The Journal of **Macro**Trends in
Social Science

The Absence of Black women in Brazil´s Political Scene

Fernanda Barros dos Santos
Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Abstract

Considering the percentage of 0.0001% of blacks in Brazilian politics, of the twenty seven legislative assemblies of the Country, besides the municipal councils of all the capitals, that is, of the 513 politicians who compose the chamber only 46 deputies are black. In consonance, throughout the Brazilian history we have uncovered the presence of 13 black women in the political sphere, which we can mention: Antonieta de Barros, Theodosina Rosário Ribeiro, Benedita Sousa da Silva Sampaio (PT), Maria Osmarina Marina Silva Vaz de Lima, Janete Pietá, Jurema Batista, Leci Brandão da Silva, Olívia Santana, Claudete Alves, Rosangela Gomes, Rosário Bezerra, Cristina Almeida and Fátima Santiago. In this sense, the research aims to analyze the circumstances that corroborate the low representation of black women in politics, since these make up the highest indices of poverty, domestic violence and feminicide in Brazil. The methodology relapses literature review, comparative analysis regarding the statistics of the government indices, party affiliation and biography of the abovementioned political black women. The study is justified as it problematizes the social impacts related to the absence of black women in politics and to the set of substantial human rights to ethnic-racial minorities (DAVIS, 1996).

Keywords: *Brazil, Politics, woman, race*

1.   Numbers about gender and race

According to the Economic Commission for the Caribbean and Latin America, Brazil occupies the third position in Gross Domestic Product (GNP) about 1.3 and 2.2 (2017-2018), respectively. The

country is well known by the historical racial mixing between black, brown, white and indian and mixed biological and culture (FREYE, 1933).Currently, more than (53,6%) people self declaration as black or brown, while (45,5%) self-declaration as white (IBGE, 2010).

Furthermore, about population numbers, women are majority in comparison with men. The last research shows that 103,5 millions are women about (51,4%) while men are (49%) about the population. In addendun, life expectancy increased to 65 years old from 77 years old between women (IBGE,2013).

Women in Brazil are living more than men and nowadays women have less children than in the past. In decade 1980, women had on average four children per family, but in 2017 they have two children per family. In addition, they has been worked more at labour market and are responsible for the bills from entire family about 37,3% (inclued rural areas). In this purpose, the number of black women are higher than white women. Between old and young women, in 2000 decade, (69,2%) from women has more children and in 2010 this proportion decrease to (60,1%). The teenage pregnancy decreases three points at the last ten years, from (14,8%) (2000) to (11,8%) (2010).

The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) introduces that culture has an importante role to analyze this variation. As behavior associated with new perspectives from capitalism, women are more included in urbanization, society modernity, social and economic issue, contraceptive method, family income and consumption pattern.

Other related subject it is education, Brazilian women have more years of study than men. For example, according the The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, women certificated by the secondary school are (54,7%), in comparison men are (45,3%) (IBGE, 2010). The National Research by Household Samples in 2013 identifies schooling of women. In total of 173,1 millions of people with more than 10 years old, 9 millions of women have more than 15 years old of instruction against 6,5 millions of men (IBGE, 2013). The choosen areas are Education (83%) Humanity and Arts (74,2%), but the average salary for women is still low. Specially, When it compares with male professions (IBGE, 2013). The comparative between black and white women in schooling, the last one have 18,2% present the higher education while black women show 5,2% (Idem).

About voting and election, female and male voters comparison, women are at the first position in numbers and they are majority. For an example, in 2014 elections female voters were 77.459.424 while male voters about 68.247.598. At the same year, female candidates increase from 5.056 candidates (2010) to 6.572 candidates (2014). On the other hand, the female participation in elections turns around 30%. This result shows that the proportion of women in Brazil politics is still lower, when analyzed Brazil electoral law (Idem).

2.   The Portrait of Women in politics in 2018

The election on 14th october 2018 in Brazil for President, Senator and Deputy was a portrait from a comparative policy between male and female presence at politics.

If women went from 9% to 15% in the Chamber of Deputies between 2014 and 2018, in the Senate they remain at the level of 16% that were before these elections. By 2019, they remain 13 of the 81 senators. Among them, none black, but 11 white and two brown - one of them, Eliziane Gama (PPS-MA) elected on Sunday, while the other, Fátima Bezerra (PT-RN), was elected in 2014 and complies from 2019 to second half of the eight-year term. Among men, there are 15 blacks (three blacks and 12 browns) and 53 white men.

Another factor is that, in 2018, women won the right to access proportionally to their representation in the total number of candidates their party's electoral resources, as determined by the Federal Supreme Court (STF) and the Superior Electoral Court (TSE) in the first half of this year. Along with the quota law, which mandates a minimum of 30% of candidates for each gender in the proportional nomination lists, "this forces the parties to try to prioritize in some way women who are more likely [to be elected] and to distribute the financing.

Elected federal deputy on Sunday, Joenia Wapichana (REDE / RR) will be the first indigenous woman in the National Congress Joenia Wapichana (REDE / RR) will be the first indigenous woman in the National Congress. São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are the states that elected women most to the House: 11 and 10, respectively. Sâmia Bomfim, of PSOL (Socialism and Freedom Party), is one of the federal deputies elected by São Paulo. Elected councilor in the city of São Paulo in 2016, she builds her political activities and based her campaign on her feminist activism.

The total number of black women at the political brazilian field is 10 women. And their names are Talíria Petrone (PSOL-RJ), Renata Souza, Rosangêla Gomes (PRB-RJ), Monica Francisco, Benedita da Silva (PT-RJ), Dani Monteiro, Flordelis (PSD-RJ), Aurea Carolina (PSOL-MG), Perpétua Almeida (PCdo B- AC), as well as Silvia Cristina (PDT- RO). In common, they come from working class and did an effort to the agenda of human rights and minorities. They converge for the purpose of building public policies for poor, black, women and gender agenda. And they represent themselves when we assume the status quo of inequality and feminist achievements. As leaders from society at religion, comunity, or teachers at school and social movemments, their potential appears to the society as voice that deal with chauvinism.

2.1- BLACK WOMEN IN POLITICS

3

BLACK WOMEN	POLITICAL POSITION
TALÍRIA PETRONE (PSOL) RJ	FEDERAL DEPUTY
RENATA SOUZA (PSOL)RJ	STATE DEPUTY
ROSANGÊLA GOMES (PRB) RJ	FEDERAL DEPUTY
MONICA FRANCISCO (PSOL)RJ	STATE DEPUTY
BENEDITA DA SILVA (PT) RJ	FEDERAL DEPUTY
DANI MONTEIRO (`PSOL)RJ	STATE DEPUTY
FLORDELIS (PSD) RJ	FEDERAL DEPUTY
AUREA CAROLINA (PSOL) MG	FEDERAL DEPUTY
PERPÉTUA ALMEIDA (PC DO B) AC	FEDERAL DEPUTY
SILVIA CRISTINA (PDT) RO	FEDERAL DEPUTY
CIDINHA (MDB) SP	SENATOR
PRETA LU (PSTU) MA	SENATOR
JOÊNIA WAPICHANA (REDE) MA	FEDERAL DEPUTY

(TABLE SELF-PREPARATION, TSE 2018 NUMBERS)

On the other hand, patriarchy culture continues the opression against women in Latin America. In short words, the prejudice and State cooperate to the disagreement between politics and female participation. Before the modern society, the history about

slavery process did a dichotomy between the private space and public space where women and slaves have their papers designated. Properly, as housewives and "sweet jobs" or even teachers.

4

In comparison, men have their dignity and responsability doctors, engineers, lawyers, politians and so on.

Every black women elected represents a disruption to stabilized order, that means black and female power at the house of parliament. In this sense, inequality in Brazil dialogue directly with the color skin. Marcelo Paixão argues abou race, class and racism at his studies and shows how black people lives in competitive disadvantage. According to Nogueira, the Brazilian pattern of socior-immersed in a racist ideology, since it is based on the phenotypes (skin color, hair types and facial forms) of the different individuals and groups of society, giving them prestige and stigmas derived from these racial marks (NOGUEIRA, 1985).

Assume this micro-sociological perspective that recognizes the plane of the symbolic and the subjective in the conformation of relations human and social needs does not have to be taken with interpretations that also seek to incorporate in the analyzes historical, systemic or structural dimensions. In fact, such dissociation forms a false dilemma. In social dynamics, symbolic dimensions consorted with the economic structures and policies, while at the same time providing feedback and autonomy. "A class can never be defined only by their situation and by their position in the social structure, this is by the relations that maintain objectively with the other social class and policies. Countless properties of a social class come from the fact that its members deliberately or objectively symbolic relations with the individuals of the other classes, and with this differences of situation and position systematic, tending to transmute them into significant distinctions " (BORDIEU, 2004, p.14). Racism, as operative in Brazilian society, based on in the criterion of physical appearances, both are born in the asymmetric relations of power, in the formation of mechanisms of social prestige, access to opportunities for social mobility and social rights, as well as in the state apparatus (racism institutions), private sector companies, schools, media, which legitimize structural handicaps that will have to be experienced by those carrying different phenotypes of the hegemonic group. Such an interpretation does not imply ignorance of the obvious reality that there are as many poor whites as there are Afro-descendants that integrate the different social classes. In the case of Afro-descendants, the phenotype acts as an inverted human capital.

With this, for the latter group, faced with situations of material poverty and deprivation of all kinds, such a condition is seen by collectives as something perfectly normal or acceptable. On the other hand, when individuals of this last group are in social conditions more favorable, all sorts of constraints are generated to the effective enjoyment of the prerogatives that the possession of the economic, financial and materials could guarantee in what the sociological tradition would classify as inconsistent status. Racism, as it does in Brazil, also acts through the attempt to deny the existence of social problems to groups discriminated against as a result of ethnic-racial discrimination. That is, in this case, the difficulties of these groups come to be understood as non-existent or generated by factors other than self model of existing social relations. Thus, in the

type of discriminatory agent, perpetuating the disadvantages of a contingent before the others becomes naturalized, becoming understood as supposedly unavoidable from the distant historical past, or from structural or structural problems in general or due to operational failures from the market. The invisibility of the problems of the discriminated groups, their chronic difficulty in expressing their dilemmas in the public space and the naturalization of the coincidences between the class and ethnic groups rarely fail to translate into severe and severe sequels for the target contingents of this modality of racism, especially Afro-descendants (PAIXÃO, 2010, p.23).

Both whites and blacks & browns (as well as yellows and Indians) form part of the same population, subject the same legal and institutional rules and affected by the various moments of economic and political life in Brazil. Thus, many of the problems faced by Brazil as a country will be by each of its inhabitants, regardless of the color of the skin. Monetary and fiscal policy, the economic and business cycle, internal and external debts, land concentration, problems environmental issues, among many other subjects, will be one of the Brazilians in common, regardless of their group color or race, place of birth, gender group, etc. In addition, the country is a peripheral capitalist nation, bearing steep social and regional abyss, it has a huge debt to the its population in terms of attending to a series of services public, etc.

On the other hand, the understanding that there are problems Brazil and that are common to all that all groups will experience them the same way. The effects certain economic measures, for example in generative impacts, will be able to gather each group of society positions. The effect of progress can benefit to all, but favoring some group more than proportionally. The effect of stagnation may harm everyone, but damage to the different quotas in equally that you proportion. In this case, it no longer makes sense to point out that the racial relations model is of no importance in the debate. On the contrary, skin color can have an effect that magnifies or reduce access to opportunities and rights; that broadens or reduces the levels of exposure to discouragement, helplessness and violence. From these considerations the following finding is deployed. So much It is true that there are common problems that devastate all Brazilians, but it is also true that these dilemmas disproportionately among the different groups that form the society. In the case of the Afrodescendant population, of the country, to all the dramas that will live, like the Brazilians In general, the burden of racism, such as their shoulders, given the way the Brazilian model works of race relations (Idem, p.24).

Therefore, it is a question of assuming that Afro-descendants form an own group of social prestige (or status) (Cf. WEBER, 1996 [1922]), based on the fact that they have a certain form physics less valued, or stigmatized within society, and that, therefore, makes it difficult for them to walk (Idem).

In other words, in the same Afro-descendants can be identified as a group prestige or social status, this group also great potential to self-claim as a group of with the capacity and need to participate, from this perspective. Specific form of insertion within the Brazilian society, rigorously all the political debates parents. Thus, the question would be how to move from group prestige defined by the socially discriminated quality of the skin color and physical appearance to another context in which the structures in the light of the search for collective social rights from the perspective of a political actor representative and mass.

However, insofar as one understands the structural mode of insertion of the black population within the Brazilian society, there is no reason not to claim the constitution of platforms actions that manage to mobilize in their of large afrodescendent population segments. That is, a mode of action that corresponds more properly to a social movement than to a fighting front, which is intended to based on ideological affinities delineated, as would be the case for example, a political party (Idem).

3. Black women at Legislative House of Rio de Janeiro (ALERJ)

According to the research reported by the TSE (2018), the black female candidates in Rio de Janeiro by position were distributed as follows: state congresswoman (141 candidates), federal congresswoman (83 candidates), senator (1 candidate), governor (1 candidate) vice governor (2 candidates), alternates (3 candidates). In analogy, the mean age was estimated at 48 years, as well as the youngest candidate was 21 years and the oldest candidate 85 years. Regarding the level of education, (86 candidates) had completed secondary education, (80 candidates) presented higher education, (27 candidates) presented elementary education. In comparison, (23 candidates) had incomplete higher education and (10 female candidates) incomplete secondary education and (5 female candidates) could read and write. To conclude, (117 candidates) singles, (83 candidates) married, (16 candidates) divorced and (15 candidates) widows. In 2014 there were 92 suitable candidates, and in 2018 the number was raised to 231 candidates suitable for the electoral contest. (TSE, 2018).

Regarding the profile of the candidates for this research, 33-year-old Talíria Petrone was elected federal deputy, totaling 107,317 valid votes, a black feminist, history teacher, socialist and militant PSOL since 2010. In addition, in 2016, she was the councilor in Niterói and was the only woman of the city council.

In comparison, Renata Souza, 36, who was elected state deputy by the same party with 63,997 of the valid votes, came from the complex of favelas in the Maré Complex, where she participated in a pre-university entrance exam. PUC- Rio, as well as a master's and doctorate degree from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), with emphasis on Communication and Human Rights. The MP acted on the Commission on Human Rights in the Legislative Assembly and was the chief

of staff of the former councilor Marielle Franco, at the time presided over the Women's Committee of the City Council of RJ.

Monica Francisco, 48, elected state deputy for PSOL, obtained 40,631 valid votes. In common, the militant joined the head of Marielle Franco's office and is a founder of the Borel Institution Network, a specialist in solidarity economy, feminist, a human rights activist and has incomplete higher education. In dissonance with the other candidates is an anti-fundamentalist evangelical pastor.

Finally, Dani Monteiro, 27, elected state MP for the PSOL, obtained 27,982 valid votes, student, scholarship, feminist, socialist, militant of the popular classes, incomplete higher education, affiliated to MNU (Unified Black Movement) and collective "RUA Juventude Anticapitalista". The policy graces the LGBTT movement, as well as proposes access to housing and culture in the city.

In general all of them joined Marielle Franco's office in Alerj before the assassination, as well as serving as advisors to the former councilor. At the same time, party agendas reconcile the theme of race, gender, social equity via socialism, sexual diversity and representation. Otherwise, political platforms dialogue directly with the human rights agenda.

4. Feminism and politics

The combination of identity profiles and intersectional studies show the range of categories involved in the imagery of the candidates. Thus, the voices of Angela Davis (1981) and bell hooks (1981), respectively, "Women, Race and Class, and Is not I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism ", reveal contributions and critiques about the homogenizing stability of the category" woman "and the need to look at the combined forms of differentiation and inequality such as" race "and social class, which cuts across the experiences of women. At the same time, the publications of Audrey Lorde (1994) point to the bipartition between black feminists and lesbians, pari passu the untying between the agenda of white and black feminists. Although the masculine and feminine binomial engenders dichotomies and cultural, social, political and symbolic hierarchies for the feminine gender. Bell Hooks concludes that:

It is essential for the continuation of the feminist struggle that black women recognize the special advantage that our perspective of marginality gives us and make use of this perspective to criticize racist, classist domination and sexist hegemony, as well as to refute and create a counter hegemony. I'm suggesting that we have a role to play in realizing feminist theory and a contribution to offer that is unique and valuable (HOOKS, 2002.p.15).

In a compendium, Kimberlé Crenshaw (2002) argues that: Intersectionality is a conceptualization of the problem that seeks to capture the structural and dynamic consequences of the interaction

between two or more axes of subordination. It deals specifically with the way in which racism, patriarchy, class oppression, and other discriminatory systems create basic inequalities that structure the relative positions of women, races, ethnicities, classes and others (CRENSHAW, 2002, p.177).

It is important to emphasize the presence of women in politics in the party context. The Quotas Law certainly had a role in encouraging the participation of women in the electoral process. In 1992, the law defined 30% of the candidacies for elected positions by proportional vote of each party or coalition for women; but this is only a recommendation to the organizations, without specific sanctions, resulting in the slow transformation of the traditional politics in which the masculine presence predominates in the lists of candidacies and of elected parliamentarians. Mala Htun (2001) reports that:

(...) in Brazil the problem with quotas is that, first, the open list generates competition within the party. Second, the quota in Brazil is not mandatory. That is, the law says that parties have to reserve 30% of the seats for female candidates, but the parties do not have to fill those seats with women. I mean, the party can come out with a list with fewer candidates and no women. The quota is not mandatory in Brazil. Third, the closed list works better than the open list, because the party is able to control the inclusion of the woman on the list. Now, if the parties wish it, they can put women on the bottom of the list. It is imperative that in a closed list system the quota law also contains a rule of mandatory competitive position in the list, stating that women have to be placed at the top of the list and not at the bottom (HTUN, 2001, p.230).

In the context of differentiations based on hierarchical and hierarchical symbolic discourses and practices, the function of the category of gender and race corroborates social bipartition as well as relations of force. According to Scott (1990), gender as "a constituent element of social relations based on perceived differences between the sexes and gender is a primary form of giving meaning to power relations" (Scott, 1995, p.86).

Thus Scott notes that high politics is a generalized concept because it establishes its importance and public power, its raison d'être, and the reality of existence of its superior authority, precisely at the expense of excluding women from their functioning. Otherwise, gender is one of the recurrent references by which political power has been conceived, legitimized and criticized. He not only refers to the meaning of the male / female opposition; he also establishes it. To protect political power, the reference must seem certain and fixed, outside of all human construction, part of the natural or divine order. In this way, Scott warns that binary opposition and the social process of gender relations become part of the very meaning of power; calling into question or changing any of its aspects threatens the whole system (Scott, 1990, pp.90-92).

In a comparative perspective, Pierre Bourdieu makes explicit that the socially constructed division between the sexes seems to be inscribed in social structures in such a way, "in an incorporated state, in the bodies and habitus of agents, a recognition of legitimation "(BOURDIEU, 2011, p.17). Bourdieu then asserts that the masculine and feminine performances that serve as the basis for the explanation of differences are allowed to be guided by the principles of vision and division inscribed in the common language. Thus, discussions on the differences between male intelligence and female intelligence characterize aggression and fear end up in the West, naturalizing and crystallizing differences that, although produced culturally, are postulated as biological and denied as historical construction.

Bourdieu further adds that the forms of masculine domination are referenced in the theory of symbolic power exercised by a two-way street, as the dominated apply what dominates them, that is, schemes that are products of domination, making their acts of knowledge also acts of recognition and domination. In this way, through symbolic violence, women apply to all reality the power relations in which they are involved, reproducing schemas of thought that are products of the incorporation of these relations explained in the oppositions in force in the symbolic order. In view of this, the effect of symbolic domination is not in the pure logic of consciousness, but through schemes of action, evaluation, perception, and unconscious adjustment of projects to probabilities. The choice of "typically female" careers or the universe of renunciations would be part of an implicit calculation of adequacy between desire and reality. Simultaneously, Bourdieu asks why women's professional choices or the restriction of women in positions of political control. In this bias, this would be the effect of doxa, that is, our view of the social world constrains our behavior, proving (and naturalizing) what we think.

Another basic point to the gender discussion lies in the concept of "political field" in Bourdieu, it allows to understand that the political dispute is not exhausted in the institutionalized places of decision making - elections, parliaments, parties and governments. But it also avoids "everything is political" which removes from it any specificity, making it coextensive with society itself. Otherwise, the space of politics is not given: it is constructed historically and shaped and remolded according to the clashes between the agents. Just as it is not a neutral space. It is a structured field, with its hierarchy of influence, that privileges certain positions and bar the entrance of strange groups. The political field is, according to Bourdieu's definition, "the place where political products, problems, programs, analyzes, comments, concepts, events, among which citizens common, reduced to the status of 'consumers', should choose' (BOURDIEU, 1989, p.164). Every field is defined by the imposition of its own criteria for evaluating reality, in particular by setting objectives that are presented as "natural" for those who participate in them - in this case, the search for political power.

Ultimately, it should be mentioned that positions in the political field are not only a reflection of the votes received; it is enough to remember so many voting champions, be they broadcasters,

singers or sportsmen, who occupy a less than secondary place in Congress. In Bourdieu's view, political capital is a form of symbolic capital, dependent on the recognition provided by the peers themselves. As everyone at certain key moments struggles for votes, popularity contributes to such recognition, but it is not the only determinant. That is, the field excludes, in so far as it establishes an inside and an outside. It is more than having or not having access to formal decision-making spaces (in the case of politics); is the distance between those who are socially considered to be able to intervene in the political debate and the mass of those who must refrain from seeking to participate because any attempts will not even be taken seriously. In addition, the field requires adaptation to its codes, to its rules, in short, to the habitus of its own: "the habitus of the politician presupposes a special preparation. It is, in the first place, all the learning necessary to acquire the corpus of specific knowledge (theories, problems, concepts, historical traditions, economic data, etc.) produced and accumulated by the political work of present and past professionals or of more general capacities such as the domain of a certain language and a certain political rhetoric, that of the tribune, indispensable in relations with the profane, or that of debating, necessary in relations between professionals. But it is also and above all this kind of initiation, with its proofs and its rites of passage, which tend to inculcate the practical domain of the immanent logic of the political field and to impose a de facto submission to the values, hierarchies and inherent censures to this field (BOURDIEU, 1989, pp. 169-170).

This incorporation can be conflicting, but this does not eliminate the tendency to reproduce the hierarchies according to the prevailing criteria in the field. However, as Bourdieu himself points out, field members are able to act strategically to reconfigure it, seeking to make it more conducive to their own position and trajectory, a plurality of perspectives of origin will always have to deal with uniformity of the possession of a habitus suitable for the stay in that space. The concentration of political capital, typical of representative regimes, in which the power to effectively participate in discussions and decision-making is monopolized by a narrow group of individuals, is itself a source of inequality.

In this sense, according to Sanchez (2016), Brazilian women, although comprising 51% of the population and 52% of the electorate, occupy only 10% of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies and 13% in the Senate. The underrepresentation of women in legislative policy is directly related to the various forms of male domination. Since they are not formulators of public policies and laws that will have direct impact on their concrete realities, they end up in only "objects." This means that because they are absent from the traditional spaces of political deliberation they can not speak for themselves. When only men come together to talk about solutions to the culture of rape, for example, we perceive the abyss between women and institutional politics.

For Sanchez, equal political representation between men and women, besides being necessary for the fulfillment of the promises of the liberal democracy, have positive effects for the daily life of the people. That is, issues relevant to marginalized groups of the population can enter the

parliamentary discussion agenda. Theorist stresses that different forms of oppression work together to produce such exclusions. The various social markers of difference such as gender, race, class, and sexual orientation must be understood in an intersectional way. In order to examine the entry and representation of Renata Souza, Dani Monteiro, Talíria Petrone and Monica Francisco, we can identify that the interests of black women from the periphery are often different from the interests of middle-class white women and this should be taken into account when discussing gender and politics.

At the same time, Sanchez points out that the underrepresentation of women in institutional politics can be explained by a number of reasons. Unequal funding of women's and men's campaigns is one of them. The political system of open list that has as consequence the focus on the candidates and not on the parties is another. Most of the time, the candidates have less political capital than the candidates and this damages their chances of electoral success. In general, the sexist recruitment made by the political parties that has the consequence of the so-called "orange applications" also makes it difficult for women to enter. In this sense, a reform of the current Brazilian political system would be necessary.

In other words, Sanchez concludes that in addition to these institutional factors, there are material and cultural barriers to the political participation of women, such as the sexual division of labor. Historically, women have had their lives restricted to the domestic world, while men have always occupied the public sphere. Parasafreando the author, "from an early age the girls learn by playing with dolls that they will be responsible for the care of their children. This sexual division of labor is reflected in the very political activity of women who, overcoming the various barriers, enter the world of politics "(SANCHEZ, 2016).

Parliamentarians are more often involved in parliamentary committees responsible for women's issues such as education and social policy. The male parliamentarians, in turn, are more present in committees that discuss subjects considered traditionally masculine like taxation and economy. This scenario of institutional policy exclusion contrasts with the strengthening of feminist movements, both on the streets and on the Internet (SANCHEZ, 2016, p.42-46).

As for representation and its effects, Hanna Pitkin (1967) points out that the "formalist" representation, centered mainly on accountability mechanisms, would guarantee the link between constituent preferences and decisions of the elected. Considering that since the 1980s there has been a reappraisal of "descriptive" representation, which Pitkin believed to be a naive and unsophisticated perception, revaluation based, on the one hand, on the awareness of the weak realization of the promises of accountability, and, on the other hand, in the demands of minority groups for access to the decision-making spheres. According to this perspective, Pitkin identifies that the politics of ideas sees the representatives as the devoid vectors of political platforms, among which the electors choose. Since, as a citizen, I identify with the proposals,

values or policies suggested by a candidate, the identity of this candidate is irrelevant. Accountability mechanisms would allow me to oversee the action of my representative, ensuring that he remained true to what he expressed during the campaign. So what matters is not whether women are chosen representatives, but whether women's claims and interests are expressed, even by men, in the places of deliberation.

At the core of the representation, the adoption of descriptive mechanisms suggests that the absence of effective accountability would be compensated by a greater similarity between decision makers and their constituents. If I can not properly evaluate the action of my representative, at least I can expect that, being similar to me, he will be sensitive to my preferences. That is why the election of feminist black candidates, from the popular classes to the Legislative Assembly with the same flags wrapped by ex-councilor Marielle Franco.

Another idea that runs through this discussion is the absence of women - or other groups in a position of political subalternity - between candidates and elected officials may be attributed to a lesser interest in politics, but this smaller interest is itself a mark of inequality. Pitkin explains that it is natural that not everyone likes politics, but if "participation and involvement have coincided so closely with class, gender or ethnicity differences", then we are facing strong evidence of political inequality.

In the representative democratic political system, it is essential not only to eliminate formal barriers to inclusion, granting access to vote or equal rights. But it also explicitly incorporates marginalized groups into the political body (PHILLIPS, 1999, p.35). Therefore, affirmative actions, which are intended precisely to counter historical patterns of discrimination - or, more precisely, to counteract a force contrary to the inertia generated by such standards. Miguel (2008) states that electoral or partisan quotas, in particular, would guarantee the incorporation of women to the political elite, regardless of what might appear to be their will. Moreover, they would make the search for competitive candidates somewhat of the interest of male party leaders as well (MIGUEL, 2008, p.20). The adoption of affirmative action policies in general, and quotas in particular, is not without problems, starting with the definition of which groups should benefit. Determining that the groups that have been subjected to state-sponsored exclusion and / or violence (women, workers, ethnic or religious minorities, sexual minorities, disabled) solves only part of the problem. First, because there are groups whose political exclusion continues to be determined by the state, but for which, in general, no demands for presence arise. That is, there remains a discussion about rights and conditions of access to these rights.

Therefore, quotas for women and blacks are relatively easy to apply, since biological sex can be treated as a dichotomous and discrete variable, with the proportion of groups in the population remaining more or less stable.Raquel Meneguelo (2012) points out in the international literature on race and gender that despite the constraints promoted by the "double disadvantage" of black

women on opportunities and chances in electoral dynamics, the problem of underrepresentation of women and blacks in legislative houses in the underrepresentation of women in general, black and non-black (MONCRIEF, THOMPSON, SCHUMANN, 1991, BARRET, 1997, DARCY, HARDLEY and KIRKSEY, 1997). Thus, in the Brazilian case, there are few studies on the parliamentary representation of blacks, as well as on the constraints that affect black candidates, men and women, and their possibilities of election (OLIVEIRA, 1991; JOHNSON III, 2000) to a large extent, to the lack of data and precise information about them, both within the parties and with the Electoral Justice bodies (MENEGUELO, 2012, p.68).

Meneguelo reveals that there are two dimensions regarding female and black representation in electoral lawsuits. The first is the dimension of social and cultural relations. That is to say, the burden of conservatism and prejudice that undermines the choice of women for the construction of a political career is a marked dimension of the trajectories analyzed, and remains present in the spaces of action of elected representatives (MENEGUELO, 2012).

In continuity, the second dimension is that of the internal party organization. Reports of support difficulties found in party dynamics, both in terms of incentives for women's participation and support for electoral competition, suggest that important constraints lie in party internal functioning. Meneguelo stresses that although the parties on the left present more ways of encouraging women and blacks to participate, there is no consensus in the unions themselves regarding the priority of racial and gender issues in the wider political agenda.

Nevertheless, the organization of the electoral dynamics presents objective obstacles, such as the difficulty of these groups to access the resources mobilized by the parties during the campaigns. Thus, the positive effects of the implementation of the quotas policy find limits in the forms of stimulus developed by the parties for the participation and inclusion of women in party politics. This is what happens with the financing of the campaigns and the transfer of resources, mechanisms permeable to internal preferences, and predominantly defined according to the success of already established candidates (MENEGUELO, 2012). In the area of social movements, Rodrigues & Prado (2010) point out that the feminist and black movements have built new collective identities and also focused on political-institutional spaces. It was the reflection on the emergence of new social actors, their forms of expression, their primordial meanings and their new ways of doing politics. In claiming their integration into society as collective subjects of rights, black women are guided by a sense of US that is built both by sharing the same social categorization and by the elaboration of past elements (common history of oppression, language, religion) and to establish a collective future project for themselves and for society as a whole (MELUCCI, 1996).

Nonetheless, collective identity, in these terms, also establishes a conflict with an adversary, thus politicizing spaces of social struggles for the transformation of oppressive relations into principles

of justice and solidarity. In the case of racism and sexism, the Black Women's Movement seeks to demonstrate how the demands for a society that recognizes black women as equal in terms of citizenship rights and, at the same time, offers ample opportunity for them to be diverse, are, above all, integrated into the ideal of a democratic and pluralistic society. In any case, these conflicts are of identity because they violate the shared rules of the system, referring both to material and symbolic resources. It is a struggle to assert the identity that their opponents deny them, to reappropriate something that belongs to them (MELUCCI, 1996).

The electoral dispute for the Legislative House of Rio de Janeiro (ALERJ), we can see evidence of factors such as: race, socioeconomic status, gender and political participation at the entrance of Talíria Petrone, Renata Souza, Mônica Francisco and Dani Monteiro intersectoral patterns that are constitutive patterns of representativeness. That is, broadly speaking, there would be evidence of a racially oriented type of vote (from black voters to black candidates), although in some cases there are successful electoral strategies of black candidates with a strong emphasis on race, but rather they get votes from the "white" population. In any case, it is important to emphasize the role of black and party movements in supporting and militarizing black candidates, or even in lobbying executive and legislative representatives with varying degrees of success (Johnson, 2006: 172). In this literature, there is a consensus among the authors that blacks are drastically under-represented in the legislature, even in cities with an expressive black population like Salvador (BA), in particular (Oliveira, 1997). The authors also point out that even among black elected representatives there is no cohesion and consensus on the type of racial politics to be adopted or whether the racial question is publicly legitimate (MITCHEL, 2009, page 132; SANTOS, 2000).

In addition, Prandi (1996) points out that, although race affects the electoral choice, age and schooling of candidates can also be preponderant variables. Bailey (2009) found indications that not only the color of the candidate had effects on the vote but also voters from different racial groups behaved distinctly, although the cleavage found was black rather than black (not the usual cleavage of white and not white). On the whole, there is evidence of some conditionality or interaction between race and class, although this idea is only expressed more explicitly in Castro and Bailey (BUENO & FIALHO, 2009).

Bueno's (2012) view, the interpretation, albeit preliminary and cautious, of most Brazilian analysts is that race has some effect due to the experiences of discrimination and prejudice suffered by marginalized racial groups - even if these experiences do not imply specific abilities nor a politicized racial conscience. Discrimination is probably pointed to as the main factor suspected of causing the "race effect" because it is a mechanism that simultaneously is independent of the class position of the individual and the collective consciousness of race or racism publicly institutionalized is not contingent. That is, if there is any effect associated with

race, it passes through perceptions and experiences of belonging to a racial group, such as discrimination and prejudice (BUENO, 2012, p.190-223).

In short, the concept of representativeness mixed with gender, race and class gave rise to strong identity identities in the candidacy of the black militants mentioned above to the Legislative Assembly of Rio de Janeiro. The peculiarities in her trajectories directed to the communities of origin, gave a tone on social and racial inequalities, as well as the visibility of the murder and expressive performance of the late councilwoman Marielle Franco, in favor of racial and sexual minorities, corroborated the increase in the percentage of women in the political sphere.

Despite speculation about political behavior driven by self-identification, the four elected MPs ratify the resistance of representative minorities. Above all, the new model of political campaign that inaugurates the digital tools with emphasis on social networks, as well as action of collective mobilizations in public places. All these measures have ensured not only the participation of minorities in the political system, but also their continuity within decision-making spaces.

We add that the political resources derived from the work carried out with Marielle Franco, that is, the proportionality of the votes conferred on the candidates attest to the symbolic capital legitimized by the collectives, as well as the previous experiences associated with the outlying areas of the city of Rio de Janeiro. The victory of the predicted candidates permeates the discursive imbalance of traditional forces in the parliamentary house, the conquest of the elitist and asymmetric spaces, as well as sediments the proposal of laws and bills of laws that democratize the access to the city, with regard to citizenship and dignity human. Finally, the success of black women candidates pigmentation of racially hierarchical spaces and the publicity of institutional actions harmful to the common good.

Finally, the 2018 elections consolidated the place of belonging and legitimacy of the collective memory and the cooling of the justice instrumentalized from the vote. In other words, if the causes of the above-mentioned death are being investigated, it is in the

hands of the people of Rio de Janeiro, attested by the expressive popular vote in the former members of the cabinet, that the democratic system of law updates the objection to the fateful murder of the demos personified in Marielle Franco.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

BAILEY, S. R. 2008. "Unmixing of race making in Brazil". American Journal of Sociology, vol. 114, no. 3, pp. 577-614.

BOURDIEU, Pierre. Male domination. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 1999,60p.

BUENO, Natália S. Race and political behavior: participation, activism and resources in Belo Horizonte. Lua Nova, São Paulo, 85: 187-226, 2012.

CRENSHAW,Kimberlé Williams. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics" (University of Chicago Legal Forum, 14, 1989).

FIALHO, F. M. 2009. "Race, resources, and political participation in a Brazilian city". Latin American Research Review, vol. 44, no 2, pp. 59-83.

HOOKS, Bell. Feminism Is For Everybody: Passionate Politics (London: Pluto Express, 2000), 15.

HTUN, Mala. THE POLICY OF QUOTAS IN LA AMERICA IN LATIN AMERICA. FEMINIST STUDIES, YEAR 9 2nd SEMESTER (2001). Available at:

http://www.scielo.br/pdf/ref/v9n1/8612.pdf Accessed on: 02-02-2010.

JOHNSON, O. A. 1998. "Racial representation and Brazilian politics: black members of the National Congress, 1983-1999". Journal of Interamercan Studies and World Affairs, vol. 40, no 4, pp. 97-118.

MENEGUELO, Raquel. Women and Blacks in Politics: An Exploratory Study on Electoral Performance in Four Brazilian States. Campinas, SP: UNICAMP / CESOP, 2012. Available at: http://nupps.usp.br/downloads/livros/mulheresenegros.pdf Accessed: 02-02-2018.

MELUCCI, A. (1996). Challenging codes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MIGUEL, L. F. & BIROLI, F. 2005. Impasses da accountability: dilemas e alternativas da representação política. Revista de Sociologia e Política, Curitiba, n. 25, p. 165-178, nov. Disponível em: http://www.scielo.br/pdf/rsocp/n25/31109.pdf. Acesso em: 3.maio.2010.

MITCHELL, G. 2009. "Afro-Brazilian politicians and campaign strategies: a preliminary analysis". Latin American Politics and Society, vol. 51, no 3, pp. 111-142.

OLIVEIRA, C. 1997. The struggle for a place: gender, race, and class, municipal elections of Salvador, Bahia, 1992. Salvador: Color Program of Bahia / UFBA.

PITKIN, H. F. 1967. The Concept of Representation. Berkeley: University of California. PHILLIPS, A. 1991. Engendering Democracy. Cambridge: Polity.

PRANDI, R. 1996. "Vote and Race in the 1994 Presidential Election". African-Asian Studies, vol. 30, pp. 61-78.

RODRIGUES, C. S. & PRADO, M.A. M. (2010). Black women's movement: political trajectory, mobilizing practices and articulations with the Brazilian State. Psychology & Society, 22 (3), 445-456.

SANCHEZ, Beatriz Rodrigues. GENRE AND POLITICS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE

CURRENT BRAZILIAN CONJUNCTURE. In Debate, Belo Horizonte, v.8, n.5, p.42- 46, jul. 2016. Available at: http://opiniaopublica.ufmg.br/site/files/artigo/05-Beatriz- Sanchez.pdf Accessed on: 01-02-2018. SCOTT, Joan W. Genre: a useful category of historical analysis. Education and Reality, vol. 16, no. 2, Porto Alegre, jul./dez. 1990, p.5.

SANTOS, S.A 2000. The absence of an Afro-Brazilian supra-party bench in the national congress (1995-1998 legislature). Brasília: Center for Afro-Asian Studies (2 vols.).