends with a transgender person one day, so he wanted to learn about them. He thought that this would help him to better understand where they were coming from, and it would help him to develop compassion toward this group. He reflected that this group is often bullied, and by learning about them, he hoped to be able to make a difference.

From the findings, it becomes evident that most of the boys did not connect school reading with the reading they chose to do. The barrier between school reading and reading for pleasure is discussed by Appleman (2006), Richison, Hernandez, and Carter (2006), and Sanford (2005).

Even though all indicated a willingness to read more if a topic were introduced in school that interested them, rarely did the participants' teachers take advantage of this. Gutierrez (2008) mentions a third space where teachers can make connections between students' out of school interests and in-school learning. The boys in the study yearned for authentic connections, as per Splitter (2009). Erick's response is a great example of how triggered situational interest can develop into well-developed individual interest (Hidi & Renninger, 2006). Erick now reads books that are not about running because he has associated reading with learning new things that will help him succeed with his interests.

However, he found this connection on his own rather than in school. Erick does connect reading about court cases to his future goals of becoming a lawyer, and he is motivated to read these cases for school.

Access. Access to books was mentioned by all participants. Groenke, Maples, and Henderson (2010) state that access to high quality, YA literature is motivating for adolescents. This was evidenced by the participants' reading choices and habits.

Access to books occurred in some of the homes of the participants, but more often, they used libraries to access books. Eduardo relied on the school library to access books while the other boys preferred bookstores or the public library. Due to money constraints, boys in the study were often not able to buy books to own.

Studies have found that students are more motivated when they are able to choose their own texts (Krashen, 2009; Moore & Cunningham, 2006; Moore et al., 1999; Scheifele et al., 2012). Moore et al. (1999) found that boys preferred science fiction, fantasy, sports related, and war/spy stories. Access to electronic books generated more flexibility for the boys in the study to "own" books. The boys in the study were able to have positive experiences with literature that was meaningful, safe, and engaging (Appleman, 2006; Bandura, 1997; Brunner, 2009; Groenke, Maples, & Henderson, 2010; Hidi & Renninger, 2006; Moore et al., 1999; Richison, Hernandez, & Carter, 2006). Cowdell (2005) also found that Latino boys in middle school were more motivated when allowed to choose.

Flow. Csikszentmihalyi (1999) says that flow is achieved when "we become what we do" (p. 115). When reading, the study participants often experienced flow. Flow occurred when in their bedrooms with their books, when they were able to have time and

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a good book, and when listening to music or being in silence—depending on each boys' preference.

Park, Sung, and Cho (2015) found that flow experiences can be achieved on e-devices due to the mobility and usefulness of the devices. Eduardo, Mark, and Alejandro all mentioned the mobility and usefulness of electronic devices to help with their reading experiences.

Reading Purposes

The study participants read for different purpose, as described by Moore and Cunningham (2006). This agency allowed the boys in the study to have autonomy in regard to their reading.

Lenters (2006) found that grades can cause reading to be less engaging. This finding was supported in the current study. The boys in the current study were less engaged in school reading than with the reading that they chose to read. Huey mentions that school reading is "just for a grade" (interview #1, January 6, 2015). This comment illustrated Huey's disconnection with school reading. Cowdell (2005) found that grades were motivating for students in the study; in the current study, grades were motivating for Alejandro and Erick, but not as much for the other boys.

Appleman (2006), Morell and Duncan-Andrade (2008), and Richison, Hernandez, and Carter (2006) all mention the need to bridge students' out-of-school literacy choices to canonical texts studied in school. Lenters (2006) argued that there was a gap between the interests and purposes of students and their school literacy experiences. The study participants did not relate experiences in school that honored their interests.

Reading Preferences

The boys in the study indicated preferences for various genres, book length, and text mediums.

The genres indicated as important to the boys in the study confirm findings in several previous studies. Krashen (2009), Moore and Cunningham (2006), Moore et al. (1999), and Scheifele et al. (2012) found that adolescents felt a sense of independence when they are allowed to choose their own reading materials.

Moore et al. (1999) found that boys read science fiction, fantasy, sports related, and war/spy stories more often than girls. The current study participants also indicated a preference for these types of stories. Alejandro, Eduardo, Tommy, and Martín preferred fantasy and science fiction stories, such as *The Hunger Games* (Collins, 2008) and *Harry Potter* (Rowling,). Erick preferred sports related books, and Huey and Mark liked books that included war and spies.

The participants' choice of reading materials based on length of the text supports McCabe's (2009) finding that students will not choose material that they perceive as difficult, which is based on their efficacy toward the material.

Martino (2003) found that boys were motivated by digital literacy but that often digital literacy was not measured in school. In the current study, I also found that the boys' definition of reading did not include online reading and texts. However, e-books were included by the boys in the study.

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Implications and Limitations

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For teachers hoping to get insight into how to engage and motivate the unmotivated Latino boys in their classrooms, this study can provide direction. Even

though these seven cases cannot illustrate the spectrum of Latino boys in ELA classes, this peek into the reading lives of these motivated readers who were not only Latino, but also bilingual, will give teachers insight into some of their students' experiences. The sense of reading self-perception, reading practices, reading purposes, and reading preferences discussed in the findings can provide understanding of the many factors that can influence motivation of Latino bilingual boys.

The study revealed an important finding for teachers of bilingual students: that students in bilingual homes do not have "homework helpers" at home. The study participants struggled to complete homework at home because they were not able to get help from their parents. For teachers, this finding may illustrate a need to send less homework home for students who are still learning English. Because they are not able to get help at home with reading and writing in English, those activities may become demotivating.

In addition to the fact that students could not get help with homework, codeswitching created difficulties for student in the study. Many expressed difficulties going back and forth between two languages when first learning the language. This affected their ability to read texts and understand them once they got home. For teachers, this finding illustrates a need to understand that Latino students who are learning the language are making transitions each time they arrive or leave from school.

One of the most significant findings from this study shows that boys separated their reading from school. Even the boys who were motivated by grades, completed the reading in school almost solely to get the grade and not due to intrinsic motivation. However, most of the boys in the study were not motivated by grades, and therefore, did

not complete reading in school or only did the minimum. This finding is significant for teachers because the boys indicated that they were willing to read more about topics that were discussed in school if they were interested in them. Teachers may not be providing students with the opportunity to explore these topics while they are interested. Erick mentioned that he had never been asked to read books in history class, but based on the data, he would have been willing to read more about topics such as World War II or Pearl Harbor if he had been asked to.

Another important finding that impacts teachers was that the boys in the study indicated that their reading amount was affected by time. Due to senior year stress, grades and schoolwork, clubs, sports, and jobs, the boys in the study were not able to maintain the same amount of reading that they would have liked. This is significant for teachers because time was not being provided in school to nurture the reading of these boys, and even though these particular boys still read outside of school, for students who are less motivated readers, the lack of time may mean that they never pick up a book all year. This will not help to develop lifelong reading habits and also will not improve their reading skills. Therefore, this study confirms what many previous studies have found, providing time in school to read can positively impact reading motivation.

The fact that the boys in the study practiced reading strategies whenever they encountered problems with comprehension or vocabulary tells teachers that these strategies are important for good readers. The boys learned how to make these connections from instruction that took place in school. Boys in the study mentioned Socratic seminars, discussions, and other activities in class as being beneficial; these

students were able to apply these reading strategies, learned originally in school, automatically to texts that they read on their own time.

The boys in the study all mentioned making connections between texts they read and their lives. The connections that the boys in the study made between themselves, other books they had read, and society to the books (and texts) that they were currently reading shows how important it is to teach students how to make these connections. This also illustrates the importance of teachers choosing texts and topics to study in school in which students are able to make these kinds of connections.

The purpose behind the boys' reading often involved learning and not just entertainment. This findings is also significant for teachers who may not realize that Latino boys—at least the seven boys in this study—read to better themselves. They read to learn about their interests: to become better at running, to become more in tune with other marginalized groups, to learn about their pasts, and to learn about their futures. They read from both fiction and nonfiction texts to learn about life. For teachers, this purpose for reading is important to understand. Rather than reading solely for entertainment, these boys read with a different purpose in mind.

Also important was the finding that revealed the way boys in the study accessed books. The fact that the majority of the cases found the school library limiting showed evidence that students need to be exposed to more, high quality texts that they are interested in. Erick, for example, only had access to ten sports books in the sports section of the school library. This selection was not able to cultivate his reading and the knowledge that he yearned for about runners. Popular texts mentioned by several of the other boys in the study were not available at the school library, either. For teachers, this

may mean that classroom libraries need to be further developed so that students have access to books that they want to read. But, it might also mean that students need to be taught where to find books that they want to read. If the school library is the only source they use to find books, this may be why some of the students in our classrooms cannot find books they like. The limited selection limits their reading.

Because book length was so significant for the study participants, this finding also reveals that book choices for students should include books that are less than 300 pages in length. The thickness of the book itself can be discouraging for students, who may not even pick up the book in the first place if the length was intimidating.

Obviously, there are many take-aways for teachers of Latino boys from this study, but the data is limited because only seven case studies are represented. This study can provide in-depth information to create a picture of what life for Latino students might be like, but the cases are not able to generalize to the entire demographic. The students in this study were high school seniors, and compared to studies conducted with middle school and elementary students, the factors that motivated the cases in this particular study were significantly different from those of younger students in the previous studies. This also limits the results of this study even more by restricting the results to the specific age group of high school seniors. In addition, the study is limited because socioeconomic factors could not be included due to the limited number of cases. From the data, one can infer the SES of the case study students, but I did not include analysis of this anywhere in the findings.

The findings from this study are compelling and can provide insight into how these case study students fit into the growing corpus of data regarding Latino boy readers.

Even though there are limitations due to the small nature of the study, this data can lead researchers in new directions and can inform teachers of Latino boys of possibly strategies for teaching that might work.

The current study suggests more questions for research:

- Does socioeconomic status influence reading motivation of Latino bilingual boys?

- How does high school Latino bilingual boys' reading motivation differ from the reading motivation of other demographic groups?

- Are the factors that motivate bilingual Latino boys different from factors that motivate Latino boys who are not bilingual?

- Do children learn language by watching cartoons?

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APPENDIX A

10 QUESTION QUESTIONAIRE FOR PARTICIPANT SELECTION

1. Name: _____

Note: Names were whited out and changed to pseudonyms on data sheets kept by the researcher.

2. Gender: (circle one)   MALE   FEMALE

3. Ethnicity: (circle as many as apply)

    White   Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin   Native-American

       African-American   Asian (list race) _____

            Other (not listed) _____

4. What language is spoken at home? (Circle all that apply)

English   Spanish   Other (please list) _____

Please rate questions 4-8 on the scale of 1-10.
1 = Strongly disagree, 10 = Strongly agree

5. I am a good reader.

1 ————————————————————5————————————————————— 10

6. I enjoy reading on my free time.

1 ————————————————————5————————————————————— 10

7. I often check out fiction books from the public or school library.

1 ————————————————————5————————————————————— 10

8. Reading a book can be as much fun as watching a movie.

1 ————————————————————5————————————————————— 10

9. I usually read books that are less than 300 pages.

1 ————————————————————5————————————————————— 10

10. How many books have you read within the past year? (circle one)

0   1-3   5-7   8-10   10-15   more than 15

APPENDIX B

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. How would you describe your reading habits?

2. When do you read?

3. Where do you get books?

4. How do other boys respond to your reading?

5. How do girls respond to your reading?

6. How does your family respond to your reading?

7. What types of experiences did you have with reading at home as a child?

8. What reading habits do your parents have?

9. What kinds of books do your parents read?

10. Do your parents read in Spanish or English? Or both?

11. Do you go to the public library? If yes, how often? Do you check out books?

12. How often do you visit the library at school?

13. Do you go to the book stores?

14. Do you buy books from Amazon or for your Kindle/ebook reader?

15. How confident are you in your reading abilities? On a scale of 1-10, please describe…

16. What are your test scores like in reading?

17. Do you read books for class or just for pleasure?

18. Have you always been a reader throughout your life? When did this habit develop?

19. At home, what percentage of your reading is in English language and what percentage of your reading is in Spanish language?

APPENDIX C

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Opening questions:

"You were all invited here today because you are all motivated readers. I want to tap into the experiences that have influenced this trait."

1. (to point out similarities) What are you currently reading or just finished reading?

Introductory questions:

2. (get boys talking about their similarities) What do you consider to be the qualities of a good book?

3. What kinds of books do you like to read most? Why?

4. What are some books that you consider good books and why?

Transition questions:

5. (leading into the heart of the matter) What has been your experience with reading at home?

   a. Do your parents expect you to be good reader?

6. What has been your experience with reading at school?

   a. Are there any particularly memorable memories of reading, teachers, books?

7. What percentage of your friends are readers most, 50%, etc.)?

   a. Is it considered "cool" to read?

Key questions:

8. How do other boys/girls treat you in regard to being a reader?

   a. How have you been discriminated against for being a boy and being a reader?

9. Are you open about being a reader while at school?

10. How do you think reading is viewed in your culture?

11. Is reading supported by Spanish speaking parents at home?

12. Do you think that reading outside of school helps you in school or in your life in any way? Why?

Closing questions:

13. (All things considered) Was there anything that I didn't ask that I should have asked?

APPENDIX D

ONLINE SURVEY INSTRUMENT QUESTIONS

1. How many books do you have at home?

2. Are they in your room or in a family library?

3. Were these books bought for you?

4. Were these books bought for your family?

5. Were these books borrowed from the library?

6. What are your grades in school? In English, math, history, science, electives?

7. I enjoy reading fiction in my free time.

8. What genres of do the books you like to read?

9. What titles of books do you like to read?

MRQ Questions (Wigfield & Guthrie, 1997) NOTE: Students will answer these questions using a rating scale from 1-10.

10. I know that I will do well in reading this year.

11. I am a good reader.

12. I learn more from reading than most students in the class.

13. I like hard, challenging books.

14. If the project is interesting, I can read difficult materials.

15. I like it when the questions in books make me thing.

16. I usually learn difficult things by reading.

17. If a book is interesting, I don't care how hard it is to read.

18. If the teacher discusses something interesting, I might read more about it.

19. I have favorite subjects that I like to read about.

20. I read to learn new information about topics that interest me.

21. I read about my hobbies to learn more about them.

22. I enjoy reading books about people in other countries.

23. I read stories about fantasy and make believe.

24. I like mysteries.

25. I make pictures in my mind when I read.

26. I feel like I make friends with the people in good books.

27. I read a lot of adventure stories.

28. I enjoy a long, involved story or fiction book.

29. It is very important to me to be a good reader.

30. In comparison to other activities I do, it is very important to me to be a good reader.

31. I like having the teacher say I read well.

32. My friends sometimes tell me I am a good reader.

33. I like to get compliments for my reading.

34. I am happy when someone recognizes my reading.

35. My parents often tell me what a good job I am doing in reading.

36. Grades are a good way to see how well you are doing in reading.

37. I look forward to finding out my reading grade.

38. I read to improve my grades.

39. My parents ask me about my reading grade.

40. I visit the library often with my family.

41. I often read to my brother or my sister.

42. My friends and I like to trade things to read.

43. I sometimes read to my parents.

44. I talk to my friends about what I am reading.

45. I like to help my friends with their schoolwork and reading.

46. I like to tell my family about what I am reading.

47. I try to get more answers right than my friends.

48. I like being the best at reading.

49. I like to finish my reading before other students.

50. I like being the only one who knows the answer in something we read.

51. It is important for me to see my name on a list of good readers.

52. I am willing to work hard to read better than my friends.

53. I do as little schoolwork as possible in reading.

54. I read because I have to.

55. I always do my reading work exactly as the teacher wants it.

56. Finishing every reading assignment is very important to me.

57. I always try to finish my reading on time.

58. I don't like vocabulary questions.

59. Complicated stories are no fun to read.

60. I don't like reading something when the words are too difficult.

61. I don't like it when there are too many people in a story.

APPENDIX E

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

1. Reading self-perception

    a. Family

        i. Educational expectations

            1. Recognition of reading

            2. Encouragement

        ii. Reading role models

            1. Culture

                a. Supportive of reading

                b. Socioeconomic pressure

            2. Parents' reading habits

                a. Reading in Spanish

            3. Homework helpers

    b. Language

        i. Learning English

            1. ELL classes

            2. School reading

        ii. "Spanglish"

            1. Code switching

            2. Loss of Spanish

    c. School reading

        i. Teachers

            1. Teacher recognition

       2. Positive experiences

           a. Socratic seminars

           b. Discussion

       3. Negative experiences

   d. Reading is cool

      i. Sharing books with friends

      ii. Talking about books

2. Reading Practices

   a. Habitual reading

      i. Lifelong reading habits

      ii. Recently developed reading habits

      iii. Amount of reading

      iv. Time

         1. Lack of time

           a. Senior year

           b. School work and grades

           c. Work and money

         2. Making time

           a. Breaks from school

   b. Comprehension and reading strategies

      i. Self-Efficacy

      ii. Connections

         1. Text to self

           a. emotional

      2. Text to text

           a. Movies and books

      3. Text to world

           a. Cultural

   iii. Vocabulary

      1. Reading the canon

   iv. Rereading

c. Access

   i. Buying and owning books

      1. Home access

           a. Bookcase

           b. Shared space

      2. Collecting books

      3. Book stores

           a. Costco

           b. Half-price books

           c. Online

               i. Google play

              ii. Audible

           d. School book fairs

               i. Scholastic book fair

      4. Flow

           a. Reading space

           b. Room

                i. Bed

                ii. Futon

                iii. Chair

           c. Music

           d. Personal enjoyment

                i. Relieves stress

                ii. Be creative

                iii. escape

      ii. Libraries

        1. School library

           a. Librarians

        2. Public library

           a. Family

           b. Library cards

3. Purposes

    a. Reading to learn

      i. Fiction and nonfiction

        1. Adding to what you already know

    b. Interest

      i. School reading

      ii. Situational interest

      c. Grades

4. Preferences

      a. Genres

            i. Fiction

                1. Authors

                2. Books

            ii. Nonfiction

      b. Length

            i. *The Lord of the Rings*

      c. Text medium

            i. Paper books

            ii. Audiobooks

            iii. E-reading

                1. Online reading

                2. E books

                     a. Google play

                     b. Phone

                     c. Computer

                     d. Tablet

APPENDIX F

KNOWLEDGE FREQUENCY WORD TREE

learn

Left side (branching into "to", "you", and upper cluster):

and kind of , you know
learn Spanish , and learn ,
to learn Spanish , and
actually have meanings . You do
: 54 : 22] , so
they realized , " Wow
were like " Whoa ,
are definitely people
fiction books , and
lot more so
me that much .
navy and stuff and
dad would go and he'd
differently because of what I
had to learn Spanish , and
helps you to kind of
because it helps me
made up term .
school or did
learning English , and I would
and translators to help
family friends that helped
of interests that you may
of them read because they
opportunity to just note or
read , the better I will
read through them I won't
to go home ,
with those characters
fiction , and you can
that helped you at school
that you would not normally

I
can
you
I
could
just
you
me

"Wow , my dad wants cluster:
" Wow , my dad wants
or stuff like that
social media to follow
about and what topics
go to any
had to take
because I still
Eduardo : No ,
felt like
here , and
became kind of
I try really
it's mostly we
somehow , and
you can ,
Huey Just the motivation
I finally took Spanish
it . She expects us
lot of online pages
English . They expected
they just want
Me Was that curiosity
me words and how
more like you get
or anything like that
person and also loves
- fiction was … They
I've talked to
read . Do you
read stuff on line
be entertained , you're
reading , were you
reading as this gateway
real life stuff or
science ? Do you like
think that it's easier
go on and
had to read …
Yes . Shelly : To
day at school
it's just me
of reading . You're
When I was
" Oh , I just
culture , and
me , going "
Mostly because
like when you
people actually do
just because you
like my dad
man
obvious
that you always
that he
younger I
they also wanted
have
you …

classes
had
hard
have
you
me
read
reading
try
trying
I
want
wanted
that he
was able
you
To help

to

you are reading more
hard for
it take
because you're trying
here , you've got
would be interesting
trying to help my mom
did Me How did
because I feel
of the stuff
like history . Shelly : Sometimes
more than just what
and the more
any books , so
connections to things
Do you think
thing because it helps
whole discussion about whether

you guys
to like
like
that
you

Right side:

! " And that happened last year ,
then had to do
you were reading stuff
, learn , Once I had
. Once I had learned
maybe that's important . " Mark : I
the more places you will
too . That probably came across
But probably when I'm done
Huey : Yeah , if it's a
I want to be able
If I read , she thinks
Once I had learned it ,
Shelly : You mentioned both fiction
? Mark : More like self - knowledge .
56 words in one week
a little bit , but I'd

and
learn
.

, you know , facts that
a topic in history
, which is a
. I never really
that way ? Mark :
life and stuff . What
other cultures as well
, " or did you
right now ? " Me
stuff ? Erick : My
them , either by accident
versus letting you determine
what life is like

it
that

about

all the types there is .
like deal with people
really take the knowledge
from reading fiction
if I take
well ? Martin : Sometimes yes .
at school . I read , like ,
back then too ? Huey No ,
because when I lived in

and
as
much

After like second grade
Erick : I mean , I
had to go
would say Spanish
Once I caught on ,
Shelly : Did
you have
your mom
For me , it
Um Huey : Fully ,
Mark : Yeah . Shelly : Talk
Martin : One memory I
a lot quicker than
go home and
I don't know
before I could start
more , like better .
or were you okay
everyday but growing up without
faster and stuff . I never

English
.
Erick :
?
and

it and just put
nonfiction books . So , it's
this . " Whatever happens individually .
what I'm doing . Shelly :
and their minds are
balance it . It
more stuff ,
that ? Huey
read or to
talk to people
and read
better so

from
how
to
do
write

if we are catching on
in school ? Martin : What do
, right away . That's why
again . When you were
by yourself . You've got
? Erick : For me , I'm
my past , my
what to do
from reading fiction , or
off of them then
on your own ? Tommy : No ,
or whatever ? Eduardo : Yeah . Tommy :
pretty fast . Shelly : Was it
English , too , because they
stuff , so he just
, to take in that
more than just what
always wanted
hadn't thought
, and learn , learn , learn .
from my parents . It
? Or did you go
as they read . Do
even when you were
that you would not
herbs as well , and
language and be able
, you know . When I
about the job that
. A lot of
those characters ? Alejandro :
this stuff in two week ,
though if you're reading a
read in English ? Huey
speak English here to ,
transfer of languages . At first ,
versus to be entertained ? Huey
are like ?
think , so
when they read non - fiction ,

it
more
about
some
something
that you
Spanish
stuff
the
things
from
to
what other people