Interest is a powerful motivation source for children. Anyone who has watched children’s enthusiasm when playing video games knows the truth to this claim. In educational psychology, interest has been a subject of children’s motivation and development research (Renninger, Hidi, & Krapp, 1992). In the past 25 years, research examining the motivational function of interest in schools has generated much needed evidence to support interest as a critical variable in student motivation. These findings also suggest that educational interest is a strong motivator to children’s learning. In physical education (PE), research on interest and interest-based motivation has produced meaningful results that may assist in developing motivation strategies appropriate to K–12 learners.

In this chapter, I first will give a brief historic overview of interest and introduce the basic dual-interest framework that scholars have used as the basis for most empirical work. Then I will provide an in–depth review of interest research findings in PE. In subsequent sections, I will discuss a hypothetical model for understanding the role of interest in motivation research, research implications in teaching PE, and future research directions. Finally, I will summarize the main points in this chapter and conclude with reflective questions to facilitate readers’ discussions of central issues in interest-based research in PE.

Historical overview

Since Dewey’s groundbreaking work, *Interest and Effort in Education* (1913), interest has long been recognized as an integral component in teaching and learning. Educational researchers (Alexander, 2005; Hidi, 2000; Krapp & Lewalter, 2001) have shown that interest can attract learners to participate actively in learning. Interest and achievement are significantly correlated in most school disciplines (Renninger, Sansone, & Smith, 2004). High interest levels can increase learners’ engagement time, improve information storage, and enhance understanding. In PE, scholars have found that interest is one of the most important motivation constructs in predicting learners’ engagement and intention for future PE participation (Chen & Ennis, 2004). To some extent, learners’ interest can override the effects of extrinsic rewards and other motivational variables to direct and energize their involvement in learning and physical activity (PA) (Xiang, Chen, & Bruene, 2005).
In initial PE studies, researchers conceptualized interest as preferences or liking for specific physical activities. For example, Lumpkin and Avery (1986) surveyed university learners’ preference for physical activities offered in colleges. They found that learners’ interest in individual sports led many to enroll in individual sport courses. Van Wersch, Trew, and Turner (1992) investigated age and gender differences in preferences for physical activities as PE content. They found that both boys’ and girls’ interest in PE declined with increases in age. Although those findings demonstrate learners’ strong interest in physical activities, they reveal little about the motivation effects of students’ interest in PE.

It was not until the 1990s that researchers used the established theoretical construct of situational and individual interest to study students’ PE interest. Recent researchers have used this theoretical approach to explore the motivation function of interest. Specifically, researchers focus on fundamental questions of under what circumstance do students seek and pursue some activities over others and how they develop new activity interest when they have not demonstrated prior interest. In addition, researchers have examined the association between interest and learning in PE. For example, many investigators have focused on connections between situational interest and learning variables, such as task designs, learning outcomes, PA involvement, effort, and intention (Chen & Darst, 2002; Chen & Shen, 2004; Shen & Chen, 2006, 2007).

Theoretical framework

As a motivation construct, interest refers to an individual’s psychological state of engaging or reengaging with particular classes of objects, events, or ideas over time (Hidi & Renninger, 2006). Three major characteristics distinguish interest from other motivation structures. First, interest includes both affective and cognitive components. The affective component registers positive emotions accompanying engagement, while the cognitive component activates perceptual and representational conceptions related to engagement. While these two components are distinct, they often interact as one force that influences an individual’s behavior. The second characteristic is that both the affective and cognitive interest components have biological foundations (Hidi, 2000). Neuroscientists (e.g., Panksepp, 2003) confirm that an individual’s emotional system ingrained in the mammalian brain seeks interested activity. The brain’s interest-search system is directly associated with individuals’ engrained physical, cognitive, or symbolical engagement experiences with objects of interest (Hidi, 2000). The third characteristic is that interest is the outcome of an interaction between a person and a particular entity. Although interest originates within a person, the entity and the environment outline the direction of interest and contribute to its development and its emotional and cognitive outcomes. In other words, interest is content specific and arises as individuals interact with the phenomena in specific environments (Hidi & Renninger, 2006).

Types of interest

Two types of interest, individual interest and situational interest, have been the primary focus of educational research. Individual interest is described as an individual’s relatively enduring predisposition to prefer engaging with certain objects, stimuli, and events (Hidi & Renninger, 2006). Interest researchers point out that individual interest is developed over time during a person’s constant and consistent interaction with certain activities in a particular environment. It is based on increased knowledge, positive emotions, and increased value in these activities. Situational interest, on the other hand, is defined as an activity’s momentary appealing effect on an individual in a particular context and at a particular moment (Hidi, 2000). Situational interest is
Individual and situational interest

Generated by certain stimulating or rousing characteristics in an activity (e.g., novelty) and tends to be shared among individuals. Situational interest is based on a short, tentative relationship between a person and an activity at a given moment. Its motivation effect is short-lived but with high intensity (Hidi, 2000). In learning, situational interest results from learners' recognition of appealing features associated with a specific learning task that can catch and hold learners' attention and other cognitive functions for a period of time (Mitchell, 1993).

Although there is a fundamental distinction between individual interest and situational interest, they are not dichotomous phenomena that occur in mutual isolation. On the contrary, individual interest and situational interest often interact and influence each other's development (Hidi & Renninger, 2006). Situational interest may evoke or contribute to the development of a long-lasting individual interest, while high situational interest may enhance learners' engagement in learning activities that influence the formation of individual interest in a subject matter (Alexander, 2005).

In education, individual interest plays significant roles in knowledge acquisition, even after controlling for previous knowledge, intelligence, and text readability (Hidi & Renninger, 2006). Individual interest does not simply enhance the quantity of knowledge acquired (e.g., recalled text information) but has its most remarkable effect on the quality of learning (e.g., problem solving). Situational interest, sometimes known as “interestingness,” also plays an important role in learning and academic achievement. Learners' high interestingness will lead to focused attention and mental readiness (Krapp & Levalter, 2001). Hoffmann (2002) found that situational interest was more powerful than other factors (e.g., readability) in explaining differences in text comprehension and concluded that situational interest is a powerful determinant of learning. Hidi and Renninger (2006) further elaborate the dynamic relationship between situational interest and individual interest in terms of both affective and cognitive processes. Mitchell (1993) stated that situational interest involves processes to catch the appealing characteristics (i.e., those that trigger/stimulate students' emotions) and hold it (i.e., those that inspire students to search for personal meaning).

There are four phases of individual interest development. In the first phase, situational interest is triggered, sparked by environmental features such as information incongruence (curiosity), surprise, personal relevance, or character identification. The second phase, situational interest, is maintained, held or sustained through internalizing task meaningfulness and developing personal task involvement. Maintained situational interest involves focused attention and persistence over an extended time. Mitchell (1993) argued that triggered situational interest could be a precursor to individual interest development. During the third stage individual interest is emerging and is reinforced by positive feelings, stored knowledge, and developing values. This stage represents the beginning phases of a relatively enduring predisposition to actively seek repeated reengagement with particular content over time. The last stage, well-developed individual interest, is sustained when the emerging individual interest continues to be reinforced and validated with additional stored knowledge and values. A well-developed individual interest leads an individual to consider both task context and content in the problem solution process.

Interest and learning theory

Alexander (2004) introduced a model of domain learning (MDL) to describe interest development in relation to knowledge development in content domains. In MDL, interest, learning strategies, and prior knowledge are critical factors contributing to learning. In fact, interest act as a coupling component to strategy development and knowledge acquisition. Within the learning process, effects of interest change in association with the learner's progression through the acclimation,
competency, and proficiency knowledge acquisition stages. Specifically, learners at different stages need to be motivated with situational interest or individual interest or a combination of both, and are likely to use different learning strategies to facilitate learning.

During the *acclimation* learning stage, learners have limited domain knowledge or skill. Their cognitive efforts are directed towards constructing a domain knowledge framework. During this stage, individuals’ deep-seated interest in the domain is quite low and learners often are mostly concerned with task completion. Situational interest is learners’ primary motivator, attracting them to the learning task and encouraging them to put forth continuous cognitive effort and energy. At the *competency* stage, learners are beginning to master key domain knowledge and skills. Although learners may continue to be attracted to situationally interesting task information, the situational interest is likely internalized into individual interest. The developing individual interest in the domain begins gradually to replace situational interest as a major motivator. Learning strategies supported by developing individual interest help learners reconstruct the domain knowledge structure by tuning and personalizing pieces of new information. At the *proficiency* stage, individual interest becomes learners’ sole motivator. Learners have developed genuine individual interest in learning domain knowledge, motivating them to become more expert in applying effective learning strategies to master new knowledge. With increased quantity and quality of domain knowledge, proficient learners experience deep comprehension with ease. The theoretical framework of interest and the MDL have formed a theoretical platform that guides the conceptualization of most research studies on interest in PE. In the following section, I will summarize major findings from this line of research.

**Current trends and issues**

Currently, interest research in PE is characterized by a focus on studying situational interest and its motivation functions. In general, there are three intertwined research focuses. Researchers in the first research focus examine and verify the psychometric properties of the interest construct in physical activity settings. In the second focus, researchers identify associations between situational interest and other learning determinants, such as personal characteristics, while researchers in the third focus clarify the relations between interest-based motivation and PE learning achievement.

**Focus 1: verification of the interest construct**

In the first study examining situational and individual interest theory, Chen (1996) examined the relationship between meaningfulness of physical activities and situational interest in PE. The research purpose was to establish the characteristics of individual and situational interest. In this research, learners sorted 60 physical activities in the PE curriculum on a Q-scale based on the activities’ situational interest, providing rationales for their sorting decisions. Chen revealed that learners’ perceptions of situational interest in physical activities depended on their diverse personal interpretations of meaning in the activities and learning tasks, such as perceptions of novelty and enjoyment. Consistency between situational interest in an activity and personal interpretation of meaning motivated the learners to pursue continued participation in the activity. The findings provided evidence suggesting situational interest in PE could be a multi-source motivation construct.

Based on the assumption that situational interest is a content-specific, multi-source construct, Chen, Darst, and Pangrazi (1999) tested the tenability of a multi-source construct model of situational interest in middle school PE. Chen and colleagues found that students perceive
physical activities as situationally interesting when they provided new information, demanded high-level attention, encouraged exploration, and generated instant enjoyment. The researchers concluded that situational interest in PE could be derived from five dimensional sources: novelty, optimal challenge, attention demand, exploration intent, and instant enjoyment. Sun, Chen, Ennis, Martin, and Shen (2008) further examined the multidimensional sources of situational interest in elementary school PE. Their results confirmed that the five dimensions were the primary sources of situational interest for elementary school students. Based on these consistent findings the researchers hypothesized that manipulating curriculum content and instructional tasks could influence situational interest.

**Focus 2: situational interest and other determinants**

**Learning task design and situational interest**

Cognitive and physical demands are two fundamental components that can be manipulative in PE learning task design. The interplay between the two components determines the acquisition of cognitive knowledge and physical skills. Chen et al. (1999) examined the effects of different cognitive and physical demands of learning tasks on situational interest. In their research, middle school students evaluated situational interest within four learning tasks representing various combinations of cognitive and physical involvement. The results showed that cognitive demand in a physical activity determines the level of situational interest. The students considered the tasks with high cognitive demand highly interesting, regardless of physical demands, while they evaluated tasks with low cognitive and physical demand particularly low in situational interest.

**Gender and skill level and situational interest**

Although Chen and his colleagues demonstrated that task design influences situational interest, gender and skill level also may play a moderating role in the learning process. In some instances PE continues to facilitate a gender stereotypical social environment where learners with higher prior skill levels, most of whom are boys, show higher interest in learning specific physical activities. Chen and Darst (2002) reported that boys and girls had different individual and situational interests in different learning tasks and that the difference might contribute to the knowledge and skills boys and girls have developed prior to taking part in PE. However, situationally interesting learning tasks were less sensitive to skill level and gender. In a subsequent study, Shen, Chen, Scrabis, and Tolley (2003) found that with effective instructional designing, situational interest was more likely to elicit high physical engagement than learners’ gender and skill levels when learning an activity.

**Goal orientation and situational interest**

Situational interest in PE also has been investigated using achievement goals to predict learning. Shen, Chen, and Guan (2006) found that interest and achievement goals played inter-dependent roles in motivating middle school PE students. In this research, mastery goals had a strong influence on students’ recognition of situational interest. Students with high mastery goals were more likely than students with low mastery goals to recognize situational interest in a learning task. The finding indicates that creating a mastery-oriented learning climate has strong potential to foster students’ situational interest. Teachers, therefore, can increase students’ motivation by structuring their learning climate to increase situational interest.
Focus 3: interest and learning

Learning outcomes and situational interest

Chen and Ennis (2004) stressed that there are two basic forms of learning outcomes in PE. One outcome is the acquisition of knowledge and skill usually measured with motor skills and knowledge tests. The other is physiological intensity, which produces health benefits from physical movement. Shen et al.’s study (2003) examined the effects of situational and individual interests on the learning outcomes in a dance unit. They found that situational interest was directly associated with PA intensity measured in steps taken during the lessons while individual interest was associated with measures of knowledge and skill performance. The findings clearly distinguished the functions for both interest types. Situational interest has a strong motivation effect on learners’ engagement in the learning process. Students’ level of individual interest in PE content may influence content mastery. For example, students who develop strong individual content interest may be willing to cognitively focus and physically practice until they achieve mastery.

Guided by MDL, Shen and Chen (2006) explored the interrelations among middle school PE students’ prior knowledge, learning strategies, interest, physical engagement, and learning outcomes. The results highlighted interrelationship among learners’ prior knowledge, learning strategies, and interest. Situational interest also influenced changes in learners’ individual interest and was associated with learners’ cognitive effort during the learning process. In a second study, Shen and Chen (2007) examined interactions between learners’ PE profiles and their prior knowledge, learning strategies, and interest. Results from a cluster analysis emphasized relationships between learner characteristics as described in the MDL and situational interest. The findings provided initial evidence that optimizing situational interest within learning tasks could enhance PE learners’ motivation. Although some learners enter the learning environment with low individual interest, teachers can manipulate curricular tasks to trigger high situational interest, nurturing the initial development of individual interest.

In other research investigating situational interest, Zhu et al. (2009) examined the extent to which situational interest motivation and cognitive engagement contributed to student achievement. In their research, Zhu and colleagues explored how completing lesson-related workbook assignments contributed to student achievement in learning health-related fitness knowledge in elementary PE. The researchers found that although situational interest contributed little to performance on workbook assignments and knowledge gain, the performance of correctly solving PE-oriented workbook problems contributed significantly to students’ fitness knowledge gains. This emphasized the importance of engaging students in the learning process by encouraging them to attempt the workbook tasks. The findings supported the hypothesis that situational interest may have direct impact on participation and engagement, although it may not directly impact learning achievement. Teachers can manipulate task-oriented situational interest variables to enhance student motivation to engage in learning outcomes.

Seductive details

In lay-person’s terms, situational interest can be understood as having fun, although having fun may not necessarily contribute to learning (Garner, Brown, Sanders, & Menke, 1992; Harp & Mayer, 1998). Although situational interest seems to have little direct impact on skill and knowledge acquisition, Garner et al (1992) proposed that the “fun” students experience in learning may represent seductive details. Seductive details attract students’ attention and result in feelings
of pleasure or fun but have little direct effect on student learning. Rather than content-based curriculum, seductive details are a characteristic of recreational PE in which students are entertained, and learning is not an outcome. In recreational PE, some students enjoy tasks or activities that do not lead to knowledge or skill acquisition. They become actively involved in participating in physical activities and report that “it is fun.” But these experiences do not facilitate learning outcomes defined in the curriculum (Harp & Mayer, 1998).

Seductive details refer to enjoyable but unimportant information, materials, and activities that have little relevance to the content or learning process. Teachers intentionally insert seductive details into the learning process to make class fun and interesting. Seductive details, when serving as the motivational source, may lead to strong, positive emotion, rather than cognitive involvement with meaningful content (Harp & Mayer, 1998). Although seductive details can enhance learners’ engagement with the learning process, they have little impact on learning and may even interfere with new knowledge and skills construction (Wade & Moje, 2000).

Shen, McCaughtry, Martin, and Dillon (2006) explored the effect of seductive details on learning net games in middle school PE. In particular, Shen et al. (2006) focused on the impact on learners’ ability to identify and recall important knowledge- and skill-related content and their ability to transfer information to solve movement problems. Results showed that seductive details directly interrupted learners’ recall of important movement information and interfered with their ability to transfer relevant information to solve movement problems in learning net games. The findings call attention to the importance of designing relevant situationally interesting tasks purposefully promoting situational interest while controlling seductive details. When teachers design effective motivational strategies in PE, it is imperative to avoid seductive details.

**Implications for evidence-based practice**

Students come to PE with diverse individual interests in a variety of different physical activities. It is difficult for physical educators to change or redirect students’ individual interests to learning tasks that may not interest them (Chen, 2001). Conversely, situational interest can offer an alternative platform to enhance learner motivation. Teachers can manipulate situational interest to generate temporary but maximal motivation effects (Chen & Darst, 2001). Specifically, teachers can trigger and maintain situational interest through modifying certain aspects in the learning environment and contextual factors, such as learning climate, the task structure, and task presentation (Subramaniam, 2009, 2010). Teachers can manipulate task-based situational interest to deliberately couple knowledge and value to inspire and form strong individual interest (Hidi & Renninger, 2006). The interest-related research evidence discussed in this chapter can greatly impact teacher planning and practice.

**Structuring a mastery learning climate**

Learning environments can influence students’ situational interest development (Darst, Chen, van der Mars, & Cusimano, 2001). By designing mastery learning climates in PE, teachers foster students’ recognition of situational interest (Shen, Chen, & Guan, 2006). Mastery learning climates also are more effective than other factors (e.g., personal goals, prior knowledge) in enhancing student interest (Cury et al., 1996). In a mastery-learning climate, teachers personalize tasks and expectations to encourage students to enhance their effort, leading to improvement. By facilitating meaningful success in tasks, physical educators can create positive learning climates to trigger and maintain high situational interest among all students.

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**Designing instruction to enhance student choice**

Providing students with choices in a learning context enhances situational interest (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999). Teachers show respect to PE students by recognizing their individual differences, inclinations, and behavioral feelings. Providing task choices that align students’ individual interest with the content may help them understand the learning purpose and assist them to internalize their interest in learning tasks. When teachers offer students activity, partner, and equipment choices within differentiated tasks, they strengthen situational interest and facilitate interest internalization found in learning tasks.

**Emphasizing cognitive demand**

Chen and Darst (2001) emphasized that situational interest is a function of learning task design. Well-designed learning tasks trigger and maintain situational interest. Their research confirmed that cognitively engaging learning tasks are more likely to lead to situational interest than do rote practices and tasks with minimal cognitive demands. To optimize situational interest in learning tasks, teachers should consider increasing cognitive task demands rather than reducing physical task demands. A sound, situationally interesting learning task increases students’ cognitive engagement and provides them with optimal cognitive challenge to enhance their attention and effort.

**Providing exploration opportunities**

Exploratory learning tasks generate instant enjoyment and lead to greater situational interest than command-oriented, teacher-directed tasks (Chen, Darst, & Pangrazi, 2001). When designed to provide differentiated success (e.g., choices of high, medium, and low difficulty levels within the same task), exploratory tasks arouse learners’ perceptions of situational interest, increasing their intrinsic motivation to engage in the activity (Deci, 1992). Embedding exploration opportunities in learning differentiated tasks increases learners’ curiosity, generating instant enjoyment, and evoking situational interest. It is particularly important for students to succeed in exploratory tasks reinforcing the connection between achievement and enjoyment.

**Enriching novelty and challenge**

When tasks are designed to challenge learners in novel activities, they are particularly effective in generating situational interest. Learners are more likely to experience situational interest when the activity is optimally challenging or novel to them. Conversely, students often demonstrate lack of interest when tasks are repetitive in nature and/or perceived as too easy or difficult (Shen, Winger, Li, Sun, & Rukavina, 2010). Situational interest will be subdued when students perceive there is “nothing new” in the activity. It is important for teachers to enrich tasks by enhancing novelty and optimal challenge in learning task design. As Subramaniam (2010) suggests,

> novelty can be as simple as finding a new way to organize students for practice or as complex as designing a new game using the skills that have been taught. Alternatively, novelty can also mean bringing in new ideas, games, or activities that students have not been exposed to previously. (p. 40)
Developing personally meaningful content

Learning tasks presented in a personally meaningful context empower students and enhance the development of situational and individual interest (Chen et al., 1999, 2001). Students are likely to view personally related or relevant tasks as more valuable and meaningful than isolated or disconnected tasks. Physical educators can enhance student engagement by presenting meaningful rationales and strong connections between tasks and students’ personal lives. A personally meaningful rationale may trigger situational interest as well as aid students in understanding the value attached to the task in a personally meaningful way. Consequently, adding content value can inspire students to transition from situational to individual interest, increasing their motivation and enjoyment (Alexander, 2005).

Future directions

Experienced teachers know that different learning tasks can have unique appeal and hold different situational interest for different students. Just how a curriculum or a task evokes student interest has not yet been examined through empirical research. There are many opportunities for researchers to manipulate interest within curricular design. Currently, PE researchers tend to conceptualize motivation as a student psychological disposition, overlooking the role that curriculum content plays in students’ interest-based motivation. In some cases, curriculum design and interest-based motivation have been studied separately. At times, physical educators may plan or design lessons and units with little consideration for the motivational effects of learning tasks (Chen & Ennis, 2004). When designing a motivation strategy, they may assume that interest is an entity independent from learning tasks or curriculum. In these situations, they may inadvertently emphasize seductive details (e.g., fun activities to attract student interest) as viable motivational strategies. Future researchers should compare the motivational impact of seductive details with integrated task designs that strengthen situational interest within the curriculum. A stronger link between interest-based motivation research and schooling will enhance the theoretical significance and practical impact of motivation research to the education community.

Motivation theories can provide evidence to support the optimal design of learning environments (Chen & Ennis, 2004; Lee, Whitehead, Ntoumanis, & Hatzigeorgiadis, 2008). Motivation models provide a foundation to study multiple motivation variables to explore, complement, extend, and synthesize existing knowledge (Duda & Hall, 2001). Interest and other motivation constructs (e.g., goal orientation, value, self-efficacy, etc.) can be integrated into a comprehensive framework to explain learning and motivation behavior in PE. Future research needs to explore the extent to which different motivational constructs can coexist within the same student.

Additionally, situational interest has been identified as a powerful motivator, especially for novice learners (Alexander, 2005). The construct in PE has been articulated to consist of multidimensional sources. Chen and Ennis (2004) propose that the structure of situational interest may vary because of its high sensitivity to the learning environment defined by the content, instructional strategies, and learners. Nevertheless, to date, the study of multidimensionality of situational interest and its function with learning is still in a very early stage. The function of situational interest dimensions on learning and in-class involvement largely remains unknown. There is an urgent need to examine how situational interest dimensions function in the PE content domain. This knowledge is critical to designing effective motivation strategies to enhance students’ learning and involvement in PE.
Summary of key findings

- Interest can lead to instant engagement, enhance the quality of task engagement, and facilitate learning effectiveness.
- Individual interest is developed over time based on accumulated knowledge and skill. Individual interest is maintained by individuals’ value systems and is difficult to change.
- Situational interest evolves through person-activity interactions. It is occasion-specific and maintained by situational factors.
- Situational interest is a multidimensional construct that includes novelty, cognitive challenge, high attention demand, exploration opportunities, and instant enjoyment.
- Situationally interesting tasks demand high cognitive attention. Tasks that are attractive to students are less sensitive to ability, gender, and age.
- Situationally interesting tasks can increase physical activity levels in PE lessons. In low situational interest tasks, learners are less likely to be motivated regardless of individual interest. Conversely, in high situational interest tasks, learners with high individual interest may show higher motivation to learn.
- Teachers can motivate learners by providing exploration opportunities in learning tasks, reinforcing achievement with enjoyment, and inspiring strong individual interest.
- Although seductive details can enhance learners’ engagement with the learning process, they may have little impact on learning and can even interfere with the construction of new knowledge and skills.

Reflective questions for discussion

1. Describe ways that the three major interest characteristics distinguish the interest construct from other motivation constructs.
2. According to the model of domain learning, what are the significant learner characteristics at different learning stages? How can one develop motivating strategies effective for the students at each learning stage?
3. In small groups, design a number of situationally interesting activities for a fitness workshop incorporating the five sources of situational interest.
4. Think about a situational-individual interest story in your life – a story about how you became attracted to an activity and then how the activity has become your personal hobby. Describe how you may use it to remind yourself of your own motivational resiliency.
5. Although seductive details are situationally interesting and motivating, they have little impact on learning. Should PE teachers add “fun stuff” or sensations unrelated to the content to enhance students’ engagement in PE classes? Take a pro or con position and explain your perspective using research evidence to support your arguments.

References

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