LOVE OF READING MEETS PISA ASSESSMENTS: HISTORICAL INSIGHTS IN THE DISCOURSE ON READING MOTIVATION

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One of the most notable phenomena during the last two decades in the educational field has been the global shock wave sent all over the world by the PISA assessments. As if by chance it was detected that competence in reading is dependent on reading motivation. Fluent reading requires practice, i.e., a sufficient number of pages read and hours spent in reading, which requires an intrinsic motivation to read in the person who reads. To a certain extent, one has to love reading. This article seeks to study how the role of the reading motivation, or love of reading, was detected, where the necessary theoretical and methodological knowhow was found, and how the whole process revives an age-old rhetorical tradition in the discourse on reading.

KEYWORDS: *history of reading, love of reading, discourse on reading, motivation for reading, reading motivation, engagement in reading, PISA Assessments.*

INTRODUCTION

A conspicuous phenomenon in the educational field during the last two decades has been the global shock wave sent all over the world by the PISA assessments.[1] The PISA shock resulted in a universal vogue of reading campaigns, reforms of school curricula and education policies as well as a lively discussion on the status of reading. There is a great worry that reading has lost its power in the midst of the advances of new technologies, globalization and changes in life styles. This has meant a great intensification of the discourse on reading. There is more talk about reading than ever.

1 General information on the PISA tests: http://www.oecd.org/pisa/.

The goal of this article is to put the recent phenomena in a longer historical perspective.[2] The present discussion on reading, and, in particular, on the motivation for reading, is part of a long-term historical discourse that started in the early modern era. The author has in a number of previous articles[3] presented the birth and aspects of the international growth of the discourse on the motivation for reading. It seems that a belief in the existence of an innate *motivation for reading*, or in more colloquial English, *love of reading*, in people has been in the centre of the modern reading culture.

The object of inquiry in this article is the discourse on reading motivation, i.e., how people were and are talking about the motivation for reading, not the real acts of reading or practices of reading in the physical world.

While we[4] admit that when we limit our study to discourse and leave important aspects of reading behaviour out of consideration, there is reason to emphasize that the ways in which people talk or write about reading, the vocabulary they use, and, of course, the contents of their communication, strongly affect, as well as reflect, the reading behaviour and the attitudes towards reading. Discourse is a context, where reading is legitimated, evaluated and controlled.

The motivation that is referred to in this article is, predominantly, intrinsic, i.e., a drive, urge or temptation that a person feels – or is said to feel – when he or she is drawn to reading. The extrinsic motivation comes from the surroundings of a person. It can be benign, friendly persuasion by parents and peers or more authoritarian, as it used to be in schools.

We could define discourse on reading motivation in this context as a series of discussions, where the theme is motivation for reading, or other discussions, where the concept of reading motivation is used as an argument. The discussions or debates come and go, but the discourse may last for centuries.
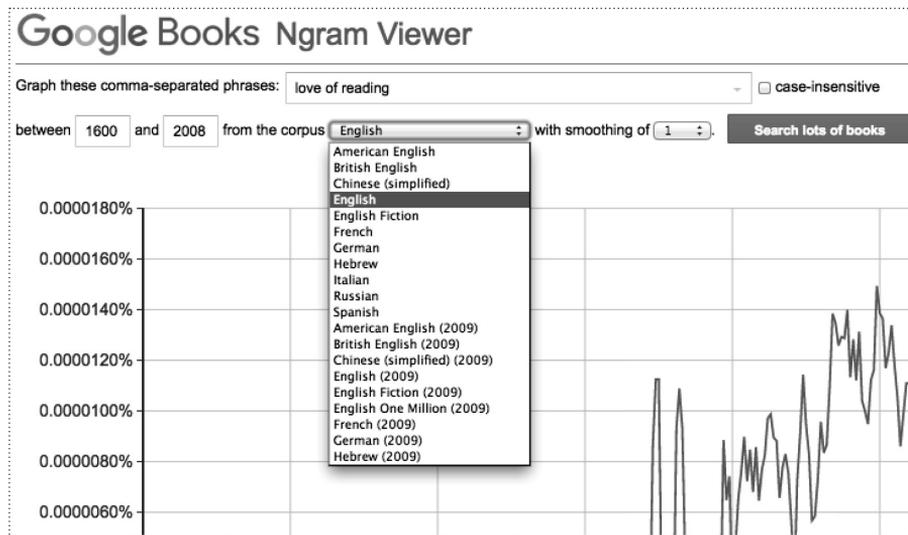
GOOGLE NGRAM VIEWER AS A TOOL

The discourse that we study is by nature international, and this quality becomes more and more evident the nearer we come to our own time. But the evolution of the discourse is not the same everywhere. There are interesting differences between the countries and languages, which deserve attention.

Since it is not feasible to study a large number of literatures or languages at the same time, we have chosen four large language areas: British English, American English, French and German, which are included in the languages that are available in Google Ngram Viewer, our principal research tool.

Google Books Ngram Viewer is a service provided by Google. It uses the millions digitized books in the Google Books database. The digitized texts are

analysed into ngrams, i.e., into groups of one up to five words. This is done in order to make the automatic processing of the data more efficient. Some of the features of the service that have importance for our study will be presented in the course of this article.

We shall start our scrutiny with the English language and its two principal variants, British English and American English, and then proceed to the

PICTURE 1. Search page of Google Ngram Viewer and its choice of language corpora

3 MÄKINEN, Ilkka. Leselust, Goût de la Lecture, Love of Reading: Patterns in the discourse on reading in Europe from the 17th until the 19th century. In *Good Book, Good Library, Good Reading*: Studies in the History of the Book, Libraries and Reading from the Network HIBOLIRE and Its Friends. Tampere, 2013. 315 p. Available in: http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:uta-201404021299 (Feb 28, 2018); MÄKINEN, Ilkka. Why people read: Jean-Jacques Rousseau on the love of reading. In GUSTAFSSON, Dorrit; LINNOVAARA, Kristina (des.). *Essays on Libraries, Cultural Heritage and Freedom of Information.* Helsinki, 2013, p. 127-136. Available in: http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:uta-201402171136 (Feb 28, 2018); MÄKINEN, Ilkka. Reading like monks: The death or survival of the love of reading? In LAURISTIN, Marju; VIHALEMM, Peeter (eds.). *Reading in changing society*. Tartu, 2014, p. 13-27. Available in: http://www.tyk.ee/admin/upload/files/raamatud/1400157894.pdf (Feb 28, 2018); MÄKINEN, Ilkka. From Literacy to Love of Reading: The *Fennomanian* Ideology of Reading in the 19th-century Finland. *Journal of Social History*, 2015, Vol. 48, p. 287-299. Doi: 10.1093/jsh/shv039.

French and German languages. There are more languages available in Google Ngram Viewer, and the same phenomena that we are studying appear in these languages, but it would be impractical to include more countries and language areas into one short article. A study with a more global coverage will be published later. Here is the search page of Google Ngram Viewer with its choice of language corpora[5] (Picture 1).

DISCOURSE ON THE MOTIVATION FOR READING IN BRITISH AND AMERICAN ENGLISH

In the English language, the discourse on the motivation for reading has since the 18th century been conducted using a variety of phrases, such as *love of/for reading*, *habit of reading*, *desire to read*, *pleasure of reading*, *taste for reading*, which were positive or at least neutral in tone, and phrases, such as *reading rage*, *reading mania*, that were more negatively tuned. Most of the phrases carry an emotional or moralistic undertone. We shall call them *emotional phrases*. We are in this article interested in the positive side of the discussion and put for the moment aside the negative phrases.

Some of the phrases, e.g., *habit of reading*, *pleasure of reading*, *desire to read*, could be used for other purposes[6], not related to this discourse, which makes them unreliable indicators of this particular discourse. Other phrases, however, are more destined to appear in a discussion on the reading motivation. The most unambiguous phrases in the English language that have appeared in this discourse since the 18th century seem to be *love of reading*, *love for reading* and perhaps *taste for reading* as well, all with a strong emotional tinge. All these phrases are composed of ordinary colloquial words and they are easily used and understood by everyone.

During the last decades, however, new, theoretically based phrases have become popular. These phrases often include elements such as *engage*, *engagement*, *motivation*, *motivated* etc. The phrases may appear as *engaged reader(s)*, *reading motivation*, *motivation for reading*, *motivation in reading* etc. They will be called *theoretical phrases* in this article. We shall later see the origin of this kind of phrases.

Similar sets of phrases or terms appear in other languages. After we have looked into the English corpora (English, British English, American English), we shall turn to the corpora of Google Ngram Viewer that contain ngrams from French and German literature.

When we put together in a string a large number of suitable phrases related to the discourse on the motivation for reading and let Google Ngram Viewer

make a graph, we are able to see the long-term evolution of the discourse, at least so far as it is conducted using these phrases. First we must, however, clarify some qualities of our tool, Google Ngram Viewer.

Google Ngram Viewer has among its corpora one that covers English literature wherever it is published in the world. This will be our first test environment. It depends quite a lot of how the parameters of the graph are set. This
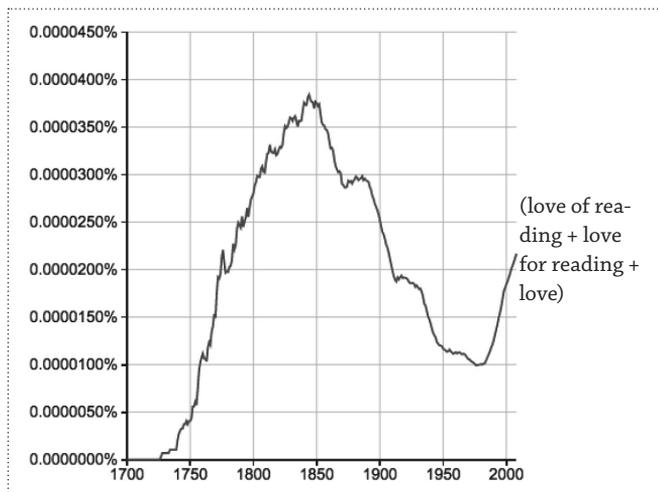
GRAPH 1. Google Ngram Viewer curve drawn from the corpus English for the period 1700-2008 with a moving average of 10 years using phrases:

love of reading + love for reading + loves reading + love reading + taste for reading + engaged reader + engaged readers + reading motivation+ motivated reader + motivated readers + reading engagement+ motivation in reading + motivation for reading. Numbers on the left side of the graph represent relative frequencies of how often the phrases or ngrams appear in the corpus for each year. The numbers are relative, displayed in percentages. 1.0 means that a particular ngram appears once in a hundred ngrams in a particular year, 0.1 means once in a thousand ngrams, etc.[7]

4 I am speaking here of the larger research project, not just about this article.
5 For more information on Google Books Ngram Viewer, see https://books.google.com/ngrams and MICHEL, Jean-Baptiste et al. Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books. *Science,* 2011, Vol. 331, Issue 6014, p. 176–182. DOI: 10.1126/science.1199644 (Feb 28,2018). There are lots of issues concerning the characteristics, potentialities and problems of this service. We shall treat them in detail elsewhere.

In this article we use only the basic tools of the service with no sophisticated statistical goals.
6 E.g., *habit of reading* was in the 18th-19th centuries used when speaking about proper style of reading aloud, *pleasure of reading* was used as a complimentary phrase, e.g., "I had the pleasure of reading your letter", *desire to read* was used in court and parliamentary jargon.
7 All graphs using Google Ngram Viewer were done between February 15–February 28, 2018.

time we use only the basic tools of Google Ngram Viewer. One of the useful options is the moving average, which can be set between 0–50 years. If we choose the moving average of 10 years, this means that for each year an average is calculated using 10 years in both directions, left and right, of the target year[8]. This is often useful, because too low a moving average produces zigzag type of curves that are not always helpful. If we choose the moving average of 10 years, the curve is smoother and easier to understand, when we are looking at long periods of time, in our case hundreds of years. Sometimes, however, lower levels of moving average produce more illustrative curves.

Already this curve (Graph 1) is illustrative. We see that the discourse was initiated during the first part of the 18th century. We assume that the more the phrases related to this discourse were used, the more intensely the discourse was conducted. The 19th century was the first great climax of the discourse on love of reading. A natural explanation are the advancement mass education, the growth of the literary market as well other great processes, such as industrialization and urbanization. They all created lots of discussion about reading. There is another peak in the intensity of the discourse at the end of the 20th century. We shall return to it later.

As we said earlier, the discourse is international, but each country has its own peculiarities that depend on the historical, national and linguistic circumstances. There are interesting differences already between the British English and American English curves.
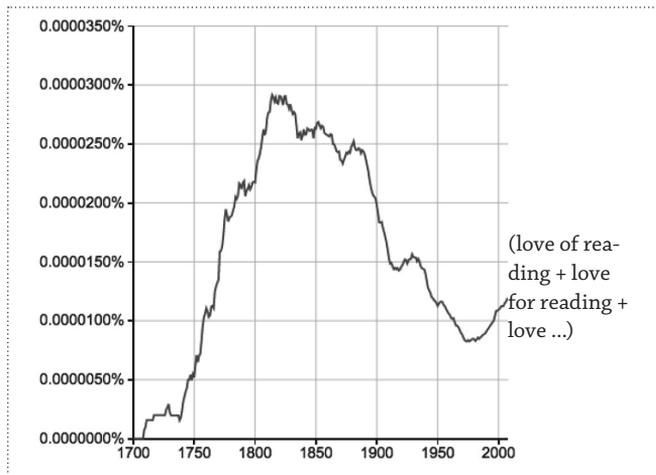
GRAPH 2. British English 1700-2008 (Google Ngram Viewer).
PARAMETERS are the same as in Graph 1.
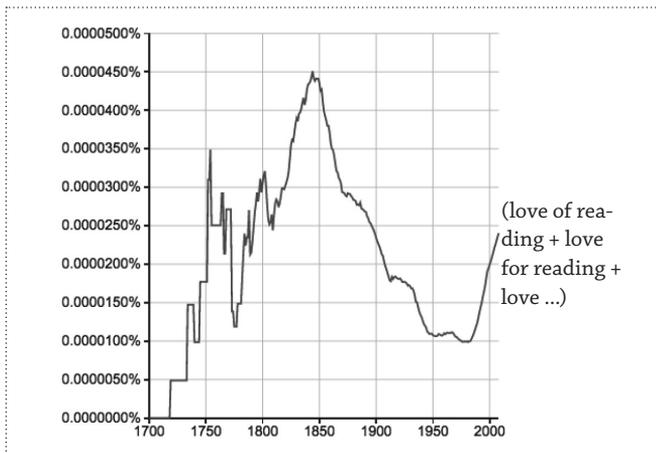
GRAPH 3. American English 1700-2008 (Google Ngram Viewer).

PARAMETERS ARE the same as in Graph 1.

The curves resemble one another, but the first climax in British English appears a few years earlier, and the last peak is more moderate than in American English. There are some sharp peaks in the American English curve in the second half of the 18th century, which may be explained by a more modest American book production during that period: phrases in a smaller number of books may produce more sudden peaks. This does not disturb the general picture here, however.

The vocabulary used in the discourse until the end of the 20th century was part of the everyday language, expressions that were directly understood, often with moral undertones. They are mostly those that we call emotional phrases in this article. As we said earlier, a set of different kind of phrases has emerged during the last decades. These phrases originate from academic research in educational psychology, and it is natural to call them *theoretical phrases*. In the following two graphs we split the emotional and theoretical phrases into different curves (Graph 4 and 5).

These graphs show how the theoretical phrases contribute to the increase in the curves during the last decades. The rather sudden intensification of the discourse is a product of the combined effect of emotional and theoretical phrases. We also see that the turn upwards is sharper in both types of phrases in the American curves.

8 About moving average in Google Ngram Viewer, see https://books.google.com/ngrams/info.

GRAPH 4. British English 1700-2008 (Google Ngram Viewer).

PHRASES: *(Love of reading + love for reading + loves reading + love reading + taste for reading), (engaged reader + engaged readers + reading motivation + motivated reader + motivated readers + reading engagement+ motivation in reading + motivation for reading)*. Other parameters are the same as in Graph 1.

GRAPH 5. American English 1700–2008 (Google Ngram Viewer).

PHRASES: *(Love of reading + love for reading + loves reading + love reading + taste for reading), (engaged reader + engaged readers + reading motivation + motivated reader + motivated readers + reading engagement + motivation in reading + motivation for reading)*. Other parameters are the same as in Graph 1.

Here we must also say something about the frequency figures that are on the left side of the graphs. The numbers represent percentages for the appearance among phrases, or more strictly among ngrams, that is, groups of words that are used in the corpora for the purposes of data processing. The highest value in the American English curve is 0,000045%, which means that there are 4,5 cases of ngrams or phrases that interest us in 10 million ngrams. This is, of course, very little, but we are in the first place interested in the relative positions of phrases in relation to each other.

Furthermore, we must understand that phrases about reading, and more particularly, about motivational aspects of reading, seldom are on everybody's lips, or on every printed page, whereas ordinary individual words, such as *reading*, appear more often. The frequency of the word *reading* in a Google Ngram Viewer search ranges from 0,0030 in the year 1700 till 0,0103 in the year 2008 (Graph 6).

GRAPH 6. The word *reading* in English in the period 1700-2008 according to Google Ngram Viewer with the moving average of 10 years.

Reading shows a rather smooth increase until the first decades of the 20th century. After that there is a remarkable bulge in the first part of the 20th century, after which the curve continues approximately on the same path as before. This shape of the curve means that *reading* is not as symptomatic for the discourse on the motivation for reading as the phrases, although it would be interesting to study closer the temporary intensification in the use of the word *reading*.

Let us next see how the frequencies of the theoretical phrases have behaved since the beginning of the 20th century.
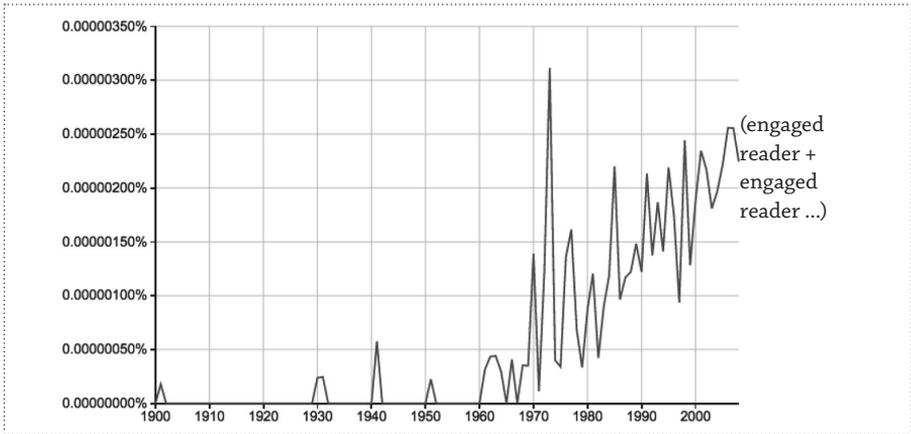
GRAPH 7. British English 1900-2008.

THE PHRASES: *engaged reader + engaged readers + reading motivation + motivated reader + motivated readers + reading engagement + motivation in reading + motivation for reading.* Moving average 0.
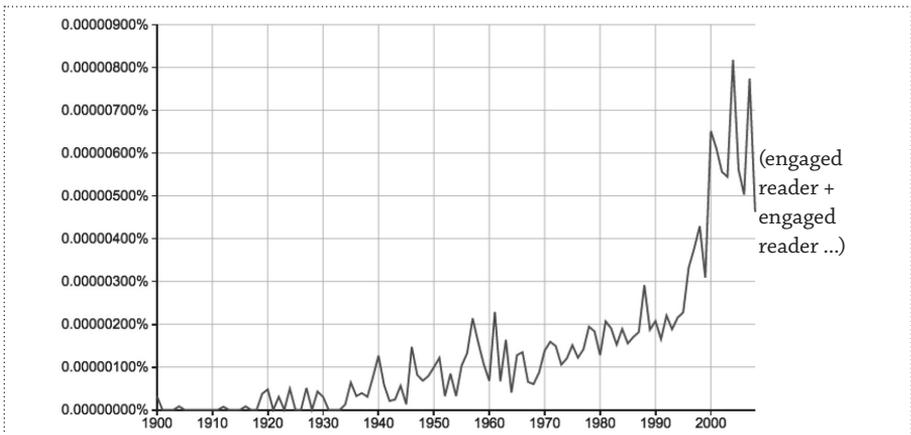
GRAPH 8. American English 1900-2008.

THE PHRASES: *engaged reader+engaged readers+reading motivation+motivated reader+motivated readers+reading engagement+motivation in reading+motivation for reading.* Moving average 0.

The use of phrases that originate principally from academic research publications has risen in both language areas sharply during the 20th century. We don't use moving average in these graphs, which means that each year stands for itself only. This explains the zigzag movement of the curve. The interest in the phrases springs practically from zero in the 1960s in the British English

literature and after that the curve rises more or less regularly (if we omit the annual changes), whereas in American English the phrases appear, although at low frequencies, since the 1920-30s. There also is a more dramatic rise in American English since the mid-1990s. We are probably safe to assume that the general increase in the intensity of the discourse since the 1960s is a result of the widespread worry about the decay of reading in the years when television, videos and other new media started to make their progress. There may be another, more paradoxical explanation as well. Frank Furedi writes about disenchantment with reading from the 1960s onwards. There were scholars maintaining that the claims about the positive benefits from reading were exaggerated.[9] On the other hand, even opinions of this kind are part of the discourse on reading, and increase the frequency of the phrases that we are interested in. The last dramatic rise in American English is a result of the debate on the status of reading in the era of digitalisation and growing social cleavages in the American society as well as of a new phase in the evolution of the academic discussion on the pedagogy of reading.

ENDURING TRADITION IN FRENCH

The French language, which probably was the first vernacular, where the originally Latin vocabulary for the discourse on reading was adopted[10], traditionally has a family of emotional phrases, such as *goût de/pour la lecture*, *désir de lire*, *amour de la lecture* etc. The phrase *goût de la lecture* has traditionally been the most popular, but even other phrases contribute to the curve. During the last decades, new theoretical phrases, such as *motivation à lire*, *motivation de la lecture*, *motivation à la lecture*, *motivation pour la lecture*, *engagement dans la lecture* etc. have been adopted in the discourse (Graph 9).

The last swing upwards is a result of a combined effect of the emotional and theoretical phrases. It seems that the increase in the frequency of the theoretical phrases compensates a decrease in the frequency of the emotional phrases. The turn upwards in the frequency of emotional kind of phrases takes place already in the 1960s, as we see in the next graph (Graph 10).

This graph illustrates the fact that the temporary loss of intensity in the emotional discourse was compensated by the new phraseological elements spurred by the PISA assessments, even if the effect is not as dramatic as one would expect. This may be explained by the French national tradition of

9 FUREDI, Frank. *Power of Reading from Socrates to Twitter*. London; New York, 2015, p. 184–195.

10 MÄKINEN, Ilkka. *Leselust, Goût de la Lecture, Love of Reading…*
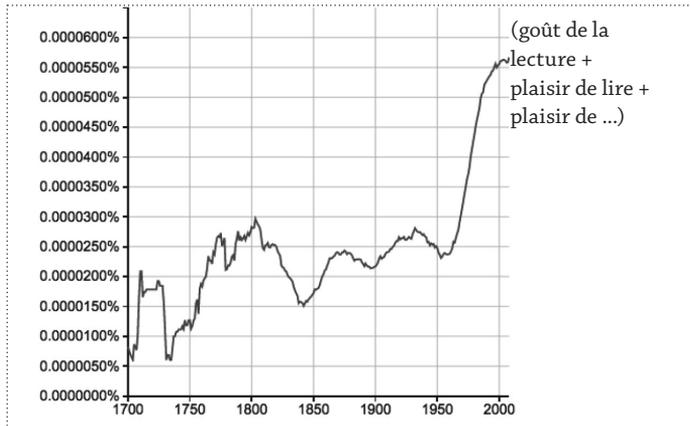
GRAPH 9. French 1700-2008 (Google Ngram Viewer).

THE PHRASES: *goût de la lecture + plaisir de lire+plaisir de la lecture + goût pour la lecture + passion pour la lecture + motivation à lire + motivation de la lecture + motivation à la lecture + motivation pour la lecture + engagement dans la lecture*. Some potential phrases had to be left out because the search window of Google Ngram Viewer does not admit more than 240 characters. Moving average 10.
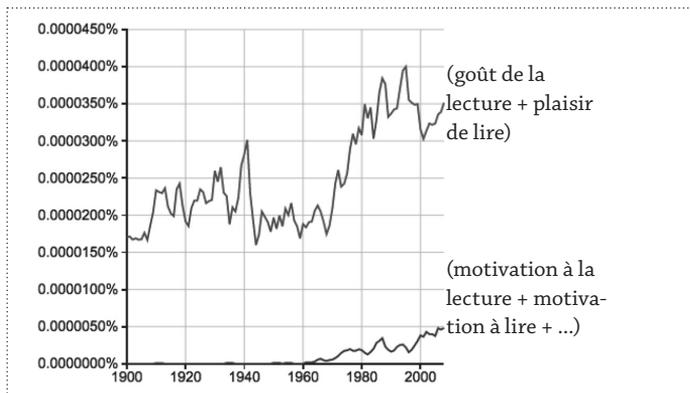
GRAPH 10. French 1700–2008 (Google Ngram Viewer)

THE PHRASES: *(goût de la lecture + plaisir de lire),(motivation à la lecture + motivation à lire + motivation de la lecture + motivation pour la lecture + engagement dans la lecture + engagé dans la lecture + engagés dans la lecture + engagement du lecteur)*. Moving average 1.

literature education in schools, where reading is classics-centred, and it is not easily changed or even debated in a country with great literary traditions. Furthermore, it seems that much of the French sources where the PISA-related terminology is visible come from Canada, where the influence from

U.S. research in educational psychology is stronger than in France. One of the obstacles to the adoption of the PISA-related terminology can be that the English phrase *engagement in reading* in the report "Reading for Change" was translated in the French version of the report as *engagement à l'égard de la lecture*[11], which perhaps did not inspire further use of the phrase. A more direct translation *engagement en lecture* has been mostly used in Canada.

Another phenomenon to be noted is that the upswing of the emotional-traditional French phraseology starts already in the 1960s. We saw this tendency already in the English language. As we said earlier, explanations of this tendency are probably to be found in the growth of the new media, television, videos and digitalization that has caused a worry about the decay of traditional forms of reading.

CONTINUUM OF DISCOURSE IN GERMAN PUBLICATIONS

The finest example of a continuum of discourse from traditional to a combination of traditional and new elements we find in the German literature. The structure of the German language makes in a way our task easy, because German prefers compound word, not such loose phrases as English and French. Compound words crystallize the concepts effectively and there is a tendency that the use of terms is more concentrated than in English and French, where the variety of phrases is greater.

In German the most popular term in the discourse that we are studying has since the 18th century been *Leselust* as a positive term. The negative sides of the reading behaviour were referred to with the terms *Lesewut* and *Lesesucht*. The German discussion on the perils of reading was rather dramatically tuned at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the next century with the negative phrase *Lesesucht* on top, and even during the 20th century another negative term *Lesewut* has been popular.

The vehemence of the *Lesesucht* debate is illustrated in graph 11.

There is dominating peak in the use of *Lesesucht* in 1791 (in the curve it is spread on a longer period because of the moving average). This peak dwarfs the evolution of the other terms. If we set the start of the period in the year 1800, the graph becomes more intelligible (graph 12).
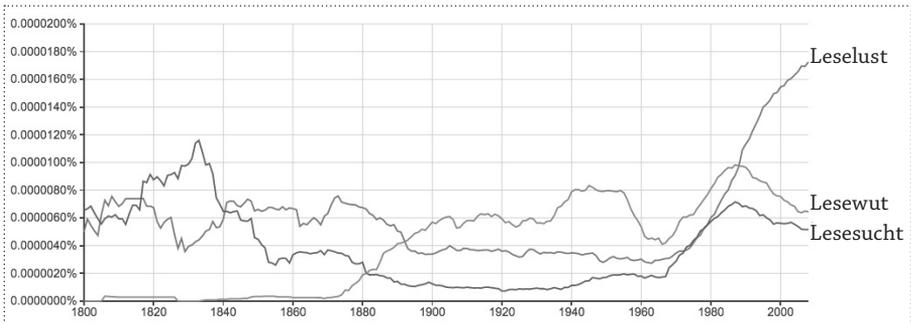
11 KIRSCH, Irwin. *PISA La lecture, moteur de changement*. Paris, 2003. Available in: http://www. oecd.org/education/school/programmeforinter-

nationalstudentassessmentpisa/33690971.pdf (Feb28,2018).

GRAPH 11. German 1770–2008 (Google Ngram Viewer).

WORDS: *Leselust, Lesesucht, Lesewut*. Moving average 10.

GRAPH 12. German 1800–2008 (Google Ngram Viewer).

WORDS: *Leselust, Lesesucht, Lesewut*. Moving average 10.

We see that *Lesesucht* dominated the discourse in 1820–1840, and that *Lesewut*, another sinister term concerning reading, has been the most popular of the three from the 1890s until the 1980s, but the supremacy of *Leselust* has been uncontested since the beginning of the 1990s. Some of the use of the negative terms during the 20th century may have originated from academic studies in the history of reading. But since the 1960s the general worry about the decay of reading has moved *Leselust* in the forefront.

If we look at *Leselust* alone, we see that its path has been rising dramatically since the 1960s, with a decisive turn in the 1980s (graph 13).

While *Leselust* represents the traditional colloquial type of terms, *Lesemotivation* is a typical example of the novel theoretical terms (graph 14).

The abrupt rise of *Lesemotivation* has been rather clearly triggered by the first PISA Assessment where German schoolchildren were not on top. Perhaps

GRAPH 13. German 1800–2008 (Google Ngram Viewer).

WORD: *Leselust*. Moving average 1.

GRAPH 14. German 1800-2008 (Google Ngram Viewer).

WORDS: *Leselust* and *Lesemotivation*. Moving average 1.

nowhere else as in Germany did the PISA shock have so thorough an impact. The rise is so steep that it overshadows the traditional motivational term *Leselust*. It seems that the new term has taken the role of the more traditional term. This has not happened in the English or the French language areas, where the emotional phrases still dominate in the everyday use.

THE PISA EFFECT: WHERE DID THE THEORETICAL TERMS COME FROM?

The tests in the first PISA Assessments conducted in 2000 measured the competence in reading among the pupils. There were, however, extra questionnaires attached to the tests that gathered information about the socio-economic background of the pupils, their reading habits, the number of books

in their homes, etc. This information was supposed to be used in combination with the test results to explain the success or failure of the pupils.[12]

The research articles that were cited in the guidelines[13], presented a number of contextual characteristics that seemed to have an influence on the reading competence, e.g., the number of books in the homes, how much books were read aloud to the child, how much the children read outside the school hours, etc. These features seemed to have an influence on the strength of the reading competence. These studies, however, use almost not at all terms, such as *reading motivation*, *engagement in reading* etc., or *love of reading*, for that matter.[14]

This is why it was such a surprise that the first PISA tests revealed a strong correlation between the reading competence and the motivation for reading,
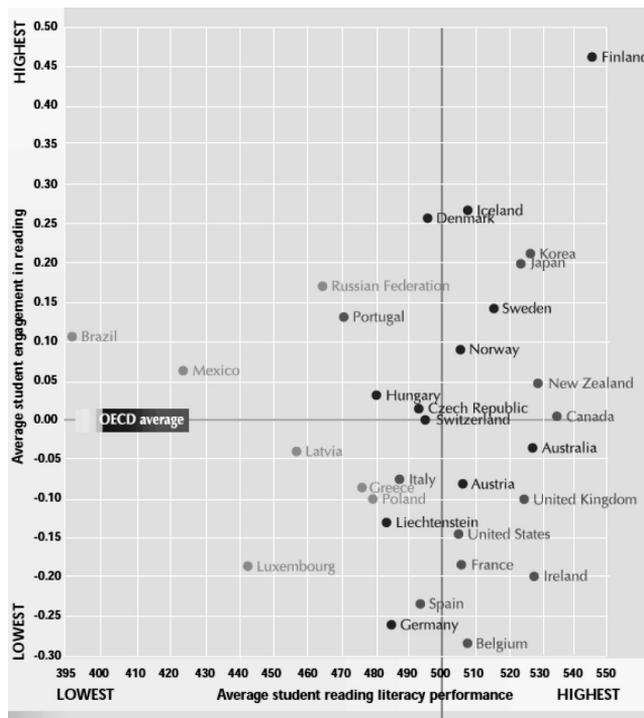
PICTURE 2. Correlation between literacy performance and engagement in reading.

SOURCE: Reading for Change 2002, p. 118. The country that shows the highest level of engagement in reading was Finland (0.46). Other countries where the level of engagement in reading was high were Denmark (0.26), Iceland (0.27), Japan (0.20) and Korea (0.21). By comparison, countries where the level of engagement was relatively low were Belgium (-0.28), Germany (-0.26), Ireland (-0.20), Luxembourg (-0.19) and Spain (-0.23).

and made *motivation* and *engagement* central themes in the educational discussion for the next decades. The report of the first round of PISA Assessments emphasized this already in its title, "Reading for Change, Performance and Engagement Across Countries".[15]

The report contained an illustrative graph about the correlation between the engagement and the competence in reading (Picture 2).

If we look at the curves produced by Google Ngram Viewer for phrases or terms related to motivation and engagement that we have presented earlier in this article, we see that everywhere these curves rise in the 1990s. At the same time, however, we see that this kind of theory-related discussion began its more intensive increase earlier in the USA than in Europe, already during the first half of the 1990s. Why did it happen like this?

The explanation is that the theories of reading engagement and intrinsic motivation that were readily adopted after the first PISA assessment came from the USA. Among many researchers, especially two American educational psychologists, Alan Wigfield and John T. Guthrie were cited in the PISA Assessments report, "Reading for Change", and in national documents as well as in countless research and popular publications after the PISA turn. Guthrie's and Wigfield's influential article in the Handbook of Reading Research (Vol. III in 2000) has been recurrently referred to in later policy and research papers.[16]

The American research on reading that we are talking about here concentrates principally on educational issues of literacy and teaching reading. In their review of the evolution of the American reading research, Alexander and Fox (2013)[17] posit a change in the theory dominating research in reading in the mid-1990s. From the era of Sociocultural Learning that had dominated the scene for a period of ten years eyes were turned to a new dominating theory and the era of Engaged Learning began.

12 *Measuring student knowledge and skills*: A new framework for assessment. Paris, 1999. Available in: http://www.oecd.org/education/school/programmeforinternationalstudentassessment-pisa/33693997.pdf(Feb 218.2018).
13 *Measuring student knowledge and skills*, 1999, p. 37.
14 There seems to be only one clear exception, namely the article by M. C. Smith (1996), where the starting point is "practice engagement theory". One of the results of the study was that "[e]ngaging in a diversity of reading practices is indicative of reading maturity and appears to have important consequences in terms of literacy abilities, regardless of age." SMITH, M. C. Differences in adults' reading practices and literacy proficiencies. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 1996, Vol. 31, p. 196–219.
15 KIRSCH, Irwin et al. *Reading for change*: Performance and engagement across countries: Results from PISA 2000. Paris, 2002. See especially p. 3, 107, 404, but also passim.
16 *Reading for Change*, 2002, p. 404; GUTHRIE, John T. & WIGFIELD, Allan. Engagement and motivation in reading. In KAMIL, M. et al. (eds.). *Handbook of Reading Research*. Vol. 3. Mahwah; London, 2000, p. 403–422.

None of the several earlier currents of research had put much emphasis on individual motivation, but in the late 1980s and in the 1990s there was a decisive turn, when theories of sociocultural constructivism and then psychology of motivation entered the field of research. Based, among other influences, on the psychological theories of self-determination and intrinsic motivation designed by Edward L. Deci and Richard M. Ryan, Guthrie and Wigfield initiated a theory of reading engagement, especially in the classroom environment. An important institutional base was the National Reading Research Center, funded by the U. S. Department of Education. The Center was operated by two universities, namely, the University of Georgia and the University of Maryland College Park. The Center conducted research on reading instruction for schoolchildren guided by the "engagement perspective, which specifies the goal of reading instruction as developing motivated and strategic readers who use literacy for pleasure and learning."[18]

After the first PISA assessment there was a demand for this kind of approach to the problems of reading, especially when the assessment was targeted on schoolchildren's reading competence. This was a demand that the American research could fulfil perfectly. Through OECD, an international organization, under whose auspices the assessments were realized, the impact was felt globally, and the problems of reading were lifted on the agenda of national policies, where they otherwise seldom are prioritized.

FROM A EUROPEAN TO A GLOBAL DISCOURSE

The phenomenal wave of reading campaigns, educational reforms and debate on the status of reading caused by the PISA Assessments is a fine example of the globalization that causes similarity or isomorphism in the administration and policies of states – even without a world government.

Sociologists have studied this kind of state-level behaviour in a global context (regarding other issues than reading). Pertti Alasuutari points out that it is not question of a simple centre–periphery relation, where the centre has the power to dictate what the periphery should think and do, as the older theories of diffusion of ideas might have indicated. It is a more complex network of interests, exchanges and influences. He puts more emphasis "on the active role of local actors, who introduce global models and domesticate them to nation-states. In national policymaking, actors justify new policies by international comparisons, by the successes and failures of models adopted in other countries, and by building and appealing to the authority of international organiza-

tions." The result is that national policies become synchronized with each other, but in each country the actors apply the impulses according to local circumstances and traditions. This is called domestication.[19]

A natural step further in the research on which this article is based would be to study the domestication processes in individual countries. On the other hand, this should be done without losing from sight the truly international character of the discourse on reading. The globalization process of the discourse on love of reading, from which we have seen some glimpses in this article, is becoming complete.

As we have said earlier, the discourse is not a novelty, but part of a historical continuum that has started hundreds of years ago. In the 18th and 19th century it took a hundred years before the discourse had reached all corners of Europe. After the millennium, a new wave of the discourse reached almost instantaneously everywhere on the planet. There seems to be nothing new under the sun, but certainly the earth revolves faster around the sun than before.

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SKAITYMO MALONUMAS IR PISA VERTINIMAI: ISTORINĖS SKAITYMO PASKATŲ ĮŽVALGOS

Ilkka Mäkinen

Santrauka

Tarptautinio mokinių vertinimo programa (PISA) yra tarptautinis vertinimas, pagal kurį kas trejus metus vertinami 15 metų mokinių skaitymo, matematikos ir gamtos mokslų pasiekimai. Pirmą kartą šis vertinimas buvo atliktas 2000 m.; kiekvieno ciklo metu keičiasi pagrindinės mokymosi srities vertinimas, pasirenkant skaitymo, matematikos ir gamtos mokslų sritį. PISA taip pat apima bendrųjų ar tarpdalykinių kompetencijų priemones, tokias kaip bendri problemų sprendimo būdai. Pagal apibrėžimą (angl. *by design*) PISA pabrėžia funkcinius įgūdžius, kuriuos mokiniai įgyja baigdami privalomąjį ugdymą. PISA koordinuoja Ekonominio bendradar-

biavimo ir plėtros organizacija (EBPO), tarpvyriausybinė pramoninių šalių organizacija, o JAV šiuos vertinimus vykdo NCES (Nacionalinis švietimo statistikos centras).

Per pastaruosius du dešimtmečius švietimo srityje vienas iš labiausiai pastebimų reiškinių buvo visą pasaulį palietusi smūgio banga, kurią sukėlė PISA vertinimai. Tarsi atsitiktinai buvo nustatyta, kad skaitymo kompetencija priklauso nuo skaitymo motyvacijos. Sklandžiam skaitymui reikia praktinių įgūdžių, t. y. pakankamai perskaitytų puslapių ir skaitymui skirtų valandų, o tai iš skaitančio asmens pareikalauja vidinės motyvacijos skaityti. Tam tikra prasme reikia pamilti skaitymą. Šiame straipsnyje siekiama ištirti, kaip buvo nustatytas skaitymo motyvacijos ar meilės skaitymui vaidmuo, kur buvo aptiktos būtinos teorinės ir metodinės žinios (angl. *know how*) ir kaip visas procesas atgaivina skaitymo diskurse senąją retorinę tradiciją.