THE DICHOTOMIZATION OF READING-RELATED INTERPRETIVE PATTERNS AT THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO UNIVERSITY – PARTIAL RESULTS OF A QUALITATIVE LONGITUDINAL STUDY

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Abstract

The article deals with the development of interpretive patterns related to reading, literature, and texts at the transition from school to university from a qualitative-reconstructive perspective. The focus is on the thesis that interpretive patterns increasingly break down into two distinct, separate domains during this phase (dichotomization thesis). These areas—private, informal reading and institutional, school-, university-reading—relate to different conscious and unconscious attributions as a result of which different relevance and function are attributed to reading. I illustrate and discuss this phenomenon on the basis of empirical data (narrative interviews in a biographical longitudinal section that are analyzed by means of social science hermeneutics).

Keywords: interpretive patterns related to reading, literature and texts, narrative interviews, socio-scientific hermeneutics

Reading and dealing with texts are important cultural techniques and occupy a central position within school as well as beyond in private, social, economic, or political contexts. "It is undisputed [...] that reading is an indispensable prerequisite of our culture"[1] (Kuhn, 2013, p. 233). What values and ideas do we associate with reading? What function and status do we ascribe to it? How are our attitudes toward reading changing? I will explore these and other questions in the following sections by looking at interpretive patterns and their development at the transition from school to university.

1.   INTRODUCTION

In times of media change—in which we currently find ourselves—the public increasingly (controversially) discusses the "total phenomenon" of reading (Saxer, 1995, p. 264). In the course of advancing digitization, a shift in usage from print media to digital media has been observed for some time, accompanied by a change in reading behavior (keyword: net reading; Rosebrock, 2020). Nevertheless, we still attribute special relevance to reading books, even though we practice it less and less (Schneider, 2018).

In the context of this paper, I consider reading from a biographical and literature-didactic perspective. A development trend exemplifies this access: the increasing splitting of reading-related interpretive patterns (dichotomization) into a private and an institutional context. The focus is not on the already well-researched school years, but on the phase following them. Using a qualitative-reconstructive design, the study approaches the questions of how interpretive patterns toward reading and literature or texts develop at the transition from school to university. Consequently, it is about the overall biographical perspective. The formula "reading, literature, and texts" takes into account the fact that no specific reading object (e.g., books or certain types of texts) is in focus. The study openly asks about individual memories of reading. Which dynamics and modifications as well as which constants and stabilities can be found in a biographical transition phase? The goal is the reconstruction of interpretive patterns. The central research question of my work is: How do interpretive patterns related to reading develop over the biographical longitudinal period in adolescents?

The divergence of interpretive patterns toward reading, but centrally the functionalization of dealing with literature, texts and reading, runs along the visibility in social space and breaks down into a private as well as an institutional context. If the former has a low social visibility due to its individuality and privacy, the latter marks the exact opposite. Reading (or dealing with texts) in institutions is usually public; it takes place in nursery school, school, university, work, extracurricular education, institutions such as libraries, and so on. Because of its location in social space, this practice is perceived—it is inevitably visible to people outside the private

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[1] All German quotes are translated into English. This applies to all German references.

context. In contrast, in the private context, individuals are (ideally) free to decide where, when, how, what, etc. they read: the individual can decide what to reveal and what not to reveal, so theoretically social influences and representational constraints shape this realm less. How do young people's interpretive patterns toward literature and texts develop in these contrasting areas? Can different trends be identified?

The structure of this paper follows the typical structure of a qualitative-empirical study: After outlining the theoretical framework of the project and presenting both the design and the methodology of the study, I will present and discuss selected results of the study. The focus will be on the aforementioned dichotomization thesis of reading. The first step is to clarify what is meant by interpretive patterns.

2.   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK – THESOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPT OF INTERPRETIVE PATTERNS

2.1 Interpretive patterns

Sometimes the term interpretive pattern[2] is quite diffuse and inflationary used, which in turn leads to a certain fuzziness in its definition (Alemann, 2015; Bögelein & Vetter, 2019; Lüders & Meuser, 1997; Plaß & Schetsche, 2001) and makes it necessary to develop an understanding of the term for this paper.

> Interpretive patterns are not to be understood as isolated opinions or attitudes toward a particular object of action, but as contexts of argumentation structured in themselves according to general rules of consistency (Oevermann, 2001b, p. 5).

Interpretive patterns (e.g., literature as learning medium or to escape reality) go beyond the individual perspective. Moreover, Oevermann describes them as "an implicit or even ›silent‹ or ›mute‹ knowledge (›tacit knowledge‹)" (2001a, p. 51); these are unconscious structures that cannot be directly explicated or interrogated, but nevertheless have an effect on actual action-knowledge that "unconsciously operates in practice in a structuring way" (Oevermann, 2001a, pp. 5-6; Oevermann et al., 1987; Reichertz, 2004). Cross (2009) describes beliefs as super category of interpretive patterns as "embodied conscious and unconscious ideas and thoughts about oneself, the world, and one's position in it developed through membership in various social groups, which are considered by the individual to be true" (p. 326). Interpretive patterns are collectively shared routines and bodies of knowledge (Plaß & Schetsche, 2001).[3] They are unconscious, incidental, supra-individual, and pre-

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[2] The German term interpretive pattern is conceptualized in a similar way as the English concept of beliefs, whereas interpretive patterns originate specifically from the sociology of knowledge.

[3] Interpretive patterns cannot be equated with stereotypes in French reception research (Dufays, 2010). Stereotypes refer to the reading process itself (construction of meaning in the text), whereas interpretive patterns refer to the value attributions to literature and reading (construction of meaning in social contexts).

reflexive; they are stable vehicles for constructing social reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). "What an individual comes to believe about others and the world develops over time through their transactions with others within their immediate and social-historical contexts" (Schutz et al., 2020, p. 29). Interpretive patterns are socially influenced and constituted but cannot manifest themselves without the individual as part of society. They are a form of shared beliefs (Amossy, 1991; Oevermann, 2001a, 2001b) and correspond to modes of reading (Dufays, 2010; Graf, 2018; Renard, 2012). They are value attitudes toward literature and reading. In the context of reading, interpretive patterns are to be understood as collective (interpretive) structures toward reading as well as literature and texts, focusing less on the cognitive decoding process and more on the individual and social reconnection of what individuals read to the subject as well as to society. For example, you can read for entertainment and relaxation or to inform and educate yourself.

2.2 Derivatives of interpretive patterns

Since interpretive patterns as social constructs are not directly accessible via the individual, empirical research must necessarily start with the individual appropriations or adaptations of the subject, the derivatives, because:

> nothing but [...] derivatives exist as linguistic expressions in the subjective sense and are directly accessible empirically. Thus, the analysis of social patterns of interpretation must proceed reconstructively and draw conclusions from the individual derivations about the structure of the underlying interpretive patterns (Kassner, 2003, p. 52).

Derivatives are "communicated concretizations or adaptations of interpretive patterns whose primary purpose is to explain and justify one's own actions to interaction partners" (Ullrich, 1999, p. 430). They manifest themselves through the individual interpretation and application of the patterns (Alemann, 2015). If education is the interpretive pattern, the more precise understanding of education, e.g., a humanistic or competence-oriented understanding, would be the derivative. Derivatives can be reconstructed e.g., via descriptions, explanations, and justifications of own actions (Bögelein & Vetter, 2019). The following diagram visualizes these connections on the constitutional context of interpretive patterns:

Figure 1. Constituting context of interpretive patterns
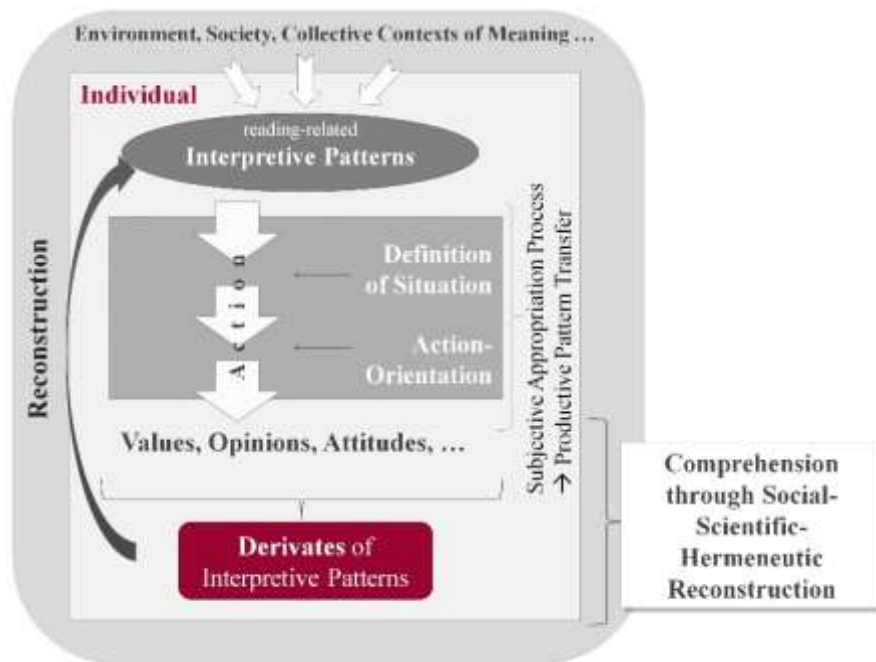
The starting point of the analysis is the individual, which, however, cannot be considered detached from its social and collective contexts of meaning. Every individual is in contact with society and lives in it (Zifonun, 2020). The individual adapts patterns in the form of derivatives, which feed on subjective ideas, opinions, and value attitudes that develop and modify in the course of action. "The same socio-emotional context can create different attitudes toward reading" (Robine, 2006, p. 61).

In order to approach the interpretive patterns, it is necessary to deal with the individual derivatives. These derivatives "can be reconstructed primarily through rhetorical analysis [...] [and] can only be elicited through detailed studies; they are not accessible through quantitative methodology" (Dawidowski, 2009, p. 102). They provide a starting point for capturing interpretive patterns via reconstructive methods of analysis (see Figure 1). Reconstructions are most feasible on individual utterances in which justifications of actions and positions are required. Thus, derivatives as a whole "allow for the identification of social patterns of interpretation if a common core of interpretation can be found in the derivations of a social group" (Alemann, 2015, p. 104). The analytical examination of interpretive patterns and their derivatives intends the "condensed reconstruction of an objective type of social action from its concrete, case-specific manifestations" (Soeffner, 2013, p. 172). Derivatives are individual adaptions of (social) interpretive patterns. If you look for

the commonalities and differences of the individual derivatives via contrasts, you can infer the social beliefs and pattern behind them.

2.3 Attitudes toward reading and literature

Attitudes toward reading can be pointed out, e.g., following Werner Graf; these modes and motivations base on interpretive patterns. His reading modes serve as a heuristic construct and theoretical point of reference following the inductive sociological-hermeneutic analysis of the individual cases as well as the cross-case contrast. Graf differentiates several modes (Graf, 2001, 2010), whereby they are theoretical constructs and not empirical pure forms. In Anglo-American regions, this concept refers to "beliefs about what reading is and how it works" (Maggioni et al., 2017, p. 360). Usually, several modes can be assigned to an individual because it uses modes variably depending on the context. Compulsory elements mark instrumental reading. "The text is the tool for pursuing a particular intention in an economic way" (Graf, 2001, p. 207). Literary participation means a "voluntary, subjectively motivated reading practice" (Graf, 2001, p. 208; Robine, 2006, p. 60). It focuses on social-communicative participation and transfer to everyday life. The intimate mode is a form of "private, intimate reading that is fantasy- and desire-oriented, with intense emotional involvement, literarily constructing a satisfying illusion" (Graf, 2001, p. 206). Identification as well as repeat readings mark this mode. "Emotional involvement appears essential to the reading event" (Graf, 2010, p. 129). In the mode of educational reading (compulsory reading), reading becomes compulsory or self-imposed and is considered essential to achieve higher education (Baudelot et al., 2002). The individual often locates in an institutional context and associated with purposive learning and work processes. It is a rather detached attitude (Dufays, 2010). The interest concept assumes a subjective motivation to read. Reading causes an "opening of the ego" (Graf, 2001, p. 217) since people think about what they read; self-reflection occurs increasingly through what has been read. "Reading as aesthetic perception is functionless, purposeless-it is positively formulated self-purposeful, self-referential" (Graf, 2010, p. 142); texts enable pleasurable aesthetic experiences.

3.   DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

3.1 Longitudinal design

The qualitative, reconstructive longitudinal study belongs to empirical literature didactics. I collected over a period of approximately four years (2014–2018) narrative interviews with adolescents. The methodological basis of the study depends on the *hermeneutic sociology of knowledge* (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Hitzler, 2005; Reichertz, 2004; Schröer, 1997; Soeffner, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c; Soeffner & Hitzler, 2004). Specifically, I used qualitative empirical data collection and analysis methods

to investigate the development of interpretive pattern derivatives of adolescents within a true longitudinal study. I collected 24 focused narrative interviews (Brinkmann 2018; Dawidowski, 2009) at three data collection points between August 2014 and March 2018. The first data collection point was at the beginning of the advanced German course, the second shortly before the A-level graduation, and the third about one and a half to two years after the graduation, when the informants had already started their studies. I analyzed and interpreted the narrative interviews by means of interindividual as well as intraindividual case comparisons and contrasts in order to establish (hypo-)theses on the development of interpretive patterns. Each of the three interviews of the longitudinal section was analyzed and then compared to identify constants and changes (intraindividual comparison). Interindividual, I compared and contrasted the lines of stability and change of the different individuals: what different interpretive pattern derivatives toward the objects of reading, literature, and texts can be reconstructed? Which derivatives occur in which environments (e.g., school, home, family, and/or peer environments)? Which derivatives are linguistically marked by individuals as related or contrasted? Are the individual derivatives found in similar form in other individuals?

It should be emphasized that this longitudinal study concerns a phase of biographical transition, as a new stage of life begins with the end of adolescence, graduation from high school, and the transition to university (Hurrelmann & Quenzel, 2022). The focus of the project, as specifically of this paper, is on the third interview season between November 2017 and March 2018.

3.2 Sampling and participants

The case selection of the eight interviews followed a mixture of *theoretical and pre-determined sampling*. I transcribed the interviews according to the literary transcription. In total, the corpus of the study consists of 24 narrative interviews (eight informants with three interviews each): informants were drawn from four advanced-level courses at three schools (two per course) in Germany (Lower Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia). At the beginning of the survey, contact (information letter on the general research interest and procedure) was established with the schools and the informants via various gatekeepers (e.g., former students or teaching assistants). Fifteen people were interviewed and eight were chosen. The survey was limited to the advanced German course and later students at the university, since a particularly formative influence is assumed due to the time-intensive occupation with literature and texts at an advanced level and in university. The *previously established criteria* include a balanced gender ratio and the selection of two students from each of the different courses. The general selection of the courses was made within the framework of the DFG project *Co-construction of Literary Educational Concepts in the Course of advanced level courses*. In this context, the access via the teacher was crucial. When selecting students for each course, teachers were asked to select high-performing, average, and low-performing

individuals (Dawidowski et al., 2019). The *concept of theoretical sampling* depends on grounded theory, although the design of the work (small number of cases) does not allow for a complete and consistent sampling strategy. I focused primarily on the maximum contrasts between the individual cases (exploration of variance up to theoretical saturation). In each case, I inductively reconstructed which dimensions of reading were evident in the informants. I took the maximum differences (e.g., non-reader—habitual reader, digital affinity—print affinity, pronounced family reading socialization—family reading socialization is not perceived as formative, different value attributions to reading, different relevance of external influences on reading) into account in selecting the cases, so that the eight selected cases represent as diverse and broad a field as possible. The informants were 16 years old at the beginning of the study and were taking an advanced German course. There are four men and four women. Information on socio-economic status or a possible migration background was not collected. The interviews lasted between 45 minutes and two hours.

3.3 Data collection and analysis

The *focused narrative interview* is a combination of a narrative impulse and questions with problem-oriented interest and follows a fixed procedure. After a welcome and familiarization phase, the narrative impulse takes place, after which the informants get the monological and unrestricted right to speak. They have the opportunity to unfold an autonomous impromptu narrative about their reading biography without interruptions. Internal and external, problem-oriented follow-up questions by the interviewer follow, which can lead to narrative and argumentative answers, as well as the final conclusion of the interview (Brinkmann, 2018; Flick, 2018; Glinka, 2016).

Social scientific hermeneutics (Soeffner, 2004a, 2004c) as an evaluation method is predominantly applied to narrative interviews (Glinka, 2016). Examples of detailed sociological-hermeneutic analyses of selected informants are located in Wolf (2019a, 2019b, 2020), Dawidowski et al. (2020) and Witte (2022). The analytical procedure follows a three-step approach: first, the researcher focuses the subjective everyday theory—the self-interpretation of the narrating person. For this purpose, first you have to paraphrase the narrative interview, in order to then work out the because- and around-motives[4] used in the context of the reading. In the second step I reviewed utterances that show inconsistencies, deficits in meaning, breaks, and inaccuracies. These utterances I linguistically examined with regard to conspicuous indefinite pronouns, adverbs, passive constructions, tense changes, pauses in speech, and so on. Finally, I brought the previously gained insights together in the

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[4] For example: I read because it relaxes me. I read because it is fun for me. I read to educate myself. I read to dive into other worlds.

third step in order to be able to elaborate the central interpretive patterns (Reichertz, 2004; Soeffner, 2004a, 2013; Witte, 2020, 2022).

After this three-step process, I considered the results of the analysis in their longitudinal development (case-internal contrasting). Which reading constructions of the individual are unchanged? Which are new and which are modified? I compared them across cases. Only through longitudinal examination will biographical stratifications of experience and changes in perspective of the biographical construction by the individual be taken into account to trace processes of change.

4. PRESENTATION OF SELECTED RESULTS – DICHOTOMIZATION OF INTERPRETIVE PATTERNS

4.1 General development of interpretive patterns regarding reading

This section focuses on the discussion of a partial result of the presented project: the dichotomization thesis. In order to better understand the overall context, I first present some key trends and tendencies that emerge in the data corpus. It follows an explicit and exemplary discussion of the dichotomization of reading-related interpretive patterns at the transition from school to university. An extensive and exemplary sociological-hermeneutical analysis of the individual cases will be omitted. Examples can be found in Wolf (2019a, 2019b) or Witte (2020, 2022). However, this paper will work intensively with interview quotes in order to illustrate and substantiate the derived interpretations and theses on the basis of the data material.

Figure 2 presents the development of the interpretive pattern derivatives of all eight informants in the form of generalized trends with regard to two dimensions. These are, first, the poles of continuity and change (x-axis): are derivatives stable or dynamic over time? Second, the poles of formal-institutional location of reading and informal-private are considered (y-axis): with regard to the development of interpretive patterns, does a greater influence of official (educational-)institutions or of private instances such as the family, the circle of friends, and peers tend to be discernible?

4.2 Research on private and institutional reading

The differentiation between formal/public/institutional and informal/private instances of (literary) socialization represents a common differentiation within socialization research (Pieper, 2010). I choose this differentiation into formal and informal spheres because this is precisely the picture that emerges inductively on the basis of the reconstructed interpretive pattern derivatives. Similarly, e.g., Graf (2001, 2010, 2018) locates his narrative interviews in the field between collective and individual reading attitudes and behaviors and links this to voluntary and

compulsory reading. Quantitative studies such as the IQB[5] education trend confirm the differentiation between private and school reading: what students name as reading preferences in their free time (crime novels, thrillers, science fiction, fantasy, and adventure books) does not match the favored texts for school (there are different preferences) nor the reading practice there (poems, dramas, adolescent novels, classics, and fairy tales/saga) (Schipolowski et al., 2018). The differentiation of consciously expressed reading preferences into a private and a school domain is also evident in the TAMoLi study. By means of questionnaires, Siebenhüner et al. asked over 2,000 secondary school students about the genres they favored both privately and at school. It became clear "that adolescents differentiate their reading preferences with regard to the reading environment and make a conceptual distinction between leisure reading and school reading" (Asselin, 2000; Siebenhüner et al., 2019, p. 58;). Baudelot et al. (2002) reached similar conclusions already in 2002 for the French-speaking region and Robine (2006) presents the differences between reading at school and at home in France in an overview article. In contrast to the deductive specification of these domains, I inductively derived them from the interviews in the context of my survey. The importance of leisure time reading also is pointed out by Mol & Bus in a meta-analysis. They analyzed 99 studies and could show "[m]oderate associations of print exposure with academic achievement". This indicates "that frequent readers are more successful students" (Mol & Bus, 2011, p. 267).

4.3 Generalized trends of longitudinal development of the interpretive pattern derivatives

Figure 2 is a two-axis matrix. It gives an overview of how the informants have developed. For each informant, I only take the central tendencies of the interpretive pattern derivatives into account; accordingly, this is a step of reducing complexity in the sense of a deliberate generalization in order to recognize relations and ratios. The ellipses indicate the central interpretive pattern derivatives of the individual informants. The x-axis shows whether these have changed or remained stable over the longitudinal section. The y-axis indicates whether the patterns are private or institutionally anchored. The symbols (plus, minus) indicate whether the patterns are more present or regressive over time.

In almost all cases, a separation of the individual interpretive pattern derivatives into a private and a professional-institutional context is evident (see above). Overall, a very broad spectrum of interpretive pattern derivatives emerges among the eight cases: the ends of this spectrum mark non-readers as well as habitual readers in terms of individual attribution of relevance and anchoring in biography.

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[5] IQB means Institute for Quality Development in Education.

Figure 2. Two-dimensional overview matrix of the longitudinal development of the interpretive pattern derivatives of all individual cases: generalized trends
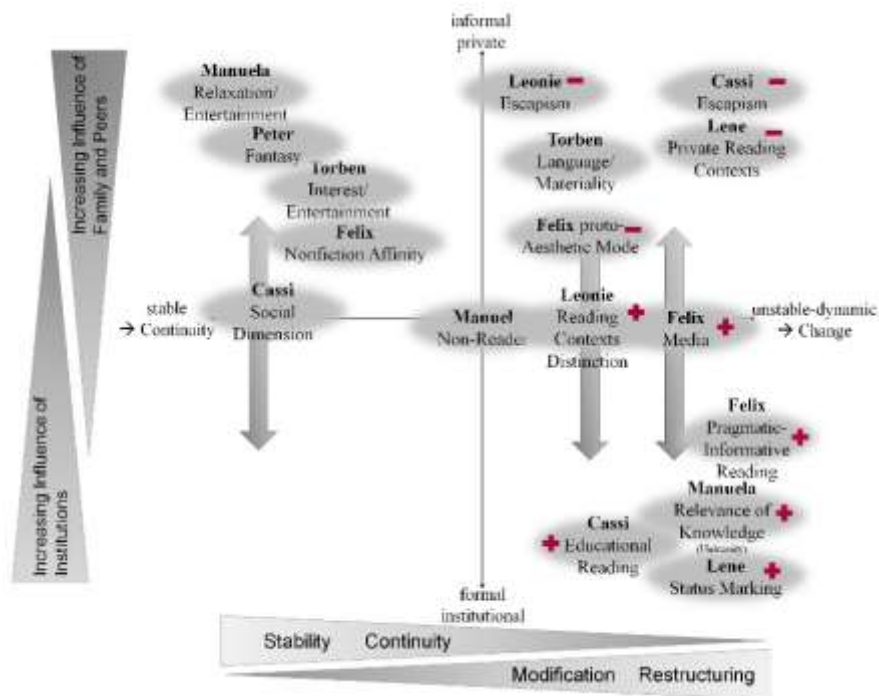
First, there are no stable interpretive patterns over the longitudinal section that can be located within the institutional context (bottom left quadrant). Second, those patterns that can be located within the institutional context always go along with an increase in their expression (bottom right quadrant, plus symbol). Third, the exact opposite is true for the changes in the private context: These are mostly regressive (top right quadrant, minus symbol) over the longitudinal section. Finally, it is noticeable that those patterns that are stable can be found in the private context (top left quadrant).

A striking observation that can be read from the generalization of the individual cases also concerns the dichotomization of interpretive patterns. In this regard, the following hypothesis can be formulated:

At the transition from school to university, there is an increasing dichotomization of reading-related interpretive patterns into a private and a professional context.

For the majority of informants, a dichotomization of their interpretive pattern derivatives into a professional-institutional and a private context is already evident at the beginning of the longitudinal section. It intensifies during the transition from school to university. With the change of institution there is an increasing dichotomization of the interpretive pattern derivatives related to reading. In the

narrative interviews of the informants, they differentiate private reading from institutional reading. Figure 3 depicts the relevant interpretive pattern derivatives and their developments. It can be seen that the transition from school to university can lead to an increased splitting or polarization of interpretive patterns. This divergence of derivatives always runs along the border between the private and institutional context (marked by the x-axis).

Figure 3. Two-dimensional overview matrix for the longitudinal development of interpretive pattern derivatives: dichotomization
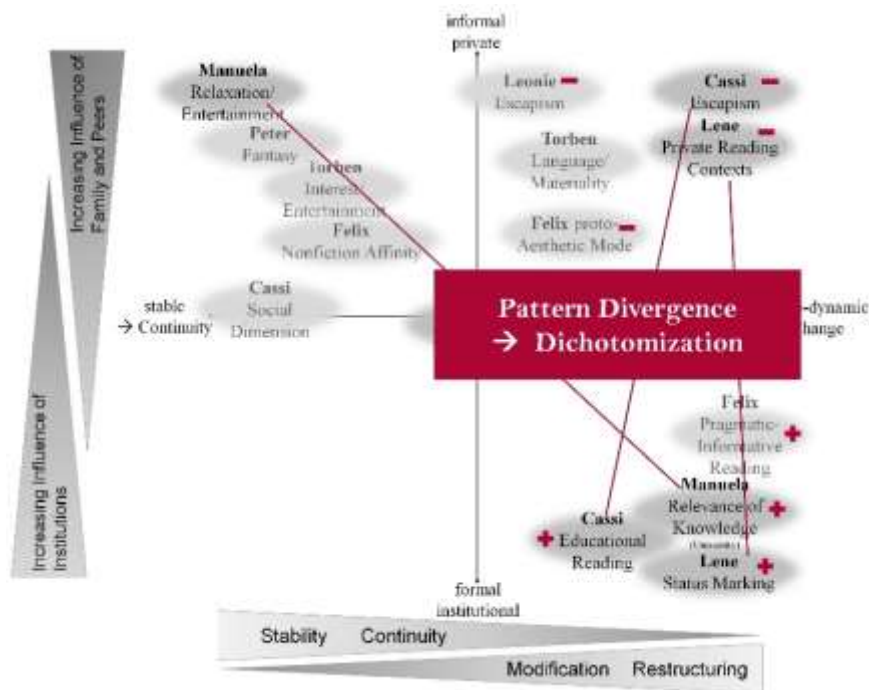
The increasing distance of patterns is tied to precisely these (private and institutional) reading contexts. Some divergences of derivatives are exclusive to the private or exclusive to the institutional context. Furthermore, in the case of Cassi (all names are anonymized) and Lene (see Fig. 3), there is a double divergence movement: Institutional patterns increase, and private ones decrease. There is not only a unilateral disappearance (at least in the narratives of the informants) of certain derivatives in the private context or an intensification of institutional derivatives. Both contexts are affected.

5.   DETAILED CONSIDERATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE DICHOTOMIZATION THESIS

The divergence of interpretive patterns, but centrally the functionalization of dealing with literature, texts and reading runs along the visibility in social space and breaks down into a private and an institutional context. How do young people's interpretive patterns toward literature and texts develop in these contrasting areas? Can different trends be identified?

Stolle (2017) already demonstrates a trend of increasing dichotomization of interpretive patterns among younger teachers. While older teachers predominantly showed an interlocking of professional-school and private reception of literature with overall positively connoted patterns, a differentiation between negatively connoted professional and positively connoted private reading became apparent among younger teachers. Characteristic are the incompatibility of the two attitudes in one mode, the differences between effort and learning medium (school-based) on the one hand and voluntariness and entertainment (private) on the other, the diverging reading modes and, linked to them, different reading materials (Stolle, 2017). Specifically, Stolle reconstructs two trend lines in how teachers deal with these differences, which she calls ›restoration‹ and ›resignation‹. Restoration means the attempt to transfer the positively connoted private reading attitudes to the professional-school level, whereas resignation means the pragmatic and "exclusive focus on the professional dimension (learning medium)" (Stolle, 2017, p. 529) in teaching practice (Dawidowski & Witte, 2023).

The differentiation into private and institutional modes is also clearly evident in the interviews of my study—i.e., among young people at the beginning of their studies—although it seems to be a continuum in which the relevance settings take place individually. The study thus confirms findings from teacher research for adolescents as well. Within the two areas, different modes can be particularly present; relevant, however, is the subjectively perceived boundary between public-institutional and non-public reading. The fundamental tendency to dichotomize interpretive patterns, as well as the reinforcement of this dichotomization that can be observed over the longitudinal period, other studies also confirm (Dawidowski et al., 2019; Dawidowski & Witte, 2023; Robine, 2006; Stolle, 2017). In their interview study, Dawidowski et al. (2019) identify four groups or types of students: 1) informants without specific reading characteristics, 2) literature as a learning and formal educational medium (competitive reading), 3) literature as an entertainment medium, and 4) literature as a personality-building and aesthetic medium, whereby the use of literature limits this grouping. The division into predominantly school-based reading types (group 2) and private reading types (groups 3 and 4) emerges. It remains open how stable these dimensions are over time, especially after leaving the advanced course, and what significance individuals assign to non-literary texts. But how exactly can this split in the narratives of the young people be recognized and what individual characteristics can it assume? The present study contributes to

answering these biographical and longitudinal questions. Complementing the findings of Stolle (2017) and Dawidowski et al. (2019), for example, it provides evidence of the reinforcement of dichotomization over time due to the previously missing longitudinal section.

5.1 Development of the interpretive patterns of German studies student

The informants Manuela and Lene—both study German language and literature—provide very vivid examples of the extreme functional separation between private and institutional reading (see Fig. 2). In both cases, the dichotomy is already established at the beginning of the longitudinal section, i.e., during the school years, and is drastically intensified when the students start their studies. The intensification of this dichotomy is due, among other things, to the shift in emphasis toward university-pragmatic reading, which predominantly serves the acquisition of knowledge, information, and skills. Manuela's focus was previously on the area of private reading and shifted toward institutional-pragmatic reading; she speaks of a "turnaround time" (Manuela III, L. 7). Manuela clearly separates private reading from school-based or university-based reading. Reading in the former context, as in the past, serves entertainment and relaxation, although this purpose of reading is generally declining. In the third interview, she explicitly distinguishes between private and professional reading and marks this on a linguistic level; on one hand, she speaks of "leisure books" (Manuela III, L. 18), and on the other hand, of "university texts" (Manuela III, L. 20) and "textbooks" (Manuela III, L. 45). The quantitative focus—in terms of times and frequencies of reading—shifts from private to institutional space. In Lene's case one can speak of an intensification of the dichotomy that was already created. Institutional reading increasingly serves Lene's functional (social) status marking and positioning over the longitudinal period: "positioning can be described as one of the fundamental ways of constructing and negotiating identity in social interactions" (Lucius-Hoenen & Deppermann, 2002, pp. 196). Lene's interpretive pattern derivatives are bifurcated along the boundary between private and institutional reading contexts. There is a clear focus on school-university and thus public reading, which enables her to engage in the aforementioned positioning. In contrast, Lene's private reading declines with age. This dichotomy becomes particularly apparent in situations of upheaval (transfer to the high school, transition to the advanced course, entry into university). Lene presents as institutionally controlled and regulated. She expresses herself accordingly already at the beginning of high school. School reading stands in opposition to private reading and external influences determine its characteristics. Speaking in the third-person singular (one/you) for distancing and using indefiniteness (e.g., by the adverb *actually*) frequently characterize explanations in this context. With the beginning of studies, the university replaces school as the regulating authority of reading.

> I think that's when it started, that one at least, also read less privately, because one had a lot to do, [I: "Hmm."] other things, which is also the case at university, that I read a lot at the moment and then also privately now... Also, not then so the desire has because one actually, the whole day only at reading is, [I: "Hmm."]. So, for many that can then also be relaxation. It goes on and on and then. I don't really read now. A lot privately [clears throat] (Lene III, L. 61–68)[6].

Study (and the reading load there) reinforces the opposition of private and institutional reading due to the resource of time; according to Lene, one can only read institutionally or privately due to limited resources (time, desire). She reports on what one does and frames her remarks only through statements in the first person singular—these, in turn, are not entirely congruent, as she first states to read less and at the end states to read "actually not now"—both of which reveal a certain dichotomy. In addition, the above quotation relativizes by the introductory words "I believe". Lene presents the reason for the private reading decline in a distanced and generally valid way (one/you). At the same time the linguistic marking of the additive of private reading stands out: Repeatedly, she emphasizes the "also" of private reading and ultimately it serves as a reason for not reading; after all, there is enough institutional reading to be done. Something similar can be observed with Manuela. She contrasts the reading mode as well as the reading materials of university with the private handling of literature in the leisure time directly at the beginning of the third Interview (see also Mol & Bus, 2011). The third interview introduction differs very clearly from the two previous ones.

> First interview: So, I remember that um so actually since I was little, my parents have actually always read to me. [...] Ugh, and for example, I also remember what I always found so fascinating about my mom, she usually read to me, that she, I lie in bed, look at her, and then she always looks up while she was reading, and then I was just so impressed by it, how does she manage to read and tell stories like that and look at me while doing it. [...], that was so fully impressive for me. And I don't know, I always had a lot of fun listening to it. I always thought it was great. I was very fascinated by it. I also enjoyed reading it myself (Manuela I, L. 5–16).

> Second interview: What I can say directly is that I have always enjoyed reading. So far it has always been fun for me, even when I was little. So, I know that um, yes when I. Really still a child was, um good night stories, from my parents, from so, good night stories book read have. And um. That um, I found just always, fully great, so, if they have read me something. Um [...], I was impressed by my mother, as it were, how she managed, um, to read that so, beautifully emphasized and, also to look up [...], that actually fascinated me (Manuela II, L. 5–16).

> Third interview: Yes, I think about how I now, beginning, I think I just start now in the present and then go back [I: "Hmm."] Um. So, it was so that I, just now in the turnaround time now where that has started with the study little time to read. [I: "Mhh."]. Um. Above all it came to the fact that we now, so I study German language and literature and media studies and especially in German language and literature you also read so much [laughs] [I: "Hmm."] [...] Um, and with that I just had to get along first, so, because it's just really hard, so also to understand, that is, I need sometimes for a text so three hours,

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[6] A student assistant translated all German transcripts into English. The translation is consciously close to the original wording and partly colloquial.

> to really just read and understand... So, and thereby was just a lot or. Time filled also to read [I: "Hmm."].. Ugh but nevertheless I have now also started again, so a leisure book, The Neverending Story. [I: "Hmm."] Is a book from my childhood. Um, what I've just dug up again from shelf and um. Yes. It's simple. In contrast to reading in the university complete relaxation, so. Reading university texts is just exhausting, you concentrate, and then I realize just like such a book, or just now in the train. [I: "Hmm."] I read my book then, no, so the time flies just totally and it's just somehow complete relaxation, so no [I: "Hmm."], that I've just also, already missed in the time where I just did not have so much time to read so that it's just. It's good to be able to read again (Manuela III, L. 5–25).

Manuela explicitly presents opposites in the third interview. She contrasts private and university reading and characterizes these areas as oppositions. If one reads all three narrative beginnings, one immediately notices that the first two show parallels; whereas Manuela structures the third narrative beginning completely differently. While those begin biographically-chronologically with the earliest memories of reading aloud as a child and learning to read, Manuela focuses on studying as a "time of change" and the resulting reading challenges since she chooses the beginning deliberately in the present. In the first two introductions, "always" is a formative word (eight mentions)—she makes the retrospective of reading aloud absolute, marks it as constancy ("since I was little"). Linguistically she marks the certainty of memory; in the first two interviews, she introduces these remarks with the phrase "I know" (and does not resort to verbs such as *believe* or *mean*), whereas in the last interview, it is "now" (eight mentions). In addition, the particle "simply"/"just" repeatedly (nine mentions) opens up argumentative contexts, through which she justifies the private decline in reading, because reading in college is "just really hard" and "reading university texts is just exhausting". She subsequently justifies the return to reading because "it is just somehow complete relaxation". Manuela formulates all three narratives almost entirely in the first-person singular perspective and shows only a few distanciations (*actually, so to say*). In addition to the hurdles posed by university reading—meaning the time and concentration resources required, the demands of the texts, and their comprehensibility and readability—Manuela also addresses leisure reading, which she has recently resumed. She outlines this in distinction, if not opposition, to professional reading and provided with attributes such as "complete relaxation". It ties in with the youthful evasive-relaxing fantasy reading, as is evident not least from her choice of text (*The Neverending Story*). Moreover, one can notice the accumulation of the particle "simply"/"just" also in these statements, which again emphasizes and strengthens the statement.

The different text formats, contents, reading expectations, function attributions and purposes of reading in the two differentiated areas (private vs. institutional) cause different value attributions and correspondingly a dichotomy of the associated interpretive patterns: Manuela associates the private leisure area with entertainment and/or relaxation (but of course not exclusively). The area of institutionally anchored reading is often related to constraints, requirements,

achievements, competencies, efforts, and duties. She describes the modes as "opposition" (Manuela III, L. 20).

It is striking that this dichotomization—"Reading assignments for college and university students […] include more nonfiction textbooks than narrative texts" (Moll & Bus, 2011, p. 267)—stands out particularly drastically in case of Lene and Manuela, although the general dichotomy (albeit linguistically softened) can be observed in further individual cases. A unifying element of these two informants is the fact that both study German and literature and deal in depth with reading, texts, and literature in practice as well as theory at the university level. Consequently, it seems reasonable to assume that the study of German might be a factor in this increasing and concise dichotomy. However, there is still a need for more in-depth research in this regard.

5.2 Cases with weak dichotomization – habitual readers

In addition to individual cases that reveal a clear dichotomization of reading, there are also individual cases in the corpus of this study that show no or only a weak dichotomization of the interpretive pattern derivatives. Leonie offers one example. She uses literature for different purposes, but her interpretive pattern derivatives do not fall into the dichotomous division of a professional and a private mode. Rather, she is open to all texts.

> My mother has me then also always suggested, if one then. Book open, a new, perhaps by an author you did not know yet. And then when you've read the first page or the second page and you have the feeling that I want to read on, it's a good book. And if one realizes after only three pages, somehow, it's exhausting and I don't like it and somehow, I don't like something. Then you can put it down (Leonie II, L. 86–92).

> Then I used to start books and somehow didn't find them that good, so I somehow noticed that I had to torture myself to read through them. My mother first made me realize that this means that I just don't like it or that it's just not my thing (Leonie III, L. 88–91).

Reading serves her as a vehicle in different contexts, although she does not (or only to a very small extent) differentiate between certain readings, materials, and reading modes for fixed areas; reading is of personal as well as social, cultural, and political importance for Leonie; her remarks in this context are in first-person singular. She emphasizes, "I always want to think everything so globally, think everything at once. And then I find history culture. Literature. You can't separate all that" (Leonie III, L. 246–248). Literature must be located and considered in different contexts, "while you can't think it apart" (Leonie III, L. 426–427). Inconsistencies occur when it comes to the negative evaluation of texts or the discontinuation of reading ("somehow it's exhausting", "somehow I don't like something", "somehow I noticed I had to torture myself to read through it"), although she still relates these experiences to herself and does not switch to a distanced or general level. This could be related to her socialization by her mother, as rejecting a text or dropping out of reading is not

perceived as a failure or negatively referenced back. It is a legitimate option and reading preferences justify it. She locates these reading preferences, in turn, in the individual. Accordingly, not primarily context (institutional or private) shapes them, which could also be a reason for the low dichotomization of Leonie's interpretive pattern derivatives. With regard to Leonie's construction of her mother, one can notice in the comparison between the interviews that in the second interview she portrays her mother as active—the mother is the actively suggesting person who offers approaches in dealing with books—while in the third interview the mother only serves as the initiator of Leonie's (thinking) activity, because she "first get me started on" that she does not like some books; Leonie independently understands how her reaction to some books is to be interpreted. With regard to the dichotomization thesis, this example suggests that intensive reading socialization toward becoming a habitual reader can prevent such a dichotomy, or such divisions at least manifest themselves less intensively as a result.

5.3 Influence of institutions on interpretive patterns

The individual cases of this study show that an increased dichotomization of patterns can occur at the transition from school to university but does not have to. Influencing factors in this regard could be the way texts are handled and the values set in relation to reading within the university. If interpretive patterns already tend to be dichotomized before the beginning of studies, university reading reinforces and catalyzes this tendency. Other studies verify this trend, although they refer to other constructs (e.g., reading preferences) and usually focus on students (Siebenhüner, at al., 2019). Both explicit reading preferences and implicit interpretive patterns toward reading seem to be differentiated and dichotomized depending on context. Differentiating the findings of quantitative surveys such as Schipolowski et al. (2018) or Siebenhüner et al. (2019), my study shows how exactly the interplay of private and institutional context is shaped with respect to interpretive patterns regarding reading and, above all, how the relationship between these develops in a biographical transition situation, in order to contribute to a better understanding of the (developmental) dynamics of such patterns.

In the case of the eight individual cases, the school (and later the university) does not have a long-term and comprehensive impact on the private context and to gain permanent validity there. Of course, it should be mentioned that there are only eight individual cases, which implies a clear limitation of the results. Another limitation is the informant group: only students in advanced-level German, who later started their studies, were examined. Nevertheless, it can be observed that school and university do not influence on interpretive patterns outside their own institutional functional contexts. One demand, the empirical basis of which still needs to be significantly expanded—e.g., through quantitative studies—is the targeted overcoming of the dichotomy and divergence of reading-related interpretive patterns in private and formal contexts. The individual case data of this study give

rise to the hypothesis that the interconnection of the interpretive patterns could have a positive effect (from a literary didactic perspective)—i.e., in the sense of the development into a habitual and diverse reader—on the reading biography, (see e.g., the concept of literary reading in France: It is "the role of literature didacticians to point out these tensions and also to create the appropriate tools to resolve them" (Dufays, 2007) especially in the biographical transitional situation under consideration.

6.   CONCLUSION

A developmental trend in the interpretive patterns of young people at the transition from school to university, which can be read from the contrasting of narrative interviews, concerns the previously discussed increasing dichotomization of the interpretive patterns into private and institutional contexts. Other studies are demonstrating the (selective) dichotomization of reading practices and reading preferences because only one point in time was examined in each case. This study, on the other hand, outlines the evolution of the dichotomy of interpretive patterns in the context of a true longitudinal study. It turns out that the increased polarization of these same patterns can occur at the institutional transition. The institutional transition seems to act as a catalyst, reinforcing the divergence. This divergence runs along the boundary between the private and institutional contexts in all cases studied. Private and institutional patterns and attributions to reading visibly split further, disintegrating into the two aforementioned contexts and show little to no points of contact with each other. It is a double divergence movement: on the one hand, there is an increase in institutionally based derivatives (e.g., informational reading), while on the other hand, private derivatives (e.g., escapist reading) are on the decline or disappear. A connection to these two contexts is necessary, insofar as one wants to counteract this dichotomization. The goal should not be a dissolution of the different patterns, but rather networking and integration from a literary didactic perspective. In the end, different reading spaces and contexts split off from each other, which must be considered counterproductive against the backdrop of the (school-intended) development of habitual and competent readers with different reading values (Asselin, 2000; Dufays, 2007; Philipp, 2009; Robine, 2006). Especially the continuous academic, cognitively demanding and at the same time externally regulated and structured reading within university courses seems to reinforce this trend. Accordingly, free spaces should also be created within university seminars that not only allow but even initiate a networked and more comprehensive access to reading and dealing with texts and literature in order to create a productive networking of different interpretive patterns of reading. For example, Mol & Bus provide with their meta-analysis some scientific support for the "general belief in society that frequent exposure to print has a long-lasting impact on academic success, as if practicing reading is the miracle drug for the prevention and treatment of reading problems". My study also confirms the idea that reading must be

practiced as a continuum between institutions and leisure if it is to be practiced in the long term.

Studies dealing with the influence of the study program on reading-related interpretive patterns are a desideratum of literature didactic research, especially in the field of teacher education. To what extent does the German teacher training program contribute to the intensification of the described trends (in this context, a comparison with a control group, e.g., from the reading-intensive law program and the hermeneutically oriented theology program, could also be informative)? What influence does the five years of academic study (bachelor and master program) of literature and texts have on the values, attitudes, and opinions of prospective German teachers about reading? It seems reasonable to assume that academic study could be a factor in this increasing dichotomy of interpretive patterns. A special feature of academic and university reading in general is the focus on skills, competencies, and abilities (Krey, 2020), which in turn determines certain functionalization of and attribution to reading. All in all, a reflexive examination of the reading-related values and interpretive patterns imparted in the course of study seems called for.

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