

AN EXPLORATION OF HOW PAST, PRESENT, AND ANTICIPATED FUTURE
IDENTITIES SHAPE THE READING IDENTITIES AND PRACTICES OF
RELUCTANT MALE READERS IN A RURAL SETTING

by

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ABSTRACT

An Exploration of How Past, Present, and Anticipated Future Identities Shape the
Reading Identities and Practices of Reluctant Male Readers in a Rural Setting

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Rural, working-class high school males have intersecting factors that have historically produced lower reading outcomes. Therefore, it is important to study how they produce identities as nonreaders in order to understand this phenomenon and develop approaches that can prevent the development of identities as nonreaders. It will be important to understand how sociocultural factors—including past experiences, current social groups, and future aspirations—affect working-class, male high school students' reader identities and practices. There is virtually no empirical literature considering the intersectionality of the three social dynamics mentioned: rural, working-class, and male on students' reader identities and practices. It is important to discover their reading practices so that stakeholders (e.g. teachers, coaches, parents) can leverage them as assets as they seek to foster their reader identities.

The investigation through narrative inquiry will help identify potential factors that increase the likelihood of reading reluctance. While there has been research regarding

adolescent males and reading reluctance, almost none of the research was exclusively conducted in a rural setting. The study illuminated how rural, working-class, high school males' anticipated occupations, as well as their past experiences, shaped their current reader identities and practices through a multiple case study with six participants. Data found from interviews and observations showed that social pressures from friends and classmates, patriarchal influence, and boredom from teacher-selected texts played a large role in the participants negative attitudes toward reading, and the identification of a reluctant or nonreader.

(323 pages)

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

An Exploration of How Past, Present, and Anticipated Future Identities Shape the
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Garret Craig Rose

Many factors can attribute to a working-class, rural, male adolescent reluctant reader. This intersection of social factors warrants research to find out the reading attitudes and identity of adolescents with the aforementioned factors. In order to conduct this research, I interviewed six young men, their parents, and their English teacher. I also observed them in their English classroom and in a venue of their choosing. A major component of this research included looking at their past and present reading identities, along with uncovering how they pictured themselves in the future regarding post high school schooling, career, and family.

DEDICATION

For the sake of this list being as long as the dissertation, I am sufficed to say that I owe everything to my loving wife, Amber Rose. She supported me through this journey and took on the responsibility to take on parenting alone for two summers and several other weekends. She had to do so many things alone so I could work. To say I married up would be pure euphemism. My kids have sacrificed so much so that I could fulfill my dream. They gave up so much daddy time. I cannot thank Malachi (my sweet little boy), Micah (my handsome little man), Noah (my awesome little dude), Elijah (my amazing little guy), and Sariah (my little sweetheart) enough. They are a gift every day! My parents, Jeff and Eileen, showed me what it means to work hard. I hope I have made them proud. My sister, Rachel, has always been my comic relief through it all. Tim helped me to aspire to be more. I walk in the footsteps of greatness. Brent Thomas Rose left this world on October 21st, 2019, just before I defended my dissertation. He overcame the most difficult trials and showed me that miracles happen in front of us, if we only look for them. I miss him. He was my protector through the brutal years of my educational journey. There will not be another like him! Last, I have nothing without a loving Heavenly Father in my life. To have a dedication page without acknowledging the role He has played in my life would be wrong. I am thankful for Jesus Christ making everything possible.

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I would be remiss if I did not properly thank my chair, Dr. Amy Wilson-Lopez, for her patience, understanding, and guidance. I know that I was not an easy student and had many needs that would have tested the patience of any person. Her willingness to lend encouragement and support taught me the value of unconditional support and care. I will be forever grateful. I also need to thank Dr. Amy Piotrowski for stepping in to assist me on my adventure. Being a co-chair and starting in medias res could not have been easy, but her help was second to none. Without these two wonderful co-chairs, I could not finish this research project. I have been blessed to have these two in my life!

Garret Craig Rose

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Male high school students are more likely than females to identify themselves as nonreaders or reluctant readers (Hamston & Love, 2005; Love & Hamston, 2003; Martino, 1999; Martino & Berrill, 2003; Merisuoo-Storm, 2006; Van Houtte, 2004). The disinterest tends to begin in later elementary years and continues to grow into adolescence (McKenna, Conradi, Lawrence, Jang, & Meyer, 2012). In addition, when male students are interested in reading, their peers may view them as uncool or non-masculine (Martino, 1999; Newkirk, 2002). The following vignette, drawn from my experience as a former high school teacher, highlights some of the complexities surrounding this phenomenon in secondary school settings.

A student, self-identified as reluctant, meanders through the aisles of the high school library aimlessly. Both teacher and librarian attempt to engage him, but he politely, yet firmly, declines any discussion or suggestions for books that might interest him. The teacher knows him well and gives him some space. It is February and the library is covered in pink and red hearts along with books next to Valentines-like cards. These cards are different in that each one explains that a teacher in the school loves this book. The student spots a book that catches his eye. This one is a loved book of the principal. The student finds it interesting that the principal loves a biography of a failed survival in the Alaska wilderness. Intrigued, he opens the book, still standing awkwardly in front of the shelf. As he peruses the pages, he looks around to see if anybody is watching. After a couple of side-to-side glances, he begins reading the introduction. Standing in the same spot for over five minutes, the student hears the teacher announce that it is time to leave and go back to class.

Awkwardly, the student tries to get the book to stand up on top of the shelf, but instead knocks both the book and card over. The teacher comes over and mentions that the student looked quite interested in the book. The student reluctantly admits he enjoyed the five pages he read. "Why don't you check it out? You haven't done a book report yet, so it would be a good time to start," says the teacher. The student looks around to make sure no one can hear and says, "Nah. I would

probably get bored with it.” The teacher responds, “B.S. I don’t believe you. Check it out.” (Keep in mind that the teacher has a strong rapport with his students so he can say things like this). The student smirks, looks around again, and when it is ensured no one is around, he says, “I have never checked a book out from here. How the hell does it work?” The teacher guffaws at this remark, hands the book to the student, and walks him to the front. He instructs the other students to head back to room 105. Once the coast is clear, the teacher hands the book to the student and instructs him where to go. The student passively listens to the librarian and receives his book with strict instructions to enjoy the book. He smirks, walks back to the class, and proceeds to hide it as he enters the room.

Two days later, the student asks if he can go to the library during class activities. Usually, this is code for extended bathroom breaks. The teacher asks how the book was. The student responds that he finished it. The teacher wants to hear his thoughts on the book. The student hesitates. The teacher then asks if the student will be completing the book report for credit. The student looks at the teacher in the eye and says, “I would rather not. I liked the book, but did not read it for an assignment.” The teacher advises the student that he needs the book report to pass the class. The student reluctantly concedes to a book talk rather than the traditional book report. Once the student accepts the terms, the teacher excuses him to the library. When the student comes back, he is hiding what appears to be another book. The teacher nods inquisitively and the student sheepishly acknowledges the book under his shirt. The teacher is looking forward to the book talk. *Perhaps a page has been turned in the student’s interaction with reading?*

This story is one of many interactions that I have experienced with students during my five years of teaching. Later, this student revealed that he had not read a book from front to back since his days in elementary school. Even though I had offered to allow him to give a book talk at my desk, he was embarrassed and not comfortable at having read a book. Instead, the book talk was conducted outside the class. He said he was worried that his friends would find out and make fun of him. It was not cool to read, let alone like it. He wanted to be under the radar. I asked him what his parents thought of him reading. He stated that they did not care, but his dad would probably jibe him a little.

Based on my subsequent interactions with this student, I conjectured that this event marked the beginning of the student developing an identity as a reader. He was

struggling to reconcile social pressures with his own personal interests. Reading books was new territory for him and he was uncomfortable with how others would view him if he became a “reader.” He was still reluctant to participate for read-alouds in class, as well as literature circles, and Socratic seminars. He openly rejected reading, but secretly continued to read books. His identity as a reluctant reader was well known to others, but when by himself, he had a different identity as a committed reader.

Hall (2012a, 2012b) argued that reader self-identity played a significant role in whether or not students saw themselves as successful and committed readers. Reader self-identity includes how an individual self-assesses their personality attributes including hobbies and occupation as well as their self-knowledge of skills, beliefs, and abilities (Moje & Luke, 2009). If individuals believe in their ability to comprehend texts and can visualize themselves as successful readers, can recognize that they enjoy reading, or they attribute a future occupation with reading, they will be more likely to identify as a reader (Hall, 2010, 2012a, 2012b). Some of the reasons for this self-identification can be extrinsic, as noted here in this vignette, while others may be intrinsic. Hall (2012a) stated that, “Through their interactions with their teachers, peers, and family members, students learn what it means to be identified as a certain type of reader and the positive and negative consequences associated with each” (p. 242). Literature on masculinity and literacy (Martino, 1999; Martino & Berrill, 2003; Newkirk, 2002; Smith & Wilhelm, 2002), has suggested that the aforementioned student was not alone in his struggles to reconcile an interest in reading and an attempt to appear cool with his friends. Last, Hall (2012a) argued that often times reading reluctance was a matter of reading identity, not

necessarily a matter of other factors such as poor reading comprehension skills.

Statement of the Problem

Van Houtte (2004) stated, “Recently, research into gender differences in achievement has mainly concentrated on the underperformance of boys in comparison with girls. Qualitative research in particular points to the importance of the gender-specific cultures adolescents’ experience” (p. 159). Smith and Wilhelm (2002) stated that some boys could take longer than girls to learn, read less, had a harder time than girls in comprehending narrative and expository texts, and had lower expectations of reading than girls. In addition, the males interviewed in their study had less interest in leisure reading and spent a significantly less amount of time reading than girls spend. As males get older, this interest and achievement gap widens. The National Center for Education Statistics’ (Aud et al., 2012) study of achievement gaps noted that there was a consistent gap between boys and girls in reading. The gap widened from age 9 to age 13 and remained the same from age 13 to age 17. In addition, NCES stated that students who read for fun scored higher than those who rarely read outside of assigned school activities. Van Houtte (2004) noted that, “Step by step it has been shown then that boys’ culture is less study oriented than girls’ culture and that this study culture influences boys’ and girls’ academic achievement” (p. 168). Many boys felt that reading and high academic achievement meant less masculinity in the eyes of the male, his family, and his community. This theme is consistent not only in the U.S., but also Canada (Kehler & Grieg, 2005), Finland (Merisuo-Storm, 2006), and Australia (Martino, 1999), particularly

among working-class males (Elder & Conger, 2014; Epstein, Elwood, Hey, & Maw, 1998).

In addition to lower academic achievement among males versus females, working-class students in general tend to produce lower literacy achievement scores (NCES, 2015). The Nation's Report Card statistics showed that students who were eligible to participate in free and/or reduced lunch had 20% proficiency on reading scores, whereas students who were not eligible for free and/or reduced lunch had a 47% proficiency on reading scores. In addition, the overall reading scores between those on free and/or reduced lunch had a 24-point gap compared to students not eligible for free and/or reduced lunch. Gee (2000b) attempted to explain the differences between working and middle-class students through identity differences in literacy practices among students from different classes. In his findings, working-class students relied on personal narratives and concrete lived experiences while showing some uncertainty about future prospects. Conversely, the upper middle-class students often used language indicating an orientation toward their futures and preferred expository discourse, distancing themselves from personal experiences. Overall, he found that the home cultures of working-class students did not align with school-based cultures, and he argued that this classed difference between cultures contributed to working class students' tendency to perform more poorly on school-based measures of reading.

Masculinity and class can intersect with geography to produce inequitable outcomes in literacy among working-class, high school males. Rural settings have a considerable number of working-class job opportunities like agriculture, trucking, and

service careers. Often, working-class, rural males begin these occupations while still in high school (Elder & Conger, 2014). In rural settings, participation in post-secondary schooling was lower than in other demographics (Provasnik et al., 2007). Provasnik et al. stated that, “Generally, a smaller percentage of high school graduates in rural areas enroll in college than graduates in any other locale, and a smaller percentage of rural adults have a bachelor’s degree than their peers in cities and suburbs” (p. 45). Students in rural areas tend to fare better than urban students in reading achievement, but fare worse than students in suburban settings (Lee, Grigg, & Donahue, 2007). The gap stayed consistent from fourth to eighth grade (which is the last reported grade-level data in the Nation’s Report card 2015).

Because rural, working-class males have intersecting factors that have historically produced lower reading outcomes, it is important to study how they develop identities as nonreaders in order to understand this phenomenon and develop approaches that can prevent the development of identities as nonreaders. Boys scored lower than girls do in reading, rural schools performed lower than suburban schools in reading, and working-class students performed lower on reading assessments than middle-class students (NCES, 2012, 2015). For these reasons, it will be important to understand how sociocultural factors—including past experiences, current social groups, and future aspirations—affect working-class, male high school students’ reader identities and practices.

There is virtually no empirical literature considering the intersectionality of the three social dynamics mentioned, rural, working-class, and male students’ reader

identities and practices, even though there are a large number of rural, working-class males in the U.S. The total rural population in the U.S. is nearly 60 million, or 19% of the total US population. There are approximately 23.05 million rural males above the age of 18 (U.S. Census, 2017). Although “working-class” can have different meanings, Gilbert (2014), and Thompson and Hickey (2005), defined working class as an occupation that does not typically require a four-year college education and tends to be blue-collar in nature (typically manual labor type jobs). Elder and Conger (2014) stated that many jobs in rural areas concerned agriculture, occupations that support agriculture, or manual labor and service positions. Provasnik et al. (2007) noted that rural students entered four-year colleges at lower rates than other populations and tended to veer towards careers that were blue-collar (working-class) and involved service and manual labor. As such, it is imperative to research this population and discover the causes and sources of reading reluctance among this population. It is important to discover their reading practices so that stakeholders (e.g. teachers, coaches, parents) can leverage them as assets as they seek to foster their reader identities. This research project is designed to contribute to a gap in the literature regarding reluctant readers.

An investigation into reluctant readers in relation to their past, present, and future identities, particularly in a rural, working-class setting will help me discover why a reluctant reader identifies as such. McKenna et al. (2012) stated that, “It is widely suggested that in order for teachers to engage their students with meaningful literacy instruction, teachers must be aware of students’ attitudes, motivations, and reading habits” (p. 284). The investigation through narrative inquiry will help me identify

potential factors that increase the likelihood of reading reluctance. Although there has been research regarding adolescent males and reading reluctance, almost none of the research was exclusively conducted in a rural setting. In addition, in a working-class, rural setting, future aspirations are often shaped by generational occupation or the immediate needs of the community such as agriculture, trucking, and in the case of the proposed study, oil field and oil field support occupations (concrete pouring, welding, wire line techs, etc.). These future aspirations can influence how a person views differing reading practices and activities (Renold, 1997, 2001). Thus, my study will examine how high school males' anticipated occupations, as well as their past experiences, shapes their current reader identities and practices.

Future identities have a strong impact on current reading identities and reading practices, and thus this study considers how different scholars have conceptualized future identity. Syed and Mitchell (2015) noted that future identity was a conglomeration of reconciliation and integration of current concerns about past and present experiences, combined with future prospects. Most often, the prospects revolved around career and family aspirations. For males, this identification can mean fatherhood, and a career that will support a family. Waterman (1982) asserted that the development of future identity(ies) (e.g., I will be a father and an oil-rig worker) is largely reliant on family relationships, the surrounding community and the social norms, academic and work history, and a person's interests and likes. Feldman and Matjesko (2005) identified that future identities in males were largely linked to extra-curricular activities, specifically work occupations and recreation such as sports, gaming, and outdoor activities. These

types of endeavors can help shape how a male views himself in various settings, including ones that involve reading practices (at school, home, and work; Hall, 2012a, 2012b). Feldman and Matjesko also emphasized the importance of relationships for adolescent males as they played a large role in how males identify themselves in larger social contexts (academic, athletic, work-related, and religious).

For the purposes of this study, a focus on future aspirations and identity is an imperative component of the research. Grotevant (1983, 1986), and Grotevant and Cooper (1987) emphasized that a clear sense of identity, specifically future identity, included a firm commitment. This commitment to future identity can take shape when students near the end of their high school experience (Van Houtte, 2004). Students during their junior year are starting to not only think about post-high school, they are focusing on pathways for careers (Arnett, 2000a, 2000b), which can include trade and four-year college. The junior year is when schools administer the ACT, and college applications are filled out in anticipation of being accepted to a post-secondary institution. For some students, post-secondary schooling is not in the scope of career aspirations, particularly in rural areas (Provasnik et al., 2007). Reading practices and identity can be contingent on how a student views their career aspirations and identity (Hall, 2012a, 2012b).

Research Purpose and Questions

This research will advance knowledge on contextual factors that shape the reading (or nonreading identities) of reluctant male readers who live in working-class, rural settings. This research will also investigate whether the reading practices, attitudes, and

identities are similar (or different) among the participants. The major question that will drive the research for this project is the following: How do past, present, and anticipated future identities shape the reader identities and reading practices of reluctant rural, male readers in high school? Comparing and contrasting the reading identities and practices among the participants is important because by understanding their stories, teachers and others may be able to develop supports that account for their identities. Considerations will be given to the rural setting and the role of the community in the participants' outlook toward their futures.

Given that working-class, rural high school males are a significant percentage of the U.S. population and are more likely to identify as reluctant readers in academic settings, the purpose of this research project is to understand the stories of members from this population. Of particular interest are the stories of individuals at a transitional point in their lives, moving from adolescence into adulthood, and thinking about life, post high school (Arnett, 2000a, 2000b). I want to understand how their reading identities, whether past, present, or future intersect with other identities (e. g., athlete, future missionary) (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001; Hermans & Kempen, 1993; Hermans, Kempen, & Van Loon, 1992) in ways that produce particular kinds of reading practices.

Justification for Methods of Investigating Research Questions

Narrative inquiry can be an effective means of collecting, reporting, analyzing, and evaluating emerging themes that emerge from the stories shared by participants (Clandinin 2013). In this case, adolescent male, rural, working-class, reluctant readers

will share a series of vignettes about their identities and experiences with reading and school in a rural setting. This collection of vignettes (much like the introduction), observations, and information from interviews will serve as the basis for the participants' stories as I seek to understand the issues and factors behind reluctant readers in a rural, working class setting. The stories from the collection of several interviews are an important element in understanding the nature of the adolescent male reluctant reader, particularly with the emphasis on discovering past, present, and future identities. The focus for this research will revolve around the various identities, whether past, present, or future, that adolescent males navigate in relation to reading and school activities throughout their experiences in classroom, school, family, and extracurricular settings.

I used narrative analysis in the context of multiple case studies to investigate the reader and nonreader identities that reluctant male high school readers enacted in classroom, home, and extracurricular spaces in the rural Western U.S. These case studies were told in the form of stories examined the complexities of rural, working-class, male reluctant readers. My analyses of these stories highlighted family and social norms, and the embedded sociocultural discourses, which provided the context for the participants' multiple intersecting identities including their identities as reluctant readers or nonreaders.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I have two literature reviews: one that is based on the theoretical framework, and the other that is based on studies relevant to this research. Both of these frameworks are critical in helping the reader understand the nature of the Bakhtin's (1981, 1986) theory of the dialogical self, Gee's (2000b, 2015) theory of Discourse, past, present, and future identity, and the connection to the rural, adolescent male, reluctant reader.

Theoretical Framework

The literature review for the theoretical framework will discuss many elements pertaining to the study of Bakhtinian theory of the identity and self (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986). This framework will include what Bakhtin and later Hermans (Hermans, 2001, 2003; Hermans & Kempen, 1993) identified as the dialogical self: a conglomeration and negotiation of varying identities, whether past, present, or future based on sociocultural factors such as class, family, school, and extra-curricular affiliations. Throughout the theoretical framework will be contemporary studies regarding male reluctant readers woven in with the theory of the dialogical self.

Bakhtinian Views of Discourse and Their Relationship to Identity

The struggle for identity through discourse is a complex experience. Bakhtin (1981) stated,

The importance of struggling with another's discourse, its influence in the history of an individual's coming to ideological consciousness, is enormous. One's own discourse and one's own voice, although born of another or dynamically stimulated by another, will sooner or later begin to liberate themselves from the authority of the other's discourse. (p. 348)

According to Bakhtin (1981, 1986), an individual is constantly in dialogue with themselves and with the cultures around them. This dialogue helps shape an identity (or identities). Previously mentioned, this concept was known as the dialogical self. Hermans and Kempen (1993) stated that the self-existed in a state of flux, constantly being authored and re-authored by themselves and those around them. For example, an identity as a male is mediated by culture (what other males around me do, what my religion says males should do, and so forth). Thus, when a student identifies as a male, as a nonreader, or as a car mechanic, this identity has been mediated by the cultures around him.

Discourses, in the Bakhtinian sense, are examples of socially situated language. Every word is received and judged by accents and intentions of others. Any word that an individual chooses to describe themselves (such as a male, reluctant reader) is already "shot through with connotations" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 76) from others. For example, the word "male" is already "shot through with connotations" based on the culture that the male is in. In the case of Mormon culture (which is prevalent in the area researched), a male might be shot through with the connotation of family breadwinner in accordance with church documents such as "The Family: A Proclamation to the World." Individuals' understandings of themselves and their roles in life can be mediated through documents such as these. Thus, when one creates an identity through using particular words to describe oneself, one's identity is socially mediated and tied to one's social context

(Bakhtin 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001).

Discourse is also the process of dialogic exchange with others and is characterized by a series of utterances. An utterance occurs each time there is a new speaker. Any utterance is shaped by both the past (e.g., past connotations of a word's meaning as spoken with in a particular culture) and by an anticipated response (Bakhtin 1981, 1986; Hermans & Kempen, 1993). External voices can be internalized and become internal voices through discourse and dialogue (Hermans, 2001; Hermans et al., 1992). Bintz (1993) confirmed this idea when he mentioned that some students viewed their own reading abilities through the lenses of what their teachers say about them. Ideally, each teacher would have a high bar set for each student, but his study indicated that student perceptions changed based on teacher reaction and feedback, which made students feel that their teacher did not expect much in the way of achievement.

An individual's identity can hinge on the role of utterance and dialogue, according to Bakhtin (1981, 1986). An utterance is a unit of speech communication, whereas dialogue is a form of utterance. He argued (1986),

Dialogue is a classic form of speech communication. Each rejoinder, regardless of how brief and abrupt, has a specific quality of completion that expresses a particular position of the speaker, to which one may respond or may assume, with respect to it, a responsive position. (p. 72)

Through dialogue, an individual can identify positions that can be congruent with others from a group, or discover that the positions they hold can be in contrast. Also, through dialogue, an individual can navigate and express his position in a social setting. Bakhtin (1986) stated, "The expression of an utterance always responds to a greater or lesser degree, that is, it expresses the speaker's attitude toward others' utterances and not just

his attitude toward the object of his utterance” (p. 92). People’s utterances are shaped by expectation of a response. For instance, people’s behaviors are shaped by expectation of a response. In my research project, many of the participants behaved in a way that cohered with the group. Instead of acting as their own agent, they followed the group. One participant gave up reading because his friends “poked fun” at him for reading. As such, he decided to forego an identity as a reader and join his friend in other activities.

Authoritative discourse and normativity. Individuals can have a hard time navigating and compensating when attempting to identify themselves with groups when different groups’ discourse express conflicting values. Part of identity relies on the influences of extrinsic factors including the language and demeanor of dominant groups (Bakhtin, 1986; Bintz, 1993; Martino, 1999; Reeves, 2004), which exert authoritative discourses. Bakhtin defined authoritative discourse as one that

...seeks to elicit from us; rather, it demands our unconditional allegiance. Therefore, authoritative discourse permits no play with the context framing it, no play with its borders, no gradual and flexible transitions, no spontaneously creative stylizing variants of it. (p. 214)

This kind of blind acceptance from an “authoritativeness of tradition” (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 214) can shape an individual’s identity. For instance, a boy may feel pressured to go on a mission if it is demanded of him, or to become an oil-rig worker if his parents pressure him into it. These ties to authoritativeness can create a cultural norm that can make it difficult for a male to navigate, and break free from, if he desires.

Normativity relates to a standard form of language and behaviors, based on cultural mores and traditions (Maybin, 2001). Because discourse is a form of representation, and more than simply linguistic interactions, it can set a standard for how

males relate and identify in a given setting. Authoritative discourse in a given social setting can create a cultural norm (Bakhtin 1981, 1986) like an environment where reading is considered “uncool,” or “stupid,” among teenage males (Hamston & Love, 2005; Martino, 1999; Martino & Berrill, 2003). This normative identity can be accepted in whole as many young men seek an identity that matches the group majority, even if they actually enjoy reading (Newkirk, 2002; Smith & Wilhelm, 2002).

Gee’s View of Discourses and Their Relationship to Identity

Gee’s (2015) definition of Discourse builds upon Bakhtin’s notion of discourse by asserting that language is fundamentally social in nature and reflective of particular contexts. However, Gee’s notion is different because Discourse encompasses more than language. Gee (2015) stated, that discourse,

...with a capital ‘D’ is composed of distinctive ways of speaking/listening and often too, writing/reading coupled with distinctive ways of acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, dressing, thinking, believing, with other people and various objects. (p. 155)

Gee noted that Discourse was a way of people getting recognized as being recognized as a certain type of person (e.g. nonreader, cool, athletic) by other members of their group.

Because Discourse always involves more than language, Gee (2015) stated that, “We also have to get ourselves appropriately in sync with various objects, tools, places, technologies, and other people” (p. 155). Considering the environment for adolescent males in several studies aforementioned, authoritative Discourse played a significant role in reader identities as well as identities regarding education. Some of the participants in case studies recognized the importance of schoolwork, but also referred to reading and

literacy practices as feminine, gay, or plain uncool to exhibit (Hamston & Love, 2005; Martino, 1999; Martino & Berrill, 2003). Their masculine Discourses, which did not encourage deviation from prescribed notions of masculinity, encouraged the adolescent males to enact behaviors and values similar to those of the group, even if the males saw the importance of reading. In some athletic Discourses, being the star football (soccer) player (Martino & Berrill, 2003) carried more significance to the dominant group than that of the smart student. Having a vast collection of tools and muscle cars was more valued than good grades and reading success (Smith & Wilhelm, 2002).

Gee (2000b) discussed how the role of Discourse in an individual's conception of identity is imperative. Regarding Discourse, he said, "All people have multiple identities connected not to their 'internal states' but to their performances in society" (p. 99). By being an active part of Discourse, an individual conceptualizes their identity and position in a given social setting. Gee (2015) also argued that in the process of Discourse that an individual must make clear who they are (in relation to the Discourse), and what they are doing. However, there can be many "whos" in different contexts, meaning that no individual has a single identity, but rather several depending on the Discourse. For example, a male student might enact a different identity in an oilrig Discourse than they would in a church Discourse or in their family Discourse.

Many Discourses are work-related. Kuhn (2006) stated that the "choices actors make about time at work are shaped by the array of discursive possibilities available for identity construction" (p. 1354). Discourses created within work contexts can be radically different than that of the Discourse at home or at school (Gee, 2015). A work Discourse

has a distinctive set of tools, goals, social hierarchies, discourse patterns, and values (Parkinson & McKay, 2016). Some males may value workplace Discourse more than school discourses, particularly if the job is a pathway to a career. Provasnik et al. (2007) stated,

While a larger percentage of high school students in all locales in 2003 had parents who expected their child's highest educational attainment to be a bachelor's degree than any other level of attainment, a greater proportion of rural students than students in cities and suburbs had parents who expected their child's highest attainment to be less than a bachelor's degree. (p. 42)

This pressure to work right out of high school and forego a college education may encourage males to disregard reading practices as irrelevant to future participation in the job or career. In this way, Discourses can affect not only the reading and scholastic identity of the adolescent males in the workplace, but also may influence how they perceive their future identity (Bakhtin, 1891, 1986; Hermans, 1991).

Masculinity and Discourses

Masculinity can be displayed in many different forms in accordance with the Discourses in which these forms are enacted. For example, males may expect to be tough not only in sports, but also in adventurous activities including skateboarding, biking, hunting, and wakeboarding. Males can try to one-up others in getting the bigger buck (antlers of the male deer or elk), performing a better trick (skateboarding, BMX biking, etc.), or even sharing stories of successes in the aforementioned activities. Gilmore (1990) defined masculinity as, "The approved way of being an adult male in any given society" (p. 1). He also stated that "Being a 'real man' or 'true man' as uncertain or precarious, a prize to be won or wrested through struggle" (p.1).

Masculinity can be an image that is dependent upon a given society, or sub-culture that has certain expectations of what masculinity should look like. This distinction can create Discourses of masculinity. These Discourses are practiced in mechanic shops, oilrigs, welding shops, and other workplaces that are considered manly and are populated primarily by men. In these Discourses, having a knowledge of an engine block carries more currency in masculine Discourse than that of the successes in the classroom. To an individual male who participates in different—potentially contradictory—Discourses, the identification of a cool guy or an athlete can often be more important than the identity of a successful student (Gilmore, 1990).

When a culture places value on a specific norm, such as masculinity, a unification of dialogue can ensue. Young (2001) described the term hegemonic masculinity as

The ascendant position of leadership and power, is used in this sense to represent the practices of masculinity that define it in opposition to femininity and in relation to other subordinated masculinities such as “wimps,” “weenies,” and “gays.” (p. 4). She went on to describe ways of hegemonic masculinity being valued over other forms, or “certain ways of doing masculinity over others. (p. 4)

This identification could include heterosexuality over homosexuality, superior physical strength, and other “manly” social norms developed by a culture (Connell, 1996; Jackson & Salisbury, 1996; Martino, 1999). However, a masculine identity is not fixed permanently. Young (2001) also stated that masculine identities are

...fluid and constructed over time and time again within social institutions such as family, school, sports, and corporations. “Being masculine” is accomplished in everyday activities such as speaking, listening, acting, thinking, reading, writing, dressing, gesturing, playing, and so on within social contexts. (p. 5)

In other words, Discourses (Gee, 2015) are developed and refined consistently; much like the dialogical self is in a given context (Bakhtin 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001).

Masculinity can be a unifying factor in specific subcultures of a school. Martino (1999) expounded on the notion of masculinity in some school Discourses when he stated that the “cool boys” in high school play football (soccer or rugby) and the “squids” were the high achievers and nerds of the school. In his research in the UK, high achievers were called “poofs,” which is attributed as gay or having gay tendencies since the cool kids and party animals frowned upon the attributes of high scholastic achievement. He also noted that through his interviews with several boys that they learned early to establish their manhood in opposition to femininity. They committed to this identity in order to separate themselves from the idea of homosexuality, which they perceived as an undesirable attribute. Being a high-achieving student, including someone who enjoys reading as well as expressing one’s emotions, insinuated the femininity that boys tried to avoid in this study. Feldman and Matjesko (2005) stated that, “Boys’ friendships with academically successful students predicted increases in their own academic achievement, and friendships with socially active students predicted decreases in their achievement” (p. 182). Looking through a sociocultural lens, it is apparent that some boys aspired to prescribed notions of manhood within particular Discourses, and these Discourses discouraged them from reading in school.

However, there are a few boys who navigate this system by being both a star athlete, and a high achiever. According to Martino (1999), and Martino and Berrill (2003), this type of navigation is difficult to accomplish. One particular student understood this tension and felt that if he were not the star athlete he was, he would be judged as a “poof,” a derogatory remark indicating homosexuality or femininity. Sports

unify some male students, and unless this is the way high achievement is navigated, being a nerd makes one more likely an assumptive gay student (Davies, 1997; Reed, 1999; Young, 2000).

Reading identity and discourses. Hall (2010) stated that by understanding a student's reading identity, one could gain valuable insight into the decisions that they make regarding reading practices as well as decisions on what they read. Hall (2012a) referred to reading identity as,

How capable individuals believe they are in comprehending texts, the values they place on reading, and their understandings of what it means to be a particular type of reader within a given context. (p. 369)

For example, it is important to understand that if a student does not have a strong self-identity as a reader, they tend to consider themselves inadequate to the task, regardless of what their ability may be (Bintz, 1993). Also, if a male student does not see the value of a reading activity, there is little value or interest in the text and activity. For example, he may be interested in magazines or books on sports and if the text chosen for an activity does not concern his interests, he may identify as disinterested not only in the text chosen, but as a reader as well (Love & Hamston, 2003). Last, content-area texts require different types of reading strategies (Alvermann, 2001) and if the male student does not recognize this, he can feel incompetent to the task, thus identifying more as a nonreader.

Reading practices can be influenced by sociocultural factors. For instance, studies suggest that peers are particularly influential on adolescents' day-to-day school activities such as doing homework and the effort put forth during class (Midgely & Urdan, 1995). If a student does not see himself as a successful reader from an early onset,

the identity of a low-achieving reader can pervade and become a label that can be both self-imposed, or even shared by other students, and even the teacher (Hall, 2012a, 2012b). In the vignette shared from the introduction, the male was known as someone who placed little value on reading. Even though privately he enjoyed reading the book, publicly he still had the identity as someone who did not read, nor someone who enjoyed reading.

Reading identity can be heavily reliant on future prospects, particularly career choice. If a student were looking to be a doctor or academic in the future, he may place more value in reading anatomy texts. As Hall (2012a) mentioned, the student's reading identity given for this particular example would focus on how they view themselves as a reader of specific types of texts. They may not relate to leisure reading of fiction, or magazines, but rather the reading identity they have would focus on science and medical non-fiction texts, such as textbooks and articles. This anticipated medical Discourse would be an important factor in encouraging a reading identity (Gee, 2015).

Even in Discourses where males tend to brand themselves as nonreaders, they may still engage in reading practices. In a football setting, players have to study playbooks that are several hundred pages long with detailed notes and observations. Perhaps many of the players in the room do not value reading in the classroom, or in a school setting, but recognize that in order to be a better player and have a better team, they must read the playbooks thoroughly in order to be equipped with the knowledge necessary for on-the-field success. The Discourse (Gee, 2015) then would be that studious reading of the playbooks is a locker-room reading practice welcomed by the

participants of the football team, rather than being considered an academic reading practice. In what is perceived as a nonreading Discourse, males show reading identities affiliated with what could be considered a nontraditional reading setting. While rejecting a reading identity in the classroom, they have embraced one with an area of interest to them. It is in these competing Discourses I will be investigating the perceived and changing reading identities.

Competing Discourses

Because identity is shaped largely by Discourse, competing Discourses can complicate a male's identity. Boys may enact competing Discourses that influence their reading practices and their identities as a reader. Baxter (2002) stated that the classroom was a place where differing discourses and positions were exemplified, among other settings. She stated that, "The school classroom constructs a range of subject positions, some formalized and institutionally acknowledged" (p. 830). Some of these positions could include ones "that are culturally produced often as acts of resistance, such as conformist/rebel, or favorite/outcast/'dork'. These subject positions are further interwoven with the social relations of gender, as well as categories such as age, ability, ethnic background, class, and so on" (Baxter, 2002, p. 830). It is important to note that a male may have an identity as a nonreader in the classroom setting but may be an avid reader at home or other places and settings outside of the classroom (church, work, recreational). Because the differing Discourses can offer a complex and sometimes contradictory picture of the adolescent male, it is imperative to understand the ebb and flow of competing Discourses that make up a person's identity, and in this case, the

identity of a rural working-class male and his reading identity.

Centripetal forces. Community and culture affect a person's viewpoint in what is called a unitary language, or centripetal force. Isaac Newton described a centripetal force is a force that pulls bodies towards a center. (Newton, 1999). Bakhtin (1981) stated that, "The forms of language and the typical forms of utterances, that is, speech genres, enter our experience and our consciousness together, and in close connection with one another" (p. 78). Unitary language (or centripetal force) is what makes people speak (and act) in a similar way, much like that of members of a soccer team (Martino, 1999), church groups, music bands, hunters, coworkers, and skateboarders. Each group has a similar way in which they communicate, dress, and act (Gee, 2015). These forms of unitary language help formulate identities, in which an individual must navigate depending on the given setting (a hunter may act and speak differently while hunting as opposed to when he is attending church; Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans et al., 1992).

The concept of unitary language extends beyond language to include unitary actions, languages and values (Bakhtin 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001). Norms of different Discourses can act as centripetal forces. The identity of a nonreader is one example of unitary language displaying how some males may perceive themselves as well as how they desire others to see them, as was the case in the vignette. This identity can influence literacy activities and establish a persona that adheres to the cultural norms of masculinity and nonreading, even if the male wants to be a good student and reader (Scholes, 2015).

Centrifugal forces. Although unitary language (or centripetal forces) attract members of groups to a common bond, centrifugal forces can do the opposite. Bakhtin

(1981, 1986) defined the term heteroglossia (or centrifugal force) as an individual pulling away from the utterances, language, and culture of a group (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans 2001, 2003). He also stated that heteroglossia is, “another’s speech in another’s language, serving to express authorial intentions, but in a refracted way” (Bakhtin, 1934). The individual is constantly managing their own sense of self which may be strongly tied to the unitary language, creating a heteroglossia (or centrifugal force), or divergence of identity and language that are in constant motion. Although different Discourses enact unique versions of masculinity, each Discourse has a unitary language that is normative and may be authoritative, but other Discourses act as centrifugal forces to those authoritative discourses.

As males participate in different Discourses, they may experience pulls, or centrifugal forces, to act and conform in accordance to those Discourses. For instance, if an adolescent male tries to adhere to the social dynamics of a group that shuns academics and reading (Martino, 1999; Martino & Berrill, 2003; Renold, 1997, 2001), but still enjoys leisure reading, this centrifugal force of reading for enjoyment, or heteroglossia, pulls the individual away from the shared norms of the “cool” group. In addition, the male may act differently from the “cool” group norms when around family, attending church, working a part-time job, or even when playing sports. In each one of the aforementioned groups, the male can and may act differently, talk differently, and participate differently than they would when being a participant in the “cool” group.

This negotiation of identity creates different types of characters as described from Bakhtin’s theory of the polyphonic novel and the dialogical self (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986;

Hermans, 2001, Hermans & Kempen, 1993). In the brief examples shared above, the participant (an adolescent male) must navigate the language and norms of each group or situation in which he is involved. The negotiation and navigation of identities show that his identity can shift and change dependent upon the setting, as well as the primary Discourse attributed to the setting (Gee, 2015). The centrifugal force takes him away from his identity as a cool kid in private, but publicly he still wanted to adhere to the identity of disliking reading. Bakhtin (1981) said of characters from Dostoevsky's polyphonic novels, "The importance of struggling with another's discourse, its influence in the history of an individual's coming to ideological consciousness, is enormous. One's own discourse and one's own voice, although born of another or dynamically stimulated by another, will sooner or later liberate themselves from the authority of the other's discourse" (p. 348). Hermans (2001) argued that identities were like characters in Dostoevsky's novels, creating a negotiation in identity upon a given context or Discourse.

Identities can shift dependent upon Discourses. Hermans (2001) said of the dialogical self that, "Self and culture are conceived of in terms of a multiplicity of positions among which dialogical relationships can develop" (p. 243). This multiplicity, or polyphonic identity created a shift in an individual's identity. Some characters (such as a football player or an oilrig worker) may be in alignment with each other because they have shared values and actions (physicality and toughness), but other characters within a self might be in conflict like a church-going male, or an academically astute student. The shift from one identity to another can be dependent upon the Discourse of the situation. Hermans also said of the polyphonic characters, "These characters are not treated as

obedient slaves in the service of one author-thinker, Dostoevsky, but are put forward as independent thinkers, each with his or her own view of the world” (p. 245). As such, each character, or individual male has the autonomy and ability to think and act independent of a given Discourse like that of an athlete, or nonreader, but that does not mean that he is necessarily insistent on pulling away from the dominant cultural Discourse.

Last, Hall (2016) stated that students’ identities could be reshaped, disrupted, or even reinforced through their responses to different experiences. Stryker and Burke (2000) argued that people

...tend to live their lives in relatively small, specialized networks of social relationships. Commitment refers to the degree to which persons’ relationships to others in their networks depend on possessing a particular identity and role; commitment is measurable by the costs of losing meaningful relations to others, should the identity be forgone. (p. 286)

The more salience one gives to a given to a culture or Discourse (Gee, 2015), the more adherent that Discourse shapes their identity (a centripetal force). However, the converse of this salience can create a centrifugal force and the less salient a Discourse is to a person, the more likely they are to move away from it (centrifugal force). In summary, the norms of one Discourse may be at odds with the norms of a second Discourse: a male who participates in both Discourses may experience them as centrifugal forces that pull him away from acting in accordance with the “unitary language” established within each Discourse.

Past, Present, and Future Selves

A reading identity can be shaped by past, present, and future identities (Hall 2012a, 2012b, 2016; Hamston & Love, 2005). A male can identify as a nonreader or

come across as disinterested in reading if he came from past social settings where reading was not considered important (home, recreational environment, social group; Love & Hamston, 2003), or was identified as a struggling reader from an early age (Alvermann, 2001). Current pressures from social groups identifying as nonreaders can also have an influence on how he might identify as a reader (Martino, 1999; Scholes, 2015). Last, future prospects (Arnett, 2000a, 2000b) and aspirations can not only shape a future identity, they can also shape a current and future identity as a nonreader if a male does not see the benefit of reading for future prospects.

Past self. Past identities can mark the way for a future identity in late adolescence and emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000b). Alvermann (2001) stated that identities from the past, particularly in regard to reading identity, can have a significant effect on current reading practices. If a male student was labeled as struggling or a nonreader from an early stage, he was more likely to be resistant to reading activities in the future. She stated, “So-called struggling readers whose identities are marked by unsuccessful efforts at (or resistance to) ‘getting reading right’” (p. 678) may have a very different viewpoint about the control they can have in becoming a successful reader. This past identity can build with increasing reading reluctance and can affect his present reading identity.

Present self. In addition to being influenced by past experiences or past voices evaluating him as a reader (Hall 2010, 2012a, 2012b), a male is also influenced by the current Discourses to which he belongs. Several of these Discourses can be identified (or perceived) as nonreading Discourses that can include home, work, and sports, among others. Gee (2015) argued that an individual can take up present identities that are placed

on them, which leads an individual to find others labeled like them. Consequently, culture can play a significant role in how a male student identifies himself as a reader (Alvermann, 2001). If texts were not of interest to a student, if the teacher labeled a student as a disabled or struggling reader and treated them as such, or if a student is part of a cultural norm of resistance and reluctance to reading, a student may identify with a lack of interest and engagement with reading (Alvermann, 2001). Several studies have described how current reading practices are an effect of present reading identities shaped by current participation in reading Discourses (Hamston & Love, 2005; Martino, 1999, Martino & Berrill, 2003; Smith & Wilhelm, 2002). These identities are exemplary of Bakhtinian theory of the dialogical self and how present identities affect current cultural practices (Bakhtin 1981, 1986, Hermans, 2001, Hermans & Kempen, 1993), which can include a reading identity (Hall, 2010, 2012a, 2012b).

Future self. A future identity (Grotevant 1983, 1986; Grotevant & Cooper, 1981; Syed & Mitchell, 2015; Waterman, 1982) can be significantly shaped by social structures such as family, church, work, and schooling (or lack thereof). A future identity could then, in essence, be predictive based on the social settings and the individual's response to it (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001; Hermans & Kempen, 1993; Hermans et al., 1992). Bakhtin (1986) argued that dialogues could have anticipated responses. The predictive nature of the conversational utterances shapes how the people see themselves. He stated that, "The word in living conversation is directly, blatantly, oriented toward a future answer-word: it provokes an answer, anticipates it and structures itself in the answer's direction" (p. 280).

If a child senses expectation for a career, these expectations may shape his identity. An example will illustrate this principle as it relates to my study. The social setting for this study revolves heavily around oil field production and supporting entities (trucking, welding, etc.), agriculture, and service-industry employment. Many males engage in current practices, such as attending welding classes, in anticipation of these future careers and in anticipation of the identity of a “trucker,” or “welder.” Much as Bakhtin (1981, 1986) asserted that our current words are generated in expectation of anticipated futures, adolescent males’ current practices (including their reading practices) may be enacted with an eye toward their anticipated futures as well. Thus, if they do not perceive reading as a part of a trucker Discourse (for example), then this perception can be one reason they disengage from reading.

Identity in high school. For many young men, their junior year as well as the end of high school can be a crossroads for future prospects (Arnett, 1994, 2000b; Elliott & Feldman, 1990; Greenberger & Steinburg, 1986; Schwartz, Zamboanga, Luyckx, Meca, & Ritchie, 2013). Levinson (1978) stated that beginning at the age of 17 (the typical age of a student finishing their junior year of high school), an emerging adult enters the novice phase of development which includes envisioning and moving the adult world to “build a stable life structure” (as cited in Arnett, 2000a, p. 470). In Utah, young men are making decisions about going on a mission (mostly for the LDS church, but also other religious denominations), (Heaton, 1992), what school (trade or college) they plan on attending after high school (many universities and colleges want applications and transcripts well before the senior year is over), and if they want to attend postsecondary

schooling, or springboard into a career. Much of their future prospects and identity rely heavily on these decisions.

The late teens can be an integral part of shaping the future identity of a student. Arnett (2000a) stated, “For most people, the late teens through the mid-twenties are the most *volitional* years of life” (pp. 469-470). As previously discussed, socio-cultural elements can weigh heavily on identity, be it past, present, future, and for the case of this study, reading identity. Emerging adulthood is a time of life when many different directions remain possible, when little about the future has been decided for certain, when the scope of independent exploration of life’s possibilities is greater for most people than it will be at any other period of the life course. Thus, a research study of males during this transitional period offers rich and generative opportunities to identify how the intersection of past, present, and anticipated future Discourses shape their reading identities.

Summary of Theoretical Framework

In order to understand the complexities of reader identity(ies) of rural, working-class males, it is imperative to understand the past, present, and future identities of the participants. There are many different narratives at play in a given setting, so the understanding of Discourse (Gee, 2015) and the dialogical self (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001; Hermans & Kempen, 1993; Hermans et al., 1992), as well as the intricacies that lie within the theories will be useful to develop a complete picture of the participants and their narratives. Ideally, the narratives shared will help shape pictures

regarding the role of masculinity in a reading identity as well as an investigation regarding the separate and sometimes conflicting Discourses that the participants face on a daily basis. The study will note the social dynamics of each male's interactions, as well as his responses to them. The observed ebb and flow of centrifugal and centripetal forces will impact my understanding of how the participants perceive and enact reading practices and identities in different Discourses on a daily basis.

Empirical Literature

Along with understanding the intricacies of the dialogical self and past, present, and future identity (Bakhtin 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001), Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015), and the fundamentals of understanding reading identity (Hall, 2010, 2012a, 2012b, 2016), it is also critical to understand the nature of the reluctant reader. In this section, I will provide a definition of a reluctant reader. I will also address the different aspects and characteristics that reluctant readers can exhibit shared from multiple research sources, and elements that affect reluctant readers in how they view themselves. Last, I investigate literacy in a three-dimensional space, meaning that there are Discourses beyond the school setting, which shape individuals' reading practices. These Discourses include those of work, home, and in recreational activities. Identity is a critical component of the research I am proposing, therefore the list of factors that can affect or create reading reluctance will focus on findings from previous research directly related to the reading practices and identities of adolescent and pre-adolescent males (Newkirk, 2002; Renold 1997; Smith & Wilhelm, 2002)

Definition of a Reluctant Reader

What specifically is the definition of a reluctant reader? In addition to the factors aforementioned regarding sociocultural elements and reader identity, Brinda (2011) defined the term “reluctant readers” as a-literate students who choose to refrain from texts and reading engagement, much like a person may consider themselves apolitical (neutral) with politics or even atheist (nonbeliever) in regard to religion. He stated that a-literacy seemed to be on the rise because teachers and researchers reported that an increasing number of students said they were learning to hate reading. A-literacy is defined as students who dislike and even hate reading, as well as the reading process (Brinda, 2011).

Brinda also examined a-literacy and its effects on reluctant readers. Some of the following causes of reluctant readers and a-literacy included cultural norms of nonreading, and apathy stemming from years of struggle. He conducted interviews with sixteen students to get a glimpse of the nuances of reluctant readers. Besides the aforementioned findings, he noted that when he asked a group of high school students and preservice teachers to identify when negative attitudes towards reading began, a majority said it was around fourth, fifth, or sixth grade. Newkirk’s (2002) findings were similar as well as many of the boys he interviewed shared sentiments of reading apathy beginning around grades four through six, and then compounding as secondary schooling continued. One of these qualities is when students moved from elementary to secondary grades, they became less interested (or perceived as so) with reading and other academic activities. Last, Brinda (2011) noted that students were exhausted with teacher-selected

texts and they did not read beyond their teacher's expectations.

Ironically, Bintz (1993) stated that teachers felt that they must force students to read and that the students were not getting the reading and skills that they need because they were "lazy." He also found that some reluctant-reader students read copious amounts of literature outside of school, particularly with high-interest texts. Even though the perception was that they did not engage in reading, they did, but kept that silent from their teachers and sometimes others, including family and friends.

Hamston and Love (2005) argued that there are many oversimplifications of boys and their reluctance to reading. Their research indicated that reluctant readers' fathers had little to say to them whereas the mothers had significant amounts of input to share. However, in other interviews with the parents of committed readers, both fathers and mothers were very active in participation with both the interviews and ensuring that the adolescents were reading. Of the reluctant readers that were interviewed, even though they had the cultural capital (the knowledge of culture to help with desired positive school outcomes), and desired socio-cultural environment (middle-class, educated families), the males simply viewed reading differently than their parents did. One student said that, "mum thinks differently about reading than I do" (p. 193). He went on to say his mother would have reading be a higher priority in his life, but he simply was not interested to read and did not see the value in it.

In the same study (Hamston & Love, 2005), Matthew, a high school student, said that reading was not valuable because he already knew good grammar and did not need reading to help him with it. He felt able to do any academic task without have to read

extensively out of high school. Although his mother and grandmother were university trained, his father's family did not foster a reading environment. Matthew liked to read magazines and newspapers and his mother was happy to accommodate his reading preferences because she believed that some reading was better than him not reading anything. This glimpse into Matthew's reading identity can help give insight to some of the issues that show how complex the reluctant readers can be, as well as some of the issues regarding adolescent male readers.

It is worth noting that the home is an integral part of a student's literacy Discourse and development (Biller, 1993; Feuerstein, 2000; McBride et al., 2005). Lamb (2004) noted that fathers can play an integral role in children's academic growth and development. The McBride et al. research team asserted that fathers have traditionally been viewed as playing an "additive" role in their children's academic life, and that fathers have lower confidence scores when compared to mothers in assessing their roles in helping children being successful in school, but fathers' involvement could be significantly positive the more they involve themselves in their child's academic development. A home environment conducive to learning, especially when the father is actively involved, can be an important factor in shaping a student's academic and reading identity. The converse can also be true.

Hamston and Love (2005), Kehler and Grieg (2005), MerisuoStorm (2006), Newkirk (2002), and Wilhelm and Smith (2002) found that many boys read in school, but only did so as it was a means to an end. Most of the interviewees acknowledged that they needed reading skills to get good grades but did not see the need of it outside of the

school setting. In fact, many of the participants did not see the value of reading in general. They did not see reading as integral to future endeavors and career, and as such, placed little value in it. It could be argued that their dialogical self (Hermans, 2001, 2003), in looking forward to their anticipated futures, concluded that reading was not integral to their well-being. In summary, future identities played a role in reading reluctance in several of the studies researched (Arnett, 1994; 2000b; Hamston & Love, 2005; Love & Hamston, 2003). If the male participants were to find reading valuable, they would need to read texts that had direct purpose to their interests, and a very defined outcome.

O'Brien and Dillon (2014) introduced the concept of engagement and reading among adolescents with the following two questions: "Can I do this activity?," and "Do I want to do this activity, and why?" They said, "Many adolescents who are competent readers and believe they are competent readers are increasingly unlikely to want to read in school and less likely to choose reading for pleasure the longer they are in school" (p. 45). In addition, reading in school becomes a tedious set of learning tasks that many students do not see any benefit from participating. In other words, a person who "can do it," may not want "to do it," because there is not an inherent value in the reading activities. They noted that there are "discourses that cause readers to feel more confident and competent as readers—ways of respecting individual meaning constructions and opinions" (p. 45) that can help students to navigate complex texts and literacy activities. They argued that this bridge of Discourses was missing in classrooms too often, which could help attribute to a culture of reading reluctance. In fact, they stated that too often

researchers are focusing on psychometrics and assessments but disregarding the sociocultural elements that can contribute to a “reader’s stance toward tasks” (p. 49). As such, engagement can fade, and reluctance can increase, particularly with males, who exhibit higher levels of reading resistance.

Higher resistance to reading. Many adolescent males show a higher resistance to reading and literacy activities than do females of the same age and class (Renold, 1997, 2001; Rowan, Knobel, Bigum, & Lankshear, 2002), whether they are struggling readers (Alvermann, 2001), or proficient (Newkirk, 2002; Smith & Wilhelm, 2002). There are many reasons why a student, particularly an adolescent male, will be a reluctant reader. The following list includes factors researchers have noted specifically with adolescent males and reading reluctance, (Martino, 1999; Martino & Berrill, 2003; Newkirk, 2002; and Smith & Wilhelm, 2002): living in a socioeconomically disadvantaged class (Brozo, 2009), student self-identity and sociocultural Discourses (Bintz, 1993; Hamston & Love, 2005; Martino, 1999; Martino & Berrill, 2003), lack of engagement (Brinda, 2011), and lack of prior knowledge about a given topic (Ambe, 2007), among other factors.

Male reluctant readers typically possess one or more of these aforementioned attributes and sometimes several (Brinda, 2011; Love & Hamston, 2003), which can make it harder for teachers, parents, and other stakeholders involved in the student’s education process to pinpoint solutions and recommendations for improvement. Boys (particularly in later elementary years, grades 4-6) and adolescent males tend to show higher levels of reluctance and resistance to reading when compared to females (Renold, 1997, 2001; Rowan et al., 2002). Manuel (2012) mentioned that there is “...no simple,

one-dimensional causal relationship such as gender, socio-economic, cultural, or ethnic or linguistic status, and underachievement in reading” (p. 49). It would be difficult to pinpoint a specific reason to equate reading reluctance to a given population because each student is different in how they learn and process information.

Reluctance and the rural male. Living and growing up in a rural area can have negative effects on a male’s reading identity and performance. Provasnik et al. (2007) noted that future career prospects involving post-secondary schooling are lower in rural areas and “College enrollment rates for both 18- to 24-year olds and 25- to 29-year olds were generally lower in rural areas than in all other locales” (p. v). Many students envisioned themselves staying in the area where they grew up to pursue a career that was attuned to the workforce needs (Elder & Conger, 2014; Provasnik et al., 2007). Elder and Conger (2014) stated in rural communities that, “Studies consistently indicate that girls out-perform boys in school” (p. 74). In their research, they argued that rural males do not value education to the same degree that females do. They also noted that, in rural communities, success is measured by a record of accomplishments. School was one of the lowest measures of “accomplishments” to rural males. Accomplishments that matter more to rural males were career and home ownership, and because post-secondary schooling was not a necessity in agriculture and service-industry type occupations, reading practices and schooling did not have a heavy influence on measuring success for males (Conger & Elder, 1994; Elder & Conger, 2014; Crockett, Shanahan & Jackson-Newsom, 2000).

With lower achievement scores (Nord, et al, 2011, NCES, 2015), and a lower

emphasis on academic success, reading identity in a rural school setting can be affected. Hektner (1994) stated that “students from rural communities tend to have less ambitious post-secondary educational plans and career aspirations than their non-rural counterparts” (p. 4). Smith and Wilhelm (2002) interviewed and observed Bodey and Stan (pseudonyms), who were low-achieving students in a rural setting. Both were of European descent. Bodey did not see schoolwork as necessary and even called it “mind numbing” (p. 25). However, he did like to read on his own. He was reading *Moby Dick* and enjoyed the action parts, while skipping the rest, but at the same time refused to acknowledge his reading with reading logs or assignments. Stan failed his courses and never did well in English. He did like to read about controversial topics, but not much else. Smith and Wilhelm wondered if the curriculum were more attuned to his interests, could be successful in an English classroom setting? Neither Stan nor Bodey discussed at length what their future plans were, except that Stan mentioned he wanted to be aware of what was around him. Neither felt that reading was important to their future aspirations either.

Reluctance and the working-class male. Social class can be a predictor in academic success. Epstein et al. (1998) noted that boys’ achievement (or lack thereof) is strongly classed. They also argued that sociocultural factors can determine who might have a greater likelihood of reluctance and achievement failure. As stated previously, working-class students fare worse in reading achievement, regardless of the setting (urban, suburban, and rural; NCES, 2015; Nord et al., 2011). In addition to the lower performance on reading exams, males also have the pressure to show their masculinity in

various settings, which often includes an outward abhorrence to educational pursuits and more specifically reading (Martino & Meyenn, 2001; Martino & Palotta-Chiarolli, 2001, 2003; Young, 2000, 2001).

Along with social factors that can affect a male's reluctance to participate in reading and literacy activities is the relationship between working-class identity and aspirations, and future identity. Hektner (1994) mentioned that, "One of the major themes of adolescence in the U.S. is the visualization of and preparation for future occupational roles" (p. 3). Stahl (2016) argued that males with a working-class background have career aspirations that do not involve post-secondary schooling, and as such, tend to underachieve in school settings. For instance, if a male is anticipating a career as an oilrig worker, he may not see the value of literacy activities in a school setting that does not appear relevant to his career choice.

Literacy Discourses in a Three-Dimensional Setting

The profile of any one male reader is complex and should not be overly simplified or defined by one place (e.g., school). Smith and Wilhelm (2004) suggested that, "Boys pursue activities outside of school, including literacy activities, in which they feel competent. Literacy activities are often rejected in school because boys do not feel competent in them" (p. 454). Lenters (2006) stated, "Many students stated that they value the reading done outside of school more highly than reading connected to school" (p. 138). Because of the complexities of male identities, and in particular their reading identities, a focus on a three-dimensional setting is necessary. Clandinin (2013)

conducted her narrative research projects in what she described as a three-dimensional space which includes the setting (spatiality), the time (temporality), and the social dimensions (sociality). In order to adequately investigate a reluctant reader's attributes and practices, adherence to the three-dimensional space will be integral. As such, it is important to investigate the various settings in which literacy Discourses can take place. Gee (2015) argued that Discourses are in every facet of life. The primary reading and literacy Discourses that will be investigated are in school, at work, at home, and in recreational settings.

Reading and Literacy Discourses in School

School Discourses regarding reading and literacy practices are an integral component of learning and development, but by no means the only Discourse for a male student. However, it is in school where much of the noted reluctance takes place (Martino, 1999; Martino & Palotta-Chiarolli, 2001, 2003; Young, 2000, 2001).

Depending on the subject area, school Discourses and texts emphasize specific literacy skills, many of which may not be strengths of readers, and may be of little interest. These texts can include pieces of literature, informational texts, and narrative texts; or a combination of texts, dependent upon the subject area. Many stakeholders, including parents, view school as the primary source of reading and literacy Discourse. Although there are several other facets in which literacy and reading practices take place, school settings are where students spend a large portion of their day to enhance their academic Discourse (Merisuo-Storm, 2006; Martino & Palotta-Chiarolli, 2001, 2003; Young, 2001).

Kehler and Grieg (2005) stated that educators and school-based administrators often attempt series of quick fixes to the problem of low literacy levels and poor achievement for boys. They argued that these attempts are well intended, but fall short of desired outcomes. They also argued that the failed attempts at increasing reading achievement levels is due to the misreading of adolescent males and oversimplifying what their needs are.

Within their study (Kehler & Grieg, 2005), schools in the Ontario province in Canada ordered “masculine” materials, hired more male teachers, and brought in male athletes to promote reading. They argued that although these measures can have some effective results, the schools were simply reaffirming what masculinity was and ignoring the differences among males. Although not necessarily rejecting the aforementioned ideas, they believed that practitioners need to do a better job of convincing boys and adolescents of the value of literacy and their literacy practices need to become more accommodating to the contemporary shifts in culture that can affect literacy practices. Part of this process includes guiding males to resist the roles assigned to them in social settings; however, they did not offer any specifics as how this practice will be accomplished. They also restated arguments made by Martino (1999); Renold (1997, 2000), Rowan et al. (2002), and Newkirk (2002) that males may be considered gay or unmanly if they pursue high achievement in reading within the context of school.

Teacher struggles and the male reluctant reader. Sometimes, the reluctance to reading is fueled by the notion that the teacher is ill-prepared to teach effective reading strategies. Despite evidence growing about the importance of reading instruction, Binks-

Cantrell, Joshi, and Hougen (2015) noted that few teachers were qualified, nor did they display adequate knowledge to proficiently give reading instruction. Warren-Kring and Warren (2013) stated that a big factor in making advances in adolescent literacy was the attitude of teachers in implementing effective literacy strategies in the classroom. A major difficulty was due to their prevailing negative attitudes. According to their literature review, Warren-Kring and Warren stated that secondary teachers valued a presentation style that was teacher centered, and the teachers believed adding content literacy strategies like specific types of reading comprehension instruction was unnecessary and too time consuming.

In addition, some teachers do not know how to excite students or build their interests in reading texts as well as reading practices and activities (Warren-King & Warren, 2013). Warren-King and Warren noted in their study that for both teacher and student, the expectations were low regarding getting students excited about reading. In these types of settings, the classroom was not conducive to helping assuage reluctant reader identities. Rather, students can identify more as a reluctant reader when the environment does not excite, motivate, or foster an interest in reading. This identity can develop from a present identity into a future identity of reading reluctance if not corrected. A student can begin to self-identify as a low-level or reluctant reader. If the teacher does not set high expectations for the student or identify them as an able reader (Lenters, 2006; Reeves, 2004), the student typically responds in kind. Last, if a teacher views reading curriculum as non-negotiable, students may respond with apathy towards the texts, especially reluctant readers. The students may become complacent and bored

with the class and the content delivered, thereby solidifying their perception that they do not enjoy reading and they do not see themselves as readers (Lenters, 2006; Reeves, 2004).

Reading and Literacy Discourses at Work

Another important Discourse regarding reading and literacy identity and practices, is in the workplace. Parkinson and Mackay (2016) stated that in working-class apprenticeship settings and workplace trainings,

A register of spoken language was identified, which differed from everyday language in being highly technical, reflecting specialist knowledge and indexing an identity as a member of a trade. Students were found to read a wide variety of texts, including complex professional texts such as Building Standards, Specifications, Codes and manufacturer's instructions. (p. 33)

Every kind of occupation will have a specific type of jargon. As such, it is imperative that employees are able to understand what is being said as well as how it is said. This can require significant study, including reading (Parkinson & Mackay, 2016).

Lea and Street (2006) discussed the idea of “academic socialization,” which means that learners acquire literacy as part of their trade. This acquisition of literacy and reading (manuals, displays, and even videos) knowledge is critical for success in any job. The setting for the proposed study has many young men interested in vocational careers like oilfield opportunities, trucking, welding, automotive repair, and several other supporting jobs for the oilfields. Their future identity (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001) may influence their lack of reading practices in a school setting, especially if they feel the types of reading done at school, including narratives or non-technical texts, are not relevant to their aspirations post-high school (Lenters, 2006, Reeves, 2004; Renold,

1997, 2001). Although many males may not be interested in a classroom setting and reading practices that lie therein, they may be interested in texts that are relevant to their jobs after school, and future career prospects (Lea & Street, 2006).

Reading and Literacy Discourses at Home

Home cultures or Discourses that value and practice reading may encourage students to develop identities as readers (Duursma, Pan, & Raikes, 2008; Lamb, 2004; Morgan, Nutbrown, & Hannon, 2009; Swain, Cara, & Mallows, 2017). Another aspect of family Discourse is not just how a family models and practices literacy, but also how they gear their children toward particular occupations (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Luyckx, Meca, & Ritchie, 2013; Stahl, 2016). Aspirations for post-secondary schooling can help shape future identities, which can affect reading identities. Morgan et al. (2009) noted that,

Family literacy studies of family members using literacy as part of their daily routines show that children's early understanding of literacy is learned socially and culturally within their family and community, and that the types of literacy experience children encounter differ according to families' social and cultural practices. (p. 168)

When families highly value and model consistent literacy practices in the home, there is a greater likelihood that the child will have better academic achievement and sense of well-being. This can be especially true if the father takes an active role in the child's literacy and academic pursuits (Duursma et al., 2008; Morgan et al., 2009).

A father's involvement in literacy activities at home can create significant positive effects for a child's academic development (Biller, 1993; Duursma et al., 2008; Lamb, 2004; Morgan et al., 2009; Swain et al., 2017). Duursma et al. stated in their findings that many literacy growth factors favored fathers with higher education levels.

Duursma (2014) argued that children could benefit slightly more from the father reading to them than if the mother did. It should be noted that this study was composed in a low-income setting. Her findings suggest that the home environment with stronger literacy and reading practices can have larger effects on child academic development. An element of reading and literacy practice can be having a print-rich household.

Print-rich and non-print-rich households. Homes can play a significant impact on a student's reading identity (Biller, 1993; Brozo, 1999; Duursma et al., 2008; Morgan et al., 2009; Swain et al., 2017). A print-rich environment can make a significant difference in a student's vocabulary and word exposure. Merisuo-Storm (2006) when noted that if a student came from a print-rich environment not only are they likely to have higher vocabulary and word recognition, but they could also have a better appreciation for literature and reading compared to those that do not come from such an environment. Children watch and often mirror the behaviors of their parents (Duursma, 2014; Merisuo-Storm, 2006). Not only do they mirror their parents, but also their closest friends and community. Coming from a community that values education can be a factor in helping the reading aspirations of students as well, and the converse if the family and/or community is not supportive of reading and education. Discourses (Gee, 2015) that involve higher parental involvement in literacy activities, including a print-rich home can have positive effects on the reading identities of children (Hall, 2010; Morgan, Nutbrown, & Hannon, 2009; Swain, Cara, & Mallows, 2017).

Reading and Literacy Practices in Recreational Settings

Recreational Discourses can include sports, hunting, hiking, and even video games (Gee, 2003), and can include reading practices (Gee, 2015, 2003). For example, Gee described video gaming Discourses as being particularly rich in complex literacy practices. In his words,

I argue that schools, workplaces, families, and academic researchers have a lot to learn about learning from good computer and video games. Such games incorporate a whole set of fundamentally sound learning principles, principles that can be used in other settings, for example in teaching science in schools. (p. 1)

In addition, he argued that good games will have a real-world application to the information given, so that the players can witness the information come into fruition.

Many young men enjoy video games and use it as a social Discourse (Gee, 2003; Newkirk, 2002; Smith & Wilhelm, 2002). Even though their primary goal is more likely social, it is important to note that literacy skills are being used and refined throughout the gaming process. Other social activities such as recreational sports can serve as a literacy Discourse.

Van Duinen (2012) noted that the amount of time that males invest into their sports education is vast and profound, but often overlooked by teachers, parent, and even the students themselves. Recreational sports can include activities like football, baseball, hunting (which is very popular in the location of this study), and camping, among many others. A local football coach, who wished to remain anonymous, stated that his players probably did more reading with the playbooks than they do in school. Winning and football are two things they were interested in, and because they view this type of reading

as an important factor for success, it is not a burden. He said, “Players that won’t open a book in their classes willingly, and eagerly read and discuss the playbooks, watch game video, and analyze the information. They practice these skills, but it doesn’t feel like schoolwork to them so they are happy to do it” (Anonymous, Personal Communication, 9/22/2017).

Fortuna (2015) argued that not only students enjoy watching and playing sports, but also enjoy reading articles and checking statistics about athletes. She believed that sports were a ripe opportunity to develop digital literacy skills. She stated,

A student whose eyes glaze over when presented with rich literature like *The Great Gatsby* or *Wuthering Heights* will grab a smartphone as soon as a flash comes in about the latest major league baseball (hockey/football/basketball) revelation. (p. 82)

When the content was relevant to the participants in her class, and the material did not feel like work, the students became engaged, and they used this Discourse as a means to socialize and communicate using literacy skills.

Building Identities as Readers

Even though boys may engage in reading practices in non-school spaces, they often still identify themselves as a reluctant or nonreader (Hamston & Love, 2003; Love & Hamston, 2005; Merisuo-Storm, 2006; Smith & Wilhelm, 2004). To build an identity as a reader, teachers can bridge in-school and out-of-school spaces by meeting each student’s interests with more directed and individualized text selection. Fingon (2012) investigated the role of the teacher in guiding reluctant readers in helping them find the right text, which might often be a nontraditional text (the example used here is *The Diary*

of a Wimpy Kid series, a quasi-graphic novel about the struggles of a middle-school male student). According to Fingon, the more interesting texts a teacher can help find for a reluctant reader, the better likelihood that they will increase their respect and engagement level for reading. Engaging students through the appropriate text can also help the reluctant reader access background knowledge and build vocabulary. Engagement is an essential tool in helping reluctant readers develop better self-perceptions (Fingon, 2012).

Russell, Ainley, and Frydenberg (2005) stated that engagement described energy in action, the connection between person and activity. If a male student identifies as a reluctant or nonreader, engagement and interest with reading and reading activities can be difficult to achieve. Referring to interest, Dewey (1913) asserted that, “The root idea of the term seems to be that of being engaged, engrossed, or entirely taken up with some activity because of its recognized worth” (p. 160). If reluctant readers are not finding value with the text being offered, they can become less engaged with reading and reading activities in a classroom setting. These factors, along with a more complex reading structure in the secondary setting, compound the reluctance to read as well as opportunities to apply that skill for growth in other academic areas. It is therefore, imperative that teachers and parents find the connections between a given reading text or activity and male students.

Merisuo-Storm (2006) also advocated for there to be comics, magazines, and informational texts freely available as this will help influence boys to read regularly. Love and Hamston (2003) echoed this advice as they stated “screenage” boys want to read material they felt was relevant to their interests. That is not to say that students

should dictate what is read and not read in the classroom, but, rather, they argued that the reluctance could be reduced if the teacher was aware of their wants and showed efforts to include them in the selection of the literature.

Newkirk (2002) argued that students without the cultural capital of a print-rich environment would be served well if they used TV shows as a means of unlocking literacy potential. Many adolescent males had this as a leisure pursuit instead of visits to the library or having books at home. He stated that even if the show was considered low-brow discussing the elements of the program with the students in a literacy frame of mind could help these types of students value the things they liked at a deeper level, including using analysis and other reading strategies to the forefront. That is not to say this type of text would be the only means of assessing literacy and reading, but this connection to student-valued texts could be a gateway in helping reluctant readers view literacy in a different light.

Connecting with Other Discourses

In attempting to bridge the various Discourses aforementioned, a third-space may be needed to help a male identify the multiple Discourses he participates. Third-space theory often focuses on identity, Discourse, and dialogue between differing Discourses (Benson, 2010). Bhabha (2012) stated that a third space area is where an individual can, “initiate new signs of identity, and innovate sites of collaboration” (p. 1-2). Benson described the third space as a means of combining of two or more Discourses. For instance, a male student may not like the assigned texts in class and chooses not to read them. Nevertheless, he enjoys manuals and books on hunting. Instead of reading the

teacher assigned texts, he is navigating the hunting manual in class. Even though he may not be reading the assigned texts, he has brought something from his recreational or home Discourse into the classroom Discourse. Much like in the vignette, there are often times where a reluctant male can find texts from another Discourse, and if the teacher is astute in identifying this, the third space can be used to bridge the reluctant male reader in both (or more) the classroom and recreational Discourses.

The third spaces are hybrid spaces where students can share artifacts across multiple Discourses and engage in literacy practices that are valued in both spaces. For instance, a school teacher can bring in materials that can interest a male student like sports magazines, gaming magazines, or various types of texts on cars. These types of texts can interest the reluctant reading male and engage him in a literacy activity he may have not otherwise been attuned to (Merisuo-Storm, 2006; Newkirk, 2002). The differing types of texts can give the reluctant male some choice of what they want to read and invite Discourses from home, recreational, or even occupational. There are multiple points of Discourse in any given interaction rather than a single one entity that control how one acts and responds (Benson, 2010). However, the key to finding the third space where the multiple Discourses come together can be challenging, unless the teacher, parent, or any other stakeholder in a male's reading identity can bridge the Discourses by being aware of the male's interests. This bridging of Discourses into a third space can invite reluctant readers into participants and help them determine whether they "can do it," and "want to do it" (O'Brien & Dillon, 2014).

Conclusion

In this brief description regarding the attributes of reluctant readers, particularly of boys and adolescent males, many of the nuances of reluctant readers are evident, but further investigation is required when trying to understand the factors that shape males' reading identities in a rural, working-class setting. A reluctant reader identity is contingent on many factors, but being a resident in a rural, working-class setting can increase the likelihood of a male identifying as such. Some of the factors are identities linked to Discourses at home, school, work, and recreational activities such as sports and hunting. If the Discourses do not encourage a strong reading identity, or encourage reading activities, a student can become less engaged, and interested in reading, especially if the value of reading is not made apparent to him. In addition, past, present, and future identities can play a significant role in how a male views himself as a reader. If there is not an inherent relation to future prospects, many high school males may not see the value of reading, unless it is something specific to what interests them.

This study also highlighted how reading reluctance is constructed at the intersections of past, present, and future identities along with the intersectionality of multiple Discourses in a male, working class, rural setting. Each male student had different wants, needs, social dynamics, and patterns that affected his literacy practices. A male could constantly shape and reshape his identity in a given setting through the dialogical self. In addition, it was crucial to understand the nature of hegemonic masculinity and how it affected a male's outlook in reading, education and literacy. By identifying commonalities across cases, this study generated knowledge about causes of

male reluctance that could help teachers, parents, employers, and coaches in rural areas to more fully support the development of literacy identities across domains. Last, this study enabled the study of intersectionality in terms of shaping working-class rural males' identities as reluctant or nonreaders.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

In this section, I described the context of the study and identified my positionality. I explained and justified my use of multiple case study, emergent design, and narrative inquiry. In addition, this section described the recruitment protocol, the participant selection criteria, data sources and collection, data analysis limitations, and measures for ensuring trustworthiness. Last, throughout this section, I discussed how elements of the theoretical framework played a role in how the methods were implemented and the period for the research.

Context of the Study

In one county in the Western U.S. lied a rural expansion of small towns, farms, and oil fields. The school district covered a radius of 60 miles with most of the schools located in the seat (largest populated city) of the county. Students were bused in from many different areas that include red-rock desert, mountains, and basin valleys. In this region, people took time to say “hi” and if one were ever to have a flat tire; help would arrive quickly as the people were insistent on assisting their neighbors. To them, everyone was a neighbor. The area was viewed as “blue collar” or “working class” by industry standards and perceptions. Various comments from those who did not live in the area included the idea that education was frowned upon and that the workers and citizens from this area did little more than pump oil out of the ground or pick corn from the fields. Having been a member of this community for the past several years I could say that

although yes, this is generally a “working-class” town concerning the type of work that is available and performed, there was much more to the town and its people than simply being oil field workers and farmers.

This area had a mix of people including those who have had roots for several generations, as well as those who had a nomadic lifestyle based on oil markets. Fifteen miles west of the rural town, among plateaus and farmland, is a Native American reservation. The tribe had a membership of almost 3,000 and almost half of them lived on the reservation, which sprawled over 4.5 million acres. According to the 2015-16 school year data provided from the Utah State Board of Education, Native Americans made up a small, but important percentage to the high school student body, of which the majority were White (83%; Utah State Board of Education, 2016). There were also a few Asian, African-Americans, and Latino students. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the overall racial makeup of the county was 88% White, nearly 7.7% Native American and a small portion of African-American, Hispanic, Asian, Pacific Islander, two or more races, or some other race alone (U.S. Census, 2016).

Although farming and oil field production were major influences on the economy, these were not the only sources of work. The biggest employer in the county was the local school district. In addition, there were several companies that supported the oil fields with management, testing, and trucking. Because there was not a railway system, all food, goods, and pumped oil were trucked in and out. As such, trucking was a large source of employment. Although many positions could be considered working class, there were several faculty of a statewide university system that resided in this area,

including biological and chemical researchers. There was a regional campus for the state university that collaborated with the local high school for concurrent enrollment and research projects, as well as an applied technology campus that shared the same campus land. Enrollment in the campus had grown every year; in 2013 the student population was approximately 1,300 students at the university extension and several hundred others at the applied technology college (Utah State University, 2013). In addition, there were many engineers (mechanical, electrical, petroleum, and civil) who worked in the oil fields. Along with this, doctors of all types and other working professionals such as lawyers, judges, accountants and businessmen/women made up a small, but noticeable portion of the area's population. As of this writing, the current unemployment rate is 7%. (Google, 2016). Success of the oilfields did have an effect on population and unemployment rates.

In this school district, one general high school housed grades 9-12. As of 2017, at the time of the inception of this study, the high school was the focus of the community. Friday night football drew many in the community, even those who did not have students, family, or friends attending the high school. The dance squad was twice a national champion and had claimed the state title seven of the past eight years. One year, the musical production won the award for the best high school musical performance in the state of Utah as well as best director, lead actress, and cameo performance. The high school also facilitated many community programs and events. The principal said that, because of this, there was no alarm to set for the doors, as they were always open for someone working on something. It was impossible to shut the high school down and turn

on the security alarms after hours because many students playing sports or working in clubs arrived late after a long day of travel to an event. In the principal's words "There is always something happening here. Almost 24/7."

One consideration for the setting of the study was that there was a large Mormon population. This aspect was important because many of the young men in the area were considering serving a 2-year mission for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The missions were proselytizing and reading intensive. Missionaries expected to read a minimum of 30 minutes a day reading such complex texts as *The Bible* and the *Book of Mormon*. Along with reading and comprehending these texts, the young men expected to facilitate extensive discussions of the texts with others. Even if the young man was a reluctant reader, the Discourse of a missionary included study and regular discussion of the aforementioned difficult texts. Even when an adolescent male identified himself as a nonreader in a classroom setting, this identification was not an option in the mission field.

Researcher Story and Positionality

I grew up in Southern California, a region of the U.S. with excellent weather, long commutes, and colleges everywhere. Most high schools there, particularly those in the suburban areas, emphasized college entry. I grew up in an environment that emphasized the importance of college. Both of my parents were college educated, my oldest sibling graduated from Boston University, my second oldest sibling attended law school, and it was expected that I go to college. The perception given to students in the high school environment was one where you were expected to go to a private, or out-of-state

university, or into the UC (University of California) system if you were an exemplary student. If you were an average student, the perception was that you would enter the Cal State University system, or a community college if you were a student who did not excel in high school. This perception came from counselors and teachers alike, even though in hindsight it may not have been an accurate assumption. However, this was my perception as well as many other students. I was in the final category regarding college aspirations. I avoided reading for many different reasons. The ability was there, but not the drive.

There were not many options for students like me because high school counselors were very emphatic about post-secondary schooling. Even though I was reluctant to engage not only in reading but also academic activities in general, I decided to go to community college. Because I had not learned any discipline, lacked reading and writing skills necessary for college, and struggled with the amount of work at the college level, I spent the first 2 years with several “F,” “I,” and “W,” grades. I became frustrated and was not sure what the future had in store for me. My dialogical self (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) was in flux. College was an expectation from not only my peers, teacher, and counselors, but also my parents. Because I continually avoided academic activities, homework, and reading, this reluctance had become my identity. This identity is how others viewed me and how I viewed myself.

I had no idea what I wanted to do or how I could possibly get there. Fortunately, I had two college-educated parents, a brother attending law school, a sister who graduated from Boston University, and most of my friends were in college. This environment created a support system that I needed because I had very little motivation to pursue an

education. I knew that the opportunities for a rewarding career (in my perception) would revolve around a post-secondary school education. My future identity was reliant on an education, whereas my past identities were in conflict with this view.

Specifically, my anticipated and desired future identity revolved around being a sportscaster for ESPN. I knew a lot of college and an internship would be needed to accomplish this goal. My past identity was a young child who enjoyed reading and educational activities. However, somewhere along the way, my present identity conflicted with my past. It was not cool to be a nerd and study. Reading was a waste of time. I could be practicing getting better at sports. As a child, I had aspired to be a professional athlete. This desired future identity shaped my present identity. My sports aspirations came crashing down when a significant knee injury kept me out of commission for nearly a year-and-a-half. I had to change future priorities. This crisis was where I forced myself to look at my trajectory to decide whether a career in sports casting was an actual possibility. I needed to see if I could adjust my behaviors and reading behaviors to more fully match what I was likely to become. I knew at some point that I would have to get serious about school and give the effort needed to be successful. Part of this change would require me to become studious and to read copious amounts of material. Nevertheless, having been reluctant and unwilling to read, I needed to find something that could spark my interest and help me develop a yearning for reading.

Ironically, that event was watching a celebrated film. I became interested in reading *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy after watching the movie “The Fellowship of the Ring.” I decided I liked to read after consuming this book and had an insatiable appetite

for literature. I remember Mr. Kelly, my sixth-grade teacher, reading *The Hobbit*. As an adult, that memory came into mind and I enjoyed his reading of the book to us. This memory, along with the aforementioned film was the birth of the avid reader in me. My parents were much like some from the Hamston and Love (2005) research article; they read to me and provided a rich reading environment, but I rejected the idea of reading for leisure, or for that matter, academics. Like many other males, I saw reading and school as something in the way of athletics and it was not cool (Martino 1999; Martino & Berrill, 2003) to participate.

After reflecting on these experiences and later after observing the male students in my high school English class, I became concerned by how many males did not see the value of reading in their lives, currently, or in the future. They did not view it as a necessary or transferable skill concerning their future selves. The purpose of this study was to discover what role their past, present, and future identities played in relation to their reading identity. With this multiple case study, I identified more clearly how future identities intersect with other identities to shape current reading practices and identities. The knowledge could help high school teachers and other stakeholders understand and tap into the potential of different types of identities more in terms of supporting previously reluctant readers into the path of readership.

Design of the Study

The goal of this multiple case study was to discover and compare the past, present, and future identities and reading practices of the adolescent working-class male,

reluctant reader, in a rural setting. This research required several interviews, triangulation of the data, member checking and input, as well as extensive investigation and analysis of emerging themes that came from the data (see Table 1). This research drew from principles of narrative inquiry and emergent design.

Table 1

Summary of Research Design

Research question	Data sources	Data analysis
How do past, present, and future identities shape the reading identities and practices of reluctant male readers?	Interviews (teachers, parents and participants). Observations (school, extra-curricular, home). Member checking with participants.	Thematic coding. Constant comparative analysis. Looking for emerging themes from data sources. Sharing lived told, and retold stories with participants for input (member-checking). Peer debriefing.

Multiple Case Study

I conducted a multiple case study comparing and contrasting the narratives of adolescent males (see Figure 1). These narratives related to the Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) they participated in, as well as narratives in relation to their reading practices and identities. Each case study gave insight into the past, present, and future identities and reading practices of reluctant or nonreaders.

According to Yin (2009), case studies allow for in-depth research into phenomena. He also stated that evidence from multiple case studies “is often considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as more robust” (p. 57) than individual case studies, because multiple case studies provide confirmation that a phenomenon is occurring across multiple instances. Along with this argument, he

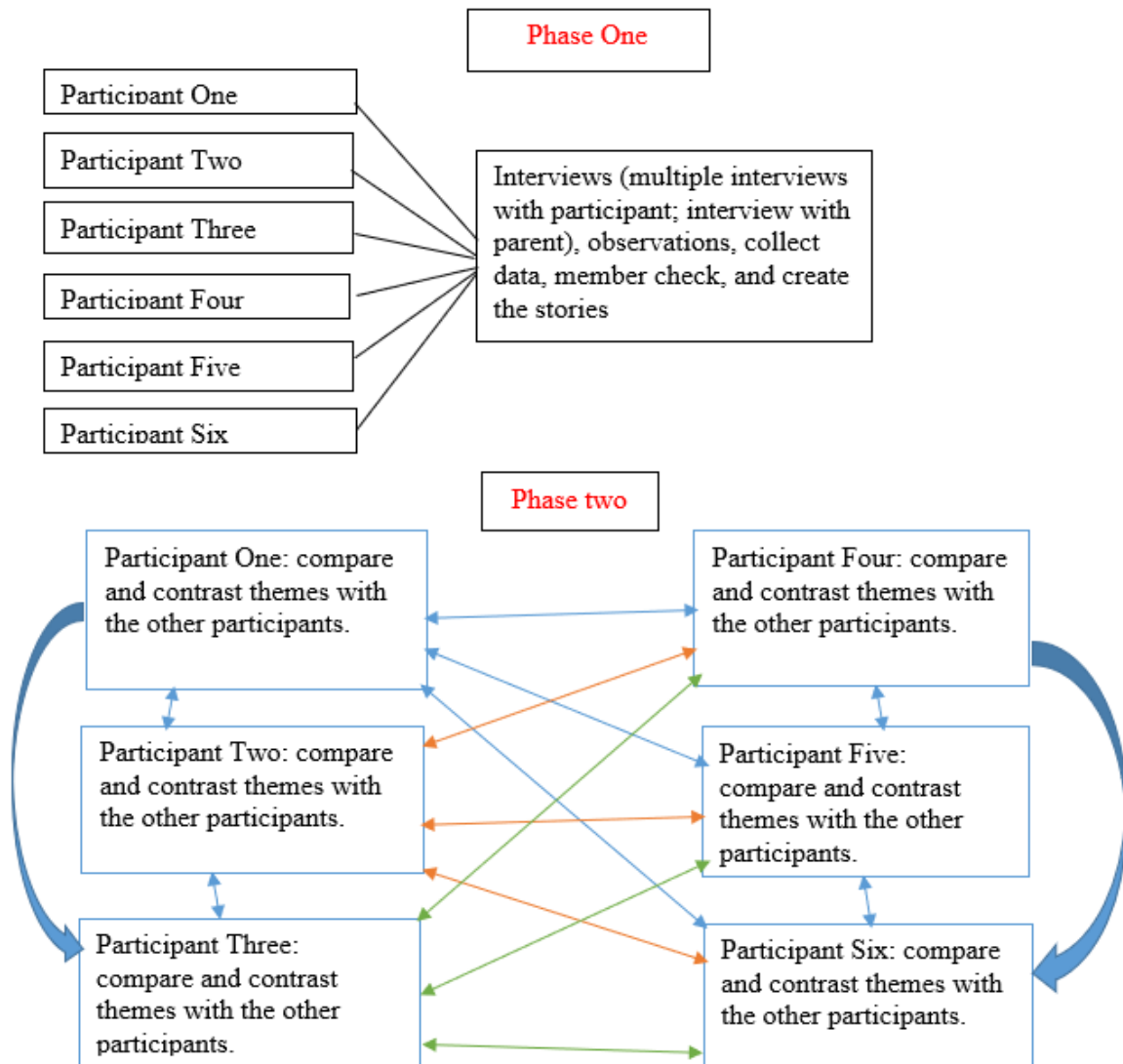


Figure 1. Multiple case flow chart.

asserted that multiple case studies could give better analysis into the phenomenon. Stake (2005) shared a similar sentiment when he asserted that multiple case studies were appropriate for developing in-depth understandings of a particular phenomenon.

The multiple case study was six months in duration. Previous research has indicated that this is adequate time to gain a full picture of the identities of struggling

readers. For instance, in her study of the reader identities of struggling readers, Coombs (2012) noted that the time process for interviews, observations, data collections, and data analysis took approximately six months to complete. Clandinin (2013) argued that although there is no timetable for a research project because projects vary depending on the subject, caseload, and situations, there needs to be an extended amount of time for the emerging themes to present themselves and for the researcher to capture the essence of the community. Yin (2009) stated that case studies trace events over time, but that the time for each case study is unique given the nature of the research. After careful consideration, I determined that in order to recruit candidates, conduct interviews within various Discourses, and observations in various settings (home, school, and extra-curricular activities), along with extensive analysis of the data collected, six months provided the needed period to complete the research. Below is figure 1, which described the phases of the multiple case study which will involve narrative inquiry and analysis, as well as constant comparative analysis over the 6-month period.

Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry is the study of human lives and lived experiences (Clandinin, 2013). Narrative inquiry, as a relational methodology, is a way of understanding peoples' lived experiences. This methodology seeks to uncover relationships between an individual and his/her world, and a temporal understanding of the relationship between past, present, and future, including the relational intergenerational. Relational intergenerational means the relation between two or more generations. Identity can largely be connected to the intergenerational relationships such as work, schooling, and

norms that are passed on from multiple generations (family and societal rituals, and traditions), as well as the traditions that people hope to pass onto their own children.

Narrative inquiry also includes looking for the relational between persons and place; the relational between events and feelings; the relational between us as people; the relational between the physical world and people; the relational between our cultural, institutional, linguistic, and familial narratives; among others (Clandinin, 2013).

Clandinin indicated that narratives can be told as stories. A narrative can include several stories, vignettes (a collection of short memories and stories) and lived experiences.

These stories are the embodiment of the interviews, observations, and analysis of all the artifacts. They are collectively, the narrative of each participant. Clandinin and Rosiek (2007) stated that, “These stories are the result of a confluence of social influences on a person’s inner life, social influences on their environment, and their unique personal history. These stories are often treated as the epiphenomenal to social inquiry—reflections of important social realities, but not realities themselves” (p. 41). However, the stories in general are what each participant saw as their reality. This type of research could give deeper insights into the participant’s experiences.

There were four terms I kept in mind when conducting narrative inquiry research: living, telling, retelling, and reliving. Clandinin (2013) stated, “We understand that people *live* out stories and *tell* stories of their living” (p. 34). The researcher then came alongside the participant, asked the participant to retell and relive the experience. This inquiry allowed the researcher to understand and interpret the lived experiences and stories of the participants. The researcher was retelling and reliving the experiences and

stories in a different lens, trying to give context to the lived experiences.

Living and telling. Clandinin (2013) stated that there are two starting points with narrative inquiry research, which are living and telling. The participant shared the lived experiences by telling the researcher about them. In these conversations, the teller shared the details while the researcher focused on what was said in order to develop themes of the lived experiences. Later, the researcher used these themes to design questions in order to extrapolate more details that might have been overlooked. Clandinin stated that the narrative inquirer must “‘unpack’ the lived” stories (p. 34). Part of the telling of lived experiences focused on the dynamics of the situation or experience. Later on, the participant and researcher developed more intricate contexts with retelling, and reliving the experiences.

The participants in this research project have lived through many experiences in different Discourses. These Discourses have shaped their reading (or nonreading) identities and practices. By allowing them to expound upon these experiences through guided interview questions, I shared these lived experiences in relation to their reading identities and practices in relation to their Discourses.

Reliving and retelling. After the telling of lived experiences by the participants, the narrative inquirer begins the process of retelling by sharing the experiences of the participants (Clandinin 2013; Clandinin & Connelly, 1994). From several of her research projects, Clandinin stated that retelling gave the participants the opportunity to relive the experience. Retelling involved giving a written narrative to a participant and asking the participant to tell the story again after I had developed a new set of interview questions.

Clandinin said, “Because we see we are changed as we retell our lived and told stories, we begin to relive our stories” (p. 34). For example, if I handed back a story from one of the participants and asked them to tell me more details that they might remember, they had the opportunity to expound upon the experience, and in essence, relive the story. Clandinin also discussed that with each telling of a story, there are shifts and edits. These can include extra details or omitted facts. The re-told and re-lived stories “are always composed in the tensions of telling, living, re-telling, tensions that hold lives together, that allow the possibility of re-composing, and re-storying our experiences in new ways” (p. 205). By sharing my experience as a reluctant reader earlier in the methods section, I was able to relive and retell experiences that shaped how I identified as such.

It was important to have the participants relive and retell their stories after I had collected the data from their interviews and observations. Their initial stories needed some clarifications and insights. As Clandinin (2013) stated, there will always be edits and shifts with each new draft of a lived experience. The new drafts helped me reflect a more accurate portrayal of the reading identity and practices of the participants.

Living in the participants’ world. By living in the participants’ world, the narrative inquirer obtained a deeper and more resounding picture of the phenomena being studied. Clandinin (2013) stated that narrative inquiry is a way of “honoring lived experience as a source of important knowledge and understanding” (p. 17). For the duration of this research, I wanted to understand and convey the stories of each participant. Narrative inquiry approaches gave me an opportunity to display and reflect deeply on the phenomena and focus on the “confluence of a person’s inner life, social

influences on their environment, and their unique personal history” (p. 17). The very essence of narrative inquiry design is to capture the snippets of the participant’s life in order to produce emerging themes, paint a picture, and piece it together as the interviews took place, along with the member check and follow-ups from any open-ended questions that arise (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994).

Clandinin (2013) explained that the relational methodology of narrative inquiry constitutes the researcher living alongside the participant and observing the world through the participant’s lived experiences. By living alongside the participant throughout the project and in various formats (home life, school life, extra-curricular life), the narrative inquirer gathered a compilation of data in medias res because the data was based on the current lived experiences and the telling of stories from past lived experiences. This experience allowed me to see the deeper picture and find the missing pieces and details of the reluctant reader in different facets of life and Discourses.

Narrative inquiry celebrated the idea that, “experiences grow out of other experiences, and experiences lead to further experiences. Wherever one positions oneself in that continuum—the imagined now, some imagined past, or some imagined future—each point has a past experiential base that leads to an experimental future” (Clandinin, 2013, p. 16). Hermans (2001) argued that the “Self and culture are conceived of in terms of a multiplicity of positions among which dialogical relationships can develop” (p. 1). During this study, one of the goals was to see the relationship between the different positions and culture given with any Discourse (academic, extra-curricular, and home) as well as investigating how the future and past selves affected the reluctant reader.

Three-dimensional space. Clandinin (2013) described the three-dimensional space in narrative inquiry as paying attention to the social dimensions, place, and temporality of the research (sociality, temporality, and spatiality). When the researcher was participating and living in the participant's world, paying close attention to the three-dimensional space was an integral part of capturing the essence of the lived experiences, whether through an observation of an event that took place or information gathered during an interview.

The social dimensions included who the participant spent time with, such as their academic, extra-curricular, and home surroundings. In the setting for the research project, the spatial and social dimensions included the English classroom, home, work, sports, Boy Scouts, church, and in a workshop fixing engines. During the research, I inquired about the social norms in each of the settings, including norms associated with reading and reading practices. Last, social dimensions included the interactions of the participants during school and other activities (Clandinin, 2013). Identity was, in large part, socially constructed (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001; Hermans et al., 1992), and therefore it was important to look for the social dimensions.

In the research project, I observed the participants in multiple Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015), which helped give me a more thorough insight into the social dimensions of the participants' worlds. Along with the observations, I interviewed the participants, their parents, and English teachers, which gave a deeper glimpse into the social factors from various Discourses that made up the participants' reading identity and practices.

Temporality included the time in which the research was taking place. Clandinin

(2013) stated, “Attending in temporal ways points inquirers toward the past, present, and future of people, places, things, and events under study” (p. 39). This explanation coincided with what much of what Bakhtin (1981, 1986) argued regarding past, present, and future identity. By focusing on past reading experiences and identity in different Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) current reading practices and identity in different Discourses and anticipated future Discourses in which participants wanted to identify, I got glimpses and foreshadowing of perceived future identity of the participants, particularly of what their reading identities and practices could be in the future.

An important element to temporality in my study was explicitly asking interview questions related to past, present, and future reading experiences in different Discourses. This line of questioning included opportunities to follow up during the interview as well as focal follow-up questions in subsequent interviews. In addition, by using data from the observations, I generated questions that focused on the past, present, and future reading identities and practices. Last, by interviewing the parents (or legal guardians) and teachers, I obtained a better frame of reference about the reading identities and practices of the participants as the data from these interviews fostered more insight into some of the Discourses the participants engage in on a regular basis.

Finally, the place or spatiality included the setting and its relation to the participant. Places were the physical and topographical boundaries of the area as well as the individual spaces of the participants’ lives, which included the English classroom, home, the football field (or other type of sports field or court), work environment, scouts, a recreational center setting, and workshop (Clandinin, 2013). For the purposes of this

research, space referred to all of the locations where reader identity was constructed.

To robustly account for the “place” in my study, I observed and interviewed the participants in different settings, including school, home, and a place of their choice in an extra-curricular setting (sports, work, scouts, church, and recreational settings such as a garage, and town recreation center). Giving the participants a choice helped give me a glimpse into the places where they not only displayed various identities, but also places where they were more comfortable. The participants were comfortable interviewing in the school setting. They were offered a free lunch and as a result, they wanted to have the interviews conducted over lunch period. They all identified school as a place of Discourse, whether it was academic and/or social. It was crucial for me to pay attention to these types of choices and to highlight them in the interviews to gain insight from the participant.

The field notes that came from interviews and observations reflected on the sociality, spatiality, and temporality of my research. Adherence to the observation of three-dimensional space included doing more than simply coding the data gathered. Gergen (2002) asserted that by simply coding the research, one could direct attention away from the actual emerging themes. The data provided integral insight into the phenomena. Oversimplifying coding could cause it to be too decontextualized to the point that it may be difficult to decipher insight into the big picture. The oversimplification coding information gathered could aim the research into the wrong direction. For the purpose of this research, I adhered to the three-dimensional space for capturing as complete of a picture of the participants as possible.

Reisman (2005) stated that narrative inquiry, with its focus on three-dimensional space, “allows for systemic study of personal experience and meaning” (p.24). An example of three-dimensional space was the study by Esin, Fathi, and Squire (2014) when they discussed the subject of women’s sexuality in Middle-Eastern countries as an example. The women openly shared their thoughts and feelings on equality, sexuality, and their role in the given environment. The three-dimensional space allowed for the researchers to dig deeper into the phenomena by highlighting the sociality (conservative Middle Eastern social climate), the spatiality (the homes, which were central places of Discourse), and the temporality (modern setting, which also included three generations shared insights). By highlighting the three-dimensional space, some startling revelations came from women who may have never had the opportunity to speak about themselves in such an open and personal manner.

Ideally, the creation of the three-dimensional space would provide similar insights for research involving reluctant readers in a rural setting. By taking the three-dimensional space into consideration, I intended to unwrap the social entanglements of differing dialogical selves that the participants navigate every day, namely their social groups (both family and friends, and coworkers), the places (schools, homes, sports fields and workplaces in the rural, working-class town), and the relative time (high school setting with graduation on the horizon). These elements were critical in getting as full of an understanding as possible for each story and each participant (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994).

Emergent Design

Emergent design allowed me to develop new tools of implementation and tactics as the research was ongoing (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). This approach was integral to a qualitative study, particularly with narrative inquiry as variables (e.g. participant attitudes and emotions, recollection of experiences, etc.) changed given the setting of the research (interviews, observations). Each participant had a story to tell. The stories were told in narrative format, and, much like a good novel, there were unforeseen plot twists and information for which the reader and observer were not be ready for. Even with adequate planning, the dynamics of qualitative research required flexibility. Taber (2013) stated that emergent design allows “flexibility within the design, and is seen as a strength as well as an essential part of the methodological approach. In such research, the techniques used (tactics) may be modified during the research” (p.78). Charmaz (2006) argued that emergent design “can add new pieces to the research puzzle or conjure entire new puzzles—while we gather data—and that can even occur late in the analysis. The flexibility of qualitative research permits you to follow leads that emerge” (p. 25).

Emergent design was established using the following strategies:

- Developing new interview questions based on findings from previous data (e.g. previous answers from interviews and observations).
- Modifying analytic themes based on feedback from other researchers, from the participants, or themes emerging from the data.
- Being open to observe surprising phenomena that might form the basis for an additional research question. It was anticipated that there would be emerging themes when conducting the observations and interviews.

This emerging approach created opportunities to refine, revise, review, and restate questions for the ongoing interviews. This process reoccurred with each session of

interviews. This process allowed for opportunities for emergent investigation; as I found themes and commonalities among the participants, I followed up and created questions to enhance upon the findings from each session. In addition, this approach gave me the opportunity to modify collection and analytic tools (Clandinin, 2013; Clandinin & Connelly, 1994).

Emergent design allowed for modified questions, themes, and research frameworks when I considered how the variables in a qualitative study emerge. Hatch (2002), and Marshall and Rossman (2010) argued that qualitative research is by its nature emergent. Because the phenomena were studied at a deeper level and because of human dynamics, I had opportunities to address and revise emerging themes, analytical tools, and interview or observation tools. As such, it was important and justified to adjust the research, data collection protocols, and analytic themes. With each interview and time spent with the participants, there was the possibility that through the building of relationships that new revelations would ensue. In addition, my development of themes may not be what the interviewee felt was accurate. Differences of viewpoint between researcher and interviewee made member-checking necessary (Clandinin, 2013). Potentially, the committee and chair would see the emerging themes differently and could give suggestions on how to approach them differently. I considered this aspect.

Participant Recruitment

Several steps were required in the recruiting process. I began by visiting two teachers in 11th-grade English at the only high school in the rural community site. I

presented the study to each class. These teachers each taught multiple classes of “regular” 11th grade English, which allowed me to have a large pool to choose from for recruitment. I also gave a recruitment speech. The proposed recruitment speech, adopted from Coombs (2012), received IRB approval, and was included in Appendix A.

I chose 11th graders because during this phase of high school, students navigate towards their future aspirations. Eleventh grade included beginning the application process for universities, deciding whether to go on a mission at the conclusion of high school, or even jumping into the workforce immediately. Eleventh grade also is the time in which students take the ACT in preparation for college entry, and the grade where grades play an important role because universities use the grade point average (GPA) this year of school as an admissions factor. This crossroad begins the transitional period in which students make significant decisions regarding their present and future situations (Arnett, 2000a, 2000b). Because the adolescents are making decisions about their lives after high school, I anticipated that their future identities—or who they imagine themselves to be in the future—could be foregrounded in stories that the participants told about themselves, based on some of the interview questions that led them to discussing their future identities.

Participant Selection

I recruited one group of six participants for this study because previous studies of reader identity had indicated that six is more than enough to develop robust insights into reluctant readers. For example, Ivey (1999) studied the complexities of adolescent

readers in a middle school setting. This project used three students to help compare and contrast findings among the adolescents. Lalik and Oliver (2007) studied implementing a pedagogy of critical literacy involving adolescent females with four participants in a multi-case study format. Also, Rogers, Marshall, and Tyson (2006) used 10 participants for their qualitative multi-case study on dialogic narratives of schooling, teaching, and literacy. However, they chose two participants for their primary focus. Last, Coombs (2012) used five participants in her research on struggling readers.

Stake (2005), in his description of multiple-case study research, recommended four participants as optimal; however, I chose six to account for possible attrition. For the purposes of my study, all participants were a focal participant, not just one or two individuals. My focus was on 11th graders because they are at a point where they are applying for college and/or considering post-high school plans, and thus at a great age to study how future identities (as well as past identities) might be shaping their current reading identities. The following list signified the requirements for the participants and their respective groups.

1. **Participant selection criterion one:** The student and his family planned to live in the area for the duration of the study. In this region, students moved in and out regularly, based on oil field production. The purpose of this criterion was to reduce participant attrition.
2. **Participant selection criterion two:** The participant indicated that he did not have a positive attitude toward reading. To determine prospective participants' attitudes, I distributed the "Here's How I Feel About Reading," (Appendix H) questionnaire and the "Survey of Adolescent Reading Attitudes" (McKenna & Stahl, 2015) (Appendix G) to the two English classes. These instruments offered scores and interpretation guidelines that indicated if the student has a "very bad" or negative attitude, neutral, or "very good" attitude or positive attitude toward reading. All participants scoring in the "very bad" to neutral category, which indicated that they do not have a positive attitude toward reading, were considered for the research project. The purpose of this criterion

was to help determine optimal candidates for the research project. These two tools gave quantitative and qualitative insight into potential reluctant reader participants.

3. **Participant selection criteria three:** The participant returned a signed IRB consent form.

I began my search for participants after working with the two participating teachers about the best time to visit and administer the two surveys (which are discussed in detail later). First, I had to announce my purpose and send the students home with a letter of information, per IRB requirements. I gave the students one week to share this letter with their parents and allow adequate time for them to contact me about any concerns or withdraw their student from participating in the surveys. Upon the completion of the week, not one parent contacted me or had their student withdraw, so I administered the surveys. I asked the students to be completely honest as this was not a test. Both surveys were on one sheet of paper. Upon completion, I scored the surveys for potential participants (discussed in detail later).

After finding potential participants (24 males in total), I gave my pitch about the research project, what was expected of potential participants, as well as the \$50 gift card of their choosing upon completion. There were 17 males who were interested, and I sent them home with the appropriate information and consent letters. After this step, there were still 10 young men interested or allowed to participate. Once I discussed the time commitments, as well as a review of their responses, the number whittled down to 6 participants, which was the target number. At this point the remaining 6 became the participants for the study. Each of them chose a pseudonym once they were recruited (see Table 2).

Table 2

Characteristics of the Participants

Participant (pseudonym)	Adolescent reading attitude score	Mother/father reading activity	Job	Recreation activities	Caregivers	College aspirations	Religion
Kevin	2.89	Mother: active Father: non-active Stepfather: non-active	Making pizza	Friends, hunting, camping, target shooting	Mother and stepfather, father	Yes	LDS/ Jehovah's Witness
Coy	2.67	Mother: active Father: non-active	No	Friends, hunting, fishing, camping, dirt-biking, off-roading, fixing machinery	Mother and father	Yes	Unaffiliated
Brendin	2.33	Mother: active Father: non-active	No	Football, camping hiking, hunting, friends	Mother and father	Somewhat likely	Christian
Connor	2.22	Mother: active Stepfather: non-active	No	Gaming, friends, family, TV/Movies	Mother and stepfather (biological father is not in picture)	Yes	Atheist
Finn	3.22	Mother: active Father: non-active	No	Scouts, camping, hiking, hunting	Mother and father	Yes	LDS
James	2.94	Stepmother: active Father: non-active (but an advocate for reading)	Server	Gaming, friends, working on car	Father and stepmother (biological mother has passed away)	yes	Unaffiliated

Surveys reflecting negative attitudes toward reading. The first measure I used to determine negative attitudes towards reading was the “Here’s How I Feel About Reading” (McKenna & Stahl, 2015) questionnaire. This questionnaire allows respondents the opportunity to describe how they feel about reading with short answers. The second tool I used was the “Survey of Adolescent Reading Attitudes” (SARA), where 18 questions have a response of 1 (very bad) through 6 (very good) and are broken into four subscales which are: recreational reading in print settings (RP), recreational reading in digital settings (RD), academic reading in print settings (AP), and academic reading in digital settings (AD) respectively. The median point for the scores is a 3.5. Anything under this point can reflect a negative attitude towards reading. Norming scores were not available because the norms were used only for grades 6, 7, and 8 respectively. McKenna and Stahl (2015) stated “Norms are available for grades 6-8; if SARA is given in high school, only the first method of interpreting scores can be used—that is thinking of them along a scale of 1 to 6. Each of these approaches to interpreting SARA subscales scores is useful in understanding the predispositions of a class or individual student” (p. 261). Participant overall score is shown in Table 2, but in each “Present Reading Identity” section of their narratives, I share subscale scores and relevant responses from “Here’s How I Feel About Reading” questionnaire that reflect negative attitudes toward reading.

Data Sources and Data Generation

In the following section, I described the data generation instruments and procedures in more detail. The generation of data came from the participants as well as

information from their families and teachers. In addition, data came from several interviews, observations, and follow up/clarifying inquiries. I included details regarding the generation and tracking of data, as well as the collection and analysis of the data (see Table 3).

I collected several forms of data throughout the data generation process. This generation process included data from interviews with the adolescent males, their families, and English teachers. I used existing interview protocols about reader identity (Coombs, 2012) and modified them to fit the needs of the study. I also vetted the interview protocols with experts in adolescent reading, Drs. Amy Wilson-Lopez, and Amy Piotrowski to ensure that they aligned with my theoretical framework. In addition, I collected data from observations with the adolescent male participants in the classroom, extracurricular activities, and in their respective homes. Throughout the research process, several data sources provided insight into how past, present, and future identities shape the reading identities and practices of reluctant male readers.

I conducted four, semistructured, open-ended interviews with the adolescent males. The purpose of these interviews was to illuminate past, future, and present identities and how they contributed to each male's reading identity and reading practices. Each interview lasted approximately 30-60 minutes depending on responses and follow up questions. The interviews came from several sources including emerging trends in the data, consultation with my chairs and committee, previous interviews, and some questions generated from my qualitative research classes.

Table 3

Timeline for Data Collection

Month	Type of artifacts collected	Collection process
Month One	Surveys.	Conduct session for teachers involved regarding observation logs, behaviors of participants in the classroom. Give surveys to the two classes and collect information. Process and analyze possible participants. Ask teachers about possible candidates and write down important information from the teacher perspective.
Late Month One	Interview one with focal research participants.	Conduct and transcribe interview one with six adolescent males.
Month Two	Interview two. Observations one and two.	Conduct interview two with follow up questions and scenarios. Transcribe and analyze interview two. Analyze field notes from observations.
Month Three	Interview with parents. Observation three	Interview parents. Transcribe and analyze interview with parents. Analyze filed notes from observation.
Month Four	Interview with teacher Interview three with participant.	Interview with teacher will consist of teachers view of reluctant readers in the study. No observational notes will be taken. Interview with the participants will consist of follow up questions and questions revolving around the observations that I have made.
Month Five	Interviews or observations that may have been missed during previous months.	Develop emerging themes and create stories for each of the participants based on all aforementioned information.
Months Five and Six	Interview four	Share findings, stories, and emerging themes with each participant and get their feedback. Also, have them answer any follow-up questions I have developed.
Months Five and Six	Follow up interviews/data sharing	I will conduct another follow up interview/member check, in case there are any loose ends that need to be addressed.

Interview one, month one. This was an introductory interview, which allowed me to understand and identify the participants' personalities, life histories, and anticipated futures, as well as their current identities and practices as readers. The interview protocol was modified from questions I developed during my qualitative research classes along with notes from Rubin and Rubin (2011) who discussed the necessity of open-ended questions that invite follow up questions and clarifications. (See Appendix B for the initial interview protocol). In addition, in adherence to narrative inquiry methods, I elicited stories from the participants regarding the ways that reading was used (or not used) in the different Discourses in their lives.

Interview two, month two. The second interview included two components: a scenario interview and follow-up questions. I conducted scenario interviews (Hazel 1995; Hill, 1997), by having the participants respond to the scenario questions. Scenario (sometimes referred to as situational) interviews are situations or scenarios the interviewer provides to the interviewee to see how they would respond to that situation. Latham and Finnegan (1993) stated that, "The situational interview has acceptable validity and reliability" (p. 43). In their study, respondents stated that the situational interview would be evaluated the most objectively. In accordance with principles of emergent design, I also asked several follow-up questions that emerged from previous datasets (see Appendix B and C).

Follow-up questions to the scenario questions and the initial interview questions fit well with narrative inquiry because it presented the participants with the answers and stories they shared from the first interview and they had the opportunity to expand upon

them (Clandinin, 2013). Follow up questions let them relive the experiences they shared and also let them clarify any items they had recalled since then, as well as clear up any misinterpretations I might have made. This line of questioning adhered to Clandinin's notion of telling and retelling, living and reliving of events. The participants were given the opportunity to experience the stories and feelings they shared again, which gave them the opportunity to relive and retell the experiences and share new insights.

Interview three, month four. As described in more detail later, I observed the participants in different settings in month one and two. In month four, I asked follow-up questions that stemmed from what I noted during the observations, as well as follow-up questions that stemmed from the participant's responses previous interviews. Rubin and Rubin (2011) stated that it is imperative for qualitative interviewers to restructure events. When I shared my observations and asked questions (and follow up questions), I gave the interviewees a chance to piece together their experience in order to shed more light on the different dimensions of their stories.

Interview four, month six. In the last interview, I shared the narratives that I have written about the participants and asked them to modify, expand, or disagree with them. I gave the participants a student-friendly written narrative a week before the interview. I asked them to annotate and reflect on what was written before meeting with me. Many scholars, (Clandinin, 2013; Clandinin & Connelly, 1994; Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007; Rubin & Rubin, 2012) advocated this step because negotiation of positions, perspective, and input are necessary in emergent and narrative inquiry in order to responsibly share the data. I also asked any follow up questions or clarifications that were needed upon the

negotiation of the data in accordance with the principles of emergent design (Clandinin, 2013).

One interview with parents. This 60-minute interview was conducted in the home during month three. Hamston and Love (2005) conducted parts of their research by interviewing parents of the reluctant readers. The interviews with the parents enabled me to see the ways that texts were used in the context of the participants' Discourse at home. The interview protocol and questions derived from questions developed in my qualitative research courses. I also considered ideas generated from Rubin and Rubin (2011), who advocated for open-ended and thought-provoking questions that invited follow up questioning. In addition, I adopted questions from previous protocols with struggling readers (Coombs, 2012). The purpose of interviewing the parents was to get their perspective about past, present, and future identities of their child. It also gave perspective on what home life was like and how it contributed to the adolescent males' reading identities and practices (see Appendix D).

Interview with English teachers (month 4). These interviews lasted approximately an hour. It focused on what teachers recollected about the participant's reading behaviors and attitudes in class (see Appendix E for a list of interview questions). Observation notes were not permitted per IRB guidelines (CITI certification was required), so teachers were asked the questions from Appendix E, and gave their best insights.

Reading survey and interest survey. Although an instrument that helped identify participants for this study, this survey also served as a basis for interview and follow up questions. The surveys also gave insights into the reluctant reader's thought process (see

Appendices F and G). Appendix F is the “Adolescent Reading Attitudes Survey” from McKenna and Stahl (2015). No modifications or adjustments were made. The scoring was based on the scale validated for the survey. Appendix G is the “Here’s How I Feel About Reading” survey (McKenna & Dougherty 2009), and this did have modifications made so it represented questions for an adolescent audience. Responses were short answers and gave insight into each participant’s perception of reading.

Three observations. I conducted one 60-minute observation per month, during the first three months. Two of the conducted observations were in each participant’s English class, and the third was at a place of the participant’s choosing (church, workplace, sports field). The places varied based on the participants’ preferences. The purpose of the observations was to generate interview questions and observe how temporality and spatiality (sociocultural influences) contributed to different positions that were part of the dialogic self. For example, a participant could have worked at a tire store, and the practices and values there may be internalized and in turn inform a potential anticipated identity as a future manager of the store. By observing them in these places, I could better understand their future aspirations and reading identities in various Discourses.

The different settings were important to gain a better picture of the complete “self” (Hermans, 2003), as different physical settings (e.g. sports field, church) were associated with different Discourses (Gee, 2015). It was imperative to see how the participants’ identified and acted in the different settings. While constructing observations, I wrote field notes. Devers and Frankel (2000) stated that proper field notes included detailed annotations and notes, pulled quotes from discussions and interviews,

as well as the activities and situations in which the participants engage. Field notes were also an efficient summary of events. The field notes also gave me ideas for emergent design, follow-up questions. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011) stated that field notes were a detailed reflection of events taking place, how the participant acted compared to and contrasted with what they said, and getting more than one version from interactions. They also argued that the key to well-developed field notes was copious time with the participants' in their arena (spatiality), and accounting for all of the ways they speak, act, and move in a given situation. Last, field notes were considered a non-intrusive way of observing phenomena (Devers & Frankel, 2000).

Data Analysis

I employed two types of analysis: narrative analysis and constant comparative analysis. Phase one, as described earlier with Figure 1, included a narrative analysis in which stories were developed from the interviews, observations, and analysis from each participant. I also conducted a constant comparative analysis in phase two for which I compared and contrasted the stories from the participants. That allowed me to see the commonalities and differences of adolescent, rural, male reluctant readers' identities and practices.

Narrative Analysis

Narrative analysis is a type of case-centered research that focuses on close readings of stories told by participants (Reissman & Speedy, 2007). Narrative analysis

helped me understand human experience and/or social phenomena through the form and content of stories analyzed as textual units. Narrative analysis helped me attend to what was said (themes), and how the participants interacted with their daily activities (school, sports, work, family), as well as other factors like body language, written artifacts, and communications. An example of analysis was when Clandinin (2013) discussed her interaction with “Andrew” throughout the research process. She mentioned that while asking follow-up questions, he responded with new insights into previous interviews. When she pressed him about why he hadn’t shared it the first time, he said that she did not ask. She made sure to follow up with him at the end of each interview from that point on if any items were missed. She also discussed his mannerisms during their interview and how she interpreted them. He corrected her on a few of them saying that she misperceived his body language, but that she was correct on others. All of these pieces helped shape the narrative inquiry and analysis of the research. I reconstructed and retold the lived experiences and stories and will retell the participants’ stories according to the dimensions of temporality, spatiality, and sociality. Last, during the narrative analysis phase (or phase one), I drew out each participants’ story without comparing them to the others.

Thematic coding. Narrative analysis began with the process of thematic coding (Saldaña, 2015). Thematic coding “Captures and unifies the nature or basis of the experience into a meaningful whole” (DeSantis & Ugarriza, 2000, p. 362). Gibbs (2008) described coding as, “A way of indexing or categorizing the text in order to establish a framework of *thematic* [emphasis added] ideas about it” (p. 39). This type of theming

emerged from data such as interview notes, notes from observations, and written communications (journal, log, sample of writing). For example, Brendin felt that when he was reading the football playbook, it was not arduous. He said, “If I enjoy it, it isn’t reading.” I used this quote as a theme that was identified in multiple cases throughout. I could identify a theme using this quote, and analyze several parts of the responses in interviews, and field notes from observations, to confirm my label. I would develop a theme with this observation and label and create a story and analysis using the thematic code (see Table 4). Charmaz (2006) stated that, “Codes stick closely to the data, show actions, and indicate how dilemmas surrounding disclosure arise” (p. 45). She also stated that codes, “Suggest building categories concerned with telling, disclosing, self, and identity,” (p. 45). The aim of creating themes, or thematic coding, is to ensure that concepts stay as close as possible to research participants’ own words and actions or use their own terms because they captured a key element of what was being described. Last, themes serve as functions for categorizing sets of data “that organizes a group of repeating ideas,” (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003, p. 38). Several participants gave similar answers; therefore, I used the themes when comparing and contrasting the responses. After reviewing the narratives, I developed themes that resonated through direct quotes from the participants, or major influences that played a role in reading reluctance. Below, is the set of themes that emerged and were reviewed by my chairs as well as a second coder to help with the objectivity of the themes.

Foregrounding. Another aspect of narrative analysis to consider was foregrounding, which helps put both researcher and reader into the worlds of the

Table 4

Themes Used for Analysis

Theme	Short description	Example
Oral reading	Responses that dealt specifically with participants' feeling towards reading aloud in a given circumstance.	James would create behavioral issues to get out of reading. Several participants noted anxiety to reading aloud.
"I can turn it on when I want to"/ "I can do it, I just don't want to"	Responses given from two participants, and applied to several participants who could be motivated to read and complete reading tasks when necessary, and confident in their ability to navigate complex texts when needed	Several of the responses from participants included the ability to read complex texts, but the lack of desire to do so, especially if the text were assigned to them.
Social Pressure	Different social circumstances where participants either follow the centripetal forces (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) of the social circle, or fight against it with adherence to a centrifugal force.	The participants did not want to be viewed by peers, and even their fathers in some cases, as readers.
Where do I see myself?	Referred to participants' future endeavors and reading identities.	All of the participants viewed themselves as a reader in the future whether it was college or career related.
"If I enjoy it, it isn't reading."	A direct quote from one of the participants that applied in several different facets when comparing and contrasting several participants.	Brendin liked to read and visualize through the football playbook. If a text were something he was interested in, he did not consider it "reading."
Confident reader	Instances where participants reported they did not have a difficult time comprehending texts.	Coy navigated through several mechanical texts without issue, and there were instances of participants navigating through complex texts that interested them.
Patriarchal influence	The role and influence of the patriarch on each of the participants' reading identities.	Coy's father was adamantly opposed to reading for leisure. Several fathers only read if the literature directly involved their occupations.
Boring	Participants emotions regarding several reading activities. This term was repeatedly uttered during interviews.	James gave examples of behavioral issues and nonchalance to reading activities in class as he perceived them as boring.

(table continues)

Theme	Short description	Example
Group work	The participants engaging in activities in groups when they would not normally participate	Every participant stated that they would help out their group, especially if the grade was contingent upon their participation.
Hard work ethic	The participants discuss and engage in hard work with things they feel have value	James did not work hard in school until this year, but always found value in hard work at his place of employment.
“Get my act together”	The participants are aware of the challenges that lay ahead of them with pos-secondary schooling, but have not yet focused on reading and academics.	Brendin was aware that he needed to implement reading strategies if he wanted to be successful in his future endeavors, but has not yet attempted to integrate a reading identity.
Losing focus	The participants lost focus on texts in class regularly, or struggled to pay attention to reading in several settings.	Kevin could lose focus if certain words triggered him. For example, if he came across the word “cat” he would begin to focus on cats rather than the text at hand.

participants. Clandinin (2013) and Clandinin and Connelly (1994) discussed the importance of foregrounding the stories of the participants when trying to establish themes that emerge throughout the analysis. It gives insight into the individual and how they interact with the social components around them (Esin et al., 2014). I told the stories in relation to the theories and themes but frontloaded the stories into the analysis. The reader did not have the luxury of experiencing the research as I did, but that did not deter me from trying to make the reading and discussion as authentic as possible. I analyzed and synthesized among the participants to look for common themes and narratives. I focused on the three-dimensional space (Clandinin, 2013) of the data gathered and remained attentive to the social dimensions, place, and temporality of the data generated from the participants. I also focused on the retelling of the stories shared with me as well

as reliving the experiences of the participants during the process of analysis. After this process, I analyzed between the participants for a cross examination of commonalities and differences, as well as any new emerging themes that arose.

Constant comparative analysis. Another component of the data analysis was a constant comparative analysis among the participants, which was phase two. This analysis allowed me to see emerging and common themes (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Stake 2005; Yin 2009) across all participants. After collecting the data from the interviews, I transcribed the material immediately. I looked for and found emerging themes through the analysis of the artifacts and data (Saldaña, 2013; Charmaz, 2006). I used this process after each round of interviews. The process for data collection took six months and analysis was ongoing throughout the process as well. The constant comparative analysis method was a process in which any newly collected data was compared with previous data that was collected in one or more earlier studies, interviews, or observations (Charmaz, 2006, 2014; Fram, 2013; Stake, 2005). A constant comparative analysis was important as the ongoing evaluation and synthesis of the gathered data gave me the needed insight to develop better scenarios and follow-up questions for the participants (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). For instance, if a participant had several similar answers to another participant, I refined some of the questions in future interviews to pull answers that were more detailed. This approach garnered more in-depth responses and I gathered a clearer picture of what the similarities among the participants was as well as the converse. Last, I conducted the constant comparative analysis among the participants.

A constant comparative analysis (Charmaz, 2006, 2014; Fram 2013) can help a

researcher identify emerging themes, and the one of the aims of narrative inquiry is to investigate and learn from the emerging themes for analysis. I found connections to Bakhtinian theory of the dialogical self (Bakhtin 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003; Hermans & Kempen, 1993; Hermans et al., 1992) in coordination with the themes and stories that emerged. I found stories where the dialogical self was present in anticipating future identities along with an adherence from the past and present. This process was another justification as to why member checking and peer debriefing were integral parts to the research (Creswell, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). By immersing myself into the culture of family, school, and extracurricular activities, there were many opportunities from both interviews and observations to capture themes and stories to support this notion. In addition, during the constant comparative analysis phase (or phase two), I compared and contrasted the themes that I found in phase one across each of the cases. I looked for similarities and differences between cases. For example, I compared how Coy read texts in his workshop to help him understand the mechanics of the dune buggy engine he was working on (his non-school space for observation) and Finn reading Scouting texts during his weekly meetings. Both of these non-school observation spaces yielded reading activities that the participants engaged in, or at least did not mind reading, which yielded the theme of “If I enjoy it, it isn’t reading.” Noting the similarities and differences helped me organize these themes into broader categories and helped me group them into related categories.

Measures for Ensuring Trustworthiness

Validity was redefined as the extent to which the research findings appropriately reflect the properties of the social setting being investigated (Walther, Sochacka, & Kellam, 2013). The term was redefined because it was taken from quantitative research and applied to qualitative research. In this case, the term used was trustworthiness (McGloin, 2008; Rolfe, 2006). In qualitative research, the concern for validity revolved around the trustworthiness of the results, hence the need for term trustworthiness (Clandinin, 2013).

Triangulation. Multiple data sources were used as described above. One of the most important efforts taken during the entire process was that of triangulation of data. Creswell (2013) defined triangulation as the process of researchers using multiple sources and methods for data collection and analysis. Triangulation involved getting input from several sources including parents, teachers, and the participants of the study, as well as from interviews and observations in different settings. Last, triangulation included peer-review and debriefing as a check of the research process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Triangulation of data collection included “Corroborating evidence from different sources to shed light on a theme or perspective” (Creswell 2013, p. 251). By using data from the several interviews and observations, as well as input from other sources (parents and teachers) I formulated themes from the participants stories. Thematic coding was also an integral component of triangulating the data. Along with these steps, a deep analysis of the data was necessary.

The triangulation of the data analysis included ensuring that each participant, myself, as well as another independent coder were seeing the same themes emerging from the data. The independent coder was another doctoral student in my program. Member-checking solicited the participants' view of my interpretations (Creswell, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This approach gave them an opportunity to give important feedback. In addition, insights from a peer helping with independent coding helped me analyze the data with a different perspective.

Member checks. Member checks were of the utmost importance while conducting the research and ensuring trustworthiness. Member checks included sharing with the participants the themes generated from the data as well as sharing the stories I constructed (according to sociality, temporality, and spatiality) based on their responses to me. A lot can change in six months, which is why input from the participants was necessary (Clandinin, 2013). For this reason, there were member-checks throughout, with special emphasis on the last meeting (Creswell, 2013). Member checks led to negotiation of my findings. Several of the participants took the stories I created and made some suggestions about their intents from quotes and observations. Even though I tried to mitigate my personal bias, there was the possibility that it could manifest. As such, the member checking was critical for verification of the findings and new insight that I might have missed.

Peer debriefing. Peer debriefing (review) was an important step to ensure trustworthiness of the findings and ensure that the participants' narratives were represented in a way that coheres with their experiences (Creswell, 2013). My chair(s)

served as an auditor as the process of research took place. An auditor also served as a consultant who examined the product and ensured that both were accurate (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). A doctoral student from my program helped with peer debriefing, theming, and data analysis, which helped me check themes and get another perspective on the generated data. Lincoln and Guba referred to peer reviewers as the devil's advocate, ensuring that the researcher was being honest.

Peer reviewing also helped clarify my bias as a researcher. The "devil's advocate" helped ensure that I was not painting the picture that I wanted with the narratives, rather an accurate portrayal of events and items discussed by the participants. I used the strategy as I combed through the transcripts and made annotations using thematic coding to transcripts to begin formulating possible themes. The peer read the data that I collected and agreed upon each theme to help ensure trustworthiness with the findings and analysis.

Reality is socially constructed due to multiple interactions in complex social settings (Clandinin, 2013; Esin et al., 2014; Hermans, 2001). As such, I needed to be aware of these intricacies as well as the shared experiences observed. Rapport with the subjects was critical in developing what their true feelings and realities were in a research setting. I could have had an impact on the results of the study (good or bad). Both the researcher and participants could be a part of the same lived experience, and as such, a contextual version of the social reality was constructed at the data-gathering situation (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990; Clandinin, 2013).

In summary, I ensured trustworthiness by allowing the participants to have many

opportunities to share their insights with my findings through member checks. Along with member checking, I triangulated the data collections as well as the analysis of the findings. In addition, I used peer debriefing to mitigate against the possibility that the emergent themes were not simply my own biased interpretations.

Limitations

I was in a position as an adult with whom the students were not familiar. This social positioning could be intimidating for adolescents, particularly when the relationship of researcher/participant did not have the opportunity to be one of trust. However, having been a citizen and product of the community in several different facets, my familiarity with the community helped the participants overcome some of the apprehension they felt. I played recreational sports, attended concerts and other productions by the community, was a volunteer member of the country radio station broadcast team, and had a reputation of being an advocate and positive teacher in the community, particularly with at-risk males. I received teacher of the year at this high school during the 2014-15 school year. My familiarity with the community and its needs helped to quickly build a relationship of trust. I addressed this relationship-building opportunity with the participants in the recruitment stage when I shared my past as a reluctant reader. In addition, I shared my findings with member checks. This step was important in narrative inquiry (Clandinin, 2013) to ensure trustworthiness, but it also helped assuage concerns by the participants and their families that I was conducting the research with their input, emotions, and well-being intact.

As stated throughout the literature review as well as the methods section, adolescent boys have Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) and identities in different environments (Hamston & Love, 2005; & Hermans, 2001; Hermans & Kempen, 1993), and as such, I could not observe all of the Discourses of my participants. I offset this limitation by going to the home and school of the participants and letting them choose a third site for observation. I conducted interviews and observations in those settings to get a better picture of the identities that the participants negotiated throughout the day (Clandinin, 2013). I developed scenarios that related to their interests in different settings and asked interview questions about the different settings.

People may act differently when they are being watched. This behavioral shift is called The Hawthorne Effect (Jones, 1992), so named after a study in which workers at the Hawthorne plant knew they were being observed and consequently production went up dramatically for the duration of the observation. This behavioral shift can occur in any field of research in which humans are being observed. To minimize this effect, I had a direct conversation with the participants and their families in which I emphasized that I would be looking to understand the reading identities and practices of the participants, and I was not looking to change any facet of their behaviors. Clandinin and Connelly (1994) stated that this conversation was an integral piece to discuss with participants to minimize the damage that the Hawthorne Effect could have on research, particularly in narrative inquiry because it involves such a close working relationship between researcher and participants.

Although having information on the participants' reading ability through a

reading comprehension test would be an optimal data point, access to this was not readily available per IRB guidelines (as such, we did not request for this data). However, the participants, their parents or guardians, and teachers made several comments regarding the perceived reading abilities that helped give insights into their reading abilities.

In addition, digital literacies were not considered reading in this study as the participants viewed reading as affiliated with books. In the study from the National Endowment for the Arts, *To read or not to read: A question of national consequence*, Dana Gioia (2008) alluded to the gradually shrinking reading time that teens participate in with reading books. Rather than viewing screen time in concert with reading for pleasure, the article instead pointed out that reading was competing with screen time when he stated, “Even when reading does occur, it competes with other media. This multitasking suggests less focused engagement with texts” (p. 10). Throughout the course of the research, the participants did not view the texts they enjoyed reading as actual reading, which included digital formats, even though there were instances where they were, in fact, reading.

Last, this study is limited in its generalizability. However, it offers productive insights into the thoughts and actions of reluctant readers in a rural setting. As such, one can see the impacts of spatiality, sociality, and temporality and how they can affect the identities of readers and nonreaders alike.

Summary

By taking efforts to live in the participant’s world, I was able to use the central

components of narrative inquiry in order to have the participants tell, live, retell, and relive their experiences of reading in the English classroom as well as their past, present, and future reading identity. The observations in their English classroom, the out-of-school observation, and the plethora of interviews including the participants, their parents, and their English teachers helped shape significant insight into their reading identities and practices. By following protocols from emergent design, I was able to make the needed adjustments to follow through with emerging themes from previous data sets.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

In this section, I used narratives to share what I learned from the interviews and observations from the participants as well as from interviews with their parents and teachers. I am presenting each narrative individually by the pseudonym of each participant. Each section includes the participant's stories followed by a brief summary and an analysis of the temporality, spatiality, and sociality (Clandinin, 2013) related to their reading identities. In addition, I first present each participant's story with an analysis of the individual stories using Bakhtinian theories and constructs from narrative analysis. After this, I compare and contrast the six participants. The analyses connect the themes identified in the data analysis section. After presenting narratives from the six participants, I then compare and contrast the themes between the participants.

Brendin's Narrative

On a hot and sunny August afternoon, Brendin walked in and wanted to commence the interview immediately. We were sitting in "the fishbowl," an extension of the recently remodeled library. The entire wall facing the commons area contained windowpanes. Brendin had a quiet and direct demeanor. He said, "I am happy to participate, but the sooner we get done, the better." Brendin had always been the type to want and get things done. This included the "double baconator" that he inhaled during the first lunchtime interview. To him, if there was something that needed to be finished, then

he always wanted to get the ball rolling, whether it was football practice, a hunting trip, or a family event. Of course, there have always been exceptions to his rule: namely schoolwork and reading.

Brendin lived in a rural town with a population of about five hundred residents. The town is south of the Native American reservation and is exclusively agricultural. There used to be a small general store, but it had been shuttered for several years as of this writing. Trips to the high school took thirty minutes with good weather, but could be significantly longer during the bitter cold winters. Trips to the larger grocery stores took the same amount of time. Trips to the library did not happen often and as a result, exposure to books was primarily left to what was in the house, or sent home from teachers as assigned reading. He lived in a 4-bedroom, 2-bathroom, and 2-story home with his mother, father, and younger sister. As of this writing, the family was packing up the house as they were having major reconstruction done. As such, the books that usually adorned their bookshelf in the living room were packed away (see image 1). His

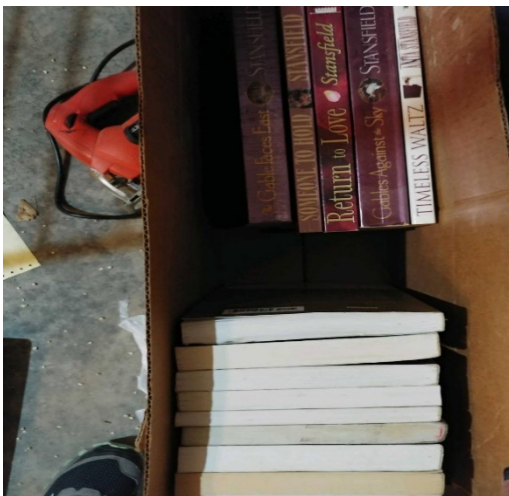


Image 1. Books from Brendin's home.

mother found one box and I took a quick picture before it was stored away. It did not reflect the types of books that were in the home (aside from the visible romance novels), but she did say that normally the bookshelf had James Patterson novels, a *Bible*, and welding manuals nestled in it.

Past Reading Identity

Brendin noted, “I don’t concentrate well when I have to do reading and other things like schoolwork. I usually do my best, which is what my parents expect of me. But, I get bored with a lot of schoolwork.” He had worked hard to get good grades. He felt that he had to work harder than other students do to get his work done. In his mind, his stuttering when reading and his lack of ability to concentrate caused him to miss important facts, and kept him from having a successful school experience. From age five until age 13, he had participated in speech therapy for the stuttering, and it had improved over time. He noted that some people liked to hear him read, especially those who knew of his stuttering problem (mostly his family and close friends). They had witnessed his improvement, and felt that he read much better after speech therapy. However, he also stated that, “When I do stutter, it ruins the flow of reading and people take notice. I hate that. Reading out loud is torture.” Brendin noted that no one made fun of him, and he thought that this was due to his imposing size.

Brendin’s mother required that he do his best in class. She did not expect him to get “A’s” in his classes, but she expected him to complete all the work. She said, “My kid won’t be on the honor roll, but that doesn’t mean he is excused from doing the work.”

She was frustrated that he went out of his way to avoid reading, but had understood that the males in their family “just don’t do it.” She herself had always enjoyed reading, and read regularly. Two bookshelves used to adorn her family’s living room. Brendin’s mother used to read to him as a child, and said that he enjoyed it. Brendin stated, “When my mom read to me as a kid, I kind of liked it. She made stories fun. That didn’t happen in school.”

Brendin’s mother also said that he seemed to dislike and disregard reading sometime around fourth grade. He became hesitant to participate in reading activities at home and school during fourth grade. He would tell her that he did not like to read and felt it was not as important as she made it out to be. As a small business owner, she understood the necessities of financial literacy, as well as the need for literacy skills that come with reading and writing. She claimed that she learned many of these skills in high school, but was scared that Brendin was missing integral learning opportunities because he zoned out often.

Brendin, a burly lineman for the high school football team, had never wanted to be known as just a “jock” but had felt he was labeled as such. He said, “I know I look, sound, and even sometimes act like a jock, but there is more to me than that. I like to hunt, camp, and do stuff outdoors. I can wear the label of slacker in school, but I don’t like it. I am not trying to be one.” Brendin talked about the struggles he faced throughout his academic career. The stuttering, slow reading, and lack of comprehension when reading caused him to get frustrated often. Because of these struggles, he felt that his teachers viewed him as a slacker rather than a student who needed help. However, he

never spoke up when he needed help. He felt there was a stigma that came with struggling. He would rather come off as a slacker than a struggling, or in his words, a “stupid” student.

Present Reading Identity

Brendin’s overall score from the SARA was a 2.33 which could indicate a low satisfaction with reading. In addition, the subscales showed more detail into his reading identity (or lack thereof). His academic print reading (AP) mean score was 2.8, and his academic digital reading (AD) mean score was 2.6, both indicating a potentially low satisfaction with academic reading in general. Furthermore, his recreational print reading (RP) mean score was 1.8, indicating a very low satisfaction with recreational print reading, but his recreational digital reading (RD) mean score was 3.3 indicating an almost neutral opinion of reading digitally. In addition, some of his responses in the “Here’s How I Feel About Reading” indicate a low satisfaction with reading. His responses included stark answers like “The best thing about reading is nothing,” and “The worst thing about reading is everything.” He also noted that his friends thought reading was pointless from the questionnaire. Overall, these two instruments indicated that Brendin had a negative attitude towards reading.

Brendin’s dad worked in the oilfields as a supervisor. Although his father’s job required specific literacy skills, Brendin did not expand upon them because he was not sure of what exactly his father’s job consisted of. According to Brendin, his dad has always preferred to “veg out” after a long day, rather than pick something up to read.

Brendin felt the same way. After a day of school, football, and other activities, he had never wanted to read. Occasionally, he had liked to read a novel from James Patterson, usually once a year at most. He said, “I like the suspense of his books. Aside from reading a book of his once in a great while, I read the Bible with my family. But even that is rare. If I ever do read, it is usually in my truck. My family gives me a hard time if I read in the living room. They poke fun at me.” He also stated that when he heard the word “reading” he thought of jumbled paragraphs and confusing words. He said, “I tend to get flustered when I have to read out loud anywhere, and when I think of reading, I just think of getting lost in a story I don’t get. It frustrates me a ton.” He had gotten intimidated when he had to read in class. A big part of this anxiety was because he stuttered a lot when he read aloud. He had always had this issue, and even after speech therapy, it still caused him immense stress, particularly in class.

Although Brendin was terrified to read in front of others, he had valued a good work ethic, especially when it came to group work. When asked if he was willing to read aloud in a group, he said he would do it. He did not want the group to suffer because he was uncomfortable with reading in front of others. That would not be fair to the group. He said he had always done his best to help others and even take the lead if it was necessary. He would prefer not to be the leader though. When working on his own, Brendin’s eleventh-grade English teacher, Barbara (a pseudonym), noted he never made eye contact in class. According to her, he avoided starting assignments that included reading, and he distracted himself with his phone or other “things” instead of paying attention or reading the assignment. Brendin admitted that he was easily distracted on

assignments where he had to do them on his own. He said, “It just bores me, so I try to do other stuff to keep me from falling asleep.” Brendin’s mother noted that he wasn’t diagnosed with Attention Deficit Disorder but that he exhibited a lot of distracted behaviors in his classes, especially when the classes did not have hands-on experience. She explained that he had always preferred subjects where he could get his hands on something.

Brendin’s teacher Barbara said that her approach to reading was much different from what she experienced as a student. She stated, “I use audio much more than my teachers ever did. When I was in school, I had assigned reading for homework and lots of silent reading. As a teacher, I rarely have reading that must be done independently,” She also noted that she will have students read with a partner or in groups and that she tried to avoid silent sustained reading. Brendin thought that there was too much silent reading in class. He noted, “Our teacher gives us a lot of reading. Sometimes it is with someone else, or in a group, but more often than not, we read on our own. I know I don’t when that happens, and I guarantee I am not the only one.” Brendin’s teacher also noted that she played a lot of recordings for students to follow along, but even then, students are not engaged with a text. Exasperated and frustrated, she said that she was continually trying new reading approaches in class but has not found one that has resonated with the general student population. Last, she stated that Brendin was just one of many students that she noticed had the aforementioned issues with staying interested and on task. Brendin stated, “Most of the texts picked are boring. I hate reading in front of others. Don’t matter if my partner is a friend or not. I can’t pay attention to boring stuff.”

When pressed about what kind of factors have led to the plethora of reluctant readers that she has, Barbara said, “External factors include lack of access to reading materials at home, negative attitudes toward reading from the parents, and living conditions that are possibly unsafe or not ideal.” She said that she sees many kids that come from families who did not think reading at home was a big deal. She knew from her upbringing and professional experience that reading at home was critical. Last, she had seen males that seemed afraid to admit that they might enjoy reading. Sometimes boys made fun of others for choosing to read.

During one of the classroom observations, a scene of organized chaos took place. Some students were on task, but many were talking and laughing loudly. The teacher was attempting to conference with students who were in need. Brendin looked as if he were working on the assignment, but his teacher caught him reading off-task topics while he was supposed to be researching items for his upcoming trial case of *The Crucible*. For this project, some students advocated for prosecution of central characters in the story, while others defended them. The teacher acted as the judge who ruled after both sides were given equal time to make their case. This was not the first time that he had been caught off task. As such, the teacher took the computer away, and handed Brendin a textbook with the play in it. He was to look for the needed information directly from the book now. He lost his computer privileges for the remainder of the period.

In another interview, when asked about being off task during class time, Brendin said he was not sure what to look for and was getting bored. The teacher caught him looking up hunting items. The hunting kickoff was in a couple of weeks. Although he had

not liked reading in general, he had enjoyed learning about hunting and camping materials, strategies, and other literature about trends and blogs from the hunting/camping community. He noted, "I like anything to do with the outdoors. I will read stuff like that, especially if it is short."

When asked about the area he lived and the location of the outdoor activities, he said, "It is pretty nice here. I can go hunting just a few minutes away. It is quiet, and people are nice. Some people get bored here, but I don't." When asked about if he felt the area had an effect on his reading identity, he said, "No, reading would be just as boring in the city as it would here." He felt that the space of the rural area did not adversely affect him with school, even though the oilfields were close, and many males were planning to forgo post-secondary schooling to begin working immediately out of high school.

After losing his computer privileges, he was resigned to look for evidence from the textbook. He fingered through it but paid no heed to anything he should be looking for. When asked about his preferences with digital materials over physical ones, he said, "Yeah, I hate looking into textbooks. The computer is a little better, but the material [from English class] is still super boring." He acknowledged that it was easier to fake reading and doing work with the computer, which was another reason why he preferred it. He stated that he tried to do well in his classes because he knew that school was good for him. He said, "Yeah, even though school ain't the best, I get why I have to be here. There is stuff I am going to need and use after I get out." Last, Brendin also noted he enjoyed shortened schooldays as well as trips to the library because it got him out of class.

When in the library, Brendin would zone out and play on his phone. Even after being caught a few times, he exhibited the same behaviors. He said, “I don’t really like the library. It is a boring place. If I have to get a book, I will just grab whatever is on the end caps. I won’t read it, mind you. But it gets the teacher off my back. It collects dust in my locker, and I forget it is in there until I get a notice from the librarian letting me know it is overdue.” He added that he did not mean to disrespect the librarian or the teacher, but he found the experience of going to the library as useless, but it was better than having to stay in class.

On a chilly evening, just before the stadium lights came on, Brendin stood listening to his coaches. Once practice began, a few flakes of snow added a soothing, but cold ambience to the players on the field. Some took notice of the weather and began to lose focus. The coaches were aware but did not say too much to the players acting out. Brendin stood stoically until it was his time to line up. The players ran the play repeatedly until the coach seemed satisfied. After this session of plays, the coach had players line up for new schemes. More players seemed to zone out what the coach said, while the players focused on the coach began to get frustrated. Words were exchanged, some swear words sputtered from beneath several white helmets, and the new play scheme repetitions ensued. The constant back-and-forth between the focused and unfocused players continued until it was time for me to leave. Brendin was one of the players paying attention and trying to understand what the coaches were saying. His slouched shoulders, and bowed head indicated a frustration with the players joking around. Later on, Brendin shook his head several times, clearly frustrated with what he

would later call, “A useless practice.”

After practice, he had some specific remarks about something he normally enjoyed. The football season had been predictably, but still frustratingly, brutal. He said,

It’s bad enough losing every game. But, we lose by like 50 points a game, and we don’t get better. We even got destroyed by our cross-town rival [deleted for anonymity], and they are like half our size. No one seems to care. Like, you saw at practice, we just goof around, and coach runs the same plays that never work. We don’t have any faith in him.

He has played on some bad teams before, but in his words, “this one takes the cake,” with how futile it is to succeed. Brendin had always loved playing football, but not when his team was “slaughtered” week after week. It had made his junior year even more difficult. He said, “I already don’t like being in school, or in class, but I always want to play sports. I need decent grades for that.” After this season, he said he was not sure that he would want to play anymore. He would still try to get good grades, but his motivation to play football was waning.

Brendin felt a little pressure from his male friends being identified as a reader. He answered in the “How I Feel About Reading” portion of the Reading Attitudes Survey (McKenna & Stahl, 2015), that his friends found reading “pointless.” Throughout the interviews, he mentioned several times that his friends were not readers. He repeatedly emphasized that he was not one either. He stated that having a bunch of friends who don’t like to read has some influence over him not reading, but if he were to crack open a book, he doesn’t think any of them would make fun of him. He said, “None of us really like to read. But, if one of use did, no one would really care all that much.” He cherished the friendships that he had and knew that many of the guys he hung out with would be his

friends in the future.

Future Reading Identity

In five years from the interviews, Brendin saw himself possibly going to college, but not at the local university branch campus. He would love to play football, even after his negative high school experience. He contemplated what he would like to do for his career as he gobbled his fries. After a short pause, he answered that he wanted to either work in the oilfields or become an architect. He loved to look at buildings and noticed all of the differences. However, he also respected what his parents did for work and wanted to continue the tradition. He said, “I want to go to college. I know I have to get my act together to make that happen.”

If Brendin were to go to college, he felt confident about his abilities to be a good student. Brendin felt that he could be a good reader, even when working through his general study classes like English. He said, “If there is something I want to do, or want to get, I can turn it on when I want to.” Up to the point of this writing, school had been a boring sojourn. Nevertheless, if Brendin were to commit to a post-secondary education, he had no doubt about his ability to succeed.

When asked about where he would reside in the future, he was not sure where he would end up. He said, “I don’t mind it if I lived here, but I am not sure. I like the quiet.” He wanted to make sure his kids had a good example of an educated mother and father. He wanted them to realize the importance of reading, both for leisure and for academics. He convinced himself, as he finished off his fries, that he will crack open a book at some

point and learn to be on task. He said, “I will get to it and get there soon. I know if I go to college, I will have to read. I can’t just turn it on, so I need to get going soon. I wish it could be tomorrow, but I can’t promise I will.” He described that reading had been difficult for him, and becoming a reader, particularly with “hard textbooks” gave him anxiety to the point he almost feared beginning the process of becoming a committed reader. Although it was important and even urgent to him, he was not to the point where he could become committed to the idea of reading. For now, he had to leave so that he could get dressed for football practice in the 30-degree weather, and said the experience on the field will be, “A cold practice, on a cold day, for a cold team.”

Summary of Brendin’s Narrative

Based on comments from Brendin, his mother, and his teacher, he would be considered a struggling, reluctant reader. Alvermann (2001) stated that struggling readers are those “whose identities are marked by unsuccessful efforts at (or resistance to) ‘getting reading right’” (p. 678). His lack of concentration made it hard for him to comprehend texts in most formats. He preferred hands-on activities where reading was either minimal or non-existent. He hated to read aloud, but would be willing to do so in groups, especially if the group’s grade depended on it. Grades did have an influence on his academic work ethic. Even though reading a football playbook could be considered a literacy activity, Brendin did not view it this way. He preferred to do just about anything, but read outside of school, with the exception of an occasional James Patterson novel (roughly one per year). His family did read the Bible but were not a strictly religious

family. Some of his future aspirations relied on reading, and he wanted his children to be more committed readers than he was.

Analysis of Brendin's Narrative

I used the narrative inquiry traits of temporality, spatiality, and sociality (Clandinin, 2013) to frame an analysis of Brendin's reading identity, whether it was his past, present, or future reading identity. Whether it was his home living environment, his friends or family members, his classmates and teachers, or the vicinity where he grew up, all elements played a part in how Brendin perceived himself as a reader. This section will discuss how the aforementioned elements effect how Brendin saw himself as a reader and how he has fought against an identity placed on him by others.

Spatiality. This section is broken into four central locations that affected Brendin's reading identity: home, the football field, English classroom, and the rural space where he resided. Each one of these places helped play a role in Brendin's reading identity. Several themes emerged from Brendin's narrative and each space influenced certain themes, including some that repeated in the different spaces.

Home. Brendin's mother acknowledged that although there were books in the home, there were not a lot to choose for leisure reading. Homes can play a significant impact on a child's reading identity (Biller 1993; Brozo, 1999; Duursma et al., 2008; Morgan et al., 2009), and Brendin felt that his home Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) was not a place where reading was valued. Although his mom disagreed with this sentiment, she did acknowledge that, living so far from the library, trips were limited, and exposure

to varieties of books was limited as well. Brendin's home had (before remodeling) several James Patterson novels, which Brendin did like to read occasionally. There were also manuals about welding and making welding helmets, which stemmed from his mother's business. Brendin's father was a foreman, but there were not any texts that related to his work on the bookshelves. Brendin felt that his home environment could have had an effect on his reading attitude. He said, "My mom read at home sometimes, but my dad doesn't. We didn't do a lot of reading. We want to hang out more than anything."

However, on the occasions where Brendin did read at home, he did not mind reading aloud. Friends and family enjoyed hearing him read aloud as they knew of his previous struggles with stuttering. He did not feel anxious when asked to read aloud in this space. The theme of oral reading in this sense was that Brendin felt comfortable reading aloud around those close to him, contrasted with his classroom space where he was terrified to read in front of others. At home, on the occasion where he did read, Brendin identified as a reader, however, he did not think of himself as a reader at home in general. He stated, "Yeah, there are sometimes I read at home, but I don't really feel like a reader there. I don't really think of myself as a reader at all or anywhere."

Football field. Brendin also loved to play sports. Although he didn't see reading a playbook as a reading activity, he was able to visualize where he was supposed to be on a given play by reading through the "x" and "o" placements on the sheet. Brendin acknowledged that he could visualize the play in his head without difficulty. However, if he were reading a piece of literature that he found boring, which was almost everything

he came across in school, he would have a high difficulty of comprehending the text, particularly pieces of literature, where he could not visualize the imagery of the text. A theme that developed through analysis appeared when Brendin said, “If I enjoy it, it isn’t reading.” Although he did not enjoy reading in his class, particularly assigned reading, he did not mind looking at the playbook for extended periods of time and contemplating what the play should look like on the field. Along with this aforementioned theme, the theme of confident reader was present. Brendin felt that he could not comprehend “boring” texts, but ones like the playbook interested him and he felt confident in his ability to visualize plays. In this space, Brendin identified as a nonreader even though he was confident in his ability to read and interpret the playbook.

The English classroom. The English classroom, and for that matter, school in general was a space where Brendin identified as a nonreader. During the observations, Brendin rarely made effort to participate in reading activities. In fact, one of the few times he was reading was when he was off task looking up materials about hunting. He was also anxious about reading aloud in any format at school. The theme of oral reading was present here, but in the sense that he saw himself as a nonreader, or that he would do anything to avoid reading aloud in a school setting. He felt comfortable in other settings such as home, but school would prove to be a space in which he felt he lacked reading fluency. In addition, the Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) of his classroom was not one where reading was favored. Last, the classroom was comfortable as there was climate control and ventilation. However, the room was crowded with 34 desks and virtually no aisle spaces. Students had to squeeze through the rows to move around, and most were

shoulder-to-shoulder. This affected Brendin because of his size. He said, “It feels like a can of sardines in there. I can’t move around really.” He noted this made it hard for students to stay on task and pay attention since there was no personal space. Also, in this space the themes of boring and group work were present. The work was often deemed boring by Brendin and many of his peers, and as a result, students were off task with assignments more than they were on task (at least for the duration of the observations, as well as insights shared from Brendin). In addition, when there was group work present in this space, Brendin would actively participate so that his group would be successful on assignments.

Rural area. Brendin was not sure where he would reside in the future but did not shun the idea of where he currently lived as a space for his future family to live. The theme of Where do I see myself? emerged as Brendin could see himself remaining and following his father’s footsteps as a foreman. As of this writing, Brendin was still unsure whether he would move out or remain in his community. He did not feel like the rural space affected his reading identity one way or another. In fact, he would read about outdoor activities and browse materials about the places he enjoyed spending his time hunting, camping, and hiking. He said, “I don’t think I would be a reader even if I lived near the city. There are a few things I don’t mind reading, but I would probably hate reading in class just as much in the city as here.” In this sense, he did not identify as a reader in this space.

Summary of spatiality. The different spaces yielded different results in how Brendin read. Even though he would read occasionally, he viewed reading as a task.

Therefore, he did not identify as a reader. The theme of “If I enjoy it, it isn’t reading” emerged as Brendin continually did not view himself as a reader in the aforementioned spaces, but he did read in out-of-school settings. He did not view it as reading. That distinction tended to be affiliated with school activities.

Sociality. In this section of analysis, I broke up Brendin’s different social Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) into four sections: family, friends, his football team, and his peers in class. Each one of these sections contributed to how Brendin identified himself as a reader. Some sections played a role in Brendin identifying as a reader (whether he was aware of it or not), while others influenced him to be a reluctant reader.

Family. Brendin reported that the Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) at home was not one of reading. The theme of social pressure emerged here. Brendin would rather read in his truck than have his family make fun of him for doing so in the living room. The pressure he felt from them in regard to be seen reading made it uncomfortable for him to have a desire to read in front of them. His mother disagreed but did acknowledge that his father did not read. Brendin respected his father and aspired to be like him, and therefore the theme of patriarchal influence emerged when analyzing Brendin’s relationship to his father. His father did not value reading, and in most cases, neither did Brendin. Therefore, the theme of patriarchal influence emerged because Brendin’s father did not value reading and espoused this opinion frequently to him. However, Brendin’s immediate family and extended family were aware of his struggles with stuttering. As such, I identified the theme of oral reading in this section of analysis. Brendin’s family encouraged him to read, would even ask him to read aloud, and he would oblige.

Brendin also noted that he had to work harder in school than others to achieve good grades. He also said that he had to work harder than others to read, especially since he had the stuttering problem. Therefore, the theme hard work ethic emerged. He stated, “I feel like I have to work harder than other students to get my grades good. But, my family has always worked hard for things. We just do.” Both Brendin and his mother acknowledged that his family viewed him as a reluctant reader, however, this social circle was one where Brendin could feel safe identifying as a reader, and he did, especially when reading aloud to those who encouraged him to. However, ultimately, he still did not identify as a reader.

Friends. Even though Brendin said that his friends lack of reading interest had not affected his reading identity, he did note that he would much rather spend time doing things with them like camping, hunting, hiking, and hanging out. This centripetal force (Bakhtin 1981, 1986) often drew Brendin away from schoolwork and reading activities. However, he would read articles for sports and recreation, and was even caught in class off task reading about hunting. Fortuna (2015) noted that students enjoy reading articles about sports and recreation. Brendin did like to view items on sporting and recreation but stated that this type of reading did not feel difficult or laborious. Therefore, the theme of “If I enjoy it, it isn’t reading” emerged upon analysis of his responses. Brendin did not mind reading material outside of academics on certain topics, including an occasional James Patterson novel.

According to Brendin, some of his friends said that reading was dumb, but he noted that none of them called reading “feminine,” or “gay.” Reading was not viewed as

un-masculine with his group of friends so much as it was simply not an activity that his friends were interested in. External voices are internalized over time and could become an intrinsic influence over an individual's identity and discourse (Hermans, 2001; Hermans, Kempen, & Van Loon, 1992). Males tended to have higher resistance to reading (Renold 1997, 2001) regardless of their ability (Alvermann, 2001; Newkirk, 2002; Smith & Wilhelm, 2002), and in Brendin's circle of friends, the attitude was almost universal for a reluctance to reading. This unitary language (Bakhtin 1981) was one that Brendin would adopt, at least for the time he spent with his friends.

Bakhtin (1981, 1986) also argued that an individual could identify positions that are congruent with others from a group but also discover and hold onto others that contrast with the same group. These competing discourses could create a flux (Hermans, 2001) in how individuals viewed themselves. In Brendin's case, his friends viewed him as a nonreader. He did not like to be labeled by others and would struggle against the distinctions given to him, but he acknowledged that his friends had an effect on his reading identity. He said, "They don't like to read, and don't read. I don't see a need to be a reader around them, so I'm not" Social pressure was another theme I noted when analyzing Brendin's narrative. In this case, the theme of social pressure emerged as it created an identity in Brendin as a nonreader. Social pressure came from outside forces that helped shape the way Brendin viewed himself as a reader, or nonreader. The Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) among his friends revolved around hunting, camping, football, and recreation among other topics. Therefore, in this social circle, Brendin did not identify as a reader.

Sports team. Brendin did not have difficulty visualizing his football playbook. The “x’s” and “o’s” were easy for him to visualize. The theme of confident reader appeared in his narrative when he discussed the relative ease he had reading the playbook. In this sense, Brendin’s identified as a nonreader, even though liked reading and visualizing the plays from the playbook. In general, Brendin’s football teammates did not identify as readers, but they would participate in active Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) around the playbook, and football in general. He said, “We don’t really read unless it’s the playbook. To us, this isn’t reading.”

Classroom peers. Brendin’s experiences in his English class further developed him into a reluctant reader. The themes of oral reading and social pressure developed through analysis of his narrative. During both observations and interviews, Brendin displayed behaviors that were not conducive to developing an identity as a committed reader. He was paranoid about reading aloud in front of others in his classroom. During one observation, he was off task and his teacher forced him to close his computer and work on the material through the printed textbook. He mentioned that he was not interested in the material and many other students were off task. He decided he wanted to do something that interested him, which is why he was looking up hunting materials. He also knew he was not the only one doing it but was the only one who was caught that day. The social pressures of having several male students being reluctant readers in his class, who were constantly off task, affected Brendin’s behavior.

The Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) in Brendin’s class was not conducive to him developing an identity as a committed reader. There was a unitary language (Bakhtin,

1981, 1986) among his male peers who were in his class. This language included dialogue regarding trucks, hunting, football and other sports, and camping, among other topics. Reading was never mentioned. In fact, it was viewed as “lame.” Brendin followed the unitary language and identified as a reluctant reader. He had no desire to prove otherwise. He felt that many in his class labeled him as a “jock” and even though it bothered him, he did not take any measures to disprove the label. Even though he read in different settings, including group work, Brendin still did not identify as a reader.

Summary of sociality. Different social circles affected Brendin’s reading identity. He felt comfortable reading in front of his family and did not mind discussing reading the playbook on the football field; however, he did not discuss reading in front of his friends, nor his classroom peers.

Temporality. In this section, I focused on Brendin’s present reading identity and compared it with his future reading identity, along with referencing his past reading identity. This analysis of his past and future reading identities was critical in understanding his present reading identity, particularly in regard to his past stuttering problems, and future goals.

Past reading identity. When Brendin was young, he enjoyed his mother reading to him. Reading did yield positive connotations for him when reflecting on some experiences. In this way, the Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) with his mother regarding reading was a positive one. However, his severe stuttering made him resent reading aloud. The theme of oral reading emerged when I analyzed his narrative. Oral reading was a negative experience because stuttered and become paralyzed to read. The stuttering

also affected his reading comprehension because he would have trouble focusing on the text. As such, the theme of losing focus emerged as well. Because of Brendin's stuttering issues, he stated that it would cause him to lose focus on what he was reading, and he would become frustrated. As a result, Brendin began to abhor reading. Overall, Brendin did not identify as a reader.

Present reading identity. Brendin's present reading identity was affected in several ways including his home space and culture, his classroom, his friends, and his football experience. The Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) of each place and culture were different as mentioned previously. There was a dichotomy of reading activities depending on the space. He did not identify as a reader, even when he read sometimes at home as well as when he was on the football field. He also avoided reading in his English classroom. His friends were not interested in reading, and as such, the theme of social pressure emerged. There were times where Brendin would read, but when he was with his friends, reading was never a sought after, nor discussed, activity. However, some family members enjoyed listening to Brendin reading aloud because they were aware of his struggles with stuttering. The theme of oral reading emerged here. Normally, Brendin would abstain from reading aloud unless he absolutely had to. But, when people who cared about him wanted to support him, he would read when asked. Even though this encouraged him to be a reader, he still did not identify as such.

Future reading identity. A prominent theme of Where do I see myself? emerged upon analysis of future endeavors for the participants. This theme followed the notion of where Brendin (and other participants) saw themselves in the future. For Brendin, he saw

himself as a father (family), potentially going to college, and having a career as either a manager in the oilfields, or even becoming an architect.

Brendin felt confident that if he decided to go to college, he could be successful and could be a committed reader. His own words were, “I can turn it on when I want to.” Therefore, the theme of “I can turn it on when I want to”/ “I can do it, I just don’t want to” emerged. Brendin did not want to try in his classes unless he had to, but he did note that college was a different ballgame when it came to reading. He said, “I don’t think I could get away with how I am doing things I high school. Might get eaten alive. So, I will have to work hard and read a lot. I know I can do it.” He envisioned himself being able to do the necessary work in college.

In addition, Brendin stated that in the future he wanted a positive home reading environment for his kids. He wanted them to become committed readers. He knew that this aspiration would have to start with him being a more committed reader. The home Discourse (Gee 2000b, 2015) would need a focus on committed reading. He also wanted to marry someone who valued reading. Even though there was an ebb and flow concerning his reading identity, he did not have ambivalence about the future he wanted for his children. If, at the worst, he did not have a reading identity in the future, he wanted his future home would have a Discourse in which reading would be practiced.

He felt that his current home Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) was not inviting to reading and wanted to change this in his future household. Through this lens, the theme of social pressure emerged. Brendin wanted his children to be committed readers which meant he would have to either serve as an example, or his wife would. Either way, he

would need to facilitate a space that welcomed reading as a leisure activity.

Waterman (1982) stated that future identity could be largely contingent on family relationships, the social norms of community and friends, as well as academic history. Given the aforementioned events and experiences, Brendin had obtained a Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that revolved around reading reluctance and frustration. Although there was a drive to go to college in the future, and Brendin was aware of the challenges he faced, Brendin would have to develop a reading identity based on success and interest with a given text. Many of Brendin's friends were planning in a career in the oilfields, or in a career that supported the oilfield (trucking, welding, concrete pouring, etc.). None of Brendin's friends liked to read and although they did not dissuade him directly from reading, the Discourse among this group affected his present reading identity.

Brendin was in a state of flux regarding his career options. If Brendin were to choose a career in architecture or some other field of work that involved him going to college, he confirmed that he had the ability to "tough it out" and be a successful reader. He knew that he would have to read copious amounts of literature in subjects he found boring. Nevertheless, with a goal in mind of completing a degree, he felt he had the intrinsic drive to be successful. He knew it would be hard and the theme of hard work ethic emerged upon analysis. Brendin said, "I know I have to work harder than others to be successful in school. Always have. But I know I can do it. We work hard around here for everything." However, in the same vein, he liked the idea of following in his father's footsteps and working in the oilfields without having to attend college. Brendin did not have one, clear future identity, but was still contemplating possible careers.

By the end of our interviews, Brendin was still perplexed with what he wanted to do for his career. A part of him wanted to obtain a college degree, unlike anyone on his family had done. However, there was also a centripetal force (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) leading him into a path that had been trod before by his relatives. He was accepting of his fate either way, but still unsure of what that fate looked like. Nonetheless, he felt he would identify as a reader. He said, “If not for myself, for my kids. They should have an example of readers from their parents.”

Summary of temporality. Brendin valued reading regarding his future identity. However, he did not identify as a reader with his past and current reading identities. In almost every instance, aside from his future, he found no reason to read.

Summary of Brendin’s Analysis

There was a constant flux in how Brendin viewed himself as a reader, although it tended to be more of an attitude of reluctance to reading and academics in general. Brendin perceived that his father did not think reading was cool or valuable, much like his friends believed. Thus, several Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) converged (home and peer) to confirm the perception that reading was not cool. However, Brendin did see some inherent value in reading despite these Discourses, but still ultimately identified as a nonreader. Although he read as part of other Discourses (e.g., football and hunting), the people in these Discourses did not count it as reading. Thus, there was not really a Discourse that he valued and identified with, in which people really viewed themselves as committed readers. However, many indicators suggested that he might forego a college

career in lieu of following generational footsteps into the oilfields. Brendin fought against labels but seemed to give into them when realizing his reading identity.

Brendin wanted to create his own identity. He seemed aware that he could have the power to change his reading identity, particularly when it came to post-secondary aspirations. Although he recognized the importance of reading to college, this recognition did not translate into him reading more academic texts in the present to prepare for college. Brendin was a polyphonic character (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003; Hermans et al., 1992; Hermans & Kempen, 1993) with the ability to think and act for himself despite the constant ebb and flow from the centripetal forces pulling him into an identity of reluctant reader. On the one hand, others (and himself) saw himself as struggling. However, on the other hand, he was also confident that he could turn it on when he wanted to. Therefore, he was both a struggling and confident reader. His future was polyphonic as well. Perhaps he would be a foreman like his father, but there was also the possibility maybe he would not. Consequently, on the whole, Discourses seemed to converge to create an environment where he had a fairly stable identity as a nonreader across settings, and if he did read for enjoyment, he did not view it as reading.

James's Narrative

James came to the interview with an energetic and enticing attitude. He said, "I see what you are trying to do and think I fit the protocol perfectly." Having no shortage of thoughts to share he began to talk about himself freely. James wanted to meet during his fourth period class; because he was making up missing high school credits on a

computer in the library. His English teacher approved of the interviews taking place at this time. James loved Takis and Mountain Dew.

Past Reading Identity

James stated, “I have always had a hatred of anything my teachers pick for classroom reading. It is usually boring, not important to me (and others), and never teaches me anything. I wish they would let us pick some items to read once in a while. We would at least feel like they care about the class.” James tended to avoid reading beginning in the late elementary grades. He thought his disinterest became noticeable around the fourth grade. Despite a lost interest in reading, James did have a significant reaction when his stepmother read to him after he was complaining about how hard his life was. She read him *A Child Called “It,”* a devastatingly vivid autobiography from Dave Pelzer about the consistent abuse he faced from his mother. Once a bully, James committed to change the way he treated others as well as the way he viewed his own life. He also decided to make better efforts in school. This watershed moment is one of the few positive interactions that he remembered having with a book.

He could not recall too many other times when he had that kind of interaction with a text. While he was reluctant to read most genres of texts, he would enjoy reading and/or listening to horror novels like Stephen King’s *It*. He noted that a good horror novel could keep his attention longer than other types of books, but even then, he did not always focus. He often sidetracked himself while reading, which is why he liked to have the audio to follow along.

James did not come from a particularly religious family, but he did respect The Bible, and would read from it on rare occasions. His mother and father had him at a very young age, and neither finished high school. James could not recall his mother or father reading to him often as a child. His stepmother tried occasionally, but James would often resist. Whether it was him reading on his own, reading in class, or reading with his parents, James continually struggled with paying attention to literary and informational texts.

Following along with a text had always been a challenge for James. One year in his English class, he was reading *Night*, by Elie Wiesel. He stated, “Even though the story was interesting I fell asleep when we read it in class. The teacher played the audio for it and the guy’s voice was monotone. I also just don’t care for biographies. They lack action.” He believed that most of his teachers viewed him as a nonreader. Even some of his friends saw him that way. Some of his friends would make fun of him if they found out he liked to read occasionally, but that did not deter him. He stated that they only read if there was something to learn, “right then and there. Otherwise they don’t really read a lot.” He says, that even though he typically he did not read, he understood the value of reading, even in his English class.

Present Reading Identity

According to the Survey of Adolescent Reading Attitudes survey (McKenna & Stahl, 2015), James had an average of 2.94, which indicated some dissatisfaction with reading. Broken into the subscales, James scored slightly higher than the mean for

academic print reading (AP) at 3.6, and slightly below the median for academic digital reading (AD) at 3.4. In addition, his recreational digital reading (RD) score was slightly higher than the mean at 3.66, but the recreational print reading (RP) score was well below at a score of 2. In addition to the scores some of his responses in the “Here’s How I Feel About Reading” questionnaire reflected a reluctance to reading. For example, he stated that “When I read books in school, I want to sleep. They are boring.” He also stated that his friends think reading is “only important to learn something that you’ll use right then and there.” Last, he stated the best thing about books is “They can take you places and puts you in another world. Unfortunately, they are too boring to get there more often than not.” When considering both of these measures, there was an indication of reading reluctance worth investigating further.

James did not remember why but just remembered losing interest in school and reading in general. He had a hard time focusing on reading tasks. His English teacher agreed that he was easily sidetracked and stated that, throughout the course of the school year, James exhibited disruptive behaviors. Oftentimes, he became distracted when the class was reading a text. Instead of trying to catch up, he would derail others either intentionally or unintentionally by being disruptive. James stated that his behavior had significantly improved from the previous year. Nevertheless, his teacher noted there was still a lot of room for improvement. James stated, “I am better at focusing when we read, but I find myself wandering off when a certain word or phrase comes along. I was never diagnosed with ADD, or ADHD, but I wouldn’t be surprised to see if I had one of those. I kind of lose focus, especially if the book or whatever isn’t that interesting.” He noted that

his biggest struggle to stay focused was when he was in his English class because it was his least favorite subject. More often than not, he saw English classes as pointless. He did note that some of the material was interesting, but usually the class was all about reading texts from “old, dead guys.” Nevertheless, he worked hard to get a good grade and to learn, even though he did not enjoy the class.

James said that he had always had to work hard for things in his life. Nothing was given to him. He mentioned, “I have always had to put in for everything I have. I have been working all through late junior high and high school. My car, my clothes, and other stuff; that’s all me.” James felt that his work ethic was preparing him for success post high school. He stated others always viewed him as a “stoner,” even though he was not partial to drug use. He socialized with other stoners and mentioned that they were the most open-minded kids in the high school. He said:

I don’t really get the country scene, and I hate the preppies. They are the most self-entitled pricks on the planet. They think they are better than you because they’re rich. Like, ‘my dad is a doctor, which means I will be one day’. I can’t stand that. I am pretty outspoken about stuff like this which is why no preppies like me. I am blunt and call things out as they are. My friends are way better people than these kids, and people look down on them because of their appearance. At least half of them don’t do drugs, but they just get grouped together.

James also said that people who knew him think he of him as a decent reader. He felt that teachers and other adults did not see this because he hated reading aloud and talking in front of the class about academics. He said, “I talk all the time in class, just not about school stuff. I should shut up and listen more.” His English teacher vehemently agreed with this statement.

James's teacher stated that he struggled with reading comprehension but was clearly intelligent. He also said that there was always an issue where James felt like he had to fight with him. Whether it was the text selection, the assignment given, or the discussion that ensued, James would take issue with something and call his teacher out. He said about James, "He is very vocal when he is dissatisfied with a reading assignment. He falls to sleep or talks with his neighbors. He will make excuses to not talk about the reading, or to evade all activities." James noted that his disregard for his English class was due to the class being boring for him. James's teacher acknowledged that he still had a lot to learn about classroom management. When he encountered students like James, his approach to classroom management was to learn how they tick first, and then proceed to find ways to enforce classroom policies.

He also noted James was not the most difficult student, but there were many like him. He felt that he had several "difficult" students and classroom management was a continuous learning experience, particularly with James's class. In addition, he noted that the transition from print to digital had not been as smooth as he envisioned. He stated:

When I was in high school, we pretty much inhaled the entire text book. Now, we are less prescriptive and try to dig deeper with a text. I like to handle a text personally, but most of our students enjoy the digital format. Sometimes it can be tricky to ensure that all students are reading and on task. You can change a tab much quicker than hiding a magazine or phone in the book.

Because of this challenge, he felt that important literature discussion would get cut short, but his management of students on computers was improving. He noted that when students used their computers for group work, better cooperation ensued.

When he worked in groups, James would do anything to help the group, including

read aloud, which he hated to do. He had experiences with some who would not do anything, even if it meant hurting the group grade. He never wanted to be that person. He said, "People rely on you. Even if you don't like them, it is a dick thing to do to just not participate and make everyone else pick up the slack. BS! Not me. Never." Currently, his group project was prosecuting a character from *The Crucible*, the Arthur Miller play revolving around the Salem witch trials. Ever talkative in class, James did focus when the teacher paid attention to his disruptive behavior. After my classroom observation, James noted that he had done his work for the group and was waiting on the others, "to get their act together so we could figure out how to prosecute Agatha." Asked why he did not use his spare time to read his book for the upcoming book report, he noted, "I don't really want a bunch of people watching me read. I do that privately in my room, or outdoors when it isn't too hot. I have never liked having people watch me read. Feels stupid." He recognized that he could read in class, or catch up on other missing assignments, but he never felt motivated to do work when he did not have to.

On another classroom observation, James was off-task during time he was supposed to be writing his creation story. When pressed about being off-task (during a later interview), he stated, "I struggle with writing creatively. I am very blunt and realistic. Plus, we spend most of our time in front of a computer. We don't have discussions about anything anymore. Makes it hard for someone like me to be on task." James had done better with staying on task compared to other years (this was confirmed by his parents) but acknowledged that he still had issues with concentrating on tasks specifically in his English class. He restated that English was his least favorite subject. It

was hard for him to want to do the work. He enjoyed the days when they could get out of class, even if it was going to the library.

Whenever the class had a library visit, James would walk around looking for “some good, scary books. But, our library doesn’t really have any. Could be a Utah thing, but I’m not sure.” If required to have a book by the end of the visit, he would look around, hoping he could find a decent one. He would look at the covers and would read the synopsis on the inside cover to see if the book might pique his interest. When asked if he had ever found a book he had liked this way, he quickly replied, “Nope. I get a couple pages in and realize this isn’t for me.” When pressed about what he did for book reports, he said, “I will do the same book report from before, or I won’t do one. Sometimes I will BS my through a book I didn’t finish.” James said no one had caught him yet. He hated book reports. He would rather read with no pressure. He noted that his stepmom (whom he referred to as his “mom”) taught him that a person could read for pleasure.

At home, James’s parents advocated for a healthy reading environment. They lived in a three-bedroom, two-bathroom doublewide, manufactured home. James and his younger brother shared one of the rooms, which had a bookshelf (see Image 2) adorned “with all of my brother’s books. He likes to read books like *Diary of a Wimpy Kid*, and *Leven Thumps*, and stuff like that. I don’t read those books.” His parents had a bookshelf in their room that had romance novels, biographies, and fiction novels. They were not comfortable with pictures being taken in their room though. James lived with his stepmother, younger brother, several cats, and his father.

His father did not finish high school and had always struggled to read. He



Image 2. James's bookshelf.

regretted not finishing high school because, “There are many things I could have learned, but didn't. I can only hope my sons do better than I did.” In addition, he stated that he was on his own when he was fourteen years old, and fathered James when he was fifteen. As a result, he had to work to support James, even when James moved out of state for a few years, before returning. James's father enjoyed working and had always seen the benefit from working.

James's father was working in the oilfields as a truck driver until he had a devastating accident (he did not wish to elaborate on what took place). The accident caused bodily and cognitive issues. He had a hard time articulating what some of the issues were. However, since the accident, he had kept a steady job at one of the local pizza restaurants in town. He took phone orders, made pizzas, and sometimes delivered. Although he felt he could do more for his family, he was content with his current

position. The family enjoyed time together watching shows and movies. Occasionally they would go camping or visit a national park. Aside from James's mom reading to him when he was younger, he almost never experienced having a parent read to him. For a while, he lived with his biological mother until she passed away. James stated that she rarely read to him. In contrast, James's stepmother was constantly reading at home. It was one of her favorite activities.

She was a paralegal and stated that she used several literacy practices including annotating legal documents, helping draft documents, billing, along with reading and interpreting documents from opposing counsel. She had received an associate's degree in paralegal studies. She enjoyed her job immensely and hoped that James and his younger brother go to college after high school. She reported that she did not come from a family of readers. She was the only one who enjoyed reading for leisure let alone reading for academic purposes. She hoped that her example helped James to be open to reading more.

Future Reading Identity

James's father had a hard time reading for extended periods, but would read occasional science articles and listen to news reports. He had become a strong advocate for reading in the home because of his inability to navigate complex texts. It frustrated him and he did not want his children to experience the same problem. He said, "If there is one skill that is valued in this house above all else, it is reading. My kids have to be better than me." He knew that James wanted to "get out" to California to study post high

school. James did not enjoy living in the rural area he resided as of this writing and did not want to return. James said, "Once I move out, I don't think I will return. I have never really liked it here. I can't say that I hate it, but I need to be where more people are. Life gets pretty boring here." When asked if he felt the area made him more reluctant to reading, he said, "Nah, I like to read when I am outside more than inside. But, I don't think living here has made me like reading any less than I probably already would have."

Even though his father was a generational product of the area, he understood why James did not want to return. He knew that wherever James ended up he would be successful. He noted James had an amazing work ethic and that he would always land on his feet.

James agreed with this sentiment. He stated that he wanted to get into a community college to obtain general education requirements, and then go to a university. He said:

My dad pushed me to do better, but I have to be the one that does it. I have to motivate myself. My life isn't bad, but I want a better one. I want my kids to be readers, but I won't force anything on them. I want them to do better in school than I did. I hope I can be a good example for them in the future.

James was aware of the work ahead of him but knew that he could do it and be successful. Although he was not entirely sure about a career, he knew that college would be a part of it. He said, "There is no way I could get into a four-year university right now. I have to build up from the community college first. After I get my generals done, I should be good to get into some university. Not sure where yet, but probably in California." Most of James's friends were planning to work in the oilfields whether it was

working on the rigs, trucking, or other form of oilfield support. He thought that one day he might enjoy reading, but for now was content on the person he had become. In his own words, “It is a hell of a lot better than it used to be.”

Summary of James’s Narrative

James was the only participant whose father participated in the interviews. Based on the statements made by the participants and their mothers, his father was the only one who openly and strongly emphasized the value of reading for leisure and in the home. James viewed himself as a struggling, reluctant reader. His dad felt that he could be a decent reader if he tried. James’s teacher noted that he seemed to struggle with many texts, but it seemed to stem from his lack of participation more than anything else. James mentioned that he had difficulty with paying attention while reading, and it was a hindrance in his comprehension of a given text. He was not from a religious background. He hated to read aloud, but would be an active participant with group projects, even if that involved oral reading. James began to see the value of grades and graduating high school. He also noted that his future aspirations were contingent upon him becoming a committed reader. Last, his out-of-school activities did involve some literacy practice, but only when it was needed.

Analysis of James’s Narrative

I used the narrative inquiry traits of temporality, spatiality, and sociality (Clandinin, 2013) to frame an analysis of James’s reading identity, whether it was his past, present, or future reading identity. Other factors played into his reading identity

such as his work, home living environment, his friends or family members, his classmates and teachers, or the vicinity where he grew up; all elements played a part in how James perceived himself as a reader. This section will discuss the effect that the aforementioned elements helped frame how James sees himself as a reader and how he has fought against an identity placed on him by others.

Spatiality. This section was broken into four sections that affected his dialogical self (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003) regarding his reading identity. These spaces were home, work, the English classroom, and the rural area where his family had resided. Each of these places played a significant role in how James developed (or deterred) his reading identity as well as future prospects. Several themes emerged from James's narrative and each space influenced certain themes, including some that repeated in the different spaces.

Home. James came from a family where his father appreciated reading and welcomed this Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015). The theme of patriarchal influence emerged as his father was a positive influence towards reading in the home. However, even though homes can play a significant role in developing a child's reading identity (Biller 1993; Brozo, 1999; Duursma, Pan & Raikes, 2008; Morgan, Nutbrown, & Hannon, 2009), and James's family was welcoming to reading, this home Discourse did not foster an identity as a reader. James felt trapped inside the home and longed to be outdoors when he read. Long winters made that difficult. The theme of losing focus emerged upon analysis of James's difficulties to read indoors. James's stepmother said, "We had time invested where we all would take time to read together. [James] would

fight us on it. For some reason, reading indoors made him antsy. He was always anxious and wouldn't pay attention. He always found a way to tune out our efforts. He wasn't rude about it, but just didn't like it. We couldn't make it stick." James's father could not read very well, so the responsibility fell to his stepmother. James said that being outside helped him relax. It did not matter if it was on the front porch, under a tree, or in the backyard; he simply did not like reading indoors as it felt confining to him. In this case, James identified as a nonreader at his home.

Work. James had been working for the duration of his high school career. He felt he had a very strong work ethic and valued his job. Therefore, the theme of hard work ethic emerged. Previously stated, James had noted that he always earned everything he has. Work was something he valued. As of this writing, he was progressing from a kitchen helper (also commonly known as a busboy) at a local diner to a server and had been training. He did not view himself as a reader at work, even though he had to memorize the menu, promotions, and specials for the day. He also had to learn how to use the cash register, type in the orders, and review company emails. Despite this, he did not identify as a reader, even though he acknowledged that there were "some" literacy skills involved in his work. At work, the theme of confident reader was discovered through analysis of his work behaviors and practices. Even though it did not seem difficult to him, James did have to develop new literacy skills for his promotion. He said it did not feel laborious when compared to reading in his English class. "I don't mind memorizing the menu or learning how to read the register. It is interesting and I need the skills for my work. Much better to do than read *The Crucible*. From this quote, another

theme emerged. If James saw immediate and inherent value in a reading task, he would comply. Therefore, the theme boring emerged. James found something interesting whether it was work related, or Stephen King novels, it would not feel like “boring” reading to him. However, he repeatedly insinuated that classwork and assigned texts were boring.

The English classroom. James abhorred school, but acknowledged the important role attending school played in his development as a student. In addition, he understood that his future aspirations relied heavily upon his success. James was making up for missed credits as of this writing. Recently, he had a personal renaissance regarding his schooling and future prospects. He wanted to leave the area badly and wanted to attend a post-secondary school. As such, he knew that he needed to “get my act together.” Therefore, the theme Where do I see myself? emerged upon analysis as well as “get my act together.” James was aware that he needed to change many of his past and current habits in order to be successful for future endeavors like college. As such, he stopped finding reasons to miss school, and improved his behavior towards other students, and his teachers. However, he acknowledged that he “had a long way to go” with his behavior, as he was off task during the observations. He acknowledged that it was hard for him to concentrate in a room that had “no windows, hardly any ventilation, and a boring teacher.” He felt the same way about most of his classes, not just his English class.

James also hated reading aloud, and his English classroom was one of many school spaces where this was an expectation. The theme of oral reading was present here, but in the sense that James would avoid reading orally at any cost. There were not spaces

where James was comfortable reading aloud, but school was the place he felt the most anxious about it. The only time he would read aloud was in group settings. Therefore, the theme group work emerged. Even though he hated to read aloud, James felt a sense of responsibility to do everything required to make a group project successful, even reading aloud. The space in his English classroom was not inviting to read regardless if it was to one's self, or aloud. The Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) revolved around discussion about sports, work, and activities outside of school. This unifying language (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) along with the confining spaces always made it difficult for him to stay focused and as such, James did not identify as a reader in this space.

Rural area. James envisioned himself going to college outside of the area he grew up. He wanted to go to California to go to school and had no desire to return to the residence where he lived as of this writing. He felt that the area was a place that could get boring and had a desire to be around a more populated area. The theme of Where do I see myself? emerged when analyzing his response about the rural space in that he did not see himself there in the future. Even though he stated that he felt the area did not adversely affect his reading identity, he still identified as a nonreader in this space.

Summary of spatiality. James did not like to be in any confining spaces such as an English classroom or home. He preferred to be outside to read, if he were ever to read. In addition, James wanted to leave the rural area as soon as possible as this space also had a confining feel for him. Even though his work forced him to participate in some reading activities, it was not a space where he identified as a reader. In fact, he did not identify as a reader in any of the aforementioned spaces.

Sociality. In this section, I broke up James's different social Discourses into four major components: family, friends, coworkers, and his peers in class. Each one of these Discourses helped shape James into how he viewed himself as a reader. Some Discourses played a role in partially identifying as a reader while others influenced him to be an ardent nonreader.

Family. James stated that his family was one that valued reading, even though his father had limited reading ability. He said, "My dad never finished high school, and had a really bad accident when he was trucking a few years back. He was never a good reader, but he encouraged it. After his accident, he can't read for long periods of time." His stepmother valued reading and made the boys (James and his brother) gather around the kitchen table to read whether it was for school or for leisure. Even though James would find ways to get out of the reading activities, he acknowledged that he appreciated their efforts. He said, "I know so many people whose parents could care less about reading. They think it is a waste of time. Even though I feel that way sometimes, I think my parents are doing their best to makes us better readers and students." Thus, the one of the Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) among his family was a positive one regarding reading. In addition, the theme of social pressure emerged here as both parents were strong advocates for reading, even though James was still reluctant to read. James's father said, "If there is one skill that is valued in this house above all else, it is reading." Out of all of the families, James had the one father who stated a positive reading attitude. Therefore, the theme of patriarchal influence emerged as James's father advocated for a positive reading attitude to James's family. Despite the positive advocacy of both parents, as well as his

watershed experience with *A Child Called 'It,'* James's still did not identify as a reader in this social setting.

Friends. Many students labeled James and his friends as “stoners,” even though many of them did not smoke, and very few experimented with drugs of any kind. The label came from the idea that they were social outcasts from mainstream student groups (athletes, preppies, Mormons, etc.). A few of James's friends were readers and performed well academically. However, most in his circle saw no value in reading. His Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) among friends was largely non-academic and included gaming, cars and trucks, and other leisure activities. James saw the value in reading for both academic and leisure purposes but did not like others seeing him being committed to reading. This dichotomy created a dialogue between centripetal and centrifugal forces (Bakhtin 1981; 1986). He often felt shifting identities (Hermans & Kempen, 1993; Hermans et al., 1992) dependent upon the utterances of the group (Bakhtin 1981; 1986), or if he were at home with family. These competing Discourses (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) created a confusion of how James saw himself. James did not think his friends would care if he were to sit with them and read, but also mentioned that they might make fun of him for it. As such, he did not ever read near them. The theme of social pressure emerged when James discussed his friends. Even though they were not completely against the notion of reading, they did not promote the activity as something in which they would actively participate. James said, “Yeah, I don't want them seeing me read. We have other things to do when hanging out.” In this sense, James's identified as a nonreader in this social setting.

Coworkers. James enjoyed where he worked. Through my observation, I could

see that there was a comradery among the workers, and James's charismatic and hard-working personality helped him to excel at the diner. The theme of hard work ethic emerged when I was observing him. James was still a trainee to be a server, but was very adamant about making sure everything was flawless about his service. It was important for him as the youngest on the serving team to make a good impression with customers and coworkers alike. He said that his trainers were tough on him when it came to memorizing the menu but that he appreciated the tough love. To him, it helped him get better quickly. Even though James felt that his new skills were not literacy-based, he felt that they were necessary skills for future endeavors. In this social setting, James did not view the diner along with his coworkers as a place where reading took place, or Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) about reading. He did not identify as a reader in this social setting.

Classroom peers. The Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) in his classroom was one where reading and studious work were not envied attributes by the majority of peers. James felt that he was one of the better-behaved students. He said, "Hardly anyone is on task. Sure, almost all of the guys are slacking, but so are many of the girls. Hardly anyone in the class cares about getting work done." When asked if it was considered feminine to read in front of others, he said, "Yeah, sort of. I don't like anyone watching me read, and I would probably get made fun of for doing it voluntarily in my English class. I don't knock anyone else for doing it though. Seems petty to do that." However, the theme of social pressure emerged as well as oral reading because James would avoid reading aloud at all costs and would not participate voluntarily in reading activities because classroom

culture played a significant role in his abatement of reading. The centripetal force (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) was strong in that James followed the culture of the classroom, including the notion of reading being a feminine practice (Martino, 1999; Martino & Berrill, 2003). In the social setting of his classroom, James did not identify as a reader.

Summary of sociality. James did not identify as a reader in any of the settings even though there was a positive association with reading at home and he willingly participated in reading practices at work. The Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that he participated in among friends and coworkers never revolved around reading either.

Temporality. In this section, there was a primary focus on James's future because it could determine the type of reader he would aspire to be as well as indicate what his present reading identity could be. However, analyzing his past and present reading identities (and attitudes) was critical in understanding his potential reading identity as past, present, and future identities all played a role James's dialogical self (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) regarding his reading identity.

Past reading identity. James did not recall many instances where his biological mother read to him, nor his father. When his father remarried, his stepmother made efforts to read to him, including the book *A Child Called "It."* While the book was a watershed moment for him regarding reading (and his own personal behaviors and attitude), he consistently struggled with paying attention to both informative and literary texts. Although never diagnosed with Attention Deficit Disorder or Attention Deficit Hyperactive Disorder, James acknowledged that a big struggle to read was being able to stay on task. Therefore, the theme losing focus emerged. James noted that he continually

struggled with staying on task with any school work. On top of this, he found most reading boring, and, as such, this theme emerged. As a result, he did not appreciate reading and preferred to avoid it. Therefore, he did not identify as a reader.

Present reading identity. Confining spaces, classroom culture, and the circle of friends that James affiliated with all played a role in James identifying as a nonreader. Even after reading *A Child Called "It,"* James acknowledged that despite the positive experience with a book, he still found it difficult to "get into a book and stay interested." Most of his Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) did not include reading or literacy practices, and even when they did, he was resistant to acknowledge that. The theme of social pressure emerged as his friends, coworkers, and classroom peers had many negative viewpoints about reading, and did not include it their respective Discourses. Therefore, as of this writing, he did not identify as a reader.

Future reading identity. The theme of Where do I see myself? emerged when conducting analysis of the participants narratives. In the future James saw himself as a college student and father. He also saw himself having a career where college helped prepare him, although he was not sure what exactly he wanted to do. The theme of future reader emerged as he was aware of the tasks involved in his future college experiences and felt that he could commit to reading.

Future identity could be contingent upon the social norms of the community (family, friends, and various social structures), academic history, and family relationships (Waterman, 1982). James's stepmother had some college experience, but no one on either side of his genealogical roots had attended college. He knew this was a big step not just

for him, but for his family. Although many of James's Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) did not involve reading, he felt confident that he would appreciate reading in the future, especially since he was planning to attend community college to get his general requirements finished and then move onto a university.

In addition, the theme of social pressure emerged when I analyzed James's future intentions. However, it was the converse of social pressure. Even though he did not read because of friends and classmates, he still looked towards college as a future endeavor where others around him did not anticipate post-secondary schooling. He did not feel pressured to adhere to the cultural norms. In this sense he was acting in the role of the polyphonic character (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003; Hermans & Kempen, 1993; Hermans et al., 1992) who was rewriting his own narrative apart from what his current and past identities were. In the future, he identified as a reader.

James was not clear about what he wanted to do for his career. He said, "Right now, I am not sure what my options are. I am focused on getting good grades and catching up on all my credits. I just know that I want a career where I would need a college experience and degree." Therefore, the theme of "get my act together" emerged. James was aware of the needed actions to be prepared for college. He had spent much of his high school experience "screwing around," but had recently pondered deeply about what he wanted to do with himself and realized he would need to become more academically sound if he were to create the future he wanted. Whatever his career path he chose, James saw himself as a father, and wanted his children to be committed readers. He wanted the Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) to be one that involved a healthy reading

environment. He acknowledged that his home environment was beneficial towards becoming a committed reader, even if he resisted. Even though James's present reading identity was a nonreader, he wanted to change and rewrite his polyphonic character (Bakhtin 1981, 1986) to be a committed reader for his future endeavors.

Summary of temporality. James valued reading regarding his future identity and felt that he would have a home that valued reading. However, he did not identify as a reader with his past and current reading identities. In almost every instance, aside from his future, he found no reason to read.

Summary of James's Analysis.

Spatiality, sociality, and temporality (Clandinin, 2013) were components that deeply intersected with James's reading identity. His past experiences with reading in school were negative, and his current experiences in school (as of this writing) were boring. James clearly believed that he needed to be a reader in the future, but this notion had not influenced his present reading activities.

James exemplified the role of the polyphonic character (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003; Hermans et al., 1992; Hermans & Kempen, 1993). He felt he could think and act for himself, independent of the distinction of labels put on him from others (stoner, reluctant reader, slacker, and behavior issue). Even though he acknowledged that he was reluctant to read, he felt that he had the power to change this characteristic, specifically when he went on to attend college.

For James, reading was valued in some Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015), and it

wasn't in others. An example would be that reading was valued in at least two Discourses (home and school) despite his reluctance to participate in reading activities. Reading was valued by his family, namely his father, but reading was not valued among his friends. Reading was also not recognized in his work Discourse. He ended up affiliating with his peer and work discourse more than with home and school discourses in terms of developing a fairly stable identity as a nonreader, which was shaped by past experiences. In addition, James was confident that he could change his reading identity and that he while entering the crossroads of post-secondary school ambitions.

Kevin's Narrative

On a hot August day, Kevin requested a cold soda and some Taco Bell to get the interview rolling. As he sat down to discuss his past, present, and future reading identities, Kevin sighed, and said, "Let's go." He said that he had not ever talked a lot about his reading practices and attitude in depth. Over the course of the interviews, Kevin displayed a quirky sense of humor as well as an intuitive look into his reading practices and attitude. Kevin chose "the fishbowl," an extension of the school library, for the interviews as this location was where he felt comfortable. He chose to interview during lunch, "Because who doesn't want a free lunch?"

Past Reading Identity

Kevin had a self-deprecating sense of humor, and often answered questions with sarcasm. When asked about a strong reaction he had ever had about a reading experience,

he said, “Not too much. I don’t remember havin’ a great or horrible reading experience, but I just don’t really like reading at all.” He also shared that neither his parents, nor friends viewed him as a reader. If Kevin mentioned reading with his friends, they would, “poke a little fun” about him, but nothing serious. He said he did not feel any pressure from friends but added that none of his friends liked to read.

Kevin’s mom wanted him to get the satisfaction with reading that she did. She regretted not reading to him more when he was young. She loved to read. She also encouraged him to read more, but his father (in a separate home) never did. After her divorce, she went to high school out in a major city three hours away while Kevin lived with his father. When she moved back, Kevin was already a reluctant reader. She said, “I don’t think he ever liked it. But I noticed in late elementary, probably around the end of fourth grade that he really didn’t like or want to read anything.” Reading was always valued in her home, particularly religious texts, but she did not believe reading was valued in his father’s home. Kevin confirmed this notion. Kevin’s mother said, “I am a Jehovah’s Witness, and Kevin’s stepdad is Mormon, so we hit up a lot of Bible and scripture study here. I try to make sure the kids have some foundational understanding of our religions. [Kevin] reads with us and follows along.” Kevin stated that sometimes at home, and especially at school, he got anxiety when it came to reading aloud. It was a constant fear that people would make fun of him for “sounding dumb.”

When he attended church, he would volunteer to read in class. He always knew where to find the scriptures to be read. However, Kevin mentioned that he often spaced out when reading. He always found it hard to concentrate on a given text. He said that he

would be reading a story or article, and as soon as a trigger word came across, he would lose focus. He said, “Like, if I am reading a text and I come across the word ‘cat,’ I start thinking of cats and then get completely off track. It happens pretty much every time I start reading. I can’t ever seem to focus.” Even though Kevin was comfortable reading aloud in church, he hated to read in his school classes. He felt pressure to get the words right and sometimes tripped over them and completely lost focus of what he was reading.

Present Reading Identity

Kevin’s score on the Survey of Reading Attitudes (McKenna & Stahl, 2015) was an average 2.89, which was an indicator that he had a moderately low interest with reading. When considering the sub scores from the same survey, Kevin had a 2.8 with academic print reading (AP) score, and a 2.6 with academic digital reading (AD) score respectively. Both of these scores indicate a lower satisfaction with reading in these categories. In addition, his recreational print reading (RP) score was a 2.8, while his recreational digital reading (RD) score was a 3.33. his RP score indicated a lower satisfaction with print, but his digital reading was just below the neutral score of 3.5. When referring to his answers on the “Here’s How I Feel About Reading,” he said the best thing about reading was “that there is always an ending,” while the worst thing about reading was that “there was a beginning.” Kevin sarcastically said that reading at home was “Considered a sin.” I asked him to clarify, and he stated that he was joking. He acknowledged that reading was valued at his mother’s home, but “not by me.”

His mother’s home was a two-level, four-bedroom that backed the local middle

school and housed four residents including Kevin, even though he only spent half of his time there. Even though there was a bookshelf with religious texts (*The Bible*, *The Book of Mormon*, and several editions of *The Watchtower*), and many high fantasy novels like *The Lord of the Rings*, Kevin took no interest in them, unless there was family scripture study time (his mother requested privacy and did not want pictures taken inside of the home). He said, “My mom reads all the time. My stepdad doesn’t, unless it is family scripture study time. Even though he isn’t interested in reading, he encourages my sister and I to read. She does, but I don’t.” I did not get to see Kevin’s other residence, nor talk to his father because he had told Kevin that he had no interest in the project.

Kevin stated that he was not a loner, but he did not like a label affiliated with any social group. He liked to camp and hunt, but never saw himself as a hunter in the strictest sense. He enjoyed the experience but was not addicted to it like many of his friends. Kevin also liked to play sports but did not think of himself as a jock. He was not on any of the high school teams, but enjoyed baseball, basketball, and football. Kevin emphasized that he was comfortable being himself. Although he cared what others thought about him reading aloud, he stated that he did not pay any heed to what people thought about him outside of the classroom, including work, home, and church.

Aside from reading activities, Kevin enjoyed school, but mostly for the socializing. He liked to learn but wished teachers would be more interactive when teaching. He felt like there were many teachers talking, but not much else. In his words, “It got boring.” However, Kevin’s mother firmly believed in him receiving his high school diploma. She married at a young age and did not finish high school. She had

Kevin at age 18. She went back to get her GED (General Education Development certificate) so she could continue with her schooling where she received her license in hair care. She enjoyed learning about the mixing of chemicals and seeing how they worked together. Although she hated math in high school, she appreciated the necessity of it with her work.

Later, she worked in customer service at a grocery store where she was responsible for financial reports, counting money, surveying, and advocating for customers. She was also working towards a management position in the future. She continued to do hair appointments on the side, but hair had become more of a hobby. Unlike Kevin, she enjoyed English in high school. However, she enjoyed learning about the composition and usage of language more than reading literature. She read for leisure often, but “not just books. I like reading articles and newspapers. I am also researching ways to become a better manager. So, I am online a lot. Actually, reading too, not just brainless surfing,” she said with a laugh. She wished that Kevin would find the intrinsic value of reading and noted that she wished he read more.

Kevin liked reading about forensic science. Even when he could not understand the vocabulary words used, he would try to make some sense of the article. He wanted to be a forensic scientist after he graduated from high school. He was aware of the challenges and education entailed in forensics but knew that he needed to “get my act together” so he could be prepared for the challenges of college. He stated, “When there is something that I am interested, I can concentrate better than I normally do. That isn’t sayin’ much, but I think I could handle the load, even with the generals that will bore me

to death like English and math.” Kevin liked his science class and enjoyed the hands-on activities that kept him paying attention. He disliked English, “especially when I get slapped with like thirteen assignments in the first week. I am not creative or visual either so I can’t really see what I am supposed to when the author uses figurative language.”

Kevin had long felt this way about himself. This was a reason (of many) why he did not read literature for leisure. He said that he could not picture what was happening in a book. He rarely picked up a book from the library. He could not remember the last time he voluntarily went to the library but did recall when he would go with his English class.

When his class went to the library, they were required to check out a book. He often deflected this responsibility by grabbing a book that he saw on the shelf. He might thumb through a couple of pages and then he would throw it in his locker until it was time to return it. Kevin had long hated the idea of reading. His mother said that when he was a child, she tried to read to him. She remembered that as a child he was responsive. However, Kevin’s parents went through a divorce, and she felt that there were several missed opportunities to read with him. Kevin said, “My dad never really read anything. My mom read quite a bit. I don’t remember her reading a lot of books to me as a kid, but that could be due to me not really paying a lot of attention to things like that.” She mentioned that Kevin always had an issue with paying attention in school, but this year Kevin had taken it upon himself to try harder. She did not know where the motivation came from but was happy to see this effort. She noted that Kevin always tried to be happy. She swore it was one of his hobbies. He always tried to make others around him laugh because life was better when people were happy.

Kevin enjoyed theatre and sometimes felt like he could have fun being on the stage. However, he had stage fright, so he chose not to be in the class this year. Sometimes he felt very carefree on stage, but other times he would have a crippling fear of screwing up his lines in front of others. Aside from his church classes, Kevin had a profound fear of reading aloud, including reading lines for a play. To him, the possibility of screwing up made him feel a vulnerability that was too much for him.

During one of my classroom observations, Kevin was on the prosecution team for a project during *The Crucible* unit. The goal was to convince the teacher through argument, and even bribes, that a certain character was guilty of crimes (or innocent if one were on the defense team). Kevin was the cross-examiner for the prosecution team. He stumbled and struggled to read what his team had written. Noticeably frustrated, he continued to discuss the talking points and followed the script. A huge relief came over him after he was finished with his three minutes of talking and reading. He slunk back into his chair and gave an exasperated sigh.

When asked about his role, he stated, “Our group was pretty weak. No one read the play and none of us wanted to work on the project. I kind of had to take the lead. I hate doing that, but I didn’t want a shitty grade because everyone was being lazy.” When it came to group work, Kevin said he would always read aloud if it were required. He never wanted to be the group member that screwed up the overall grade because he did not like to read or participate. He also said when he felt pressure to complete a group project he could concentrate better. However, when there were individual assignments given, he would zone out a lot more.

When I observed him another time, the class was chaotic. Students were laughing and throwing objects across the room. More than half of the students were off task (most of them were males). The teacher was trying to conduct individual conferences with students finishing their creation stories. Kevin was not participating in the ruckus, but he was not working on his assignment. He said he was waiting for help from the teacher. He noted, "I suck at writing anything remotely creative. This assignment is worth a lot of points, so I didn't want to mess up the grade." When asked what he was looking up on his computer, he said he was looking up reviews about some games he was interested in purchasing. He also stated that he browsed a lot when he was supposed to be reading or doing work. It was a lot easier to get off task on Chromebook than if he had a textbook or pen and paper in front of him.

Kevin's teacher discussed Kevin's lack of concentration in class. He stated there were several factors that distracted Kevin. One factor was other students. This school year was a transition from print to digital with all of the materials. As a result, classroom management looked significantly different. He noted, "The students that were off task before are finding new ways to be disruptive. This affects several students and I am getting better at managing and intervening, but it is still a significant challenge to keep up with thirty students on computers at the same time." Along with this struggle, Kevin's teacher noted that students were less engaged with the texts used than in previous years. Some students preferred using the computers for reading, while others wanted to the print form. For others, it did not matter because they were off task continually.

Kevin's teacher was trying to bring new ways of facilitation to keep students

engaged. He stated, “This year has also been a challenge to keep students engaged with the reading. I think the new format is one reason, but lethargy with reading in general is an issue. I am not the teacher talking to the students. That is what it was like when I grew up. I try to facilitate sound discussion, but the students seem particularly disinterested this year.” Despite the aforementioned difficulties, Kevin’s teacher noted that the classroom environment had become more engaged, thanks in part to *The Crucible* trial assignment. Students like Kevin, he said, were engaged in the activities. However, even with the improvements in Kevin, his teacher noted that he often times would begin to read a selection, and then read it over several times because Kevin would get lost on a word. Kevin was not the only student with this issue, but he was one of the most easily distracted. Recently though, he thought that Kevin had become more patient with his reading and more confident as well. Last, Kevin’s teacher noticed that when Kevin got a job, he became a better student. He said, “It seems like he is more locked in. It is usually the other way around with students.”

Over the course of the interviews and observations, Kevin got a job at a pizza restaurant. On the day I observed him, he was in charge of baking and seasoning the bread. He moved deliberately because he was new to his position. He liked the repetitive nature of the job. He said, “It keeps me busy the entire time. We don’t really slow down. Seems like half the town is ordering pizza and breadsticks every time I work here.” Kevin seemed to get along well with his fellow employees. Employees shared many jokes and laughed throughout the shift. When asked about the literacy skills involved with his work, he stated:

Well, today you're seeing it. Just get the bread out, season it, and send it to the warmer. I mean, I had to do some training and read a couple of things, but mostly the work doesn't involve reading. One day I will run the cash registers and report stuff for cash drops and whatnot. I have to have some reading and writing skills for that. But, today, I make bread.

Future Reading Identity

Kevin was not sure with what he would be doing in five years, but he wanted to go to college, and desired to have a wife and kids. When asked where he would plan on attending college, he said, "Anywhere but here. This place is nice and all, but I need to get out of the area. Even though I like the outdoors, this place can get boring. I think I would like to go to college in California, somewhere close to a coast." When asked whether the rural area affected his reading habits and identity, he said, "Nah, not really. If a book is boring here, it will be boring in the suburbs." He also noted that he would prefer to live closer to a city instead of being "three hours from everywhere."

Kevin also wanted to ensure that his kids enjoyed reading. He declared, "My dad never read to me and doesn't really read anything now, but I want to be better. I think kids pick up on this kind of stuff. I don't want to force them into anything, but definitely want them to be literate, financially literate really." He knew that hard work was ahead for his aspirations and was confident that he would be successful. He felt that he would find a way to be more attentive in class and said he would start now.

Grades had become more important to him because he had just begun to think that they were an accurate indicator of student performance and achievement. He also noted that he felt he was on the right track to be academically successful. This newfound

awareness of grades came through discussions with his counselor at school and his parents. He stated that he knew all along grades were important, but now that he is getting close to transitioning out of a public-school environment, he needed to get more serious about life. He also wanted to challenge himself because he said, “I hadn’t really pushed myself too hard before. Others like my mom did that for me.” Kevin decided to get more serious not only in trying to get better grades, but also in trying to learn in his classes. He said, “There is a lot of stuff I have to learn. I gotta do better to get better. I think I am a lot farther along in being successful with school.” His mother agreed with this statement. She felt confident, like Kevin, that he would become a better reader and student.

Summary of Kevin’s Narrative

Kevin, his mother, and teacher all indicated that he was a struggling, reluctant reader. All three noted that he had a difficult time staying on task when reading. Because of his struggles to pay attention, he often struggled with the meaning of texts that were read in class. He appreciated the value of religious texts, even though he was not an overly religious person. Grades were important to him, and he acknowledged that reading was important in his future aspirations. Neither his dad nor his stepdad identified as a reader. Kevin hated to read aloud. However, he was willing to read aloud in groups when he needed to be. He also saw the value of being an active participant in group work. Kevin hoped that his kids would be more committed to reading than he was. Last, most of his out-of-school experiences did not involve literacy.

Analysis of Kevin's Narrative

In this section I used the narrative inquiry traits of spatiality, sociality, and temporality (Clandinin, 2013) to frame the analysis of Kevin's reading identities. This framing includes his past, present, and future reading identity, his home living environments, friends and family, work, and his English classroom experience. All of these elements played a role in how Kevin viewed himself as a reader. This section discussed how the aforementioned elements contributed to Kevin's reluctance to reading.

Spatiality. I broke this section into five spaces that had an effect on Kevin's dialogical self (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003; Hermans & Kempen, 1993) regarding his reading identity. These spaces included church, the two homes he resided, his English class, the rural area he had resided his entire life, and work. Several themes emerged from Kevin's narrative including some that repeated in different spaces.

Church. Kevin's mother was religious and went to church regularly. Even though Kevin did not go to church often, it was a space where he felt comfortable identifying as a reader. Even though he preferred not to read, especially aloud, church was a space where he would participate in reading activities and even sometimes volunteer to read aloud. The theme of oral reading emerged when analyzing his narrative because this space was where he felt comfortable reading in front of others. He said, "I didn't feel a lot of pressure when reading out loud at church. Sometimes I would even volunteer, believe it or not. No one made fun of me for messing up reading scriptures. Maybe it is sacrilege [sacrilegious] to laugh at someone messing up the Holy book, or something," he chuckled. Even though he read in this space, Kevin did not identify as a reader in this

space. He said, “Yeah, we read here pretty regularly, but I don’t really like to read anywhere.” Kevin noted that reading was not an activity he sought after, even if he was comfortable reading.

Home. Kevin lived away from his mother for a few years while she was away at beautician and hair school. His father was not interested in reading and did not read to him or with him. Kevin did remember that his mother read to him when he lived with her, although she did not have a firm recollection of reading to him. Biller (1993) noted that a home open to reading and literacy activities could have positive effects on a child’s reading attitude and development. However, the converse was also true if a child lived in a home where reading was not valued. In this sense, the theme of patriarchal influence emerged here. Kevin’s father saw no value in reading unless it was something directly involving work.

Kevin came from dichotomous households regarding reading identity because he split time between his father and mother’s homes. Even though Kevin eventually split living time between his biological parents, he felt that when he was in elementary school there was not enough exposure to reading, even with his mother’s efforts. One home Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) was one that valued reading, and was an environment that encouraged a different identity for Kevin regarding reading, however because the other one was not, Kevin did not have a consistent reading identity. Even though he read at home with his mom, he still did not identify as a reader there. However, because of the patriarchal influence of his father, he clearly did not identify as a reader when living with him. He wanted to view himself as a reader but living in an environment like his made it

difficult to claim and maintain this desired identity. His identity and character were authored and revised (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) dependent upon the Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) of the split home environments.

The English classroom. School was another place that ideally would yield positive effects on Kevin's reading identity. The overcrowded classroom had barely enough room for the thirty-two desks for the students to sit. The room was hot and stuffy, and Kevin said that being in there was very uncomfortable. On top of this, the room was very loud and disruptive, and reading did not take place throughout the majority of my observations. During my observations, Kevin's English class members were typically off task. Even though Kevin had a quiet demeanor, the space of his English class made it difficult for him to concentrate, and therefore the theme of losing focus emerged. He already had a difficult time reading alone as he would read a "trigger" word that would cause him to think about something other than the text.

Adding to this issue was having a space where reading was discouraged by his classmates, particularly the males. The Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) in his English class was often geared towards recreational pursuits, girls, and sports, but rarely geared towards literature or the academic tasks at hand. The theme of social pressure emerged when analyzing the space of his classroom. Boys in his class considered reading boring, feminine, and uncool much like ones from aforementioned studies (Martino, 1999; Newkirk, 2002; Smith & Wilhelm, 2002; Young, 2001; Martino & Berrill, 2003). Kevin saw the value in reading, but admitted that the reading in his English class was boring, hence the theme emerged. He said, "It really isn't interesting material. We are bored

more often than not.” In this space, Kevin did not identify as a reader.

Rural area. Kevin appreciated the rural space where he had spent his entire life growing up. However, he did not envision himself living there once he had completed high school. Therefore, the theme of Where do I see myself? emerged as Kevin did not envision his future self remaining in the rural space. He found the space boring, even though he appreciated the closeness of the outdoors. He noted that the space did not affect his reading identity, but he nonetheless did not identify as a reader in this space.

Work. Kevin enjoyed his job and seemed to get along with his coworkers. Many jokes were tossed around from Kevin and some were thrown towards him. Kevin enjoyed working hard and earning money for things that he wanted. The theme of hard work ethic emerged as Kevin knew the difficulty of balancing school and work. In this space, Kevin felt that the job had some minimal literacy activities. These included cashiering, reading orders and, if one were a manager, reading reports. During my observation, he was making bread. There was no interaction with any text or ordering from customers. His task was basic and repetitive. He did not feel that there was any literacy activity in this task. Also, reading was not discussed with his coworkers. He stated that many were like him and reading was not considered a valuable activity. Therefore, the theme of social pressure emerged as Kevin was more than happy to avoid discussing reading and reading activities in this space, much like other spaces. Kevin did not identify as a reader in this space.

Summary of spatiality. Kevin read in two of the spaces aforementioned. They were church, and his mother’s home. However, in the other spaces he was reluctant to

read and did not identify as a reader. Whether it was the fast-paced work environment, or the hot and stuffy classroom, the spaces made it difficult to identify as a reader.

Sociality. Kevin had four major social interactions during the bulk of his day. Therefore, I broke up his social Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) into the four sections: family, friends, coworkers, and classroom peers from his English class. These Discourses contributed to how Kevin identified as a reader (or reluctant reader).

Family. Kevin's mother and father divorced several years ago. As such, he split time between the separate residences where there were competing Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) towards reading. The Discourse at his father's home did not include positive attitudes towards reading. Kevin's father never read and did not encourage him to read. The theme of patriarchal influence emerged upon analysis when considering the role of Kevin's biological father on his reading identities. In this social setting, Kevin did not identify as a reader.

However, the Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) at his mother's home included and encouraged reading at regular intervals. Both his mother and stepfather were religious (his mother was a Jehovah's Witness, and his stepfather Mormon) and regularly read religious texts. His mother also encouraged reading at home. The theme of oral reading emerged when analyzing his narrative, as this was a space where he felt comfortable reading aloud when the family conducted scripture study. In this social space, Kevin could identify as a reader. He said, "Yeah, I don't really like to read, but at my mom's house, I guess I could kind of be a reader, even though I don't really like all that much." As such, even though he could identify as a reader, he did not in this social setting.

Friends. Kevin mentioned that his friends would poke fun of him if he were to be caught reading or talking about reading. Therefore, the theme of social pressure emerged. Even though he said his friends were not opposed to reading per se, he already shared a reading identity similar to his friends. Their Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) did not involve reading, or reading activities. Among his friends was an authoritative discourse (Bakhtin, 1981; 1986) that Kevin took part. A centripetal force drew him to his group publicly. Privately, he saw the value of reading, a centrifugal force from his group, but never discussed it with his friends.

Kevin said about reading, “It just isn’t something we do. We like to hang out and do stuff. Play video games, camp, watch movies, you know, like typical stuff. Reading isn’t a part of what we do.” Kevin enjoyed his time with his friends. Since he got a job, and had focused on getting better grades, he had not “hung out” with his friends nearly as much as he would like. However, he valued the time he was able to spend with them. Overall, in this social circle, Kevin did not identify as a reader.

Classroom peers. As mentioned previously, the Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) in Kevin’s English class was not inviting to reading. The predominantly male classroom peers participated in a Discourse that revolved around the idea that reading was “stupid,” “boring,” Kevin noted. Many of the boys repeatedly discussed sports, trucks, and future work in the oilfields. Very few of the young men saw any inherent value in reading, and even many of the females felt the same, according to Kevin. Kevin acknowledged that reading skills were important, but like many of the other young men in his class, he did not see the value in literature that was not relevant to him. In addition, he was petrified to

read aloud in front of his friends and peers at school. He would often lose concentration and students would laugh if he messed up reading. The themes of social pressure and oral reading emerged when analyzing his fear of reading aloud. In regard to social pressure, Kevin followed the centripetal force (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) of his peers avoiding reading activities. He would go out of his way to avoid oral reading in this setting. In addition, the theme of losing focus emerged. Kevin mentioned that he had “trigger” words that could make him lose focus on the text. Compounding this issue with reading aloud, Kevin avoided the opportunity to read in front of others at all costs, except for when he was working in a group. Therefore, the theme of group work emerged as Kevin noted that he would do everything he could, including reading aloud, to make sure that his group was successful in completing any tasks.

The majority of the students in Kevin’s class were not reading and he followed their lead by being off task, talking and joking with those around him. He said, “Sometimes it is hard when everyone is screwing around. I kind of join in instead of doing what I am supposed to.” In regard to oral reading, Kevin stated that he knew his peers would make fun of him if he were to screw up reading aloud. He said, “I already hate reading out loud in front of others, but if you combine it with messing up and the others making fun of me, I avoid doing it as much as possible.” Therefore, in this social setting, Kevin did not identify as a reader.

Coworkers. Kevin did not feel that his work environment was conducive to reading activities. He stated that he did not have any assignments that required a significant amount of reading. It could be hard work, but he liked it. As such, the theme

of hard work ethic emerged here. While Kevin and his coworkers liked to have fun at work, they knew they would be busy as customers filed in and out consistently. Kevin also said, “The jobs we do are pretty basic. Maybe when I move up in seniority, I will have to do the cash register, or read reports. But, I mostly make bread, and do other basic tasks.” He also thought that most people he worked with were not readers, but he was not “totally sure about that. No one talks about books, or magazines. We talk about hobbies and sports mostly.” The Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) at Kevin’s work did not highlight reading as an activity that he and his coworkers participated in or discussed. In this social space, Kevin did not identify as a reader.

Summary of sociality. Kevin’s mother valued reading, but his father did not. Kevin spent a lot of time with his father when he was young, which influenced his negative outlook towards reading. In addition, Kevin’s friends and several of his classmates did not value Discourses that involved reading. Last, his coworkers did not discuss reading while they conversed at work. In all, Kevin did not identify as a reader in the aforementioned social circles.

Temporality. In this section, there was a primary focus on Kevin’s future identity as it could determine the type of reader he would be when he moved on past high school, as well as provide insights to his present reading identity. In this section, past, present, and future identity intersect through analysis.

Past reading identity. Kevin’s parents got married at a very young age; Kevin’s mom did not finish high school, although she did obtain her GED eventually. When living away from his mother, Kevin’s reading identity was affected by never reading, nor

being read to. He had developed a disconnect from reading at an early age. His father saw very little value with reading; therefore, Kevin rarely had interactions with books and stories outside of school. As such, the theme of patriarchal influence emerged. Because very little reading took place, or was even encouraged, Kevin began to identify as a nonreader from an early stage. It became fully realized around fourth grade, but Kevin consistently mentioned his father as having a negative impact on his reading identity. He said, "My dad just never read to me, or ever for that matter. He didn't think it was important. Still doesn't unless it is for work." When his mother moved back, he started to split his time between homes. He remembered that she read to him but did not recollect a deep connection with books. Because of the dichotomy of living environments, as well as Kevin living away from his mother for a period, he did not identify as a reader in his past.

Present reading identity. As of this writing, Kevin was trying to improve his efforts in school. The theme of "get my act together" emerged when analyzing his present reading identity. Kevin's mother noted that the motivation was intrinsic when she said, "He has tried so much harder this year. He is getting good grades. I know part of that is that he is reading more in his classes, but he still doesn't read anywhere else unless we are studying scriptures as a family." Kevin stated that he wanted to do better for many reasons including preparing for college. He still did not recognize himself as a reader though. Because of this realization, the theme of Where do I see myself? emerged. He said, "I still don't really like reading, but I see the point of it." Even though he did not favor reading as an activity done regularly, he knew that reading was important to him. However, even with Kevin seeing the value of reading, particularly in future, post-

secondary settings, he still did not identify as a reader with his present reading identity.

Future reading identity. When analyzing Kevin's future reading identity, the theme of *Where do I see myself?* emerged. His future prospects included college, family, and career. As previously stated, he was beginning to see the inherent value of reading, and knew that he would need to commit to reading to help fulfill his future ambitions. He said, "I think I will have to be committed to reading in college. I know I can be successful, but I have to get better." In addition, the theme of "get my act together" emerged, as Kevin pointed out that he would have to be more committed to reading if he were to be successful with his endeavors. In this sense, Kevin identified as a reader for his future reading identity.

Kevin was interested in forensic science and knew that college required copious amounts of reading. As of this writing, Kevin had become more interested in academics. Part of this was due to future endeavors. Although he did not directly state he felt he was cheated because he did not learn from an early age the value of reading he wanted his future kids to be committed readers. Kevin did not identify as a reader with his present reading identity, but his identity was in a state of flux when analyzing his thoughts on future ambitions. He was beginning to see the importance of reading. More importantly, he understood that he would need to find ways to navigate around his distraction to become a committed reader, in order to live out his future aspirations for college and beyond.

Kevin also desired to have a family and wanted his kids to see the value of reading. Even though he did not want to force them to read, he desired that they be

committed readers, and part of that influence would need to come from him. Therefore, Kevin identified as a reader in his future reading identity.

Summary of temporality. Kevin valued reading regarding his future identity.

Even though he saw the value for it later on, he did not identify as a reader with his past and current reading identities. In almost every instance, aside from his future, he found no reason to read.

Summary of Kevin's Analysis

Several different elements affected Kevin's reading identity including the spatiality of living in different households and continually assigned loud and disruptive classrooms. He also struggled with concentrating on a given text, and often found himself disrupted. In addition, living in two households that were dichotomous with reading practices played a role in Kevin's reluctance. It was hard to go from one identity to the other just because he was under a different roof. Finally, social pressures from classmates and friends played a role in Kevin identifying as a nonreader.

Much like the previously mentioned participants, Kevin was a polyphonic character (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003; Hermans et al., 1992; Hermans & Kempen, 1993) in that there were times where he followed the script of a reluctant reader, but other times where he acted independently of the distinction. Even though he was not identified as a committed reader, there were instances where he saw the value of reading and even enjoyed it. With the dichotomous houses he lived in Kevin was consistently altering the type of reader he was. Even though he ultimately identified as a

reluctant reader, in one home setting he saw the value of reading, while the other only confirmed his adherence to the Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that excluded reading. Last, even though he saw the value of reading and had the intent on becoming a committed reader for future endeavors, Kevin ultimately adhered to the pressures of his friends, classmates, and his father in identifying as a reluctant reader.

Connor's Narrative

Across from the high school was the local technology college and university extension. Connor and I met there with the hot, bright sun penetrating through the twenty-five-foot high, floor-to-ceiling windowpanes. Even with the sun blinding him, he spoke quietly and resolutely about his reading attitude as well as how he managed to squeak through in classes without ever reading the material. Connor was, in his words, “A massive introvert.” Wearing glasses, and blue streaks cascading through his with jet back hair, he chose this spot for all of the interviews. He said, “I like the views from here, and it is pretty quiet.”

Past Reading Identity

Connor did not remember the exact point in which he began to be a reluctant reader. He thought it was around fourth or fifth grade, and when he got to middle school, he had, “lost interest in books altogether.” His mother stated that she noticed he lost interest “around 4th grade. Connor lost interest, even though I have tried to influence him. My mom was a teacher (and still is), and that had an effect on me. I wanted to read like

her.” She noted that Connor’s father left shortly after he was born. Connor’s stepfather was not a reader.

When Connor was young, she read to him every night. She thought that Connor seemed to like stories like *Green Eggs and Ham*, or “anything from Dr. Seuss.” He confirmed that his mom reading to him was fun because she used a lot of hand movement and inflection that made the story more interesting. Connor’s mom noticed that he resisted reading as he moved into later elementary grades. She said, “I think it was close to fourth or fifth grade that he lost interest in reading. I wouldn’t say he was a serious reader before that, but he started rejecting reading with me and in his classes around that time.” She went on to say she read all the time. She noted,

As you can see our house has books all over. And I have thousands of books loaded onto my Nook. You would think that having books everywhere might influence him to read. I get books that might pique his interest from the library. He will take them into his room, and hand them back a few days later and say he didn’t want to read.

Although she was not comfortable with me taking pictures in her home (she was embarrassed that the house was in disarray) she showed me the vast amounts of books on her Nook. She kept the device with her so she could read when waiting in line to pick the kids up, at the post office, or anywhere else she had to wait for something. She hoped one day that Connor would regain an interest in reading.

There were some occasions where he would read. Recently, he read *Unwind*, the first book of a four-novel dystopian offering from Neal Shusterman. He said, “A friend highly recommended this book. He wouldn’t leave me alone until I read it. I read most of it. Got up to the last thirty pages and gave up.” When pressed why he would quit when so

close to finishing, he replied, “Well, it was a pretty interesting novel, but I would rather wait for the movie to come out. I hear they are making one for it. I have better things to do than read.” These “things” included playing video games, hanging out with friends, and spending time with family.

Present Reading Identity

According to his self-reported score on the Survey of Adolescent Reading Attitudes (McKenna & Stahl, 2015), Connor scored an average of 2.22, which indicated a dissatisfaction with reading. In regard to the subscales, Connor’s academic print reading score (AP) was 1.6, which falls into the “very bad” category of the SARA. His academic digital reading (AD) score was 2, which also showed a dissatisfaction with this format of reading. In addition, his recreational print reading (RP) score was 1.8, which again shows a dissatisfaction with reading in this subscale, but conversely, his recreational digital (RD) reading score was high at 4.33, which indicated some satisfaction with this type of reading. He also stated on his “Here’s How I Feel About Reading” questionnaire that, “Books are boring.” He also stated that that reading takes too much time and that reading books in school, “is boring.” From these answers and scores, I deemed Connor to be a good candidate for this research.

When he finished a bite of his quesarito from Taco Bell, he stated, “I know I have the ability to be a successful student, but I hate reading pretty much anything. I will try it from time-to-time. My mom never stops reading and my stepdad never reads.” Connor continually received “B” and “C” grades in school, but most of his success had come

from his savviness to navigate around his continued reluctance to read anything, including book reports. Generally, Connor would do about anything to avoid reading, including required reading in class.

As he sat in his English class, he sifted through the material he was supposed to read for *The Crucible*. I noticed that he looked like he was reading the material, but was perhaps skimming through it. He acknowledged my observation during our second interview when he said, “I actually didn’t read any of it. I just look like I am, so the teacher won’t bug me. I overhear other students talking about the material so when I take the quiz I can pass. I passed easily on everything so far. I have done the same thing in other years. Computers make it even easier to look like I am paying attention when I am not.” Connor possessed a high reading ability according to him, his mother, and his English teacher. They all noticed that he grasped concepts quite easily, but rarely made any effort with reading and participating in class. He said that his lack of interest started in late elementary and continued in middle school. Most subjects bored him with a few exceptions.

His favorite subjects in school were computer sciences and cooking. Regarding his cooking class, “I get to eat the food. That makes it worth it.” He also liked learning how to put things together to make a good meal. He appreciated the intricacies of detailed recipes and the amount of effort it took to create something beautiful and delicious at the same time. In his computer science class, he liked to learn how technology worked. It made it easier to navigate when he would play video games, work on computers, or navigate a tablet. By far, English was his least favorite subject. He hated writing essays

and reading in general, which were big parts of the class. Throughout his schooling, Connor noted, “The teachers don’t exactly pick the best materials to read. They are rarely interesting. This makes me even more bored. But, I don’t know if they will ever bring gaming magazines or tech articles into the class, so I will be pretty much bored with it all.” Even though he was ardently opposed to reading in his classes, Connor was aware of the work involved to be successful academically.

Connor knew about online summaries for the books and plays that he was reading. If he absolutely had to read the actual text, he would. However, he rarely found himself in a situation where that was required. He said, “The summaries give me enough information that I can BS my way through the rest. If it isn’t something I can get out of reading I will do it. I get enough done to where teachers leave me alone, which is what I really want.” Connor did not seem to mind his current English class as much compared to others from previous years, as there were almost no opportunities to read aloud. If he were in a group and it was required to read aloud, he would do as asked. A self-proclaimed introvert, he preferred to work on his own, but said he would never be, “That guy who destroys everyone’s grade in the group. Those people suck. I will do what I can to help out the group, but will not be the leader.” As he was working on his part for *The Crucible* trial, he stated that he re-read some of the material to prepare for his court arguments. He read more than he normally would. Although he was petrified to talk in front of the class, he was aware that the group grade was dependent upon all group members to faithfully execute their parts. Connor felt ready and could not wait for his three minutes in front of the class to be finished.

He quietly performed his part, while students were quietly listening. He opened the prosecutorial argument. There were no pauses or gaffes as he pleaded why Abigail was guilty. Through his steady and consistent tone, Connor articulated many reasons why she was guilty of witchcraft. Some students nodded in agreement, while the defendant team began to look nervous. Once finished, Connor looked incredibly relieved. After the class was completed, I asked how he thought he did. He replied, "I think it went well. I wasn't sure if I had all the facts correct, but I knew enough BS to get through it. We won, so I am happy." Connor's English teacher noted that Connor started his group on the right foot. He explained that Connor seemed to know the material better than the others did.

When I interviewed Connor's English teacher, he said that Connor was one of the brightest students in any of his classes. However, he felt that Connor was lethargic, and everything seemed to bore him. He noted that Connor was often off-task. He knew that Connor rarely did the work, but because he was not disruptive, it was hard to reprimand him when there was a plethora of students off task. Several of Connor's classmates were males that were loud, boisterous, and caused many problems, which took much of the teacher's time. The teacher said, "I have to pick my battles. [Connor] gets enough done to where I can't bust him for being off task. Because of that, I have to focus on the other students that get out of control." Connor was aware of this and knew that he could take advantage of the situation. He stated if he was going to be bored, he might as well get some satisfaction out of it.

During this unit, students who would not normally participate were active. Some students had severe stage fright were accommodated to give their argument to just the

teacher. Connor wanted to make his argument this way, but ultimately decided it would be more beneficial to his team to, “suck it up and get it done in front of the class. It worked.” This was one of the only times that Connor participated in class. His teacher noted, “He always wants to be left alone. I would like to see him actually pick up a book and read. Students are given a fair amount of time to get their personal reading done in class.” Connor’s teacher also said that this issue was prevalent with several students in his classes, particularly males.

Connor liked to hang out with friends and take part in gaming. He also liked to watch movies with friends and family. On a cloudy, school holiday, Connor and his friend ventured to the local recreation center, a mammoth building that included an Olympic-sized pool, a small waterpark, two basketball courts, a weight room, indoor track, and thirty-foot high rock wall, and several other amenities. On his day off from school, Connor and his friend embarked on several games of pool (billiards). When asked if he played pool for simple leisure, he replied, “Yeah. I just mellow out doing this. My friend is more serious. He really likes this kind of stuff. I don’t have any interest aside from playing time to time.” As they played, other students asked to join in. They reluctantly let them, and the game took a more serious tone. The other students only stayed for one game, much to the relief of Connor and his friend. Connor preferred it that way. He said, “We aren’t really friends with those guys. I just didn’t want an issue saying ‘no’ to them. I have friends, but don’t particularly care for big groups.” When pressed about literacy activities outside of the classroom, he replied with a chuckle, “Well you won’t see any today. Just want to hang out and shoot some pool. Maybe play some video

games later on.” With that, he and his friend hunkered down for another round and enjoyed the free time.

Connor noted that there were very few occasions where he would voluntarily read. Occasionally he would read Manga books. When his class would go to the library, he would look as if he was paying attention to what the librarian was teaching but was mostly “zoning out.” If the teacher required them to pick out a book, he might pick up a manga book, but more than likely would grab whatever was the skinniest book on the shelves, and put it away in his locker until it was time to turn it in. He stated that he was well aware of the consequences of not putting in the work necessary for developing the skills he needed for the future. However, he said, “I wish school taught more about things I will actually use in the future, like how to balance a checkbook, taxes, and other things like that. I know I have to do these things when I am an adult, so it would be better to learn about them now.” Connor recollected he had a few times where he almost failed a test or a class and was able to get enough done so that he could move on. He knew that college classes and professors would not be as forgiving.

Future Reading Identity

Connor wanted to be a chef or computer programmer. When pressed about the amount of reading he would have to do in college he replied, “Yeah, I am not that worried about it. These are things I actually like. Plus, both things I am interested in will be hands on for the most part. I know I will have to apply myself, but know I have the ability to do so.” In five years from now, Connor saw himself in college, “somewhere in

California or something. Anywhere but here. I don't like it here much." He expected to be studying and reading during the week, so he could be successful in his classes.

When asked if he would return after college, he said, "No. I don't think this area is a desired place for me. I didn't have a horrible existence here, but I would like to be somewhere closer to stuff. We are a few hours from everywhere, and I am not too fond of the outdoors." I asked him if he thought the rural area, where he lived had an effect on his lack of desire to read. He noted that it wouldn't matter where he lived, reading didn't interest him. He said, "It is the area, or anything else. I just don't care for the activity."

After college, he also saw himself becoming a father and having kids, but he said with exasperation, "much, much further down the road." When he had kids, he wanted them to be active readers. His mother was an active reader in a house lined with books throughout. He said, "She never stops reading. She always has a book or device with an e-book in her hands wherever she goes." His father was "never around" growing up, and his stepfather was not a reader. Connor wanted to enjoy the time he had left to hang out with friends before he had to become a reader in college. He enjoyed his free time and knew it would end in the near future.

Summary of Connor's Narrative

Grades did not have as much of an impact on Connor as other participants, but he did find them important enough to get some work done to maintain his plan to graduate high school. Like all of the other participants, he hated reading aloud, and preferred to work alone. However, he also rose to the occasion when collaborating on a group project

so as not to punish other students for his lack of interest. He was not religious; he proclaimed himself an atheist. Religious text had no bearing on him. He avoided leisure activities that involved reading with the exception of a gaming magazine, but even that was rare. He did see a future where reading was going to be a part of his life, but for the time being, he would not participate in any reading activities if he could help it.

Analysis of Connor's Narrative

I used the narrative inquiry traits of temporality, spatiality, and sociality (Clandinin, 2013) to frame an analysis of Connor's reading identity, whether it was his past, present, or future reading identity. Various elements like his circle of friends, his classroom peers, or the space of his English classroom played a part in how Connor perceived himself as a reader. This section will discuss the effect that the aforementioned elements helped frame how Connor viewed himself as a reluctant reader.

Spatiality. Several spaces influenced how Connor viewed himself as a reader. These locations included his home, his English classroom, the rural area where he lived, and the community recreational center. Several themes emerged upon analysis of the differing spaces, including several repeated themes throughout.

Home. Connor lived in what could be construed as a print-rich environment (Merisuo-Storm, 2006). Although his mother did not want me to take pictures of the house due to her feeling that the house was in disarray, I noted that there were books scattered throughout. Connor's mother joked, "If I, or anybody in the house were to fall and couldn't get up, we could have something to read until help arrives." In this space,

Connor was pressured by his mother to read, but not his stepfather. The theme of social pressure emerged as Connor did not concede to his mother's pressure to read, but rather he rejected it. He took what little space was in his home to avoid reading, despite the plethora of books and positive reinforcement. The space itself was a singlewide, manufactured home. There were five residents living there including Connor and his mother, his step-father, and his two younger half-brothers. The home consisted of two bedrooms and two bathrooms. In her words, "Privacy is scarce." Connor did not mind the close encounters as he enjoyed spending time with his family. He simply chose to avoid reading in this space at all costs.

Connor enjoyed his bedroom even though it was a shared space. He could play video games, listen to music, and in his words, "veg out." Reading was not an activity he sought out at home, even though he acknowledged that there were books everywhere and the home Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) where reading was encouraged. In this space, Connor did not identify as a reader.

The English classroom. Connor spent a majority of his time at school as he arrived early around 7:30 AM, and was not picked up until 4 PM. Connor was a quiet student and did not actively participate in any activities. He avoided work as much as he could. His English class was a space where he particularly avoided reading. The theme of oral reading emerged when analyzing Connor's narrative, and for a couple of reasons. Connor hated reading aloud. He felt confident in his ability to do so but hated having any attention directed his way. He was not worried about messing up on words, or even others making fun of him. He said, "I prefer not to draw any attention to myself, so I

avoid reading in class unless I have no choice.” The space was crammed with thirty-two desks, which meant that many students would be within earshot if he were to read aloud, and he abhorred the idea of many students hearing him. Connor also noted that if he could be left alone to complete assignments, he would be a happier student. There were a few times where he did not have a choice, namely group work. The theme group work emerged as Connor conceded that he would actively participate in group work, even reading aloud, if it helped the group be successful.

Along with his abhorrence of reading aloud, Connor’s English class had no windows and was hot every day. He noted that it made some student sleepy, and others more off task. He stated, “No one likes our class, and so pretty much everyone is off task in one way or another. Also, we are “bored with the material” as such, the theme boring emerged. In Connor’s view much of the antics and off-task behavior were a result of the students being bored in class. The Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) in this space did not revolve around reading, or literacy activities. Instead, the environment tended to be the opposite. In this space, Connor did not identify as a reader.

Rural area. Connor did not envision himself living in the rural area upon graduation. The theme of Where do I see myself? emerged as Connor sought living outside of the rural area. While he did not hate the area, he felt it was not the best from him. He said, “There isn’t much out here, and I would like to be where more people are. You know, with more things to do.” He did not identify as a reader in this space.

Recreation center. One of Connor’s favorite places to visit with his friends was the local recreation center. A sprawling building with a large waterpark, forty-foot high

rock walls, gym and weight room, pool tables, two basketball courts, and a video game center consistently housed hundreds of people at any given time. Connor and his friends liked to come here to play pool, video games, and go for an occasional swim. He enjoyed coming to the recreation center as it was a place where he could metaphorically stretch from the cramped corners of his home. He also enjoyed this space as a place where there was no pressure to read, unlike his classroom and home. The theme of social pressure emerged here as Connor was more than content to follow the group in not discussing reading in this space. He said, “We come to play, not to read. Or for that matter, to talk about reading.” The Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) did not involve reading or literacy in his eyes as it was “a place to come and chill.” In this space, Connor did not identify as a reader.

Summary of spatiality. In each space identified, Connor did not identify as a reader. To him, the space did not matter as he was uninterested in reading regardless of the confines. He made it clear that he avoided reading unless it was absolutely necessary.

Sociality. In this section, I analyzed the major social settings that Connor experienced on a daily basis. Each social circle carried various Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) with which Connor interacted. Each of these Discourses played a role in how Connor viewed himself as a reluctant reader. The major social circles were broken into three sections: family, friends, and classroom peers.

Family. Connor enjoyed spending time with his family. His biological father was never in his life, but he had a good relationship with his stepfather, although his stepfather was not a reader. His mom was an avid reader and spent much of her time

reading a paperback or digital book. Connor's younger brothers enjoyed being read to by their mother but were still too young to read on their own. Overall, his family exhibited a Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that was open to reading. Even though his stepfather was not a reader, he encouraged his wife and children to read together. The theme of social pressure emerged when analyzing Connor's family life. However, the pressure was advocating for reading rather than against it. Connor went out of his way to avoid reading at home with his family. He did not identify as a reader in this social setting.

Friends. Connor did not have a large circle of friends but enjoyed the time that he spent with the ones he had. A couple of his friends read books, magazines, and other articles, but most did not. Connor had a friend that encouraged him to read, but he would usually decline except for when he read *Unwind*. This was the only time Connor gave in, but he did not finish the novel. The theme of social pressure emerged in this social setting. Connor did have friends that read, but they chose not to discuss reading, save for this one friend. Connor actually obliged and gave into reading, but ultimately did not finish what his friend had encouraged him to read. Aside from this friend, his circle would leave him alone with reading. The time Connor spent with them there was no reading activity practiced, nor mentioned. In social circle with his friends, Connor did not identify as a reader.

Classroom peers. Connor's classroom was a difficult environment to concentrate on work. However, he did not seem to mind as it kept him unnoticed while he was off task. He was a quiet student who did just enough to "stay under the radar" from the teacher noticing. The Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) in his classroom did not revolve

around reading. Rather, it was a male dominated class that was loud and continually off task from the assigned work.

Connor did everything to avoid working with others. However, the theme of oral reading emerged when analyzing Connor's narrative. He would do anything to avoid reading, especially aloud, except when he needed to perform during group work. In this instance he would do what was necessary for his group to be successful. Therefore, the theme of group work emerged here as Connor felt a responsibility to do his part in helping the group be successful, even if that meant reading aloud. Aside from this, Connor would not read, unless it was necessary. In this social setting, Connor did not identify as a reader.

Summary of sociality. In each social circle, Connor did not identify as a reader. He avoided reading or discussing reading with friends, family, and classmates. Most of the social circles did not have Discourses (Gee, 2000b; 2015) revolving around reading, but even when a friend or his family advocated for reading, he would ultimately resist.

Temporality. In this section, there was a primary focus on Connor's future identity as it could determine the type of reader (or nonreader) he intended on being, as well as share insight on his present reading identity. The analysis of intersectionality of past, present, and future identity were necessary to compare and contrast his identities and to potentially find patterns of his identity as a reader.

Past reading identity. Connor's mother recalled reading to him when he was young. She thought he enjoyed the experience but was not sure. Connor remembered the experience as pleasant because his mother would use hand movements, gestures, and

voices to make the experience fun. Aside from this positive memory, Connor did not recall positive experiences reading. His mother constantly encouraged him to read, and, therefore, the theme of social pressure emerged. However, Connor resisted in these instances. Despite the pressure from his mother to read, Connor used what little space he had in his home to escape reading and reading activities. Connor believed he lost interest in reading around fourth or fifth grade, while his mother believe it was fourth grade. He saw it as a boring experience. As such, the themes boring, and “I can turn it on when I want to”/ “I can do it, I just don’t want to” emerged upon analysis. Connor knew that reading had value, but that was not enough to interest him as he viewed reading as boring. He said, “I can read just fine, even though I don’t like to. I find it boring and a waste of time I could be doing something I prefer.” Connor felt confident in his reading abilities. In addition, Connor’s mother noted that Connor always seemed to be a capable and good reader, but he seemed to hate the experience. According to her he did well on tests and he always scored well on state assessments, but he would avoid any reading activities as he seemed bored with them. Overall, aside from his early experiences, Connor did not identify as a reader.

Present reading identity. Connor’s circle of friends and English classroom culture played a role in him not identifying as a reader. In each case, the group did not actively seek to make reading a priority. In addition, Connor was aware of his ability to be successful with his classwork, as it did not appear to be too challenging for him. The theme from his quote, “I can turn it on when I want to”/ “I can do it, I just don’t want to,” emerged when analyzing Connor’s perception of himself, his mother’s observation, and

his teacher's assessment of his abilities. Connor was aware of his ability to be successful in school and stated that he would do enough to produce "decent" grades when he had to but would normally stay off task if he could. When there was a rush to finish a major assignment, he would get the work done efficiently, and then remain quietly off task. Connor's teacher stated that Connor showed skills with reading both orally and in comprehension. Connor was confident of his abilities to read anything, and therefore the theme of confident reader also emerged. When Connor needed to accomplish assignments to keep from failing, he could do all of the work with relative ease. He said, "I haven't really struggled with any schoolwork when it needs to be done. I don't have a problem when I need to turn stuff in. Nothing is too difficult." Even with these abilities, Connor did not identify as a reader.

Future reading identity. The theme of "Where do I see myself?" emerged when analyzing Connor's future identity. In this sense, Connor identified as a reader. Connor wanted to be a chef or a computer programmer after he graduated from high school. He knew that either route would require some college work, and that there would be copious amounts of reading. He also knew that there would be a different culture, or as it has been referred to in this research as Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015), in his college classes, and that he would have to be a better student. However, he felt confident in his ability to read and understand the material. As such, the theme of "I can turn it on when I want to"/ "I can do it, I just don't want to" and confident reader emerged. Connor stated that, "I always have known I can do the work when needed. I am pretty sure I can do the same when it comes to college work." Connor was not intimidated by the prospect of reading

in college. He said he would not go out of his way to read anything extra, but rather, “be able to get done the work needed” to be successful at that level.

Last, Connor also wanted to have a wife and children. He wanted all of them to be committed readers and to have a household that had a Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) revolving around a positive reading environment. Even though he did not value reading at the time of this writing, he desired for his family to have Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that revolved around reading in the future.

Summary of temporality. Connor valued reading regarding his future identity. However, he did not identify as a reader with his past and current reading identities. He felt confident in his abilities to read when it was deemed necessary in the future, as well as in the present. Otherwise, he avoided the practice altogether.

Summary of Connor’s Analysis

Connor had many different reasons for his reading reluctance. Connor knew of his ability to be an effective reader in regard to understanding complex texts, but actively chose not to identify as a reader. Instead, the effects of his English classroom, his classroom peers, and his circle of friends helped play a role in his reluctance. Even though Connor was an independent thinker, he did embrace the Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that the aforementioned groups participated in because none of them involved reading. Connor had positive interactions with reading when he was young, but as he grew older, he changed his view on reading as boring. He did see value in reading as a means to an end. His polyphonic character (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003;

Hermans et al., 1992; Hermans & Kempen, 1993), and introverted personality made him think differently than what other Discourses (he was not into trucks, sports, and camping like many of his counterparts), he still had a centripetal pull away from reading much like his classmates and some of his friends.

Connor was still in a position where he could make changes to his reading identity, particularly when it came to attending college, and he felt that he could be the successful reader he needed to be. He felt that he could be a successful reader as he never struggled with concepts in the texts he read. He felt that he could be ready to participate in Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) in his college classes that revolved around the copious amounts of reading he anticipated participating in. Ultimately, Connor felt in charge of his character (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003; Hermans et al., 1992; Hermans & Kempen, 1993), regardless of the external influences. Even though he adhered to some of them, he felt that he could also be independent of them. Connor never felt he was a leader, but neither did he feel he was a follower.

Coy's Narrative

Coy came into the room during second lunch, ready to get the process started. Quiet, but confident, he discussed his reading identity freely and openly. He liked the idea of not having to give up much time for the interview (particularly any time out of school) and having some free food during the process. Over the four times we met, he was relaxed and a willing participant.

Past Reading Identity

During Coy's years in elementary school he remembered many positive interactions with books (although he could not recount any or elaborate during the interview, nor during a follow-up interview), but towards the end of fourth grade and the beginning of fifth, he started to reject reading. He said, "I just started to not really care about it. Most of the things we had to read weren't interesting. I would do enough to get a decent grade, but I just lost all interest. Reading became a task and was rarely enjoyable. Even with stuff I was interested in." He noted that his friends had lost interest in books around the same time. Reading was a task. It was not interesting. He remembered liking *The BFG* when in elementary school (*The Big, Friendly Giant*). He said that he was always one of the highest readers and that his teachers thought of him as a very good reader. His parents thought of him as a good reader, and his current English teacher felt the same way.

Coy's mother agreed to interview for the purposes of the research, but his father said he did not see the point of his son talking about reading, when reading was not highly valued at home. Coy's mother disagreed. She loved to read and just finished the book *Sharp Objects* by Gillian Flynn. She wanted to watch the television series after reading, but noted, "The movies and shows are never as good as the book." Although Coy's father did not value reading for leisure, his mother said that reading was highly valued in their home. When Coy was younger, she read to him every night before bed. She also recalled that Coy enjoyed the *Captain Underpants* series when he was younger. It was around the end of fourth grade when she noticed that he stopped reading. His

father owned a welding business. Aside from the occasional magazine or manual, he would not read. Coy noticed this, and although he was aware of the inherent value of reading, he chose to do other activities.

Present Reading Identity

Coy's overall score on the Survey of Adolescent Reading Attitudes (McKenna & Stahl, 2015) was 2.67 indicating some dissatisfaction with reading. The subscale scores also indicated some dissatisfaction with reading. For instance, his academic print reading (AP) score was 2.6, and his academic digital reading (AD) score was 3. The former indicated a dissatisfaction with print reading while the latter showed a slight dissatisfaction with digital formats for academic reading. In addition, his recreational print reading (RP) was 2.4 indicating a dissatisfaction with print reading and his recreational digital reading score was a 3, indicating a slight dissatisfaction with reading in this format. In addition, Coy did not fill out the "Here's How I Feel About Reading" questionnaire, but showed interest in the study (particularly the \$50 gift card at the end). When asked why he chose not to fill out the second part of the survey, he stated that "It was a waste of time. I didn't feel like reading through it and answering the questions." With these indicators, I saw him as a candidate worth investigating deeper about his reading reluctance.

Coy clearly had the ability to read, but chose not to for a number of reasons, which included disinterest in the text (and sometimes the teacher), boredom with the class in general, and because it was not cool to read unless he had to. In the future, he wanted

to be a mechanical engineer. He said, “I have always done well with reading. I just choose not to. I get bored with it. Especially with classes where the teacher picks all the materials.” Coy shared that he always did well on tests and never felt any topic was too difficult to grasp. Asked if he thought the academic challenges in school were enough to make him feel accomplished, he replied that school had always been easy for him. Because of this, he often got bored. Coy noted he did not see the relevancy of high school academics. There was not a reason to push himself until he attended college.

When asked about what the word “Reading” meant to him, he offered a curt reply, “Homework, boring.” He stated that while in English class, he checked out and had no interest, especially when the class was reading. He hated reading aloud but emphasized his distaste for the teacher-selected texts in general.

During one classroom observation in his English class, the students were working on their creation stories. This assignment was the end of a unit that focused on narratives and literary devices. Each student worked on a computer, and some were typing, while others, including Coy, were talking off subject. Part of the assignment was to have two students in the class peer review the finished story. When a student was finished, they emailed the draft to two classmates for review. Coy mentioned that he got the assignment done quickly because it was easy. In fact, many of his classes were too easy, but he did not like doing more than was needed because school, for the most part, was boring. He also stated that he was off task because he was waiting on his friends to finish their stories so he could peer review. When asked if he could peer review another student who was finished, he said he would rather read his friends’ work. That way he could be more

relaxed in his feedback.

With book reports looming in English class, I asked him about why he chose not to read during downtime. He responded, “I don’t know. I don’t like reading, let alone having my friends watch me read. They would make fun of me. Not in a mean way, but you know, just like, ‘oh look, [Coy] is reading a book like a dork.’ I don’t really care what other people think of me, but none of us are readers.” He went on to say that some males, including his friends, might perceive reading as “femmy,” or “weird,” but nobody would really give him a hard time for reading that he knew of. He heard comments from other males from time to time who described reading as “gay” or “stupid.” When asked why others might use the word “gay,” he said that word was a synonym for “dumb” or “stupid,” not so much a derogatory slur.

On another occasion in class, Coy was working on his final adjustments for his prosecution arguments for *The Crucible*. Most students were off-task and discussing many other topics aside from the assignment. Some students were quietly off task, while others were loudly so. The assignment students were supposed to be working on consisted of teams prosecuting or defending certain characters from the Arthur Miller play. Coy felt confident and ready. Even though he had not done all of the assigned reading (he stated that he did most of it and discussed critical items with his group members), he knew that he could deliver on his part for the group assignment. When it came to group work, the last thing Coy wanted to be for his group is that “anchor that weighs everyone down. I will do the work, and the reading, so the group can do well.” He even stated that if he had to, he would lead his group, but only if that were a last resort.

He did not mind being in front of the class for group assignments but preferred not to have to talk or discuss anything about literature while others were watching him. He stated that did not care if they think he looked or sounded dorky talking about literature, but he did not feel comfortable talking about a book regardless. Although he was prepared, he was not sure about the rest of the group. He said, “I want to get a good grade, so I will do my part, but want to make sure others care enough too.” Although he stated that he did not necessarily care about grades, he knew that it could affect future endeavors. He viewed grades as arbitrary since he felt he knew the content. However, he did note that colleges and universities looked at grades when he applied. He did look forward to a collegiate experience, once he graduated.

Coy’s English teacher thought that he was incredibly talented and bright, but very lazy. He could get assignments done quickly when he chose to do them, but then would cause disruptions. The teacher noted that Coy’s behavior during *The Crucible* unit had been particularly disruptive. Normally, units like this one got almost all students involved, particularly the reluctant reader types, which he felt he had more this year than previous ones. Coy’s teacher had tried an all-digital format with fairly positive results. In his opinion, regardless of whether they are reading on a Chromebook, or a textbook, reluctant students were remaining reluctant when it came to reading. He knew when he got into teaching that he could “Lead the horse to water, but I can’t make them drink. I can do my best to make them thirsty though.” He believed that units like *The Crucible* typically yielded better results as the project was more hands on than a multiple-choice test. He described Coy as one of the students that he could lead to the water, but Coy

would refuse to drink on principle. To him, it was almost as if giving in and enjoying English would be a social mark against him.

Coy felt that *The Crucible* unit was more interesting than most lessons and in his English class, but overall, it was still boring. Coy's teacher also mentioned that he tried to pull in texts that would interest students and had found some success. He brought in hunting manuals, sports magazines, and popular gaming texts and some students responded with interest. However, Coy was one where he could not find something interesting for him to read.

Lately, Coy's English classes consisted of him sitting in front of a Chromebook. There was no discussion about the subject, and even if there were, it had never interested him. He enjoyed the trips to the library, but not for the reasons one might expect. He said, "It gets me out of class. I don't really listen to the lesson the librarian gives, and when I have to get a book, I pick up the skinniest one I see. I don't do anything with it other than putting it in my locker until it is due." He looked forward to finishing his high school career, in his words, "as soon as freaking possible."

Coy enjoyed reading magazines and articles on mechanics occasionally. He read articles about machines and fixing engines. On a day off from school, Coy and two friends were battling a dead dune buggy, a 1975 Beetle, in the workshop adjacent to his home. The home was large and quiet. There were several different spaces for gathering to watch shows and sports together, but the family did not read together. Coy's mom had a small bookshelf in her room but was not comfortable with me taking picture in her bedroom. There were not many spaces to put her books, so she usually gave them away

to the library, or gave them to friends.

Even as the temperatures were cooling off, Coy was intent on getting the dune buggy repaired and ready for driving around town, as well as many future off-roading adventures. When asked about whether it would be too cold to drive around when the harsh winter came (the interior was exposed with the exception of a roof, and the weather had dipped well into the negatives during the winter months), he replied with a curt chuckle, “Heck no. The air will be really cold, but we can just bundle up. It will look that much cooler driving around in -10 degrees.” Coy and company were trying to bring the engine back to life. Coy knew where to begin. He and his friends pulled the engine out and he began to inspect the potential issues.

Along with an electrical issue throughout the system, he noticed that the rear main seal was defective and leaking oil. His friends helped him pull the engine out and he looked up YouTube videos, along with using the Safari surf engine to find potential ways to fix the problem. He read a couple of short pieces and began to work on the part. He said, “I have always had a talent for fixing engines and machines. I kind of already knew what to do but like to make sure I will get it right. It should take about 30 minutes to finish fixing the problem.” It took nearly 45 minutes. Once Coy fixed the leaking issue, he reassessed what needed to be done. After inspection, he noticed that the electrical system needed a complete overhaul. He declared, “The wires are fried, and the switches are bad. This is going to take a while to fix.” At the end of this session, he knew what parts he needed, and what direction to take. However, this next step in the project would take a lot of additional work. He was not worried as he was confident he could fix it

without professional help. He said, “I have worked on my truck, on dirt bikes, and other stuff at my dad’s welding shop. I like to fix things. I have a knack for it.” This hobby had developed into a picture of what he would like to do in the future for a career: a mechanical engineer.

Future Reading Identity

Coy felt confident about his abilities to succeed in college. When pressed about taking the general classes, including English and composition classes, he replied, “I already know I can do that. I may not want to, but I will because this will be the last time I have to do it in order to get what I want. Hopefully, I will end up at Cal Poly San Luis Obispo, where my brother is. I will have to do community college first because I don’t have the credentials to get in directly.” Currently, he enjoyed his science class, particularly when learning about physics. He liked learning about how things worked and how things moved. Science was more hands on, and he found that aspect much more interesting. By contrast, he “cannot stand” his English class, or for that matter any English class.

His high school experience had been better than middle school, and he enjoyed the social aspect of school. Nevertheless, he was looking forward to finishing and moving out of the small town. He said, “I need something bigger. People are nice here, but I want to be closer to stuff.” His hobbies included hunting, fishing, and working on machines, but he said he could still do all of these hobbies in a bigger metropolitan area. His brother was in school for mechanical engineering, and he wanted to join him. Like Coy, he was

also a reluctant reader in junior high and high school. When asked of the rural area where he resided had any effect on him identifying as a reluctant reader, he said, “Nope. I would hate reading anywhere.”

In 5 years, he saw himself working on his mechanical engineering degree and doing all the homework that required to be successful. Although he wanted a family in the future, he did not want one too soon. When he will have kids, he wanted them to be active readers so they can “be smart.” He acknowledged that not many people could get by in life without reading, which developed the necessary skills for college and career readiness. He stated, “I know my time is running out where I can BS my way through work. I should enjoy it while it lasts though,” as he smirked.

Coy’s mother emphasized value of hard work. She came from a family of Mexican immigrants who opened a restaurant in Colorado. They built the business from very meager roots. Although they were never wealthy, they lived comfortably. Coy’s mother did not go to college, although she wished her parents had supported her desire of furthering her education, but the family did not see the value in it. She felt that her husband saw the value of college, but that is where reading should take place. She stated:

[Coy’s] father built his own business, much like my father. We know what hard work is. After all of the hard work, and at the end of the day, he wants to relax. Books aren’t a way to do that for him. He wants Coy to be successful in college, and in high school for that matter, but doesn’t feel like home is where we should all be busting out books and novels. We do a lot of activities together like hunting, fishing, and off-roading. Reading isn’t active to him. We should be doing activities together.

Coy adamantly felt the same way as his father. He emphasized the enjoyment of recreational activities with his future family. He wanted this same experience for his kids.

He stated, “I want them to be readers, but we need to go play together. That is quality time to me, not sitting around the house and reading.” Coy looked forward to his future. He saw many opportunities to be successful. Reading was only a small part of him reaching success. This was a vision he shared with his father and friends.

Summary of Coy’s Narrative

Coy enjoyed reading texts about mechanics but hated reading anything assigned by his teachers. It was about fourth grade where he lost interest in reading, much like his circle of friends. His friends viewed reading as boring, “gay,” and stupid. His teacher and mother viewed him as a capable reader, even though he chose not to. Last, his father did not see the value of reading unless it was directly related to work. Coy embellished his father’s viewpoints on reading.

Analysis of Coy’s Narrative

I used the narrative inquiry traits of temporality, spatiality, and sociality (Clandinin, 2013) to frame an analysis of Coy’s reading identity, whether it was his past, present, or future. I also accounted for his home environment (including the space itself, and the social culture of his home), classroom environment (including the space itself and the classroom peers), and his circle of friends. All of the aforementioned elements played a part in how Coy perceived himself as a reader. This section will discuss the effect these elements, and how they helped frame Coy’s reading reluctance.

Spatiality. This section was broken into four locations that had a large effect on Coy’s reading identity: home, the English classroom, the rural area where he resided, and

his family's workshop. In addition, several themes emerged from Coy's narrative and each space influenced certain themes, including some that repeated in the different spaces.

Home. Coy lived in a spacious house on the extreme southwest of the valley. Behind the property were trails and paths that he and his family often used for dirt biking, hiking, and dune-buggy. A giant TV adorned the living room, and this was a central area for family to meet and converse. Even though his mother was an avid reader, there were not spaces to put her books, so she had a small shelf in her room where she kept some, but she would either go to the library regularly, or give the books away that she purchased to the library. There were many quiet spaces for reading including Coy's bedroom, a small office, and a veranda outside. However, Coy's mother was the only one in the family interested in reading. Coy's father did not advocate for reading in the home unless it was specific to a need like work. In this case, the theme of patriarchal influence emerged as Coy's father was not an advocate for reading in the home. Homes can play a significant impact on a child's reading identity (Biller 1993; Brozo, 1999; Duursma, Pan & Raikes, 2008; Morgan, Nutbrown, & Hannon, 2009), and even though the space itself could be conducive to reading, Coy did not identify as a reader in this space.

The English classroom. Coy thought that school was boring. His English class was no exception. For obvious reasons, the theme of boring emerged. Coy had no interest in his English class or being in the space itself. He was interested in his science class, and a couple of shop classes, but aside from this, he dreaded going to school every day. Specifically, he hated his English class. The classroom was cramped with thirty-two

desks, no windows, and poor ventilation. On most days, even in the winter, it was hot and stuffy. Coy felt cramped and said it was a difficult place to concentrate. He said, “Most days class is boring on top of being hot and nasty in there. But, even if the conditions were great, I still wouldn’t pay attention.” He says there are many like him in his class.

In addition, the confined space created close quarters for many of the off-task students. The class was majority male and of the males, most were off task, joking around, and being disruptive. Although Coy was quieter while being off-task, he engaged in the behavior. The theme of social pressure emerged as Coy stated that he did not mind if students were loud and off task because that “made it easier for me to get way with not reading and being off task.” In this space, Coy did not identify as a reader.

Rural area. Coy loved outdoor activities, and the rural area where he resided had plenty of recreational activity options. He hunted, fished, and “off-roaded” frequently. However, he did not see a future living there once he graduated from high school. As such, the theme of Where do I see myself? emerged as Coy desired to be closer to a city. He wanted to be closer to various activities and in his words, “a night life” that did not exist where he lived. In this space, he did not identify as a reader. However, he felt that the rural space had no effect on his viewpoints of reading. He said, “I would resist reading if I lived in any urban, or suburban area just like I do here.”

Workshop. Coy enjoyed his time in the workshop. He said, “I like to fix things and tinker. Especially when we are fixing engines, motors, and electrical systems. I like to figure out the issue and put it back together again. When we get ready for off-road trips, I am usually the one to check up on all the equipment.” As of this writing, Coy was

restoring a dune buggy and currently spending the majority of his afternoons (and sometimes evenings) repairing the engine along with the electrical system. When interviewing him about the types of reading he does to learn about engines, Coy conceded that this is one area where he does not mind researching and reading. Because each motor, engine, or electrical system varied, Coy knew that each operation presented a unique challenge. As such, he did enjoy reading a magazine, article, or even a you tube video about mechanics, or “how-to-fix” items.

The space of the workshop invited a Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that revolved around reading. The theme of confident reader emerged when analyzing Coy’s experiences in the workshop. He was well versed in various formats of mechanics and clearly enjoyed learning about engines, motors, and electrical systems. Even though Coy was adamantly opposed to reading in other spaces, this space invited reading, albeit for singular purposes. In this space, Coy acknowledged that he was a reader. He said, “Well, I don’t care for reading, but to me this isn’t reading because I like it, and it has a purpose.” As such, the theme “If I enjoy it, it isn’t reading” emerged. Coy liked to learn about mechanics which involved viewing videos and reading. Even though the texts could be complex, he felt confident in his abilities to read and apply the information into fixing engines.

Summary of spatiality. Coy identified as a reader in the workshop but not in his home, or English classroom. He enjoyed his time in the workshop where he would voluntarily read materials that had to do with mechanical engineering and repairing engines. Otherwise, he was bored in the English Classroom, and his father did not

advocate for reading in the home unless there were specific needs for it.

Sociality. In this section of analysis, I broke up Coy's different social circles into three sections: family, friends, and his peers in class. Each one of these circles contributed to how Coy identified himself as a reader (or as a reluctant reader). In addition, in order to get a clearer picture of his social Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015), themes were analyzed around the interactions that Coy described and that I observed.

Family. Coy's family loved to spend time together. They enjoyed outdoor activities such as camping, hunting, and driving off road vehicles. When at home, they would watch shows and sports. The family's Discourses (Gee 2000b, 2015) did not revolve around reading however. Aside from Coy's mother, his brothers and father had no interest in reading. In fact, his father saw no need for leisure reading. He thought that only literature involving his work (he was a welder and owned a shop) was necessary. He also thought that reading for leisure was a waste of time (according to Coy, and Coy's mother). In this sense, the theme of social pressure emerged considering Coy respected his father, and in many instances followed in his footsteps. Along with social pressure, the theme of patriarchal influence emerged as well since Coy agreed with and respected what his father had to say about reading.

Coy's older brother was studying at California State Polytechnic University San Luis Obispo, in northern California. He was studying to be a mechanical engineer. Even though Coy's brother read copious amounts of texts regarding his major, he was like Coy in high school. He read as little as possible. Coy aspired to the same trajectory as his brother, both in high school and post high school. The theme of "I can turn it on when I

want to”/ “I can do it, I just don’t want to,” emerged when analyzing Coy as he had no problem with his schoolwork when he needed to. Coy learned at a young age at his ability to do well in school without too much effort. That is why he felt confident that like his brother, he would be successful in college. Even though his mother was a committed reader, and his older brother a college student, Coy did not identify as a reader in this social setting.

Friends. Coy’s friends were not readers. Rather, if Coy were reading in front of them, they might make fun of him for doing so. In addition, some of his friends viewed reading as “weird” or “femmy.” Even though he said he did not care what they thought of him, it appeared that the unitary language (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) of his circle of friends had an impact on him. Therefore, the theme of social pressure emerged as it appeared that his circle of friends did indeed affect his reading reluctance to some degree. Coy’s friends shared the interests that he did, which was fixing motors and engines, taking dirt bikes and dune buggys off road, and hunting. In none of these spaces was reading a sought-after activity. The Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) employed amongst his friends had nothing to do with reading and as such, Coy did not identify as a reader in this social setting.

Classroom peers. Another social setting where the Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) rarely revolved around reading was Coy’s English class. His peers were mostly male, and during my observations, the vast majority of the class was off task. The classroom had a 1:1 ratio for computers. Coy said many students used this to their advantage to be off task, but look busy at the same time, including himself. The themes of social pressure and

group work emerged here when considering Coy's attitude toward reading and effort in his class. He said he would try harder to stay on task for group assignments and do everything to ensure that his group received a good grade, but for the most part, he would talk with friends, browse on the computer, and play games instead of doing the work or the assigned reading. He said many of his classmates acted similarly.

Aside from the group work, Coy avoided reading at all costs, including reading aloud. The theme oral reading emerged as Coy did not want classroom peers, or friends for that matter, to hear him read aloud. Unless group work required it, Coy would avoid the activity. As such, in this social setting, Coy did not identify as a reader.

Summary of sociality. In each of these social circles, Coy did not identify as a reader. The influences from his father, brother, friends and classroom peers all had negative attitudes and viewpoints regarding reading. Coy shared their viewpoints towards reading.

Temporality. In this section, there was a primary focus on Coy's future identity as it could determine the type of reader he would be when he moved on past high school, as well as shed insights to his present reading identity. His post-secondary ambitions could involve him into becoming a committed reader, even if it was for only a short time. However, analysis of his past and future reading identities was critical in understanding his present one.

Past reading identity. Coy did enjoy reading when he was younger, whether it was his mother reading to him, or the texts he read in early elementary. Although he could not recall the positive interactions that he had with reading, he did remember liking

reading, particularly Roald Dahl's novel, *The BFG*. He recalled being a good reader and receiving praise from his teachers. However, around fifth grade he began to find reading boring, and his mother believed his disinterest began around fourth grade. As such, the theme of boring emerged here. Coy felt that reading was a boring endeavor and his friends felt the same way. It helped that his friends became less interested in reading around the same time. In this sense, the theme of social pressure emerged. Coy stated, "We all just got tired of reading. It was boring. I was happy to see I wasn't the only one. It made it easier to avoid, especially at school." As Coy got older, his interest in reading waned to the point where it was a boring task. The Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) he participated from fifth grade on did not involve reading, whether it was with his friends or family.

Even though Coy's mother read to him and tried to keep a positive Discourse of reading in their home, his father saw no value in it. Coy adored his father and followed his example in many facets including the notion that reading did not hold inherent values. Coy did acknowledge that there was some inherent value in reading, but he followed the unitary language (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) of his father and brother in this instance. The theme of social pressure emerged when analyzing Coy's past reading identity. Even though there were instances where reading yielded positive memories, he followed in a patriarchal order by rejecting reading. In addition, the theme of patriarchal influence emerged as Coy's father did not advocate for reading in the home, unless it was work related. Therefore, Coy did not identify as a reader, even though there were some positive memories of reading.

Present reading identity. Coy felt bored with the selected texts in his English class, and for that matter, he was often bored with texts selected in other classes. Therefore, the theme of boring emerged. Whether it was teacher-selected or not, Coy had no interest in reading, save it were for engineering and mechanical texts, which were rarely available in school. The Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) he participated in rarely, if ever, revolved around reading. Coy, his mother, and his teacher all acknowledged that he had the ability to be successful in any academic setting. However, all three also acknowledged that he would rather do the bare minimum to get decent enough grades. While analyzing his present reading identity, the themes of confident reader, and “I can turn it on when I want to”/ “I can do it, I just don’t want to,” emerged. With his ability to read complex texts, particularly ones dealing with mechanics, all who knew him were aware of his reading ability. However, when it came to academics, he would avoid any reading activity, save it working in groups, or trying to have satisfactory grades. Because he was willing to work in groups, the theme group work emerged. Coy felt responsibility for others when it came to group work, and he did not want to be someone that hurt the group grade because of his reluctance to read. Overall, regarding his present reading identity, he did not identify as a reader.

Future reading identity. Waterman (1982) stated that future identity could be largely contingent on family relationships, the social norms of community and friends, as well as academic history. Coy’s past identity was lukewarm to an identity of reading, while his present one was antagonistic towards reading. However, his future ambitions relied heavily on a college experience. The theme of Where do I see myself? emerged

when Coy talked about his post-secondary ambitions. Coy saw himself in California going to college with his brother. Coy also saw himself doing all of the homework necessary to be successful in college, which included reading. That is why the themes of “I can turn it on when I want to”/ “I can do it, I just don’t want to,” and future reader emerged. Coy was confident in his ability and knew the value of hard work by the examples of his father and grandfather who both built their own successful businesses. In addition to the other themes, hard work ethic emerged here as well. Coy understood from both his grandfather and father the ideals of hard work and earning what you want. Both the aforementioned had built businesses from the ground up, and both found success in doing so. Even though his father was not a reader, Coy gained an appreciation for the hard work ethic that was embedded in his family’s culture.

Last, Coy wanted a family further down the road and he wished for his future kids to be committed readers. He wanted the Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) in his home to be positive toward reading. He wanted his children to be “smart,” and in order to do this they would need to be active readers. He knew there were not many like him who could get by without reading and actively learning. Therefore, Coy identified as a reader in regard to his future reading identity.

Summary of temporality. Coy valued reading regarding his future identity. However, he did not identify as a reader with his past and current reading identities. He felt confident in his abilities to read when it was deemed necessary in the future, as well as in the present. Even though he presently read in his workshop, he still did not identify as a reader.

Summary of Coy's Analysis

There was a temporal shift of how Coy viewed himself as a reader, although it tended to be more of an attitude of reluctance to reading and academics in general. Coy adhered to many of the Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) of his friends, English room classmates, and particularly his father, developing a unitary language (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) which did not involve reading.

However, Coy's future ambitions rely heavily upon a college experience that would force him to adopt a reading identity, and he felt prepared for it. Much like the polyphonic character (Bakhtin, 1981,1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003; Hermans et al., 1992; Hermans & Kempen, 1993), Coy was aware that he could have the power to change his reading identity, particularly when it came to post-secondary aspirations. Consequently, Coy changed his reading identity when he was in his workshop. In this space, he read copious amounts of literature regarding mechanics. Even with this reading, he still identified as a reluctant reader in other settings. He knew of his ability to read (as confirmed by his English teacher, his mother, and himself), but still avoided it in settings where he did not choose the literature to be read.

Finn's Narrative

Finn is a tall, dark-haired, wiry young man with a quirky, self-deprecating sense of humor. As we met for his first interview, he requested a chocolate milk, and "sweets of any kind." Finn chose to conduct the interviews in a small, private space in the school library. He preferred meeting after school, because he stated he did not have much to do

until four. During his four interviews, Finn highlighted that he felt at ease and could tell me anything. He aspired of becoming a psychiatrist one day and hoped that he could have the same calming effect that he stated I had.

Past Reading Identity

As we embarked on the first interview and before I asked a single question, he said:

You know, I think I might have some very cliché answers. Sorry about that. I used to love books. I used to believe everything in them. The stories would transport me. Make me feel like I was at Hogwarts, or part of the rebellion in Star Wars. I don't ever get that feeling anymore. I can't duplicate that experience. I find myself avoiding reading because I can't get the experience like this anymore.

When he was reading books, he enjoyed high fantasy and science fiction. Previous teachers always thought he was a good student and strong reader. Finn always read and volunteered to read in class. His transition from committed reader to reluctant reader began in middle school.

When he became increasingly reluctant, Finn would tell teachers that he read something when “at best, I read maybe twenty-five percent. I would skim and pick up enough to make it look like I was reading.” He also noted that his dad did not read a lot with him. His mother read to him a lot and fostered his love of reading. She helped guide him into liking fantasy and science fiction. He noted, “My mom read a lot. Books of all types. She reads like there is no tomorrow.” Finn also recalled his mother reading *Peter Pan* to him when he was young. He loved all of the twists and turns in the story and said his mom was great at voices and inflection, making the story come to life. He admired his

mother's ability to read and make sense of anything that she laid eyes on. His also said that his parents recognized that he was not an avid reader, but he was smart, and could do all tasks in school.

Present Reading Identity

Finn had the highest score from the SARA of any of the participants in this study. His overall score was 3.22, which indicated that he was slightly below a neutral attitude in regard to reading satisfaction/dissatisfaction. However, his subscale scores portray a deeper glimpse as he scored a 3.4 on his academic print (AP) reading score and a 3.8 on his academic digital (AD) reading score. This indicated a neutral attitude towards the former subscale, while a slightly above neutral attitude towards the latter. In addition, his recreational print (RP) reading score was a 3.4, and his recreational digital (RD) reading score was 2. The former indicated that he was neutral towards recreational print while he had a dissatisfaction with recreational digital reading. Even though these indicators display a slightly below neutral attitude toward reading, thy "Here's How I Feel About Reading" questionnaire gave more insight about some of his feeling about reading. For instance, he answered that his friends think that reading "is a big, boring waste of time. I am inclined to agree with them." He also stated that the best thing about reading was "getting done with a book so I don't have to read it anymore, especially the books assigned to us in our classes.

Finn felt a little pressure from his friends about reading. He said, "Some of my friends convinced me to get a phone and to stop reading books. Some of them poked fun

at me for being a reader. I always had my nose in a book. I don't anymore." He noted that he still found some satisfaction in reading mostly with texts on psychology, but he rarely felt any satisfaction with reading in school. He was confident of his abilities as a reader and knew that if he wanted to be successful in college (and beyond) that he would need to be a more active participant in his classes.

When asked about going to the school library he said:

I enjoy the trips to the library, but not because I like going. No, it gets me out of class for a little bit. I will look at books and see if I am interested. I am picky about reading, and I haven't found anything I thought I would like. Mostly, I will get a book because I have to. I think I have read about 20 pages out of one book and gave up on it.

He had never liked the idea of forcing people to read. However, he understood when there was a class with many students like him; the teacher had to do something to get students reading.

During one of my visits to his English class, Finn was in the corner preparing for his prosecution of a character in *The Crucible*, the Arthur Miller play set during the Salem Witch Trials. As he was preparing, another student from his group asked him if he was ready. Reluctantly, Finn answered that he was. Finn appeared a bit out of his element when preparing with his group. He noted later on that day in an interview that he preferred to work on his own. He stated, "I don't like doing group work. But, if I have to, I will be a good group member. I couldn't stand being the guy who belly flops his group and dooms them to a sucky grade. I hate reading aloud, but if I have to, I prefer being in a group so only a select few have the unlucky privilege of hearing me." Finn had never liked the way he sounded and was paranoid that he would screw up reading aloud. If he

messed up once, he knew he would mess up a bunch and look stupid. His attitude regarding reading aloud was the same in any setting whether at home or even church.

Finn attended church regularly. While he understood the importance of scriptures and scripture study, he preferred other types of books. He hated when called on to read scriptures. He stated, “Scriptures are harder to read aloud, and I would easily mess up on words that I didn’t understand. My church leaders thought I was an okay reader and would tell me that almost everybody screws up while reading scriptures out loud.” Finn was also a member of the Boy Scouts of America. His local troop stemmed from the church he attended. When asked if he exhibited literacy practices on scouting activities, he sarcastically replied:

Not if I can help it! I hadn’t really considered scouting activities as literacy. But, I guess we do a lot of research and reading for merit badges, a lot of trial and error, so yeah, I guess I do some literacy stuff when attending. I don’t really read out loud for anything though. Scouts is fun, unlike school, so I don’t really consider the stuff we do as literacy stuff.

Another hobby that Finn enjoyed was video games. He said that he would read an article or manual from time to time about how to play a certain game, but he did not do a whole lot more than that. His family liked to camp and hike as well. He did not notice any inherent literacy practices with these hobbies aside from reading a map to get to the destination. He said that he only noticed “literacy stuff” in school because he was normally doing something academic. He knew that the literacy skills taught in high school were important in preparing him for college and career. He said that his parents constantly told him about the skills he would need for college.

During another observation, Finn attempted to explain to his teacher why his

assignment was not completed. He said that another student threatened him via text and email. His teacher asked Finn to show the threat to him, and Finn said he deleted the text, but still had the email. Once he showed the teacher, the teacher immediately saw this as a ruse. When the teacher pressed Finn further, and asked about the time stamp on his Google student account page, he bowed his head and finally confessed that he did not do the work. I asked him about why he lied, and he replied, “As you can see, I’m not that good at it. I just didn’t do the work. I thought I could get out of it. Other students are better at it I guess.” His teacher noted that this was the first time Finn had lied. There were other times where he had not turned in work, but he had not lied about it before.

Finn’s teacher indicated that he was a bright and very insightful student, but that he was also lazy when it came to completing his work. One of the struggles that Finn’s teacher faced was getting him to see the value of the work. He stated:

These students have a lot on their plates. We have a lot on our plates. We are fighting the notion of instant gratification; books require patience. So do stories. But, if we work through them, we can reach the conversations and skills that are embedded with reading. I need to do better. Not just with [Finn], but other students as well. I think if we had a better cross-curricular effort within the school, we could help connect the dots as to why everything we do is important. Our school is focused on writing, but not so much how reading is an integral part of the writing process.

Finn’s teacher had caught several students who did not finish their work making excuses. He chuckled and stated that Finn’s attempt was creative, but Finn was not a liar by trade so it was easy to contrast his claim.

On a colder November night, Finn was part of a church event that honored military veterans. He was on the set up and take down crew. As I was shadowing him,

there was a significant amount of downtime. Dinner was served and Finn had taken seconds. He was contemplating going for thirds, as there was an abundance of food. He said dryly, “Who am I to deprive the food from being eaten. Waste not, want not.” Even though there was not a chance of observing a literacy practices that night, we could discuss some follow up questions I had. When asked about his trimester, Finn felt good about his progress and grades. His parents were not expecting straight “A’s,” but they expected him to finish all of his assignments and do his best. He stated, “Well, I may not have given my absolute best, but my grades are good, and I am doing well.” He mentioned that he used to hate going to school, but strangely, he recently began to enjoy going to school. It gave him something to do.

Finn liked to stay busy. He did not view reading as keeping busy. When asked what the word reading meant to him, his first response was, “usually boring,” and “Something I don’t want to do.” He said he also pictured someone reading an old book and sitting there until it was done. When he did read, it was usually in his room. He tried to read in the living room, but it was too chaotic with the younger siblings running around and “wreaking havoc on the pleasure of a quiet place.”

During my visit to Finn’s home, Finn’s mother showed me the stacks of boxes where the books were (see Image 3). Their new house was a four-bedroom, two-bathroom, two-story home. Eight people lived there including Finn’s parents, himself, and five younger siblings. Space was tight, and the house was loud with children playing and asking for mom. They were in the process of sorting through a plethora of boxes. The family loved high fantasy with classics like *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, the

Harry Potter series, and *The Lion, Witch, and the Wardrobe*, to name a few. The bookshelves had not been erected yet, so the books she shared with me were still in moving boxes. In addition, toys and baskets of unfolded laundry decorated the house. Despite the distractions, Finn’s mother was happy to share some thoughts on his reading reluctance.



Image 3. Collection of books at Finn’s home.

Although Finn’s mother and siblings were active readers, his father was not. On a rare occasion, he would read some literature from a medical journal, but reading for leisure was not important. What was important to him was spending active time with the family. The family often participated in camping, hiking, and playing board games. When asked if her husband’s reluctance to read affected Finn, his mother said, “I do think it has an effect. He idolizes his father, but the wonder of reading has never reached my husband. I am kind of used to it because my father never read, neither did my brothers.” She added that even though it had been an uphill battle getting Finn interested in reading

again, she would not quit. She stated, “He knows the value of reading. He has gotten too picky and would rather play games on his phone instead of reading.” She felt confident that when Finn embarked on a mission that he would study his scriptures. She also felt that he would be successful in college.

Future Reading Identity

Once high school was completed, Finn wanted to serve a mission for his church. Upon return, he wanted to study psychology or psychiatry. He said that psychology was his favorite subject in school. He said, “I like to learn about how the brain functions. Like, what makes it tick? I have always wanted to help others going through tough times.” He also noted that he hated math because he never understood the “why” of concepts. In his mind, no teachers had taken the time to explain it. When he went to college, he knew that he would need math skills along with other skills, so he tried to do well and pay attention. He said, “After math, English comes in a close second for my least favorite subject.” One reason why he did not care for English was the lack of interesting materials. He said, “Almost no teacher even embraces fantasy or science-fiction. We read about a lot of boring stories, like stories from early England where nothing happens in a couple hundred pages.” He stated that if the texts were more interesting, then many of the students like him would probably participate more. When asked how he would approach general education course in college, he replied that he could tough out a few more dead guys’ literature. Getting through those classes would get him where he wanted to be.

The idea of college excited Finn. His mother attended some college (she gave up her college ambitions to raise the kids), and his father completed a degree in college. His dad was a respiratory therapist at the local hospital. When asked where he would like to attend, he noted that he would like to attend a large, private university in the state. He also noted that he was not planning to return to the rural area upon completion. He said, “Living here was great, but being so far away from stuff gets old.” When asked if the area had anything to do with his reading reluctance, he stated, “I don’t think so. Boring is boring no matter where I am. I think if I lived near a city, I would have found more things to distract me from reading.”

Finn said his parents wanted him to be successful and knew what it took to be successful in college. He said he listened to them, even if they did not think he did. He said, “I know my striking good looks won’t be enough to get me through college. I like the idea of working hard for something I want. There is a light at the end of the tunnel. Sometimes in my classes in high school, I just don’t see that light.” In the future, when he had his own home, Finn wanted it to be a quiet place where his kids read frequently. In five years, he saw himself working on a degree in psychology or psychiatry. He was not sure if he would be married at this point, “But, I wouldn’t say no to the opportunity.” He wanted a spouse and children who valued reading and he realized that he would have to be a part of the positive reading culture. He said, “I want my kids to like reading like I did when I was younger. In fact, I want them to like it more than me and to keep enjoying it. That means both my wife and I will have to be good examples.” For now, Finn enjoyed being with his family.

Summary of Finn's Narrative

Finn had several positive experiences with reading up until middle school when his friends convinced him to give book up to play games on his phone. His father saw no value in reading unless it was directly related to his work. Finn enjoyed texts on psychology, but did not enjoy texts that were selected from teachers, especially those from his English classes.

Analysis of Finn's Narrative

I used the narrative inquiry traits of temporality, spatiality, and sociality (Clandinin, 2013) to frame an analysis of Finn's reading identity, whether it was his past, present, or future. The spaces where he spent the majority of his time and his social circles also played a role in how he did or did not identify as a reader. This section will discuss the effect that the aforementioned elements helped frame how Finn saw himself as a reader.

Spatiality. This section was broken into four locations where that significantly affected Finn's reading identity: home, his English classroom, church, and the rural area where he resided. Each one of these places helped play a role in his reading identity. In addition, several themes emerged from Finn's narrative and each space influenced certain themes, including some that repeated in the different spaces.

Home. Finn loved spending time with his family, however, as the oldest sibling, he often times sought refuge in his room for some quiet time. His home was a cozy four-bedroom house, on the southeastern end of the valley. With six children in the home,

space was limited, and in his words, “at a premium.” If Finn were ever to read, it would have to be in his bedroom alone, or else the noise would prevent him from concentrating. The Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) in his home revolved around reading with his mother and siblings, but not his father. His mother would read to him when he was young, but his father did not value reading. Therefore, the theme patriarchal influence emerged. Finn’s father was a respiratory therapist. Unless he had to read literature concerning work, he avoided the activity and invited Finn to do the same. Finn stated, “My dad is pretty smart and doesn’t read. I know there is value in reading, but I would rather spend time with him. So, we don’t read.” In addition, with the recent move and boxes strewn about, Finn felt like the family home was suffocating, and as such, very loud and difficult to concentrate. In this space, Finn did not identify as a reader.

The English classroom. Most of Finn’s time awake was spent at school. He used to abhor attending, but lately he changed his outlook, and began to appreciate his time there. It kept him from getting bored. However, his English classroom was not a space he enjoyed. The classroom space had no windows, poor ventilation, and thirty-two desks compacted together. The environment was cramped, stuffy and hot, even during the bitter winter months. His classmates filled every single desk. In addition, the students tended to be off task quite often, and the environment was loud for nearly the entire seventy-two-minute period. Finn stated that the classroom made it difficult to be motivated and do work. The theme boring emerged as Finn felt that the English class was a space where nothing happened. He said, “The content is boring, but the class itself isn’t a desirable place to hang out. It is super hot and stuffy, and I just want to take a nap in there, but it is

so loud you can't." In this space, Finn did not identify as a reader.

Church. Church was a central component of Finn's life. He met at the same building every Sunday for 3 hours. He also met at the same church building for Scouts, as well as Mutual (a meeting where the teenagers of the congregation meet and have activities). In all, Finn spent the portion of three different days at the building, a tan, brick building in the middle of his neighborhood. In this space, he was expected to read scriptures and discuss the text regularly. Typically, the first hour of the church block was conducted in the chapel where congregants quietly listened to a variety of different speakers.

During the second hour, Finn would attend Sunday school and be expected to read scriptures aloud and discuss their importance. He hated to read scriptures aloud as they were difficult. The theme of oral reading emerged when Finn discussed church attendance. Finn did not like to read aloud in front of others, especially when the text was more complex and had components of older language usage, like Biblical language.

In his third hour, Finn would meet with other adolescent males and they would also read scriptures, discuss the tenets of the texts, and try to bring meaning to his life. Again, Finn hated to read aloud. The Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 205) in his second, and third hour blocks revolved around reading and discussion of texts. The same could be said for the Mutual activities because the meetings involved some form of scripture study. In addition, Finn did not recognize Scouts involving literacy activities and reading, but it was pointed out to him that the Scout manual and all of the books for the merit badges required reading and studying. Because of this, the theme "If I enjoy it, it isn't

reading” emerged as Finn enjoyed Scouts and earning merit badges. To him Scouts did not feel like work. He noted, “I like the work involved and I like learning about the things I need to do for merit badges. I guess I don’t really look at it as reading.” As such, Finn did not identify as a reader even though he read in several different instances while in this space.

Rural area. Finn stated that the rural space where he lived did not adversely affect his reading identity. He said, “I would choose not to read anywhere. I just happen to live here.” He stated that he would find other activities in a more populated areas to keep him from reading. In addition, he did not see himself living in the area past high school. The theme of Where do I see myself? emerged as Finn knew he would attend college outside of the area, and most likely not return for career and family aspirations. He wanted to be closer to the city and felt that there was not much to do in the rural ae he resided. Overall, he avoided reading in most cases and as such, he did not identify as a reader in this space.

Summary of spatiality. Finn spent a significant amount of time at his local church building, where many reading activities took place between scouts and scripture study. As such, this was the one space of the aforementioned where he actually read willingly for Scouts (and not willingly for scripture study). Even though he read in church, he did not identify as a reader in that space, nor the other spaces aforementioned.

Sociality. In this section of analysis, I broke up Finn’s different social circles into three sections: family, friends, and his peers in class. Each one of these circles significantly contributed to how Finn identified himself as a reader. Themes emerged from the different social settings, including some repeating ones.

Family. Finn was the oldest child in a large family. His family spent a lot of time together at church activities, extra-curricular events, and at home. They enjoyed camping, hiking, and other outdoor activities, along with playing games and watching movies and television shows together. The family's Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) regarding reading were in conflict. Within his family, the theme of patriarchal influence emerged. Finn's mother valued Reading deeply. She loved to read whenever she had the chance. Finn's father was the converse. He did not see the relevance of reading unless it was specific to his work (respiratory therapist). Finn's mother read to him when he was young, and he loved the experience. He said, "My mom could make the stories really come alive. They were fun." Over time, Finn began to lose interest in reading. He loved and respected his father and aspired to be like him. He started sharing some of his father's views on reading in that if there was not a direct, inherent value to the reading, it was not worth the time to do it. His behaviors and attitude started to reflect his father, although he still held some value to reading. Even though his mother and siblings enjoyed and valued reading, Finn did not identify as a reader in this social setting.

Friends. Finn did not have a large contingent of friends, but the ones he did were not avid readers. In fact, they convinced him to get a phone to play games with them. Finn pointed out that his friends used to make fun of him for reading. They encouraged him to do other things as he "always had his nose in a book." The Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) of his friends involved video games, camping, hiking, Scouts, and church. Reading was not an activity they voluntarily participated in, nor discussed. This unitary language (Bakhtin 1981, 1986) was one that Finn would adopt, at least for the time he

spent with his friends. Therefore, in this social circle the theme of social pressure emerged as Finn clarified that his friends had a significant impact on him not identifying as a reader.

Classroom peers. Finn belonged to a very rowdy class comprising of about two-thirds males. The social Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) did not revolve around reading. Finn also preferred to work alone as he was not extroverted like many of the other males in his class. He said, “Most of the guys are loud and even obnoxious. They like to brag about trucks and hunting. What I do isn’t cool to them, which is fine with me. I like what I do with Scouts and I like who I am. They consider that stupid and dorky.” The theme of oral reading emerged as Finn admitted he was paranoid to read aloud in his class. He did not like the way he sounded and always thought he would mess up. He would reluctantly read aloud if he were asked, or if his group grade depended on it, therefore, the themes of social pressure and group work emerged. Finn would participate if needed in group work including reading aloud if it helped the group. However, he was not eager to be identified as a reader in this space.

Summary of sociality. In each of these social circles, Finn did not identify as a reader. Patriarchal influence from his father, and social pressure from friends and classmates played a significant role in him identifying as a nonreader in these social circles.

Temporality. In this section, there was a primary focus on his future identity as it could determine the type of reader Finn intended on being. However, analysis of his past and future reading identities was critical in understanding his present reading identity.

Past reading identity. Finn used to identify as a reader when he was younger. He said, “I loved books and I loved reading. I read with my mom, by myself, and even read to by siblings.” His transition from a committed reader to a reluctant one began in middle school. The Discourses (Gee 2000b, 2015) he participated in when in elementary revolved around reading, particularly when it came to genres such as science fiction and high fantasy. As he got older, he became increasingly interested in video games, and hanging out more with friends. The unitary language (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) amongst his friends never involved reading. Therefore, the theme of social pressure emerged. Finn followed their lead and even though he still respected reading, he followed the authoritative discourse (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) of his friends.

In addition, Finn noted that his father never read to him, or read anything for that matter. Even though his mother read copious amounts when she had time, Finn started to follow his father’s example. Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) at Finn’s home often revolved around reading, and Finn used to take part. Eventually though, he adhered to more of his father’s behaviors towards reading which is why the theme of patriarchal influence emerged when analyzing his past reading identity. Even though at a young age Finn’s past experiences would construe him as a reader, in his words he “kind of aged out” of reading, so he did not identify as a reader with his past reading identity.

Present reading identity. Finn’s friends had a large influence on his reading identity. He said that he always read, but his friends would poke fun at him for doing so. His friends also convinced him to get a phone so he could play video games with them. The theme of social pressure emerged when analyzing Finn’s friends and their influence

on his reading identity. His friends thought that reading was a “big waste of time,” and he was wasting time doing it. However, Finn was in a state of flux. The centripetal force (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) of his friends pulled him away from an activity he once enjoyed. However, Finn noted that if he found the right book, he would read.

While Finn was still open to reading a book that suited his needs, he abhorred selected texts from his teachers, particularly his English teacher. He said, “I get why we have selected texts, but we get no say in them. And, they are super boring almost every time. It sucks, but we have to make the best of it.” As such, the theme of boring emerged. Finn felt that he was not the only one that felt this way. He stated, “Most everyone seems bored with reading in most of my classes.” As of this writing, Finn skimmed the texts he had to read so he could glean just enough information to get by. His teacher and his mother both acknowledged that he was incredibly gifted with his reading abilities, but he refused to apply his talents in school. Therefore, the theme of “I can turn it on when I want to”/ “I can do it, I just don’t want to” emerged as he had the ability to read and interpret texts but chose not to. However, he would apply his talents in Scouts. Even though he avoided reading as much as possible, he did participate in reading when it came to learn about merit badges and advancements. Therefore, the theme of “If I enjoy it, it isn’t reading” emerged. Nevertheless, reading was still boring to him and he did not identify as a reader.

Future reading identity. The theme of “Where do I see myself?” emerged when Finn discussed his future endeavors. He wanted to serve a mission for his church and study psychology upon his return. He knew that both goals would require him to be a

committed reader. He was interested in psychology, so it was not a difficulty to have the desire to read the copious amounts of texts. However, he needed to work on his desire to read scriptures regularly. He knew that he would have to change his reading identity. As such, the theme of “get my act together” emerged. Finn was aware of the work needed for post-secondary ambitions but had yet to become committed to reading.

Aside from his mission and college ambitions, Finn wanted a family where his children read frequently. Unlike his current home, he also wanted a quiet home where there was not a lot of distractions, which would make it easier to read. He wanted Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that invited reading. It was a departure from his current feelings on reading as of this writing. Therefore, his future reading identity was that of a reader.

Summary of temporality. There were plenty of instances where Finn read growing up as well as (as of this writing) currently in church and Scouts. However, despite the reading activities taking place, he still did not identify as a reader in his past and present reading identities. Last, in regard to his future reading identity, Finn wanted Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) to include reading whether it was at home, on his mission, or in college. Therefore, his future reading identity was that of a reader.

Summary of Finn’s Analysis

In almost every instance Finn viewed himself as a nonreader. However, his case embodied elements of the polyphonic character (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003; Hermans et al., 1992; Hermans & Kempen, 1993) as there were times where he did

not follow the script of a reluctant reader. For instance, he changed his reading identity with Boy Scouts and church. However, with Boy Scouts, he did not view the reading as “reading.” When he enjoyed the text material, he did not view it as reading. Finn also knew the value of reading and the importance of possessing certain reading skills, but still avoided reading in spaces like his English class. His friends played a large role in his present reading identity as a reluctant reader. Their Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) did not encourage reading, and, in one instance, they encouraged Finn to avoid reading when he still enjoyed it. Finn was still in a position where he could make changes to his reading identity, particularly when it came attending college.

Finn’s authored and re-authored his identity several times throughout his past, present, and future identity. He seemed aware that he could have the power to change his reading identity, particularly when it came to post-secondary aspirations. With the desire to become a psychologist (or a psychiatrist), Finn felt that despite the Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) from his father and friends, that he could still become a dedicated and committed reader in college, particularly with the texts that he had interest in. His polyphonic character (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003; Hermans et al., 1992; Hermans & Kempen, 1993) ebbed and flowed throughout his history of reading identities, but despite choosing to be a nonreader, the future ambitions could pull him back into being a committed reader.

Comparing the Participants’ Narratives

In the previous sections, I presented and analyzed each narrative individually. In

the following section, I compared and contrasted the six participants' narratives through the lens of the themes that emerged upon analysis. By comparing and contrasting the narratives, I was able to differentiate the similarities and differences among and between the participants and develop implications for further study (refer to table 4).

Oral Reading

Each one of the participants abhorred the idea of reading aloud, particularly in front of their classmates and friends. Brendin and Kevin did not mind reading aloud in front of separate audiences (Brendin in front of family members and very close friends; Kevin at church), but overall, each one of the participants hated reading aloud. For Brendin, reading aloud induced anxiety from a stuttering problem he had for many years. For Kevin, it was trigger words that could get him lost in the text. For the others, cultural contexts played a significant role. Part of this was the social pressure of reading in front of friends and classmates because it was not cool to do so. Martino (1999), Martino and Berrill, (2003) discussed the role of masculinity and the Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that revolve around “cool” and “manly” discussions. Reading was not considered one of these approved Discourses. A normative culture ensued that in the classes where reading aloud was frowned upon.

Authoritative discourse in a given social setting could create a cultural norm (Bakhtin 1981, 1986), for example, an environment where reading was considered “uncool,” or “stupid,” among teenage males (Hamston & Love, 2005; Martino, 1999; Martino & Berrill, 2003). This normative identity could be accepted in whole as many

young men seek an identity that matches the group majority, even if they actually enjoy reading (Newkirk, 2002; Smith & Wilhelm, 2002). Reading aloud was an activity that the participants hated because of the aforementioned factors. As such, oral reading played a significant role in how the participants viewed themselves as readers. They avoided the activity and viewed it as tedious and embarrassing whether it had to do with the social climate of classmates and friends, or, in some cases, the inability to focus, and issues with staying concentrated on the text. Being “cool” and smart was particularly hard to navigate as seen in Martino’s (1999) work, and the reactions of males in the classrooms observed were strikingly similar to those in Martino’s case studies. However, the theme of social pressure intertwines with oral reading when considering that all of the participants stated that they would read aloud if the group grade were contingent upon their participation.

**“I Can Turn it on When I Want To”/
“I Can Do it, I Just Don’t Want To”**

These direct quotes developed into a theme as several of the participants said something similar to it when they considered their future prospects. Brendin felt that when he went on to college that he could, in fact, “turn it on when I want to.” Even though he stated he had to work harder than others to get the same results for grades and achievement, he felt that he could get the needed work done in college and be a committed reader. Hall (2012a) referred to reading identity as, “How capable individuals believe they are in comprehending texts, the values they place on reading, and their understandings of what it means to be a particular type of reader within a given context” (p. 369). O’Brien and Dillon (2014) introduced the concept of engagement and reading

among adolescents with the following two questions: “Can I do this activity?,” and “Do I want to do this activity, and why?” They stated, “Many adolescents who are competent readers and believe they are competent readers are increasingly unlikely to want to read in school and less likely to choose reading for pleasure the longer they are in school” (p. 45). Coy did not mind reading about mechanics, while Brendin enjoyed an occasional James Patterson novel. Connor did not particularly enjoy any type of reading. But, all three were confident that they could be committed and successful readers when the need arose and that they could rise to any reading challenge when needed, particularly regarding their future reading identities and college.

In the cases of Coy, Conner, and Finn, each one of them felt confident about their abilities to read through and navigate complex text. This theme shared many similarities to O’Brien and Dillon’s (2014) research that navigated the two questions: Can I do it?, and Do I want to do it? In the case of all three aforementioned participants, the answers for the first question were “yes,” and the answers to the second were unifying with the answer “no.”

O’Brien and Dillon (2014) stated that the social factors of engagement were often overlooked. The three participants hated the teacher-selected texts much like those from Bintz’s (1993) study, and chose not to participate. In addition, the social pressures from their classmates and friends helped influence them to avoid engagement in reading, whether for academic or leisure purposes. Coy was the exception in that he enjoyed reading about mechanics in his workshop. He did not mind friends seeing him read in that space. However, when it came to classroom activities, he avoided reading and reading

practices unless he absolutely had to do it. Connor and Finn felt similarly in that they could do the work when they wanted to or needed to.

Social Pressure

This theme interwove throughout the research, as the participants' navigated many pressure points as noted in the interviews and observations. Social pressure came from friends, family, and classmates. O'Brien and Dillon (2014) stated that too often researchers were focusing on psychometrics and assessments but disregarding the sociocultural elements that could contribute to a "reader's stance toward tasks" (p. 49). Several aforementioned studies including Martino (1999), Martino and Berrill (2003), Young (2001), Hamston and Love (2005), Kehler and Grieg (2005), Merusio-Storm (2006), Newkirk (2002), and Wilhelm and Smith (2002), among others, noted the role of sociality. Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) heavily influenced how the participants viewed themselves as reluctant readers. In some cases, friends directly influenced a negative perception towards reading, including Finn's friends who convinced him to give up reading books in lieu of getting a phone and playing online games, and Kevin's friends who would "poke fun at him for reading." James stated that he would not be caught dead reading or discussing reading in front of his friends, and Coy's friends viewed reading similarly to those in Martino's several studies (1999) where reading was considered "femmy," "uncool," or "stupid."

In addition, there were also social pressures coming from classmates. In each of the participants' cases, the social environment of the classroom produced negative feelings towards reading. Many of the participants' classmates had similar feelings about

reading, particularly the texts that were selected by the teachers. Hall (2016) stated that students could have their identities reshaped, disrupted, or even reinforced through their responses to different experiences. Stryker and Burke (2000) argued that people, “tend to live their lives in relatively small, specialized networks of social relationships.

Commitment refers to the degree to which persons’ relationships to others in their networks depend on possessing a particular identity and role; commitment is measurable by the costs of losing meaningful relations to others, should the identity be forgone” (p. 286). The more salience one gave to a given to a culture or Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015), the more adherence that Discourse had to shape their identity, also known by Bakhtin (1918, 1986) as a centripetal force. In the case of the participants, they followed the centripetal forces among their friends and classmates, and Conner even used the classroom culture as a means of quietly avoiding reading.

Last, there were pressures in the family structure. Even though the theme of patriarchal influence is discussed later, there were times when the social pressure from fathers led to the participants developing an identity as a nonreader. In addition, the matriarchs were positive influences on the participants and tried to pressure them to be readers, even though this did not have an effect on them identifying as readers.

Where do I see Myself?

The theme of Where do I see myself? emerged with the questions concerning the future prospects of the participants. Each had different aspirations, but all of them had the intention of going to college. Going to college included reading copious amounts of

informational and literature texts, but all seemed confident of the challenge posed by college. In each case, there was a shift in the participants' dialogical selves (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003; Hermans & Kempen, 1993) regarding their future identity. They wanted to have children that were committed readers, a spouse that was a committed reader, and even viewed themselves as a committed reader at least through college, and some beyond college (as they desired to be a good example for their families).

For many young men, their junior year as well as the end of high school can be a crossroads for future prospects (Arnett, 1994, 2000b; Elliott & Feldman, 1990; Greenberger & Steinburg, 1986; Schwartz et al., 2013). Levinson (1978) stated that beginning at the age of seventeen (the typical age of a student finishing their junior year of high school), an emerging adult enters the novice phase of development who includes envisioning and moving the adult world to "build a stable life structure" (as cited in Arnett, 2000a, p. 470). The late teens could be an integral part of shaping the future identity of a student. Arnett stated, "For most people, the late teens through the mid-twenties are the most *volitional* years of life" (pp. 469-470). This shifting could include a shift in identity as a reader as described by Hall (2016), who asserted that students had the ability to reshape their reading identity. Based on future prospects, all six participants needed this shift and felt confident that they could make it happen.

"If I Enjoy it, it isn't Reading"

This direct quote came from Brendin when he referred to enjoying reading the

playbook for football. However, this theme emerged when three of the participants shared similar views on reading materials that they did not feel constituted reading. For instance, Coy enjoyed reading and learning about mechanics and engineering, including tests that directly involved fixing his dune buggy. Finn did not mind reading texts about the brain (although he did not seek them out) or psychology, and the aforementioned encounter Brendin had with his playbook highlight that if the participant enjoyed the text, it did not feel like reading. Much like O'Brien and Dillon (2014) shared with the questions, "Can I do it," and "Do I want to do it," if they participants found an interest, reading did not take on the connotation as "boring" or "pointless" which was the general response to how they felt about reading, particularly in a school setting.

This negotiation of identity created different types of characters as described from Bakhtin's theory of the polyphonic novel and the dialogical self (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, Hermans & Kempen, 1993). In the brief examples shared above, the participant (an adolescent male) navigated the language and norms of their respective groups. However, when the text was something of interest, the negotiation and navigation of identities showed that his identity could shift and change dependent upon the type of text, as well as the primary Discourse attributed to the setting (Gee, 2015).

Confident Reader

This theme emerged when considering the reading abilities of the participants in a given setting. For instance, Brendin could visualize the football playbook without any struggle. He normally struggled with paying attention to complex texts but had no issues

with deciphering where and what he supposed to be doing on a given play where many of his teammates did. Coy felt confident in his ability to navigate difficult texts, including articles on engineering and mechanics. James felt confident with the ability to read and memorize the menu and register at work, and Connor noted he did not have difficulty reading texts even though he ardently avoided them.

In each case, the aforementioned participants were able to find a third space where they could navigate multiple Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015), including areas where reading fluency was not denigrated by friends and teammates. Third-space theory often focused on identity, Discourse, and dialogue between differing Discourses (Benson, 2010). Bhabha (2012) stated that a third-space area is where an individual could “initiate new signs of identity and innovate sites of collaboration” (p. 1-2). Benson described the third space as a space means a combining of two or more Discourses. For instance, the participants did not like the assigned texts in class and chose not to read them. In Brendin, Connor, James, and Coy’s case, this was a reality, but, also in both cases, they found material that was interesting to them and did not mind others seeing them read.

The connecting of differing Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) helped create momentary identity shifts. In addition, Coy could identify with an interest and include reading as one of the activities associated with his interest. Referring to interest, Dewey (1913) asserted, “The root idea of the term seems to be that of being engaged, engrossed, or entirely taken up with some activity because of its recognized worth” (p. 160). If a reluctant reader found an interest and was able to read and enjoy a certain type of literature as Coy demonstrated, the idea of a confident reader in that area could emerge as

a theme.

Patriarchal Influence

Homes could play a significant role in developing a child's reading identity (Biller 1993; Brozo, 1999; Duursma et al., 2008; Morgan et al., 2009). Lamb (2004) noted that fathers played an integral role in children's academic growth and development. McBride et al. (2005) stated, "Taken together, these lines of research suggest that fathers play a critical role in child development" (p. 203). However, the converse could be true of the fathers do not see the value of reading in the home. In four of the participants (Brendin, Kevin, Coy, and Finn), the fathers played a role in them identifying as a nonreader. Only James had a father who openly and strongly advocated for reading in the home.

In the case of Coy, Finn, Kevin, and Brendin, their fathers only saw value in reading if it directly contributed to work. Otherwise, they did not view the activity as necessary. Conner had no relationship with his biological father, but his stepfather advocated reading in the home, but did not read himself. As such, the influence of the fathers played a role negatively towards reading in the majority of the participants as many of the participants shared the same views as their fathers. McBride et al. (2005) noted that a father's involvement could be significantly positive the more they involve themselves in their child's academic development, including reading.

As previously discussed, socio-cultural elements can weigh heavily on identity, be it past, present, future, and for the case of this study, reading identity. Last, the fathers

from my study acted similarly to those in some of the studies from the literature review (Hamston & Love, 2005; Love & Hamston, 2003). Their research indicated that reluctant readers' fathers had little to say to them during interviews, whereas the mothers had significant amounts of input to share. However, in other interviews with the parents of committed readers, both fathers and mothers were very active in participation with both the interviews and ensuring that the adolescents were reading. In this research, only James's father participated and shared insights about his reading identity. Coy's father was borderline hostile and, for a short time, did not allow me to interview Coy, nor his mother. Eventually, he relented, but did not participate as he saw no value in the research, nor reading for leisure.

Boring

In every case study, the theme "boring" emerged as in several instances the word boring came up when talking about reading. Coy offered a terse reply of "boring" when thinking about what reading meant to him. Several participants stated that work in their English class, specifically reading activities, was boring. Finn mentioned that the reading was always boring stuff from "old, dead, white guys." To him there could be more interesting material to choose from. The Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) designed for the English classes did not remotely resemble the Discourses of the students, and as such, a culture of reluctance to teacher-selected (Bintz, 1993) texts created a gap between "Can I do it," and "Do I want to do it?" (O'Brien & Dillon, 2014). James noted that some of his off-task behavior stemmed from being bored with the reading material. He also felt that

many of the off-task students felt the same way as he did. Coy also stated that the reading in his English class was boring. Brendin asserted that the reading selections held no interest for him.

Outside of the English classroom, Connor stated that reading was boring to him and he would rather watch the movie made about the book instead. There were only a few spaces where reading was not considered boring to some of the participants. Brendin liked reading from the football playbook, and Coy enjoyed reading about mechanics, and Finn mentioned that he enjoyed reading about psychology occasionally. The Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that several of the participants took part in, did not revolve around reading.

Group Work

Each of the participants felt strongly that they would participate in group work even if it meant reading aloud. James went so far as to say that it would be a “dick” move to not participate and hurt the group’s grade. Even though Brendin was terrified to read aloud, he acknowledged that he would do it for the benefit of the group. While Connor hated group work and would not participate unless he absolutely had to, he conceded that he would help his group be successful. Hamston and Love (2005), Kehler and Grieg (2005), Merusio-Storm (2006), Newkirk (2002), and Wilhelm and Smith (2002) found that many boys read in school, but only did so as it was a means to an end. In the cases of these participants, this idea rang true. Each of the participants would read as a means to help the group, but nothing more. In addition, they abhorred working in groups, let alone

by themselves. There was a certain pressure for them to perform if another's grade depended on it.

Hard Work Ethic

Although reading was not a valued activity among the participants, hard work was. Hard work came in many different forms. For example, Brendin felt that he would have to work harder than other students to be successful in school, but that work ethic was strong in his family. He was not afraid to work hard with challenges, including overcoming his stuttering. James stated that he had to work hard for everything he desired, including his car. As of this writing, James was working hard to make up credits so he could be prepared to graduate on time and move onto a community college. This was a far cry from where he had been a year before.

Kevin had recently gotten a job at a local pizza restaurant. On top of this, he was working hard to get good grades and be ready for future endeavors. His mother did not know where this motivation came from. Kevin noted that he knew hard work was needed to be successful. Finally, Coy learned the value of hard work from his father and grandfather, both of whom built their businesses from the ground up. Coy knew how to work hard in school, but only when it was necessary. He felt prepared for college and understood the work involved as he saw his brother's example.

In each of these cases the Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that Brendin, James, Kevin, and Coy employed indicated that they understood the value of hard work. They were all willing to change their identity as a reader for future prospects and

acknowledged that hard work would be a determining factor in their success in college. The firm commitment to hard work and future identity (Grotevant, 1983, 1986; Grotevant & Cooper, 1987) could help Brendin, Kevin, James, and Coy meet the challenges that lay before them. In this sense, they were realigning their dialogical selves (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003) to negotiate a new type of identity through a hard work ethic.

“Get My Act Together”

This theme emerged from both Kevin and James in their responses to future endeavors. The response was a direct quote from James regarding his preparation for future endeavors. Both were aware of the challenges that lay ahead of them regarding college and career. James was working on credit recovery, and preparing himself to graduate on time, something he had not considered before his junior year. His father and mother never finished high school, but his father was a staunch advocate and supporter for education. James was in the process of changing his Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) as an academic, whereas before he did not value school. In addition, James also was reshaping his dialogical self (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) as he became more committed to reading. Even though he still did not identify as a reader, he saw the value and understood that he would have a Discourse involving reading and post-secondary schooling in his future.

Kevin talked about getting his act together in regard to preparing for college as well. Although he did not have the same struggles as James in high school, he was never

too serious about getting good grades and preparing for next steps in his life. Kevin was in transition regarding his dialogical self (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) as he was changing the way he viewed his future. He saw college as a something desirable whereas he previously had not. He knew that reading and studying were a large part of the Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) he would be participating in. As such, he needed to change his views on reading and reading activities. He knew that he would need to become more focused and felt that with his recent change in attitude toward school that he was headed in the right direction.

Losing Focus

Brendin, James, and Kevin all noted certain issues with losing focus in their English class assignments and reading as well as when they participated in other reading activities. Boredom played a role in their lack of focus, but they also had specific issues that would take them off task when reading. For instance, Brendin would lose focus if he was reading aloud and began stuttering. On other occasions he would be bored and lose his place while following along. Kevin had trigger words that would make him wander away from the text in front of him. James was always restless, particularly indoors and would fidget instead of reading. On other occasions, he would find a text boring and he would create disturbances in class. Overall, the three mentioned throughout their interviews that concentrating while reading was a challenge.

When Brinda (2011) discussed a-literacy, one of the main factors to reluctance or avoidance of reading was apathy stemming from years of struggle. Kevin, James, and

Brendin all noted some level of difficulty with reading whether it was anxiety from reading aloud, stuttering, trigger words, or restlessness from being indoors. All of these factors contributed in some way in the three adolescent males identifying a nonreader. Part of their dialogical selves (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) internalized reading as an activity that could be difficult and undesirable. Keeping focus with reading was a frustrating effort.

Conclusion of Theme Analysis

There were twelve themes identified through analysis of the participants' interview responses, observations, interviews from their parents (guardians), and their teachers. By analyzing through the themes, one could see the intersecting similarities and diverging differences among and between the various participants. I had anticipated that future ambitions would help shape the present reading identities of the participants, but that was not the case. Even though Coy identified as a reader in his workshop space, he still did not consider himself a reader with his present reading identity. The theme of *Where do I see myself?* showed that each participant had the ambition of becoming a committed reader, but that future identity had little effect on the present one.

Not every participant fit all themes. However, there were a few themes that every participant was coded with including oral reading, social pressure, *Where do I see myself?*, boring, and group work. Even though all the participants fit in these themed categories, there were differences as to why they did.

For example, there were texts that interested the young men, but none of them

liked the texts selected for them in their English class. They were “boring” and therefore, there was no investment or interest in the text other than a means to an end to get a decent grade. None of the young men wanted to read orally even though some of them felt confident about their reading abilities (Finn, Connor, and Coy). Part of this apprehension was the notion that it was not cool to read aloud and that the other classmates and friends would make fun of the participants for reading. Another aspect that influenced this theme was that Brendin, Kevin, and James felt that reading aloud caused anxiety. Brendin had overcome a stuttering problem, but still was nervous about reading aloud. Kevin was not confident in his ability to stay on task with reading aloud because trigger words could diverge his concentration, and James was petrified about others hearing him read aloud.

In regard to social pressure, all of the participants participated in forms of unitary language (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) that pulled them away from reading. Some of the forms of unitary language included video games, camping, hunting, sports, and trucks. In all, the immediate circle of friends of the participants directly influenced the participants away from reading, and in Finn’s case, explicitly so when his friends convinced him to give up reading books around them in favor of getting a phone and playing video games with them. The other pressures came from students in their English classes, where reading was not a sought-out endeavor. In fact, it was the opposite.

Last, the role of patriarchal influence did not pertain to all of the participants, but the role of fathers (and father figures) played a role on the reading reluctance of the participants; however, even though James had a father who strongly advocated for reading, he still resisted. In the case of Kevin, Brendin, Coy, and Finn, their fathers did

not see the need for reading outside of materials related to their profession. Each one of the young men looked up to their fathers and respected their viewpoints regarding reading.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

In this section I will provide a recapitulation of the purpose and findings as well as connect the relationship with previous research. I will also discuss the limitations of the research and the implications that arose from them. Last, I will make recommendations for action and briefly articulate my contributions to the research.

Research Purpose and Findings

This research advanced knowledge on contextual factors that shape the reading (or nonreading identities) of the reluctant male reader participants who lived in working-class, rural settings. This research investigated whether the reading practices, attitudes, and identities are similar (or different) among the participants. The major question that drove the research for this project was the following: How do past, present, and anticipated future identities shape the reader identities and reading practices of reluctant rural, male readers in high school? Comparing and contrasting the reading identities and practices among the participants was important because by understanding their stories, teachers and others could develop supports that account for their identities.

Given that rural, working class males have intersecting factors that have historically produced lower reading outcomes (NCES, 2007, 2015; Provasnik et al., 2007), it was important to study how they produced identities as nonreaders in order to understand this phenomenon and develop approaches that might prevent the development

of identities as nonreaders. The purpose of this research project was to understand the stories of members from this population. Of particular interest were the stories of individuals at a transitional point in their lives, moving from adolescence into adulthood, and thinking about life after high school (Arnett, 2000a, 2000b). I wanted to understand how their reading identities, whether past, present, or future intersected with other identities (e.g., athlete, future missionary, father, career; Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001; Hermans & Kempen, 1993; Hermans et al., 1992) in ways that produce particular kinds of reading practices.

After the interviews with the participants, their teachers, and their parents (only one father participated; the rest were mothers who willingly were interviewed) and observing them in their English classroom three times each, along with an out-of-school observation of their choosing, I developed a narrative of each participant. After reviewing the narratives, I developed themes that resonated through direct quotes from the participants, or major influences that played a role in reading reluctance. For example, Brendin was quoted as saying “If I enjoy it, it isn’t reading.” I noticed that other participants had similar thoughts regarding instances where they voluntarily read (e.g. Coy reading texts on mechanics).

In addition, working with another doctoral student as well as my dissertation co-chairs, I was able to refine the themes and apply them to the various answers, interactions, and my general observation of the participants. The direct quotes applied to several participants which is why we agreed to use them. However, other themes were not based from direct quotes, but common answers like the word boring. This word was

brought up on several occasions when the participants discussed their feelings about reading as well as the reading that took place in their English class. Upon completion of developing themes, I then analyzed the data from each of the narratives, and then compared and contrasted the participants' similarities and differences regarding their reading identity. Last, I shared the results and findings for implications and further discussion for research.

Summary of Findings

When discussing the dialogical self (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003; Hermans & Kempen, 1993) and how it intersects with an adolescent male's reading identity, I discovered many similarities and some differences with previous research. In this next session I will briefly recount the findings and how they do or do not connect with previous research. This discussion will include the themes that emerged from the research and the participants' connection to them.

Crossroads of Future Reading Identity

All of the participants mentioned their post-secondary schooling ambitions. In all of the cases, going to college was strongly considered. Even though none of the participants identified as readers, they all acknowledged that reading would play a role in future aspirations. Several studies (Arnett, 1994, 2000b; Elliott & Feldman, 1990; Greenberger & Steinburg, 1986; Schwartz et al., 2013) argued that their junior year could be a crossroads for future prospects. Levinson (1978) stated that beginning at the age of

seventeen (the typical age of a student finishing their junior year of high school), an emerging adult enters the novice phase of development which includes envisioning and moving the adult world to “build a stable life structure” (Arnett, 2000a, p. 470). All of the participants already had a vision of where they saw themselves in five years (although Brendin wavered slightly). They were focused on college and career and were focused on becoming readers while in college. Finn was the only participant that was considering a mission for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

Future identity could be shaped by various social structure, or even anticipated social structures. This research aligns with previous work discussing future identity (Grotevant 1983, 1986; Grotevant & Cooper, 1981; Syed & Mitchell, 2015; Waterman, 1982) as a future identity could be predictive based on the social settings and the participant’s response to it. However, many of the participants had Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) where reading was not discussed, nor advocated. Several of the participants had friends that were not planning on college after high school. Each of the participants felt that college was a necessary step in securing the future they wanted. Bakhtin (1986) argued that dialogues could have anticipated responses. The predictive nature of the conversational utterances shapes how the people see themselves. He stated, “The word in living conversation is directly, blatantly, oriented toward a future answer-word: it provokes an answer, anticipates it and structures itself in the answer’s direction” (p. 280). In addition, the participants wanted a home environment and family Discourse (2000, 2015) that was positive toward reading. Even though some of them came from an environment that advocated for reading, the role of the father significantly shaped

negative viewpoints about reading in the home. Last, Hall (2016) stated that students' identities could be reshaped, disrupted, or even reinforced through their responses to different experiences. In each case, the participants saw the value of reading and were, at the very least, willing to attempt a future that included reading.

Centripetal Forces Helped Shape Past and Present Reading Identities

The theme of social pressure was heavily present throughout the research. In addition, group work and patriarchal influence were frequently noted themes that emerged from analyses of the observations and responses from interviews. In many cases there was a unitary language (Bakhtin, 1981) that the participants followed. For instance, in the English classroom, the participants used the off-task behaviors and Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) as an avenue to avoid reading. They would either use the disruptive behavior or Discourses to stay under the radar, or a way to act out and establish identities of a nonreader. Unitary language (or centripetal force) is what could make people speak (and act) in a similar way, much like that of members of a sports team (Martino, 1999), church group, music bands, hunters, coworkers, gamers, and skateboarders. Much of the dialogue with each of the participant's circle of friends was either contrary to reading, or reading was not discussed.

The Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) of the participant's circle of friends played a role in how they viewed reading. Most of the participants fatigued from reading around fourth or fifth grade. In several instances, they stated their friends felt the same way. For instance, Coy's friends stopped reading for leisure (from his recollection) around fifth

grade, and as of this writing, referred to reading as “femmy” much like responses from Martino’s (1999) research. Finn’s friends made fun of him for being a reader and encouraged him to get a phone to play games with them. He was subject to this centripetal force during middle school. Kevin stated that his friends would “poke fun at him” for reading in front of them. Brendin was not afraid of what his friends thought about him being a reader, but he also acknowledged that when he is with his friends, they did not talk about reading. He did not identify as a reader, but did read certain types of texts, and read in certain situations. James insinuated that he would not read or talk about reading ever in front of his friends. Even though he stated that he did not care what they thought, the idea of discussing reading openly in front of them was off-putting.

Another factor in the participants’ identifying as nonreaders regarding past and present reading identities was the role of the father, with the exception of Connor and James. Connor had no relationship with his biological father. Even though his step-father approved of reading in the home, he did not participate in reading activities. James’s father was a staunch advocate for reading in the home, but James still resisted. Aside from this, Coy, Brendin, Kevin, and Finn all had fathers who did not see the value of reading unless the reading was related specifically to work. Hall (2012a) mentioned that a student’s reading identity could focus on how they view themselves as a reader of specific types of texts. In this sense, the fathers saw limited value in reading. Coy did not mind reading if the text were concerning mechanics, whereas Brendin would read an occasional James Patterson novel, and he enjoyed reading the football playbook. Last, Finn liked to read about psychology. Even though there were types of texts that these

participants would read, they still shared many viewpoints as their fathers regarding reading. This centripetal force (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) was one of several Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) pulling them away from reading.

Even though there were several centripetal (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) forces pulling the participants away from reading, there were some situations where this force pulled them into reading. One instance was group work. Even though all the participants hated to read aloud, they all stated that they would indeed read aloud to help the group if it were necessary. The social pressure, or centripetal force moved them towards reading and reading activities if it was necessitated.

Competing Discourses and Reading Identity

There are several different Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that people participate in daily. In the case of this research, I followed the participants and observed them in their English class as well as an extra-curricular setting of their choice. The locations included the community recreational center, the high school football field, a local diner, a local pizza restaurant, a church, and a workshop. In some of the cases, the participants read in the non-academic space. Brendin read his football playbook and enjoyed it. Coy read all kind of mechanical materials on his phone while working on his dune buggy. James read and memorized the menu at his place of employment. Even though there was reading taking place, everyone save Coy did not identify as a reader.

Hamston and Love (2005), Kehler and Grieg (2005), Merusio-Storm (2006), Newkirk (2002), and Wilhelm and Smith (2002) found that many boys read in school, but

only did so as it was a means to an end. Most of the interviewees acknowledged that they needed reading skills to get good grades, but did not see the need of it outside of the school setting. Hamston and Love noted that if male student does not see the value of a reading activity, there is little value or interest in the text and activity. For example, he could be interested in magazines or books on sports and if the text chosen for an activity does not concern his interests, he may identify as disinterested not only in the text chosen, but as a reader as well. In all the cases, the participants did not identify as a reader in their English class. They were not interested in the texts picked. The Discourses and centripetal forces (Bakhtin, 1981,1986) pulled them away from reading and reading activities, as well as the mention of reading. In what is perceived as a nonreading Discourse, males could show reading identities affiliated with what could be considered a non-traditional reading setting. Although rejecting a reading identity in the classroom, they could embrace one with an area of interest to them, including the aforementioned spaces and situations.

Rural, Working-Class Influences on Reading

Although living in a rural area can affect college and career aspirations, according to Hektner (1994), Provasnik et al. (2007), and Stahl (2016), all the participants envisioned a post-secondary identity that included college. While Elder and Conger (2014) stated that many students envisioned themselves staying in the area where they grew up, only Brendin thought about staying in a rural area. However, he even mentioned that at the very least, he would attend college out of the area. None of the other

participants saw a future in the rural area, and participants like Connor and Coy could not wait to leave. Last, all of the participants noted that the rural area did not affect their outlook on reading. Most went on to state that they would be reluctant to reading, regardless of the type of area they lived.

Along with living in the rural area, another intersectionality of this study was to investigate participants from working-class families. Working class does not equate with poor, but jobs that Thompson and Hickey (2005) defined as an occupation that did not typically require a college education and tends to be blue-collar in nature (typically manual labor type jobs). Brendin's father worked as a foreman out in the oilfields, Coy's father owned his own welding business (that he built from the ground up), Kevin's father worked in the oil fields, James's father made and delivered pizzas, and Finn's father was a respiratory therapist. Only Finn's father had a job that required post-secondary, traditional schooling, but he did not complete a four-year degree. Ironically, in a generational split, each of the participants aspired to go to college and were aware of the reading challenges that lay ahead. All of the participants were willing to become readers in college. They saw validity to reading in the future, even if they did not value it as of this writing.

Implications

The discussion that follows highlights the theoretical implications of this research and suggestions as to what these implications might mean regarding the crossroads of the participants' dialogical selves (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003; Hermans &

Kempen, 1993) regarding their reading identities. This section will focus on possible ways to shed light on how to help reluctant readers and ways to help re-author their identity as such.

Implications for Adolescent Males: Reading is More Important Than You Think

The National Endowment for the Arts published a study titled, *To Read or Not to Read: A Question of National Consequence* (Gioia, 2008), which indicated that overall, reading was down among teenagers as well as reading achievement scores. Gioia stated, “The percentage of men who read at a Proficient level has declined. For women, the share of Proficient readers has stayed the same” (p. 14). In addition, Gioia noted, “Among high school seniors, the average score has declined for virtually all levels of reading” (p. 13). In order to attain what Gioia terms as a “more rewarding job” (p. 17), one of the major components is that “More than 60% of employed Proficient readers have jobs in management, or in the business, financial, professional, and related sectors. Only 18% of Basic readers are employed in those fields. Proficient readers are 2.5 times as likely as Basic readers to be earning \$850 or more a week” (p. 17). All of the participants indicated they intended on a college pathway to career. In each case they either answered that they can “turn it on when they want to” (Brendin, Coy, Connor, and Finn), or that they needed to “get my act together” (James and Kevin).

The participants were anticipating a career that would require proficient reading skills with Kevin interested in forensic science, Coy with mechanical engineering, Finn with psychology, Connor with computer sciences or culinary arts, Brendin with a

potential career in architecture, and James undecided but anticipating attending a four-year university. Gioia (2008) also indicated that “Reading for pleasure correlates strongly with academic achievement.” This study showed that those who reported reading more often for fun, scored higher on achievement with reading tests. This could imply that the participants would better serve their college and career ambitions by actively reading, at the very least, literature that interests them. Coy voluntarily read mechanical texts, while Brendin would occasionally read a James Patterson novel. James enjoyed horror novels, and Finn liked to read about psychology. Kevin liked reading about forensic science, whereas Connor was the only participant who did not share an interest in reading in any format. At the very least, the participants should regularly read texts that interest them so they might be better prepared to fulfill the college and career ambitions they seek rather than just a means to an end (Hamston & Love, 2005. Love & Hamston, 2003; Martino, 1999; Martino & Berrill, 2003).

Implications for Parents: A Father’s Involvement in Reading at Home is Critical

In all but one of the cases, the patriarchal influence played a significant role in the participants identifying as nonreaders. Guthrie (2008) stated that among a long list of contributing factors for reading reluctance, “lack of parental support” (p. 4) was among the highest factors. In all six of the cases, the matriarchal influence was present and there were positive interactions and dialogue regarding reading. However, only one father saw an inherent value in reading either for personal growth, and as a leisure activity. In the rest of the cases, the outlook was reading was important as long as the literature revolved

directly around the father's employment, whether that literature came from welding and mechanics articles, health articles, or material related to oil fields. If the literature did not have a direct link to the occupation, it was viewed as a waste of time.

In these cases, the sons (or the participants of this study) adopted this outlook and viewed reading for leisure as a waste of time. The research indicated that although the participants did see the value in reading in some respects, it was not regarded as a leisure activity. Time was better spent elsewhere. This research also showed that the only supportive patriarch lacked the ability to read with his children because he never graduated high school and suffered a brain injury in a car accident. Simply put, the father wanted his boys to understand the importance of reading, but he could not lead by example. Therefore, this research indicated that the father could have a significant impact on a reluctant reader's identity.

Biller (1993); Duursma et al. (2008), Lamb (2004), and Morgan et al. (2009) argued that a father's involvement in literacy activities at home could create significant positive effects for a child's academic development. In addition, Duursma et al. stated with the results in their findings that many literacy growth factors favored fathers with higher education levels. Duursma (2014) argued that children could benefit slightly more from the father reading to them, than if the mother did. Her findings suggested that the home environment with stronger literacy and reading practices can have larger effects on child academic development. When families highly valued and modeled consistent literacy practices in the home, there was a greater likelihood that the child could have better academic achievement and sense of well-being. This could be especially true if the

father took an active role in the child's literacy and academic pursuits (Duursma et al., 2008; Morgan et al., 2009). Therefore, it was important that fathers played an active role in a boy's reading identity development as highlighted in this research. The involvement could include actively reading with their boys or young men, or taking the time to discuss what they read about and learned in school. Another way for fathers to play a positive role in a child's reading identity is to have fathers reading in front of their sons. In other words, the son could catch the father in the act in reading. In each one of the cases, the participants wanted to foster the love of reading in their future children.

Implications for Teachers

There are several implications for teachers that came from this project. Direct implications for teachers include not asking students to read aloud, incorporating group work more often, appealing to and building from a strong work ethic, countering students' views that reading is "boring," and being aware of social pressure. Teachers could use social pressure positively instead of negatively—that is, males who like reading could share what they are reading with each other, or males from the community (e.g., managers in oil rigs) could share the importance of reading to work. In addition, people from colleges can share what they think needs to be done to prepare to counter the idea "I can turn it on when I want to." In addition, valuing texts from spaces outside of the classroom to build a third space could be an effective way to incorporate higher interest levels with reading in the classroom.

Last, if a teacher views reading curriculum as non-negotiable, students may

respond with apathy towards the texts, especially reluctant readers. The students may become complacent and bored with the class and the content delivered, thereby solidifying their perception that they do not enjoy reading and they do not see themselves as readers (Lenters, 2006; Reeves, 2004). In each of the cases the participants were bored with the selections of their English teachers' texts. English teachers could look to meet students halfway by surveying the types of texts that the students enjoy or give a menu of options that students could vote for at the beginning of a unit. This could draw opportunities to have the students get a level of buy-in with the curricula.

Oral reading, social pressure, and group work. In each case, the participants hated reading aloud for various reasons, including social pressure from their classroom peers. However, in a group setting, the participants were less anxious with reading aloud, especially if the group's grade depending upon them reading. Factoring in more time for group work and weaving in oral reading could help alleviate some of the anxiety and pressure or reading aloud in front of peers and friends. Teachers could also use males who enjoy reading and other members from the community to share about the types of reading involved in various vocations, including brief book talks to share not only what they are reading, but what they enjoy about it.

Value and normalize texts from different spaces. As discussed earlier, the profile of any one, male reader could be complex and should not be overly simplified or defined by one place or setting, like the English classroom. Literacies outside of the English classroom can cover a gamut of topics as well as the Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that come with them. In all the cases, the participants found the text selection

boring. However, the participants did have texts that interested them. For example, Finn enjoyed reading psychology, but his English classroom did not provide a setting where he could study it deeper. Coy enjoyed reading about mechanics, James liked horror stories, and Brendin enjoyed James Patterson novels. In addition, the theme of “If I enjoy it, is isn’t reading” can emerge as the aforementioned text selections are items that the participants not only enjoy, but also foster a confident reader attitude. By understanding what adolescent males read and where they read, an educator can establish ways to bridge those Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) with educational settings.

This is not to say that teachers must have thirty different texts and lesson plans for each student, but there can be surveys taken at the beginning of the year to gauge what the student’s interests are as well as their level of activity with reading. Lenters (2006) stated, “Many students stated that they value the reading done outside of school more highly than reading connected to school” (p.138). Bintz (1993) discovered that students from his study hated the teacher-selected texts, and they indicated they have no say in the matter of what was read. However, the teachers from the same study stated that they felt they had to pick the texts as the students were not motivated on their own to compile possible texts to read.

In addition, English teachers could use surveys to get to know the student and build a working relationship as well as try to bring in outside Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that normally are not a part of the curriculum. This could be a lesson on hunting, or sports; something that students have a vested interest in reading about. In this study, there were few texts that were pulling the participants closer to reading. Teacher-selected texts

had the converse affect. By finding a text that is of a Discourse outside of the class, the teacher could build opportunities to bridge their content with the outside Discourses. Hamston and Love (2005) argued that there are many oversimplifications of boys and their reluctance to reading. As such, instead of trying a one-size-fits-all approach, an educator can distinguish the various literacies and bring the content to the student's level.

Another factor for normalizing reading in various spaces could be making adolescent male students aware of the reading they incorporate outside of the typical reading settings like the library or school. Part of this realization is the copious amounts of reading taking place in spaces like in games, blogs, social media, and other digital outlets. By acknowledging the reading in which they participate in other Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015), males could see the intersectionality between reading in the various Discourses they participate in. English teachers could use these avenues of reading as a means to validate the reading happening every day and bridging it with curricula in the class (articles that supplement the assigned readings).

Find a third space. This dissertation research showed that reluctant readers, namely, the participants, could identify as a reader if the space they inhabited was a space where reading did not feel like reading. All the participants did not identify as a reader in their classroom space for a variety of reasons, including social circles, the cramped conditions, and the choice of literature (or lack thereof). However, in several other spaces some of the participants identified as a reader as the literature they read. Previously mentioned, Brendin enjoyed reading the playbook out on the football field, or even sometimes when at home reading various types of literature in front of family. Coy

enjoyed reading about mechanics when in his father's workshop. In addition, Kevin read in church when reading scripture (although he did not like reading scriptures for leisure). Finn read in church when participating in Boy Scouts and scripture study. James had spaces where he could identify as a reader but chose not to. Connor felt the same way as James with the various spaces he inhabited. These different spaces for the four who would identify as a reader were places where the reading did not bring pressure, or abhorrence towards the text. These spaces provided an opportunity for them to read without the social pressure of classmates and friends who could be antagonistic towards reading.

In accordance with finding high-interest texts for students, this research showed the importance of connecting the various Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) by finding a third space (Benson, 2010, Bhabha, 2012) in a given school setting. A third-space area is where an individual could find new identities and new ideas of navigating their current ones (Bhabha, 2012). The third space was a place where an individual could connect multiple and differing Discourses (Benson, 2010). For instance, none of the participants enjoyed the reading selections in their English classes. The challenge is for educators to find the medium of bringing in text from other Discourses into the classroom while fulfilling the state core requirements. The hybrid spaces were a place where students could share artifacts across multiple Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) and engage in literacy practices that were valued in both spaces. For instance, having materials that could interest a male student such as sports magazines, gaming magazines, or various types of texts on cars could help them become more invested into reading in the

classroom and help the teacher assess student progress. These types of texts could interest the reluctant reading male and engage them in literacy activities they may have not otherwise been attuned (Merisuo-Storm, 2006; Newkirk, 2002).

In all, the boys had opportunities to identify themselves as readers because they actually read for leisure and for their own purposes outside of school and they were competent at it, but despite these opportunities they never identified themselves as readers, and even identified as reluctant or nonreaders (Hamton & Love, 2003; Love & Hamson, 2005; Merusio-Storm, 2006; Smith & Wilhelm, 2004) in several instances. To build an identity as a reader, teachers could bridge in-school and out-of-school spaces by meeting each student's interests with text-selection, including using the testimonies and stories from former reluctant readers as well as those in the community who can communicate the types of reading involved in their various occupations.

This research advocated for the differing types of texts that could give the reluctant male some choice of what they want to read and invite Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) from home, recreational, or even occupational spaces. There are multiple points of Discourse in any given interaction rather than a single entity that control how one acts and responds (Benson, 2010). However, the key to finding the third space where the multiple Discourses come together would be challenging, unless the teacher, parent, or any other stakeholder in a males' reading identity could bridge the Discourses by becoming aware of the male's interests. This bridging of Discourses into a third space could invite reluctant readers into participants and help them determine whether they "can do it," and "want to do it" (O'Brien & Dillon, 2014).

Russell et al. (2005) stated that engagement described energy in action, the connection between person and activity. If a male student identified as a reluctant or nonreader, engagement and interest with reading and reading activities can be difficult to achieve. Finding interest in the third space (Benson, 2010, 2012) could be critical in bridging curriculum and interests. Referring to interest, Dewey (1913) asserted that interest came from an activity that had recognized worth to an individual. If reluctant readers did not find value with the text being offered, they could become less engaged with reading and reading activities in a classroom setting. These factors, along with a more complex reading structure in the secondary setting, compounded the reluctance to read as well as opportunities to apply that skill for growth in other academic areas. Researchers, parents, and teachers must find the connections between the student with the text and the accompanying reading activities to have the opportunity to yield better engagement with reading.

High-interest books, magazines, and articles should be used in the classroom.

In all cases, the participants hated the selected texts in their English classes. The theme boring emerged in several instances throughout the project. This research showed the importance of using higher-interest texts in the classroom. However, there are state core requirements and standards that require texts from certain periods. The primary text in each of the participants' cases was Arthur Miller's play *The Crucible*, which is a modern text describing the Puritan period, which was one of the core requirements for this grade (text from or about early America). Even though the teachers felt that the courtroom activity produced better participation than with other texts they used, all six participants

were bored with the play. There was no quick fix regarding the literature used, but English teachers could use this research to determine what texts they used and what other texts are available that could garner higher interest.

If reluctant readers are not finding value with the text being offered, they may become less engaged with reading and reading activities in a classroom setting. These factors, along with a more complex reading structure in the secondary setting, compounded the reluctance to read as well as opportunities to apply that skill for growth in other academic areas. Merisuo-Storm (2006) has advocated for there to be comics, magazines, and informational texts freely available as this will help influence boys to read regularly. Love and Hamston (2003) echoed this advice as they stated “screenage” boys want to read material they felt was relevant to their interests. Although there are very stark differences among and between the participants’ interest, the universal abhorrence of the text used showed a need for differentiated, high-interest texts in the English class.

Another aspect of instituting high-interest texts is through better instruction and presentation from teachers. Warren-Kring and Warren (2013) stated that secondary teachers valued a presentation style that was teacher-centered, and to add content literacy strategies such as specific types of reading comprehension instruction was unnecessary and too time consuming. In addition, some teachers did not know how to excite students or build their interests in reading texts as well as reading practices and activities. In addition, Warren-King and Warren noted in their study that for both teacher and student, the expectations were low regarding getting students excited about reading. In these types

of settings, the classroom was not conducive to helping assuage reluctant reader identities. As such, teachers, specifically English teachers should have a better awareness of the students' interest through reading attitude surveys much like the one used in this research by McKenna and Sthal (2015). This way they could better connect the various Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that students inhabit on a daily business. This could garner a higher interest in the texts as well as the activities that accompany them.

Implications for Administrators

School administrators need to be involved in helping teachers and other educators motivate reluctant and nonreaders. This task can be done by finding ways to blend Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015). For example, administrators could find ways to bring English teachers and coaches together to think of ways to reinforce identities as readers, particularly with understanding the third space, or hybrid spaces (Benson, 2012, Bhabha, 2012), and how to bridge learning curriculum standards with literature from various spaces. Another consideration could be bringing in oil rig workers (and supporting vocations like welding, truck drivers, management, and other positions) who could talk about their professions and recommend books and other pieces of literature to read. Following the presentations and discussions, the administrators could post those books as displays in the halls as well as the library. By building these relationships and third spaces, reluctant and nonreaders could have a better understanding of the types of reading and reading practices incorporated into their career interests. This type of approach could also work with agriculture and other fields that are of interest.

Implications for Researchers

A major implication revealed from this study is that understanding the attitudes and reading identities of students is not enough. Rather, understanding a student's social circles is imperative because of the negative social pressures towards reading noted in this project. For instance, McKenna et al. (2012) stated that, "It is widely suggested that in order for teachers to engage their students with meaningful literacy instruction, teachers must be aware of students' attitudes, motivations, and reading habits" (p. 284). In each of the cases, there were multiple points of social interaction that played a role in the reading reluctance. Two major social areas that played major influences in reading reluctance among the participants were the classmates in the English classes and the circle of friends.

The former group continually played a negative role with reading activities as the groups were consistently off task and did not invite a positive culture of reading. These findings were based from the interviews with the participants, their parents, and their teachers; and through the eighteen different observations of the classes. Guthrie (2008) noted that, "classrooms are a major source of disaffection with reading," (p. 4). In the cases of the participants, it was clear that the classroom environs created a Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015) that was apathetic and sometimes hostile to reading activities. The social interactions were not conducive to a positive reading environment as students, including the participants were often off task and discussing several other items that did not revolve around reading or reading activities.

The latter group played a significant role in the participants' reluctant reader

identity. In each of the cases, the participants noted that their friends did not read for pleasure. In fact, in some cases the research showed that many of the groups of friends were antagonistic to reading, and even directly influenced some of the participants to avoid reading. This research confirmed some of the notions found in many of the cited research sources from the literature review regarding discourse and masculinity. Some of the circles viewed reading as “femmy” and “girly” (Martino, 1999; Martino & Berrill, 2003). Others simply viewed reading as a waste of time. In each circle, the participants took the identity of the group and the negative attitude toward reading.

In other instances, with the groups’ collective attitudes, many of the participants noted that their friends would make fun of them for reading. This research showed the significant role that friends could play in germinating a reluctant reading identity; at least one of the participants gave up reading to appease his friends, while others simply shared the same outlook toward reading, or adopted the outlook toward reading. While the majority of the groups did not reflect that attitudes of those in Martino (1999), and Martino and Berrill’s (2003) study, there were still overtones of hegemonic masculinity (Young, 2001) that influenced the participant’s outward attitudes towards reading. As such, it is imperative for educators, parents, and researchers to understand these Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) and to mitigate these attitudes by sharing literature that could interest males while assuaging the negative hyper-masculine attitudes.

One area of research that needs to be investigated further is the use of digital media and its connection to literacy. Often, this usage is undervalued for the purposes of acknowledging digital media as a source of literacy practice, whether it was in the form

of video games (Gee, 2000a, 2003). Although this research touched on smartphone and digital media usage, the participants did not discuss in depth about the usage and its connection to reading, even though some of the participants used their devices specifically for the purposes of reading. Future research should be more direct in connecting the Discourses of digital media usage and reading identity.

Future research on reluctant readers should also highlight the nature of reading in other spaces. This research highlighted the home, English classroom, rural area, and extracurricular space of the participants' choice. Other spaces could include other subject areas in high school, as well as specific focuses on suburban and urban areas. These future studies could help develop a clearer picture among and between reluctant male, adolescent readers in various spaces.

This research encapsulated the theory of three-dimensional space (Clandinin, 2013) in order to find comprehensive contributing factors for reading reluctance among rural, male reluctant readers. The case study approach helped create deeper ties to theories and previous research studies. The three-dimensional space would provide similar insights for research involving reluctant readers in not only a rural setting, but any setting concerning reluctant readers. I intended to unwrap the social entanglements of differing dialogical selves that the participants navigate every day, namely their social groups (both family and friends, and coworkers), the places (schools, homes, sports fields and workplaces in the rural, working-class town), and the relative time (high school setting with graduation on the horizon) by using the three-dimensional space. These elements were critical in getting as full of an understanding as possible for each story and

each participant (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994), including the effects of patriarchal influence. Questions for future research could include the following, using the elements of narrative inquiry in a case study format: why was there was a generational reluctance to reading? Is the reading reluctance due to cultural influences like patriarchal influence, or other forms of masculinity? Was reading ever valued in the first place in these settings?

Future research projects need to encapsulate the three-dimensional space and incorporate emergent approaches to help mitigate the ebb and flow of obstacles and new insights that emanate from the research. Emergent design allowed the me to develop new questions and tactics as the research was ongoing (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). An example was when I saw a natural division among the participants and their perceived reading abilities. This approach was integral to a qualitative study, particularly with narrative inquiry as variables (e.g. participant attitudes and emotions, recollection of experiences, etc.) changed given the setting of the research (interviews, observations). Future research should focus on the emergent factors and use them to gain new insights into the work of reluctant readers.

In addition, future studies could include longitudinal studies that look at whether reluctant and nonreaders do in fact “turn it on” when they want to. By following participants past the high school years, comparing the future aspirations and reading that is involved, and seeing whether or not the participants dedicate themselves when needed, one could see if future identity could be a delegating factor in producing a reading identity.

Last, quantitative factors should be included in studies whether it is a brief example like I used with the Adolescent Reading Attitude Survey (McKenna & Stahl, 2015), or quantifying the cases from previous and future studies for statistical empirical evidence (perhaps through a metanalysis). Mixed methods studies could encapsulate the deep and rich evidence from the cases that were studied as well as give a statistical impact as well. Next steps in research could build on the implications to see what methods and strategies could be in place to help mitigate reading reluctance among male adolescents.

Implications for University Recruiters The Future Isn't Now

When considering the question, “Where do I see myself?”, each one of the participants had the intention of going to college and developing a reading identity while attending. All of them wanted a family environment that was open to reading. However, even though they recognized the need for reading in their lives soon, they felt confident that they could “turn it on” when it was needed. The future aspirations clearly advocated the need for reading and they felt ready when they needed to become motivated and engaged with reading. Therefore, college recruiters should be giving clear messages about the amount and types of reading involved at the college level. This message should be shared especially when recruiters receive inquiries, or give presentations to potential future students at events like college day in high schools. These presentations could include having previous, reluctant readers sharing their stories with possible recruits. These stories could serve as a glimpse about the adjustments that need to be made prior to

entering college and could shed light on how reluctant readers should focus on “turning it on” now rather than later.

In many of their participants’ cases, their circles of friends were largely not planning on attending college and were going to be entering work in the oil fields upon completion of high school. Only Finn had a circle of friends in which the majority were planning on post-secondary schooling. Regarding the other participants, the influences from both friends and fathers was not enough for them to give up the aspiration of attending college. A major facet that was lacking was the notion that reading was important in high school, not just in college. None felt the need for leisure reading but did understand the importance of reading. However, this realization was not enough to motivate them to read their assigned texts (unless the texts had any interest to them) and participate in reading activities in school.

Summary of Implications

Emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000a, 2000b; Schwartz et al., 2013) is a time of life when many different directions remain possible, when little about the future has been decided for certain, when the scope of independent exploration of life’s possibilities is greater for most people than it will be at any other period of their lives. Thus, this research study of the participants during this transitional period offered insights and rich opportunities to identify how the intersection of past, present, and anticipated future Discourses (Gee, 2000b, 2015) shaped their reading identities.

Significance of the Study

The purpose of this project was to point the research toward a more nuanced understanding of reading reluctance among rural, working-class, adolescent males. As mentioned previously, masculinity and class can intersect with geography to produce inequitable outcomes in literacy among working-class, high school males. Rural settings have a considerable number of working-class work opportunities like agriculture, trucking, and service careers. Oftentimes, working class, rural males began these occupations while still in high school (Elder & Conger, 2014), and post-secondary schooling is not sought after as much as in other regions (Provasnik et al., 2007).

Because rural, working class males have intersecting factors that have historically produced lower reading outcomes, it was important to study how they produce identities as nonreaders in order to understand this phenomenon and develop approaches than can prevent the development of identities as nonreaders. For these reasons, it was important to understand how sociocultural factors—including past experiences, current social groups, and future aspirations—affected working-class, male high school students' reader identities and practices. There was virtually no empirical literature considering the intersectionality of the three social dynamics mentioned: rural, working-class, and male on students' reader identities and practices, even though there is a large number of rural working-class males in the U.S.

In addition, I identified more clearly how the future identities of the participants intersect with other identities to shape current reading practices and identities. The

findings could help high school teachers and other stakeholders understand and tap into the potential of different types of identities more in terms of supporting previously reluctant readers into the path of readership. Kehler and Grieg (2005) argued that much of the research on boys' masculinity and reluctance to reading is oversimplified. They also believed that there are more details to reluctance than one or two cultural influences. In addition, Kehler and Grieg believed that boys were navigating many different forms of text and identities, much like Bakhtin argued (1981, 1986). For this reason, more research was needed to investigate the causes of reading reluctance, particularly in regard to adolescent males in a rural, working-class setting, specifically when factoring in their future identities. Much as Bakhtin (1981, 1986) asserted that our current words are generated in expectation of anticipated futures, adolescent males' current practices (including their reading practices) may be enacted with an eye toward their anticipated futures as well. This research encapsulated questions and discussions on future identity with the participants to see if an identity toward reading would be anticipated based on the participants' future goals for post-secondary schooling and career.

The research helped find possible emerging themes pertaining to adolescent male reluctant readers, along with their past, present, and future identities, and what role these identities played in reading reluctance, specifically with the six participants. It was important to study this phenomenon qualitatively and in an emergent format like narrative inquiry (Calandinin, 2013). By using this methodology, I developed the complex themes that emerged during the course of the research and contributed to the field of literacy regarding how the dialogical self (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003;

Hermans & Kempen, 1993) affected the participants' reader identity in a rural, working-class setting. Many people in the U.S. were working-class, rural males, yet this population was not well understood. By understanding this population, I could develop supportive environments for this population, which accounted for their identities across multiple settings.

This research showed that even though the participants reading identity could be reshaped (Hall, 2016), as well as the dialogical self (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Hermans, 2001, 2003; Hermans & Kempen, 1993), it could be difficult when considering the social pressures, and unitary language of family, friends, and classmates. Conversely, this research also showed that the polyphonic character of the participants might have power to shape their desired destiny, despite heavy influences from social circles to remain with the unitary language (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) and Discourse (Gee, 2000b, 2015). Last, future identity could play a role in how a reading identity can change, but a longitudinal study would be needed to verify this claim.

The investigation through narrative inquiry helped me identify potential factors that increase the likelihood of reading reluctance, specifically with the six participants. Although there has been research regarding adolescent males and reading reluctance, almost none of the research was exclusively conducted in a rural setting. In addition, in a working-class, rural setting, future aspirations are often shaped by generational occupation or the immediate needs of the community (e.g. oil field, agriculture, trucking, etc.). These future aspirations could influence how a person views differing reading practices and activities (Renold, 1997, 2001). Thus, this research illuminated how with

the participant high school males' anticipated occupations, as well as their past experiences, shaped their current reader identities and practices.

Conclusion

This opportunity has both reaffirmed my beliefs about reluctant readers, but also revealed different characteristics among reluctant readers. It gave me a great opportunity to see the many pitfalls during my youth that shaped me into a reluctant reader and possible ways I can help move the research forward in an effort to mitigate reading reluctance among adolescent males. There is a significant amount of research and work to be done, and it is my hope that my research can be a springboard for ideas for creating better and more engaging opportunities for males to become motivated readers, and to see the value that reading has in its many different facets.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A
Recruitment Forms

Recruitment Forms
(Adopted and adapted from Coombs, 2012)

Reluctant Experiences: Stories from Reluctant Readers

Student Recruitment Form

My name is Garret Rose, a student from the department of Teacher Education and Leadership Utah State University. I would like to invite you to participate in my research study to examine reluctant readers and the stories they have to tell of their experience, past and present, as well as future prospects (Utah State University IRB protocol 9128). I also want to investigate how they view their experiences with teachers and in school. You may participate if you are in this class, and a male that has shown a reluctance to reading

As a participant, you will be asked to participate in no more than four interviews about your past educational and reading experiences, and about your current reading experiences, including those in this class, as well as your reluctance to reading and reading activities. Your time commitment would extend until the end of the semester.

The only discomfort you may feel from this study would be the stress normally associated with normal range of discomfort or stress usually associated with writing or talking about yourself to someone else. If you feel uncomfortable at any time, you are free to withdraw your participation. You may benefit from this study through the extra reflection you take part in, and there will be a \$50 gift card of your choosing upon completion of the interviews and observations. Participation is completely voluntary and grades/citizenship will not be affected by participating. There will be snacks and drinks offered as well as lunch if the interviews are conducted during lunchtime, or if you wish, right after school gets out. The data will be kept confidential and if you wish to withdraw your participation at any time, you are free to do so and your data will not be used. Last, as a “thank you” for your time, you will be given a \$50 gift card of your choosing upon completion of the interviews and observations.

If you would like to participate in this research study, please come talk to me.

Do you have any questions now? If you would like to participate, please let me know now or by contacting me at garret.rose@schools.utah.gov. You may contact my advisors, Dr. Amy Piotrowski at amy.piotrowski@usu.edu, or Dr. Amy Wilson, at amywilson@msn.com.

Reluctant Experiences: Stories from Reluctant Readers

Parental Recruitment Form

My name is Garret Rose, a student from the department of Teaching Education and Leadership Utah State University. I am calling to invite you to allow your child _____ to participate in my research study to examine how participants view themselves as a reluctant reader in a rural setting, (Utah State University IRB protocol 9128). He was initially contacted because he fit the description of a reluctant reader based on self-identification as such based from two surveys as well as teacher identification reported by behaviors and participation in reading activities in the classroom. After I shared a little about this study in class, he indicated he would be interested in participating and gave me your phone number.

As a participant, he will be asked to participate in no more than four interviews about his past educational and reading experiences, and about his current reading experiences, including those in this class. These might take about an hour each session and take place during his advisement time or after school. His time commitment would extend until the end of the semester. Also, I will be observing an extra-curricular activity to see him in his every day and natural setting. This can be work, sports, etc. I will also be conducting an interview with you in the home. This interview will not last longer than an hour and will be at your convenience.

The only discomfort he may feel from this study would be the stress normally associated with normal range of discomfort or stress usually associated with talking about himself to someone else. If he feels uncomfortable at any time, he will be free to withdraw his participation. He can benefit from this study through the extra reflection he takes part in, but there will not be any compensation, financial or grade related, for taking part in this study. However, I will be offering snacks, drinks, and lunch (if necessary) in a show of trust and appreciation for your child's time. The data will be kept confidential and if you or your child wishes to withdraw his participation at any time, you are free to do so and the data will not be used. Last, upon completion of the interviews and observations, your student will receive a \$50 gift card of their choosing for their time.

If you are willing to allow your student to participate, I will send you the necessary consent documents for you to sign. I can either mail them to your home, email them to you, or send them home with your child. Which would you prefer?

Do you have any questions now? If you would like to participate, please let me know now or by contacting me at garret.rose@schools.utah.gov. You may contact my advisors, Dr. Amy Piotrowski at amy.piotrowski@usu.edu, or Dr. Amy Wilson, at amyawilson@msn.com.

Por último, si necesita esta carta traducida al español, comuníquese con Lauren Burton en lburton@alpinedistrict.org para hacer estos arreglos.

Reluctant Experiences: Stories from Reluctant Readers

Teacher Recruitment Form

My name is Garret Rose, a student from the department of Teaching Education and Leadership Utah State University. I would like to invite you to participate in my research study to examine how reluctant readers view themselves and their experiences with teachers and in school (Utah State University IRB protocol 9128).

As a teacher participant, you will be asked to participate in no more than one interview about your philosophies of teaching and learning, your current experiences with reluctant readers, specifically ones that are participants in this study (and in general if you wish), and your perceptions of students and transactions in your classroom. The interview will take about an hour and will be conducted after school at a time and place of your choosing. Your time commitment would extend until the end of the semester. You will also be asked to jot down a few observational notes of the chosen participants for interview preparation as well as insight into the behaviors of the aforementioned participants. I will be collecting this information at the conclusion of the study

The only discomfort you may feel from this study would be the stress normally associated with normal range of discomfort or stress usually associated with talking about yourself to someone else. If you feel uncomfortable at any time, you are free to withdraw your participation. You may benefit from this study through the extra reflection you take part in, but there will not be any compensation for taking part in this study. The data will be kept confidential and if you wish to withdraw your participation at any time, you are free to do so and your data will not be used.

Do you have any questions now? If you would like to participate, please let me know now or by contacting me at garret.rose@schools.utah.gov. You may contact my advisors, Dr. Amy Piotrowski at amy.piotrowski@usu.edu, or Dr. Amy Wilson, at amyawilson@msn.com.

Appendix B
Initial Interview Questions

PAST READER IDENTITIES

Please describe an experience in which you had a strong emotional reaction (positive or negative) toward reading.

What have your past teachers thought of you as a reader? Please provide an example.

What have your parents thought of you as a reader? Please provide an example.

What have past church leaders thought of you as a reader (if applicable)? Please provide an example.

What have your friends thought of you as a reader? Please provide an example.

What did your parents read to you when you were young?

What is your favorite subject in school? Did you enjoy reading literature from that class? Has this always been your favorite subject?

What is your least favorite subject? Why?

What do you think of yourself as a reader?

CURRENT READER IDENTITIES

What different social groups do you belong to (e.g., sports or church groups)?

What reading people do in these social groups? Do they value reading in your (church, sports, etc.) group? Please explain.

Do people in these groups think you are a good reader?

Do you work? Where?

Can you describe a typical day at work?

What kind of reading do you do any reading for your work?

What do people at your work think of reading?

What is your attitude towards school? Did this attitude change over time?

Do you play sports, or participate in extra-curricular activities (hunting, biking, hiking, etc.)?

Is there anything that you do enjoy to read? Please give some details about why you like

it and how often you read.

Do you avoid reading in class? Why or why not?

What does your family read for leisure?

When I say the word “reading,” what ideas come to mind?

Where do you read? How do you do it?

FUTURE READER IDENTITIES

What do you want to do when you graduate from high school? What kind of reading practices will you be involved with in the future?

Why do you want to do this?

Does anybody else in your family do this?

Please imagine a typical week describing what you will be doing five years from now (e.g., church, family, college, etc.). What role will reading play in each of these activities?

Do you expect to have a family in the future? If so, what kind of education would you want for your children? Would you like them to be committed readers? Why?

****Follow up questions as dictated by responses****

Appendix C
Scenarios and Follow-Up Questions

Scenario one: The class visits the library once a month to check out books and to get a short lesson from the library media specialist. What do you do during this time? Are you looking at any books? Also, the teacher requires a book to be checked out by each student. What do you do? Do you actually read the book checked out? Please give through responses and share any stories if this has ever been the case in your experiences at school. (Follow up questions will ensue based on responses).

Scenario two: You are in a group of four students for a reading project. Each student has to read an equal amount of the text out loud as one of the requirements. Do you participate in this situation? Why or why not? Also, there is a group project due at the end of the unit. Your part involves analysis of the text and discussing it with group members and presenting to the class. How actively will you participate, given your feeling on reading? Will you participate if your grade suffers from non-participation? What if other group members will get a lower grade based on your reluctance? Will this dictate your contribution to the group? (Follow up questions will ensue based on responses).

Scenario Three: You find a book that interests you. You want to read it, but are trying to find the right place to read. Will you read at home? Will you read in class when given the opportunity? Are you self-conscious about other students and friends seeing you read? Does this matter to you? Would you find time to read this book or put it away? (Follow up questions will ensue based on responses).

**Follow-up questions from month one will be formulated once the transcriptions from the interviews are available. This will allow me to develop questions based on emerging themes (Clandinin, 2013).

Follow-up questions will possibly be framed like this: You stated thatwhat exactly do you mean by this?

Appendix D

Interview Questions with Parents

Interview Questions with Parents

1. Tell me about your educational experience and upbringing. What kind of reading habits do either of you have when you were your sons age, or for that matter, even before that?
2. What was your favorite and least favorite subject in school?
3. What kind of reading and writing skills are required for your place of employment?
4. Are there any leisure reading activities you do? If so, what are they and how frequently do you read for leisure?
5. What does your family do in for fun? What activities do you do together?
6. How often did you read to your son? Was this an enjoyable activity?
7. Can you recall when your son stopped liking reading and chose to be reluctant? What factors do you think led to this?
8. What reading behaviors would you like to see change in your son, if any?
9. How much value is placed on reading in the home or at school?
10. What is your favorite story, either from a book or loved one? Please share and explain why it means so much to you. Have you shared this story with your son?
11. What is the last thing you have read, and when was this?

**There will be follow up questions as indicated answers and themes that emerge from responses.

Appendix E

Interview with Teachers Question Protocol

Interview with Teachers Question Protocol

1. What are some of the behaviors and nuances that led you to believe _____ fits the description of a reluctant reader?
2. How is your reading instruction different from the reading instruction you grew up?
3. What are some of the biggest factors that you notice in reluctant readers? What are some of the things they say, excuses they make, and defenses they put up to try to get out of reading?
4. How do assess reluctant reads and their abilities if they don't provide you with work or evidence of reading abilities? How do you address this issue?
5. What is your greatest success story in getting a reluctant reader to begin reading and actually enjoy it? If you don't have one, share some success you have had with reluctant readers.
6. What has been your biggest failure in trying to get a reluctant reader to become a committed reader? What do you think led to you not having success with them?
7. What is your reading life like at home? What was it like growing up? Do you try to bring these types of elements into the classroom? Are you finding it difficult to implement?
8. What is the school culture towards reading and reading achievement? Are there measures in place that support your instruction and development in becoming a better reading teacher?
9. What external factors inhibit reluctant readers into becoming committed readers?
10. What is your favorite story, either now or growing up? Why is it so memorable? Have you shared this with your students? If not, what do you think would happen if you did? How do you facilitate a culture of storytelling and literacy in your class?

Appendix F

Survey of Adolescent Reading Attitudes (McKenna & Stahl, 2015).

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Survey of Adolescent Reading Attitudes

1. How do you feel about reading news online for class?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
2. How do you feel about reading a book in your free time?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
3. How do you feel about doing research using encyclopedias (or other books) for a class?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
4. How do you feel about texting or e-mailing friends in your free time?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
5. How do you feel about reading online for a class?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
6. How do you feel about reading a textbook?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
7. How do you feel about reading a book online for a class?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
8. How do you feel about talking with friends about something you've been reading in your free time?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
9. How do you feel about getting a book or a magazine for a present?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
10. How do you feel about texting friends in your free time?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
11. How do you feel about reading a book for fun on a rainy Saturday?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
12. How do you feel about working on an Internet project with classmates?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
13. How do you feel about reading anything printed (book, magazine, comic books, etc.) in your free time?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
14. How do you feel about using a dictionary for class?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
15. How do you feel about being on social media like Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter in your free time?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
16. How do you feel about looking up information online for a class?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
17. How do you feel about reading a newspaper or a magazine for a class?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1
18. How do you feel about reading a novel for class?	Very Good					Very Bad
	6	5	4	3	2	1

Appendix G

Here's How I Feel About Writing

Here's How I Feel About Writing
(Adapted from McKenna & Stahl, 2009)

Name: _____

1. I like to read about

2. My friends think reading is

3. My favorite book is (and why)

4. At home reading is considered

5. On weekends, my favorite thing to do is

6. When I get older, I will read

7. I like books about

8. When we read books at school, I

9. The best thing about reading is

10. The worst thing about reading is

CURRICULUM VITAE

GARRET ROSE

CAREER OBJECTIVE:

To develop the best means of instruction and support for all students in any educational setting. This requires keeping up-to-date with the best research, creating an environment of caring and leadership, and developing best methods of culturally appropriate instruction and curriculum.

EDUCATION

BA in English with minor in Comparative Religion, California State University Fullerton, Fullerton, California. (1/09) GPA: 3.42 (4.0=A). Emphasis in comparative literature. President of the Comparative Religion Students' Association. M. Ed. Utah State University, Logan, Utah. (5/12) Emphasis in secondary education. Grad GPA: 3.95. Reading Endorsement, Utah State University, Logan, Utah. (5/13) Administrative Certificate, Utah State University, Logan, Utah. (1/15) PhD in Curriculum and Instruction, Utah State University, Logan, Utah. (expected 5/20)

EXPERIENCE

ASSISTANT PRINCIPAL, Tooele High School, Tooele, Utah (2019-present)

Literacy and Educational Leader: Responsible for literacy approaches and curriculum changes for multi-tiered systems of support (MTSS) schoolwide as well as general instruction changes. In addition, research effective literacy instruction and interventions for implementation schoolwide.

Administrative Duties: Responsible for sophomore students and juniors (A-F) with activities, discipline, interventions, 504 plans, and development.

Activities and Committee Leader: Responsible for several clubs' oversight and committees.

Facilities and Budgeting: Collaborate with administrators, financial clerks, and secretaries about plant management and funds distribution.

SECONDARY ENGLISH LANGUAGE ARTS/EARLY COLLEGE SPECIALIST, Utah State Board of Education, Salt Lake City, Utah (2016-2019)

Instructional Leader: Oversee, English, Journalism, and Speech Endorsements;

Conduct Literacy Director meetings; advocate change in teaching and learning practices; and facilitate teachers and committees as needed.

Early College Administrative Duties: Facilitate, manage, and oversee \$12,000,000 Concurrent Enrollment Budget. Facilitate, manage, and oversee \$5,000,000 budget for Enhancement of Accelerated Programs. Represent and recommend needs for aforementioned programs to State Legislatures, and State Board of Education.

ASSISTANT PRINCIPAL, Ascent Academy of West Jordan, Utah (2015-2016)

Instructional Leader: Supervision of teachers and curriculum, ordering materials, student advocate, and building supervision. Literacy Director for campus, teacher trainer and educational coach.

Administrative Duties: Student discipline, building safety director, and other duties as assigned.

TEACHER, Uintah School District, Vernal Utah, (2010-2012 Vernal Middle School; 2012-2015 Uintah High School)

Instruction: Courses taught: Advanced Placement English, Language Arts (7th and 10th), Reading (7th grade), and Science Fiction/Fantasy.

Part-Time Educational Employment

INSTRUCTOR: Tooele School District/Weber State University, Tooele, Utah (2019)

Instructor: Facilitating “Reading and Writing across the Disciplines” Reading Endorsement course. Grading, assessing, and leading discussion among the Reading Endorsement students.

GRADUATE RESEARCH ASSISTANT, Utah State University, Logan, Utah (2015-2016)

Assistant Researcher: open coding and analysis; observation and rating; review of document and editing.

WRITING TUTOR, Utah State University-Uintah Basin, Vernal, Utah (2011-2015)

Tutoring: Assist and facilitate student’s writing projects for completion.

EDUCATIONAL AWARDS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

- Uintah High School Teacher of the Year recipient (2014-2015)
- Uintah School District Teacher of the Year candidate (2014-2015)
- Utah State University-Uintah Basin, ‘Outstanding Graduate Student’ Recipient (2012)
- Panelist; SCED (Secondary Education) 5830 classes; Utah State University (2011-2015)
- Sterling Scholar Committee member and contributor; Uintah High School (2012-2015)
- President’s Honor Roll; California State University Fullerton (Fall 2005, Spring & Fall 2006, Spring 2007)
- President, Comparative Religion Student Association; California State University Fullerton, (2006-2007)
- Dean’s Honor Roll; Cypress College (2003-2004)
- Contributing writer to the Cypress Chronicle college newspaper (2002-2003)
- Cypress College Interpersonal Communication “Favorite” Group Worker of the year award recipient (2003)

EDUCATIONAL LICENSES AND CERTIFICATIONS

- Level II Teaching License; Utah (2015-present)
- Administrative Certificate; Utah (2014-present)
- Level One Teaching License; Utah (2013)
- Reading Endorsement; Utah (2013-present)

RESEARCH PROJECTS

Brasiel, S. and Martin, T. (2015). *STEM Action Center Grant Program Annual Evaluation Report: 2014-15*. Logan, UT: Utah State University, Department of Instructional Technology and Learning Sciences (Contributor credit).

Wilson-Lopez, A., Boatright, M., & Rose, G. (2017). Native Spanish-speaking adolescents' information gathering processes while solving problems through engineering. *Conference Proceedings of the American Society for Engineering Education*, Columbus, OH.

CONFERENCE/SYMPOSIUM PRESENTATIONS

- Rose, G. (2019) *Motivating Reluctant Readers*. Sevier County School District Professional Learning. Richfield, Utah.
- Rose, G. (2019). *Disciplinary Literacy*. Sevier County School District Professional Learning. Richfield, Utah.
- Rose, G. (2019). *The Struggling Readers Toolkit*. Sevier County School District Professional Learning. Richfield, Utah.
- Rose, G. (2019). *Disciplinary Literacy*. Kane County School District Professional Learning. Kanab, Utah.
- Rose, G. (2018). *Integration of Knowledge and Ideas*. Kane County Professional Learning. Kanab, Utah.
- Rose, G. (2018). *Motivating Reluctant Readers*. Utah Rural Schools Association. Cedar City, Utah.
- Rose, G. (2017). *Motivating Reluctant Readers*. Southern Utah Media Specialists Conference. St. George, Utah.
- Rose, G. (2017). *Building Teacher-Librarian Coherence*. Southern Utah Media Specialists Conference. St. George, Utah.
- Rose, G. (2017) *Visible Learning*; San Juan School District Training. Blanding, Utah.
- Wilson-Lopez, A., Boatright, M., & Rose, G. (2017). Native Spanish-speaking adolescents' information gathering processes while solving problems through engineering. *Conference Proceedings of the American Society for Engineering Education*, Columbus, OH.
- Carter, C., Rose, G., Voddrey, T. (2017). *Metacognition, session 3: Self-Reflection and Regulation*. A2A Professional Learning, session 3. Vernal, Utah.
- Carter, C., Rose, G., Voddrey, T. (2017). *Metacognition, session 2: Self-Reflection and Regulation*. A2A Professional Learning, session 3. Vernal, Utah.

- Rose, G. (2017). *Close Reading and Visible Literacy*. Provo City School District Professional Learning, Provo, Utah.
- Rose, G. (2017). *Motivating Reluctant Readers*. Sevier County School District Professional Learning, Richfield, Utah.
- Rose, G. (2017). *Visible Learning and Literacy*. Millard County School District Professional Learning, Delta, Utah.
- Rose, G. (2016). *Motivating Reluctant Readers*. Utah Educators' Association Annual Conference. Sandy, Utah.
- Rose, G. (2016). *Librarians and Teachers Unite!* Utah Educators' Association Annual Conference. Sandy, Utah.
- Carter, C., Rose, G., Voddrey, T. (2016). *Metacognition, session 2: Visible Literacy*. A2A Professional Learning, session 2. Ogden, Utah.
- Carter, C., Rose, G., Voddrey, T. (2016). *Metacognition, session 2: Visible Literacy*. A2A Professional Learning, session 2. Vernal, Utah.
- Carter, C., Rose, G., Voddrey, T. (2016). *Metacognition, session 1: Graphic Organizers*. A2A Professional Learning, session 1. Vernal, Utah.
- Carter, C., Rose, G., Voddrey, T. (2016). *Metacognition, session 1: Graphic Organizers*. A2A Professional Learning, session 1. Ogden, Utah.
- Rose, G. (2016). *Teaching to the Library Media Core*. Southern Utah Media Specialists, St. George, Utah.
- Rose, G. & Throndsen, J. (2016). *Motivating Reluctant Readers*. Utah Middle Level Association, Murray, Utah.
- Rose, G. (2016). *Look a Little Closer: Close Reading of Complex Texts*. Uintah Basin Education Summit, Vernal, Utah.
- Rose, G. (2016). *Motivating Reluctant Readers*. Uintah Basin Education Summit. Vernal, Utah.
- Mohr, K. A. J., Brown, L., Flory, M., Jorgensen, A., Juth, S., Rose, G., .. & Sias, C. (November, 2015). *Doctoral Epiphanies: What We Thought We Knew, but Know Better Now*. Association of Literacy Educators and Researchers (ALER), Costa Mesa, CA.

Exton, V. & Rose, G. (October 2012). *Organizing the Educational Experience*. Ute Tribal Education, Fort Duchesne, Utah.

ACADEMIC LICENSES AND MEMBERSHIPS

- School Community Council member; Overlake Elementary (2018-19)
- Chair; Early College Coursework Committee (2016-present)
- Utah library Board (Governor appointed) (2017-present)
- Utah Networking Initiative Chair (2016-present)
- Utah English/Language Arts Open Educational Research Committee Chair (2016-present)
- Utah Media Library Supervisors Committee (2016-present)
- Southern Utah Media Specialists member (2016-present)
- Reading Endorsement Committee member (2016-present)
- Administrative Certificate; Utah (2014-present)
- Teaching License, Level II; Utah (2015-present)
- Utah Teaching License, level I; Utah (2012-2014)
- Reading Endorsement; Utah (2013)
- Alternative Routes to Licensure teaching license, teacher of English (2010-2012)
- Utah Educators Association, member (2010-present)
- National Educators Association, member (2010-present)
- Utah Council Teachers of English, member (2010-present)