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Recommended Citation

Griffin, Robert A. and Farran, Lama K. () "Reconsidering the Reading Motivation of Adolescent Latinx Multilingual Learners," *The Reading Professor*. Vol. 44 : Iss. 1 , Article 5.

Available at: <https://scholar.stjohns.edu/thereadingprofessor/vol44/iss1/5>

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Reconsidering the Reading Motivation of Adolescent Latinx Multilingual Learners

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Abstract

In this article, the authors reconsider traditional conceptions of reading motivation to arrive at practical teaching approaches to enhance the reading motivation, engagement, and achievement of adolescent Latinx multilingual learners in both traditional and online learning environments. Focusing on the bioecological Process-Person-Context-Time Model and Expectancy-Value Theory, specific factors that influence the reading motivation of Latinx multilingual learners are discussed along with practical instructional strategies for both traditional and online/virtual classrooms. They also highlight the utility of a strengths-based pedagogy vis-a-vis the growing inequities that surround Latinx multilingual learners. The paper concludes by offering recommendations for reading motivation practice.

Keywords: reading motivation, adolescent, Latinx, Latina/o, Hispanic, secondary learners, English language learners, multilingual learners

Reconsidering the Reading Motivation of Adolescent Latinx Multilingual Learners

Latinx¹ students as a whole, particularly Latinx multilingual learners² who receive language support services through English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) or similar programs, have been shown to exhibit lower reading motivation in English (L2) compared to their monolingual, English-dominant peers (e.g., Griffin et al., 2020). The reasons for this phenomenon are varied, largely the result of systemic inequities (Gennetian et al., 2019). While the students themselves are certainly not at fault for this atrophy, the reading motivation literature is replete with explanations for waning academic outcomes in the secondary grades (e.g., Allred & Cena, 2020), with an emerging body of evidence forming around the reading motivation of Latinx multilingual learners (e.g., Quirk et al., 2020).

To help understand this phenomenon, a closer look at the nature of motivation is in order. Motivation is a dynamic phenomenon that evolves and changes depending on social-historical contexts. Given the uncertainties that have arisen with the worldwide COVID-19 pandemic and the shift to online or virtual learning along with the growing “COVID-19 slide” (Kuhfeld & Tarasawa, 2020, p. 2), the issue of motivation broadly and reading motivation particularly is more important than ever. Latinx multilingual students and culturally and linguistically diverse learners more widely make up a sizable subgroup of students in U.S. schools, and we know reading motivation is a strong predictor of their overall success inside and outside the classroom. This is an extraordinary and stressful time for teachers and no less for students, yet extraordinary times call for extraordinary thinking, especially when student success is at stake.

In this article, we reconsider traditional conceptions of reading motivation that have operationalized motivation as centered in one person or psyche. We also aim here to present transformative, innovative teaching approaches to enhance the reading motivation and achievement of diverse learners in both traditional and online learning environments. As such, we seek to answer the following questions:

1. What factors impact the reading motivation of Latinx multilingual learners?
2. What practical recommendations promote the reading motivation of Latinx multilingual learners in both traditional and online/virtual classrooms?

What follows is a brief discussion of the theoretical framework that guides this paper, focusing on the bioecological Process-Person-Context-Time Model and Expectancy-Value Theory, along with a brief review of literature highlighting a strengths-based pedagogy vis-a-vis the growing inequities that surround Latinx

¹ We use “Latinx” throughout to be inclusive of all gender identities (Salinas & Lozano, 2019).

² The term “multilingual learner” will be used throughout this paper to denote linguistically and culturally diverse students in U.S. schools whose first language is not English and who receive language support services (Martínez, 2018). These same students are sometimes referred to as English learners (EL), English language learners (ELL), or limited English proficient (LEP).

multilingual learners. As part of this review, we will articulate what we mean by rethinking reading motivation. We then present innovative strategies and tools that teachers in both traditional and online/virtual classrooms can call upon to engage *all* students. We conclude by offering recommendations for reading motivation practice.

Bioecological Model and Expectancy-Value Theory

As a theoretical framework for the paper, we view reading motivation of bi/multilingual adolescents as the product of two complementary developmental theories: (1) The bioecological model of human development as conceptualized in the Process-Person-Context-Time (PPCT) model (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006); and (2) the expectancy-value theory (Atkinson, 1957). Proponents of both theories recognize the importance of personal and environmental influences in the development of reading motivation, positing that the broader contexts not only impact adolescents' reading behaviors directly, but also act indirectly through their influence on individual cognitive processes and appraisals. Drawing on Bronfenbrenner and Ceci's (1994) model, here we conceptualize multilingual adolescents' reading motivation as a developmental process that varies across time within nested structures, namely the microsystem, the exosystem, and the macrosystem. As such, reading motivation is an interactive, multiplicative—as opposed to additive—process involving the learner and all previous interactions and experiences.

Within the nested structures, the microsystem consists of the individual's immediate system, such as relationships with family, peers, and teachers, while the exosystem extends to factors that are outside of the individual learners to more distal factors, such as neighborhoods and communities to which the individual belongs, which may exert a direct influence on the multilingual adolescent reader and the learning (reading) process. Lastly, the macrosystem entails the broader sociocultural context including the current status of the adolescent students' home language, and social-historical views of the dominant culture regarding the reading achievement of Latinx students as a group.

Similar to the bioecological theory, the expectancy-value theory underscores the role of the broader context, albeit indirectly, on adolescents' reading motivation. However, it emphasizes reading motivation as the product of three interconnected individual-specific variables: self-concept as reader, (2) attitude toward reading, and (3) reader self-efficacy. For Latinx multilingual adolescents, their self-concept as readers develops over time through numerous interactions with the proximal (e.g., socialization) processes within the learning environment (Applegate & Applegate, 2010; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). Such interactions form the basis upon which they come to expect to succeed or fail at reading tasks, which then shapes their beliefs about and attitudes toward present and future reading tasks and the extent to which they come to value reading in general (Gambrel et al., 1996). Ultimately, this determines students' reading

confidence or self-efficacy, thereby shaping their choice for, persistence at, and performance on reading tasks (Guthrie et al., 2013; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000).

Strengths-Based Pedagogy

With our theoretical framework as background, we aim at casting reading motivation in a positive light and approach its pedagogy from a strength-based perspective. Accordingly, we underscore the unique funds of knowledge and cultural capital that Latinx students and their families bring to the classroom. For example, the *Condition of Education 2020* report published by the U.S. Department of Education noted only five percent fewer Latinx students have Internet access at home compared with their White, English-dominant counterparts (Hussar et al., 2020). In addition, despite known, persisting achievement gaps, the standardized assessment scores of Latinx students are improving nationwide (López et al., 2017; Murphey et al., 2014). More Latinos than ever before are graduating from high school. Nationwide, Latinos 25 or older with a high school diploma has risen from 53% in 1995 to 72% in 2018 (Krupnick, 2019), and record numbers of Latinos are enrolling in institutions of higher education (Child Trends, 2019). These findings suggest that a strengths-based approach should be at the forefront of our supporting Latinx multilingual students.

Such an approach places learners and their strengths, not their perceived inabilities, at the center of instruction. Latinos are particularly situated to benefit from a strengths-based approach that recognizes their cultural and familial assets (Carales & López, 2020). For example, many Latinx families share a core belief in the centrality of *la familia* (Bustamante & Hindman, 2020), and strong family traditions anchor their values, such as eating meals daily with their families. In addition, most Latinx students live in two-parent households, which is conducive for a healthy social-emotional development (Murphey et al., 2014).

Bi/multilingualism is also a prominent asset to be considered in a strengths-based approach. Valuing bi/multilingualism in this context implies perceiving Latinx students' Spanish-English bi/multilingualism as an asset and capitalizing upon it (Castro, 2020). Research supporting bi/multilingualism as a cognitive advantage is well established, demonstrating that bi/multilingual children routinely attain higher levels of academic success in both their first and second languages when they learn in settings that value their bi/multilingualism (e.g., Bialystok, 2001; 2018; Blom et al., 2017).

Waning Reading Motivation and Systemic Inequities

Despite the aforementioned strengths and our intent to buttress how multilingual Latinx are viewed and taught, we have been faced with a persistent decline in reading performance across demographics over the past decade, with a pronounced widening of the achievement gaps between multilingual learners (3 out of 4 of whom share Spanish as their L1) and their English-dominant peers. The

most recent data available from the National Center for Education Statistics show 33-, 45-, and 49-point gaps between the reading performance of multilingual learners and their English-dominant peers as measured by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in grades 4, 8, and 12, respectively (Hussar et al., 2020).

Another related factor to consider is the status of the language for Latinx students, the majority of whom share Spanish as their L1. The less-prestigious status of the Spanish language in many English-dominant cultures directly affects the way Latinos perceive themselves in relation to their culture and language (Veltman, 1990; Winstead & Wang, 2017). Of importance also are the social-historical views of the English-dominant culture regarding the reading achievement of Latinx students as a group, particularly among teachers. For example, in a recent study by Ogletree and Griffin (2020), pre-service and in-service educators overwhelmingly explained gaps in reading achievement between Latinx and White, English-dominant students using a deficit orientation, such as perceiving bi/multilingualism as a disadvantage, intimating inadequate home literacy environments, and questioning the educability of Latinx students.

In addition, while most Latinx parents are employed and have a stable source of income, they are often paid far less for the same work than others and are often subjected to irregular or unusually long work hours. Latinx parents, particularly fathers, spend more time at work and less time with their families and children than their White or Black counterparts. In 2017, 57% of Latinx children below the age of 18—twice as many as White children—came from economically-disadvantaged households, impacting their ability to access basic resources. These inequities are further magnified when we consider undocumented immigrants. All of these factors—poverty, lack of resources, irregular work hours, and other systemic inequities—limit the economic and social mobility of many Latinx parents and make investing time in their children’s education challenging (Gennetian et al., 2019).

Rethinking Reading Motivation

Motivation to read is a multifaceted process and an integral part of academic success and vocational attainment of all students (e.g., Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000; Schiefele et al., 2012). However, as the preceding section shows, the historical and current challenges to reading motivation in multilingual Latinx adolescents pose a more imminent threat to their academic achievement.

In the next section, we highlight factors (see Table 1 below for summary) that have been identified as susceptible sources or “soft spots” that potentially impact the reading motivation of Latinx adolescents and offer reading teachers suggestions for reconsidering the tuition of this special group of learners. As such, we ask the following question: *What factors impact the reading motivation of Latinx multilingual learners?*

Environmental Contributions

Latinx adolescents' motivation to read is influenced by the social-cultural contexts in which students live, including family, peers (Guthrie et al., 2013; Ivey & Johnston, 2013), teachers (Unrau et al., 2015), and community members who often serve as role models and share reading interests and conversations surrounding their favorite topics within the physical environment (e.g., classroom) where learning occurs. Traditionally, teachers' attempts to increase reading motivation have been characterized by heightened focus on competition among learners, teacher-directed pedagogy, and teaching reading using texts that represent other people's perspectives (Jones, 2020).

Alternatively, we propose viewing the teaching of reading as a collaborative process, where teachers act as facilitators of a student-led classroom, and encourage students to select books that reflect their own lives and experiences within and outside of the classroom. This can be accomplished by asking students to interact with other classmates in a virtual environment via screen sharing, using cultural props and objects that facilitate sharing their multisensory experiences with classmates and increasing their motivation to read (Kamil et al., 2008).

Diversity of Reading Texts

Multilingual adolescents have been reported to benefit from learning and reading different texts and for various purposes (Francis et al., 2006). Therefore, diversity of topics, genres (expository versus narrative), and purpose (social versus academic language) of what is being read would likely promote reading motivation, thus rendering the task of reading more diversified, accessible, and enjoyable. By contrast, students will likely avoid reading texts that are inaccessible, often viewing them as more difficult and less enjoyable to read (Griffin, 2019).

However, it is well established that different texts require different types of media. Teachers must thus tailor reading instruction to the needs of their individual students, which vary greatly based on the nature and purpose (i.e., academic versus social) of what is being read, as well as developmental changes in preference for reading media, with younger children indicating preference for reading printed texts and adolescents favoring reading digital books (Duncan et al., 2016).

Integrative Motivation

The diversity of issues that surround adolescent reading span the ways in which students come to view themselves and appraise their learning to read. This centers on their desire to fit within the English-dominant American culture. Accordingly, students' reading motivation is inextricably linked to their perceived success in making new friends and understanding the American way of life. Often referred to as integrative motivation, it has been generally viewed as a positive step toward acculturation within the community (Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000). Teachers are encouraged to support their Latinx students' efforts at acculturation through various activities and events that facilitate sharing of cultural practices and adopting new ones that are characteristic of the English-dominant culture.

Instrumental Motivation

In addition to being motivated to read to fit in and integrate within the English-dominant culture, Latinx multilingual students often resort to reading as their means to obtain a higher societal status, get jobs, and earn a good living. Instrumental motivation centers on how students view the practical value of a task (Gardner & Lambert, 1972) and contributes to English learners' reading motivation (Protacio, 2017). Instrumentally motivated students, for example, may want to read an assigned novel for class because they recognize that doing so will earn them a good grade. Studies have shown that multilingual learners are more motivated to work toward academic success in general and reading achievement particularly when they are able to connect what they are learning to their career goals (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2003; Sturtevant & Kim, 2010). Teachers could then make the connection between reading motivation and academic achievement more explicit to their students, which will likely contribute to favorable reading and overall academic outcomes.

Self-Competence as a Reader

While various functions of reading motivation propel students to engage in the process, it is their self-concept and by extension their self-efficacy or self-competence that shapes how they would approach the reading task and eventually succeed or fail at reading tasks. Traditionally, self-concept as a reader has been viewed as characteristic of the individual student and somewhat static in nature. In fact, there is consensus that for Latinx multilingual adolescents, self-competence decreases over time, and so does their reading motivation (Guthrie et al., 2013; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000).

Unlike the other variables, however, self-concept as a reader is highly dynamic in nature, likely changing as the context for reading changes. In fact, self-concept as a reader does not develop within students in isolation; it is thought to be shared and co-constructed by students and teachers within the learning environment. Consequently, teachers must promote their students' self-concept as readers by engaging them in reading activities in which they will likely succeed, thereby facilitating consistent growth in their reading motivation.

Reading Attitude

Reading attitude has been viewed as an integral part of reading motivation (Bussert-Webb & Zhang, 2018). Readers who view themselves as capable readers tend to read more and become increasingly proficient at reading (Chow et al., 2018) in L1 and L2 (Dörnyei, 1998). This attitude has been proposed to be invariant across contexts and unchangeable irrespective of the reading task. However, a closer look at the construct of reading attitude reveals that it may vary as a function of the learning context and be shaped by the reading task (Sturtevant & Kim, 2010). Contrary to being static, reading motivation is characterized by both inter-individual and intra-individual variability (e.g., Neugebauer & Gilmour, 2020).

Teachers must thus monitor changes in students’ reading attitudes and adjust reading tasks accordingly to maintain a positive attitude toward reading and increase reading motivation.

Gender

Differences have been reported between females and males in reading motivation (Jacobs et al., 2002; Pitcher et al., 2007) and more recently among adolescent multilingual Latinos (e.g., Griffin et al., 2020). Such differences are likely attributed to socialization factors and potential oral language differences between males and their female counterparts within the broader Latinx culture that were unaccounted for in previous studies. Relatedly, research also shows differences in reading preferences across genders, with boys more likely to use e-readers compared to girls (Tveist & Mangen, 2014).

The findings related to gender differences are amenable to change, however, particularly in the current climate brought about educational experiences of all learners and Latinx learners in particular within a digital environment (Espinoza & Strasser, 2020). Teachers are encouraged to capitalize on the fact that Latinx male and female learners may find themselves equally advantaged compared to their White, English-dominant counterparts and encouraged to share their emotions and sociocultural knowledge more openly in a virtual learning context.

Table 1
Motivational Constructs for Latinx Adolescents

Motivational Constructs	Traditional Approach	New Approach
Environmental Contributions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Fosters competition ● Teacher directed ● Books representing the lives of others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Fosters collaboration ● Student led ● Teacher as facilitator ● Books reflecting readers’ own lives and experiences
Diversity of Reading Texts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Fixed texts suggested by former teachers/reading panel; not always accessible and enjoyable texts ● Texts are not matched to the students’ current reading level. ● No teacher guidance/facilitation in book selection. ● Same texts are required/expected for all students. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Diversity of texts reflecting various topics and genres for various purposes to promote both social and academic language ● Accessible and enjoyable texts ● Matching texts to the student’s current interests and reading level ● Teacher guides students’ book selection ● Heavy reliance on e-books
Integrative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Desire to fit within the English- 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Desire to fit within the digital

Motivation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● dominant American culture ● Reading motivation is linked to perceived success in making new friends from the mainstream culture ● Potential adverse effects of becoming less popular among peers who share similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds ● Need to differentiate between DREAMers and non-DREAMers—additional social-emotional stress, financial burden, feeling of uncertainty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● world and gain popularity among peers from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds (both mainstream and non-mainstream cultures)
Instrumental Motivation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A means to an end—achieving higher social status, job prospects and marketability; better living standards within a specific geographic region/area ● Make the link to success in life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A means to achieve a higher social standing, better self-image and pragmatic gains with the goal being external rewards, appraisal, and self-fulfillment that are not confined by geography.
Self-Competence as a Reader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Characteristic of the individual student ● Static in nature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Shared and co-constructed by students and teachers within the learning (physical or virtual environment) ● Dynamic in nature
Reading Attitude	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Unchangeable across contexts, situations, and tasks ● Characteristic of the group as opposed to the individual student ● Examine students only 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Varies as a function of contexts, situations, tasks ● Characterized by both inter-individual and intra-individual variability ● Examines both students' and teachers' perceptions and misconceptions around reading motivation and instructional issues

Recommendations for Traditional and Online Classrooms

As noted, reading motivation comprises cognitive (skills), psychological (appraisal of self as a reader, reading attitude), and social (practices of communities) constructs. As such, effective reading instruction for Latinx adolescents should take all of these constructs into consideration and focus on the whole student to promote trust, belonging, self-concept, and self-confidence. Building on Cummins (2011), who asserts that what constitutes effective instruction for language learners is also good for all learners, we present

suggestions for teachers of *all* learners, with the unique needs and experiences of Latinx multilingual adolescents in mind. While these suggestions are not entirely new, they constitute a springboard for building on the assets that Latinx adolescents bring to traditional and virtual classrooms. We thus set out to answer the following question: *What practical recommendations promote the reading motivation of Latinx multilingual learners in both traditional and online/virtual classrooms?*

Social-Emotional Relationship Building

A strengths-based approach necessitates the cultivation of genuine relationships between teachers and students—relationships built on mutual trust. This is particularly true for Latinx multilingual adolescents, many of whom have already been conditioned through compounding negative reading experiences to not believe in themselves or trust people who are not like them. Such relationship-building helps teachers gain a fuller understanding of the whole learner, which promotes respect for the students and all they bring to the classroom. Teacher self-disclosure is one way to build trust, and can be accomplished through student-led projects that showcase aspects of students' lives and cultures. Ideally, teachers would equally participate in these types of projects to share aspects of their lives, families, and cultures (Colombo et al., 2019).

However, building meaningful teacher-student relationships is not confined to the traditional classroom, but must be fostered in online settings, which can prove challenging (Song et al., 2016). Importantly, teachers should not assume students know how to use the technology and must be intentional about teaching how to navigate it. Once students feel comfortable in their online environment, they must be given opportunities to get to know their teachers and classmates.

Oral Language Development

Oral language development is connected to reading development (Fisher & Frey, 2018), especially for language learners (August & Shanahan, 2017/2006). As such, students should be given lots of opportunities to speak during and outside of class. Class discussions should be recurring parts of the ebb and flow of class time, and must include conversations in both L1 (Spanish) and L2 (English) about relevant, engaging, and diverse texts for adolescents. Furthermore, using both contextualized as well as decontextualized language, teachers could facilitate and promote oral language development, which is paramount for the development of literacy of Latinx adolescents (August & Shanahan, 2017/2006).

In online settings, conversations can take place via video chats. In synchronous sessions, teachers should provide opportunities for all students to respond with a digital hand raise, cue cards, or gestures during lessons (Oczkus, 2020). Talk should not be limited to face-to-face or synchronous video chats, but span student presentations as a great way to get students talking and engaging with the content. Teachers are encouraged to use various tools that are available for conducting engaging online discussions, such as FlipGrid, VoiceThread, Seesaw,

Screencastify, Screencast-O-Matic, Google Sheets, Kahoot!, Book Creator, podcasts, etc. (Buchholz et al., 2020).

Engaging, Relevant Texts

Like any skill, reading takes practice. The more reading opportunities students have, the more they will come to enjoy and appreciate reading. To accomplish this, students need access to highly engaging and relevant texts in which they see themselves and characters who are like them (Smith et al., 2016). Surveying students to determine what their reading interests are would be a valuable first step to introducing them to various reading genres and prescribing activities where reading materials come from various sources and reflect diverse perspectives (Conradi et al., 2013).

Because multilingual learners may associate reading in English with adapting to the English-dominant U.S. culture, teachers should be intentional in assigning texts about immigrant experiences to facilitate the acculturation of their students. By reading authentic, multicultural, texts, multilingual learners see the value of their own cultural and linguistic heritage (Gopalakrishnan, 2011), which positively impacts their reading motivation.

Literacy-Rich Environments

Undoubtedly, classroom environments that are welcoming and inviting also promote motivation. While elementary teachers are generally cognizant of the importance of classroom aesthetics, high school teachers are typically not. To enhance reading motivation, a classroom library is in order—one with a variety of books with highly engaging themes, in multiple languages, and written on a comprehensible level. Those readers with backgrounds in applied linguistics or ESOL will recognize Krashen's (2003) concept of comprehensible input, which simply implies language learners (or the Krashenian term would likely be "acquirers") best understand concepts that are broken down into comprehensible, organized structures at their current language level and one level beyond. This is Krashen's version of scaffolding, which is reminiscent of Vygotsky's (1978) zone of proximal development (ZPD).

Access to interesting, accessible texts is an entry point to build and bolster students' self-competence as readers (Lupo et al., 2019). Teachers could provide adapted academic texts that are simplified and translated into L1 (Echevarría et al., 2018) and supplementary materials (e.g., graphic organizers) is another way to ensure that students have access to texts that promote literacy in L1 and L2. Collectively, such adaptations are conducive to a low-stress learning environment where literacy is front and center—all ways to build trust and self-confidence.

Collaborative Learning

Furthermore, pairing students can be helpful, as some students may find the positive peer pressure engendered by such partnerships beneficial. Teachers could then pair students intentionally based on reading, cognitive, and social-emotional

development (Goldenberg, 2013). More-motivated students could share with their less-motivated peers how they deal with obstacles to reading comprehension, including how they decode unfamiliar vocabulary or complex sentence structures (Protacio, 2012). Book clubs focusing on book buddies and intentional grouping of peers with various reading levels to promote mentoring and cooperation is one practical way to pair students (Schreuder & Savitz, 2020).

Central to collaborative learning is fostering a sense of belonging, especially in online contexts. Fitting into a digital environment and gaining popularity among peers from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds (both dominant and non-dominant cultures) is paramount and must be the goal. As such, teachers can set up discussion or Padlet groups to help facilitate meaningful interactions between students (Buchholz et al., 2020).

Connecting Reading and Life Success

Explicitly underscoring the value of reading such that students see the connection to overall academic achievement and job success is also vital. This can be done through inviting role models, guest speakers, and mentors of similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds as the students' to share their real-life experiences on a regular and sustainable basis. Multilingual learners will be inspired by seeing someone of their own ethnic and/or cultural group who has attained a high level of success. Such experiences would serve to shape students' perceptions about themselves and the world around them and ultimately improve their reading motivation (Callahan, 2013).

Concluding Thoughts

This paper has been a call for broadening what it means to be “motivated” for Latinx adolescent learners with focus on digital and other electronic modes of literacy reflecting cultural experiences and literate practices inside and outside of school (Buchholz et al., 2020). This expanded perspective can be achieved through an interactive approach to reading motivation and instruction, one that expands on current empirical and pedagogical research, and supports Latinx adolescent reading motivation. Put differently, we are urging teachers to find what motivates their students and create meaningful learning experiences around their interests (Marino, 2009). For example, today's students—Latinos included—are savvy at using different media. However, our narrow definition of literacy has resulted in marginalizing many students who have demonstrated strong skills in specialized areas that require technology, most of which are not reflected in classroom exams and reading assessments. Finding ways to nurture students' interest with different forms of media can be an important starting point. This perspective is consistent with that of Jones (2020), who advocates teaching practices that foster student competition instead of cooperation, teacher-directedness rather than student-directedness, and motivating readers through exposure to mainstream—as opposed to individual students'—cultural values and practices.

Because reading is not only a cognitive process, but linked to social groups and cultural practices (Huang et al., 2014), environmental and contextual factors must be central to our understanding of reading motivation (Wood & Jocius, 2013). Reading motivation of Latinx adolescent learners must thus be viewed as a nested process, central to which is the individual learner who is constantly changing in response to proximal and distal processes within an evolving ecosystem (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994). Understanding the whole student within this ecosystem would enable teachers to identify areas of need and strengths to bolster reading motivation of Latinx adolescents and, hopefully, improve their reading outcomes.

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