

**IDENTIDADES SOCIAIS DE MULHERES NEGRAS NOS LIVROS
DIDÁTICOS DE LÍNGUA INGLESA DO BRASIL E DE CAMARÕES:
INTERSECCIONALIDADES DE RAÇA, GÊNERO, CLASSE SOCIAL E
LETRAMENTO RACIAL CRÍTICO**

Social Identities Of Black Females In English Language Textbooks Used In Brazil And Cameroon: Intersectionalities Of Race, Gender, Social Class And Critical Racial Literacy

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ABSTRACT: This article analyzes how the social identities of black females are represented in English-language textbooks used in Brazil and Cameroon; the intention is to generate reflections on how these social identities are portrayed. This research is linked to my participation in an international research project involving universities in Brazil and Cameroon. In the article I analyze a textbook I collected in Cameroon (Bamenda) and another textbook that is used in Brazil. I address the following: 1) What are the results of studies regarding English-language textbooks, the social identities of black females, and intersectionality with the issues of race, gender and social class in Brazil? 2) What do English-language textbooks used in Brazil and Cameroon reveal about black females and intersectionalities with social class? The reference framework that supports this discussion includes the issues of intersectionality, race, gender and social class (CRENSHAW, 1991), as well as critical racial literacy (SKERRETT, 2011; MOSLEY, 2010, FERREIRA, 2015b). The article concludes that black females are less represented than males in textbooks used in both Brazil and Cameroon. In the case of Brazil, black females are less represented than black and white males, and white females.

KEYWORDS: Textbooks; Racial Identity; Intersectionality, Critical Racial Literacy; Gender; Social Class

RESUMO: A presente pesquisa reflete sobre identidades sociais da mulher negra e suas intersecções nos livros didáticos de língua inglesa e tem a intenção de gerar reflexões sobre como as identidades sociais da mulher negra estão sendo representadas nos livros didáticos de língua inglesa do Brasil e de Camarões. A intenção de trazer a reflexão entre os livros didáticos produzidos no Brasil e em Camarões tem a ver com a minha experiência de ter participado de um projeto de pesquisa internacional que estiveram envolvidas universidade no Brasil e em Camarões. Dessa forma esta pesquisa traz a análise de um dos livros didáticos que coletei em Camarões (Bamenda) e outro escolhido e que é utilizado no contexto do Brasil. Neste artigo respondo as seguintes perguntas: 1)

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Quais são os resultados das pesquisas sobre livro didático de Língua Inglesa identidades sociais da mulher negra e interseccionalidade com raça, gênero e classe social? 2) O que os livros didáticos de língua inglesa no Brasil e em Camarões revelam sobre a mulher negra e interseccionalidades com classe social? O referencial que dá suporte para essa discussão são as questões de interseccionalidade raça, gênero e classe social (CRENSHAW, 1991) e letramento racial crítico (SKERRETT, 2011; MOSLEY, 2010, FERREIRA, 2015b). Os resultados desta pesquisa demonstram que as mulheres negras nos livros didáticos em relação aos homens estão menos representadas tanto no Brasil como em Camarões. E no que se refere a mulher negra no Brasil a mulher negra está menos representada que o homem Branco e Negro e a mulher Branca.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Livro Didático; Identidade Racial; Interseccionalidade; Letramento Racial Crítico; Gênero; Classe Social

INTRODUCTION

Previous studies (FERREIRA; FERREIRA, 2013; FERREIRA; CAMARGO, 2014, FERREIRA, 2014) have shown that the number of researchers in the field of applied linguistics who have analyzed foreign language textbooks has been rising in Brazil. Furthermore, researchers have also increasingly addressed issues concerning the social identities of race, gender and social class in English-language textbooks as a foreign/additional language. However, there has been very little focus on the portrayal of black females in such textbooks and how that relates to issues of intersectionality. Regarding intersectionality, the black feminist, Crenshaw (1991, p.1242) has observed that intersections of race with gender, social class or sexuality may contribute to a better understanding of the experiences of black females. Thus, the use of intersectionality "highlights the need for multiple sources of identity" (CRENSHAW, 1991, p. 1245).

This article analyzes how black females are represented in an English-language textbook used in Brazil and an English-language textbook used in Cameroon. The decision to concentrate on these particular textbooks was based on my participation in an international research project which involved several universities; in Brazil and the State University of Ponta Grossa, Paraná, UEPG was part of the group and in Cameroon. I visited Cameroon for research purposes in 2016 and collected several English-language textbooks used in that country. This article analyzes one of the textbooks I collected in the city of Bamenda, which is a part of the country that uses English as an official language. Considering that Cameroon is a country where the majority of the population are black, it is important to understand how black females are represented in that country. There are also clear parallels with Brazil, which is a multiracial country

where the majority of the population is black. This article addresses the following: 1) What are the results of studies regarding English-language textbooks, the social identities of black females, and intersectionality with the issues of race, gender and social class in Brazil? 2) What do English-language textbooks used in Brazil and Cameroon reveal about black females and intersectionalities with social class?

The article is divided into five parts. First, I discuss applied linguistics and the intersectionalities of race, gender and social class, as well as reflecting on critical racial literacy. Second, I provide a survey of existing studies regarding English-language textbooks, the social identities of black females, and intersectionality with race, gender and social class. Third, I discuss the research method used in this study, which is followed by the fourth part, an analysis of the selected textbooks to ascertain what they reveal about black females and intersectionalities with social class. The last part of the article concludes with answers of how the original research questions were addressed and provides suggestions for further research.

1. APPLIED LINGUISTICS AND INTERSECTIONALITIES OF RACE, GENDER AND SOCIAL CLASS IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS: REFLECTIONS ABOUT CRITICAL RACIAL LITERACY

Pennycook has written that “Critical applied linguistics is a mixture of social critique and anarcho-particularism, questioning what is meant and maintained by many of the everyday categories of applied linguistics – language, learning, communication, difference, context, text, culture, meaning, translation, writing, literacy, assessment – as well as categories of social critique – ideology, race, gender, class, and so on.” (PENNYCOOK, 2004, p. 800). Pennycook’s comments are relevant to this study because he refers to the need to problematize issues of gender, social class and race, as well as the ideologies and discourses that the latter produce. These discourses are closely linked with teaching and learning additional languages, as well as teacher training. Discussions regarding the teaching and learning of additional languages in Brazil necessitates thinking about the role of the textbook in English-language classes (which is the area in which I work) and how these textbooks are used. If, as Auerbach (1995) asserts, textbooks are the backbone of curricula then these books need to be analyzed by researchers and teachers who teach English as an additional language in order to understand the complex nature of their use in classrooms. Several studies

(PESSOA, URZÊDA-FREITAS 2012; FERREIRA, 2015; FERREIRA and FERREIRA, 2013; FERREIRA, 2014; CONTI and MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2015) have made similar observations. Norton and Toohey (2011, p. 413) point out that there have been increasing numbers of studies in the area of applied linguistics in relation to the issue of identity that have also addressed racial and gender issues. This article is intended to contribute to that research.

In 2014 I published a book entitled *As políticas do livro didático e identidades sociais de raça, gênero, sexualidade e classe em livros didáticos (Policies regarding textbooks: the social identities of race, gender, sexuality and class)* (FERREIRA, 2014) and in 2015 I published another book entitled *Letramento racial crítico através de narrativas autobiográficas: com atividades reflexivas (Critical racial literacy through autobiographical narratives: with reflective activities)* (FERREIRA, 2015b). In the former I wrote about racial issues in relation to Brazilian textbooks and also about research regarding textbooks and the field of applied linguistics. However, the present article is more specifically related to the issue of the representation of black females in English-language textbooks and how that intersects with critical racial literacy (SKERRET, 2010 and MOSLEY, 2011, FERREIRA, 2015), which is linked to the subject of my book that was published in 2015. Thus, this article focuses on intersectionalities and is based on the works of black feminists such as Collins (2000), Crenshaw (1994), hooks (2010) and Lorde (2017). There is little research regarding textbooks from this perspective, i.e. a viewpoint that highlights black females and explores the possibility of critical racial literacy through reflection. Crenshaw has observed:

Although racism and sexism readily intersect in the lives of real people, they seldom do in feminist and antiracist practices. And so, when the practices expound identity as woman or person of color as an either/or proposition, they relegate the identity of women of color to a location that resists telling. (CRENSHAW, 1991, p. 1,242)

As Crenshaw argues in the citation above, black women are not generally studied in an antiracist manner that permits reflections regarding the social spaces that they occupy. My conception of critical racial literacy, as set out in Table 1.1 below, is related to understanding how black females are portrayed in textbooks: using this analysis it is then possible to create critical racial literacy within schools, classrooms and society at large. Table 1.1 shows some definitions of critical racial literacy that have been published in previous research.

Table 1.1: Definitions of racial literacy and critical racial literacy

Terminology	Definitions of racial literacy and critical racial literacy
Racial literacy	"Racial literacy is an understanding of the powerful and complex ways in which race influences the social, economic, political, and educational experiences of individuals and groups." (SKERRETT, 2011, p. 314).
Critical racial literacy	"Critical race literacy pedagogy is a set of pedagogical tools to practice racial literacy in school settings with children, peers, colleagues, and so forth." (MOSLEY, 2010, p. 452).
Critical racial literacy	"Critical racial literacy entails reflecting about race and racism. It enables us to consider our own understanding of how race and racism are treated in our daily lives, and to what extent race and racism impact upon our social identities and our lives, whether at work, school, university, within our families, or in our own social relationships. [...] as a teacher educator, understanding the importance of using critical racial literacy in my pedagogical practice is extremely important so that I can also collaborate in actions towards creating a fairer society with greater equality and equity." (FERREIRA, 2015b, p. 138)

Source: adapted from Ferreira (2015b)

The definitions set out in Table 1.1 are the foundations of my study because they intersect with my analysis of how the social identities of race are considered in English-language textbooks in two different contexts. My research proposes that critical racial literacy can be used in our daily lives and social relationships, which are permeated by issues of race and racism. Teachers in Brazil frequently find it difficult to deal with issues of ethnic-racial diversity, gender and social class in English-language textbooks, as shown in studies by Camargo and Ferreira (2014), Ferreira (2012), Ferreira (2014) and Conti and Mastrella-de-Andrade (2015).

RESEARCH ON ENGLISH-LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS, THE SOCIAL IDENTITIES OF BLACK FEMALES, AND INTERSECTIONALITY WITH RACE, GENDER AND SOCIAL CLASS

Table 1.2 outlines some studies regarding the analysis of English-language textbooks and how they intersect with issues of race, gender and social class. In this section I will address the first research question I identified at the start of this article: what are the results of studies regarding English-language textbooks, the social identities of black females, and intersectionality with the issues of race, gender and social class in Brazil? This information is provided in order to clarify what has already been published and to highlight possible gaps in relation to research in this area. An internet search was performed to find academic articles, theses and dissertations within the Google Scholar portal. The period selected was 2011-2018 and the keywords chosen were "English-language textbooks and black women"; "English-language textbooks and race"; "English-language textbooks and gender"; and "English-language textbooks and

social class". The period 2011-2018 (May) was chosen because English-language textbooks were approved by the National Textbook Program (PNLD) in Brazil from 2011 (BRASIL, 2011, 2012) and this article was written in June-July 2018.

Table 1.2 – Studies regarding the analysis of English-language textbooks (ELTs) and how they intersect with issues of race, gender and social class 2011-May 2018

Year; article/dissertation/thesis; title; author.	Aims	Conclusion
2012, Article, "Identidades sociais de raça no livro didático de inglês mais vendido no Brasil. Ferreira, Aparecida de Jesus.	To understand how ELTs represent the social identities of race with regard to the issue of family formation and representations of professions.	The analysis showed that there was still an emphasis on whiteness in teaching materials and that being white was still seen as the norm.
2013; Article; "Vozes de alunos e alunas acerca de identidades sociais de gênero na escola: impressões sobre materiais didáticos de língua inglesa"; Ferreira, Susana Aparecida; Ferreira, Aparecida de Jesus.	To reflect on the impressions of two groups of adolescents in year-nine in elementary public schools in the city of Cascavel, Paraná, Brazil regarding the social identities of gender in English-language teaching materials.	The perceptions surrounding issues are often naturalized by students and are not always perceptible to them.
2013; MA dissertation; "Mudanças e/ou Permanências: Relações Étnico-raciais no livro didático de língua inglesa"; Smith, Alessandra Melo.	To discuss the teaching of ethnic-racial relations in English-language textbooks with reference to the National Curricular Guidelines for the Teaching of Ethnic-Racial Relations and the National Curricular Guidelines for the Teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture. Law 10.369 (2003).	Numerous modifications have been made in English-language textbooks over a period of time; however, these changes have not adequately addressed the principles of the National Curricular Guidelines.
2014, Article; "Livro Didático de Língua Inglesa e o que os Discursos Escritos Revelam sobre Identidade Racial"; Farias, Kellis Coelho; Ferreira, Aparecida de Jesus.	To understand how written discourses address the issue of racial identity.	The materials used for the critical formation of students can actually reinforce discriminatory and racist ideologies and conceptions.
2014; Article; "O racismo cordial no livro didático de língua inglesa aprovado pelo PNLD". Ferreira, Aparecida de Jesus; Camargo, Mábia.	To analyze how social identities of race are represented in English-language textbooks and how textbooks can contribute to the ratification and/or deconstruction of racism.	The textbook portrays black people without discussing ethnic-racial issues. Consequently, the textbook does not generate discussion about racism, which is the opposite of the intention of the official documents.
2015; Article; "Identidades de raça/etnia, ensino crítico e o racismo no livro de inglês aprovado pelo PNLD"; Conti, Luís Frederico Dornelas and Mastrella-De-Andrade, Mariana Rosa.	To investigate whether the collection of books entitled <i>Vontade de Saber Inglês</i> , which was approved by the PNLD for the period 2014-2016 facilitated classroom discussions about Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture, as established by Federal Laws Nos. 10.639/03 and 11.645/08.	The study found the continuation of what can be called "veiled racism", the invisibility of black people, liberal discourses about diversity, and a constant failure to address the reality of racism in Brazil.
2016; MA dissertation; "Uma	To analyze, from a feminist	The study occurred at a time of

análise feminista da construção de gênero em livros didáticos de inglês aprovados pelo PNLD 2014"; Castro, Maria Gabriella Mayworm.	perspective, the construction of notions of gender in English-language textbooks for year-nine students approved by the PNLD in 2014.	increased political and ideological conflicts regarding the construction of gender notions in the public sphere and in schools.
2016; MA dissertation; "Construção das identidades sociais de raça com intersecção de classe nos livros didáticos de inglês do ensino médio aprovados pelos PNLDs 2012 e 2015"; Dambrós, Lilian Paula.	To analyze collections of PNLD data from high schools during the period 2012-15 to understand how the social identities of race, intersected with class, are represented in these textbooks through discourses and multiliteracies.	Dominant ideologies are conveyed through multiliteracies. Textbooks influence the construction of students' identities and are full of prejudice, as well as ideologies that exclude black people and the poor.
2016; Article; "O ensino de língua inglesa e a identidade de classe social: alguns apontamentos"; Santos, Gabriel Nascimento; Mastrella-De-Andrade, Mariana Rosa.	To discuss why the identities of social class should be an important issue to be considered and investigated in language teaching/learning, especially in relation to the English language.	English teaching is largely a space for the construction of identities of class, contributing to the continuation of exclusion and inequality.
2017; MA dissertation; "Letramento crítico e vozes de alunas e professora acerca das identidades sociais de gênero com intersecção de raça e de classe no livro didático de língua inglesa"; Clara, Michele Padilha Santa.	To analyze how the social identities of gender, intersected with race and class, are represented in the English-language textbook <i>Way to Go No. 1</i> .	The study found a low level of representation of gender identities, intersected with race and class, in the <i>Way to Go No. 1</i> textbook. Moreover, the majority of the few images of black women that appear in the textbook portray them in an inferior or stereotyped manner.
2017; Article; "Lazer no livro didático de inglês: identidades de classe social"; Santos, Gabriel Nascimento; Mastrella-De-Andrade, Mariana Rosa.	To analyze the way in which the issue of leisure is used in English-language textbooks contributes to the construction of identities of social class.	Textbooks naturalize inequalities and reinforce the image of an idealized and problem-free society.
2018; Article; "Um livro didático de inglês e a representação de pessoas negras: desenhando uma abordagem de ensino-aprendizagem crítica"; Bezerra, Isabel Cristina Rangel Moraes; Nascimento, Ana Beatriz Cardoso; Ferreira, Wellerson da Silva.	To explore the historical representation of black people in textbooks in relation to some subjects, and English language in particular.	Only two black characters were portrayed in the textbook in an equal way to white characters.

Source: the author, using an internet search in the Google Scholar portal. The aims and conclusions referred to in Table 1.2 are described as set out by the authors of the research.

Table 1.2 shows the amount of research in this field that has been produced, the aims of those studies, and their conclusions. What is clear is that the aforementioned research reveals that being white is still seen as the norm in the Brazilian context. In Brazil, the Federal Law No. 10,639 (2003) made it compulsory to teach Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture in all Brazilian schools. However, English-language textbooks in Brazil fail to comply with the requirements of this legislation. Studies have generally demonstrated that there is a low level of representation of females (black and

white), black females and black people in English-language textbooks in Brazil. Some of the studies in Table 1.2 are discussed in Section 4.

3. METHOD

For Black women as well as Black men, it is axiomatic that if we do not define ourselves for ourselves, we will be defined by others – for their use and to our detriment. (LORDE, 2017, p. 13)

This is a qualitative study and I agree with Denzin and Lincoln (1998) that qualitative research implies an emphasis on processes and meanings. Consequently, qualitative research emphasizes the "socially constructed" character of reality, the close relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that research requires. Qualitative research seeks answers to questions that emphasize how social experience is created and what produces its meaning. Even though this is a qualitative study, it also incorporates a numerical count of individual characters represented in the textbooks that were analyzed. Because this numerical analysis was integral to the research, qualitative analysis was performed regarding the quantitative data found in the analysis of the textbooks. The two analyzed textbooks were chosen in order to consider the issue of the level of representation of black females in the books and how their social identities were portrayed.

Through the activities that they discuss, and the images that they contain, textbooks raise questions related to issues of racial identities and intersectionalities; this allows us to understand the dynamics of social relations in society. The Brazilian textbook that was analyzed was *Alive! 6* (2012), which is intended for year-six students, and the Cameroonian textbook was *Basic English for Cameroon: Pupil's Book 1* (2015). These books were chosen because both books are the first English-language textbook that students use in school; the choice of the year of publication of the books was linked to my visit in Cameroon in 2016, the year in which both books were being used in Brazil (Ponta Grossa) and Cameroon (Bamenda).

My analysis of the textbooks incorporates issues of intersectionality and black feminism (CRENSHAW, 1994, COLLINS, 2000, hooks 2010, LORDE, 2017), as well as critical racial literacy (SKERRETT, 2011, MOSLEY, 2010, FERREIRA, 2015a). An overview of recent research regarding textbooks is included in the following section.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

In this section I address the second research question I identified at the start of this article: what do English-language textbooks used in Brazil and Cameroon reveal about black females and intersectionalities with social class? First, I address what the English-language textbooks used in Brazil reveal about how black females are portrayed (4.1). I then discuss how the English-language textbooks used in Cameroon portray black females (4.2). In Sections 4.3-4.5 I provide a thematic analysis based on the illustrations in both the Brazilian and Cameroonian textbooks.

4.1 ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN/ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE TEXTBOOK USED IN BRAZIL

In 2018 the Brazilian population was 213,340,893. According to the latest survey (2010) by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) the population is 47.7% white, 43.1% mixed-race (*pardo*) and 7.6% black (*preto*) (50.07% of the population is either black or mixed-race), 1.1% Asian and 0.4% indigenous. The population is 49.2% male and 50.8% female. The following table provides an analysis of the images represented in the textbook *Alive! 6* (2012).

Table 4.1: Number of times white males and black males are represented in the analyzed English as a foreign/additional language textbook used in Brazil

Activities	White male	Black male	Total
Professional and intellectual activities	58 (47.54%)	11 (9.01%)	69 (56.55%)
Family activities	21 (17.21%)	6 (4.91%)	27 (22.12%)
Leisure activities	19 (15.57%)	7 (5.7%)	26 (21.27%)
Total	98 (80.32%)	24 (19.67%)	122 (100%)

Source: Author. MENEZES, Vera; TAVARES, Katia; BRAGA, Junia; FRANCO, Claudio. *Alive! inglês 6º ano*. São Paulo: Editora Anzol, 2012.

Table 4.1 shows that the total percentage of white males that were portrayed in the analyzed textbook was very high. Of the total 122 males that were represented in the book, 80.32% were white males and only 19.67% were black males. Furthermore, the percentage of white males shown performing professional and intellectual activities was much higher (47.54%) than black males (9.01%). Consequently, white males are represented as being more successful than black males, thereby limiting the possibility of black males visualizing themselves as successful within Brazilian society.

Table 4.2: Number of times black and white females are represented in the analyzed English as a foreign/additional language textbook used in Brazil

Activities	White females	Black females	Total
Professional and intellectual activities	43 (42.77%) Teacher, actress, singer, political activists, business woman	4 (4.44%) Gymnast, soccer player, scientist, teacher,	47 (49.21%)

Family activities	19 (21.11%) Mother in a traditional family (father and mother)	8 (8.88%) Single mothers, mothers in traditional families (father and mother).	27 (29.99%)
Leisure activities	14 (15.55%) Cycling, eating, watching TV, listening to music, talking to friends, playing guitar, bowling, dating.	2 (2.22%) Eating, socializing with friends.	16 (17.77%)
Total	76 (84.44%)	14 (15.55%)	90 (100%)

Source: Author. MENEZES, Vera; TAVARES, Katia; BRAGA, Junia; FRANCO, Claudio. *Alive!: inglês 6º ano*. São Paulo: Editora Anzol, 2012.

Table 4.2 shows that white females were represented 5.4 times more than black females in the textbook. Furthermore, white females were more often portrayed as professionals, enjoying leisure and intellectual activities, and spending times with their family. This in turn is more likely to allow white people to feel represented in this teaching material and black people to feel that are under-represented or excluded. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 are similar in that they over-represent white people. This over-representation is not in line with the racial breakdown of the Brazilian population; as previously mentioned, in 2010 the black and mixed-race population made up 50.07% of the Brazilian population. Similar results were found in a study by Santos and Mastrella-de-Andrade (2017), which found that "textbooks naturalize inequalities and reinforce the image of an idealized and problem-free society" (SANTOS; MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2017, p.131). It seems clear that black and mixed-race people continue to be under-represented in Brazilian textbooks.

Table 4.3: Number of times black males and females, and white males and females are represented in the analyzed English as a foreign/additional language textbook used in Brazil

Activities	White males and females	Black males and females	Total
Professional and intellectual activities	101 (87.06%)	15 (12.93%)	116 (100%)
Family activities	40 (74.07%)	14 (25.92%)	54 (100%)
Leisure activities	33 (78.57%)	9 (21.42%)	42 (100%)
Total	174 (82.07%)	38 (17.94%)	212 (100%)

Source: Author. MENEZES, Vera; TAVARES, Katia; BRAGA, Junia; FRANCO, Claudio. *Alive!: inglês 6º ano*. São Paulo: Editora Anzol, 2012.

Table 4.3 shows that white people appeared in the textbook 4.5 times more than black people. Put another way, 82.07% of the people who are represented in this English-language textbook are white and 17.94% are black or mixed-race. In terms of being depicted performing professional and intellectual activities, white people appear 101 times while black people only appear fifteen times. Given that white people are

shown performing several professional activities far more frequently than black people this frames white people in a position of power in relation to black people. The same occurred regarding leisure activities: 33 white people were represented in relation to nine black people. In terms of family activities, white people appeared 40 times while black people only appeared nine times. Consequently, whiteness is portrayed as a norm in this textbook, despite the social circumstances of the country in which it was produced. Similar results were found in a study conducted by Ferreira and Camargo (2014); Dambrós (2016); Castro (2016); Clara (2017).

Table 4.4: Number of times males (white and black) and females (white and black) are represented in the analyzed English as a foreign/additional language textbook used in Brazil

Activities	White males and black males	White females and black females	Total
Professional and intellectual activities	69 (59.48%)	47 (40.51%)	116 (100%)
Family activities	27 (50%)	27 (50%)	54 (100%)
Leisure activities	26 (61.90%)	16 (38.09%)	42 (100%)
Total	122 (57.54%)	90 (42.45%)	212 (100%)

Source: Author. MENEZES, Vera; TAVARES, Katia; BRAGA, Junia; FRANCO, Claudio. *Alive!: inglês 6º ano*. São Paulo: Editora Anzol, 2012.

Table 4.4 demonstrates evidence of gender inequality; when the numbers of black and white females were added together they were represented less than black and white males in the Brazilian textbook. Despite the fact that there are more women than men in Brazil there are 90 females represented in the textbook and 122 males. It is also important to emphasize that more males were represented than females in terms of professional and intellectual activities (59.48%) and leisure activities (61.90%). This analysis is in accordance with other studies performed in the Brazilian context by Smith (2013), Conti; Mastrella-de-Adrade (2015) and Dambrós (2016), as well as a study carried out in Cameroon by Yenika-Agbaw (2016)

Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4 demonstrate that black females are doubly disadvantaged from the point of view of gender; they are less represented than white females in the total number of representations of females, and they are less represented than white and black males. Thus, understanding the representation of women through the intersected issues of race, gender and social class is important, as highlighted by the black feminist writer Crewnshaw:

I consider how the experiences of women of color are frequently the product of intersecting patterns of racism and sexism, and how these experiences tend not to be represented within the discourses of either feminism and antiracism. Because of their intersectional identity as both women and of color within discourses that are shaped to respond to one or the other, women of color are marginalized within both. (CRENSHAW, 1991, p. 1243-1244)

Crewshaw's comment is similar to views expressed in Castro's (2016) analysis of the textbook *Alive! 9* (2012), whose study revealed similarities with the results presented in Tables 4.1 to 4.4 in the present study, although the book analyzed in my study is *Alive! 6* (2012). Castro (2016) writes:

The book *Alive! 9* presents a higher number of male characters (54%) than female characters (36%), both white and non-white. As in the case of the general data previously cited, despite the different racial groups in the non-white category, the under-representation of these groups in the images presented in this textbook is quite significant, totaling only 11.6% of the images of characters (CASTRO, 2016, p. 96)

The present study demonstrates that there is a need for greater representation of black people in textbooks such as *Alive! 6* (2012) and also that such textbooks should portray more people from the less-privileged classes because that is the overwhelming reality of the Brazilian population that uses textbooks such as *Alive! 6* (2012). These sectors of the population need to be represented in textbooks in an intersected manner in order to feel empowered in terms of identities of race, gender and social class.

4.2 ENGLISH-LANGUAGE TEXTBOOK USED IN CAMEROON

The analysis that follows discusses the representation of black and mixed-race females, white females, black and mixed-race males, and white males in an English-language textbook used in Cameroon. According to information taken from the country's information website in 2018, the population of Cameroon comprises 25,054,324 inhabitants. The male population is 12,508,092 (49.9%) and the female population is 12,546,233 (50.1%). From an ethnic perspective, 99% of the population is African (Cameroon Highlanders 31%, Equatorial Bantu 19%, Kirdi 11%, Fulani 10%, Northwestern Bantu 8%, Eastern Nigritic 7%, other African 13%,) and less than 1% is non-African.

Table 4.5: Number of times white males and black males are represented in the English-language textbook used in Cameroon

Activities	White males	Black males	Total of white males and black males
Professional and intellectual activities	1 (1.19%)	83 (98.80%)	84 (71.18%)
Family activities	-	22 (18.64%)	22 (18.64%)
Leisure activities	3 (2.54%)	9 (7.62%)	12 (10.16%)
Total	4 (3.38%)	114 (96.61%)	118 (100%)

ENANG, Nduge Alfred; ALI, Nji Alphonse; GEORGES, Mangi; FORCHA, Bill. Basic English for Cameroon: Pupil's Book 1. Cosmos Educational Press Ltd, Cameroon, 2015.

Table 4.5 shows that of the total images of males in this textbook, 96.61% were of black males and 3.38% were of white males. These figures are in line with the population in Cameroon because the population is 99% African.

Table 4.6: Number of times white females and black females are represented in the English-language textbook used in Cameroon.

Activities	White females	Black females	Total females
Professional and intellectual activities	2 (12.5%) Nurse, Queen of England.	14 (87.5%) Doctor, nurse, police officer, cook, seamstress, secretary, teacher and hairdresser.	16 (50%)
Family activities	-	13 (40.62%) Mother in a traditional family (father and mother)	13 (40.62%)
Leisure activities	-	3 (9.37%) Accompanied by partner, husband or boyfriend.	3 (9.37%)
Total	2 (6.25%)	30 (94.28%)	32 (100%)

ENANG, Nduge Alfred; ALI, Nji Alphonse; GEORGES, Mangi; FORCHA, Bill. Basic English for Cameroon: Pupil's Book 1. Cosmos Educational Press Ltd, Cameroon, 2015.

Table 4.6 shows that regarding the total representation of females in the Cameroonian textbook, 94.28% were of black females and 6.25% were of white females. These figures are roughly in line with the population in Cameroon because the population is only 1% non-African.

Table 4.7: Number of times white females and males, and black females and males are represented in the English-language textbook used in Cameroon

Activities	White males and females	Black males and females	Total
Professional and intellectual activities	3 (3%)	97 (97%)	100 (100%)
Family activities	-	35 (100%)	35 (100%)
Leisure activities	3 (6.52%)	12 (80%)	15 (100%)
Total	6 (4%)	144 (96%)	150 (100%)

ENANG, Nduge Alfred; ALI, Nji Alphonse; GEORGES, Mangi; FORCHA, Bill. Basic English for Cameroon: Pupil's Book 1. Cosmos Educational Press Ltd, Cameroon, 2015.

Table 4.7 shows that the representation of white males and females in the English-language textbook used in Cameroon was 4% and that of black males and females was 96%; this seems to be consistent with the population of Cameroon, which is 99% African and 1% non-African.

Table 4.8: Number of times black and white males, and black and white females are represented in the English-language textbook used in Cameroon

Activities	Black and white males	Black and white females	Total
Professional and intellectual activities	84 (84%)	16 (16%)	100 (100%)
Family activities	22 (62.85%)	13 (37.14%)	35 (100%)

Leisure activities	12 (80%)	3 (20%)	15 (100%)
Total	118 (78.66%)	32 (21.33%)	150 (100%)

ENANG, Nduge Alfred; ALI, Nji Alphonse; GEORGES, Mangi; FORCHA, Bill. *Basic English for Cameroon: Pupil's Book 1*. Cosmos Educational Press Ltd, Cameroon, 2015.

As was the case regarding the data shown in Table 4.4, Table 4.8 demonstrates evidence of gender inequality; there were 78.66% of images of black and white males in the textbook but only 21.33% of black and white females.

4.3 BLACK FEMALES: PROFESSIONS AND INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITIES

Black women may have migrated out of domestic service in private homes, but as their over-representation as nursing home assistants, Day-car aides, dry-cleaning workers, and fast-food employees. (COLLINS, 2000, p. 46)

The images of black females in the English-language textbook used in Brazil are related to their professions; they are mainly images of famous sportswomen, and there are few images of professional females such as teachers or scientists. Studies by Ferreira (2012, 2014) have argued that images of successful black people are mainly related to sports, thereby reinforcing the stereotype that black people are more likely to succeed in non-intellectualized activities. The findings of the present study coincide with those of a study by Castro (2016) regarding the representation of women in the *Alive! 9* (2012) textbook:

[in the *Alive! 9* textbook] the images of black people are mainly associated with dance, music, violence and folklore. In other words, the association of black people with spaces of exclusion or social problems, which is recurrent in the hegemonic entertainment industry, is endorsed by this textbook. (CASTRO, 2016, p. 96)

In relation to the present study, white females are portrayed in the English-language textbook used in Brazil in larger numbers than black females (Table 4.2); they are also shown performing diversified activities, for example as actresses, teachers, political activists, secretaries etc. This emphasizes the image of white females as being visible in various intellectualized professions and activities. Thus, whiteness is portrayed as a norm because white people are shown performing various activities, and this intersects with social class because the images of white middle and upper-middle class people are preponderant. Research by Clara (2017) indicates "a low representativeness of gender identities with intersections of race and class in the *Way to Go: No. 1* textbook. In addition, of the few images of black females that appear in the textbook, most are in portrayed in an inferior or stereotyped manner." (p.7).

The images of black females in the English-language textbook used in Cameroon are mostly of doctors, nurses, police officers, cooks, seamstresses, secretaries, teachers and hairdressers; in general, they are shown as being active and working. There is a significant passage in the textbook (p. 48) which illustrates how females should behave. This particular section of the book refers to activities, and boys are shown performing activities that involve them moving and talking loudly with comments such as "Run to the door quickly!" or "Shout loudly!" However, the textbook suggests that when girls perform the same activities they should speak and act quietly: for example, "Sit quietly!" or "Read your book quietly!" In another context, Lorde (2017) has made the following observation:

Certainly, there are very real differences between us of race, age and sex. But it is not those differences between us that are separating us. It is rather our refusal to recognize those differences, and to examine the distortions which result from our misnaming them and their effects upon human behavior and expectation. (LORDE, 2017, 95)

In other words, simply because textbooks suggest that men behave loudly and women should behave quietly does not mean that we cannot question gender roles and work towards a more equal society. Similar findings were reported in a study by Gebregeorgis: "As a medium of hegemonic stereotypic gender discourse, the textbook depicts female characters in lower positions in both activity and attribute-based representations" (2016, p.137). The messages provided by textbooks need to be deconstructed for the sake of gender equality.

4.4 BLACK FEMALES: FAMILY

In the English-language textbook used in Brazil, the black females represented in a family setting are shown with their husbands and children, and also as single mothers and with children. As far as the family is concerned, 19 white females and eight black females are portrayed; they are represented as traditional families and there are images of both black and white single mothers with children. However, as in the other previously-cited examples, the number of white families portrayed is much higher than the number of black families.

In the English-language textbook used in Cameroon, females are depicted performing various activities, such as waking children, cooking (mother and daughter), in the company of males watching television, or at the dinner table with other members of the family. Similar results were found in a study conducted in Cameroon by Yenika-Agbaw (2016). In this sense the comments of Collins are pertinent:

When combined, Black feminist-inspired analyses of paid and unpaid work performed both in the labor market and in families stimulate a better appreciation of the powerful and complex interplay that shapes Black women's position [...]. (COLLINS, 2000, p. 46)

Thus, in the English-language textbook used in Cameroon, females are always shown to be working, either professionally or at home. However, one aspect that I consider to be positive is that the activities that are depicted are in line with those performed by the majority of the Cameroonian population and therefore reflect the social reality of that country.

4.5. BLACK FEMALES: LEISURE ACTIVITIES

In terms of leisure activities, in the English-language textbook used in Brazil, black females only appear twice, performing activities such as eating and socializing with friends. On the contrary, white females appear 14 times, performing various activities such as cycling, eating, watching TV, listening to music, talking to friends, playing guitar, bowling and dating, in other words, these activities are more numerous and are also linked to greater purchasing power. Thus, social disadvantage intersects with race, gender and social class. The message delivered by this textbook to its readers reflects who has power, economic capital, social capital and cultural capital in Brazil; all of which are highly likely to be transformed into symbolic capital in social relations (BOURDIEU, 1986). These findings are similar to those found in a study by Santos and Mastrella-de-Andrade (2016). From a positive perspective, in the English-language textbook used in Brazil analyzed in the present study, white females and black females are shown performing individual activities without the company of males, such as driving a car or performing sports, which demonstrates the economic independence of these females.

In the English-language textbook used in Cameroon, black females are mainly portrayed as working, always doing work-related activities or performing household chores. They are depicted enjoying leisure activities only three times, going to church with children and with a partner (boyfriend or husband). hooks (2010) has written that "Collaborating with diverse thinkers toward a greater understanding of the dynamics of race, gender and class is essential for those of us who want to move beyond one-dimensional ways of thinking, being and living." (2010, p.37). Following that rationale, black females who are portrayed in textbooks should be represented as people who have fun and who have social lives. The English-language textbook used in Cameroon

mainly portrays socially-constructed relationships that characterize females as tireless workers at the service of the family.

CONCLUSION

I will now address the research questions outlined at the start of this article. The first question was regarding the issues that have been addressed, and the results of studies, regarding English-language textbooks, the social identities of black females, and intersectionality with the issues of race, gender and social class in Brazil. The data shown in Table 1.2 demonstrates that previous studies have revealed a lack of connect between English-language textbook content and the reality of the Brazilian population, which is 54% black or mixed-race. Despite this fact, there is a much greater representation of white people in such textbooks. Partly due to this over-representation, being white is still largely seen as the norm by many people in Brazil. It is necessary to comply with the requirements of educational policies such as the Federal Law No. 10.639 (2003), which made the teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture compulsory in all Brazilian schools, and the PNLD textbook policies, which state that textbooks should contain no evidence of prejudice, discrimination or racism.

The second research question addressed by this article related to what English-language textbooks used in Brazil and Cameroon reveal about black females and intersectionalities with social class. The analysis of the two textbooks revealed the following:

- a) Although 50.07% of the Brazilian population are black or mixed-race, the number of white males represented in the English-language textbook used in Brazil (80.32%) was higher than that of black males (19.67%) (Table 4.1). This level of representation is not in accordance with a country where the majority of the population is black, and therefore the textbook does not reflect the reality of the Brazilian situation. In the English-language textbook used in Cameroon, the representation of black males (96.61%) was higher than that of white males (3.38%) (Table 4.5). These figures reflect the reality of the situation in Cameroon, where less than 1% of the population is non-African.
- b) Despite the fact that 50.07% of the Brazilian population is black or mixed-race, the number of white females represented in the English-language textbook used in Brazil (84.44%) was higher than the number of black females (15.55%) (Table 4.2). In the English-language textbook used in Cameroon, the

representation of black females was in keeping with the racial makeup of the country (Table 4.6).

- c) Table 4.3 shows that the representation of black females in the English-language textbook used in Brazil was 17.94%, while that of white females was 82.07% despite the fact that the number of black females in Brazil is higher than that of white females. Table 4.6 shows that in the English-language textbook used in Cameroon, the representation of black females was higher than that of white females; in Cameroon the black population is 99% African and this is in accordance with the ethnic composition of the country.
- d) Table 4.4 demonstrates that gender inequality was evident in the English-language textbook used in Brazil because the representation of both white and black males was higher than the representation of white and black females. The representation of white and black males compared to white and black females was even higher in the English-language textbook used in Cameroon (Table 4.8), despite the fact that in both Brazil and Cameroon the female population is larger than the male population. Consequently, there is a need for fairer gender representation in such textbooks.

In my analysis of these two textbooks I wanted to show that in a country with a majority African population like Cameroon, the textbook reflected the population of that country and showed the daily activities carried out by the people who inhabit it. The issues of race and social class are well delineated in the textbook's content and are in accordance with the reality of the country. The representation of race in the English-language textbook used in Brazil does not reflect the Brazilian population, which is mostly black and mixed-race, and from the point of view of social class there is a failure to portray the working-class majority of Brazil.

I have previously written about issues such as English-language textbooks and teacher education, as well as providing suggestions for the writers, editors and publishers of textbooks (Ferreira (2014b)). Further research is required in relation to English-language textbooks used in Brazil to focus on how much they have changed in the light of educational policies regarding the representation of black people in textbooks. Attention should also be paid to the possibility of textbooks being used to foster critical racial literacy (FERREIRA, 2015b) through the activities contained within such books. For example, the textbook *Alive! 6* (2012) addresses the possibility of reflections on racial issues because it contains images that suggest reflection upon

issues of race (p. 116); however, the book does not propose any activities regarding a discussion of racism, leaving the responsibility for this to teachers.

English-language textbooks need to be critical and reflective in order for language education to be inclusive and to work towards equity of race, gender and social class.

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