ELECTORAL RESULTS AND THE SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR: AN INTERSECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE GENDER QUOTA IN POLITICS

RESULTADOS ELEITORAIS E DIVISÃO SEXUAL DO TRABALHO: ANÁLISE INTERSECCIONAL DA COTA DE GÊNERO NA POLÍTICA

RESULTADOS ELECTORALES Y DIVISIÓN SEXUAL DEL TRABAJO: UN ANÁLISIS INTERSECCIONAL DE LA CUOTA DE GÉNERO EN POLÍTICA

Laura Cazarini TROTTA[1]
e-mail: lauracazarini@gmail.com

[1] Federal University of São Carlos (UFSCar), São Carlos – SP – Brazil. PhD student in the Postgraduate Program in Political Science. Master's degree in Public Policy from the Federal University of ABC (UFABC).

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes the effects of gender quotas in Brazilian elections for the position of federal deputy in the first 20 years of their existence. The research question was whether the sexual division of labor affects the election results for women and black women. The variables considered in this study were gender, level of education, and race of the candidates, comparing the profiles of elected and non-elected candidates and the Brazilian population. Using an intersectional approach and feminist theory, electoral data from 6 elections were analyzed, with limited data and verification on the race variable. The intersectional analysis revealed that black women face even more barriers and higher education requirements to occupy political positions.

KEYWORDS: Gender quota. Sexual division of labor. Women in politics. Race and elections. Intersectionality.

RESUMO: Este artigo analisa os efeitos das cotas de gênero nas eleições brasileiras para o cargo de deputado federal nos primeiros 20 anos de sua vigência. Partiu-se da pergunta de pesquisa: a divisão sexual do trabalho afeta os resultados das eleições para mulheres e mulheres negras? As variáveis consideradas neste trabalho foram: gênero, o grau de instrução e cor dos candidatos, comparando os perfis dos eleitos e não eleitos e da população brasileira. Utilizando uma abordagem interseccional e teoria feminista, foram cruzados os dados eleitorais de 6 pleitos, com dados e verificação limitada na variável raça. A análise interseccional revelou que as mulheres negras enfrentam ainda mais barreiras e mais exigências no grau de instrução para ocupar cargos políticos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE*: Cota de gênero. Divisão sexual do trabalho. Mulheres na política. Raça e eleições. Interseccionalidade.*

RESUMEN: Este artículo analiza los efectos de las cuotas de género en las elecciones brasileñas para el cargo de diputado federal en los primeros 20 años de su vigencia. Partiendo de la pregunta de investigación: ¿la división sexual del trabajo afecta los resultados de las elecciones para mujeres y mujeres negras? Las variables consideradas en este trabajo fueron: género, nivel de instrucción y color de los candidatos, comparando los perfiles de los elegidos y no elegidos y de la población brasileña. Utilizando un enfoque interseccional y teoría feminista, se cruzaron los datos electorales de 6 elecciones, con datos y verificación limitada en la variable raza. El análisis interseccional reveló que las mujeres negras enfrentan aún más barreras y exigencias en el nivel de instrucción para ocupar cargos políticos.

PALABRAS CLAVE*: Cuotas de género. División sexual del trabajo. Mujeres en la política. Raza y elecciones. Interseccionalidad.*

Introduction

On 2 October 2020, there was a significant change in the direction of Brazilian electoral campaigns. The TSE approved the immediate start of a new financial quota for the electoral campaigns of black people, something that had already been approved and planned for the 2022 elections. However, this definition meant that the measure was brought forward to the 2020 elections. According to the new rule, each party's free advertising time and public funding would be distributed proportionally among black and brown candidates (TSE, 2018). This action is yet another attempt, since 1995, to create mechanisms to correct historical disadvantages in the participation of socially excluded individuals. Gender quotas for legislative positions have been in force since 1996 (BRASIL, 1995), and even after all these years, the Brazilian reality still presents a scenario of a low proportion of women, with growth below the expectations of when the law was created.

In order to create a policy of gender quotas in Brazil, then Federal Deputy Marta Suplicy drafted Bill 783 of 1995[2], in co-authorship with 29 other women (SUPLICY, 1995). There was an international influence which meant that, at the same time, several countries were adopting some kind of quota for women in politics, such as the 5th Beijing Conference[3], an important milestone in feminist struggles. The law was passed with a more specific text than we find in the Bill. The following elections had different electoral rules - from general parts (such as the inability to form a coalition for legislative positions), to issues that directly affect gender quotas, making it difficult to carry out a more direct analysis of the result. Therefore, as we did not have two elections with the same rules, we cannot compare what may have influenced the different results. This means that, although in this article we analyze the outcome of current policy with data from the last two elections for the position of federal deputy, all the elections observed do not have the exact same rules. Although changes in laws are not the focus of this work, it is necessary to consider them since they influence electoral results.

The under-representation of women in politics and positions of power is a global problem that does not only affect Brazil. Compared to other countries, Brazil has historically

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[2] The proposed text aimed to include Brazilian women in politics through a 30% quota for female candidates on lists presented by parties for proportional representation positions. One of the ideas defended in the text of the proposal was to adopt the closed list system, as in Argentina, the country that inspired the Project, but this part was not accepted by Brazilian law (SUPLICY, 1995).

[3] The 5th World Conference on Women took place in 1995 in Beijing, one of the most important events for promoting women's issues on the international stage. Committees from states all over the world and various non-governmental organizations were invited to take part in the conference. There, objectives were set for improving women's lives, through policies; and commitments were made to organizations, including the UN, which would later create a specific body to deal with women's issues.

lagged behind in terms of women's guaranteed votes, after 43 years since the Proclamation of the Republic, with a late inclusion of women in politics. Compared to other geopolitically similar countries, such as Latin American states, Brazil has always been lower in the international ranking (ARAUJO, 2001). To use recent international comparison data, there is a ranking produced by the United Nations (UN) and the Inter-Parliamentary Union to verify the participation of women in the legislature around the world. Of the 192 countries analyzed, in April 2022, Brazil was in 145th place in relation to the other states[4] (IPU, 2022). Numerous arguments in political science literature have been put forward to explain the fact that under-representativeness can be seen in different states. Throughout the article, theories and authors will be used to understand the continued exclusion of women from politics, which prevents the gender quota policy from achieving its goal of increasing female representation in power.

By putting the absence of women in the political environment on the agenda, we will relate the theories of the sexual division of labor and look at the Brazilian reality from an intersectional perspective. Since knowledge is not neutral, we will draw on feminist analyses of how women workers are perceived and whether and how this type of conduct influences the election of women, especially black women. The inclusion of diverse groups is justified by the inclusion of different perspectives, which can improve the quality of policies. The analysis will be based on data chosen to verify whether there is a social replication in the people elected to parliament of an exclusion of women and black women, making the demand much greater for people who are already part of excluded groups. We will therefore describe the electoral results of 2014 and 2018 from an intersectional perspective, using the theory of the sexual division of labor, starting with the question: does the sexual division of labor affect the results of elections for women and black people?

Based on this question, the article moves from this introduction to the second section, which presents the issue of female under-representation in politics from a theoretical and feminist perspective; this justifies the next section, which describes the methodologies chosen; so that in the fourth section the results of the gender quota policy are analyzed, firstly, only from 2014 and 2018, due to the limited data on the color of those who ran or were elected, then, from a broader comparison of the 20 years this policy has been in force, regarding the level of education of female candidates elected. The intersectional analysis seeks to answer the question posed, thinking about the greater demands made on black women, the most under-represented

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[4] The ranking is updated monthly, so this position refers to April 2022.

profile, compared to white men, who are over-represented in the Chamber of Deputies, and moves on to the final conclusions.

Under-representations in politics

Political representation is a controversial topic in the literature, as it can involve recognizing different individual dimensions, including the ideas, interests, experiences and characteristics of those represented and representatives. Diversity and inclusion are fundamental to ensuring fairer and more effective representation, capable of meeting the needs and demands of different groups and sectors of society. Descriptive representation is representation that brings the profile of those represented closer to their representatives, i.e. when the characteristics and attributes of those represented (whether physical and/or those that build individual and group identity) are reflected in the characteristics and attributes of the representatives. Its defense generates controversy, but there is a consensus that the sharing of characteristics does not mean the defense of group interests, both for authors who defend and for those who are against the application of affirmative action for the inclusion of excluded groups (ARAUJO, 2001; PITKIN, 1967; SCOTT, 2005; YOUNG, 2006). Despite agreeing with the importance of defending representation by ideas, Phillips believes that the characteristics of the subject who is intended to be a representative also matter. The author defends the politics of presence, pointing out the importance of diversity in political spaces and the need to understand who the represented and the representative are (PHILLIPS, 1995; 2001).

In addition to the issues raised by Phillips, Young highlights the importance of including the concept of perspectives, justifying the common characteristics of the population and their representatives not by predicting the decisions of these representatives, but as a common starting point between individuals who share the same experiences. The fact that the profile of those who represent is so different from the population represented makes us question how policies are constructed, since many of these individuals do not start from different perspectives and may not be open to policies created from different experiences. Young adds that multiple experiences lead to the decentralization of common ideas, facilitating the inclusion of new points of view and enriching the political debate. It is worth pointing out that there is no right or wrong way to correct the problem of under-representativeness found in each environment. Different strategies are created for each situation, seeking to correct exclusions based on their

context. Different approaches are taken to different ways of including socially and historically excluded representatives (YOUNG, 2006).

The argument put forward by the authors of the book "Raça e Eleições no Brasil" (Race and Elections in Brazil) about the exclusion of black people from positions of power is consistent with the discussion about representativeness and political inclusion. The data shows that there is a greater proximity of proportions between population and voter data for black people at the time of candidacy. However, when you put a magnifying glass on the data, the candidates who declared themselves to be black are distributed unevenly between the largest, medium and small parties; in relation to the state and region of the country; as well as being the least funded among other candidate profiles. One of the main justifications for the importance of political inclusion for discriminated groups is their participation in the creation and construction of public policies, because, as the authors point out, most public policies in Brazil end up having a direct or indirect influence on the lives of black people (CAMPOS; MACHADO, 2020).

If there is no inclusion of minority groups in politics, this status is likely to be maintained, because without providing greater autonomy, how will individuals emancipate themselves to occupy other social and political spaces? Crenshaw argues that although there are policies that purport to be feminist and anti-racist, black women are often left out of the focus of these policies (CRENSHAW, 1994). In addition, there are many obstacles to positions of power and decision-making. For example, in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, for a new deputy to be elected, another has to leave, which means that for diverse profiles to enter, it is necessary for people with a dominant profile not to be re-elected, after all, the number of seats has remained the same since it was established in 1993 (BRASIL, 1993).

When discussing gender differences, it is important to understand that the hierarchy between the sexes (the term is used when laws are written) and the differences in occupying positions are not biological, but social, just like the problems caused by male chauvinism and domination. Through symbols and dualities, women are placed in the private sphere, in the home and caring for others, while men are placed in the public sphere, as they are the "providers" and exercise power (BOURDIEU, 2012). In the same way, social differences when they involve racial issues have nothing biological about them; after all, the term is only used for humans to refer to the historical and social meaning attributed to individuals' skin color. In this context, the sexual division of labor is another social consequence and consists of "a power

relationship, a division within the workforce" (FEDERICI, 2017, p. 232, our translation) that differentiates productive work from reproductive work and does not value the latter.

Domestic and maternal work are not only socially devalued, but when women enter the labor market, they are maintained and added to other functions, which overburdens women. Faced with this scenario, there are feminist theoretical strands that advocate accounting for reproductive and care work in GDP and/or its remuneration (FEDERICI, 2017). The analysis becomes more complicated when issues such as race, occupation of spaces, urbanization and division of cities, devaluation of professions linked to teaching and care, and exploitation of the working class are superimposed. In other words, the overload and devaluation of reproductive work is a subject that converges with the difficulty of including women in politics, as questions are raised about all the hours worked each week - both inside and outside the occupation - as well as the hours spent commuting, especially in large cities (BIROLI, 2016; FEDERICI, 2017; HIRATA, 2014).

When dealing with the subject, Hirata points out that the differences in relation to work become clearer when the racial issue is added, after all, there are differences in pay between white men, black men, white women and black women (and this is the order of who receives the highest salaries, to the lowest salaries). Domestic work, often assigned to women and black people, is predominantly carried out by black workers, who face precarious conditions, low wages and less social prestige. In this context, women face higher unemployment rates and black men are more vulnerable in informal jobs (HIRATA, 2014). As mentioned, this division also affects individuals' work occupations, directing women towards jobs considered "feminine", while the field of politics is still seen as masculine.

In order to address political under-representation, we look at who the representatives are and who the represented are and we can see the distance between their profiles. Racial inequality in Brazil has been present since people were brought here to be enslaved, making the practice of enslavement institutional and still not socially overcome in most spaces. In addition, women's political inequality is historical, structural (in terms of the sexual division of labor) and cultural (BIROLI, 2016; FEDERICI, 2017; GONZALEZ, 2020; SCOTT, 2005). For this reason, Clara Araújo states that "women tend to enter the public sphere at a greater disadvantage. [...] The place of politics is constructed in the absence of women" (ARAÚJO, 2011, p. 148, our translation). It is also important to make it clear that descriptive inclusion, based on characteristics, does not necessarily guarantee changes in agendas and public

advocacy. Even so, this type of representation is defended by the literature and is the most intuitive way of analyzing profile data, which will be done in the next section.

Methodology

In order to analyze the results of the 20 years of the quota policy, we used figures from the Chamber of Deputies, since the Chamber is supposed to represent the population of our country. Among the different possibilities for data analysis, we chose to analyze three variables: gender, race and level of education. The gender variable is binary, divided into men and women, and despite valid questions about it, we chose to keep it as it is filled in on the forms and written in the laws[5]. Despite being the numerical majority of the population and coexisting with men, the social group of women is claimed as a social minority, as they understand the non-inclusion in spaces and different behaviors that are taken from their social differentiation. Stereotyping an individual as a form of discrimination has consequences for social organization, and there is still some reduction in the identity of these individuals in relation to that stereotype (SCOTT, 2005).

The racial data would be analyzed in the official categories, black, brown, yellow, indigenous and white, but in this article, to facilitate the comparison of the population's level of education, the TSE data has been standardized with the IBGE data. Thus, the brown and black categories have been merged into the black category and compared to the white category, we have also brought in the total number of the population to analyze the level of education. It is important to note that racial data is created differently at the IBGE and the TSE and that there are three different methods for racial identification: by DNA analysis, by self-classification and by heteroclassification.[6]. The IBGE combines the last two formats to generate ethnic data on the Brazilian population, while the TSE uses ethnic-racial self-declaration. Population surveys began to include the *pardo* (brown) category in their analysis of black people, in response to a demand from the black movement (GUIMARÃES, 2003). Although there are criticisms of racial identification methods because of their subjectivity, there are positions and stereotypes that socially position individuals (OSORIO, 2003).

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[5] Sex is read socially without problem in the case of cisgender people, but trans women and men, transvestites and other people not identified in the cisnormative spectrum are still frequently questioned about their sex/gender, as well as suffering social and institutional prejudice. In order to verify the data, we still need to look at the available data: the sex variable.

[6] Heteroclassification is done by a third party, who analyzes someone's color/race in person or through photos.

The racial variable is important for our analysis because, as Lélia Gonzalez puts it, "racism, this cold and extreme elaboration of the Aryan model of explanation, whose presence is a constant at all levels of thought, [...] establishes a racial and cultural hierarchy that opposes Western white 'superiority' to black-African 'inferiority'" (GONZALEZ, 2020a, p. 135, our translation). Based on the construction of identity, which takes place individually and collectively, when the issue of race is analyzed alongside gender, it shows the relevance of scoring the race of candidates in Brazil, a country with a history of slavery of more than 300 years and the country with most black people outside of Africa (SANTOS, 2008).

It is important to note that the indigenous population, which suffered European colonization, still faces problems such as murders, loss of their lands and even the need to maintain previously guaranteed rights. Despite the importance of bringing up these points and accounting for the total population, the indigenous population and also the yellow population present a complexity in data analysis that in this article focuses only on comparing white people, black people and the sum of the five races officially accounted for by the IBGE.

The "level of education" variable differs from the first two individual characteristics in that it is something that an individual has necessarily achieved, backed by an elementary, secondary, technical or higher education institution. Like gender and race, it can also modify the possibilities of access in an individual's life. This variable is obtained from the data provided by the parties to the TSE and, due to its characteristics, can change with each election, but the levels only advance on the education scale and cannot go backwards once they have been achieved. The levels of education are: illiterate, read and write, incomplete and complete primary education, incomplete and complete secondary education and complete and incomplete higher education. Due to lack of data, postgraduate degrees are not included here.

Professor Nilma Lino Gomes writes on the subjects of education, race and gender and says that the construction of a subject's identity can arise from different identifications. The school and academic environments are major influencers in this composition, after all, there is no separating what happens inside and outside these places. In other words, the perspectives on social issues of the subjects involved in school relationships are part of this constructed reference. The lack of references and representation has an influence on the question of the individual's belonging, from the absence or prejudice of the materials used (didactic materials, posters and authors studied), to the absence of black people on the teaching staff - even more limited within universities (GOMES, 1996; 2011).

Result of the gender quota policy

Having presented the guidelines and directions of this research, we now move on to the results. As mentioned, the data provided by the IBGE in 2018 is not separated into the categories "women" and "men" when it comes to educational attainment. For this reason, Graph 1 shows the difference between the level of education of the Brazilian population by "black" race, which is the sum of black and mixed race, and "white", in addition to the total, adding and accounting for the other categories - indigenous, yellow and without a color declaration - which are not available separately (IBGE, 2018). The graph shows the 2018 scenario, showing the gap between the black and white population, especially in the categories: no education, incomplete primary education, both with a black majority, and complete higher education, with more than double the proportion of whites in relation to blacks.

Graph 1 - Percentage of the Brazilian Population over 25 years of age by Race - Black (brown and black), white and total - in 2018
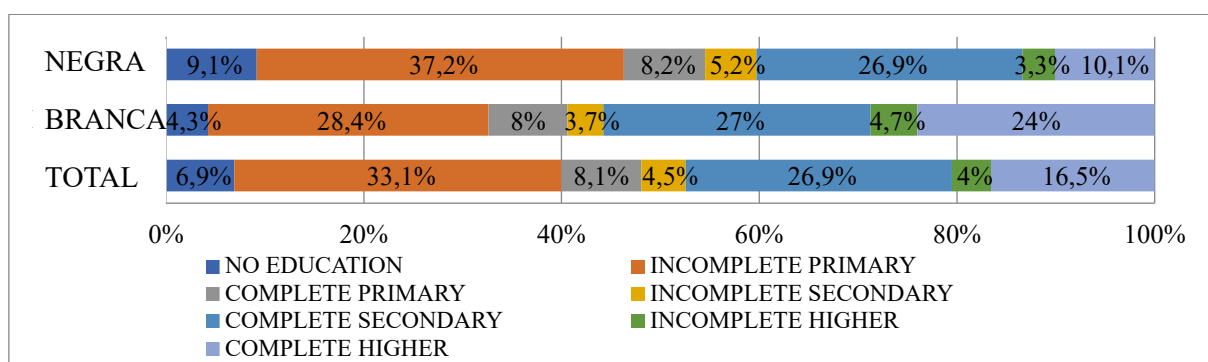
Source: Devised with data from IBGE (2018)

For the purposes of comparison with the data presented, Graph 2 was divided into color only, without the gender breakdown of the candidates for the position of Federal Deputy. The number of self-declared black and brown candidates was added up, compared to those who identified themselves as white in the 2014 and 2018 elections, and also to the total, adding together the white, brown, black, yellow and indigenous categories. In this graph, in addition to the proportion identified, the absolute numbers are shown, to keep in mind the difference in quantity between black and white candidates.

Grapg 2 - Proportion and Number of Candidates for the Office of Federal Deputy by Level of Education and Color - Black (brown and black), white and total - in the 2014 and 2018 Elections
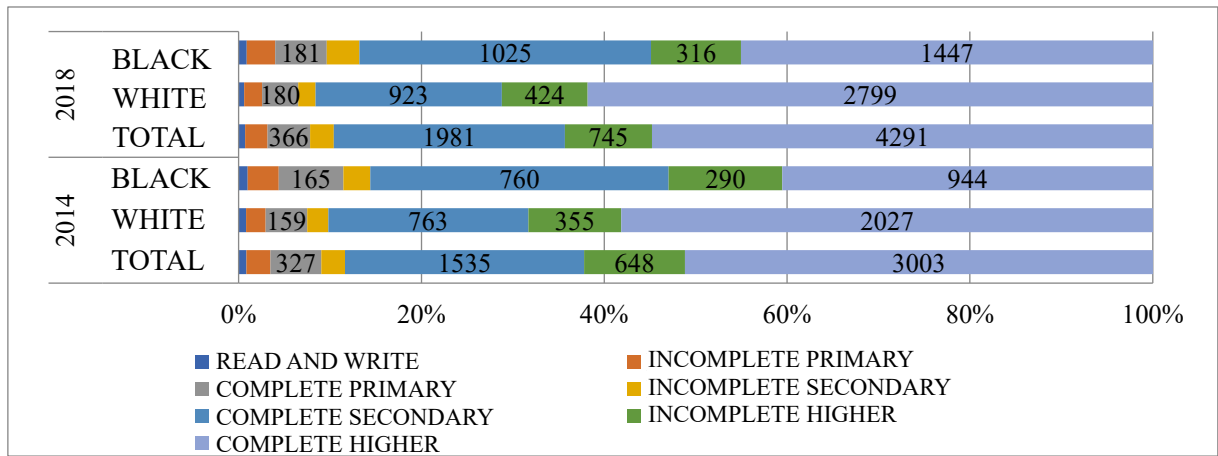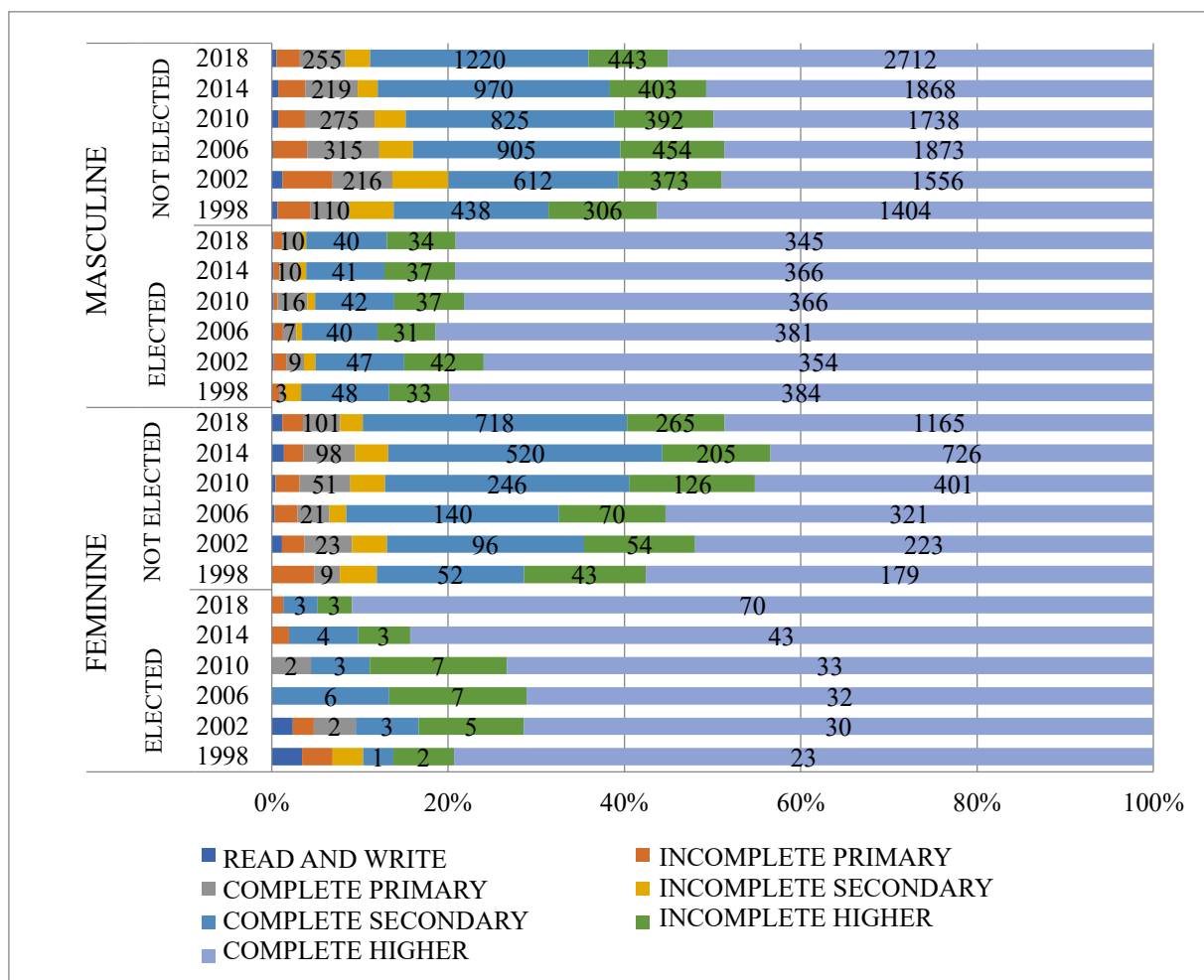

Source: Devised by the authors with data from CEPESP (2019)

We were unable to carry out a broader temporal analysis due to the limited data on the color/race of the candidates, but it is important to point out some of the public policies that have influenced the expansion of universities: the Program to Support Restructuring and Expansion Plans for Federal Universities (Reuni), which increased courses and the number of vacancies at universities; the University for All Program (Prouni), which made it possible for low-income and/or black and brown people to enter, giving a 50% to 100% discount on tuition fees at private universities; the university quotas that reserve vacancies for brown, black and indigenous people and/or low-income people who studied in public schools. All of these policies have had an impact on the current figures seen in the graphs constructed for 2014 and 2018. As recent policies, there is still a significant gap between the white and black population with completed higher education. When talking about education levels and overlapping racial markers, even if the asymmetries are still present, it is important to show that the trajectory of the policies mentioned shows that they have fulfilled their role of increasing the access of black people to higher education (GOMES, 2011).

Graphs 1 and 2 show how close the number of people with incomplete higher education is to the number of people who may be in formation at the time of registering to run for legislative office. It is important to note here that, just as the gender quota policy has increased the number of vacancies for candidates, at the same time as reserving vacancies, universities have also increased the variety of university courses, the number of these courses and also the number of vacancies for entry to higher education in general. Therefore, we see the same logic

of public policies: while they include, seeking equal opportunities, they do not change the privileges of those who have always had access by social logic (ARRETCHE, 2015).

Graph 3 - Proportion and amount of education among candidates elected and not elected to the position of federal deputy, in the 1998 to 2018 elections
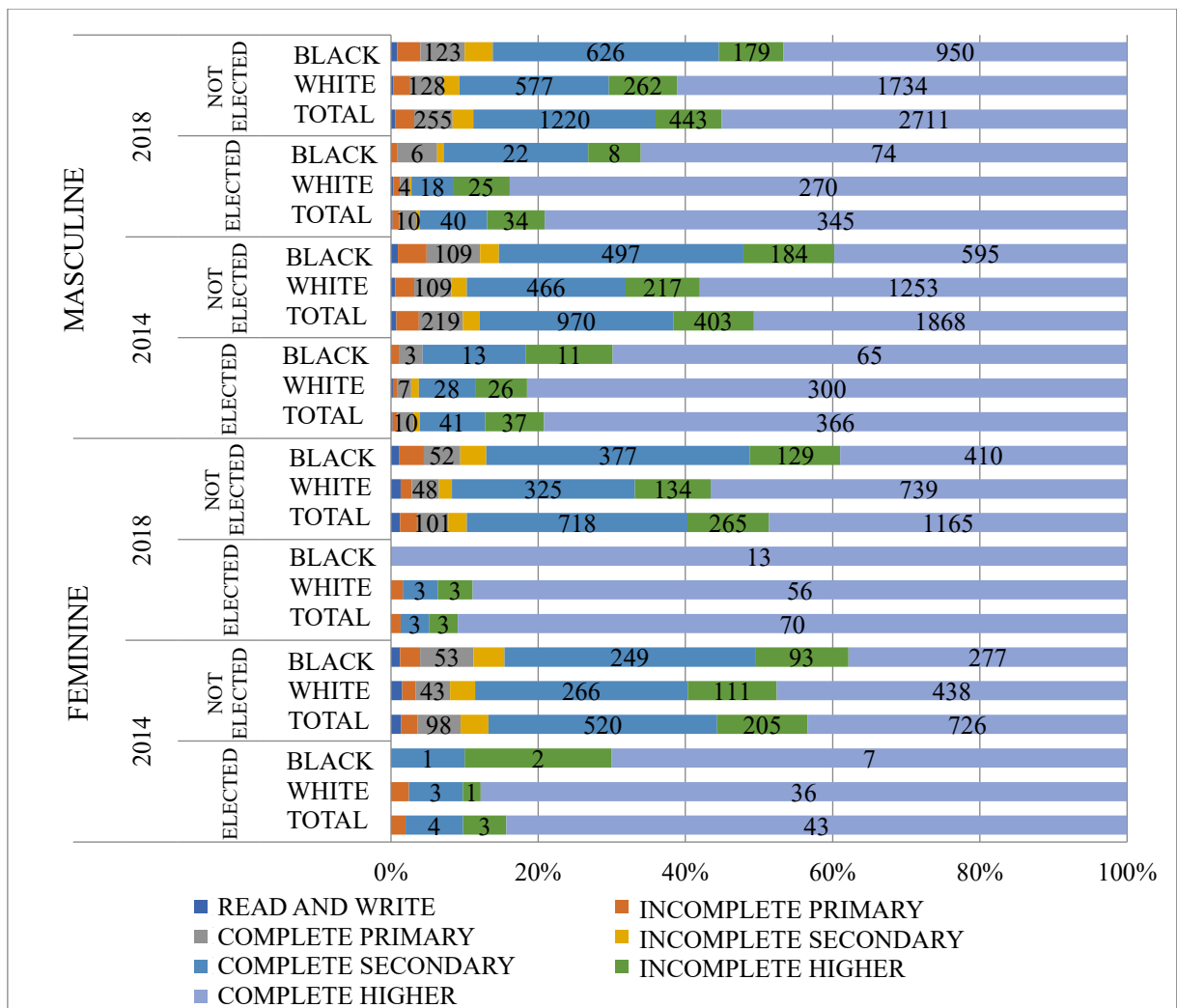

Source: Devised by the author with data from CEPESP (2019)

The gap between the proportion of the population with access to higher education and the candidates who were elected is even wider and this behavior can be seen in Graph 3, for both men and women. Without the data on race, limited to 2014 and 2018, we can see the electoral results of the first 20 years of the quota policy, in terms of the level of education of those elected and those who failed to get elected. There is an undeniable distance from the reality of the population when it comes to access to education, since more than 50% of people have not completed high school (secondary) - and this data varies depending on the region of the country analyzed (IBGE, 2020). The men elected as federal deputies had little variation in

the proportion of their level of education. In the case of women, the proportion and quantity with complete and incomplete higher education increased in the period analyzed, from 25 deputies, about 86%; it rose to 73 deputies, almost 95% of those elected with access to higher education (CEPESP, 2019).

Graph 4 - Proportion and number of Candidates for Federal Deputy, Elected and Not Elected, by Level of Education and Race - Black (brown and black), white and total - in the 2014 and 2018 Elections

Source: Devised by the author with data from CEPESP (2019)

In order to better visualize the data, we divided the candidates for the position of Federal Deputy, this time separating them into Female and Male, Elected and Not Elected and by Race. In order to maintain consistency with the data presented in the article, Graph 4 again combines the data for brown and black people in the Black category and compares it to White and Total; in addition to the lack of data, it again limits the racial analysis to just the 2014 and 2018

elections. Graph 4 shows how little political space is occupied with different perspectives from a population that does not have access to higher education, especially for women. After all, in the total number of elected representatives, the vast majority had access to higher education. In this way, it can be understood that there is an overvaluation of education in the occupation of these positions for those who overcome certain oppressions, especially given the fact that all 13 black women (self-declared black and brown) elected in 2018 had completed higher education (CEPESP, 2019).

Intersectional analysis

Intersectionality is a theoretical approach that recognizes the complexity of individual identities and how different forms of oppression overlap and interact to create unique experiences of discrimination and marginalization. The term was coined by American professor and lawyer Kimberlé Crenshaw, who argues that it is not possible to fractionate personal characteristics, let alone hierarchize them. Analyses of discrimination cannot be made separately, after all, prejudice against a black woman differs from prejudice against a black man, because she is a woman, or from exclusions of a white woman, because of her color. Thus, the characteristics overlap, and they are two - or more - positions of oppression and there is no possibility of measuring discrimination (CRENSHAW, 2012). Lélia Gonzalez describes this overlap historically, claiming that the abolition of slavery provided equality for citizens, but that the role of black women was still positioned at the bottom of society, differentiating them from the status of ordinary citizens. Gonzalez also criticizes the feminist movements that have historically raised the issue of work for women, forgetting that this "freedom" to work was already a reality for black women. She also points out that "the liberation of white women has been at the expense of the exploitation of black women" (GONZALEZ, 2020b, p. 43, our translation).

The lack of diversity in the profile of elected and unelected people can be seen in the cross-referencing of the data, when we compare the population figures and the data on elected and unelected candidates for the position of federal deputy. With each new cut of possible characteristics to be analyzed, we see the presence of different perspectives diminish. An example of this exclusion of women and black people from historically elitist environments is the research by Ribeiro and Schlegel, which follows the trajectory of quota policies in universities and the relationship between the level of education of the Brazilian population,

analyzing the horizontal stratification of higher education. The authors noted a clear division in higher education careers: despite the tendency for asymmetries between social markers to diminish in a vertical analysis, the university careers with the greatest social prestige and the greatest potential for better pay are still mostly occupied by men and white people. And we can observe this same behavior in the political field. In the aforementioned study, we also see that the inclusion of women in higher education has been successful when looking at overall figures, as they already outnumber men, even when the authors carry out a horizontal analysis, checking the occupation of spaces in careers previously considered male - surpassing them in some of these. However, the inclusion of black people is still gradual and black people still have less space and fewer opportunities to enter careers with greater social prestige. These arguments corroborate the issue of the sexual division of labor, including the racial issue at this point, because even if they reach universities, men and white people still have the greatest chance of having better incomes and greater choice (RIBEIRO; SCHLEGEL, 2015).

Therefore, by looking at Graphs 1 and 2, it is possible to understand that exclusions are also deepened by the lack of opportunity for certain social groups to access services, whether public or private. Different social roles are assigned to people's characteristics, such as gender or color, and therefore different professional and political roles are also defined. In recent decades, there has been a change in the value placed on education and the occupation of spaces by women and, with this, a change in the division of tasks and functions, but there are still differences in these roles assigned politically and professionally (ARAÚJO; SCALON, 2006). Gomes talks about how access to education and an individual's level of education have the power to change their social position and their chances of accessing other environments, including political ones (GOMES, 1996; 2011).

The data on gender and level of education of candidates between 1998 and 2018 shows a certain closeness of proportion, with greater stability for men and slightly greater variation in the case of women. More than 50% of candidates have completed or incomplete higher education. In recent years, there has been an upward trend in the overall level of education, which may be due to the increase in higher education places in recent decades (CORBUCCI, 2014). However, despite this expansion, the number of candidates with access to higher education is far from the 2018 population data shown in Graph 1, in which 16.5% of Brazilians over the age of 25 have completed higher education (IBGE, 2020).

In the same way that the quota policy in universities included black people in higher education, without removing the privileges of insiders, the gender quota policy succeeded in

including female candidates, but without changing the privilege of male candidates, because, over the years, the number of vacancies for candidates per party and coalition has increased. Thus, the difficulty of women's inclusion (the focus of politics) feeds back on itself, because the social perspective of women starts from a place of submission and invisibility, with differences in the ways this exclusion affects black women, working women, LGBTQIA+ women, among other social markers (BIROLI, 2016). The legacy of Brazil's days as a Portuguese colony, the slave society and the patriarchal family have left deep marks that are still present in today's relationships. The tendency towards patrimonialism, where there is a difficulty in distinguishing between public and private, means that these relationships are softened by the coexistence of people with different realities (GONZALEZ, 2020).

In addition to the fact that the number of women with higher education has increased over the years, as we saw in Graph 3, Graph 4 shows how electoral success for black women can be much more demanding. The fact that all the black women elected in 2014 had at least completed high school and all those elected in 2018 had higher education shows this point. Other data would be relevant to analyze, but are not available, for example, the number of children among elected and non-elected people and the comparison of this data between women and men. The occupation of each person beyond their position in the legislature could also be interesting data for this analysis, but it would require a different methodology to categorize occupations and understand which of them are more and less socially valued.

Conclusion

By excluding part of the population from political environments, political decisions are made by those who can access them. When we analyze the profiles of federal deputies, we see a timid inclusion of women and, when we add other characteristics to analyze the data of these women, we can see other social patterns of exclusion being replicated. In this sense, it can be said that women are already losing out in this scenario, after all, exclusion is marked by their gender and/or sex as a relevant characteristic for (not) being in the political environment. In other words, the exclusion criterion takes personal characteristics into account, starting from a descriptive exclusion.

We are facing a movement that feeds back on itself, after all, the context of deprivation that we observe excludes certain groups, while these groups are not present to create and defend public policies designed to meet their demands and based on their perspectives. That's why it's

important to read the data presented in order to understand the perspectives of both the population as a whole - who are the recipients of the policies and actions taken by the state - but also what is the best form of inclusion within the local context and who are the representatives of this population, who have the power to make decisions on behalf of so many Brazilians who have their own specificities, peculiarities and identities.

So far we have talked about the inclusion of diversity, focusing on the issue of women, non-white people and the tendency for people with higher levels of education to enter politics. It is also important to point out that under-representation is not restricted to the groups analyzed, but also marks other groups and their various exclusions. There are particularities in each group - women, black people, poor people, LGBTQIA+, workers, people with disabilities (PwD), people with lower levels of education and other political outsiders. When we look at reality, we know that individual characteristics are not divided by borders, but overlap. Intersectionality analysis is important so that we do not forget that there is not one proportion for each exclusion, or each characteristic, which can be even more pronounced for those who experience multiple forms of marginalization.

In this sense, a political career could be part of the arguments mentioned above about the sexual division of labor and the asymmetry in the horizontal stratification of university careers between women and black people. In terms of remuneration, it can also be an indication of social class and access to services, even with the inclusion policies in higher education. As political careers are socially prestigious, there may be increasing demands to occupy these spaces. In this sense, black women may be even more demanding - even if the other categories of candidates and elected representatives also have a high rate of access to higher education.

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