

FAR FROM NOSTALGIA: TRANSFORMATIONS IN READING AND ITS EFFECTS ON SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING

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Resumo: A nossa sociedade tem se transformado e a forma como as pessoas interagem com os livros mudou. Esta sociedade tem sido referida como uma sociedade em rede (CASTELLS, 2009) em que a solidez foi substituída pela liquidez (BAUMAN, 2001). O objetivo deste artigo é apresentar uma revisão de literatura sobre as transformações que a tecnologia trouxe à sociedade e à leitura e destacar a forma como as pessoas interagem com os livros atualmente, a fim de relacioná-las ao ensino de habilidades de leitura em uma segunda língua.

Palavras-chave: Sociedade em rede. Modernidade líquida. Leitura em uma segunda língua.

Abstract: *Our society has been transforming and the way people interact with books has changed. This society has been referred as a network society (CASTELLS, 2009) in which solidity has been replaced by liquidity (BAUMAN, 2001). The aim of this article is to provide a review of literature on the transformations technology has brought to society and reading and highlight the way people interact with books these days in order to relate it to the teaching of reading skills in a second language.*

Keywords: *Network society. Liquid modernity. Reading in a second language*

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Introduction

The development of new technologies has changed the way people live and interact at a significant high speed. The key structures of our society have been organized and connected around what Castells (2009) calls a *network society*. Information, entertainment, and communication now happen mainly with the use of technology. Life without the machinery and gadgets of technology does not seem to be possible anymore as they are taken for granted as interactional tools.

The shifts technology has brought to society also affect old practices, such as the reading of books. For many decades, books were responsible for the spread of knowledge and culture and were forms of entertainment as well. With the development of technology, through the years, they do not seem to be so appealing to many people anymore. There seem to be new needs: the sharing of information has to be cheap, easy, and, most importantly, fast, and books do not seem to meet this requirement. With this regard it is important to point out that this article focuses on the reading of texts in the printed format of books and other longer texts. Language studies have already developed considerable theory in the fields of Semiotics and Pragmatics in order to explain and understand the reading that goes beyond the borders of a page. Here the focus is reflecting on the way people interact with books and its consequences on education, mainly second language teaching and learning.

This fast pace of life imposed by technology affects the practice of reading books as people do not seem to be available to stop to perform such an activity which demands not only time, but also a longer span of attention. Consequently, when people decide to read texts, most of them prefer reading from websites, which present shorter texts and a variety of options or contents, the links, which bring different topics the user can access by clicking and reading only what he/she wants. Going from one webpage to another, the user reads parts of different texts, but not usually whole texts. It results in a fragmented reading, which has been called hypertext reading. Moreover, besides using the computer or portable computers such as notebooks and netbooks, other portable devices which allow reading, such as the tablets, have been created.

If people have been reading shorter texts and have been abandoning the reading of traditional books, there might be consequences which may affect different areas of

our society, mainly the production and spread of knowledge. This way, it can have direct consequences to the learning processes that ought to be investigated.

Education has also been affected by the development of new technologies. Learning has become more captivating with the use of computers, internet, softwares, and e-boards. Besides, it has made easier for language students to access information, knowledge, and entertainment in the language being studied. Learning can even happen having teachers and students separated miles away through distance learning programs, but interacting through computers.

In this context, the aim of this article is to bring to discussion aspects which can explain how and why these shifts in reading have been happening and raise questions concerning the extent to which teaching is affected by them in the field of second language teaching. On the one hand, research has showed the importance of the development of reading skills for the learning of a second language. As Nuttall mentions (1982), reading in a second language allows students not only to know a different culture and history, but it is also a way of practicing and reinforcing grammatical structures, among many other benefits. Similarly, most teaching methods in English schools in Brazil are based on the development of all the four skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing). On the other hand, students seem to be going to the opposite direction. They seem to be reading less and less longer texts and not willing to perform tasks which demand more time and attention than a task at the computer would require. Even the printed course books and workbooks do not seem to be interesting for many students any longer.

Previous research about the development of reading skills in a second language does not provide deep analyses of this situation and does not draw conclusions or bring suggestions on how teachers can deal with this new reality. For these reasons, this article presents a review of reflections from other areas of study that might help figure out this new scenario.

To start with, Castells' concept of network society (2009) is taken into account, as he establishes important relations and makes clearer the effects information technology has had on society. Going further and dealing with the transformations language has suffered in the last decades, Santaella (2007) recalls the concept of *liquid modernity* established by Bauman (2001) to reflect on what seemed to be stable in the past, but now has been changing all the time in a new fast pace of life.

Regarding this setting and the consequences it brings to reading processes, learning, and, more importantly, second language teaching, some reflections, possible understandings and questions are provided in this article, which intends to raise a discussion that certainly goes through different areas of study and deserves more attention from researchers as this all affects peoples' lives thoroughly and, mainly, the future of second language teaching.

Transformations in society

In the last hundred years, the world has faced many changes. Able to embrace all spheres of our lives, the development of new technologies has brought, in a short period of time, transformations which changed the way people live, work, interact, and, consequently, read.

One of the most complete reflections about it is presented in the trilogy of the books of the series *The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture*, by Manuel Castells. One of these, *The rise of the Network Society* (2009), brings a deep analysis of the emergence of information technology and its worldwide effects on economy, politics, and society, with the development of what the author calls a *network society*.

To begin with and to make us aware of the magnitude of this moment in history, the author traces a comparison between the technological revolution caused by the emergence of information technology in the last century and the advancements brought centuries ago by the industrial revolution. Castells claims that,

information technology is to this revolution what the new sources of energy were to the successive industrial revolutions, from the steam engine to electricity, to fossil fuel and even to nuclear energy, considering that generation and distribution of energy was the basic element in the basis of the industrial society. (2009, p.68)⁴⁰

The capability of storing and sharing information through the use of computers has been the source for the generation of various types of technology. Throughout the

⁴⁰ “A tecnologia da informação é para esta revolução o que as novas fontes de energia foram para as revoluções industriais sucessivas, do motor a vapor à eletricidade, aos combustíveis

last decades, scientists have developed different types of gadgets and tools aiming at making peoples' lives more comfortable, but also (or mainly) aiming at profits.

Castells (2009) affirms that, as information is part of every human activity, all the processes of our individual and collective existence are directly shaped (although certainly not determined) by the new technological means. These creations have led to deep changes in the way people live. The author claims that culture⁴¹ has been fundamentally transformed by this new technological system (2009, p.414). This can be seen through the many uses of technology in people's daily life. One of these, which is discussed by the author due to the direct consequences it has had on culture, is the development of the TV set. Also, the invention of the photograph, the telephone, and the radio were able to make people express themselves and access information and entertainment through new means: not only the written words, but images and sounds. However, it was the TV that could put sounds and moving images altogether in a "seduction, sensorial stimulation of reality"⁴² (2009, p.413). Since then, people have spent more time in front of the TV than doing other activities. It is not surprising that all this technological apparatus seems to be much more fascinating to the eyes of people who had access to information and entertainment mainly through books for many centuries.

All this has had economic, political, and social consequences. Castells (2009, p.416) uses Neuman's ideas to explain the great success of TV. Neuman states it happens due to the fact that people are attracted to activities that demand less effort. Castells adds, "I would tend to place the roots of this logic not in the human nature, but in the life conditions at home after long days of hard work and in the lack of alternatives to personal/cultural involvement"⁴³ (2009, p.416). The invention of the TV was also the invention of mass communication media, which invaded people's home and were able

fósseis e até mesmo à energia nuclear, visto que a geração e distribuição de energia foi o elemento principal na base da sociedade industrial."

⁴¹ Here we are assuming Castells' concept of culture as historically produced systems of beliefs and codes (2009, p. 414).

⁴² "...sedução, estimulação sensorial da realidade..."

⁴³ "Eu tenderia a colocar as raízes dessa lógica não na natureza humana, mas nas condições da vida em casa após longos dias de árduo trabalho e na falta de alternativas para o envolvimento pessoal/cultural".

to impose a new power of decision on what people could consume, produce, and believe.⁴⁴

After decades of TV as a mass communication media, the fast development of Internet was a major turning point in peoples' behavior towards the search for information and entertainment. Instead of a one-way system, in which the producers of TV programs would choose what people would watch and consume, in the last twenty years, the Internet has come as a choice through which users can go from one page to another at the time they want and in search for what they specifically want. Besides, individuals can be connected to other people in other countries in a much faster, independent and cheap way⁴⁵. As Castells (2009, p.59) mentions, this society with new blurred frontiers, which is connected through networks is built in "a new connectivity in a shared and rebuilt identity"⁴⁶.

The enchantment of a piece of technology able to integrate in the same system written, oral, and audiovisual modalities of human communication has brought the interaction, as Castells (2009, p.414) says, between the two sides of the brain, machines and social contexts. We have then lived in this network society where our key social structures and activities are organized around electronically processed information networks and depend on them. Therefore, people have developed a new form of processing information, and its effects have reached different levels of peoples' behavior. Undoubtedly, the development of technology in the last decades has brought improvements to peoples' lives. However, such quick development has given a faster pace to life, giving space to uncertainties. What was said to be right yesterday, today may be considered wrong and vice-versa.

In this new society, where conditions are changeable, malleable and fluid, there has been more space to contradiction. The sociologist Zigmunt Bauman in his book *Liquid Modernity* (2001) brings a description of this new state of society and Lucia Santaella (2007) uses his concept to offer an interesting discussion about this new modern society and language. In her words,

⁴⁴ For the length and purpose of this article, the concept of mass communication media and further discussions over their effects on economy, politics and society will be left behind.

⁴⁵ As Castells reports, political and financial institutions were (and are still) in the backstage of the development and spreading of the Internet and they themselves also keep benefiting (maybe not forever) from this new mean of communication, as they can enlarge their power and multiply profits.

the author borrowed the metaphor of ‘liquidity’ to characterize the state of modern society because it, as the liquids, has the incapacity to keep shapes. Differently from the previous modern society, called by Bauman as ‘solid modernity’, which was always disassembling the inherited reality, in the attempt to make it better and solid again, now everything is permanently in a disassembling state, without any permanence perspective (...) (2007, p.14)⁴⁷

In this new context, jobs, relationships, feelings, love, (and why not to say language) etc., tend to keep flowing, volatile, unruled and flexible. Santaella (2007) claims that text, sound, and image have suffered considerable transformations with the advancements of technology. They slip from one to the other, overlap and complement each other, share, get together and split. They lost the stability they used to have in the past and now they have become similar to ghosts, which appear and disappear in a click.

For the purpose of this article, the analysis of the path the genre text has gone through in the last decades is important. Following Santaella (2007), here the term text is considered any coherent and cohesive sequence of linguistic signs.⁴⁸ Based on her reflections, discussing text in this context allows us to relate it to historical perspectives, going from the text in books to the newest advancements of digital technology and its appropriate language, called hypermedia. This new concept embraces a hybrid language and it has caused shifts not only in the way text is seen, but also the image and the sound. (SANTAELLA, 2007, p.286)

For at least four hundred years the written text was responsible for the solid and concrete spreading of knowledge and culture. Now they can be spread interactively by the use of hypertexts, which Santaella defines as

non-linear vehicles between associative textual fragments interconnected by conceptual connections (fields), indicatives (keys), or by visual metaphors (icons) which allude, at the clicking of a

⁴⁶ “...nova conectividade em uma identidade partilhada, reconstruída”.

⁴⁷ “O autor emprestou a metáfora da ‘liquidez’ para caracterizar o estado da sociedade moderna porque esta, como os líquidos, singulariza-se por uma incapacidade de manter as formas. Diferentemente da sociedade moderna anterior, chamada por Bauman de ‘modernidade sólida’, que também estava sempre desmontando a realidade herdada, na tentativa de torná-la melhor e novamente sólida, agora tudo está em permanente estado de desmontagem, sem nenhuma perspectiva de permanência.”

⁴⁸ As the author recalls, this definition does not intend to diminish the complexity assumed by text in semiotics, but only establishes a single concept as guideline for the following discussions.

button, from a course of reading to another, at any point of the information to diverse messages, in simultaneous and interconnected cascades. This format, today trivial thanks to computational resources, was only rehearsed in a shy and rudimentary way in the big encyclopedias still imprisoned to the heavy materiality of austere volumes in bible-paper. (2007, p.300)⁴⁹

This shift has consequences on the way people produce written texts in this fusion with other types of languages and, consequently, in the way people read. The author calls attention to the cultural, cognitive and communicational consequences it brings to the form of producing knowledge, art and information in general. She points out the importance of discussing these questions far from prejudice and nostalgia (2007, p.294).

Transformations in reading

As already mentioned, information technology has brought changes to the various spheres of peoples' lives. The way people read, what they read, and why they read also seems to have been affected. We have then the emergence of new readings⁵⁰. The reading skills needed to successfully read a text forty years ago do not seem to be the ones required to read the variety of texts available nowadays.⁵¹ Besides, the reasons why people read seem to have changed as well.

Decades ago, reading books for pleasure was something not only highly valued but it was also part of one's life, as one of the most important forms of entertainment, as Zilberman mentions (2001). Readers would have in books companions for long hours of

⁴⁹ "...veículos não lineares entre fragmentos textuais associativos, interligados por conexões conceituais (campos), indicativas (chaves), ou por metáforas visuais (ícones) que remetem, ao clicar de um botão, de um percurso de leitura a outro, em qualquer ponto da informação ou para diversas mensagens, em cascatas simultâneas e interconectadas. Essa forma, hoje corriqueira graças aos recursos computacionais, estava apenas ensaiada de modo tímido e rudimentar nas grandes enciclopédias ainda presas à pesada materialidade dos austeros volumes em papel-bíblia".

⁵⁰ As already mentioned, this article focuses on the reading of texts in the printed format of books and other longer texts. Language studies have already developed considerable theory in the fields of Semiotics and Pragmatics to understand the reading that goes beyond the borders of a page. Here the focus is reflecting on the way people interact with books and its consequences on education, mainly second language teaching.

⁵¹ There are various considerations about the terms literacy and computer literacy, which are well discussed by Ferreiro (2003), for instance. For the purpose of this article, these are not going to be taken into consideration.

entertainment. Literature, as this author claims, provides us with many characters who are able to portray the role of reading, mainly extensive reading, in society in the past. Skills, such as skimming, scanning, and intensive reading have always been important in the reading of books, but also of newspapers, labels, and all types of written texts. Readers have used these skills throughout the decades not only to get the gist of texts, but also to quickly go through a text in search for some specific or detailed information. (GRELLET, 1981, p.19)

However, the advance of information technology, as its name already says, has made information spread much more easily and it has also made people be more exposed to it. In other words, people now have to read more, but not necessarily longer texts. They are expected to get as much as they can from the shortest messages available. As it is commonly said, nowadays, people need to be updated about what is going on in the world, and for that, they must be connected to news websites where they read many headlines but not often stop to read complete articles⁵² and follow other people in the modern tools of Twitter and Facebook, where short pieces of texts are published⁵³.

A new reading emerges with the use of hypertexts. There is a high level of fragmentation of ideas, as users do not need to deal with sequences (as imposed by the linearity of books). They get into a system in which they decide where to go, connecting fragments of texts with others by the transition from one page to another, which might seem empowering to the reader, as it makes explicit the fact that readers are co-authors of what is exposed to them. This is a new posture demanded by a new digital language which is opposite to the passive following of the linearity of books. If the reader is not able to form a cognitive map with the clues presented on the screen, the reading does not succeed.

However, Santaella (2007) claims that the internet and the computer will not substitute the book, as the reading of longer texts on the screen of the computer is

⁵² Newspapers and news websites have followed this tendency of spreading more information through shorter texts, as readers do not seem to have time or interest to stop and read a whole text about a piece of information. In fact, different spheres of our society have followed this same tendency of spreading shorter and shorter texts containing as much information as possible.

⁵³ Literature in the research of reading does not seem to provide substantial analyses of these new tools in relation to reading processes, as Twitter and Facebook have been launched not longer than six years ago.

scientifically proved not to be comfortable for the eyes (LOGAN apud SANTAELLA, 2007). The digital language of the internet will mostly keep dealing with shorter messages in the multimedia format. However, for longer texts, tablets, and other similar devices, have been invented.

Taking all this into consideration, it is clear that the skills readers have been using in the last decades have changed. If the extensive reading of books required a slower reading, in which the reader would need to connect ideas and facts presented in different chapters and follow the linearity of books, the reading of shorter messages deals much more with skimming and scanning skills. Besides, detailed reading of longer texts (in which the way the text was organized and built as well as the wealth of the language were important) have lost space to quicker readings where what matters seems to be much more the message than the form. This is possible to be seen in the use of abbreviations in e-mails and text messages (SMS). In a text in which “as soon as possible” used to be written fully years ago, now the form found is “A.S.A.P”. If the reader is not used to this type of abbreviation, reading does not succeed.

As mentioned before, reading has changed because other skills are needed for reading to happen, which includes not only using computers and the internet, but understanding the way language has been used in this “hyper-world”. As Castells (2009) states, being out of this network society is not possible anymore, for all the information is kept and shared by the use of technology.

The teaching of reading

In a first language, literacy is based on reading. When people are able to decode letters and sounds, they are invited to enter a new world where information as well as entertainment and culture are available to all. The reading of books, mainly, does not only help develop linguistic knowledge, but also enables readers to go into different realities, contexts and settings presented in books. Culture and history are available for those who see in reading an opportunity for learning as well as relaxation, in which creativity, imagination and reflection are great companions.

In second language teaching, it does not differ much. Reading is considered one of the four skills for the learning of a second language. Nuttal mentions some of the

reasons why reading is important. One of them is that learning to read is learning to give yourself an enormous advantage in life which may lead to better jobs, personal development, interest and enjoyment (1982, p.33). The author claims that extensive reading is a highly effective way of improving vocabulary (1982, p.62). Furthermore, according to her view, “the best way to improve your knowledge of a foreign language is to go and live among its people. The next best way is to read extensively in it.” (1982, p.128) What this author claims is that reading provides readers with exposition to language in context and the possibility of interaction.

Moreover, reading in a second language such as English allows the reader to research knowledge available worldwide, which affects directly the development in all areas of study. For these reasons and a lot more not mentioned here, researchers in this field, have devoted experiments and elaborated a theoretical basis for the development of reading skills (see NUTTALL, 1982 and GRELLET, 1981). Most classroom materials contain texts and are also based on the teaching of reading skills. Depending on the level, texts are shorter or longer. But all of the materials have texts and focus on reading as language in use, that is, as a source for interaction. Another tool which has been used for years and has also been heavily criticized is the so-called graded readers, that is, books which contain literary texts adapted to each level of language development. Right now, they seem to be falling into oblivion.

However, recalling what Santaella (2007) mentions, books were for centuries the main source of knowledge, culture and entertainment, but the development of technology has changed the way people see and interact with them. Research in education has been able to show the advantages of having computers and internet access in the classroom. The most valuable characteristic of this implementation is having a much more interactive environment, where learners interact with what they are learning, building up their own knowledge more independently. Interactive boards, for instance, have made classrooms exciting for students and time-saving for teachers. Learning has become more active and fun.

In the field of second language teaching, the development of communication technology was a turning point. Learning any language turned out to be much easier with the access to authentic contact with the language and the culture of the countries which speak the language being learned. Movies, videos, programs, songs, articles, e-books, blogs, and the multimedia apparatus for distance education, all of this

hypermedia has come to make the world become closer and able to share more information and knowledge through a core language: English.⁵⁴

Researchers in the area of second language teaching have shown, through different experiments, that the access to these materials has great impact on students' motivation. One of these studies carried out by Kramarski and Feldman (2000) aimed at examining the contribution of an internet environment to students' motivation and reading comprehension. 52 eighth-grade students were randomly selected in a junior high school and were assigned to two different conditions: an internet group, which received instruction in an internet classroom; and a control group which received instruction in a regular classroom. By the end of the experiment, researchers had noticed that the internet group showed to be a lot more enthusiastic about learning than the group who had had the regular lessons.

Arani (2005) claims that one way to put information and communication technology into the teaching and learning process is through journal writing, now called weblog. He adds that when students write for their own online journal, they become more acquainted with the idea that writing is an ongoing process and which can receive the contribution of others, in this case students in a very realistic and interactive form. Besides, another advantage would be that the weblog reader, like a web surfer, develops effective lateral skimming and scanning skills. Furthermore, many books have been published with ideas on how to plan interactive classes in which computers and internet are used along with printed course books so that learning becomes more interesting.

The coexistence of traditional printed course books and technological apparatus can be analyzed through Zilberman's explanations (2001) on the transformation that happened to the theater when cinema became popular. She claims that the cinema, although being more expensive and technologically more complex, threatened the theater, but now the two genres seem to be in harmony, each with its market niche. Similarly to what happened to the theater, books have been losing space to computers and the Internet. Differently from the theater, the fact that people do not seem to be reading books a lot (and in some age groups not at all) has consequences which go much further and reach second language classrooms. This can be noticed in the way students

⁵⁴ As most technology was created and sponsored by institutions which had their headquarters in North American or European soil, English is, undoubtedly, the language for this digital world we live in.

interact with printed materials in the traditional classroom, as mentioned in the experiment by Kramarski and Feldman (2000). Computers and the Internet are not only more interesting because of their magic hypermedia, but, as Neuman (apud CASTELLS, p.46) claims, this is a less resistant way.

In second language classrooms, all of it has great impact. The same fast speed technology imposes to many activities in peoples' daily lives is frequently expected for the learning of a second language. In other words, students are not usually motivated to perform activities such as reading books and other types of activities which demand longer attention spans and the use of the classic tools pencil and paper. Although technology has invaded classrooms with software and all types of gadgets, which make not only learning, but also teaching easier, most teaching methodologies used in English schools in Brazil are based on the four skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. If students seem to be little motivated for writing and reading, can learning happen? If students seem to have difficulty in extensive reading, will they be able to follow a course program which demands years of study?

Research has not proposed explanations or suggestions of what may happen to the teaching of a second language under these circumstances. If there are very few students who demonstrate to have the habit of reading books (extensive reading) and who seem to progress easier, follow a course program, and be more flexible, taking part in any activities, reading a book or doing an exercise on the Internet, how should teachers work with students who do not read books at all and have difficulty in performing tasks that demand longer spans of attention?

What cannot be denied, as already mentioned, is that the access to the Internet has made students much more independent and able to search for their interests in the target language. However, hypermedia builds fragmented texts, and consequently, fragmented knowledge. Are second language English teachers prepared to deal with this new way of learning which seems to rely less on the linearity of course books and programs?

This new scenery, in this network society, imposes some reflections to the teaching of English as a second language, and a start can be the discussion about the role of the educator in this society, mainly regarding the way teachers should work with reading in classrooms. However, as Santaella (2007) states, this discussion should

happen far from nostalgia, assuming that the transformation this process has been facing is natural and unavoidable.

What seems to be clear is that research in the field of second language teaching should reflect more on the consequences the shift from books (in their printed and original format) to computers may have in teaching, mainly concerning the reading skills that should be worked on in second language classes, as what students seem to be reading now are hypertexts, SMS and other types of shorter texts. Also, the fast pace of life in this liquid modernity should be taken into consideration in the design of course programs. This network society, where every piece of information can be shared worldwide in a few milliseconds and where big problems can be solved or created in a few clicks, seems to be going faster than the time needed to learn a second language.

Final remarks

As language is as alive as humans, changes in society change language as well. The transformation language has been going through affects all of its channels, including the written language and, consequently, the text, the books and reading. But, as Bauman states, this transformation, or the “melting” of tradition, in this case, the tradition of reading books, does not mean a new world needs to be built, but it is important to substitute them for new and improved solids (2001, p.9). It does not mean books will disappear, but they will be improved in a way they can fulfill the new needs of a high speed world. The problem is that science does not seem to be able to forecast what the consequences of such fast shifts will bring to education, as this network society is not more than fifty years old. However, it is important for teachers and researchers to discuss about it, as some instantaneous effects can be felt in classrooms, with students less motivated for reading and performing tasks which demand longer spans of attention and effort. Should teachers insist on promoting reading of books in classrooms? What will happen to the spreading of culture and knowledge if people, and mainly students, seem to be reading fewer and fewer books? What is the role of the educator in relation to all these changes?

Further studies should be carried out in this area with experiments so that this lack of reading can be better evaluated and analyzed with concrete results which not

only refer to motivation, but in the teaching and learning of a second language. Nevertheless, future studies should take into consideration what Santaella (2007) states when she says that these transformations need to be analyzed far from nostalgia, but critically.

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