

A Picture is worth (at least) a thousand words: Exploring images in EFL
textbooks in São Paulo, Brazil

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of a Master of Education
specializing in
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**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree**

of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

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*[English] is the powerful language of resistance...it
is the dialect of common sense. It is the speech of the
proud and melancholy races and of all who aspire.*

*It is the chosen tongue to express growth, faith,
self-esteem, freedom, justice, equality, friendliness,
amplitude, prudence, decision, and courage.*

*It is the medium that shall well nigh express
the inexpressible.*

Walt Whitman

Table of Contents

Preface: English as an International Language	6
Prologue: God's Laundry and the Sun	12
Introduction: Exploring Images in English Language Textbooks	15
<i>Notes from the Field 1: Idea(l)s and/in images</i>	19
Literature Review: Blanketing the Field	21
Praxis and the work of Paulo Freire	22
The critical spin: Critical theory and critical inquiry	25
Criticisms: The snags and knots in critical pedagogy	26
Perspectives from TESOL	29
Critical Discourse Analysis	32
Critical Image Analysis	33
Methodology	36
Form of Inquiry	36
Participant recruitment and selection	37
Procedures	41
English Language textbooks included in the study	47
Analysis	48
<i>Notes from the Field 2: Gringa in the Borderlands</i>	51
Saudades for Figuras: A closer look at the participants	54
Marcio	56
Bia	56
Ronaldo	57
Rivaldo	58
Marta	58

Casia	60
Kaka	61
Vinícius	61
Marcos	61
Fátima	62
Vera	63
Glemerson	65
Milene	65
Glória	66
Roberto Carlos	66
<i>Notes from the Field 3: The Colours of Brazil</i>	68
Research Findings	72
Stereotyping Images	72
Culture and country	73
Race and colour	84
Status	90
Gender	93
<i>Notes from the Field 4: The Games that Men and Women Play</i>	96
Images as Currency	102
Emotion and affection	103
Humor: Laugh and the world laughs with you?	112
Companies and Products	115
Stress	117
<i>Notes from the Field 5: Buses in Brazil</i>	122
Poverty and wealth	126

The Environment	130
Implications	133
Stereotyping images	133
Images as currency	134
Implications from the research	136
<i>Notes from the Field 6: Fragile Images</i>	138
References	142
Appendices	148
Appendix A: Informed Consent	148
Appendix B: Informed Consent using graded language	150
Appendix C: Agreement to Participate	152

Preface

English as an International Language (EFL)

We couldn't stop or contain the spread of English now if we wanted to. English schools dot the landscape of the world's cities. Public and private schools in Africa, Europe, Asia, Latin, and South America include English in their curricular responsibilities. Job announcements in newspapers worldwide demand it of the most qualified applicants. English is found in advertisements on the street, in magazines, on street signs, on trendy clothing. People all over the world listen to Brittany Spears, watch "Friends", and line up to see Tom Hank's newest film. English is the language used most in airports and air-traffic control, business, and international sporting events. Two thirds of the world's mail is written in English, and English radio programs are received by over 150 million people in 120 countries (Pennycook, 1995, p. 34). English sites and English search engines dominate the World Wide Web. Western computer technology is increasingly imperative to the future of business and daily life. World leaders communicate and discuss the fate of nations of people in English because English-speaking countries such as the United States have their stakes in economies the world over. If we consider that research journals and conferences are in English more than any other language, we see that so much of knowledge is constructed and passed through an English filter. The influence of English speaking politics, business, knowledge, and culture is felt in daily life from Argentina to Zimbabwe. It is currently estimated that 375 million people speak English as first language, 375 million are English as a Second Language speakers, and 750 million more are learning it as a foreign language (Graddol, 1999). English is changing the world and if you can read this, English has shaped and/or changed you too.

I first became interested in the impact and influence of the English language and English speaking cultures exported to foreign cultures in 1996, when I left Canada to work as a nanny and English tutor in Vienna, Austria for seven months. At the time, I was working towards an undergraduate degree in Cultural Anthropology, and I was fascinated with all things foreign and everything different from Canada and the United States where I had studied. At the time, I thought of English tutoring and foreign childcare as a way to get abroad to see and experience a different way of life and not much else. But, much to my surprise, many of the people I encountered in Vienna, including the parents of the children I worked with, were fascinated with my language, English and all things North American. I was further disappointed to learn that many of the products from my country were in the shops, English movies and television had also crossed the ocean, and obtaining an English education for their children at the local international school was a prestigious and pressing goal for the parents, but not necessarily the children, of the Viennese elite. For example, in the first family I worked for, the parents wanted me to speak strictly English with their two year old despite his on-going resistance; little Paul simply refused to believe that a *blumen* (flower in German) could be called anything other than a *blumen* (flower in German) and reacted by throwing the nearest object at me. But, in spite of the resistance of some Austrians, like Paul, English schools and education in English had apparently come to stay, a reality that was further solidified as Austria joined the European Economic Union a short time later.

Now, I'll admit that, as my first journey outside my country, I was relieved to discover familiar objects, media, or images, but there was also a side of me that could not understand how the Austria I experienced, a country steeped in history, tradition, and decadence in the details of every-day living, could need or want any influence

from (what I thought of as) the motley mix of cultures, history, and traditions that is North America. I think the essence of this question has stayed with me for some time. And when, in my Master of Education program, an opportunity came up to explore a smaller piece of the larger impact of English and English speaking culture(s) on the culture of another nation in which people are learning English as a Foreign language, I felt as though I was returning to many of these unanswered questions and my general confusion about what I might be contributing to by teaching English abroad, despite the demand evident in job advertisements to Travel and Teach.

This time, however, I was not living and working in a wealthy, small nation; I was in the bustling, over-crowded city of São Paulo, Brazil, and the impact of English appeared to be much more profound in the much larger, and much poorer, nation. With the help of Dr. Sandra Kouritzin, I narrowed down a topic for the study in what looked to me like the overwhelming (re)colonization (Skutnub-Kangas, 2000) of Brazil; English was everywhere and not unlike Austria, ultimately benefited few. Exploring the images in the English as a Foreign Language textbooks teachers and student were using in São Paulo was appropriate because Brazil is primarily an oral culture in which literacy in the national language of Portuguese is a privilege. Learning a foreign language, above and beyond a good private school education and university education, appeared to me to further distance those Brazilians who had gained/maintained privilege through education and Brazil's poor/popular/primarily illiterate classes.

My prologue, *God's Laundry and the Sun*, poses a larger question that I hope this thesis will answer: How can education lead to a brighter future for all citizens? More specifically, I was interested in finding out if the images in the EFL textbooks entrenched notions of elitism and/or added space to the social divide between the

educated elite and the largely illiterate poor in the context of São Paulo, Brazil. I had long considered many of the images in EFL texts to be unrealistic representations of Canadian/North American culture, but I wanted to see if, when the teachers and students explored the images, they would view them critically or not. And, I wanted to know if they would be motivated to take some kind of action if an imbalance of power or injustice became clear to them: would it change the way they taught or the way they perceived the images and want the images in their textbooks to be changed by those who chose and created the images?

But I also knew that my position as a foreigner doing critical research was fraught with challenges. In ways both scattered and enlightening, my circumstance as a Canadian, woman, writer, wife, student, teacher, athlete, and traveler is found in the pages of my research. In the research process, I was sometimes uncertain where my viewpoints overlapped, lined up as borders, or retreated. And, in a conscious effort to remain open and objective, I knew from the beginning that investigating my perceptions, biases, assumptions, and viewpoint on images, research, language, and culture learning, the relationship between teachers and students, teachers and teachers, and the Brazilian context were all important parts of the project.

Thus far, diaries or journals have been used in the field of second language acquisition (1) to present introspective accounts of learning a foreign language by researchers themselves in the process of learning a language (Bailey, 1980, 1983; Brown, 1994, Cooke, 1986), (2) to promote second language skills (Hingle, 1993; Savage & Whisenand, 1993), and (3) to explore the relationship between social identity and second language learning (Peirce, 1994, p. 23). However, I could not find any second language acquisition research in which the researcher kept a diary/journal to explore their own social identity in the process of generating knowledge in/for our

field. Therefore, this study was unique in this regard, as I have (1) included a few entries from my journal, the *Notes From the Field* to explore **my** perspectives and perceptions in the process of research, and (2) I have **contextualized** the comments and issues present in the research results with a *Readers' Guide* because without an idea of the participants' reality of São Paulo, Brazil much of the wisdom of the participants' comments may be lost or unappreciated by someone who has never visited Brazil. In both the *Notes* and the *Guides* I will discuss what many scholars in/of Brazil consider integral facets of Brazilian history and culture, however both the *Notes from the Field* and the *Readers' Guides* are, regardless of careful research and reflection, **my** guide through **my** experiences in the following project and should be interpreted as such.

At this time, I wish to acknowledge and thank those who helped me on the course of this journey in research and writing. I would like to thank my committee, Dr. Sandra Kouritzin, Dr. Nathalie Piquemal, and Dr. Pat Mathews for taking the time to give me feedback during both the proposal and defense of this thesis. In particular, I would like to extend my thanks to Sandie who encouraged me to begin graduate studies in the field of TESOL and who did not give up on me, even if she was wondering if I would ever return from Brazil. Thank you for welcoming me into your office, your home, and your family during the process.

I would like to thank Joan Birrel who took the time to read my thesis pieces with great care and attention over many cups of tea. I know that this thesis is much stronger for her helpful suggestions and her friendship.

Furthermore, I am grateful to my parents, Carolyn Northover, and Laurie Palmer for their generous support and warm friendship in all areas of my life, not just this thesis.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Fabricio Souza Mendes for welcoming me into his heart, his country, his culture, his family, and his circle of friends. Exploring a subject in my field of study and in my husband's home of Brazil has been an experience that brought us both closer as we continue to learn about each other's homeland and mother tongues, and learn to appreciate what each country has to offer. I am so grateful for our life together. Obrigada, Fabricio.

Prologue

God's Laundry and the Sun

The sky is blue, bright with the sun, and it's raining. The rain falls in long white sheets and I can't decipher a drop, as though the rain were God's laundry flapping in the wind. But, the water strikes the pavement and the windowsills with such force that it bounces before it settles into puddles in the streets. Another South American dance that mystifies.

Tonight I was the teacher but I learned more than I taught. I can't compare the grammatical structures and the predicable functions of language books with the life in my student's incorrect words overflowing with meaning. My objective was to teach phrases commonly used when one agrees or disagrees with the speaker, for example "I think you've got a good point, you are on the right track, we are on the same page, I couldn't agree with you more, on the one hand, on the other hand...". To accomplish this task, I prepared a number of statements on cards and asked the student to agree or disagree with the statement using the target vocabulary and then give a reason. One such statement was "Education can solve all social problems".

In her answer, my student revealed herself to me as one of the few Brazilians from a poor family who **has** transformed the material circumstances of her life. And her words have moved me to think and write. Her response to my statement was that education "never can to be the complete answer to Brazil's social problems because you can water a plant, you can feed a plant, you can take care of a plant, but unless you show it the sun it will not rise and grow for to meet the sun" (Casia, personal communication, February, 2002). The sun is a vision of how life could be, and only with a vision of the sun and the courage to demand and work for more can education profit the poor.

In São Paulo, Brazil child labour and truancy issues in the poor areas make it difficult to estimate how many children **receive** a public education. What would happen if they were to receive a vision of what that education might bring? When you ask a child who lives on the street or child from the *favelas* (slums) what they want to be when they grow up, they don't know. When you ask a child who attends a heavily guarded private school that costs more per month than the majority of the population receives in five months, this child has an answer.

Yet, the idea that the poorest majority of the country can live happily is a source of pride for so many of the Brazilians I have met: "Don't be sad for the *favelas*, Cosette, understand that these people are happy", I have been told time and time again. And if people are content when they have the money to buy a loaf of bread each day, is there a place for education with a vision and expectations of something better? Much of critical education theory makes an assumption that the people whose lives we hope to affect are in pain. What if these same people don't see it that way or don't feel **our** pain? Are we infecting more than affecting their lives? As educators and/or researchers, who are we to show a child the/our sun? Isn't it potentially cruel to risk providing a vision of that which is so unlikely to be achieved or even allowed by "the way things are".

But then in the wake of increases in the number of children attending school with the help of government and aid organizations, to ignore the problem is to support the dominant structures that have persisted for so many generations. Here, education for education's sake is an oppressive political practice (not a luxury) if/when the teachers and the curriculum do not provide a means of encouragement towards the intellectual and material improvement within their students' lives. In Brazil, many children are easily passed through the elementary grades, to a point where it is not

uncommon that underprivileged adolescents still cannot write their name. What does this do but further oppress them by taking away their time to work and earn money to help feed their family? What does this do but shame them with/by how little they have learned and further instill in them a perception that education is a privilege of the rich not a right and an opportunity of/for all citizens?

Maybe then the question to ask is, how do we, as educators in **this** world, teach to make the sun rise in (the world of) others? When we expect more for humanity but the humans we teach do not, I think only questions and conversations of history and histories can produce the motivation and the willingness to construct a shelter to shield us from the rain that strikes and bounces before settling into puddles.

Introduction

Exploring Images in English as a Foreign Language Textbooks

Currently in the field of TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) there is much debate about the forms of English we should be teaching and who should have control of the spread of English internationally (Widdowson, 1994; Crystal, 1997). The questions causing the most heated debates in journals and at conferences in our field include: Who owns English: those who speak English as a first language or those who speak English? Which English should we teach to who: British English, American English, varieties of the British Commonwealth, Indian English, Pakistan English, or Ebonics/Black English where, and to what end? Who should teach English: teachers who speak English as a first language or teachers who speak English well as a second language? Should teachers be required to show evidence of professional articulation? How should we teach English: using Western teaching methods or drawing on Indigenous teaching approaches or methodology of the country in which English is being taught? And under what circumstances should we teach English? These debates are ongoing and receive a great deal of attention from TESOL researchers.

Although these questions do interest, challenge, and worry me as an English teacher and academic, I have chosen to explore a part of the language teaching equation that has received very little research attention thus far, that is, what else are we teaching, consciously or unconsciously, when we use English language texts produced in England or the United States for mass consumption overseas? More specifically, I wanted to look not merely at the language used in the texts, examining what grammatical forms and functions are taught, but I wanted to look at the **images**

or **pictures** which represent culture and that help students to form an impression of the target second language culture, in this case, English.

An example from an English Language text should illustrate my growing concern in this topic; I am not sure what these images are intended to represent, but (1) the race is predominantly White (2) the mature male presides, (3) images of beauty and authority abound, and finally, (4) the perfect family is still nuclear. The 1997 printing of the Interchange series by Cambridge University Press contains a number of cartoon and photograph images that provide students with an impression of British and American culture. If we look at Interchange 3, the student's book in the unit "On the Job" and a follow up section on "Professions", we see images of a posed white female NASA astronaut, and a mature white male scientist (p.56). Unit ten, "There's no place like home" shows the reader a beautiful, clean, quiet, middle to upper class neighbourhood where a white, family of four (heterosexual parents with a baby girl and a young son) prepare a meal together (p.64). And unit fourteen, "The Right Stuff" includes a picture of a slender young white woman dressed in a zebra print mini-skirt, red stiletto heels and a red leather jacket, smiling as she drives an invisible car. The designer of the text must have felt that the image of the above young woman was an important representation of American culture because the image was used twice in the text, as part of a unit (p.91) and again on the last page of the text (p.134). Clearly, these images are apt to provide an impression, false or otherwise, about the target second language culture, and this thesis explored what that image comprised. I have on many occasions found it challenging to work with such images in my English language classroom.

Therefore, this research project has investigated how images in English Language texts produced by British and American publishers are used, interpreted

and/or absorbed in an EFL context in Brazil. This country was an optimum location for the project for the following reasons: Brazil is a multicultural, developing nation whose economy is greatly influenced by financial ties and debt to the United States; the EFL (English as a Foreign Language) industry is relatively new in Brazil and two thirds of English teachers are Brazilian (Maria Elena Gam, Director of one of the most expensive and successful English schools in São Paulo, personal communication, April, 2001); the vast majority of texts supplied to Brazil are produced in the United States and England, and, since the end of the military dictatorship in 1984, Brazil has been increasingly receptive to foreign investment. Foreign investment in Brazil has created the context in which it is not uncommon to find foreigners living and working in the larger cities.

However, the globalization of the Brazilian market has not been limited to telecommunications, banking, retail merchandising, manufacturing industries and English schools. The most affluent and "global" cities, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo are also importing an entirely Western notion of beauty, fashion, and ideals of affluent Western lifestyles. English pop music, film, television, and media are widely available and advertisements displaying Western models and/or a First World standard of living cannot be avoided on a day-to-day basis.

Although it is not my purpose as TESL professional to critique the marketing of Western products, I think it is incumbent upon us to (re)examine the images produced in Western nations for the purpose of teaching English abroad. It has long been recognized that TESL researchers have a responsibility to explore the socio-political aspects of the spread of English in foreign nations (Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994, 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) because, at this moment in history when the globalization of world economies and information is paramount, rethinking the images

we export as we teach English is especially important **because Western images and ideals move people to learn English in the hope that they too might enter a global forum driven by communication in English.** In São Paulo alone I counted three hundred legally registered English schools in the yellow pages (August, 2002). I am concerned that the images in these English language centers are promoting ideals of elitism within Brazil with the Western elite as models. Furthermore, I am also worried that in developing nations such as Brazil, EFL images, like the ones cited above, reinforce that elitism is solely equated with White powerful heterosexual men and their families.

Notes from the field 1: Idea(l)s and/in Images

Images have become an increasingly pervasive part of the modern world. While my grandparents, in their youth, might have escaped their immediate world by reading a book, telling a story, or listening to the radio, I can travel the world and beyond in a flash of moving images, as movie, television, videogame, and Internet technology now allow me to see beyond my direct experience. Images on news programs, in newspapers and magazines provide me with an eye on the world's happenings (or gossip). Achievements, controversy, and events in politics, history, art, science, and education are filmed and photographed so that I might archive and teach my culture and my history to others and the generations of my family to come. I record my fondest memories in images, for photography has allowed me to capture and preserve my best days, such as graduations, weddings, vacations, or first steps, on slips of paper.

Although images have the power to inform, make me smile, laugh or remember, they can also inspire anger, hate, or sadness, for no image is innocent or exempt from politics. Images are constructed and not without motive, because images reflect ideas of the present state of the world or an idea what life could/should be as strategically captured and constructed through lenses, lighting, space, clothing, colour and positioning of the images' subject(s). Thus, images, consciously and/or unconsciously, teach me about inhabiting my world and the world of others. Images that bond us as a culture or with another culture include: the little girl in the Melai Massacre, or the planes hitting the World Trade Center. Put another way, the aim of images is not only to teach me what to see, but also **how to see** the person or situation (Fairclough, 2001). For example, television commercials, magazine advertisements, billboards on the street and on highways, posters in bus shacks/on

and in buses, storefront windows, present strongly suggestive images of material things or services that I “must have” if I want to be successful or happy. At the same time, these same images sell ideals of the human form, unrealistic standards many men and women to try to live up to.

If I consider the pervasive nature of images, I am led to ask: what might be communicated by an image, if I were unfamiliar with the culture from which the image originated? What might the image teach me, consciously or unconsciously, about that culture? And if I consider that I view images through the lens of my culture and my individual experiences in life, how might my opinion about the image affect my perceptions of that another part of the world, or my own world for that matter?

Introduction

Blanketing the Field

Introduction

How does one aspiring academic find a topic that will (not only) be of interest in the immediate task of completing a Master's thesis or a doctoral degree, but also inspire and entertain his/her curiosities over years in an academic vocation? I do not know; nor can I even imagine so far into my own future without feeling a very unenlightened sense of panic. But in seeking to contribute to greater knowledge or insight into a topic in the field of TESOL, I have come to believe that pursuing an intellectual interest is very much like pulling a loose thread at the edge of a knit blanket. The more you tug, the more the material unravels before you, proving that the blanket began with some of the very raw materials of life. I feel that the knowledge that blankets an academic field/area may also be unraveled and examined in the same way to produce new ideas or greater understanding of some of the very raw materials of life: the concepts that we find increasingly difficult to pin down in books, journals, or conference papers as the world changes, such as identity, culture, race, gender, language, sorrow, power, privilege, love, alienation, joy, discomfort, resistance, and hope. And while unraveling a blanket may leave you cold and uncomfortable initially, I think if we pull at an interest, with the objective that one day we might find the whole (or much of the) matter unwound at our feet, we rediscover that the same raw fibres can be (re)knit tighter, stronger, and woven with a variety of new stitches or a more complete understanding of how things came to be as you or I found them.

Therefore, in preparation for this research project and in the course of the research, I have aimed to knit the ideas of authors with a background in critical theory/inquiry, critical pedagogy, and/or TOEFL relating to the project of images in

English as a Foreign language texts in Brazil in order to inform and find greater meaning in the raw materials I had at hand in research. Below is how the literature unraveled in my hand. I will review the following words as they relate to this thesis: (1) the work of Brazilian philosopher and educational theorist Paulo Freire, (2) recent work in the area of critical theory and critical inquiry, (3) criticisms of these first two bodies of knowledge, (4) current perspectives from the field of TESOL, including the area of (5) critical discourse analysis, and (6) the critical image analysis of Peter Giaschi.

Praxis and the work of Paulo Freire

Brazilian philosopher, and educational theorist, Paulo Freire has influenced various educational fields for taking his critical philosophy of education and putting it into practice, and renaming the process **praxis**. Many educators, in both Brazil and elsewhere in the West, tell us that his Critical Pedagogy “expanded our perceptions of the world, nourished our will, enlightened our awareness of the causes and consequences of human suffering, and illuminated the need to develop an ethical and utopian pedagogy for social change” (Torres, 2000, p.2). Hope resonates in those influenced by his ideals/ideas.

Critical pedagogy questions who benefits from the power structures that exist and examines how race, class, and gender are balanced (or unbalanced) in the political picture, for if these factors are left unconsidered in our teaching, we are apt to reproduce and or legitimize unequal power relationships in our classrooms. Critical pedagogists such as/following Paulo Freire ask politicized questions because their work is rooted in the philosophy that all human beings, of every colour, socio-economic status, and gender should have the opportunity to realize their individual potential in life. They believe self-actualization or “conscientization” (Freire, 1967) and

eventual “humanization” (Torres, 2000, p.3) of (wo)mankind can be accomplished through education.

Paulo Friere’s work was developed as a revolutionary tool for the popular classes living in *favelas* (slums) of Brazil, as his theory was intentionally constructed for literacy education. Freire felt that teaching the poor to read and write was “the one path to liberation” because literacy is a process “in which people historically situated, are central and viewed as agents” capable of changing the circumstances of their lives (Freire cited in Cox & Assis-Peterson, 1999, p.435).

Freire’s educational legacy is linked to Brazil’s political history: the birth of Freire’s ideas in Brazil in the 1960s and the resurgence of interest in the praxis of Critical Pedagogy in the 1980s had led critical pedagogy to become a sacred movement among many Brazilian academics. Freire’s initial influence grew from his work as the coordinator for the Project for Adult Literacy as part of the Folk Culture Movement in Recife, Brazil during the early 1960s. Through teaching the basic skills of reading and writing in Portuguese to the region’s mostly illiterate population, Freire worked to make education a process in which the poor became agents of change in their world: the favelas and streets of Recife. Only four years later, under the dictatorial regime put into place by a military coup, Freire was imprisoned and later exiled from Brazil. However, by 1979 the law of Amnesty allowed counterhegemonic intellectuals, like Freire, to return to Brazilian universities, and the results created a deep surge of interest in all things **critical**. As Cox & Assis-Peterson (1999) at the Federal University of Mato Grosso recall:

Never had the word *critical* been spoken so much (critical consciousness, critical attitude, critical education, critical teacher, critical student, critical reading, critical analysis). Similarly never had the word *ideology* been applied

so widely (bourgeois ideology, capitalist ideology, dominant ideology, ideological apparatus of state, counterideology. The politicized intellectuals acted as if they were agents of consciousness, uncovering relations of power where they had not usually been perceived. They told the truth to those who did not see it and to those who could not say it. (p. 435)

Yet, this time, renewal of critical pedagogy was not led by Paulo Freire, but rather by critical intellectuals “who crossed Brazil resowing the seeds of critical pedagogy” (Giroux, 1992, cited in Cox & Assis-Peterson, 1999, p.34) with conferences and publications.

But, the early 1980's not only marked a watershed of interest in the consideration of power, history, ideology, social class, gender, consciousness, and empowerment in a variety of intellectual fields. More importantly, the critical pedagogy movement of the early 1980's linked enlightenment or Freire's conscientization to the predominant first language, **Brazilian Portuguese**. Thus Portuguese, and the artful use of Portuguese discourse, was seen as the primary line of defense and the most effective offense against the foreign, national and local opposing forces in Brazil at that time.

Consequently, critical pedagogy was taken up primarily by intellectuals who worked with(in) the mother tongue, **not** by Brazilian teachers of English. English teachers in Brazil “stayed on the sidelines of the movement and were labeled by their colleagues (teachers of literature, Portuguese, and history) as alienated, acritical, apolitical, reactionary, right-wing stooges of U.S. imperialism” for “among politicized intellectuals, English teachers were suspected of having sold their souls to the devil” (Cox & Assis-Peterson, 1999, p. 437). And despite the relatively recent ruling that learning English is meaningful only when the language contributes to the critical mind

of the learner (translated from the National Educational Secretary, NCP: Secretaria de Educação Fundamental, 1998), a recent study by Cox and Assis-Peterson (1999) has revealed that the majority of present English teachers in Brazil have not heard of critical pedagogy and do not consider themselves as colonized or colonizers. Furthermore, the teachers in the Cox and Assis-Peterson (1999) study did not see themselves as teaching culture, but rather as preparing students for success in an international context (p.442). Ironically then, in the homeland of critical pedagogy, the work of Freire and other critical pedagogs is read more, and explored more, by Western TESOL teachers and academics than by the vast majority of Brazilian English language teachers. Therefore, I was motivated to create a project, designed under the premise of critical inquiry, aimed at working with Brazilian English teachers and students to explore race, class, and gender in their texts to see if they had, in fact, sold (or at the very least, entrusted) their souls to English.

The critical spin: Critical theory and critical inquiry

For research and theory to inform each other as critical, inquiry challenges the interests and ideologies that individuals, groups, and societies take for granted as a means of motivating these individuals, groups, or societies to improve the human conditions of those who are oppressed. I was initially attracted to research as an opportunity to contribute to social justice.

Critical theory begins with the assumption that education (the process of educating/being educated) is inherently political. Essentially, how we teach, what we teach, why we teach, and why students, in this case, choose to learn English are all political acts. The aims of critical theory and the rigorous practice of critical research are to explain, to interpret, and to deliberately reflect on the political/politicized processes of education in order to challenge "directly underlying human interests and

ideologies" (Sirotnik, 1991, p.245). In fact, critical theorists such as Apple (1979), Aronowitz and Giroux (1985), Rawls (1985), and Sirotnik (1991) go as far as to claim that critical inquiry is an ethical stance committed to social justice through education.

One way in which these politicized interests and ideologies behind/within the practice of education are challenged is through the dialectical/dialogical methodology of critical inquiry. Researchers, administrators, teachers, students, any and all participants in the educational setting or situation of interest, can thus be seen as part of a collective dialogue for the improvement of the school or schooling. Research in a critical paradigm leads to the (de)construction of knowledge through the constant questioning, re-questioning, arguing, counter arguing, and revising or rethinking or (re)construction of educational processes by all participants, not just the researcher. Critical Inquiry, then, aspires **and** inspires one to (re)create education through dialogue, or unravel our "givens" to gain a stronger understanding of one's place in the process of education and life situation. The possibilities of critical research and the promises of critical theory are inspiring.

Criticisms: The snags and knots in Critical Pedagogy

Research procedures

While the dialogical tenants of the theory and the mode of inquiry may appear both in/aspiring for new, rather "green" academics like myself, the critical mode of inquiry is not without challenges. The most immediate difficulty goes beyond gaining access to educational settings: Critical researchers must build/gain sufficient mutual trust for the participants to share their deepest ideas, thoughts, and values if a conscientious view of the educative situation is to be gained. In fact, trust between the participants and the researcher must go beyond the mere acknowledgement and comprehension of one another's ideas but rather, reach for a much deeper mutual level of understanding

of the politics of education and how one might make change in the case of unjust practices. Consequently, critical inquiry is a timely process and I would dare say the very opposite of giving a participant a check or "X" questionnaire. As a result of the time spent in the process of research, both critical theorists and participants often become profoundly involved. Critical research is not a top-down, authoritative practice; critical inquiry is an academic practice that more than whispers of grass-roots political movements. Thus, the other challenges of critical research are revealed: Researchers must be able and willing to be emotionally and intellectually involved in the process of research; the academic must (cautiously and with great sensitivity) pose questions that will engage participants to a deep level of inquiry and eventual understanding. Perhaps one of the greatest challenge of critical inquiry is that if we are, by the very nature of critical inquiry, questioning the existing powers that be, how many educators and/or students will be knowingly willing to participate? For a new academic, the greatest challenges lie in that much more critical theory exists than critical practice so there is no guidebook, no cookbook, and few instructions for exactly how to carry out the research.

Research consequences

Despite promise, Critical Pedagogy is also apt to leave researchers, teachers, and any/all participants in a paradox (Ellsworth, 1989); the roads to consciousness and freedom require that one finds the courage and intellect to unbind one's self. Furthermore, the process is dangerous in that allowing/encouraging each person an opportunity to realize their potential in the/their world is to threaten the very power structures that currently exist. While self-actualization may mobilize the oppressed to change their present reality or circumstance, the now mobilized/motivated participants may, in the process of challenging the oppressor(s), may either realize the absolute

extent of the powers against them or become further oppressed by trying to change "the way things are." Moving beyond what/who we are at either the level of the individual, group, or society involves the risk, the danger, and the discomfort of challenging what we learned at home, in our culture, in our city, or in our country (hooks, 1994). How do/can we challenge the deeply rooted ties of family, culture, class-ties, and motherland? Furthermore, in some cases of oppression, only several generations of challenging sacred ties and revered assumptions would lead to the intellectual and social freedom or utopia that Freire spoke about and wrote of in his lifetime. Are human beings capable of working toward an objective that they will never see realized? Certainly, the North American fast-paced, quick-fix, convenience culture(s) suggest that mobilizing oppressed citizens to think beyond their day to day circumstances for (great) grandchildren's sake, would be an enormous challenge. For all the politically correct language in the English language, Martin Luther King Jr.'s (1963) "Dream" is far from realized on the streets of America as one in four black men goes to prison each year in the United States (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). But then, do critical pedagogues even have a right to give hope to those oppressed persons that may not lead to anything but self-actualized pain and awareness of the absolute unfairness of their world. I met many poor people in São Paulo, Brazil who had accepted their circumstances and chose to be happy whenever and wherever they could because, as Lather (1991) points out, every human being must find a way to **survive**, be it physically, emotionally, or intellectually in the course of their lifetime (p. 142).

So, herein lies the snag (ironically, it was my Brazilian friends and students that ultimately taught me to look for "the catch" in everything): To ignore that education is political is to maintain the *status quo* and to continue to reproduce the power

relationships that already exist. Changing the world requires that we enter unknown, and at times, uncomfortable or dangerous new territories. Although many teachers may not be comfortable raising political questions in their classrooms, the very way in which we teach is a political stance. Critical Pedagogy then asks educators and learners if we are creating an environment where all students can question the world as it is today in order to develop into better human beings who will, in the future, make a better world. Because, if teaching is only viewed as a top-down process in which we do not fully acknowledge the challenges that the students themselves experience, the climate for self-actualization by/through education will not be created, and the politics of race, class, and gender will always remain the same. As Patti Lather (1991), suggests, change will occur when teachers create a space "where students can come to see ambivalence and differences not as obstacles, but as the very richness of meaning-making and the hope of whatever justice we might work towards" (p. 145).

Perspectives from TESOL

Several years have passed since the first TESOL academics posed the larger critical questions associated with the spread of English internationally. Since the late eighties English as a Second Language scholars such as Pennycook (1994, 1995), Fairclough (1989) and Phillipson (1992) have advocated a more critical look at the assumed neutrality and benefits of the internationalization of English. Each author has argued that the lack of critical language instruction and lack of programs aimed at considering the learning of English in light of current global power relations is due to English teachers' belief that English/English language teaching is still a matter of form and the methodology for teaching form. For this reason, Pennycook, in particular, has urged English teachers to make themselves (and ultimately their students) aware of the consequences of the spread of English: the spread of ideas about democracy,

capitalism, neoliberalism, and modernization, including in many cases the exact reproduction of inequities between the dominant political agent(s) and the subordinate political agent(s) at local, national, and international levels (1995, pp. 52-55).

Within the same period, noted British scholar H.G. Widdowson (1994) further argued for caution in "the designs we have on other people's worlds" for "English and English teaching are proper to the extent that they are appropriate, not to the extent that they are appropriated" (p. 389). For the above reason, Widdowson has claimed that non-native English teachers, informed in the culture, attitudes, and beliefs of the students in their cultural world, are best qualified to "activate the learning process" (p. 387). Furthermore, in a recently published article "The changing global economy and the future of English teaching", Warschauer (2000) agrees with Widdowson about the bright future for non-native teachers of English, for he believes that globalization and the further spread of English will shift authority from native to non-native speakers and dialects (p. 511). In my own case, I think that while non-native language teachers indeed have clear advantage in their understanding of the culture/background of their students, the ability to ask questions that a native of the culture dare not is a clear advantage of doing research outside your one's culture, as in the case of this project (Nathalie Piquemal, personal communication, 2001). Unfamiliarity with the customs, culture, and way of life of a culture puts the researcher in a position where the participants can be the teacher/instructor of culture. The student/researcher can then ask questions without knowing how the answers may affect the participant or to test the participant. For this reason, I think researchers may be able to delve into deeper levels of understandings, depending on the questioned asked and the answers given. However, Widdowson (1994) also raised another issue important to the focus of this study in his definition of language proficiency:

You are proficient in a language to the extent that you possess it, make it your own, bend it to your will, assert yourself through it rather than simply submit to the dictates of its form. It is a familiar experience to find one's self saying things in a foreign language because you can say them rather than because they express what you want to say.... You are speaking the language but not speaking your mind. Real proficiency is when you are able to take possession of the language, turn it to your advantage, and make it real for you." (p. 384)

Thus, Widdowson's definition of cultural proficiency has raised a similar question of learning a second language culture (C2): Can we make the assumption that one has sufficiently adopted a second language culture when one can turn the second language culture to his/her advantage by, as the critical pedagogs suggest, critically viewing both one's position and one's reality in the second language culture? Furthermore, I wondered if learning a second language from a dominant increasingly internationalized culture would turn students to admire or criticize. I wanted to know if an impending second language cultural proficiency would include the desire for action and of what sort/kind or action that would take. I was, therefore, interested in finding out how exploring images more closely would affect students. I was curious if students, as Widdowson suggests, would turn the culture to their advantage or if they would believe in the images as though seeing through a second language culture that is not ultimately theirs also.

Warschauer (2000) contributes to the issue at hand by explaining why the above consideration is important. He believes that the increasing number of English speakers in the 21st century will lead speakers to view English as Warschauer suggests that "their own language of international communication rather than a foreign language controlled by the 'other'" (p. 515). Furthermore, in promoting a local variety

of English based on local values and identities, "teachers would do well to exploit this situation by creating opportunities for communication based on the values, cultural norms, and the needs of the learners rather than on the syllabi and texts developed in England and the United States" (p. 515). For if the future will/should be, as Widdowson and Warchauer suggest, led by local varieties of English based on/within local varieties of culture, I was eager to understand what students and their teachers are currently learning and teaching about culture.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an analytical technique designed to directly challenge discourse to reveal how power and gender are present in language. In his recent edition of Language and Power, Fairclough (2001) explains how this technique can be applied. The process involves three stages: Description, Interpretation, and Explanation of the language used in the discourse/text. Since its inception in the late 1980s, CDA has been used by a number of scholars with varying interests in the field of education and TESOL. I will highlight a few of the topics in education and TESOL in which CDA has been used, and summarize the results.

In the field of education, I wish to focus on two studies. First, Jessop, Lawrence, and Pitt (1998) used CDA to conduct and report Two Workshops on Critical Literacy Practice. In their workshops they used CDA as a way to make sense of and alter power relations in adult literacy education. Second, noted scholar, Apple (1996) applied CDA to explore critically-oriented sociology including the politics of discourse, identity, and race. Apple's work Power, meaning and identity: Critical sociology of education in the United States provides an interesting discussion of the tension between postmodern and poststructural communities.

In the field of TESOL, Widdowson (2000) and Kumaravadivelu (1999) have used and expanded upon CDA in their research. In, "On the limitations of linguistics applied", Widdowson (2000) examined CDA and used corpus analysis to examine discourse in ESL textbooks that were aimed at helping students with real world problems as well as use of English as a second language. Kumaravadivelu (1999) built on current models of CDA using poststructuralist and postcolonialist discourse models to develop a critical framework to understand second-language classrooms.

Critical Image Analysis

Peter Giaschi, a recent Master's of Education graduate, published an article "Gender Positioning in Education: A Critical Image Analysis of ESL texts" based on his thesis. In his article, Giaschi (2000) points out that the images/pictures in EFL texts that are "produced in or by one culture and in context-specific conditions", are "often used and absorbed in sometimes radically different context with different socio-political and cultural realities" (p.33). An extensive search of the literature has since revealed that Peter Giaschi is one of the only TESOL researcher to address the issue of American and British images used in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) texts.

Giaschi (2000) examined of "popular or successful" texts provided to him in teaching positions in Japan, Canada, and Italy (p. 38). From these texts, he chose 35 images in which men and women were juxtaposed, and examined them using Critical Image Analysis, a construct developed by Giaschi based on Fairclough's (1995) notion of Critical Discourse Analysis (see also, Kormos, 1998; Kasper, 1998; Goldstein, 1995; Kouritzin, 1999).

Giaschi found that men were presented in more principal roles than women, especially in "work related images" where "the manager, leader, or protagonist was constantly a man" (p. 39). He also found that men had more "active" roles in the

images 76 percent of the time (p. 39). Conversely, women were given the “passive” role in the images 75 percent of the time (p. 39). In 89 percent of the images men were in positions of higher status “conferred by physical stature, by the perspective of the portrayer (in this case usually the photographer), by accessorization (clothing or desks) and to the degree to which others serve” (p. 39). Furthermore, Giaschi found that men were presented as relaxed in dangerous situations, while women were consistently shown in submissive positions such as head inclined and looking up toward a man. Giaschi argues that women’s clothing also contributed to their submission in the images. Women wore “baroque period dresses, futuristic lame, fun clothing that at times attained the bizarre” that asked to be watched, while men were either “casual, professional, or power-dressed” (p. 40). Finally, Giaschi discovered how the eyes and how men and women looked at each other reinforced the dominant male to subordinate/passive female relationship. For example, in the cases where men looked away from a woman in the image, the woman was almost always looking up at him, reaffirming his position above her (p. 40).

Giaschi’s work, while opening questions about EFL images, suffered because of his limited methodology. His selection of texts was (loosely) based on his own perception of “popular” or “successful” texts. Furthermore, Giaschi’s work implied that teachers and students passively accept and absorb the images presented to them in their texts. Giaschi made the assumption that “students of ESL may find it difficult or impossible to challenge the hidden meaning in the materials provided them” and given what he asserts are the immaturity of standards in English language teaching, teachers may not be “concerned with the integrity of the materials” (Giaschi, 2000, p.34). Therefore, in his research, Giaschi **himself** interpreted textual images, without consulting professional teachers in the field of TESOL or the English language

students who consume the images. His lack of consideration is odd, considering Giaschi (2000) made the argument that "the principal issue was empowerment, of both ESL students and their teachers" (p.41). While the very nature of empowerment means creating an "ideal speech situation" for students and teachers to be critical of their world (Sirotnik, 1991), it was not part of Giaschi's research plan to include the voices of teachers and students.

Additionally, Fairclough's discourse analysis, on which Giaschi based his analysis, requires social interaction that Giaschi did not include. As Fairclough (2000) argued, "the values of textual features only become socially operative if they are embedded in social interaction where texts are produced and interpreted against a backdrop of common-sense assumptions which give textual features their values" and ultimately, the explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context is also mediated "by the social context of the discourse" (p. 115). Thus, the small amount of work that has been done on images in EFL texts is largely decontextualized. Giaschi's research methodology did not, in my opinion produce conclusive evidence that students of English were indeed affected by the images. While critical image analysis as a framework was an important contribution to the field, there remained many gaps in terms of methodology. This thesis is aimed at one of those gaps, namely, making the research method as well as the methodology truly critical.

Methodology

Form of Inquiry: The Political Pedagogy of Paulo Freire and images in Brazilian EFL textbooks

As Brazil is the birthplace of Paulo Freire, I define Critical Inquiry in terms of his seminal works in the field of education. My research questions are defined in terms of his generic questions. Freire wanted educators to take his theory and apply as it best suited the particular classroom or group of people:

The theoretical foundations of my practice are explained in the actual process, not as a *fait accompli*, but as a dynamic movement in which both theory and practice make and remake themselves...those who put my experience into practice must strive to recreate it and also rethink my thinking (Freire, 1985, pp. 11-12).

This is why Freire never provided a “how-to” methodology for his Critical Pedagogy but rather the generic questions. I will follow the most relevant three of these generic Critical questions in the research process and Giaschi’s Critical Image Analysis.

The Critical Image Analysis (Giaschi, 2000, p.37) adapted from Fairclough’s (1989) analytic technique Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Fairclough’s technique “constitutes an interrogation of discourse, be it dialogue, journalism, advertising, or any other communication, to reveal power- and/or gender-based positioning that might not be identifiable at first glance” (Giaschi, 2000, p. 36). I will employ Giaschi’s adapted version, Critical Image Analysis as the theoretical and analytic framework against which we will collaboratively “challenge the assumptions conveyed” (Giaschi, 2000, p. 42) in the images.

This research is an exploratory study examining the following question(s) based on the work of Paulo Freire (1995, 1998). Freire's generic questions are in italic print and my reformulated questions follow in plain print:

- (1) *What are we doing now?* How and to what extent are images used in an EFL context in Brazil? How and to what extent do teachers and students in an EFL context in Brazil interpret the images? I will ask the students to choose and analyze dominant or influential images in EFL texts.
- (2) *Whose interests are being served by the way things are?* How are the interpretations absorbed and/or resisted? I will ask students to interpret the representative images.
- (3) *Is this how we want it to be and what are we going to do about it?* I will ask the students and teachers if they want to do anything about it and would they develop recommendations for day-to-day teaching practice?

Participant Recruitment and Selection

There were fifteen participants in the study, 11 students and four teachers, eight men and seven women. I recruited:

- (1) Six student participants and two teacher participants from two private prestigious English language schools in São Paulo, one of these institutions is the most expensive English language school in the city
- (2) four former private English language students who I had taught over the course of one week up to six months as an employee of a private language school in my first six months in São Paulo.
- (3) one student participants and two teacher participants by snowball sampling

As summarized in the following table:

	Male	Female	Total
Students	6	5	11
Teachers	2	2	4
Total	8	7	15

I approached each candidate personally to invite them to participate in a research study looking at the connection between pictures in English language textbooks and the language learning process. I explained that I was interested in learning each participant's opinion about some of the pictures that had accompanied the English learning objectives in English language texts that they had used in studying English. I then asked them not to provide me with an answer at that time, but to take the Invitation to Participate (see Appendix A), consider the content of the letters carefully, and provide me with an answer a few days later.

I chose to approach recruitment in the above manner because I did not want the candidates to say "yes" immediately, purely on obligation; I was well aware of that having taught some of the study candidates the resulting roles from the student-teacher relationship may create a sense of obligation. I also knew that if a candidate did not have either the time or the interest in participating in the study, it would be easier for them to decline by phone or e-mail and save any awkward embarrassment. On the contrary, I knew that the personal approach is greatly appreciated in a large city like São Paulo. Therefore, if a candidate did accept to participate, I was certain that taking the time to provide them personally with the Invitation to Participate would lead our conversations off on the right foot by showing the participant that I was sincere and willing to make the research process as convenient and as personable as possible. I feel that the above strategy worked well; of the nineteen Invitations to

Participate that I distributed, only four people declined. Furthermore, none of the four teachers asked to participate declined the invitation.

I invited students over the age of 18 to participate both to ensure that parental consent was not required and to ensure participant maturity. However, the age minimum also proved to guarantee that the participants had had some exposure to both English speaking culture(s) inside or outside the classroom and/or within or beyond Brazil's borders.

All the participants were "class A or B", the two wealthiest classes in Brazil or the wealthiest 20 percent of the population as determined by the Brazilian Government. Class A in particular is a level of extreme wealth known to only 2-3% of Brazilian society. All of executive participants have traveled outside of Brazil, the most common destinations being the United States, particularly New York, San Diego, and Miami, and Europe. All of the student participants expressed enthusiasm and concern about the importance of English in their work or education and thus study English to (1) communicate with foreign management when the company they work for is a branch of a larger American or European company, (2) improve business relations, (3) to further their opportunities within their companies, (4) to apply for positions outside the present organization or business, or, (5) because they enjoy studying English/languages in general. In the case of many student participants however, few do/can commit any time to studying English beyond the weekly classes with their teacher because of the extent of their responsibilities within their respective companies and because of the fact that most work 10 to 14 hours per workday and have family.

The 4 teachers who participated in this study, all worked and lived in São Paulo. Like the vast majority of TESOL professionals, they work in both English

private language schools and give private lessons. All have either lived or traveled outside of Brazil. All are bilingual English-Portuguese speakers who began studying English at a young age. Each of them earns a salary either at par or over the average for English language schools in São Paulo, 800R or \$1,600 Canadian per month and, like most teachers, teach private students to supplement their wages.

The following table summarizes the pseudonyms, ages, professions, and language levels of the participants who volunteered their time to the study. I obtained the participants' professions because each gave me a business card prior to the research. The age of the participants is given as an approximate as I never directly asked any of the participants their age because socio-economic status, not age, was one of the criteria in participant selection. The Conversational English level was not determined by a test or any official/standard examination, but rather based on my interpretation of their ability to communicate (i.e., how often the conversation broke down, how often synonyms and further explanations were necessary, or how often the conversation required clarification). The "like native" designation indicates that I felt that a participant's communicative and linguistic competences were such that he/she could compare/compete with a native speaker in my country and city. The language categories for the participants, then, are determined by my experiences as an English teacher over five years in Canada and abroad.

Pseudonym As assigned by the researcher	Profession At the time of research	Approximate Age At the time of research	Conversational English Level Beginner to Like Native or First Language Speaker
Bia	Taxation Lawyer for a Brazilian firm	29	Intermediate
Casia	Manager at an American multinational firm	30	Intermediate

Fátima	Lawyer with an Argentine firm	24	Low-Intermediate
Glemerson	English teacher (private lessons and lessons at English schools)	28	One of his two first languages is English
Glória	English teacher and receptionist at English school	25	Upper-Intermediate
Kaka	Student and security guard	19	Beginner
Marcio	Manager at a Spanish bank	35	Upper-Intermediate
Marcos	Manager at American Credit firm	38	Advanced
Marta	Hospital Administrator	37	Intermediate
Milene	Education student and English teacher	26	Like Native
Rivaldo	Investor for an American Investing firm	30	Like Native
Roberto Carlos	Manager at an English school franchise	27	One of his two first languages is English
Ronaldo	Manager at American appliances firm	45	Advanced
Vinícius	Financial Manager at a Brazilian firm	32	Low-Intermediate
Vera	Broker for a Brazilian brokerage firm	30	Upper-Intermediate

Research Procedures

The data collection with the 10 student participants took place in a series of 2-3 individual interviews based on images chosen by the students. I had originally hoped that I could form student focus group interviews. However, time constraints, traffic, and traveling time or safety due to the size, population, and social conditions of São

Paulo did not allow for focus groups. I was able to organize the two female teachers into one discussion group and the two male teachers into a second discussion group each for a full and productive hour of discussion. The successes and challenges of these groupings will be considered in the Implications and Limitations of Research section(s) of the thesis.

The research conversations were held at the participants' workplaces in an empty conference or classroom and in two cases, at a coffee shop near their respective language schools. The participant selected the location in every case. All interviews were scheduled at the participants' convenience. The meetings were held at least one week apart in order to allow the participants time to think about/process the discussion further. I think this is the reason many of the participants returned to the second conversation with ideas to share; most told me that they had talked about "the English pictures project" with a family member, colleague or friend.

I was no longer involved in the participants' English learning programs in any capacity, as teacher or colleague at the time of the research. Participants neither paid for nor received remuneration for participating in the research.

Furthermore, to ease a teacher-student relationship onto a more equal playing field, at the beginning of each interview I told each participant: that I was there to listen to their opinion; that there was no right or wrong answers; and that they had control of the data because they could add, subtract, or elaborate on anything that they said.

A: Initial interview (45 minutes)

After greeting the students and chatting for a few minutes about things unrelated to the project, I asked them if they had the consent form or provided them with another if they had not brought it. I gave students an opportunity to read through the Invitation to Participate if they had not previously (as was the case with some of the busier

participants). Then, I asked if there were any questions or concerns. There were few questions because I provided two copies of the Invitation to Participate (1) one that had passed the Ethics Committee and (2) one that had the same information but was written in a non-academic accessible style for EFL students. I had initially written a consent form in accessible style for the students but it had not been approved by the Ethics Committee because they felt it was not formal enough. I was concerned that the students might be intimidated by the Ethics review approved form that use such phrases as: "pictures that convey culture" or "the findings will be reported in aggregate form". Interestingly, none of the participants were concerned by the two styles of consent forms, likely because Brazil has extremely bureaucratic processes to accompany the most simple or complex business transactions or life changes. Based on the few questions the participants asked after they read the two Invitations to Participate, I was confident that they had understood their position in the project.

Next, using the textbook that the student had brought or chosen from a library of English texts to talk about, I gave each of the students up to 15 minutes to examine the text(s) with the following question in mind:

1. What can you tell me about the pictures in general?

Some of the students discussed/talked about their selections but my role at this point was to simply observe and/or take note of their reactions in my field diary.

Prior to the conversation, I reminded students to speak English. I wanted to give each student the chance to prove to/for themselves that they could communicate their thoughts and ideas in another/second language. I do not think allowing them to speak Portuguese would provide a further layer of socio-cultural or socio-linguistic interpretation (Goldstein, 1995, pp. 588-589). Nor did I want to translate as translators

(a) distance the participants in the interview, (b) reduce trust and privacy in an interview, (c) fail to aid understanding because of the interpretation involved in translating, (d) may not be as careful with the affective dimensions of speech as is necessary", and are thus contrary to a dialogical and dialectical research project. (Kouritzin, 2000, p. 18)

Consequently, I did take a great deal of extra time to allow the lower level English speaking students to have a voice on/in the thesis project. But I have always felt, both as a teacher, researcher and second language learner, that language level should not be equated with intelligence, opinion, or experience. The data revealed that the beginner students also had valuable contributions to make.

Next, I posed questions (2) through (7) for them to discuss for a maximum of 30 minutes:

2. Which images attract you? Which images do you like?
3. Which pictures do you think represent American or British culture?
What is it about the picture that makes it British or American?
- Teachers:* Does this message support or contradict what you teach your students about British or American culture?
4. What are you seeing in the pictures about life or lifestyle?
5. Do the images help you learn English?
6. What are the people doing? Who is acting? Who is not acting?
7. What is the same about the pictures? What message(s) is/are communicated by these pictures in general?

Teachers: What do you think your students could learn from these pictures? Is the message positive or negative for Brazilian students?

Again, I simply listened to the participants response making a few notes but allowing them time to think about their answers as necessary. Although, I had intended to ask the questions in the sequential order above, the flow of the

conversation and the ideas often changed the order of questions in the discussion. I did not try to fight this by redirecting the conversation to tackle the next question in *my* sequence because I felt that it was important to let the students lead to best gain *their* perspective. Furthermore, second language learners, especially at lower levels, have enough difficulty following where a conversation is and is not going. Therefore, as the conversation was in my native language and not theirs, I did not want to intimidate and/or confuse them. By the end of each conversation, we did talk about each of the questions. With each participant's permission, I tape recorded the interview and transcribed the data verbatim as soon as possible, within 2 days.

B: Second interview (30 minutes)

Next, I met with each individual student and the teacher participant groups to discuss the Critical Analysis questions below. I limited these discussions to thirty minutes and again, I did not control the sequence of the questions. In the Second Interview, I transformed Giaschi's Critical Image Analysis questions (2000, p.37) into my questions:

Giaschi's Questions	My Questions
What is the activity of the image(s)?	Who has power in the pictures? Who has status?
Who is active (the "protagonist") in the image(s)?	What does the body language communicate to you? What do the eyes tell you?
Who is passive (the "receiver") in the image(s)?	What does the clothing communicate to you?
Who has status in the image(s)?	What do you think these pictures communicate about culture to Brazilian students of English?
What does the body language communicate?	Do you think these pictures could influence Brazilian English students? How?
What does the clothing communicate?	Teachers, do you discuss pictures with your students? When? How?

Where are the eyes directed?

Third Interview (20 minutes) and Correspondence

My intention was then to arrange a follow-up meeting with each participant or participant teacher group to find out if/how they work with the images or if they question them at all. However, the third interview was not possible with the majority of participants because of time constraints on the part of the participants (four third interviews were cancelled by the participants) and I left the country before they could be rescheduled. I did conduct four third interviews of 20 minutes each, but I did not ask further questions; the participants had a few follow up ideas to share on previous questions, or they wanted to thank me for giving them the opportunity to practice their English. Five participants continued to correspond by e-mail about the project and six ceased to participate further. In each case, I recorded notes/thoughts in my field diary.

All interviews/discussions for the project were taped and immediately transcribed. I interpreted all oral communications, any e-mails, documents, site texts, and my own field diary. At each stage of the process, I provided each participant with a copy of the transcripts and asked them to make any changes or delete any of their comments that they were not comfortable with. Several participants elaborated on their previous comments but only one participant requested that a comment be withdrawn from a transcript. I intend to give each participant a copy of the final thesis for any further suggestions they might have so that the thesis project will evolve and continue to reflect our experiences, opinions, and conclusions.

English Language Textbooks included in the study

Students were asked to choose a textbook that they were currently using in their English studies or that they had been using when they were studying English and to bring the textbook to the initial interview. If students had forgotten the textbook or did not have one because they had borrowed the textbook from the English school, given the textbook away or lent it out, I asked them to choose a textbook from a large library of texts that was available to me as a former teacher at a local school. However, only two of the participants did not have textbooks available at the initial interview and had to choose from the library.

The textbooks illustrate how English is connected to business in São Paulo and the availability of English texts in Brazil. I was surprised to discover that the popular bookstores in São Paulo had extensive sections full of English textbooks. Hundreds of titles are available to Brazilian students, many more than are available in school libraries or bookstores in Canada. Half of the textbooks chosen by the participants were Business English texts designed for executives who study English (Boyd, 1994; Evans, 1998; Hollet, 1994; Lannon et al, 1999) and half were General English learning textbooks for teenagers to adults (Frazier & Mills, 1998; Radley & Burke, 1997; Richards, 1998; Soars, 1987) with one of the textbooks focusing on pronunciation (Baker, 1981) and one on phrasal verbs (Shovel, 1985).

Furthermore, half of the textbooks were published within five years of this study, but, as I have observed over years of language teaching abroad, textbooks such as those by Soars & Soars (1987) and Baker (1981) continue to be used by teachers because they were created/ marketed on the cusp of the communicative language teaching, and every school I have ever taught in seems to own several copies of each, as if they are classics of the methodology. I think the two textbooks

are much like the Cadillac: symbolic of accomplishment, yet awkward and hard to maneuver in today's modern world.

English Textbooks in Brazil

Baker, A. (1981). Ship or sheep? Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boyd, F. (1994). Making business decisions: Real cases from real companies. New York: Addison Wesley Publishing Company.

Evans, D. (1998). Powerhouse: An intermediate business English course. New York: Addison Wesley Longman.

Frazier, L., & Mills, R. (1998). Northstar: Focus on reading and writing. New York: Longman.

Hollet, V. (1994). Business opportunities. London: Oxford University Press.

Lannon, M., Tullis, G., & Trappe, T. (1999). Insights into business. Essex: Longman.

Radley, P., & Burke, K. (1997). Workout Advanced: Student's book. Essex: Longman.

Richards, J. (1998). The New Interchange: Intermediate student's book. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shovel, M. (1985). Making sense of phrasal verbs.

Soars, J., & Soars, L. (1987). Headway: Upper intermediate student's book. London: Oxford University Press.

Analysis: Finding meaning in the conversations

Analysis is a delicate balance of researcher, researched, and data in the creation of text. I have taken several steps to ensure that I maintained this precarious balance and the integrity of the text we produced.

To balance this challenging task within the interviews, I asked the participants numerous verification questions and read a summary of the ideas we had gathered by the end of the research conversation. Furthermore, I created follow up questions from the first interview to bring to the second interview.

Throughout data collection, I conducted qualitative content analysis (Neuman, 1991) to analyze the data. Collectively, through individual interviews and two teacher groups, themes began to emerge and then reoccur, and these themes served as the key issues in the data. These themes acted as preliminary coding schemes or initial takes for the data. This meant that students and teachers were active participants in the analysis of the images. As I indicated above, I agree with Patti Lather (1991); true social emancipatory research involves reciprocity in which the researched, the researcher, and the data meet (p. 57). The cumulative results of the on-going analysis were also brought back to the students and the teachers in a successive iterative process allowing for member checking at each stage in the research process because "researchers are not so much owners of the data as they are 'majority shareholders' who must justify decisions and give participants a public forum for critique" (Lather, 1991, p. 58). I have cited the participants comments with a name, and page number of the transcript of our conversations.

Furthermore, I have chosen to write an "invitational text", one that is written in accessible language for a wider audience (Kourizin, 2000, p. 17) for if we cannot engage the reader, the reader will not likely finish the text nor find value in the text. Most importantly, however, I wanted to produce a text that teachers and students of EFL would want to read because the opinions and ideas of the students and teachers are this research project. Therefore, I have tried to share the data and the data implications in not only an accessible but engaging style for a variety of audiences.

As well, in describing the research process, outcomes, and implications, I have found great value in Ceglowski's (1997) article, "That's a good story but is it really research" for she points out that, we must "convey honesty in writing about field work" (p.193). Ceglowski suggests that the best way to do so is to include stories from our research process. I have inserted some of my stories in the following thesis in the form of *Notes from the Field*, written "employing fictional writing techniques" but "created from the experiences of the researcher and those [I] studied" (brackets mine, Ceglowski, p.194). My intention then is dualistic: to engage the reader and give him/her insight into the process of the progression of the creating of meaning and text.

Finally, it is my intention to display the pictures the students chose at my thesis defense for the attendants to see (and absorb) which images are having impact on students in this EFL context in Brazil. And in the end, if my text is not engaging to a particular member of my audience, the pictures can speak for themselves; as you will learn shortly, the images used in English language textbooks must be considered or at least reconsidered more carefully.

Notes from the field 2: Gringa in the Borderland

A modified version of this chapter appeared in the TESL Canada Journal, 19,

(1), 88-94, Winter, 2001, reprinted with permission

A Gringo/a (foreigner) walks on a border between two worlds. Sometimes the border is a tightrope stretched taut, high up in the air, and we struggle to balance ourselves. These are lonely days. Other times, the boarder is a highway we travel in an experience, an adventure we feel fortunate, even elated to be living. On those days, I consider myself a kind of "excitement junkie". Or, if I really want to flatter myself, I think of myself as the renegade among my childhood friends who now have professional jobs and secure lives in the country we grew up in. But depending on the situation that I'm in, whom I am with, or if I've been there before, I am always trying to prevent myself from falling or crashing on either side of the border, for I cannot fully accept or give up either side.

Whether you are a Gringo running *to* a job, a person, an education, or a responsibility Or a Gringo running *away from* a job, a person, an education, or responsibility, for any extended period of time, you run the risk of never really fitting into either the new country or the old one when you return home. I think that the only way to avoid this unpleasant (non)destination is to decide what in your life lies on which side of the boarder. What will you preserve and protect from the mother culture and what will you accept in the new culture? Some people will tell you that time will sort everything out. But frankly, I think you need to set some priorities before you lose yourself or your family at the border crossing.

I think these priorities are important because, while we cannot change the colour of our skin or others' reactions to it, I think that we naturally seek to belong in the new territory. The taste buds find delight in new foods that fill our bellies. The

eyes discover new sights through the glass windows of buses, trains, taxicabs, (rental) cars or witness different worlds by wandering through city districts with conspicuous foldout maps. The ears become attuned to the sounds of music, traffic, bells, birds, or silence, while the nose learns the local breads, fruits, or the current standard of waste and/or environmental management. The body can be clothed in different fashions from boutiques with names you initially cannot pronounce (but who accept credit willingly). We can challenge our legs and feet to: walk over cobblestones in heels, glide over icy patches, earn a black sock of dirt inside our sandals in polluted cities, puff up and swell in the heat, endure painful blisters, stand in line for hours, stride across manicured greens or tip-toe over white hot sand. And if you travel to a country where the aesthetic services are cheaper than borsch at the current exchange rate or the salary you earn, you can be massaged, soaked, filed, polished, painted, exfoliated, waxed, shaved, in short, externally beautified and relaxed in the local style. Depending on the country, we have the option to pay someone to do the cleaning, buy a machine, or we simply accustom ourselves with washing our clothes in a sink and waiting two days for them to dry. But whether it is for an extended vacation, a job or a lifetime in a foreign country, we explore. We learn. We find serenity in new routines. And we eventually adapt. But it is this very borderland route we take as we adapt that I am interested in poking fun at, celebrating, and mourning.

In the process of adapting, one of the most difficult lessons is teaching our tongue to dance to a different tune. It takes time to learn the new moves or even open our mouths and get out on the dance floor. The index finger will only get you so far. The middle finger will get you nowhere. Pointing is embarrassing, annoying, and frustrating (or even insulting in some countries). So, sooner than later, we need these new dance steps to order a meal, call a cab, buy a train ticket, request a smaller size

(or larger size if the food is good) or a different colour in the boutiques, ask directions, request a service, and most importantly, to stay safe.

Language learning in a foreign language context is a unique, humbling, trying, and rewarding experience. I wish it on everyone. For we do not just learn words and sounds, but rather we learn another way of looking at and being in the world. I am of the firm belief that speakers of any given language, be it: Portuguese, English, Russian, Japanese, Arabic, or Swahili, "live the language", meaning that language exists for the purpose of creating one's self over a lifetime in one's culture. However, with this in mind, imagine the task of a foreigner or immigrant. By learning another language in context, the foreigner challenges what he/she takes for granted in and through his/her first language. For the foreigner learns another point of view, another frame of reference in the second language. Thus, Gringos need to fashion a new self, one that walks, dances, drives, or balances through borderlands of the old and new cultures.

The process of acculturation is long and emotional. And we are lucky when we can find the support of others both in familiar and unfamiliar cultures to teach us a few dance moves, pick us up when you are down, or enjoy the ride with us. I hope these stories will enlighten or amuse readers who are living, have lived, or always wanted to live in another country as a Gringo/a.

Saudades for Figuras

When I read through the conversations I had with each of the participants, I can hear their voices again. Some of the teachers and students' expressions and gestures I remember clearly like a picture in my mind, while other faces have gone fuzzy or clouded in my memory. But in reading over the conversations I had with each participant, there is not one person that does not inspire the notorious Brazilian *saudades* in me. To *have saudades* is to experience a feeling unique to Brazilian Portuguese and her speakers. It is a sentiment more emotional and endearing than to, as we define it in English, **miss someone**. *Saudade* comes from the Latin word *solitas* (loneliness) and symbolizes the nostalgic remembrance of people, places or things, absent or forever lost, combined with a strong desire to see or possess them once more, even if it is just for a moment. Having lived abroad in three different countries before Brazil and having been able to detach my heart when I left each place, I am surprised to find that so many of the people I met in Brazil have gotten under my skin (or maybe snuck into my heart) to inspire these *saudades*.

But then, the informal culture and the affectionate way that people relate to one another in daily life made it easy for me to get attached to the people I met in Brazil. I found it charming and comical that, whether you are the most or the least popular/hardworking/funny/talented person in your group of friends, in the neighborhood, at your workplace, in your family, or on a team, you are generally awarded a nickname based on a play on words with your name/personality/physical attribute, or some ability or lack of ability that you possess. Thus this cast of nicknamed *figuras* (Brazilian characters) is set; the individuals are then generally accepted with their qualities, and tolerated with their faults in whatever locale the work, or play occurs. One's nickname can encompass the different areas of one's life

or can be limited to a single context. For example, my husband, a skilled soccer player is affectionately known in his community of family, friends and team, not by his given name, Fabricio, but rather as “Fafá”, which has no real meaning, while he and his group of friends singularly call their shorter, quick thinking, balding teammate and friend, Cabeção or “Big Head”.

As a foreigner and/or researcher, I was initially a bit uncomfortable with the notion of calling anyone anything like “Big Head” so, I decided I would not call any of my participants by their nicknames, unless they gave me a nickname or asked me to refer to them by their informal nickname. I was well aware of the intimacy of friendship that a Brazilian nickname entails and how that closeness could either assist or manipulate the eventual outcomes or themes of the research. I had in mind the duality that in Brazil, a country so passionate about *futebol*, players more often wear their nickname or first name on the back of their jersey as to imply that their fans know them personally. Yet, Brazilian Football is one of the country’s most corrupt organizations as evidenced by the recent (2001-2002) Brazilian parliamentary investigations into the Brazilian Football (Con)Federation (CBF).

In the course of my research, I ended up calling three of the teachers and none of the student participants by their nicknames. I imagine that there are some power dynamics that a teacher and/or foreigner can never divorce in research. Yet, all of the participants in my research have become a cast of *figuras* or characters that I wish to represent here because: **Who they are** gives us greater insight into their comments, thoughts, and the eventual themes that emerged from our conversations. Moreover, my affection for these *figuras* is one of the very factors that motivated me and brings me forward in research. For the purposes of anonymity in research, I have renamed

most of the participants with the nicknames of famous Brazilian football players; because I **did** know them personally, yet I remain **critical** and **alert** to the research.

Marcio

Marcio is a manager at a Spanish bank at our former branch in São Paulo. I taught Marcio and another manager for about five months, every Wednesday for an hour and a half, until I took a new position with a large English school. When I asked him to participate in the project, he readily agreed because he claimed that he had studied English for so many years that he had *all* the books, yet still he was not fluent. I really enjoyed teaching him and eventually talking with him because he was a man who “got things done” at work *and* is also an exceptionally kind person. He is a short, good-looking man dressed in fabulous suits and “just the right shoes”, on the phone every few minutes discussing this deal and that. In the spare moments between calls (our class or research time) he was making jokes, at times flirting in incorrect English, and trying hard to be the student with the fastest, most correct, answer. He was bored quickly if unchallenged. He had studied English at an upper intermediate level at a private English school in California, yet he required a greater level of fluency if he wished to progress into higher positions in the banking world. Marcio is divorced but remarried and has young daughter.

Bia

Bia was my first student in São Paulo, 28, and one of the few naturally blonde, blue-eyed Brazilians I met over the course of the year and a half in São Paulo. She is a tax lawyer and was completing her own Master’s thesis coursework when I taught her at the intermediate level twice a week at the firm she worked for. She has family in Austria and speaks some German and Italian and has traveled in the United States and Europe. Bia is a very independent woman, much more so than most of the

women I met in São Paulo. She has a well thought-out opinion and was not afraid to express/explain her ideas. I saw her as direct and professional with the staff/clients in the office; in these moments, it was hard to imagine what she was thinking or feeling. Conversely, she would sometimes meet me in the room where our classes were held, flop down in the chair and begin to tell me about her life, her plans, her travels, her boyfriend, or details about her upcoming wedding. These were the two sides of Bia I worked with, and adored.

Ronaldo

Ronaldo was a manager at a large multinational company that produced household appliances for the Brazilian market. I taught him privately for one week, three hours a day as part of an English intensive program at the first English school I worked for in São Paulo. Ronaldo was originally from the interior of the state, a very small city. He and his wife had also lived in Manaus, an industrial city in the hot northern state of Amazonas. Currently, he, his wife and daughter live in a smaller quieter city an hour from São Paulo and he commutes each day. He has exceptional English abilities for someone who had taught himself the language. He admitted to me that he is a quieter soul who loves to read and listen to music; we had more philosophical discussions. When I taught him, the company he worked for was undergoing enormous downsizing and he had been responsible for laying-off the employees, so he was feeling not only unsure about his own career prospects but also sad and guilty for those he had let go. However, he was an incredibly thoughtful man and was so pleased that I was going to marry a Brazilian; he brought my husband and me a wedding present when his English course was completed. Months later, when I met him again at a company office as a research participant, he was happier and anxious to help me with the project. But it was only then, when I couldn't find him at the office

address and I had asked a young secretary where I could find him, she said that the “negrinho” (little black man) was in room something-or-other, did I realize that Ronaldo was the only black Brazilian I had met who held an executive management position. And what has, in retrospect been of interest, is that most of the participants brought up the issue of colour or race in our discussions, but he did not.

Rivaldo

Rivaldo was the wealthiest of the participants. He was born into wealth with connections in business, and we met either in his apartment near the city’s most exclusive club (of which he is a member) or in a boardroom of a beautiful glass and marble office building overlooking one of São Paulo’s busier business districts. I met Rivaldo through the first school I worked for in São Paulo; he requested someone to help him prepare for a business trip to New York where he was to represent the branch of a large American investment firm in São Paulo. His English was exceptionally good from having studied in the US, enough so that I am not sure if I did more than give him a vote of confidence before he left Brazil. I worked with Rivaldo for a few weeks and then several months later invited him to participate in the project. He accepted the opportunity to meet, help with the research, and practice his English. As a researcher, I feel fortunate to have had the opportunity to include Rivaldo in the project. I admired his balanced perception, for he was both critical and appreciative of Brazil and the US. In fact he was the most critical of all the participants, especially about his own country. However, he was also the Brazil’s strongest advocate in the study, for he could not imagine living in any other country.

Marta

I was also thankful for Marta’s participation in the project. Marta’s parents are Japanese immigrants to Brazil. Marta herself speaks very little Japanese, did not

have a Japanese name, and told me frankly in more than one interview that she considers herself Brazilian, not Japanese. Furthermore, Marta expressed clear dislike for what she characterized as Japanese thinking/lack of emotion. Given her distain for her Japanese heritage, I found it very interesting that when she spoke of Brazilians she used the pronoun "they" not "we". How much was singular to Marta, and how much cultural influence is difficult to estimate.

It is worth bearing in mind that Japanese Brazilians have a complex history, one I could not possibly represent and explore completely here. The first Japanese immigrants arrived in Santos, Brazil in 1908 on a Japanese vessel named *Kasato Maru* (Meade, 2003). Brazilian historian Jeffery Lesser (1999) estimates that between 1900 and 1969, 250,000 Japanese immigrated to Brazil; with the height of Japanese immigration, 1930 to 1939, accounting for 30 percent of all immigration to Brazil (pp. 8-10).

Japanese officials sold Japanese immigrants to Brazil as laborers. With the abolishment of slavery in the late 1880s, planters, especially the rich coffee plantation owners of São Paulo State, exerted pressure on both the local and federal governments to find European replacements for slaves as most government officials of the time sought to whiten an increasingly black Brazil. Immigrants from Europe, mostly of Italian descent were brought to Brazil in the thousands in the late 1880s and early 1890s. However, the largely Italian population rebelled and protested against the harsh working and social conditions. The hunt for more "submissive" yet "white" laborers began and ended with the Japanese who were said to be "quiet, hard-working, and eager to become Brazilian" (Lesser, 1999, p.82). Furthermore, popular and powerful miscegenationist thinkers of the time such as Bruno Lobo (1932) promoted the union of Japanese and Brazilians couples claiming, "the union of

Japanese men and Brazilian women would create Europeanized Brazilian children” (cited in Lesser, 1999, p.106).

To what degree the Japanese immigrants and their descendants today feel they are Brazilian (first/second) or Japanese (first/second), or to what degree they feel “Japanese” and/or “Brazilian” appeared to me, in my short time in Brazil, points of disagreement among most Japanese-Brazilians I met. Marta’s answer’s intrigued me, especially with the history of Japanese-Brazilians in mind.

Casia

Casia is one of the few Brazilians and the only participant in the research who grew up in complete poverty before climbing the social ladder to become the overworked manager of a multinational company that produced electronic scanners found in most large grocery stores. Her status was uncommon for a *mulatto* woman. I met her through a friend of a friend of a former colleague and I taught her for only two classes before she was relocated to a new company in the city and she discontinued classes. Four months later, she participated in two research conversations over her lunch hour. Casia grew up in a very small city in the interior of São Paulo State. She is one of nine children who were raised in a shantytown by her single mother. Casia continually credited her achievements to hard work at school and luck. We spent a great deal of time discussing the role of education in Brazil (see *Notes from the Field: God’s Laundry and the Sun* from our moments together). The paradox in Casia was that, despite her recent social and material success, she was the most tired, worn out 30 year old I had ever met, probably due to the regular 12 hour days and pressure of her position. Furthermore, she complained that she could no longer relate to her family, most of whom still live in poverty and counted on Casia for paying for all the family’s

weddings, funerals, baptisms, christenings, birthday gifts, household appliances, or loans that never got repaid.

Kaka

Kaka worked at our building as a security guard. He was just 18 at the time of the research. As I worked very odd hours in my first seven months in Brazil, either teaching in the early morning or late afternoon, I had most afternoons free. Kaka worked most afternoons at our building and we often chatted a bit when I arrived home or when I was on my way out. In the last four months in Brazil, I learned that Kaka studied English at a local Brazilian owned school with an American sounding name. I invited him to participate in the research as my youngest participant. Kaka was a thoughtful young-man who liked drawing, and he was almost always reading when I ran into him.

Vinícius

I met Vinícius at the sports/soccer club that my husband was a member of in Campinas, Brazil one hour west of São Paulo. He had played soccer with Fabricio when they were both younger. Of all the participants in the research, I got to know him the least. He had heard that I was working on a research project and asked if he could participate as a chance to practice his English. Vinícius had considerable experience with foreign multinationals in São Paulo and most of his answers reflected his business experiences. He participated in two of the three interviews, and then he took a job in another state. He had promised to keep in touch by e-mail but I did not hear from him again.

Marcos

Marcos is a handsome athletic looking man in his late 30s. He was one of my first students in São Paulo, and I worked with him for three months in conference rooms in

a beautiful office building near a chic restaurant district. Marcos was a father of two who nevertheless managed to wake up at five every morning to go to his sport club and run or play tennis, though at times I am not sure how his wife felt about his absence from 5:30 a.m. until after 7:30 p.m.. Judging by his staff and from my experience, he had a talent for making the people around him feel like they were part of something valuable and important, which I liked given that he held a position of some power at the company he worked for. He was friendly and listened intently, concentrating carefully when I spoke to him. When he found out that I liked to run, we compared athletic injuries. He always asked what I had done the previous weekend and waited for the answer. Marco's mother had come from Italy. He spoke of wanting to take care of his mom and his wife and to secure a good future for his two children through his work. He spoke of doing a Master's degree in the United States at some point to further his career opportunities. I taught Marcos advanced level English for three months and I enjoyed teaching him, so I forgave him his perpetual lateness.

Fátima

Fátima is a 25 year old lawyer with an Argentine law firm in São Paulo. She worked under an Argentine female boss who was her friend as well. I met Fátima through her boss, a friend of one of my former students, a Columbian woman who lived in the same building as Fátima's boss. I found Fátima a very interesting person because she seemed a living paradox; on the one hand she was sweet, incredibly thoughtful and her sexy beautiful appearance reminded me of the late Marilyn Monroe. Furthermore from what she told me, she appeared to allow her mother, her boss, and her boyfriend to make many decisions for her. On the other hand, her comments in the research were both intelligent and poignant. I have a strong impression that she

had few illusions about São Paulo or Brazil. She spoke openly and deeply of the challenges and yet wanted so much for me to see the beauty of life there.

Vera

Vera was the girlfriend of my husband's boss for the first few months I was in Brazil. She had heard from my husband's boss that I was moving to Brazil, and it quickly became obvious to me that she wished to befriend me to practice her English and to know a North American. Vera openly criticized Brazil and Brazilians a great deal, especially black and Japanese Brazilians. She told me that she felt most at home in Manhattan surrounded by "beautiful people" (Vera, p.1).

I wanted to know Vera in the context of the research because, at the time I wondered if many other elite Brazilian women expressed the same ideals. Despite her interest, she was not terribly helpful in the research process. Vera flipped through her English books as though they were fashion magazines and critiqued the lack of what she called "chic" (which she pronounced "seek") people or fashions. Our one 20 minute interview (she was too busy for a second or third) did provide some insight into the life objective(s) of some Brazilian women: to be beautiful and fashionable. And judging from the number of plastic surgery clinics in São Paulo I observed, and the number of images of women used to sell various (both foreign and locally produced) products in Brazil from shower-heads to beer, her lack of commentary gave me greater understanding of the impact of images of beauty, in Brazil (see *Field Notes: The Games that Men and Women Play*).

I am afraid, I did not find any connection with Vera as much as I value her contribution; below is an excerpt from my field notes after our meeting at a restaurant near her office,

Vera has only ever tasted sweets. She *works* in a modern glass tower with pass cards and security to protect the multinational, *drives* a beautiful imported car with the windows rolled up to protect herself from the city and sings to the music above the noise, only stopping to shoo the street children like pigeons. She *lives* in an expensive condominium in the chicest location as the other rising young professionals in the city and *wears* the clothes that convey her ideals of wealth and material success that she buys in stores with salivating saleswomen. She *eats* elegant food in the tranquil places that other beautiful people frequent to look at each other. Vera has never felt pain above that which she had inflicted on herself. And she rarely, if ever, thinks about what her life contributes to and whom her day-to-day efforts are for. The world is as she perceives it to be. She sees and seeks sweets, but never eats the bread in life.

Each time I travel to meet her, I wonder if her/this kind of insistent perception (that quality of life can be measured in clothes, cars, and beautiful locations) were somehow harnessed, if it could not be a great force in improving the world. Really it's just a matter of somehow capturing, containing, and then studying this phenomenon to see how we might reverse or redirect where one puts his or her energy. For example, if people were to insist, without negotiation or alteration of perspective, that things ought to be better for all human beings and the environment, and thus absolutely refuse to accept that many people, do in fact, presently live out their lives as if to deny that others suffer, wouldn't these insistent socially conscious people eventually eliminate the ritzy social climbers and elevate the social workers, teachers, and caregivers of the world by making them chic? That said, I haven't actually

done anything with this theory. It just reappears in my thoughts by the nature of our appointment(s). (Taylor-Mendes, December 2001, p. 34)

Glemerson

I met Glemerson, a teacher participant at a rocky moment in his life. His girlfriend had recently ended their four-year relationship, and his confidence was badly shaken. He had taken a position at an English school as a diversion, to prevent him from thinking about his former girlfriend. Between private English lessons in a business district in São Paulo, I offered my research project as a chance to think about something other than the girl. However (much to the annoyance of his students and colleagues), he openly pined a great deal for her in the time I knew him. Frequently, she became the subject of any conversation you tried to carry on with him, including the research conversations. Consequently, I have focused exclusively on the information in the interviews that I am certain is his own opinion (and not reflections of his former Brazilian girlfriend's memory).

Glemerson's impressions on images of England, as the son of a British immigrant to Brazil, were clearly his own. To me, Glemerson brought to life the internal conflicts of balancing two first languages and two first cultures: His father spoke to him in English and his mother (or former girlfriend) in Portuguese. My perception at the time was that his opinions were, at least in part, influenced by his longing for a Brazilian girl and that he would have talked to anyone who would have listened. While writing this thesis almost a year later, I found out that Glemerson and his former girlfriend are back together and are planning a wedding for next year.

Milene

I met Milene, a second teacher participant through one of the schools that I worked for in my first year in Brazil. Milene was in her mid-20s, studying pedagogy at a teachers'

college in São Paulo. She lived with her family, and had taken a job teaching English to gain teaching experience while she studied. Milene's English was excellent; she had studied at some of the finest private schools in São Paulo and had spent a year taking English classes in Australia. I appreciated that Milene had chosen to be a teacher, despite her family and friends warnings about the difficulties of the profession. I am not sure if, at the time, I consciously invited her to participate because she is an independent, capable, and self-assured young woman, but as I write this now, I am happy that a Brazilian women and teacher like Milene could be represented in the research.

Glória

Glória taught English to children and worked as a receptionist at an English school I worked at before the research interviews. She was in her early 20s and I could see that she is a very sweet, kind, and humble person through her actions at the school. Everyone seemed to adore Glória, even if I saw in her boss's face that her sweetness got under his skin from time to time. Although religion was not often the topic of conversation, I had the strong impression that Glória was a person of faith. Glória had studied English from a very young age because her parents felt that the language would be integral to her future. She spoke very well. I knew Glória for three months before I asked her to participate in the research. I was curious to see, given her personality and that she had studied English for the majority of her life, how she would interpret the images of American and British culture.

Roberto Carlos

Of all the *figuras* (characters), Roberto Carlos was the most entertaining and held the highest position of the TESOL teachers I interviewed. Roberto Carlos was the manager of a foreign English school in a wealthy business district in São Paulo. I

knew him for just a few months before I left Brazil, and I watched as he was hired into the position I had held. In the final weeks in Brazil I interviewed him for our project.

I remember vividly the first thing he did, after he got the job of manager at the beautiful new English school my former boss had built. Roberto Carlos wandered through the school, dizzy with excitement like an unexpected lotto winner who is trying to maintain composure in front of the television cameras, all the while marveling at his luck. And I must admit, I appreciated his lack of “executive image” right from the beginning. On the days that I came into the school to conduct interviews, his time was divided between spurts of activity or inactivity of two varieties: either making jokes of stand-up comedy caliber and socializing in the school’s more comfortable chairs, or working intensely, running around like mad through the school as if it were on fire and he was going to save the day. Roberto Carlos was 27 at the time of the research. His parents are Brazilian but he spent the first 10 years of his life in Chicago before the family returned to Brazil. He told me once that the transition back to Brazil and to a Brazilian private school was difficult for him as a child, and that he never quite adjusted to the stress of São Paulo. Roberto Carlos is married to a Brazilian woman who is also an English teacher.

These are the *figuras* (characters) whose words are weaved through the research about pictures in their language texts. And I find it only fitting then, that *figuras* has an alternative meaning in Portuguese, *pictures*.

Notes From the Field: The Colours of Brazil

In 1976 the *Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE)* conducted a census of the ways in which Brazilians describe their skin colour. The study was conducted in response to public complaints about the five categories--white, black, brown, Indian, or Asian--as they were said to be too limiting. Polltakers went from door-to-door asking Brazilians to identify their skin colour and the result was the 134 terms/categories listed below, with the English translation cited in *The Brazil Reader* (Levine & Crocitti, Eds., pp. 386-390).

Beyond the sheer creativity and (at times) comedic value of the list, I find it interesting that Brazilians not only used skin to define the terms; evidence of hair, the shape of the lips, nose, or body are important in some terms, as is the social standing (number 52) or place of origin (numbers 17, 34, and 57). Furthermore, the variations of white (*branca*), brown (*morena*), yellow (*amarela*), and all hues from light to dark clearly defy the original five categories of colour. Finally, I find it especially fascinating that many of the colour terms relate to physical/geographical features of Brazil, as the definitions speak of the sun, wheat, water, woods, thistles; and the foods eaten and/or produced in Brazil: coffee, cinnamon, tea, milk, chocolate, cashews, caramel, and honey.

The most recent census information reveals that the institute has since based the Brazilian census on the original five categories (IBGE, 2002). I imagine the one hundred and thirty-four categories made the government offices a bit mad.

1. *Acastanhada* (cashewlike tint; caramel coloured)
2. *Agalegada* (an often derogatory term for a Galician; features considered gross and misshapen)
3. *Alva* (pure white)
4. *Alva-escura* (dark or off-white)
5. *Alverenta* (or *aliviero*, "shadow in the water")
6. *Alvarinta* (tinted or bleached white)
7. *Alva-rosada* (or *jambote*, roseate, white with pink highlights)

8. *Alvinha* (bleached; whitewashed)
9. *Amarela* (yellow)
10. *Amarelada* (yellowish)
11. *Amarela-quemada* (burnt yellow or ochre)
12. *Amarelosa* (yellowed)
13. *Amorenada* (tannish)
14. *Avermelhada* (reddish, with blood vessels showing through skin)
15. *Azul* (bluish)
16. *Azul-marinho* (deep bluish)
17. *Baiano* (Bahian or ebony)
18. *Bem-branca* (very white)
19. *Bem-clara* (translucent)
20. *Bem-morena* (very dusky)
21. *Branca* (white)
22. *Branca-avermelhada* (peach white)
23. *Branca-melada* (honey toned)
24. *Branca-morena* (darkish white)
25. *Branca-pálida* (pallid)
26. *Branca-queimada* (sunburned white)
27. *Branca-sardenta* (white with brown spots)
28. *Branca-suja* (dirty white)
29. *Branquinça* (a white variation)
30. *Branquinha* (whitish)
31. *Bronze* (bronze)
32. *Bronzeada* (bronzed tan)
33. *Bugrezinha-escura* (Indian characteristics)
34. *Burro-quando-foge* ("burro running away," implying racial mixture of unknown origin)
35. *Cabocla* (mixture of white, Negro, and Indian)
36. *Cabo-verte* (black; Cape Verdean)
37. *Café* (Coffee)
38. *Café-com-leite* (coffee with milk)
39. *Canela* (cinnamon)
40. *Canelada* (tawny)
41. *Cardão* (thistle coloured)
42. *Castanha* (cashew)
43. *Castanha-clara* (clear, cashewlike)
44. *Castanha-escura* (dark, cashewlike)
45. *Chocolate* (chocolate brown)
46. *Clara* (light)
47. *Clarinha* (very light)
48. *Cobre* (copper hued)
49. *Corada* (ruddy)
50. *Cor-de-café* (tint of coffee)
51. *Cor-de-canela* (tint of cinnamon)
52. *Cor-de-cuia* (tea coloured; prostitute)
53. *Cor-de-leite* (milky)
54. *Cor-de-oro* (golden)
55. *Cor-de-rosa* (pink)
56. *Cor-firma* ("no doubt about it")

57. *Crioula* (little servant or slave)
58. *Encerada* (waxy)
59. *Enxofrada* (pallid yellow; jaundiced)
60. *Esbranquecimento* (mostly white)
61. *Escura* (dark)
62. *Escurinha* (semidark)
63. *Fogoio* (florid; flushed)
64. *Galega* (see *agalegada* above)
65. *Galegada* (Ibid.)
66. *Jambo* (like a fruit, the deep-red colour of a blood orange)
67. *Laranja* (orange)
68. *Lilás* (lily)
69. *Loira* (blonde hair and white skin)
70. *Loira-clara* (pale blond)
71. *Loura* (blond)
72. *Lourinha* (flaxen)
73. *Malaia* (from Malabar)
74. *Marinheira* (dark grayish)
75. *Marrom* (brown)
76. *Meio-amerela* (mid-yellow)
77. *Meio-branca* (mid-white)
78. *Meio-morena* (mid-tan)
79. *Meio-preta* (mid-Negro)
80. *Melada* (honey coloured)
81. *Mestiça* (mixture of white and Indian)
82. *Miscigenação* (mixed-literally "miscegenated")
83. *Mista* (mixed)
84. *Morena* (tan)
85. *Morena-bem-chegada* (very tan)
86. *Morena-bronzeada* (bronzed tan)
87. *Morena-canelada* (cinnamonlike brunette)
88. *Morena-castanha* (cashewlike tan)
89. *Morena clara* (light tan)
90. *Morena-cor-de-canela* (cinnamon-hued brunette)
91. *Morena-jambo* (dark red)
92. *Morenada* (mocha)
93. *Morena-escura* (dark tan)
94. *Morena-fechada* (very dark, almost mulatta)
95. *Morenã* (very dusky tan)
96. *Morena-parda* (brown-hued tan)
97. *Morena-roxa* (purplish tan)
98. *Morena-ruiva* (reddish tan)
99. *Morena-trigueira* (wheat coloured)
100. *Moreninha* (toffeelike)
101. *Mulatta* (mixture of white and Negro)
102. *Mulatinha* (lighter skinned white-Negro)
103. *Negra* (Negro)
104. *Negrota* (Negro with corpulent body)
105. *Pálida* (pale)
106. *Paraíba* (like the colour of *marupa* wood)

101. *Parda* (dark brown)
102. *Parda-clara* (lighter-skinned person of mixed race)
103. *Polaca* (Polish features; prostitute)
104. *Pouco-clara* (not very clear)
105. *Pouco-morena* (dusty)
106. *Preta* (black)
107. *Pretinha* (black of a lighter hue)
108. *Puxa-para-branca* (more like a white than a mulatta)
109. *Quase-negra* (almost Negro)
110. *Queimada* (burnt)
111. *Queimada-de-praia* (suntanned)
112. *Queimada-de-sol* (sunburned)
113. *Regular* (regular; nondescript)
114. *Retinta* ("layered" dark skin)
115. *Rosa* (roseate)
116. *Rosada* (high pink)
117. *Rosa-queimada* (burnished rose)
118. *Roxa* (purplish)
119. *Ruiva* (strawberry blond)
120. *Russo* (Russian; see also *polaca*)
121. *Sapecada* (burnished red)
122. *Sarará* (mulatta with reddish kinky hair, aquiline nose)
123. *Saraúba* (or *saraiba*: like white meringue)
124. *Tostada* (toasted)
125. *Trigueira* (wheat coloured)
126. *Turva* (opaque)
127. *Verde* (greenish)
134. *Vermelha* (reddish)

Research Findings

Stereotyping Images: International English and English Internationally

I had to get my passport renewed before I went to Brazil. Consequently, I was very excited about having a new passport, not for any particular pride of having a Canadian passport or for even being Canadian. But rather, I was elated by the prospect of replacing what I considered to be a very suspect image of myself in my passport. At the risk of sounding rather vain, I will tell you here that I was very anxious for my new passport to contain an image that resembled my happy, tanned, relaxed self in the snap shots from my last vacation, instead of my forced grimace (like I had sat or stepped in something icky in the midst of polite company) pose that had miraculously got me across international borders over the past five years. Inspired to look my best (or at least better than my last passport photo), I took extra care, grooming as though I might be preparing for a photo shoot for Vogue Magazine. And, much to my disappointment, I ended up exchanging one incriminating, uncomfortable-looking mug shot for another. Luckily Brazilian officials allowed me into the country anyway.

But, all vanity and joking aside, the process of having my picture taken for my passport did raise an interesting question that the participants and I would later puzzle over several times in the course of the research: What does an English speaker look like? Or more specifically, how do we identify the American in the photograph, or can we know by sight that someone is from England? Although these questions would appear biased, prejudiced, or even racist to most anyone who lives or has lived in Canada, America, or England and has experienced the social, cultural, and economic diversity that has accompanied immigration from all parts of the globe to these countries, the English language textbook authors and editors answer questions like, "What does an American look like?" continually in/through the images in the texts we look at because the participants found that the vast majority of the images in the texts

were not multicultural but rather a monocultural misrepresentation of England and America. Furthermore, we talked about how students, who have (had) little or no contact with people in (predominantly) English speaking cultures like England, America, Scotland, South Africa, India, or Canada rely on their textbooks (and their teacher's evaluations of their textbooks) to bridge the gap between English as a foreign language, as taught in Brazil, and the people who speak English as their mother tongue, as represented in these language textbooks. It is therefore unfortunate, but unsurprising then, that the teacher and student participants in the research discovered that the images in their textbooks primarily reproduced stereotypes of "we the people" (not peoples) of the United States, England, as well as a few comparatively less developed nations represented in the photographs. Interestingly, the participants uncovered the grand categories of critical research, or in this case, the grand stereotypes. These stereotypes extended to include, in the order of most significance in the research, the (1) culture, (2) race, (3) status, and (4) gender of the people who live in these countries. What they essentially discovered is that there apparently are, in a "global" field such as ours, TESOL textbook publishers who believe that one can match an image to a passport.

Culture and Country

Brazil and English Speaking Nations

In the process of research, it became clear to the participants and me that English is most often equated with economic and social success, particularly in the images of popular social and political *figuras* that the students labeled as from the United States (although in a few cases, the person in the image was not actually American). Most importantly, the participants made very few references to England in comparison to the number of direct comments made about the United States by almost every

participant, even if the book was produced/compiled in England. To the extent that only one participant's comment went beyond a surface interpretation of England as "old" (Glória, p. 2), "historical" (Ronaldo, p.3), "wet" (Milene, p. 4) or home to the British actor or political *figura* in their books (Vera, p. 2). Glemerson, who has traveled extensively through England because of his father's English heritage, claimed that the messages in the pictures contradicted his experiences in England because, " We can't see any daily activities, such as people in normal activities: brushing their teeth, people at the supermarket..."(Glemerson, p.1). Furthermore, he added that the pictures "are not what England is about but rather the students' idea about the culture...it is a narrow minded, the British drink tea at 5 o'clock, perception" (Glemerson, p. 2).

I found it interesting then, as the researcher from a predominantly English-speaking country working with the participants, that none of the research conversations included any mention of other nations where English is the official language or even a language spoken. Admittedly, a part of me was relieved that they did not associate my country with images of winter (for there were a few in the textbooks), while there was another side of me that had to suppress my inner-nationalist who wanted someone to find (what they imagined to be) a "Canadian" image in one of the texts (a polar bear, a moose, or a mosquito, perhaps?). In Brazil, I had been pleased to learn that, unlike some parts of Europe, the majority of people I met acknowledged that Canada and the United States are separate nations. But, it was difficult to know if the very fact that I was not from America or England gave the participants a chance to openly share their perceptions of the above two nations or whether they dodged any images they might have called "Canadian" because the researcher was from that country. I may never know.

Thus, all of the conversations about the interpretation of culture/country, initially focused on what the participants perceived as American *figuras*. These comments on American people then led to more critical discussions on the significance and/or influence of the images.

Entertainers, and American Pop(ular) Culture in Brazil

I think that American people are more orientated for....are more market orientated than any other around the world...You know they are using pictures of the films, movies all the time. This book use a lot of movie issues. (Marcos, pp. 2-3)

Readers' Guide

The American film industry is not new to Brazil; Hollywood has been exporting films to Brazil since the turn of the century and by the 1920s Hollywood had taken over the Brazilian film market holding 90 percent and the Brazilian film industries a mere four percent (Johnson, p. 2000). By the end of the 1920s Brazil was the fourth largest market for Hollywood in the world after Great Britain, Australia, and Argentina. In the 1930s and 1940s, Brazilian president, Vargas, promoted Brazilian films as a means of creating Brazilian pride in *Brasilidade* (Brazilianness) (Davis, 2000, p. 182), however he also allowed massive film imports from the US, including Walt Disney and Orson Wells (who was later named the Cultural Ambassador to Brazil). Advances in American movie technology since the 1950s have further strengthened Hollywood's hold on the Brazilian cinema market.

With this situation in mind, it is clear **why** the pictures of movies and actors might have drawn recognition or significance as American. Interestingly, most Brazilians I met had a great distaste for movies that they complained came across as grossly patriotic or nationalistic to American values or a highly materialistic way of life. The students' comments and reactions reflected the same desire to be entertained by

American media but ironically not wanting to “buy too much into the perceptions” promoted by the films (Milene, p.4).

More than half the student participants and all of the teacher subjects identified American images as “successful” television and film/movie stars, musicians, and artists in their language books, “You have actors, Tom Cruise...what’s his name, Richard Gere...you have famous people” (Vinicius, p. 5). In reviewing the pictures the students selected, we found the following actors/entertainers represented:

John Wayne
 Charlie Chaplin
 Fred Mercury
 Walt Disney
 Marilyn Monroe
 Madonna
 James Dean
 John Lennon
 Elvis Presley
 Batman
 David Bowie
 Demi Moore
 Marlon Brando
 Michael Douglas
 Charlie and Martin Sheen
 Wesley Snipes
 Sean Connery
 Danny Devito
 Tom Cruise
 three of the principal characters from the television series *Dynasty*
 Richard Gere
 Tom Hanks
 George Lucas
 Larry, Curley, Moe
 Tatum O’Neil

With the exception of Vera, who simply pointed out who was attractive and who was “made attractive by fame and money” (Vera, p. 3), the participants not only pointed out the images of the rich and famous in their language books, most

recognized that American culture is exported on/through film and the demand for these moving images creates a market or yet another opportunity for profit:

... they have a lot of pictures about films in that book. I think they don't teach about lifestyle but moviestyle... They have pictures about films and I think it can connect you with the language and you have a lot of American films. I think it's a big market in the world. They export this culture and so you can be connected with the culture when they use pictures of films (Bia, p. 2)

Movie/movie star images are being used, and recognized by the participants of this study, as a means of transmitting culture in language textbooks. Whether these images are accurately portraying English speaking cultures never came into question with the participants; whether they liked the images or not was not the issue, each participant seeing the movie images as a product of Hollywood.

Images of "Doing Business" in the United States

I think they want to represent, generally, that life may be better in the USA but then, look at Nigeria, here. I am suddenly glad that I don't live there...so I think they want to show that if people learn English they can have this life", a financially secure life in the USA. (Milene, p. 3)

But if they don't they can live in a world like this" a poor life like in Nigeria. (Glória p. 3).

Readers' Guide

From the research interviews, the participants' identified America in (1) pictures of movie and music stars, (2) political *figuras* (characters), and (3) images of "doing business". Whether they viewed the images in either a positive or negative light, I felt, demonstrated a great deal about how Brazilians view the influence of American culture and business. The participants' comments explore the difficulty that Brazilians at this socioeconomic level struggle with; do I identify myself as either part of a country with deep socio-economic struggles and rich cultural traditions or as part of an

increasingly wealthy global (English-speaking) corporate culture? Ultimately the most grave issue is that the images chosen by the authors of textbooks are not laid out to challenge the English students' perceptions of America or themselves or any combination of the two, but rather to make them feel increasingly comfortable with/solidify the already existing stereotypes of the more economically powerful nation, America, in contrast with poorer nations with serious social problems like Brazil.

The second category of American *figuras* (characters) was related to politics and business. Below is a list of the political and business *figuras* (characters) that the students and teachers identified in the texts that "...show the idea, you have many people who are talking on the phone, are on vacation or are shaking hands, or inside the one room but making business all the time" (Vinicus, p. 4).

Political *Figuras* (characters) included "Leaders of the Free World", Royalty, and activists for social minorities and the world's poor:

Martin Luther King
Princess Diana
Richard Nixon
Mother Theresa
Tony Blair
President Bill Clinton
The Royal Family
Nelson Mandela

Business *Figuras* were largely American, but included three English entrepreneurs or executives (Roddick, Hanson and Leeson):

John Sculley and Steve Jobs (Apple computers)
Anita Roddick (The Body Shop)
James Hanson (Millennium Chemicals, Energy, Imperial Tobacco, New Hanson)
Nick Leeson (Barings)
L.D. Simone (Chairman and CEO: 3M)
Mitsch, Eaton, Robertson, and Hammerly (Executive Vice Presidents: 3M)
Ted Turner (CNN)
Bill Gates (Microsoft).

Unfortunately, none of the images of the powerful or successful people were linked to stories in the textbooks explaining how they achieved or came to their material, financial or social power/influence.

The teacher participants specifically talked about how the pictures equate English with economic success. As Roberto Carlos pointed out, "...generally, the pictures market or sell a dream that *you too* can achieve, here in your poor country with all these problems, a standard of living like the United States. Only this is not the United States and the culture is very different" (Roberto Carlos, p. 5). Nevertheless, this expectation of economic success is then tied to English as, "English is the ticket to a better future, and the Brazilian schools with Brazilian owners and Brazilian teachers sell tickets if they speak it well or not. But for many Brazilians this is simply not enough" (Milene, p 4). In the images we examined, the teachers generally felt it is question of the marketing of "American dreams" tied to a language.

And although the teacher participants were more critical of the above process, as Milene said, "...the pictures no longer influence me because I have traveled, and I have seen these things as they really are" (Milene, p. 3), the majority of student participants not only identified images of America on the basis of social, economic, or political success through images of attractive people and/or places, but they questioned the images, albeit to a lesser extent. For example, Fátima, Vinciús, and Kaka told me that they wanted to see the poverty and violence in the US, as Fátima shared.

I think it's better than Brazil for example because the pictures show the streets clean, for example. Um, beautiful things, beautiful buildings. I don't know. Show another things too but for example, I never read something like violence in America or England. When the books want to show violence they show

Afghanistan, show the war for example. To me to show violence you don't need to show war. You can show the streets. You can show the poor. You can show....the animals suffering is a violence for me too. I think when the books want to show violence they show war, Vietnam, the United States, and Russia. To me it's ridiculous, this. (Fátima, p. 4)

Furthermore, Marcos told me that his perceptions of the US had been greatly changed with travel in that country, and this made many of the pictures unbelievable,

I have thought about pictures in English language books before. But I remember it was before I have experienced my first travel to USA. In that time, I have thought about the organization, the education, and the clean places that the pictures had had. (Marcos, p. 9)

In general, the participants expressed that the images of popular or powerful American figures largely restrict the cultural perspective/information that students can receive from their English text to only the richest, most powerful, and most successful people in American society. As Roberto Carlos pointed out, there is a "lack of cultural exchange" (p.1) because they show "moviestyle" not American lifestyle(s) or culture(s) (Bia, p. 2).

Monocontinents: Stereotyping Nations

For me those pictures, I think the way those pictures can influence me is kind of, ...at least teach me that a business person dressed in a suit works in boring places like they are not having a lot of fun. That the American woman use too much make up. Makes me think that, at least brings pictures as Indians are poor, Africans need food....not really the pictures we see different in Brazil in terms of these countries but....it's like enforces this kind of prejudice that we have for other countries. It doesn't bring me another view of the country for example: some wealthy people in Africa for example. When I look at this with the collection in my mind I think that there is only poor people in Africa. In India there is only guys meditating, using hats....Doesn't bring me a lot of things. I think the way it can influence Brazilians is kind of...by reinforcing the feeling that we already have toward these countries. It doesn't bring news or a new way of viewing these countries. (Rivaldo, p. 8)

The next most controversial point of discussion was how countries and nations of people other than the non-target language country (America or England) were represented. First, many of the non-target language cultures were not clearly identified in the texts, for example, Lannon, Tullis, and Trappe's (1999) Insights into Business shows us "a remote African village" where a student named "Colin" is studying under one light in a dark shack (p.137), and the Headway Upper Intermediate Student's Text by John and Liz Soars (1987) shows, six young black children standing in a row in bright, clean white uniforms but no country indicated (p.94) and a man and a woman in what appears to be wedding clothes, but with bills of their currency pinned to them. The couple is not smiling (p. 82). There is no indication either in or near the image given as to which countries or cultures are even represented, and several students asked me in the interviews if I knew where the photographs were taken. Consequently, the participants wondered how they might appreciate places and people they could not identify.

Furthermore, many of the participants noticed that when textbook authors and editors did tell the readers which country or culture was represented, they often included some of the world's poorest nations or showed images of people often doing actions that appear to be, for the Brazilian participants of this study, farthest from global pop(ular) culture and presented in such a decontextualized fashion that little or no cultural appreciation of the event/action/scene could be gained. For example, photos of Ghana, Nigeria, Dubai, and India (Soars & Soars, 1987, p.80) were presented with a series of questions asking the student to compare the image with their culture, or worse, simply pasted between exercises or vocabulary unrelated to the image; in other words, the authors and editors failed to provide appropriate cultural explanations for what appeared to the Brazilian students and teachers in this study as

images of bizarre cultural behaviour. This in turn produced either (1) the reaction from participants that the culture was interesting but should be kept at arm's length because it appeared so different:

They show about the clothes. If you see people dressing, different clothes all over the world. For example in Muslim they dress totally different from us. The way they (the Brazilians) dress is what you are feeling. They (Muslims) are so closed and here there is more freedom. (Marta, p. 3)

or (2) a critical interpretation of what was being represented: "...finally they put the other peoples or cultures but they present them in a way that is too aggressive", said Vinícius (p. 5) in reference to an image next to an article entitled "Where the Third World is First." In this picture, two black nurses (or nuns, I am not sure which; the article is cited in Soars & Soars as "*A Christian Aid* publication") care for a baby boy who is sitting but leaning forward with his hands on and near his feet. The first nurse/nun looks quite concerned (and tired) but the other nurse/nun is smiling, reaching forward to touch the baby's face (Soars & Soars, 1987, p.62). Many participants found it interesting then that the images were often marked under headings such as "Culture Clash" (Richards, 1998, pp. 1-7), "Crossing Cultures" (p. 31) or "Culture Check" (p. 33) when they seem to inspire more resistance to the foreign culture than anything.

Finally, the images reinforce a limiting stereotype because whole continents are presented in the form of one race, one culture, and one colour per continent. As Roberto Carlos suggested, the pictures

...reinforce a stereotype of American families eating hamburgers...And it hardly adds something to students' concepts of these situations and nationalities. The concept of 'Japanese American' is not explored because it's continents not

countries represented. You can't tell a Canadian from an American or the Mexican from the Latino (Roberto Carlos, p. 3)

Examples from different texts confirm his point. An article that challenges you to discover the difference between Canadian and American social customs **only** shows images of good looking white men and women of various ages (Richards, 1998, IC-7); Asians are shown posed in traditional clothes, doing a traditional folk dance (Soars & Soars, 1987, p. 82), and being pushed into crowded train (Lannon, Graham, & Trappe, 1996, p. 54). As Bia said when she saw a photograph of two business men hunched over a low Japanese table,

...ya, Japanese eating (Evans, 1998, page 92). I think this picture is too much. I said, I saw that a lot of times in my life. I was 10 years old and I have a social education book and they have a picture of people in Arabia, Japan and the question is: Why they eat like that? So, I think it's very used (Bia, p. 2)

If we continue to travel the continents in the images we will find: two men from the Middle East dressed in white robes posed at construction site doing business with two presumably White Westerners (Hollet, 1997, p. 74). As mentioned in the last section, Africa is represented by children are wearing clean white uniforms (Soars & Soars, p. 94), or studying in an old broken down school in what appears to be a toga (Lannon, Graham & Trappe, 1996, p.137). And finally, the **one** picture that could presumably be from South America or Latin America is from a film clip of an American film: The scene is a tribal community, most members dressed only in grass skirts, the women's hair long, the men's cut in a bowl shape, all of whom follow an attractive (yet solemn) White priest. Behind them, one tribe's man hoists a huge wooden cross with a replica of Christ nailed to it. No cultural/historial explanation is provided, but rather the authors ask the students to "write an appraisal of a book or film that you liked"

(Soars & Soars, 1987, p.36). Clearly monocontinents, not countries, are represented. Furthermore, what the authors present is both inappropriate and insensitive to the very consumers of the images.

The questions that the students and teachers posed included: Where are the people of the world of interracial heritage? Where are the immigrant groups and communities present in almost every major city in the world today? Where are the White people in Africa, a black Frenchman, an Orthodox American Jew, a Mexican-American in Texas, a Japanese-Brazilian woman, an Indian Englishman, a Norwegian Buddhist monk? How long has it been since immigration changed the world and altered what "an American" or any other nationality "looks like"? The images presented in the text are of a mono-cultural physique divided neatly by continent. This kind of world has not existed for some time, if it ever did.

As we will discuss in the next section, the mixing of cultures, colours, and races has long been part of Brazilian history and remains important when considering present day reality in Brazil.

Race and Colour

The white British kids are posing in phony well-behaved poses while the black school kids have their arms behind their backs, their heads bowed forward like they are waiting to be hit with a stick. (Roberto Carlos, p. 1)

Readers' Guide

Brazil is one of the most culturally diverse nations on the planet. Of the approximately 169,000,000 people who live in Brazil, the most recent statistics available (www.portalbrazil.ti.br/brasil.populacao.html, 2000) indicate that: 52 percent or approximately 93, 614, 393 people are *branca* or White, 38 percent or approximately 64, 783, 600 people are *parda* or *mulatto*, 6 percent or approximately 10,175,400 are *negra* or Black, .04 percent of the population is *amarela* or Asian and .02 percent of

the population is Indigenous. The diversity of people is clear on the streets of São Paulo and in the various neighbourhoods, such as the *Baerro de Liberdade* (the Liberty District: the Japanese District), *Baerro do Bexiga* (Bladder District: the Italian District) or the center of the São Paulo, with Korean, Chinese, and Greek settlement areas.

Until recently, academic conversations tended to focus on the history of immigration and slavery in Brazil and the treatment or conditions of newcomers and slaves (e.g., Conrad, 1983; Cunha, 1944; Eakin, 1997; Freyre, 1946; Levine & Crotti, 1999; Silva, 1997) as a way of analyzing and measuring the racial disparities in Brazilian life. And while it would be both inappropriate and impossible to try to summarize the process of colonization or the history of intermingling between cultural groups within this section of the thesis, it is necessary to understand generally how the Black Brazilians, specifically, came to Brazil and to give a short explanation of some of the many influences of Black history and culture on the modern Brazilian way of life. While many foreign authors use *Afro-Brazilian* to describe the first Africans to Brazil and their descendants, I choose to use the term *Blacks* as **all** of the Brazilians I met, of any colour, used *preto* (Black) or some variety of *preto* to describe them/themselves.

Brazilians and Portuguese celebrate the “discovery” of Brazil by Pedro Alvares Cabral on April 21, 1500. Cabral’s landing and the settlement of the Portuguese colony began the process of intermixing between the colonizers and the indigenous people of Brazil as the various regional economies of Brazil first relied on the forced labour of the Indigenous people. As in all colonized lands, within decades, the Indigenous people were dying by the thousands from foreign diseases, overwork, and depression as their habitats were destroyed by the arrival of Portuguese, Spanish,

and Dutch settlers and various missionaries who sought to convert the Indigenous slaves.

By 1538 the first shipload of slaves arrived in the Northeast of Brazil. The Portuguese led in developing the slave trade through the 15th and 16th centuries, followed by the Dutch in the 17th century and the British and French through the 18th century (Meade, 2003). Slave traders acquired slaves from various regions of the West and West Central coast of Africa, the areas now known as Ghana, Angola, Nigeria, and Mozambique. Many slaves died during the 40 to 50 day voyage from Africa to Brazil as many ships carried 300 to 400 slaves at a time (Meade, 2003, p. 34). The slaves that survived were quickly shipped to sugar cane, coffee, vegetable, tobacco, or cotton plantations, ranches and mines to work. Conditions on the plantations, on the ranches, and in the mines were inhumane and many slaves died of cruel punishments, hunger, or exhaustion.

Slavery lasted 350 years in Brazil, longer than in any slave nation in the Americas. Eventually, Brazilian activists and the political climate in Europe against slavery led to a gradual abolition process: the abolition of slave trade in 1851 and the slow process to complete slave freedom in 1888. However, one must keep in mind that even after the slavery of Blacks was abolished in 1888, the great majority of the Black slaves had no education; furthermore, social legislation of the time did not allow them better positions and opportunities within White society. Many former slaves maintained relationships with their former masters, but for wages. Thus the demographic of White power versus Black poverty did not undergo a tremendous shift. Historically, Black resistance has taken various forms including religious and cultural movements, sabotage on plantations, and runaway slave communities called *mocambos* or *quilombos* (Davis, 1999, p. 7).

In spite of the power imbalance between Blacks and Whites, Blacks have profoundly influenced the face of Brazilian culture; African customs are present in almost every aspect of Brazilian culture, especially the language, religion, food, and music. According to Black writer and scholar, Nei Lopes (cited in Davis, 1997), the African Yoruba language greatly influenced the language of Brazilian food and religion and the Bantu language, spoken from Cameroon to Tanzania, had "a pervasive impact on Brazilian Portuguese" (Davis, 1997, pp. 269-78). Africans also impacted the practice of Catholicism in Brazil through transference of African religious practices. Noted examples are the *Religião de caboclo*, of Bahia that combines African rites with Catholicism, *Umbanda* of the South and Southeast, which has elements of African religions, Christianity, and local Indigenous practice, or *Candomblé* a religion led by high priestesses as in West Africa but which follows a Christian calendar. Furthermore, much of the traditional day-to-day food eaten in Brazil by all classes, such as *arroz e feijão* (rice and beans) or *feijoada* (bean and pork dish eaten over rice) is derived from African dishes. Finally, Black Brazilians have had a strong impact on Brazilian musical traditions such as the famous, *samba*, *pagode*, or *afoxé*. Black Brazilians, and their political status, have been heard through the voices of Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, for example, both of whom have, since the 1960s, tried to expose the racial inequalities of Brazil. Recently, the group *Cidade Negra* (Black City) have helped to create a black reggae movement in Brazilian music.

Despite the lack of recognition, the Black history of Brazil has had an enormous part in shaping modern day Brazil, as noted scholar and advocate for Minority Rights Group International, Darién Davis (1999) writes,

...few realize how profoundly colonization affected many Brazilians' views of their national culture. Throughout history, many black and white people shared

a lack of appreciation for Brazilian culture in general, looking toward Europe, particularly France and Great Britain for validation. Despite the importance of the African contribution to society, the Brazilian elite has systematically attempted to ignore Brazil's African-ness. The Brazilian state has also historically downplayed racial conflict. (p. 6).

Within the last five years Brazilian scholars and foreign scholars of Brazil have published a great deal on the subject of colour and national identity, opening new discussions and debates from varying perspectives (Crook & Johnson, 1999, Davis, 1999; Lesser, 1999; Reichmann, 1999; Sheiff, 2001; Twine, 1998). Interest in the dynamics of colour, race, and social class has existed since the 1950s. However, since the end of the military government in the mid 1980s, recent scholars wish to bring to light the voices, thoughts, and practices of non-White Brazilians as a means of deconstructing what they see as the myth of "Brazil's Racial Democracy" promoted by Brazilian social-historian Gilberto Freyre in his 1933 publication, *Casa Grande e Senzala* (The Big House and the Slaves' Quarters). Freyre's seminal work depicted Brazil as equal in contributions from Blacks and Indigenous peoples, undermining the imbalances in power and the racist climate in Brazilian history.

Interestingly, it was the students and teachers who are themselves **White** who pointed out the lack of people of colour or minority status in the images: Neither Ronaldo, who is Black, nor Casia, who is *mulatto*, nor Marta who is of Japanese appearance and ethnicity discussed colour or race as an issue in the images. However, the students and teachers who did comment were very critical about the people the textbook authors and editors chose to represent in the images,

I think they should more pictures of things that happen here in Brazil. They don't have any. Even the characters are not similar to Brazil. Everybody is White and you know...in a beautiful suit.... (Vinícius, p. 3)

The majority of pictures are of Whites. The Blacks in my English class (2/15) or Japanese (1/15) do not find themselves represented in these books. (Kaka, p. 3)

And the participants also questioned why White people were predominant or Black people were often represented in powerless situations or physical positions. Below, Fátima discusses the situations in which Blacks are represented and who does/does not attend the expensive English language schools in São Paulo like *Alumni* or *Seven*,

I see more White people than Black people. I saw...when I saw Black people I saw them in a poor situation (Insights BP advertisement). Here they don't put a rich Black man for example who have a job and have a happy family. To me this is ridiculous. I don't know if it's ridiculous, it's like a Tv, they show the majority, who have money is the White people and who have this lifestyle, is the majority of people who have money and they is White.

I think the books...When the people reading the books and some books the poor people for example never never saw because never these people who are poor go to *Alumni*, go to *Seven* and never the situation...So, who reading the book, students of *Alumni*, students of *Seven* don't want to see poor people, Black people. This people who study in *Alumni* and *Seven* and another schools very expensive, for example want to see themselves and to see themselves is to see White people... white people and happy situations, a car, a beautiful beach, beautiful things. I think. (Fátima, p.5)

Teachers, Roberto Carlos and Glemerson, evaluated the physical positioning of a Black woman at a computer terminal, slouching slightly and looking bored. The kind of image of the bored Black woman is labeled by publisher Hollet (1997) as "using the mouse" (p. 47), what Roberto Carlos pointed out as "a pretty low level computer skill considering the year the text is published" (p. 9). The two teachers also discussed a Mulatto man gluing posters on the wall of an A & P grocery store (Lannon, Tullis and Trappe, 1999, p.6), "The White man is in command. The Puerto Rican is working" (Glemerson, p. 2).

The majority of White participants reacted to a) the lack of Blacks or minorities in the images b) the status and positioning of Blacks in the instances that they were represented. In other words, the participants refused to view the images in Black and White, in spite (and despite) of the complexity of racial issues in Brazil.

Status

White Cacausion imperialist in a suit, Black person in the Third World jungle, Arabians in sheets. It reinforces stereotypes one hundred and ten percent.
(Roberto Carlos, p. 2)

Readers' Guide

Colour or gender and status might easily be equated as one and the same in São Paulo, Brazil. Although there certainly are poor Whites in São Paulo, there are many more poor Black men and poor women than poor White men in São Paulo and throughout Brazil. The most recent statistics from Dr. Hédio Silva Jr. and Mara Aparecida Silva Bento at the Interamerican Institute for Racial Equality or *Instituto Sindical Interamericano pela Igualdade Racial (INSPIR)* are astounding. Of the approximately 20 percent of men and women who are currently unemployed in São Paulo (the highest unemployment rate in the last 25 years in this city as of June, 2003), 25 percent are Black women, 20.9 percent are Black men, 19.2 are White

women, and a comparatively low 13.5 percent are White men

(www.inspir.org.br/cartamapa.html, 2003).

Furthermore, Black women on average earn 33 percent of an average White man's salary; Black men on average earn 50.6 percent of an average White man's salary; and a White woman, on average, earns 62.5 percent of a White man's salary (INSPIR, 20003).

The students largely defined status images in terms of: (1) appearances and positioning of executives or businessmen, (2) age, (3) knowledge, and (4) buying power. Rivaldo was quick to respond to an image in the "Visitors" section of Hollet's (1997) Business Opportunities text, an image labeled "Client meeting on construction site in Kuwait" (p. 74). The client appears to be the two White men in dark suits, one in a construction hat and one without, who are meeting with an Arab in white robes. An Asian man and a Black man in hard hats watch close by but do not participate in the debate.

In my opinion, the picture from the Middle East people and also the executives look to me that they are in the oil business. They probably have power because of that. The Sheik, don't know if you call them "Shakes" but we call them Shakes in Brazil, and also the executives, they look like they have power, money and....Usually the person, the people who is wearing some kind of suit or some kind of expensive, or at least look like it is expensive, they look to me as they have more power and more status. And the older ones. (Rivaldo, p. 5)

Márcio talked at length about an image of an attractive older White couple. The woman is dressed beautifully, but with heavy eye makeup, positioned in a chair under her husband who is standing behind the chair, one hand on her shoulder and the

other on the back of the chair. He is wearing a suit and tie. Both are smiling slightly but not enough to show their teeth.

This picture where there is a man and a woman, a couple...probably they have a lot of money or a good position because it's a kind of picture that only who has money want to have, okay...the man standing behind the woman and using a suit and tie. And I don't like this kind of picture, really. Probably one day if I will be very, very rich; I will not take one of these pictures. But I think they represent power, money and status (Marcio, p. 5)

Ronaldo focused on information and buying power as indicators of power or status in the images. The two images he discussed below are cartoons: (1) a round ticket man in a suit, small round glasses, and a Charlie Chaplin mustache pointing out the way to another round smiling character with an exaggerated nose, and, (2) a smiling thin character in a striped suit handing over a handful of cash to purchase a "new car" from a slick looking salesman in a checkered suit and sideburns with a sinister grin (Shovel, year, p. 7),

In this picture, I think this...how can I say? This ticket man? This ticket man I think he has the power because he has the information. He know where they are and the other person are in doubt, lost here. This guy have much more power than the other because he has the information. Information in this case is power. Here I think this man bought a new car and he is driving the new car. Of course, he has the money and has the power to buy the car. He seems to have power. (Ronaldo, p. 6)

Again, the teachers were more direct in their commentaries, and they chose very different characters in the images to illustrate their point. Milene saw positioning as the marker of power and/or status in (1) an image of James Hanson (Evans, 2000)

who “built a global conglomerate with a value over 10.5 billion pounds” (p.24); Hanson is seated in front of a large desk; a painting in a gilded frame is behind his head and (2) The God Father, Don Corleone shakes hands with Sollazzo while other men in suits look on or look at the floor; the scene is taken directly from the film (Evans, 2000, p.46),

This picture, his posture is like Napoleon with his right hand in his jacket. The God Father has power because he disturbs American citizen and challenges the police, the government and the laws (Milene, p.1)

While, Glória defined status largely in terms of colour or appearance, “The 3M Corporate Organization Chart, these are the White men in power” (Glória p. 1). The 3M Chart (Lannon, Tullis, & Trappe, 1999, p. 5) shows the president and four vice presidents, all White, middle aged, who are losing their hair; a few are smiling and all of them are dressed in suits. Of the photographs of people that the students and teachers labeled as stakeholders, people with power and/or status, were **all** of White men.

Again, I am reminded of Rivaldo’s earlier comment that the images in these English Language textbooks bring nothing new to the students and teachers, but rather they reinforce stereotypes that already exist. And as the above statistics and comments illustrate, women and images of women are subject to crude stereotyping as well.

Gender

Readers’ Guide

Throughout the research and writing process, I have written at length in my field journal about my impressions of Brazilian women in São Paulo, their friendship, and my own growth and experiences as a woman married to a Brazilian. I suggest that

the readers' spend some time with the *Notes from the Field: The Games that Men and Women Play* before continuing with the following section. The *Games* piece explores (1) my own acculturation process as a Canadian woman and a researcher in Brazil, and (2) the cultural emphasis of beauty or *beleza* in women in São Paulo Brazil as a kind of competition that separates and subverts women. These two factors are worth exploring because this section on gender is more about what was not said, and what neither the female nor male participants criticized. The *Games* piece then, is my consideration of why the female participants, at the very least, did not react to the images as I did, with disappointment and anger at what I saw as clear sexism.

Only one of the participants discussed the concepts of gender and power relations between men and women directly; however there were several indirect comments related to the power of one gender over another in (1) the physical positioning and (2) in the power of/in a woman's physical appearance. First, the photographs of women in these First World cultures and from the Western world of feminism are often representing women in subordinate situations. They are positioned outside of and under men physically.

Fátima: Who has power is a White and an old man.

Cosette: How do you know that?

Fátima: Because he is in the center of the table, people around him and he is older than the other people around him and he is a White man. Like a boss, in a business, here I see a White woman and a White man have power. And yes. Mans in the majority of the times, I see mans, principally in a work situation I see mans (Fátima, p. 6)

Second, a premium is placed on a woman's appearance in the images. When I asked Rivaldo and Milene what gave women power they told me,

A good-looking woman is powerful in the article, *Looks: Appearance Counts With Many Managers*. (Milene, p. 1)

the way this woman look like, she make up herself in terms of the hair and everything. (Rivaldo, p.1)

While, Rivaldo (p. 4) noticed that women are often presented as receptionists, Bia mentioned that many women in the images are wives or housewives, and Kaka (p. 5) said that most of the teachers in the images were women, the participants did not directly point out the lack of non-traditional roles for women in the images or directly complain that women should be represented as anything other than in the above roles. I found this quite surprising, especially from Bia, Fátima, and Milene, whom I would have expected to challenge the images (as I did in secret) because they appeared to me to be so independent in actions, mind, and spirit.

I have carefully considered the participants' comments and ideas in the order of most time and attention spent on each topic. The participants spoke the most about (1) the culture of the images, followed by (2) race, (3) status, and finally, (4) the gender of the *figuras* in the images and how the images of each of the four categories were represented. The participants' comments reflect a critical perspective on the first three (culture, race, and status) which follows the ideal process of critical research. However, the results are disappointing on two points, (1) participants did not explore the concept of gender beyond a superficial level and (2) although the participants were critical, they were unmotivated to take any action of any kind.

The Games that Men and Women Play

August 2001

Like most woman in my culture, I have always found the balance of spending time with loved ones, housework, my own work, and any sort of physical conditioning difficult to maintain. In North America, women are cited as “wanting it all” or “trying to do too much” when many of us see it as wanting to be everything we can to those we love, yet have something that is our own, a chance to develop our own talents. And we can’t ignore that, in most cases, work outside the home is a financial necessity. However, regardless of whether the motivation is financial or emotional fulfillment, this push-pull tug between our diverse roles becomes a way of life, a constant moment-to-moment questioning of our priorities. What should I be doing right now? But being fulfilled in one area of our life requires draining energy from another. And guilt lies in spaces left unoccupied by love and attention. This is what I know, or knew, until I got to São Paulo.

New Realities

The balance is another act in a new culture. I arrived in Brazil with the perception and expectation that I could balance my previous life as I did in North America. And I made the assumption that to do so (or try to do so, as the case may be) would be acceptable. After all, I am a “gringa” (a foreigner), aren’t I? For the first two months, I tried to teach, on average, twelve ninety-minute English classes a week and devote time to writing, exercise, and a loved one.

But in the worst of culture shock, just maintaining a sense of mental health was the day’s task. I have needed time to discuss my perceptions, ideas, and frustrations in my new Brazilian life with Fabricio and the Latin American men and women I’ve met before I can begin my research as my stronger, steady self. For, as I learn about

Brazil and force my tongue through the gymnastics of learning another language, I cannot be the same woman I was in Canada. There are different priorities, fresh expectations, and new realities in the balance. Learning to exist in another culture comes with time, patience, and interest in another way of life. Learning how to be a woman in another culture means prying into the deepest sense of who we are, provoking difficult questions and deep changes as those answers are pursued. So, I'd like to share with you some of what I have seen and experienced as a woman. Let me tell you about the different games that men and women play.

Futebol

Futebol is magic. Futebol is excitement and disappointment. Futebol is politics and big money fast. Futebol is everything wonderful and tragic about life in Brazil.

While the wealth of Brazil is unequally distributed between those who have and those who are struggling to make ends meet (or don't); while many Blacks are poor because their forefathers weren't given any support after slavery was abolished, and upward mobility is difficult; while I see barefoot children trying to sell candies to cars at stop lights everyday in São Paulo, the country's passion, "futebol" momentarily suspends the realities of colour and social class. Football brings all Brazilians together, for a player's ability to manipulate a leather ball is recognized over the colour of his skin or where he grew up. The streets, stores, office buildings, and banks are silenced (only when there is a game on can you whisper and be heard in these places). In the stadium, bars, restaurants, and homes where the game is enjoyed and tormented over, Brazilian reality is transcended for two 45-minute halves. White wealthy executives cheer and scream for the black *futebol* star *Ronaldo* with more emotion and enthusiasm than proud, rowdy hockey parents in Canada. Fireworks are set off in the richest and poorest areas. Flags of popular football teams are hung from

the windows of *favelas* (slums), and team memorabilia rest on the desks of top executives. People from all walks of life in Brazil discuss football. And the sport has provided a way-out for impoverished boys with talent, connections, and luck. Hope is found in the dream of becoming a star in front of screaming crowds, earning an outrageous salary, and living on the other side of the coin.

But futebol replicates the deeper reality of the third world. Despite the fact that futebol unites Brazilians, the sport has a history of cases where young players are abused or molested, where bribes are taken and where politics affected The Beautiful Game itself. And one cannot ignore that *futebol* unites men more than women, simply because men play, watch, and follow *futebol* much more than women do. Futebol is Brazil: wonderfully exciting, a passionate dance, driven politically by money, and catering to men, first.

For while *futebol* unites men, there is much to divide women here. Men form friendships around playing or watching the sport. They gather in bars, sports clubs, and at barbeques to discuss and argue about *their* teams, players, and stats. *Futebol* is a common link between men, much the way complaining about the weather is a common link between Canadians in Winnipeg in January. But what brings women together in friendship and support? When is a woman moved to encourage another woman? What distances us...here?

Beauty

While *futebol* is a dream pursued by young men, an overwhelming number of Brazilian women are consumers of an image of *beleza* (beauty). I constantly see advertisements: on the television, in bars, and on newsstands fraught with pictures of shapely women in clothing or bikinis that reveal almost all. Beauty services are common and cheap: I can get a manicure for three dollars United States, a pedicure

for four dollars, a haircut for eight, and my legs waxed for ten. Drugstores and stores devoted to creams and makeup are full of products. Numerous magazines and clinics in São Paulo are devoted to a promise that women can be “transformed” with a lift, a nip, a slice, or a tuck. These images, services, and products are a grave part of being a woman in São Paulo. As far as I can see, the preoccupation with beauty is paramount.

But the image so greatly consumed is that of the (tanned) White, blonde, thin, large breasted “Bay watch”, “California girl” look, currently promoted by top Brazilian model, Gisèle Bündchen. This new ideal is concurrent with the political and economic movements in Brazil. Since the end of the military dictatorship in 1984, Brazil has been increasingly receptive to foreign investment. However, the globalization of the Brazilian market has not been limited to telecommunications, banking, retail merchandising, manufacturing industries, and English schools. São Paulo is currently importing an entirely Western notion of beauty, including the big and bright displays for French and North American beauty products. Advertisements for almost any product imaginable include White, thin, young women. One of Brazil’s most famous television personalities, Xuxa (pronounced “Shoo-Sha”) is blonde, thin, and White.

Despite having some of the desired characteristics, I do not feel triumphant; but rather, I experience a sad longing for the friendships I have with some strong independent women in Canada. We used to laugh at such unattainable, unhealthy images. But with time, will I want to be more like the women in these images too?

This may be a possibility. Because I have met many Brazilian women who want to talk about clothes, beauty services, and products, my acquisition of Portuguese and my job as an English teacher are influenced. I am learning the vocabulary for items and services. I know how to ask for most professional beauty

services in Portuguese, and on several occasions I've taught the vocabulary for the major plastic surgery procedures. I have met many women who are on a diet, complain about their weight, or dream of adding weight via silicon implants. These conversations rattle at an image of myself that I had learned to live with years ago. And I am left wondering how this image of beauty, unattainable for most women, can cause anything but jealousy, distrust, and competition between women?

So, I constantly struggle with the idea that the image of beauty popularized by Western culture, the place where my roots lie, influences the relationship between women or between women and their bodies in Brazil. Our ideals stretch further than I ever imagined. An image or an idea can dominate and perpetuate itself in the minds and languages of women half a world away. Translated into any language the promises are the same. Because all women are exposed, the images influence women with or without higher education or opportunities. However, the poorest women, the women with the least skilled jobs, are given one more rung in a ladder that leads up toward a greatly esteemed Western ideal, one that includes foreign business, imported products, and the English language. But who put the "Pie in the sky"?

When I left Canada, I expected to arrive in Brazil, slowly adapt, and move forward in my life with Fabricio and the research for my Master of Education thesis. What I didn't expect was to experience culture shock and adaptation as a woman first. I am a teacher, a student, an athlete, a writer/researcher, a friend, a member of a family, and a Canadian. But the deepest, greatest, most challenging change in my new life in Brazil has been reexamining my role, my position, and my place as a woman. I never realized that I am a woman above all else. And I never realized how

much we, as women, need each other to be free from ideals, remain our best selves, and not let others play games with us.

Research Findings Two

Images as currency: Placing value in finding ourselves and our people(s)

I have spent a great deal of time looking at, organizing, and arranging the pictures the research participants have chosen to talk about, and I have passed hours rereading their comments through their voices still clearly captured in my mind. However, the same questions continue to resurface each time I make a scattered collage of the pictures across a table or each time I carefully examine my interview notes: Why did the participants choose these pictures and not others? What is it about these particular photographs, diagrams, or cartoons that caught their attention?

When I began the project, my experiences as a teacher in São Paulo, Brazil had taught me that most any photograph in a text could elicit an opinion, a joke, a story, or an experience that a student had had. At the very least, many of my previous Brazilian students would use a photograph as a tangent to divert the conversation to what he/she really wanted to talk about. Therefore, I knew that getting the participants of the research project to open up to a conversation about photographs, especially if they had chosen the photographs, would not be a difficult task. Nor were the research interviews a challenge; the true test lie in what the images they had chosen had in common.

And what I have discovered is that the images chosen, and thus commented upon by the participants, have one of two distinct commonalities having to do with identity: (1) participants were either **able to** find themselves in the pictures, or (2) they expressed a concern or frustration that they **could not** find themselves in the pictures. The responses are two sides of the same coin, either the presence or the lack of themselves, an identification or lack of identification with the images. And this, in turn

has inspired debate in the research conversations and ultimately determined the value the participants assigned to the images.

In the following chapter I will present the categories, in the order of the most to least time spent during the research conversations, in which the participants either found their culture or their life(style) in the textbooks' images or expressed regret at the absence of Brazil or Brazilians in their textbooks including: (1) emotion and affection: expressed in either the images and/or inspired in the participants, (2) humor, (3) the companies and products represented, (4) stress, (5) poverty and wealth, and finally (6) the environment, keeping in mind that the Brazilian participants chose the images and therefore also chose the amount of time they spent talking about them.

Concurrently, I will discuss how the above issues weave in and out of the lives of Brazilians or Brazilian culture, in order to show how any given image in an English language textbook can create or dissolve an understanding of, an interest in, or an acceptance of the target language culture depending on the country where the books are sold. Consequently, textbook authors and editors need to be aware of the culture into which they send their English language textbooks, or they will never know the difference (or significance) between creating connections or hoisting up barriers between languages and cultures.

Emotion and affection

Brazilians are very emotional. They show exactly what they are feeling and they feel it too. They show what they feel in the moment. You look at people and you realize what they are feeling with clothes, gestures, the face, the way you are speaking show your emotions....Brazilian students like so much to meet each other, to be friendly....And all the time when you meet someone you kiss in a cheek. (Marta, pp. 3-5)

In the research, the most popular criteria by which the participants judged the pictures was whether the pictures displayed emotion of some kind or stirred emotion in the participants.

Readers' Guide

Are Brazilians emotional people? Or, taken from my perspective, are they more emotional than Canadians? I think it is difficult for outsiders to miss the demonstrative natures of "emotional" Brazilians or *Brasileiros emotionante*: football, Samba, or television, the three stereotyped (and yet not stereotyped) images of Brazil.

And while it would be culturally insensitive and an act of gross stereotyping to suggest that all Brazilian men are enamored with football or that all Brazilian women are obsessed with *Novelas*, or that each man, women, and child can dance the Samba, *futebol*, Samba, and *Novelas* are deeply rooted in Brazilian culture, and each involve open (at times greatly exaggerated) displays of emotion, affection, sensual, or sensationalized expression between fans, players, actors, music, dancers, and audience. Close attention to these facets of the Brazilian ways of life may indicate or give value to why the participants of the study sought out emotional characters and scenes and shunned those people and places that appeared cold and unaffectionate.

I must admit, as a foreigner, the open emotion expressed by footballers reciting their faith in God or the sensuality of the *sambistas* in Carnival, for example, appeared either comical or embarrassing to me until I had become accustomed to it. These kinds of images were very different in comparison to our ideals of "political correctness" in which you do not discuss your religion unless you are from the same faith (for fear of discrimination or intrusiveness), far different from our ideal of keeping your emotions in until you finish the game/competition and hit the locker room, and far different from the sensuality considered acceptable for women, not promiscuous, in the part of the world I have known most of my life. Yet another reminder that research out of one's culture requires an open mind and an accepting heart. Let me tell you

about the emotion and fervor of footballers, fans, music, dance, and drama that (at times) unlocked sentiment in me as well.

Brazilian football (futebol) fans are by far some of the most passionate sports fans in the world (Lever, 1983). The first time I stepped into Morumbi Stadium in São Paulo and saw the exuberant, chanting crowd of 100,000, I must admit, I was more frightened than excited. And when my husband ushered us quickly out of the stadium shortly before the end of the game (I believe his command was "run") I was, undoubtedly, a Canadian disorientated. In his recent book, Football: The Brazilian way of life, British author Alex Bellos (2000) explores the 60-year-old, world-famous phenomenon that is Brazilian football and seeks to explain the importance of futebol in Brazil,

The Brazilian football team is one of the modern wonders of the world. At its best it exudes a skill, flamboyance, and romantic pull like nothing else on earth. Football is how the world sees Brazil and how Brazilians see themselves. The game symbolizes racial harmony, flamboyance, youth, innovation, and skill and yet football is also a microcosm of Latin America's largest country and contains all of its contradictions (pp. 1-2).

Brazilian futebol is a spectacle likened to a religious experience for some. Many players and fans pray for the next big win. There are players who, upon scoring a goal, pull up their uniforms to reveal t-shirts with messages proclaiming their God. After winning the 2002 World Cup, members of the Brazilian national soccer team assembled into circles on the field in Japan to pray to/pay thanks to God before receiving their trophy. In Brazil, players wear their first names or nicknames on their uniforms as if they are personal friends with their flocks of worshiping fans. Much like a religious holiday, the country shuts down to watch Brazil's World Cup games and

criticize the team's latest coach. Brazil is the only country to win the World Cup five times (a uniform with the new five star crest will cost a month's wages for most Brazilians). Players who are drafted to teams in Europe return as untouchable gods of the sport, many of whom are admired as much for their talent and luck at *futebol* as they are for transgressing a life in the slums. *Futebol* is a magic **golden way** out. *Futebol* is politics and big money fast: a magic **green and gold** way in. *Futebol* is everything wonderful and tragic about life in Brazil. At the end of your life in Brazil, you can request a coffin with your favourite team crest on it. Clearly, Brazilian *futebol* is an emotional experience for many in Brazil.

But then soccer is just the tip of a very large iceberg (to use an unquestionably Canadian expression); emotion in Brazil is also expressed in dance. And Samba is the dance that articulates much of Brazilian (e)motion. As instructor and noted scholar in the Department of Performance Studies at New York University, Barbara Browning (1995) writes, "Samba is a dance that generally attracts attention for its frenetic exuberance...It is also known as the Brazilian national dance and has contributed to the world image of Brazil as a country of exaggerated elation in which joyous movement is considered meaningful in and of itself" (p.15). The skilled *sambista*, or Samba dancer is able to/can "dizer no pé" or speak with/through the feet, all the while making the arms, legs, and joints "talk at the same time in seemingly different languages" (Browning, 1995, p. 2). But Browning and other scholars (Delgado & Muñoz, 1997) point to the rebellious nature of resistance in Latin American dances, Samba specifically. They articulate Samba as a passionate rhythmic movement in resistance to the political, racial, and sexual divides that exist in daily life in Brazil. For example, *any* woman who dances Samba well is considered a *mulata* (a word normally used to physically describe those of mixed black-white

heritage) regardless of her colour, because the dance originated in Black Brazilian culture and evolved throughout the mixing of White, Black, and Aboriginal cultures in Brazilian history. Furthermore, a woman who leads the Samba school in Carnival must have a beautiful body to accompany the gorgeous movements of the dance. Her position and movements assume a sensuality in which she has control over whom she seduces.

The female *sambista* must assume her sexuality-not as the coffeepot, receptacle of some wan, milky fluid, but as a...self-sufficient whirlwind of the hips. She takes a man if she wants one! It would be highly idealistic-and wrong- to assume that this is the reality of an underclass woman. But it is an ideal expressed by her in the Samba (Browning, 1995, p.34)

Samba then, has been considered a means of expressing of emotion, and as some scholars suggest, in a context that suppresses the expression of sexuality or colour. Of the wealthier Brazilians I met in São Paulo, they had varying opinions of Samba and of Carnival. Some were anxious to participate in the Sambas of Carnival while others felt that the year-round preparations for Carnival and the Carnival itself, the games of the poor. Nevertheless many of Brazil's rich, poor, and famous elite participate in this expression of emotion and dance famous to Brazil.

Emotion is also found in a form of popular television drama comparable to North American afternoon soap operas. The *Novela*, or Brazilian soap opera, originally developed much as North American soaps, as afternoon programming sponsored by soap manufacturers. But Brazilian *Novelas*, like many *Tele-Novelas* in the various countries of Latin America, have expanded the melodramatic genre in several ways: (1) *Novelas* have clear stories with a definitive ending that allow a finale to one story and the start of an entirely different *Novela*, (2) *Novelas* take place in

different Brazilian historical periods, everything from colonial times to modern day Rio and may even include scenes of Brazilians living in other countries, (3) working on a *Novela* is the apex of the Latin actor's career much like working in Hollywood is the premiere opportunity for North American actors, (4) *Novelas* take place during primetime television and are viewed by both men and women (although the majority of viewers are women) of various social classes, and (5) *Novelas* are exported from/within Latin America for profits that have created powerful networks like Tele-Globo of Brazil, one of the most powerful international networks world-wide.

The appeal and loyalty to *Novelas* has been explored by several social scientists of various fields from feminism to sociology on both American continents but few have been able to agree on the social consequences. As an example, author, Jesús Martín Barbero (1995) argues that the appeal stems from the fact that "characters are liberated from the weight of destiny" as those *Novela* characters who are rich do not always remain rich and those characters who are poor do not always remain poor, quite contrary to the Brazilian reality (p. 280). Meanwhile author Ana Lopez (1995) counters with the claim that the *Novela* "ceaselessly offers its audience dramas of recognition and re-cognition by locating social and political issues in personal and familial terms and thus making sense of an increasingly complex world (p. 261). Despite the differences in opinion about the appeal of *Novelas*, the episodes are indeed melodramatic with dialogues couched in music, scenery, and costume designed to create exceedingly dramatic affect; there is little left to guess about the plot, the scene, and the story. Never having liked North American soap operas, I found I was even less interested in *Novelas* as they seemed an exaggeration of the already melodramatic afternoon soaps of the American networks. While not every Brazilian watches and enjoys *Novelas*, I certainly encountered a great majority of

women **and** men who did tune in. Actual statistics were not only unavailable, but likely unreliable as one cannot estimate how many people in Brazil pirate/steal electricity in the slums or how many people huddle around a single television. But *Novelas* are popular programming based on the extreme or exaggerated display of emotion between characters no matter the time period or the character.

When asked to speak of the pictures in general or when I asked participants to choose the pictures that appealed to them, they pointed out the following actions that they felt demonstrated feeling(s) or affection:

receiving guests
relaxing
talking
kissing
holding hands
prayer
taking care
socializing
getting together

For example, "I see here, these pictures show to me the hands...holding hands. When you want to say to someone be careful, take care, to give affection, like a friend" (Fátima, p. 6). The images that most often illustrated these above feelings or affectionate actions were of babies or very young children, including a close-up of a newborn sleeping (Soars & Soars, 1987, p.10) or a baby smiling at his father who holds him (Richards, 1998, pp. 1-7).

Participants identified the following emotions or situations requiring a presence of emotion for example:

confidence
boredom
happiness
loneliness
sadness
anger

hate
 cruelty
 compassion
 being in love
 love
 friendliness
 friendship
 laziness

Several participants made reference to the improved communication through/of the images in which the emotions of the characters are clear to the participant, for example, "...the characters of the people help me to understand the situation because they are very expressive" (Ronaldo, pp. 1-2). Marta especially liked one image of a woman complaining to a salesman as she returns a man's coat she bought that was torn (Richards, 1998, p.34). When asked why she liked the image, Marta told me that it was clear to her that the woman is angry (Marta, p. 8).

Many of the participants also spoke about the cultural appropriateness of affection at work between colleagues. More specifically, in one research conversation with Rivaldo, he explained that, in his experience, working relationships in Brazil and the United States differed in the amount of socially acceptable/desirable friendship or closeness between colleagues, and he found this difference represented in the images as well,

They are not really having a good time...And usually in Brazil the personal relationship is really strong when you are working in your job. So, that's a problem: this is good and this is bad in one way. Because usually you have really good relationship with other people when you are working. You can have good times because you can say the person is your friend. So you are doing a job and when you achieve the goal it's really good because you are achieving with your friend. But on the other side...when you have problems you cannot maintain or sustain this professional relationship. You usually get sad

with the other people. You get hurt. How can I say? It's more personal. You look for more happiness...hotter, warmer relationships. (Rivaldo, p. 3)

But whether the participants were discussing emotional expressions at work or in the various contexts within the images, every participant made at least one comment as to the physical expression of what they felt was a lack of feeling or the lack of the physical expression of (any) feelings. Several participants suggested that affectionate, warm relationships, or more emotion in the bonds between people, is part of being Brazilian, and most participants explained their interpretations of the images containing or lacking what they saw as emotion, as cultural. In other words, many participants began to comment on emotion by setting up the dichotomy that Americans are cold and "we" Brazilians are warm.

If then emotion displayed in the images can be considered beneficial to the Brazilian students' ability to connect or identify with the target language culture, what were their reactions when they discovered an absence of emotional expression in their texts?

The Emotional Potential of Images Unrealized

If Brazilian students "find them to be cold pictures" that don't "bring any feeling" or if "there is no emotion" (Casia, pp. 1-2) in the images, how then might Brazilian students interpret the target language culture? Rivaldo gave me a good idea,

This is strange but the feeling that I get from the way the people live outside of Brazil or wherever they living, is it looks like boring. It looks like, kind of, not really happy life, not really interesting jobs. And like they are not really having good time in terms of working. They look like are just doing their jobs and waiting for the work period to finish and they can go home. You see, the way

the people are looking like: this woman's face is, she is not happy. She is not sad. She is only there. (Rivaldo, p.3)

It appears that some Brazilian students find the subjects of their English books to be inanimate puppets. And I wonder then how, in a culture where value is placed on warm, friendly relationships and open displays of emotion, would a negative impression affect their study of English? To my dismay (as I am still an English teacher myself), Marcio told me that the result is a weaker motivation to learn English for pure lack of empathy with English speaking culture(s).

I think it's [the images in the book] good to learn the culture, but I think sometimes it's not good to learn English. It depends. I think it's interesting "Oh, they think like this...Oh this is very important for them", but sometimes you don't have the empathy sufficient to help you learn English. (Marcio, p.2)

Lack of emotion or affection in the images chosen by the students from their texts was thus seen to cause an adverse reaction in the Brazilian participants in this study, in the words of Rivaldo,

...I don't think the pictures, they didn't bring me a lot of things. They are kind of only pictures. I cannot take much of them in terms of feelings. I just look at them and see that they are not Brazilian pictures. (p. 1)

And, this negative reaction can be connected to Brazilian popular culture, which has been shown to value the open expression of emotion in some aspects of sport, traditional dance, and Brazilian television programming.

Humor: Laugh and the World Laughs with you?

While the participants sought out "warm" images, the second most popular discussion topic was about pictures they perceived to be funny or comical, involving a lot of movement and action. In fact, the majority of students felt that the cartoons were fun

or entertaining to the point at which several stated that they appreciated the cartoons more than the photographs of “real” people, places, and things.

Cartoons is cool and entertainment because easy to understand and practice.

And call my attention....very funny joke! (Kaka, p. 1)

I love it when there are funny pictures. It's good to learn. This shows a funny situation and I think when you have funny situations, funny pictures, funny photographs, you don't forget the things. (Fátima, p. 2)

Funny! Very funny! They like this kind of picture because Brazilian students like jokes. All of the time they do jokes. They tell jokes. They like to laughing, to be fun, to go out. (Marta, p. 5)

I immediately wondered if their appreciation for animated comedy in the English language texts was linked to the fact that cartoon messages are often more explicit or even exaggerated in emotional and comedic expression. And if that were true, I wondered if images that clearly express emotion or humor tap into such “human universals” as happiness, sadness, pain, joy, pleasure, and laughter and thus make it easier for students to connect with the people/culture in their books?

And, this idea might be so simple, if it were not that comedy and humour are culturally bound. In other words, the social, economic, and political expectations, confines, or tyrannies of a particular culture create situations for different national or local comedic heroes to emerge and thereby create laughter for those within the shared understanding of culture. As the comedian, clown, and Harvard scholar, Ron Jenkins (1994) stated, “Our sense of humor is the mirror of our aspirations, reflecting our desires to escape the limitations that circumscribe our lives” for there are “deep bonds between comedy, freedom, and survival” (pp.2-10). And the late Western comedic genius, Charlie Chaplin (1994) echoes the above sentiments in My

Autobiography: "We must laugh at our own helplessness against the forces of nature or go insane" (p.302).

Given these above thoughts from these two authorities of comedic rhetoric, I decided to look more closely at some of the pictures and cartoons that the students had found funny. The first significant observation was that there were not many comedic images. Of the estimated 2000 pages of English text containing images that the participants looked over and discussed, the participants claimed that eight pictures were funny. Interestingly though, these same eight funny pictures consumed, on average, nine minutes of dialogue in an interview lasting anywhere from 30 to 45 minutes. The funny pictures then, were few and far between for the participants but a priority in more than half the research conversations.

However, the reasons why the participants found the images funny can be linked to the ideas of Jenkins and Chaplin. One image the participants labeled as humorous is of a British Rail worker participating in an experiment. The male executive is strapped to a post while what appears to be a bullet train rushes by; the force of the air between the worker and the train rips off his pants leaving him in his underwear. The next employee, a blond woman in a dress suit stands by watching in fear while the manager of the vicious rail experiment calls, "Next" (Hollet, 1997, p.94). When I questioned the student participant as to why she found the image funny, she said that the image was funny because her boss could ask her to stand on her head at any time (Fátima, p. 5). Most young and established professionals in the busy metropolitan of São Paulo work long hours, up to 12 or 14 hours per day, and, in the case of the young professionals, for much less pay than they deserve. The feeling of how much control one's job and/or boss has over a professional's life in bustling São

Paulo is represented in a comedic fashion in the above cartoon image. And the other seven images found to be funny follow along the same theme.

Humor then, as represented in the images chosen by the students, can be seen as a tool for coping in, and negotiating with, the lot one is given, or the life one creates in his/her country and culture, in the case of the participants, life in Brazilian culture and the reality of São Paulo. Through the research conversations, we learned that humorous or funny images could be an appealing and useful tool for presenting language and culture in English language textbooks, if the text authors were to tap into what Brazilian teachers and students feel to be funny. For the participants in this study, physical or emotional comedic images transgressed the cultural barriers of humour and made learning a more positive experience.

Companies and Products

And the companies, the names of companies, they are all foreigners. Although because of Globalization you have a lot of them in Brazil, but they are not really familiar to Brazilians. (Rivaldo, p. 1)

Readers' Guide

Since the early 1990s, international multi-million dollar corporations have brought their business to Brazil and the number of foreign businesses, products, and services has been increasing ever since. São Paulo, specifically, has much evidence of globalization. The number of foreign businesses and services represented is astounding: I can get my clothes cleaned at Dry Clean USA, eat lunch at a restaurant called America, play tennis in Fila, drive a Volkswagon or Audi, use French cosmetics like Clinique, wear a Channel suit, buy Prada shoes, or carry the handbags of Europe. As in most large cities across the globe, if you have the money, these items are a symbol of status, wealth, and power.

The next most common observation made by the participants was the presence of foreign companies or products, not surprising when you consider that (1) eight of the participants work for foreign (investment or franchise) companies and also (2) given that not one Brazilian company or product was to be found in the English language textbooks in our research,

...they are using Lloyd's, Lloyd's Bank, just to remind for something British.

But Sears credit card...oh another, Marks and Spencer. When you look for the products for the chains, the retail chains, the Body Shop, you just remember American...all the time you see American chains and American habits...they talk about only products from the US, you know. (Marcos, pp. 2-3)

...every page or every two pages you have advertisement: Coca-cola, Marboro, many different companies, you have too much advertisement.

(Vinicius, p. 1)

The following American or English businesses and/or products were represented in the images chosen by the participants:

Colgate-Palmolive Co.
Proctor & Gamble
General Motors
Goodyear
Kodak
HJ Heinz
Empire Berol USA
Ford
Ben & Jerry's Homemade Inc.
Kentucky Fried Chicken
Stew Leonard's grocery store
Apple
3M
Barrings
Medway Bank
Marks and Spencer
Harrods
BP
Eastpak backpacks
The Body Shop

Johnson & Johnson
 Marie Claire Magazine
 Mastercard
 Downy
 Walker's Shortbread

The lack of Brazilian companies, products or services in the English Language textbooks was a disappointing finding for the participants of the study, especially when one considers that Brazil is the world's leading producer of orange juice, coffee, sugar, and professional football players (Bellos, 2002, p.1); Brazil is the world's second leading exporter of soy products, the third major exporter of poultry and tobacco, and is among the top five countries in the world in corn and rice production and exportation (US Department of Agriculture, February 28, 2003, www.ers.usda.gov). The United States imports coffee, orange juice, tobacco, and beef from Brazil and many English coffee drinkers may not realize that Brazil exports millions of pounds of coffee to their island each year. If the business of exporting English textbooks, from the United States or England to South American countries such as Brazil, has become a marketing of products and services (as the participants of this study uniformly agreed) would it not be fair then to recognize, even in a few images, the accomplishments of businesses, services or products exported from Brazil to English speaking countries. As Thomas Scovel (1994), from San Francisco State University writes, "contents which are deemed important and/or interesting to American and British textbook writers may not be so valued by students..." (p. 209). From the conversations, the participants gave me the impression that they would value seeing some/a few of the businesses that are important in/to/from Brazil in their English language texts.

Stress

...the situations are so different than the situations we have in Brazil. The way of life. The things that are more important here aren't so important, okay?Oh something happens and "oh my God!" Sometimes something happens and that situation is not important for us. And sometimes in the

pictures you have that sensebut I remember that sometimes all the students smiled, laughed about a situation and it was an important thing for the way of life of this, probably, community, the country. (Márcio, p. 2)

Readers' Guide

The day-to-day stress of living in São Paulo, with an estimated population between 18 and 22 million people is evident to both Brazilians and foreigners. And given that so many of the participants commented on traffic, it bears looking at.

In many ways, the traffic of São Paulo controls the lives of most people, no matter the occupation or social class. Mario Osava of the Brazilian Institute of Applied Economics (IPEA) points out that the rapid economic development and migration from poorer parts of the country since the 1960s has not been followed by appropriate infrastructure and development in São Paulo, particularly in terms of roads and freeways (www.oneworld.org/ips/jul98/06_11_003.html). Osava estimates that the city of São Paulo suffers an annual loss of 198.4 million working hours, equivalent to 14-20 percent reduction in the productivity of the city's workers, as cars in traffic circulate at an average of 17km/hr and buses inch along at 12km/hr during peak transit periods. Given that there are an estimated four and a half billion vehicles in São Paulo, the government has imposed a rotational system, Monday to Friday in which, on any given week day, one fifth of the cars are not allowed to be driven. If you own a vehicle and it is your rotation or *rodizio* day, you must take a bus or catch a ride to work with a friend (see *Notes from the Field: Buses in Brazil*). The idea is well received by some *Paulistas* (people who live in São Paulo) but for others who feel their personal safety at risk without a car, the policy is a nuisance.

But traffic is a subject that we joked about and discussed in a lighthearted way in the research interviews, as a day-to-day occurrence that overshadows deeper fears for many middle and upper class professionals in São Paulo, Brazil. In the interviews

we never discussed kidnapping; but journalists, politicians, and the public on television, in the newspapers, and on the streets, homes, or offices, debated the topic during the year and a half I spent in Brazil. Many journalists currently tout São Paulo as the “kidnapping capital of Brazil” (a country of kidnapping) with an estimated 251 registered kidnappings in 2002 alone (Globo Journal National, June, 2002). And while a decade ago kidnapers would only demand large ransoms of the wealthiest elite, the middle class is now the target because the kidnapers can get a quick five hundred to ten thousand dollars US from the family with less publicity and less police attention; moreover the police are more likely to be paid to look the other way in low profile kidnappings.

The kidnapping takes two forms: lightening kidnappings or ransom kidnappings. In the first, the person is temporarily kidnapped in order to withdraw cash from their bank account. But recent bank legislation limiting the amount of withdrawals has decreased the number of lightening kidnappings. You must nonetheless watch carefully that you are not followed into and/or out of a bank, especially an outdoor ATM, at night. Ransom kidnappings are usually well planned, but someone may be targeted at random based on the kind of car he/she drive. For this very reason, some popular newsmagazines in São Paulo, for example the magazine comparable to Time, Época (2002), has published a list of automobiles that are likely to get you robbed or kidnapped. However, all the potential forms of kidnapping or robbery broadcast on nightly news in São Paulo seem to inspire something between fascination and fear in most people I met, much like we talk about SARS or the West Nile Virus. Perhaps this explains why we talked openly and joked about the traffic but not the regular kidnappings. Growing up in the rhythms of traffic and the threat of kidnapping in São Paulo, people start from the assumption that the

world is complicated and unfair; therefore they might as well make the best of it with what they have. Stress is part of the day-to-day reality of life.

Several participants identified with (1) images of stress they could identify with or (2) did not identify with images of stress that were not Brazilian,

This one...because this picture, it stressed of people. I think this picture shows exactly what happen whey you works a lot and you need to go home and take a bus, take a train and there is traffic...I think this picture shows the way...it's the best picture to show the stressed of people. In Japan? Principally because in Japan there are many people. I always think people together, many people together very stressed to me, like São Paulo....another situation show very very much work situations, business meetings stresses many mans in work, employment problems of when don't have a job and for me this is important too because it is a war in Brazil. (Fátima, p. 1, 7)

This picture for example, I like it (traffic/people jam) because it is normal life, like anyone is thinking of doing a picture of us. So, you have a picture of us, people are working and they pick up the train and go home. (Bia, p. 3)

...but this picture shows me that they have traffic jam there and for this vision I think it is interesting. Okay. A huge traffic jam here! (Márcio, p. 2)

The focus in the research on images was the reality of Brazil in contrast with the reality presented in the texts. Márcio remembered when his Brazilian classmates found the pictures or the dialogues in their textbooks entertaining because what the characters in the images considered stressful and upsetting was not stressful in Brazil. Unfortunately, Márcio said he could not find a photo in the book he had brought for us to look at that illustrated his point. I asked him to find one in another book if he could

but he never did. Nevertheless, his point was that when you learn to live with in a context where you need to plan your day to stay safe, to avoid fear, and to dodge traffic, many of the situations/contexts presented in the textbooks as stressful appear ridiculous,

Furthermore, the very solutions or “jeitos” within the reality of São Paulo, unrecognized in the textbooks, came through the images. In Brazil, there is almost always “a way” or *jeito* around things, usually by way of personal connections.

A Brazilian is so imaginative. They like to build up something, different thing.

How can I say, “*joga de cintura*”: find a solution to everything. It’s very Brazilian and I think that only in Brazil they use this expression. They know how to handle the situation...because I think the Brazilians’ life is so hard but they find a solution to everything. They don’t despair (Marta, p. 5)

The images selected by the participants identified their reality in the traffic, but only two participants went below the surface to point out why the reality in the images is different and explain how the way Brazilians handle problems in their reality is unique.

Notes from the Field: The Canadian in Brazil

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If you have a car and today is your *rodizio* or rotation day, if the price of a cab is too high at approximately five Canadian dollars per seven km ride through traffic, or if you are one of the thousands of Brazilians who rely on public transportation to get to work without spending a bundle, about eighty cents Canadian per ride, you will likely find yourself on a bus in São Paulo. Despite the clean, well-maintained and efficient subway system, the number of lines and the distance that the lines travel is insufficient to service the entire city. Buses are the most common way to get around São Paulo for those who do not have the financial means to travel by car. However, as the following piece from my field diary is intended to communicate, riding the bus in São Paulo, Brazil is a authentic cultural experience that no foreigner should miss.

Buses.

Let's do a simulation exercise, shall we? Put Canadian (you) at bus stop in Sao Paulo. OK, now...

Wait. (There is no scheduled time, so you just need to wait, ok?) Keep waiting. No, put your book away. You need to pay attention because the bus comes fast and furious. Trust me. Look here it comes.

WhOOOM!

And there it went.

I made the same mistake my first time. It's ok. You see, you've gotta wave your hand in the air so the driver sees you want him to stop. Otherwise, he'll just keep on driving....Don't look so frustrated. Three buses drove by before I figured it out. First rule of being a foreigner is "When in a state of uncertainty, watch what other people do" (and hopefully another foreigner isn't watching you).

Look, another bus is coming.

Ok, less enthusiasm. You are not signaling a rescue mission on "Survivor". Raise a pointed finger in the direction of heaven (because that's where you may go after the ride)...what? Nothing. I said, "raise a pointed finger in the air and it will stop". Good.

SCREEEEEEEEEECH.

Don't just stand there! Get on! The bus does not wait for day dreamers and ogling tourists.

REEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEE... (bus shifting gears. Work with the sound effects available, ok?)

Wait a minute. Don't offer the driver money. He just drives. It's enough. See that guy sitting at the small desk up in the middle of the bus. You gotta pay him. Then he let's you pass through the gate to the back of the bus where the doors are for you to eventually get off.

I don't know who thought of this system. That's just how it is.

Yes, I agree. The first half of the bus gets packed tighter than the Winnipeg Arena when they lost the Jets. Especially at rush-hour stops. But when you are a foreigner, you hafta accept things you don't necessarily understand. Besides, we have some illogical ways of being in Canada. For example, we mix man-made snow with a sugary soft-drink, call it "Slurpee", and sell them to stay cool in summer. Like we don't have enough of snow the rest of the year, we need to drink sweet flavoured snow to remind us of what will come around again in a few short months.

Wait. You can't give him a 10\$R bill when the fare is 1.40\$R. He won't accept it because they don't carry a lot of change. If you don't buy bus tickets before, come with just a few bills or correct change you can't get through to the back of the bus. That happened to me once. Luckily, a young woman who spoke English paid for me. Otherwise I would have been late for work because I would have had to get off the bus, go find change, and take another bus. You have the correct change here. The money here isn't different colours or sizes like in Canada so it's best to count it before you get on the bus. Ok, let's go.

HOLD ON!

Unless you can find a seat, you need to hold on.

No, I don't know how fast he's going.

To be honest with you, I don't think it matters whether this speed is legal or not.

Think of the balancing act of steadying yourself as exercise, ok? You get a workout for your money.

I don't know how they can sleep with the bus trashing around, either. But in general, Brazilians work longer hours than we do in Canada, so they must be pretty tired.

Look, if you wanted comfort you really should have rented a car. I'm trying to help you out here. Keep an open-mind. Life is an adventure.

(Five stops later)

I hate to tell you this, but it's a pretty busy time of day. You're gonna hafta surrender some of your personal space.

No need to clutch your wallet with the fear of God. It makes you look like you have a wallet worth stealing. You shouldn't be carrying around a lot of money anyway.

Please try to relax a little. He's not "breathing on you" on purpose. It's just really crowded in here.

Look, I don't know what they are saying, either. I can catch some of the words but I think they are speaking a lot of slang and I'm learning correct Portuguese. They are talking about football (soccer) that's for certain. I know the names of the teams here because my boyfriend, his friends, and my male students are pretty crazy about the sport.

Are you watching for your stop? Look for buildings, places, or things you saw before. Try to get an idea of where you are, ok?

Ya. You're right. You look like a tourist compared to everyone else. But what do you expect? You've got English on your shirt and you are the colour of a Canadian winter. Listen, the second rule of being a foreigner is "Be proud of who you are and where you are from".

Don't let go of the hand rail. Stop showing-off. You're gonna knock someone else over.

Awe man. You missed your stop.

Let's move towards the door. Say "Com lee-sen-sa". It's kinda like "Coming through" but Portuguese.

Now push the button near the door. See the light up there? The driver knows you want to get off at the next stop.

SCREEEEEEEEEEEECH.

Don't just stand there. Get off! The bus doesn't wait for day-dreamers and ogling tourists.

Now, let's walk back to your stop.

Since returning from Brazil I have often thought of the buses that appeared to me to be flying through the streets of São Paulo. The first time I took a bus in Winnipeg after we returned to Canada, I stood on the edge of the curb and without a second thought, began waving down the connection I needed to get home. Winnipegers, including the

confused driver, stared as if I was a foreigner. When the driver, jokingly, asked me if I was trying to land an airplane, I pretended that I did not speak English. The Winnipeg Transit System seems to me so calm, smooth, the drivers dressed in uniforms that resemble postal carriers. Once you ride a bus in São Paulo, you are changed.

Poverty and Wealth

The people have no worries. They have no social problems, no financial problems. They do not show unemployment or inequity. (Kaka, p. 3)

Readers' Guide

Many foreigners may not realize that a standard of living beyond wealth in English-speaking nations exists in Brazil. And I think that the very issue of pride is why the label of "Third World" hurts and offends many Brazilians, especially those Brazilians who do not live with a quality of life that can be described as Third World. Certainly, São Paulo has shopping centers and neighborhoods that resemble the wealthiest cities in Europe; however just blocks away one can find a slum in which people live in comparatively unimaginable poverty. Brazil is recognized as "notoriously maldistributed by geography, economic class and colour" with an expansive divide of wealth worse than that of India or Columbia (Chaffee, 1997, pp. 53-54). The participants of this study were born into a situation, or have created the conditions for, living comfortably in a Brazilian reality. They are part of the fortunate minority of Brazilians, a figure estimated as the top 20 percent of the 170, 000, 000 people (Bellows, 2002, p.1).

However, quality of life is not without a cost. While, in our country, creating a comfortable life for ourselves is seen, not only as desirable, but the natural progression of one's life, in Brazil "having" entails a whole set of circumstances that most Canadians will never know. The Brazilians "who have" live with fingers pointed at them by international media, foreign delegates, and foreigners who never seem to lack opinion about "having" in a "have not" country. Fingers are also pointed at them from within the country as the poor attempt to rob, break, or graffiti their homes, cars, or personal possessions, or kidnap their family members because so many Brazilians

do not have enough food, education, or opportunities for themselves and their children. They become desperate. Thus the same coin reappears: When wealth comes with guilt and fear, can we call that quality of life after all? Should we not have a right to live and enjoy what we have no matter what country we live in?

But then let's look at the other side, it is undeniable that most Brazilians who live with(in) a western conception of quality of life, surround themselves with others who are in the same privileged situation. Do we not also take comfort in the fact that the world is full of people struggling with the same or similar issues and wrestling with life for the same causes? Life is difficult, after all. There is no denying that, no matter where you come from. But whose issues and challenges were chosen/represented in the pictures in the English textbooks? How difficult is life and for whom? It is also without question that abuses of power and position have existed and do exist in the form of corruption in Brazil. Those who "have" do not want to become "have nots," and staying wealthy is a means of survival of its own. No matter how you toss the coin, the issues are complicated and stressful on all sides.

The images chosen by the participants recognized the prosperity, security, and safety sought after by many, but achieved by few, in Brazil. What the images lacked were the social problems, political conflicts, or cultural clashes present in both the past and present United States and England. Essentially, the best of these First World countries is represented and nothing less.

Everything is clear. Everything is...the people know how to do the things. How to raise a place or, for example, if you want to go to a place, some place, a client or something, there is easy to find. The message is organization...I think the message in common is organization, a well-organized place to live. And

the people have a pattern of behaviour and they are civilized. Stabalized.

(Ronaldo, pp. 3-4)

....this is a business book but they try to show all the time people work and the table is always with lots of papers. People under pressure, and also they put famous people, guys that had success in life. In the middle they put other place and talk about vacation. They try to transmit the idea that people who work hard have a vacation in nice places. Industry. Production. They try to show the idea that they work hard and are successful. Don't have any that show poverty. You don't have poverty in these books: nice places, people in suits, take a trip, try to adventure, something to relax, under pressure, at the office. (Vínicius, p. 2)

Socio-political conflict and poverty did exist in the images in the participants' language textbooks, but only in images of other countries, by which I mean non-English dominant nations such as India or countries in Africa,

I can sympathize with this kind of pictures. I think, we really are touched by poor people because we have a lot of poor people who are suffering. And when we see these pictures from Africa, India, we feel like sorry for the pictures. I can sympathize with this person. (Rivaldo, p. 6)

Other images of despair or conflict could be found in sketched or cartoon-like images, such as the charcoal drawing of a future city or a water-colour of men and women entering and leaving a large map claiming to represent the job market of some unknown location.

This is a future city and I don't remember exactly but probably they say something about the problems of big cities and they are comparing. I don't know this in English, *favelas* (slums). Exactly. A slum between big buildings

and poor people beside rich people, the contrasts and they are imagining how it will be in a few years. So, it's a good drawing because you can, you can feel more than sometimes a picture, a normal one: a photograph. (Márcio, pp. 2-3)

Here, people are looking for a job, something like this in a normal day, but in a sad way because the people look frustrated. (Fátima, p. 6)

The participants of the study took the images and deconstructed them based on their own familiarity with Brazilian reality. I think that two important points emerged from our discussions: (1) the students were visibly sympathetic to the images of poverty, and (2) the majority of both student and teacher participants were critical of the portrayal in their texts that poverty did not exist in the First World. The first point can be drawn back to earlier discussions of emotion and the expression of feeling in Brazilian culture. The criticisms of wealth in the United States and/or England are the point of most interest to the study. The participants were sympathetic to the images of poverty and questioned the lack of images of poverty in America and England. However sympathetic or questioning of imbalances in power, the participants were certainly not politically motivated to do anything.

Through our discussions on poverty and wealth, we found that the images fail to include Brazilian issues such as personal safety, or maintaining and protecting one's self when one is born into or has achieved wealth. In other words, the images do not represent any of the conflicting forces, discussed in the *Readers' Guide*. The images of America and England imply that once you are wealthy, or at least well-off, life in England or America is free from problems, complications, or contradictions. England and the United States are represented by images from clean, upper-middle-class neighbourhoods, beautiful office spaces, and touristy sites wanting photographs. Poverty and wealth do not seem to exist there. Democracy and capitalism have failed

no one, or so the images are telling us. In Brazil, the vast majority of people are either very wealthy or very poor, but neither is without difficulty.

The Environment

Readers' Guide

Brazil has been caught in the ongoing international debate taken up by politicians, environmentalists, academics from a variety of fields, rock stars, actors, and concerned citizens, each with a voice or an opinion on the Brazilian Amazon. The debate largely centers around whether environmental degradation in the Amazon is the responsibility of the northern industrialized nations who should act on behalf of the international community to protect the earth, or the responsibility of the Brazilian Government who continues to use the Amazon as a means of economic growth to improve the impoverished conditions of the millions of Brazilians who live in the region and to improve the Brazilian economy (Myers, 1989; McCleary, 1991; Clow, 1990).

Since June of 1992 when representatives of 178 states met in Rio de Janeiro for the largest ever United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development, the environment, and the Amazon specifically, has become a common topic in news reports, television specials, and educational programs. As a personal and local example, I visited an environmental reserve for sea turtles in the state of São Paulo and I was impressed with the care and attention that was taken to both protect the turtles and to educate the public as they visited the reserve.

Judging from the reactions of the participants, I think that the images of environmental issues, more true to their problematic reality than the glossy clean images of English or American neighbourhoods, were appreciated.

I think in this moment people are very worried about the environment and may pictures show this to me and I think that's great...because this is an environment, the nature, and show a little depression about this...suffer. To me it's like when the man works a lot and forgets the other things and the world suffers for this, like nature, animals, and the man too because he forgets himself. (Fátima, pp. 6, 1)

This picture is common [garbage filled landscape] (Casia, p. 4), or Oh, photo from Brazil (same picture)! (Marcos, p.1)

This show some problems that we have with the environment, environmental problems, such as pollution, when you use aerosol you will damage the ozone layer and if you cut down the trees you harm the nature. They talk about the environment and they show the pictures could be damage the nature. (Marta, p. 2)

Largely, I think the participants were pleased to see that environmental problems permeate the world, right down to their English textbooks. And as a researcher, I think that the majority of the books we looked at portrayed these issues well. The participants found themselves.

The images chosen by the participants of the study include the presence or lack of Brazilian culture and the Brazilians way(s) of life in terms of: (1) emotion or affection, (2) humour, (3) companies/businesses or products, (4) stress, (5) poverty and wealth, and (6) environmental issues. And while each of us view culture through a lens fit through our time and place in our culture, I think that often we cannot help but compare, to weigh the benefits and deficits between our world and another person's in their space in their culture. We found that the images that lacked emotion or affection, or humour made many of the participants appreciate home, while the

images that portrayed wealth and business seemed to widen the rank (a rank imposed by the world's wealthiest nations). Surprisingly, many of the participants were engaged by the discovery that stress and environmental problems were represented, even in the "First World". I think there is comfort in knowing that each of us, no matter where we live, is struggling to solve common problems and make the best possible life for ourselves. The most successful images then are those that bridge a gap rather than create a divide.

Implications

Stereotyping Images

From my conversations with the participants, it has become clear that the images found in many English language textbooks imported to Brazil reinforce and encourage some of the very societal ills that American and British culture, through the English language, have been fighting against since the 1960s. In other words, the images of the “free world” in the textbooks are fraught with images of slavery to the “-isms” of racism, sexism, and elitism. In the majority of images we looked at, “learning the language” is less about appreciating another culture or other cultures and more about marketing of the American dream. Furthermore, images of countries where English is not the national language or a common language spoken are presented in such a way that they appear inferior to the idealistic American pictures. In fact, the participants who critically viewed and discussed the images were less motivated to learn English or experience English-speaking culture(s). The participants of this study showed varying degrees of critical aptitude in discussing the images; however, they all recognized an ideal world in many of the pictures.

Textbook authors and publishers should re/consider how (1) culture, (2) race, (3) status, and (4) gender are presented in the images. First, textbook authors and editors should restrict stereotyping of the United States as the peaceful land of social and political elite. America, especially, should not be presented as free from problems while “other” countries are presented ambiguously or as only poor/miserable in comparison to the United States. Second, within the images the concepts of race, colour, and culture have been neatly divided by country or even by continent; in other words, Whites live in North America, Asians live in Asia, and Blacks live in Africa. The migration, immigration, and colonization of people are unexplored in the vast majority

of EFL images; concepts such as Japanese Brazilian or Afro-American should be further explored in the pictures. Third, many of the current images restrict status to the White middle-aged men in suits and/or position the White man in a way to imply that he has more financial/material power or more political clout. Textbook authors and editors need to be both aware of and take a pro-active part in the debates to better the lives/positions of oppressed Brazilians by actively including Blacks and minorities in positive positions and situations in the images in their English language textbooks. To continue to produce textbooks in which the vast majority of people are White, and the Blacks are placed in powerless positions/situations, is to condone and even promote past and present racial or biased practices. Finally, the students and teachers did not have recommendations for the authors and editors of English language texts, but as a researcher, I recommend that more women, especially in Business English texts, represented in roles that transcend traditional female roles of mother, housewife, or receptionist. I realize that many women in Brazil may never have the opportunity to become congresswomen, judges, entrepreneurs, or doctors, for example, but, I think that if women are constantly bombarded by images of either women in tradition roles, women positioned as below men in power/standing, or women with perfect figures to allure men, the English language textbooks do nothing to bring women forward and give them the confidence to succeed in any are(n)a.

Images as Currency

As I am not Brazilian, I can only theorize why the participants wanted to find themselves in the pictures (this is the luxury of doing research and calling one's self a researcher). However, on this particular point, I strongly suspect that finding one's self and one's people in the increasingly image-based "global village" has more to do with being human than with being from one particular society or from any given

country. Through my experiences in Brazil and through conversations with the many Brazilians I had the good fortune to meet, I have come to believe that no matter where you are from, there is a yearning (however overt or secret) to be proud of one's country, one's family, what one has, and who one is. Therefore, I think that so many of the research participants sought out pictures of warm, receptive people socializing, laughing, and having fun, above all else, because so many of the Brazilians I met had/maintained an image of their country as a place where people are warmer, friendlier, more affectionate, more relaxed, and more fun in comparison to the rest of the world, whether they had had the opportunity to travel abroad or not. I am sure my own opinion as to whether Brazilians are indeed representative of the above characteristics has been revealed in between the lines of this thesis, not directly though, as research is not always a luxury and we researchers have to bow to conventionality from time to time.

The participants felt that they should be able to find themselves and their culture in their English language textbooks, including images of (1) emotion or feelings, (2) Brazilian businesses or Brazilian contributions to the world economy, and (3) the social challenges that Brazilians face illustrated in images of English-speaking countries. First, English language textbooks designed for a Brazilian market should include images in which the figures are presented in a less sterile or lifeless manner because emotion/expression of emotion is an important part of Brazilian culture. Second, images should outline, even in the form of a graphic, some of Brazil's contributions to the increasingly global context. Many participants felt that Brazilian economic images would give executive students confidence and identity while studying with a largely homogenized (Western) English language textbook. For, as Marcos asked, "They talk only about products from the United States, you know. Is

this prepared **for American people** or for people outside the United States?"(p.3). Next, this study would recommend that a diversity of American or British realities be brought to the pages of English textbooks as well; most of the world's major cities where English is spoken (e.g., New York, Los Angeles, London) have socio-political problems larger than traffic, such as poverty, gang-related crime, or racial and cultural divides. The participants have seen evidence of political or social problems on television, especially on the Brazilian news; however, these realities never reach the pages of their English language textbooks. The images in language textbooks should represent a wider socio-economic perspective of England and America, and the images should also include greater consideration of the challenges that people face, no matter how much material wealth they have or do not have.

On a positive note, the participants were largely pleased to find that the textbook editors and writers selected images of the environment with a balance of perspectives and challenges. Both English-speaking nations and foreign nations had environmental challenges, and the participants appeared to appreciate these images.

Implications from the Research

Many participants voiced critical concerns about the images in their textbooks. Several students and teachers told me that they were considering the images more deeply than they had in the past. Generally speaking, we, the participants and the researcher, discovered that there are imbalances of power, status, race, class, and gender in the images in EFL texts imported into São Paulo, Brazil.

Furthermore, the students and teachers generally observed that neutralizing textbook images, to the point where political correctness denies any cultural meaning, made the images less appealing or made them less likely to take interest in English speaking cultures. By including some Brazilian images that the students and teachers

can recognize, the textbook editors start from the position of the student. Then, by contextualizing the images that are most foreign to the students and teachers, the authors and editors of textbooks will bring the students and teachers closer the second language culture. I feel that this is the contribution we make to the field of TESOL.

However, much of the contribution remains in São Paulo. It was the students and the teachers in this project that taught me more about being critical than any empowering tools/ideas I brought them from my studies or my part of the world. At the end of the study, the project remains my own, not "ours". The participants, as interested as many of them were in what we discussed, were not motivated to do anything about what we learned. Like many of the harsher realities of Brazil, the images in the textbooks are "the way things are" and this topic remains my interest as an external researcher. Patti Lather (1991) and Yatta Kanu (personal communication, April, 2001) had warned me against expecting too much, but I really had not been willing to listen at that time. Now, as I write this, I admittedly create my own images of one of the participants from this study, in an English language class in the future, speaking up to the teacher/students because he/she feels the image they are looking at is inappropriate and unreal in his/her eyes. Maybe some of the ideas we talked about in this study will continue in Brazil this way, through Brazil's oral culture.

Notes from the Field: Fragile Images

For months now, I have smashed glasses. We have bought or have been given replacements but most of them have met the tile of our kitchen floor. Over the last six months there have been hot burning moments when I have been so consumed by anger and sadness at what I have seen, that I have come home and smashed a glass, or two or more. Crash. The glass splinters and shatters into a thousand pieces throughout the room and I stand exasperated before them, not quite sure what to do next. I know that this solves nothing. And I feel myself weaker as I clean up the pieces. My husband has bought us plastic glasses. Imagine.

Yet, sometimes your greatest weaknesses or your most irrational actions can give you the most meaningful insight into life and yourself. I have learned a lot about both research and life from the pieces of broken glasses on our kitchen floor. Broken glass was an opportunity for me that I would like to share with you as an academic, a teacher and human being.

I came to Brazil having lived, worked, and traveled in the powerful rich upper latitudes of the world, known as the West. *I had no idea* how privileged I am, and we are. In my life here in São Paulo I have daily contact with poverty, fear, and the devaluation of human lives through unjust social practices and unfair economic realities. The most creative politician could not hide the thousands of people here who live without the necessities of health care, sanitation, and education. As a Canadian, I find myself living through periods of tolerance, concern, and even an understanding of the complexity of the problems here. But these periods of calm are eventually broken by a day of pure anger, resentment, and a need to distance myself from everything that hurts to see and experience. These are the days when I make glass shatter.

In these days and hours, I feel a raw pain. Barefooted children selling candy to cars at stop lights. *Crash*. The kilometers of slums and the poor who announce their circumstances and misfortunes on trains, busses, and streets to earn change. *Broken remains of this morning's juice glass*. The roaring traffic that shifts, jerks, and cuts with such aggression, and speed that pedestrians race like squirrels across the pavement. *Clear glass bits bounce on tile*. Vehicle and industrial pollution and the smells they bring. *Smash*. The division of rich and poor with foreign investment pushing, widening, stretching the distance between those who have and those who do not. *Glass dust in the corners and crevices of our kitchen*. The competitiveness of women and a culture of bodies fascinated with Western expectations of form in flesh. *Glass shrapnel*. Sidewalks that are a broken, cracked, slanted maze of pavement full with litter or dog shit to dodge. And I have come home and threw *glasses* at the walls and the floor of our kitchen. The pain and anger of learning how unjust and complicated both the problems and their solutions appear to be overwhelms me. I feel confusion, anger, and sadness for everyone and everything here. And in these moments I have broken glasses as if I cannot help myself.

Lately, I have been thinking a lot about how my pain and anger in/at a culture foreign to me can/will affect both my research and my life. Over the years in different countries, I have met many foreigners who cluster together for complain jam sessions about the country in which they reside but do not like. I think that it's (too) easy to be an angry foreigner. In reading Patti Lather's (1991) book, Getting smart, I felt an enormous guilt in her statement that there is "violence in a position that sides against those who are happy in their ignorance, against effective illusions by which humanity protects itself" (p. 41). When I am angry at everything and everyone here, I do nothing but create more violence. If I am ever going to do quality critical research, I

cannot be angry at those who do not look at the world nor feel the world as I do. In what I perceive to be chaos and evil injustice is really Brazilians working to survive the best way they can within a system that involves/includes the oppression of others. If I cannot see this as a human condition, but instead feel pity or hatred, I will simply write a(nother) "totalizing discourse written from a master's position" (Lather, 1991, p. 142). With their daily words and actions, foreigners and researchers can so easily build their own trenches against the very people and places they wish to study if they are not conscious and careful. *Am I building my trench with bits of shattered glass?*

But is a trench not a natural reaction for researchers who have likely never seen nor experienced social conditions such as the ones I am speaking about now? As Patti Lather (1991) questioned, "who are we as critical researchers to shake up another person's world if we have not experienced it ourselves? How is this anything but a position of authority?" (p. 143).

My own experiences have led me to believe that although critical research may generate "uncomfortable knowledge", it should not involve a *shake* of any kind. I think we have an ethical responsibility not to parachute into a situation and shake up/smash anyone's understanding of the(ir) world. It simply isn't responsible, and we will likely do little more than leave people feeling hopeless at their situation or inspire people to relate to friends a funny story of a foreign researcher who was silly enough to think she could change the world. I increasingly believe that critical research may not be about "emancipation" or "empowerment" but rather a very delicate caring process in which all of the individual people involved (both researcher and participants), over time, become more conscious of/careful about the people they surround themselves with and the affects of their own day-to-day actions within/on the larger society as a whole. Shaking people up and encouraging them to experience pain in their

circumstances, I think, will leave people hopeless as the larger picture is too overwhelming, too impossible or, conversely, the very people you hoped to help/emancipate/empower will choose not to take action. In other words, they may talk until you and they feel bonded together an higher understanding of the situation and then leave the broken pieces in your hands so that they will not get cut.

Smashing glasses leaves me more empty than full. When I look at all the problems here in São Paulo, I can't exist without pain. I think that the better question generated by this work is: How and for whom am I going to live today? And maybe if you read this, you may choose to ask the same question. Cheers.

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Appendix A

Ethics Review: Informed Consent

Dear _____,

As you know, I am very interested in English Language Teaching *practice*, how language teachers, like myself, can help students learn English in the most effective way possible for each particular student. And, as you know, I enjoy *planning*, designing, and giving classes to my students in São Paulo.

However, I am also interested in *doing research* about teaching English in countries where English is not the official or common language. In the young field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, there are several on-going debates about the teaching and learning of English in countries where students are at a distance from the language and culture that they are studying. And I would like to learn more about and write about my experiences with Brazilian students to make a contribution to my field. And this project is my Master's of Education thesis project.

The purpose of this project is to examine textbook images or pictures that convey culture and assist students to develop an impression of the culture being presented. Your opinion in this research project would be very valuable.

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you a basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Your participation in the project includes a minimum of two interviews. The first interview will take approximately 45 minutes and I will be asking you 8 questions about the images or pictures in an English language textbook that you are using or have used. The interviews will be arranged at your convenience for time and place.

The second interview will take approximately 30 and I will ask 8-10 different questions about the same images or pictures used in the first interview.

Both interviews will be audiotaped and transcribed. I will be the transcriber. A copy of each transcription will be given to you for your review. You may add, modify or delete any portion of the transcript. If after the two interviews, you have any other thoughts about the images or pictures, you are free to contact me by e-mail.

The information collected from the interviews will be kept confidential and the findings will be reported in aggregate form so that individuals will not be identified. If I report individual quotes from the transcripts, I will disguise identities so that individuals cannot be identified. There are no anticipated risks, however, the small number of participants may result individual identification, in spite of my efforts to disguise identities. Only my thesis chair, Dr. Sandra Kouritizin will have access to the transcripts and the transcripts will have any personal identity information removed.

The audiotapes and transcripts will be stored in my office in a locked cabinet. Audiotapes and transcripts will be destroyed after my thesis is successfully defended.

Because this is a project about English language teaching and learning, the conversations will be in **English**. Therefore, it is a wonderful opportunity to *practice your speaking and to see a written example of how you speak*. This cassette of our conversations will give you a chance to *hear yourself speak English*. Furthermore, the time we spend talking about the project **is free of charge**. The research findings, what I write about our conversations, will be written in common English, not academic or technical English

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Cosette Taylor-Mendes

If you have any questions about the project, you can contact me by

e-mail: {

telephone: !

Or you may contact the Thesis Chair, Sandra Kouritzin at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, Canada

e-mail:

We would be happy to receive any questions.

This research has been approved by the Education Nursing Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Signature and Date

Researcher and/or Delegate's
Signature and Date

Appendix B

Informed Consent using graded language

Invitation to Participate in English Language Teaching Research

Dear _____,

As you know, I am very interested in the English Language Teaching *practice*, how language teachers, like myself, can help students to learn English in the most effective way possible for each particular student. And, as you know, I enjoy planning, designing and giving classes to my students in São Paulo.

However, I am also interested in *doing research* about teaching English in countries where English is not the official or common first language. In the young field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, there are several on-going debates about the teaching and learning of English in countries where students are at a distance from the language and the culture that they are studying. And I would like to learn more about and write about my experiences with my students to make a contribution to my field.

My particular interest is in the *pictures* that are *found in the English language textbooks*, especially when the books are not produced in Brazil. I would like to discuss with my individual students the (possible) connections between pictures in English language texts, English Language learning, and English-speaking and Brazilian cultures/societies. Your opinion in this research project would be very valuable.

The project includes:

- (1) The **first conversation** will last a maximum of **45 minutes**. I will ask you eight questions about a few pictures in the English language textbook(s) you are using at the moment or have used in the past.

This conversation will be recorded and transcribed immediately after. However I will give you a copy of the conversation/transcript so you have the opportunity to change, add, or delete anything you like.

- (2) The **second conversation** will last a maximum of **30 minutes**. I will then ask you eight to ten different questions about the same pictures.

This conversation will also be recorded and transcribed shortly after. And I will again give you a copy of the transcript so you can change, add, or delete anything you would like.

- (3) Finally if you have any other thoughts about the pictures after the two conversations, I ask that you please contact me with an e-mail or we can meet to share your ideas.

Again, anything that you tell me for the purpose of research you will see a written copy of and have the chance to change, add, or delete anything you said.

Because this is a project about English language teaching and learning, the conversations will be in **English**. Therefore, it is a wonderful opportunity to *practice your speaking and to see a written example of how you speak*. Furthermore, the time we spend talking about the project is **free of charge**. We can arrange our research conversations during our regular class times or other times, if you prefer. The choice is yours.

Please know that **I will not use your real name**, I will give you a new name in the research. Our conversations are completely **confidential**. When I have transcribed the cassettes, I will return the cassette to you and I will not keep a copy for myself.

Also, please understand that If you feel uncomfortable at any time, you do not need to answer a question or any questions. And you can stop your participation in the project at any time without consequences or prejudice.

The research findings, what I write about our conversations, will be written in common English, not academic or technical English and I will give you a copy and you will have the opportunity to make comments or suggest changes. I hope that we can learn together in this project. Finally, I will present our ideas as part of my Master's of Education thesis defense/presentation at the University of Manitoba in July 2002 in Winnipeg, Canada.

If you have any questions about the project, you can contact me by
 e-mail: [redacted]
 telephone [redacted]

Or you may contact my supervising professor, Sandra Kouritzin at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, Canada
 e-mail: [redacted]

We would be happy to receive any questions.

I am excited to learn your opinions and ideas about the topic of **pictures in English language books and the language learning process**. I hope you will consider giving **1 hour and 15 minutes** of your time (maximum) to share your thoughts.

Thank you,
 Cosette Taylor-Mendes

This study has been approved by the University of Manitoba Human Ethics

Secretariat and any complaints you might have about the study can be directed to this department at (204)

Appendix C**Agreement to Participate**

I _____ agree to participate in Cosette Taylor-Mendes research project about pictures in English Language textbooks.

1. I have read and understood the invitation to participate in Cosette Taylor-Mendes research project,

Yes _____

2. I understand that our conversations will be recorded but I will receive a copy/transcript and I can change, add, or delete anything I said at any time in the project.

Yes _____

3. I understand that our conversations are completely confidential. My real name will not be used. At the end of the project, I will receive the only copy of the cassette used to record our conversations.

Yes _____

4. I understand that I can stop participating in the project at any time without consequences.

Yes _____

Signature _____

Date _____