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EDITORIAL

LEST WE FORGET! PRESENTATION OF THE SPECIAL ISSUE “RACIAL DIMENSIONS IN THE CORPORATE WORLD”

Para não mais esquecer! Apresentação do número especial
“A questão racial no mundo empresarial”

Pedro Jaime*
Paula Barreto**
Cloves Oliveira***

It can be safely said that research on racial issues has been present in the field of the Social Sciences in Brazil for over a century, if we take the work of Nina Rodrigues, which dates back to the end of the 19th century, as a reference point (CORRÊA, 1998; GONÇALVES DA SILVA, 2002; MUNANGA, 2009). Moreover, the theme has conquered a prominent position in graduate and post-graduate courses and also in journals in this area in our country, labelled either as Sociology of Race Relations, Anthropology of African-Brazilian Populations, or Ethnic and Racial Studies.

Notwithstanding, in Brazilian society this theme has been largely forgotten in the field of Management Science. Some authors have already pointed to this fact. Costa and Ferreira (2006), for instance, argued that the racial dimension represents one of the biggest lacunae in the studies on diversity carried out by Brazilian researchers in the area of management, while Conceição (2009) denounced the denial of race in organizational studies in our country. Writing some years later, Rosa (2014) confirmed the existence of such a void. He also emphasized that Brazilian researchers who investigate diversity management still address racial issues by establishing an almost exclusive dialogue with American researchers, ignoring our national theoretical production in Sociology and Anthropology. From his point of view, this is a major mistake to be rectified in the area of organizational studies. It is true, however, that the emergence of the subject of diversity management has awoken researchers in the area of Management in Brazil to racial issues (FLEURY, 2000; ALVES; GALEÃO-SILVA, 2004).

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On the Social Sciences field, however, the corporate world has not been the privileged empiric locus in Brazilian research on racial issues. Or, at least the presence of black people in positions of higher prestige and remuneration in this universe has not been the primary object of investigation. The religions, the cultural and artistic manifestations, such as capoeira and hip hop, identity resistance, the black social movements, racial inequalities in a broader sense and, more recently, the affirmative action policies for racial inclusion in higher education have occupied the research agenda of this field in our country. Consequently, the mechanism of racism production in the corporate world in Brazil, and the options as to how to fight it, remain unknown.

Strictly speaking, racial issues in the labor market have already been the object of attention of Brazilian social scientists (BARRETO, 1997; CASTRO; BARRETO, 1998). Nevertheless, the main focus was the position of subalternity occupied by the black population in the occupational structure. The phenomenon of African-Brazilians who are positioned in high status jobs has been more investigated in the world of politics than in corporations. This is evident if we remember from the classic book of Oracy Nogueira (1992), until more recent publications (OLIVEIRA, 2008; 2016).

Only recently has the social upward mobility of blacks in organizations, whether public or private, been discussed in studies bordering the Social Sciences and the Management Science in Brazil. Such is the case of studies as Ladeia's (2006) on the social mobility of African descendants in enterprises in the state of São Paulo; Santana's (2009) about blacks who occupy high level positions in the public service in Salvador; Figueiredo's (2012) on black entrepreneurs in the capital of Bahia. It is also the case of studies as Souza's (2015) on the occupational mobility of black people regarding leadership positions in the city of Belo Horizonte (state of Minas Gerais); and Jaime's (2016) about the social trajectories and the professional paths of two generations of black executives in the corporate world in São Paulo.

Taking steps toward advancing in addressing this lacuna, which is simultaneously theoretical and empirical, is fundamental for the development of the national scientific production, considering the centrality of companies in the integration of Blacks in a class society in Brazil (FERNANDES, 2008). Bearing this in mind and taking into consideration the importance of interdisciplinarity for the process of 'maturity' of research in the field of Management Science, the journal *Organizações & Sociedade* has generously given us the opportunity to publish the Special Issue "Racial dimensions in the corporate world".

The Call for Papers invited researchers from the fields of management, social and human sciences and related areas to submit proposals. It indicated our goal of accepting articles that undertook theoretical discussions involving key concepts in relation to the topic, such as racism, anti-racism, racial inequalities, racial inclusion, racial diversity in their connections with the corporate world. It also pointed out that contributions that resulted from empirical research on the themes listed below would be welcomed:

- a) global, national and subnational sociopolitical contexts that generate demand for racial diversity initiatives on the part of companies, as is the case of the mobilization efforts of anti-racist advocacy transnational networks; federal, state

or municipal public policies for the promotion of racial equality; and the actions of international organizations in relation to the rights of African descendants.

- b) the translation, to different locations, of the discourses and practices related to racial diversity promoted by multinational corporations by virtue of the distinct sociocultural contexts and institutional frameworks observed beyond their home countries.
- c) the tensions, conflicts, negotiations and agreements among different actors (governmental, private sector and non-governmental) involved in political debates and public and entrepreneurial initiatives aimed at the inclusion of African descendants in corporations.
- d) the social trajectories and professional paths of black men and women in companies (including new immigrants and/or African and Haitian refugees), problematized on the basis of contemporary debates about race, whether or not in intersection with aspects such as class, gender, sexuality and nationality, and/or thought of in terms of inclusion/exclusion experiences in the work environment.
- e) the production, circulation and reception of discourses on racial issues by companies when managing their marketing and communication processes with their diverse audiences, including the representations of black men and women conveyed in such discourses and/or publicized in different media.

In epistemological and theoretical-methodological terms, the aim was to incorporate analyses that concentrated on both the macrosocial level, that is, in the societal context, and analyses that privileged the microsocial level, related to the subjects' lives, albeit always dialoguing with the meso level, which concerns the organizational dynamics and management practices. Equally valued were texts resulting from investigations that adopted quantitative, qualitative or multimethod strategies. Finally, we wanted to embrace analyses involving racial issues in the corporate world grounded on varied theoretical lenses, or that involved exercises of reflexivity, that is, contributions that addressed the standpoint of the researcher in an academic world as the Brazilian one, which Carvalho (2006) had already reported as being characterized by racial confinement and, we would add, as being gendered.

The scientific communities in the fields of management, social and human sciences and related areas responded most positively to our invitation. This can be attested by the number of articles that were submitted: 46 in total! Thus, selecting the contributions that are now part of the present Special Issue became a complex and extenuating endeavor. This task has been successfully accomplished thanks to the support of the editor, professor Ariádne Rigo; the journal's secretary, Tamires Lordelo; and the colleagues responsible for the reviews. We believe that after the desk review of all texts and subsequent double blind peer review of the selected ones, we were able to assure the diversity of contributions, as intended. Among the articles that compose this Issue, there are studies resulting from research that adopted either quantitative or qualitative methodological approaches, which privileged distinct levels of analyses (micro, meso or macro) and that are grounded on different theoretical lenses or epistemological foundations. In addition, it is possible to note that

the papers are distributed in at least three sub-areas of Management: Organization Studies, Marketing, and Human Resources, with interfaces among them and, in some cases, also in articulation with the area of Public Administration and Government.

The articles in this Special Issue cover a relatively wide spectrum of reflections on racial issues in the corporate world. Some deal with discussions which are classically addressed in the realm of the social sciences, despite bringing updates or some novelty. Others open up new paths for studies on this subject. However, it is necessary to acknowledge that it became clear to us, Guest Editors, - particularly to those of us who have had their educational trajectory, since undergraduates, marked by ethnic and racial studies and who have been doing research on this topic for many years (Cloves Oliveira and Paula Barreto) -, the heterogeneity in the mastery of the literature on race relations in Brazil among the authors of the eight papers that comprise this Issue. This is understandable, since, as we have signaled when opening this presentation, the literature on the topic dates back to the end of the 19th century. Therefore, its domain is not something that is conquered overnight. Following this remark, we want, however, to highlight that if on the one hand interdisciplinarity is crucial to the advancement of scientific knowledge and must be stimulated, on the other, it cannot dispense with an effort to take into consideration the complexity of the discussions held in the heart of each of the disciplines that get in contact with each other.

In the article **Wage differentials associated with race between 2002 and 2014 in Brazil: evidence from a quantile decomposition**, Gustavo Saraiva Frio and Luiz Felipe Campos Fontes, based on microdata from the National Household Sampling Survey (*Pesquisa Nacional de Amostragem Domiciliar* - Pnad), and applying the counterfactual Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition method in articulation with the Recentered Influence Function Regression (RIF-Regression) approach, demonstrate that racial inequality in the labor market has persisted, even during the period in which Brazil experienced considerable economic growth. The data revealed that wage differences between whites and non-whites declined very little during the period that was analysed. However, they also showed that the reduction in the salary gap was larger in the higher quantiles of the distribution, that is, the highest-paying jobs. This has been associated with the advancement in years of schooling of the black population. According to the authors, this indicates the possibilities for overcoming the barriers imposed to the social upward mobility of this segment of society, principally through the implementation of quotas for the inclusion of African descendants in higher education.

Nonetheless, the access to higher levels of education does not necessarily guarantee a more qualified insertion of blacks in the labor market. Other factors may prevent African descendants from moving up to positions of more power, prestige and remuneration in the corporate world. This is discussed in the article **Judging good appearance in personnel selection**, by Altair Santos Paim and Marcos Emanuel Pereira. They analysed the effects of racism on the judgement of 'good appearance' in personnel selection. They used a non-random sample composed by seventy-four (74) participants, forty-two of whom (57%) were human resources professionals. The data collection instruments were an assessment of résumés, a set of prejudice scales, an inventory of racism in the labor market, an indicator of good appearance and a sociodemographic questionnaire. Three hypotheses were tested and two of them were confirmed: the hypothesis that posited the preference for white candidates and the one that suggested a greater tendency in choosing candidates with a lighter

complexion. It is then argued that personnel selection should be based on the acceptance of racial diversity, a key element for the creative and innovative development of organizations.

A structural element in the construction process of the nation's images in Brazilian society might hinder the process of overcoming racism when recruiting and selecting personnel. We are referring to the myth of racial democracy. This is the object of discussion in the article by Celso Machado Junior, Roberto Bazanini and Daielly Melina Nassif Mantovani Ribeiro. In **The myth of racial democracy in the labor market: a critical analysis of the participation of afro-descendants in brazilian companies**, the authors present the results of an investigation where they sought to analyse the opportunities for black people in terms of employability and career mobility in our country. To reach the objective, they carried out a documentary research which involved 117 organizations, which are among the 500 largest companies in Brazil. The results evidenced that racial democracy is indeed a myth in our society, therefore the need to promote social policies that minimize inequalities between whites and blacks, mainly concerning prominent positions in organizations, associated with practices that stimulate diversity in companies.

Aside from placing obstacles in the way of African descendants' career lattice, the racial democracy myth is also present at the other extreme of the occupational structure. That is the conclusion that emerges from reading **The invisibility of the black population in modern slavery: evidence based on conditions of social vulnerability**, by Rodrigo Martins Baptista, Mariana Lima Bandeira and Maria Tereza Saraiva de Souza. The study used socioeconomic, geographic, sociocultural and social vulnerability indicators produced mainly by the reports published by members of the National Pact for the Eradication of Slave Labor Institute (*Instituto Pacto Nacional pela Erradicação do Trabalho Escravo* - InPACTO) and the public sector. The authors identified a correlation between the variable race/color and modern slavery. And, most importantly, based on Pierre Bordieu, they denounce that black and brown people are the most vulnerable when it comes to performing jobs in conditions that are analogous to slavery, a fact that is naturalized by the dominant ideology that inferiorizes this population due to their phenotypic characteristics and the colonial-enslaving origin of Brazilian society.

It is discomfoting to observe that part of the black population that manages to overcome all the barriers ends up internalizing the dominant ideology. This is the aspect the paper **Merit is not for everyone: the perception of black managers about their process of career mobility**, by Andrea Alcione Souza and Rafaela Cyrino Peralva Dias, invites us to reflect upon. The authors carried out an investigation with 25 black managers and problematized the assumptions, the functionalities and the productive character of the notion of personal merit in the discourse of the interviewees. The results reveal that the subjects' perception of their own process of career advancement carries strong meritocratic traces. Such perception minimizes, or fails to acknowledge, the social, emotional, moral and economic pre-conditions that influence the differential performance of these individuals. The authors add that this perception implies the disqualification of any argument that reinforces the acknowledgement of the presence of racial barriers in the path of upward social mobility, a fact that contributes to conceal the political, economic and social dimension of racism in our country.

However, if overcoming racial inequalities is not evident, as the idea of a paradise of inter-racial coexistence is inscribed in the imagination processes of the Brazilian nation, neither is the perpetuation of racism the inexorable destiny in our country. Efforts directed toward the transformation of such a reality have always accompanied our history and are still in action. Concerning this topic, the article **Black entrepreneurship and ethnic beauty salons: possibilities for resistance in the social (re)construction of black identity**, by Ana Flávia Rezende, Flávia Luciana Naves Mafra and Jussara Jessica Pereira focuses the experiences of five black entrepreneurs who started their own businesses aiming at a clientele whose aesthetics and phenotypic characteristics have been denied for a long time. These enterprises are called ethnic salons and their purpose is to care for black people's curly/Afro hair. The authors sought to discover the motivations that support these entrepreneurs who fight the logic of coloniality in social relations by starting businesses based on the valorization of black identity. The text contributes to the discussion about hair as a category that represents a constitutive element of racial identity and about the opportunity for a more autonomous insertion of black people in the labor market.

These types of endeavor are even more important when we take into consideration the existence of a veiled racism operating underneath marketing strategies. This is the issue pointed out by the article **Selective and 'veiled' demarketing from the perspective of black female consumers**. There, Ana Raquel Coelho Rocha and Leticia Moreira Casotti, supported by the literature in demarketing, analyse how black female consumers view marketing actions involving racial issues implemented by companies operating in Brazil. The empiric context investigated is also related to the market of hair beauty and treatment. Based on data from different types of media and from interviews, the authors highlight the existence of a dominant structural pattern, which perpetuates the marginal condition of the natural physical traits of black women. They also signal that the movement toward this consumer's visibility clashes with the fact that these women, even being visibly eager to consume products which value their aesthetics or traits, feel discouraged in relation to their demand.

Despite the importance of economic activities led by black entrepreneurs, it is believed that overcoming racism in Brazil involves debates in the public sphere; debates which are able to influence State and government policies. And, in such debates, the black movement plays a key role. This aspect is approached in the article that closes this Special Issue: **World models as organizational models: global framing and transnational activism in the brazilian black movement**. In the text, Alexandre Reis Rosa explores the appropriation of diasporic content by the Brazilian black movement. The author departs from the observation that, throughout history, the black diaspora has produced different meanings of what it means to be black, of what racism is and how to fight it. He then discusses how one of these views, the Black Atlantic view, understood as a macrostructure capable of influencing the formation of several frames around the world, underlies the alignment of the Brazilian anti-racist activism to the global framing. In this game, the transnational circulation is articulated with the processes of local adaptation, in a movement that leads to transformations in the discourses of such activism and in relation to the demands it addresses to the political system.

With this set of texts, we hope to have reciprocated professor Rigo's trust, which was demonstrated not only when she welcomed our proposals when we first presented it during our conversation in the Management School at the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA)

in January 2017, but also by honoring us with their publication in the issue that celebrates the 25th anniversary of this journal. Well, congratulations! 25 years is a symbol of maturity! It is an invitation to review the past and look to the future. Clearly, this kind of endeavor must be undertaken by the competent editor and the journal's editorial staff. However, we would like to make a comment that might help in this process.

This prestigious journal was launched 25 years ago, on the occasion of an annual meeting of Anpad (*Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Administração* - National Association of Postgraduation and Research in Administration). At that time, for better or for worse, the organization of such events was not as professional as it came to be. There was a local coordinator for the conference, a professor who was not necessarily directly associated with the board of the entity. In the 1993 Meeting, held in Salvador, this role was assigned to professor Maurício Serva, who was working at UFBA (Federal University of Bahia), and at present is at the Federal University of Santa Catarina. The context then was quite different from the one we are living nowadays. The image of the management scholar was not as disseminated as today. Most of the professors in the area divided their time between teaching undergraduate courses and carrying out consultancy activities, or worked as managers in public or private organizations. Those who worked full time in graduate courses and research were rare.

In that cenario, the young professor Serva, still pursuing his doctorate's degree, decided to create a journal in his School. He raised funds in government entities and private companies, established partnerships and managed to achieve his dream of publishing *Organizações & Sociedade*. One of us Guest Editors, Pedro Jaime, who worked as an assistant in his professor's doctorate's research, having developed a strong friendship with him, can vividly remember that moment. He can even recall the meeting professor Serva invited him to participate in, along with the professional who developed the graphic design of the journal: Pedro Belmonte. In times of 'presentism', in which our value is measured only in terms of what we have achieved, and mainly in terms of what we have published over the course of the last three years, sharing these memories so that this history does not fall into oblivion is an act of resistance.

Another event happened to occur during the same period. Equally 25 years ago, the first volume of the book *O indivíduo na organização: dimensões esquecidas* (CHANLAT, 1993), whose original version, *L'individu dans l'organisation: les dimensions oubliées*, had been edited a few years before (CHANLAT, 1990), was published. As is well known, the book brings contributions from French authors to a field of Management that, at that time, as still is the case today, is dominated by the English-speaking world, notably the US. In the third volume of the Brazilian edition, published some years later (CHANLAT, 1996), there was an article addressing racism in organizations (VINCENT, 1996). That is to say that, that collection, which had huge repercussion among us, influencing a whole generation of Brazilian professors in the area of management, already drew attention to racial issues.

Why, we may wonder, did it take so long for this dimension to begin, albeit timidly, to be mentioned in publications in the field of management in our country? Such an indignation is even more intriguing if we consider the fact that, as we have pointed out more than once herein, racial issues were already present a century ago in studies in the domains of sociology and anthropology, since the establishment of those areas in our country. Considering

that, our bewilderment grows: why have the doors to reflections on this theme in the field of management remained carefully locked? - as poetically expresses the photograph of our dear Marcelo Reis, who we wish to thank for having lent his talent to value this project. It is true that this containment was not absolute. In the same School of Management at UFBA, and at the same time, the black anthropologist and intellectual Maria de Lourdes Siqueira (1994) was studying the organizational dimensions of the Candomblé (African religion practiced in Brazil) influencing a research program about African-Brazilian organizations in Bahia, that was coordinated by professor Tânia Fischer (FISCHER et al., 1993). A program of great importance, which had investigated the specificities of the local reality. But the focus was not the large companies, neither the position of Blacks in the highest-ranking positions in their organizational structure.

Evidently, answering such complex questions is beyond the scope of this text. We would like, however, to conclude by highlighting that, with the organization of this Special Issue we wish to honor pioneers as professor Maurício Serva and professor Maria de Lourdes Siqueira, and join the efforts that have been invested by black and white researchers who, even meeting resistance, have forged alliances and sought to place the racial dimension in the agenda of the field of Management Science. Thus, we praise the commitment of our colleagues, people such as Alexandre Reis Rosa, Eliane Barbosa Conceição, Eloisio Moulin de Souza, Josiane Silva de Oliveira, Juliana Teixeira, Luiz Alex Saraiva, among others. We celebrate the joint effort, the collective production, the interdisciplinarity, the dialogue between the fields of management and the social sciences. And we invite all of us to permanently reflect on the presence of the racial dimension not only in our studies and research, but in the very organization of our scientific community. Lest we forget!

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MERIT IS NOT FOR EVERYONE: THE PERCEPTION OF BLACK MANAGERS ABOUT THEIR PROCESS OF CAREER MOBILITY

Mérito não é para qualquer um: a percepção de gerentes negros sobre o seu processo de ascensão profissional

Andréa Alcione de Souza*
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ABSTRACT

Based on research conducted in Belo Horizonte, with 25 black managers, this article analyzes how the career mobility discourse is based on the idea of personal merit. Considering this central problem and authors such as Pierre Bourdieu, Jessé Souza and Carlos Hasenbalg, the research analyzed the assumptions, functionalities and productive character that the idea of personal merit assumes in the interviewees' discourse. The results obtained point to a perception of the process of moving up in the organization career path that has strong meritocratic components; a perception that ignores or minimizes the social, emotional, moral and economic preconditions that interfere in the differential performance obtained by individuals. Moreover, this perception implies a disqualification of any argument that reinforces the racial barriers in their upward career mobility processes, which contributes to conceal the political, economic and social dimension of racism in the country.

Keywords: Merit. Race. Career mobility.

RESUMO

O artigo analisa, a partir de uma pesquisa realizada em Belo Horizonte com 25 gerentes negros, como o discurso de ascensão profissional é fundado na ideia de um mérito pessoal. Através de autores como Pierre Bourdieu, Jessé Souza e Carlos Hasenbalg, a investigação analisou, a partir desta problemática central, os pressupostos, as funcionalidades e o caráter produtivo que a ideia de mérito pessoal assume no discurso dos entrevistados. Os resultados obtidos apontam, no discurso dos gestores, para uma percepção acerca do processo de ascensão profissional com fortes componentes meritocráticos, percepção esta que ignora ou minimiza as pré-condições sociais, emocionais, morais e econômicas que interferem no desempenho diferencial obtido pelos indivíduos. Acrescenta-se, ainda, que esta percepção implica em uma desqualificação de qualquer argumentação que reforce as barreiras raciais em seus processos de ascensão profissional, o que contribui para ocultar a dimensão política, econômica e social do racismo no país.

Palavras-chave: Mérito. Raça. Ascensão profissional.

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INTRODUCTION

The level of a population's social mobility is an important dimension in understanding how the country's economic development contributes to the reduction of social inequalities. The results of economic development in Brazil are distributed unequally, privileging some individuals over others and reinforcing the idea of the existence of social barriers that compromise equal access of certain groups to opportunities for upward mobility. In this process, when an individual reaches higher positions in the social or occupational structure, there is the possibility of new economic, cultural, symbolic and educational gains, as well as changes in values and attitudes.

After analyzing the racial inequalities in the Brazilian labor market, we find explicit evidence of the differentiated situations and conditions of blacks and whites, whether at the moment of insertion, construction of the occupational trajectory, or in relation to the possibility of career mobility (HASENBALG, 2005).

Marked by complexity in terms of identification and understanding, racial discrimination in Brazil, as an important dimension in our set of social inequalities, has its own characteristics that limit its recognition. However, its systematic manifestation, whether it is evident or diffuse, keeps imposing barriers that negatively influence the life cycle of half of the Brazilian population. Due to the fact that racial barriers in Brazil are not always easy to identify, it is important to develop studies that seek to understand whether the black population who ascended to higher-status occupations conceives and explains their upward mobility process only from the individual point of view and, consequently, whether there is the possibility for critical perception of the social constraints that impact the upward mobility processes of the black population.

Therefore, based on research carried out in the city of Belo Horizonte (in the state of Minas Gerais) in 2012, this paper seeks to analyze the perception of black managers in relation to their career mobility process, aiming to identify and evaluate, among the interviewees, the recurrence of a discourse centered on personal merit. From this perspective, we can ask ourselves: in order to be recognized as members of a higher social class in a stratified society, would black managers have to assume and naturalize the meritocratic discourse and deny race-based affirmative actions? In general terms, this analysis sought to understand how the career mobility discourse manifested by black managers is based on the idea of personal merit, ignoring or minimizing the social, emotional, moral and economic preconditions that interfere in the different performances of individuals.

Our methodology focused on content analysis of interviews conducted with 25 managers working in public and private companies, aiming to critically investigate the presence of discourse focused on the idea of personal merit as an explanation for their career advancement. The theoretical basis for the analysis of the recurrence of such discourse and its productive consequences was the characterization of the meritocratic discourse carried out by Jessé Souza (2011), especially concerning the main features elected by the author as structuring such discourse.

In addition to the main objective outlined above, we sought to analyze the assumptions, functionalities and productive character that the idea of personal merit assumes

in the discourse of the interviewees, using the theoretical contributions of authors such as Pierre Bourdieu (2013), Jessé Souza (2011) and Carlos Hasenbalg (2005). The productive character of the meritocratic discourse indicates that it significantly contributes to generate certain interpretations of the racial discrimination events experienced by the black managers, to justify political positions in relation to the so-called affirmative action policy, to legitimize conceptions of justice that ignore the weight of social and racial inequalities, among others, helping to reinforce a technocratic conception of the world that is not sensitive to the structural problems present in our society.

MERITOCRATIC DISCOURSE AND THE NATURALIZATION OF SOCIAL INEQUALITIES

An analysis of the historical and functional components that the discourse based on personal merit acquires in the configuration of the so-called modernity becomes important, when considering, as Livia Barbosa (2003) proposes, that meritocratic ideology constitutes one of the main components of social hierarchization of modern societies. In fact, the "project of modernity", by proposing a rupture with the social order instituted by the old regime, also meant a rupture with some values associated with it and also with the structure of domination that socially legitimated it .

Max Weber (2012), the author who provided the theoretical basis for the development of the "sociology of domination", considers that the bureaucratic administration, fully developed in the Modern State, is highly functional for the development process of the large capitalist enterprise. In fact, because it is based on rationality, such bureaucratic domination is an essential factor for the capitalist system, whose development created a historical need for a continuous, rigorous, intense and calculable administration (WEBER, 2012, p. 146).

This bourgeois and capitalist society is founded on the assumption of equality and freedom, and values rationality, individuality, competition and the ethics of performance. What Max Weber (2004) characterized as "the spirit of capitalism" consists precisely in a life course based on economic rationalism and sustained by a strong devotion to work, performance, and economic success. The predominance of this ethics of performance indicates that the positions of individuals in society must be a consequence of their personal merits, and this is the notably ideological component of the meritocratic system which is typical of modern societies (BARBOSA, 2003).

The ideological basis of this system can be found in Max Weber's (2012) description of the ideal type of bureaucratic domination, presented by the author as a typically modern form of administration. In contrast to the traditional domination, which is based on the belief in the sanctity of traditional orders and powers of the lord, the modern society, modeled on bureaucratic administration, inaugurates a type of domination allegedly founded on reason. The rational character of bureaucratic administration conveys the idea that domination is not only rational but fair, since it occurs by virtue of "knowledge" and not due to the moods and arbitrariness of a "lord". It is, therefore, based on this legitimizing rationality that the dominated and the dominant groups are, in a certain way, levelled off; This is observed, for instance, in the institution of a universal recruitment of those who are the most qualified professionally (WEBER, 2012).

This meritocratic component, which, in modern societies, is associated with an ethics of performance, is informed by the presupposition of equality, which legitimizes social hierarchies by appealing to a criterion of justice that seeks to reward the best, the most talented, the most qualified. However, this supposedly "equality before the law" between individuals and the leveling of the dominated and the dominant group (WEBER, 2012) contributes to conceal the real and concrete reasons for social inequalities (their material basis), riddled with contradictions. It is from this perspective that we approach, in this study, the ideological components of meritocracy, seen as a view that, by naturalizing the social inequalities which are typical of modern societies, contributes to its reproduction, justification and legitimation.

Therefore, recovering the ideological origin of meritocratic thinking in modern societies is important because it allows us to critically analyze this presupposition of equality on the basis of this ideology, since the more unequal the society, the more inadequate it proves to be. In the case of Brazilian society, constituted by expressive inequality, the intransigent defense of personal merit contributes to creating a common sense in which "inequalities" are perceived as "fair" because they are understood as the result of effort and differential performance among individuals.

Souza (2011) observes that the main support for this meritocratic ideology is forgetting the social within the individual, because "any social determination that builds individuals destined to success or failure has to be carefully silenced" (SOUZA, 2011, p. 43), so that, in this way, a conception of success based solely on the abilities, capacities and ingenuity of the individual can prevail. Concealing, therefore, the social determinations that influence the individual performance, one justifies and legitimates all kinds of privilege in the context of modernity.

Associated with this "democratic" assumption, there is economicism, a way of thinking that conceives "society as composed of a set of *homo economicus*, that is, rational agents that calculate their relative chances in the social struggle for scarce resources with the same dispositions of behavior and the same capacities of discipline, self-control and responsibility" (SOUZA, 2011, p.17). Social or professional mobility would be the result of the articulation between individual attributes such as education, age, qualification and the structural conditions of economic growth.

Jessé de Souza (2011), in *A ralé brasileira: quem é e como vive* (The Brazilian scum: who they are and how they live), discusses how meritocratic and economic thinking, which is typical of modern societies, contributes to the reproduction and deepening of social inequalities. Souza supports the idea that the legitimization of the modern world as a "just" world is based on meritocracy. In the case of Brazil, the author affirms that the culture of merit is based on the belief that, in contemporary Brazilian society, blood and birth barriers, present in pre-modern societies, are no longer impediments to career mobility, and that today, only the differential performance of individuals is taken into account.

It must also be considered that Brazilian society, as Souza (2011) emphasized, has historically been characterized by an opposition between a social class that has been excluded from all material and symbolic opportunities of social recognition and the other social classes that are, albeit differently, included. In this system of symbolic opposition

informed by values of superiority and inferiority, the process of social competition means getting as close as possible to the sphere of values socially worthy of merit and recognition.

According to Souza (2011), the ideology of individual merit implies forgetting the "social" sphere and disregarding all the social, emotional, moral and economic preconditions that allow the creation of the productive and competitive individual. Based on this ideology, "failure" is understood from the individual point of view, which tends to reconfigure the very notion of justice, since the more a competitive system is based on meritocracy, the more merit is considered the ideal measure of justice.

The notion of social justice based on individual merit is strongly supported by the project of modernity, and can be observed, in an exemplary manner, in the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen" of 1789, which states a constitutive principle of most of the so-called "Modern" Constitutions: that all citizens are equal before the law and are equally admissible to all public places and jobs, with no distinction other than their virtues and talents.

Souza (2011) also notes that the definition of a specifically modern social justice means that societies must give each and every person according to their own merit, while maintaining the illusion that social equality is thus preserved. In fact, as noted by Weber (1999), the very structure of domination creates the need to consider the contrast that engenders privilege as being legitimate and the situation of "the other" as being the result of some kind of guilt. It is in this sense that the "legend" of every privileged group is its natural superiority and the consequent assumption that "every individual has the fate he/she deserves" (WEBER, 1999, p. 197).

It is important to stress that Jessé de Souza (2011) analyzes the process of reproduction of social inequalities, in which the market, the State, a "Science" and common sense actively participate, based on certain "current social consensus, we all participate in" (SOUZA, 2011, p. 24). This means considering that the dominant ideology that naturalizes inequality and "accepts to produce 'people' on the one side and 'subpeople' on the other" (SOUZA, 2011, p. 24), even being reproduced by individuals on a daily basis, cannot be analyzed without taking into consideration this process of social production and reproduction informed by the dominant, legitimate and authorized knowledge in a given society. As Bourdieu (2013, p. 438) points out, in this process of social reproduction, "the social order is progressively inscribed in people's minds", making it difficult to perceive the limits and contradictions of the prevailing social mythology.

These social consensuses, mute and silent, can articulate both solidarities and deep prejudices (SOUZA, 2011, p. 409). In addition, it is important to consider that "every process of social domination is based on forms of symbolic violence, that is, on mechanisms that obscure and mitigate real violence and make it acceptable and even desirable for even its greatest victims" (SOUZA, 2011, p. 398). It is in this sense that we must face the challenge of articulating what has been separated: the individual and the social, since it is not enough to recognize the force of the dominant interpretations, it is also necessary to recognize that "there is no unjust social domination without it being legitimized as good and just" (SOUZA, 2011, p. 419). And facing this challenge implies challenging latent social consensuses, which operate in such a way that they conceal or minimize social conditioning that helps explain differences in performance among individuals in a given society.

THE SYSTEM OF SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS AND THE SOCIAL STRUGGLE FOR SCARCE RESOURCES

In the analysis of the notably productive character that the meritocratic discourse assumes in the interviewees' speech, it becomes important to revisit the contribution of Pierre Bourdieu (2013), in particular the way the author analyzes the process of reproduction and legitimation of the established social order. Bourdieu, by understanding the social structure as a hierarchical system that establishes relations of power and privilege, is interested in both the material aspects that underlie the process of domination and its symbolic components.

The author analyzes social structure as a field of struggles in which positions and position-taking are defined relationally, based on the dominant classification system that is at the origin of the representations. This dominant classification system refers to the most fundamental opposition of the social order: the opposition between the dominant and the dominated, the basis of the social hierarchy and the system of social distinctions. Thus, in this field of struggles, individuals and groups devise strategies aimed at maintaining or improving their position in the social hierarchy. Therefore, according to this perspective, it is understandable to find individuals or families who seek to approach the habitus of the "elite" of the dominant group, whether consciously or not, in order to preserve or elevate their social position in the structure of class relations, since "the primordial experience of the world is the doxa, adherence to the relations of order that are accepted as evident" (BOURDIEU, 2013, p. 438).

It is interesting to focus a little more on how Bourdieu (2013) describes and explains the workings of classification systems, which are extremely effective, according to the author, for the strengthening of representations which are structured according to the classification. In this process, riddled with antagonisms, the signs of distinction that express class membership play a fundamental role in the reproduction of the system. Such signs of distinction are not restricted to the material domain but imply symbolic aspects, which indicate whether or not the individual is recognized as a member of a given class / class fraction. In emphasizing the transfer of immaterial values in the reproduction of social classes and their privileges, Jessé de Souza (2011) states that the process of social competition does not begin in school, as is generally believed, because the so-called cultural capital is acquired by the individual from an early age, in the process of primary socialization, in which both the habits, attitudes and behavior that are typical of a particular class are learned, and those that are considered the "reference" in terms of "superiority", which make up the socially valued lifestyles.

In the process of producing differentially equipped individuals for social competition, Jessé de Souza (2011) emphasizes two fundamental aspects. One of them is related to the interest families show in fostering the self-confidence of the individual, so that they learn that they are loved unconditionally by their parents. This confers, according to Jesse, to the one who has it, the certainty of their own value. Another fundamental learning for the individual to be better qualified for the process of social competition is related to the disciplinary mechanism, as when one learns to eat at the right times, to do the housework, to clean the room, to know how to behave in social environments, among others. These are

some learnings that integrate the so-called "cultural capital", which is continually covered up by the mechanisms of social domination, although it helps to explain the differential performance of individuals in a given society. Especially for black professionals, because their color or race can be a defining element of their 'social place.'

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND RACIAL INEQUALITIES IN BRAZILIAN SOCIETY

Most studies about race relations in Brazil analyze the participation of blacks in Brazilian society at various stages of our development, trying to understand the impact of our historical legacies in contemporary forms of racial discrimination. However, the visibility of racial inequalities imposes the need to broaden the studies that help us understand how and why, even one hundred years after the abolition of slavery, the majority of blacks still integrate the most vulnerable portion of the Brazilian population.

After slavery, race discrimination in Brazil occurred by means of impoverishment and verbal abuse, through the use of the individual's social class and skin color. In this country, there is this general idea that points to the inferiority of African peoples and, consequently, to the low cultural level of their descendants.

According to Guimarães (1999), in Brazil, racism had two distinct phases. At first, racial discrimination was ostensible but informal and influenced by class and gender discrimination. This fact culminated in segregation in public and private spaces: bars, restaurants and churches. Today, racial discrimination follows market mechanisms, isolating individuals rather than groups; or psychological mechanisms of inferiorization of individual characteristics, culminating in self-exclusion. Most Brazilians, while admitting the existence of racism, declare themselves non-racists. Thus, there is a tendency of disguising racism as class discrimination, manifested in social relations. So, in our country, even with most Brazilians denying racism, racial prejudice is manifested/revealed in social practices. (RODRIGUES, 1995).

A central point of this discussion refers to Blacks' career mobility and their under-representation in significant positions in public and private organizations. In fact, the question of Blacks' social mobility has been present in the history of Brazilian society since the colonial period. An important study on the upward mobility of Blacks in Brazilian society was presented by Gilberto Freyre (2006) in his writings. His perception of Brazil as a culturally integrated country, whose main evidence would be miscegenation, resulted in the acknowledgement of the mobility of the bachelor and mulatto. By incorporating physical traits of both whites and blacks, and with the patronage of some benefactor, the mulatto could pursue a career and change their social status.

In another context, Thales de Azevedo analyzed the social upward mobility of Black people in the state of Bahia, considering an industrialized society and the research resulting from the UNESCO project¹. According to Azevedo (1996), it is only partially true that there is

1. From 1950 to 1953, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco) financed a series of research projects about race relations in Brazil in order to understand and disseminate to other countries the secret of the supposedly 'racial harmony' in Brazilian society. During that period, after World War II, the international context still was of perplexity in relation to the crimes committed due to racial differences.

no racism in Bahia, considering the large number of black and brown people in the composition of its population. Part of the white population of the state considered black people as inferior both socially and biologically. This group believes that the high number of blacks is responsible for the State's economic backwardness. However, according to Azevedo (1996), this type of discrimination used to be moderate and restricted to certain sectors. Due to their skin color, which reminds us of African slaves, accustomed to manual services and who were members of the poorer strata of society, black people were at a disadvantage. Nonetheless, since Bahia is a multiracial and class society, the upward mobility of blacks would be solely and exclusively conditioned by their individual abilities, and thus, this group would compete on a level playing field with whites. Azevedo (1996) further states that a higher educational level, adherence to the dominant culture (of whites) and protective mechanisms, such as the help of 'godparents' (sponsors), were fundamental for the upward mobility of blacks. Patronage, along those lines, was termed by the author as a 'spiritual kinship.' This question refers to the relations of affection and friendliness between blacks and whites translated, at times, into help and protection, even though they were not related by blood.

The studies under this project by Unesco, that dealt with racial relations in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (BASTIDE & FERNANDES, 1955; COSTA PINTO, 1953) focused on the forms of integration of black people into the class system and on social stratification, besides analyzing the associative life and the nature and function of racial prejudice in that region. The interpretation of Florestan Fernandes (1965), who analyzed the racial issue in São Paulo, was fundamental for later studies on the integration of Blacks into the class structure. According to the author, the exclusion of blacks in the first stage of São Paulo's industrialization process in 1930 was a consequence of a government policy which encouraged immigration.

It is known that immigration had a dual role in the emerging capitalist society in Brazil: to dissociate free labor from slave labor, and to improve the country's ethnic-racial profile. Hasenbalg (1999) adds that this interpretation must consider an important phenomenon that contributed to the late incorporation of blacks into the urban-industrial environment of the time: the majority of blacks was concentrated in economically less dynamic regions, such as the Northern region and the Central-west. Outside the Southeast, whites, blacks and mulattos remained linked to agriculture from 1940 to 1950. This situation, coupled with inequalities in education and income, strongly influenced the distribution of racial groups in the occupational strata that emerged with industrialization. Moreover, the optimistic argument that the development of a class society in Brazil could favor the social integration of blacks, present in the analysis of Florestan Fernandes, was not fulfilled either. While in a slave society the right of ownership over the slave and the violence of the owner was sufficient to secure domination over blacks; in a class society, on the other hand, where all are equal before the law, "it was necessary to develop social mechanisms that ensured, in the name of natural inequality, the accommodation of blacks to the system of asymmetrical positions and advantages" (HASENBALG, 2005, p. 118).

Assigning negative qualities to blacks, through racism, is understood as a mechanism of domination that primarily aims to maintain the privileges of the white population in the social structure. In addition, it has been fundamental in the labor market to ensure the availability of cheap and abundant labor and to perpetuate a culture that, through discriminatory practices and explicit or symbolic violence, has limited the opportunities of blacks in

the process of social mobility. "Racism as a mechanism of social selection places non-white Brazilians at a disadvantage in the competitive process of individual upward social mobility and confines them to the bottom of the social hierarchy" (HASENBALG, 1999, p. 41). Racial discrimination has an even worse perverse effect: it makes blacks regulate their aspirations to culturally accepted stereotypes, which define 'the position of whites' and the 'position of blacks' in the social structure. Racism has worked and continues to function as an instrument of disqualification of blacks in the labor market, reserving the most precarious and low-paid jobs for them. This situation persists to this day.

Regarding the insertion in the productive structure, in addition to entering the labor market earlier, blacks also take longer to retire.

Difficulties in the maintenance and reproduction of black families imply the early entry of their members into the labor market, which may result in an obstacle to a full-fledged schooling experience, accumulating damages to the future quality of the workforce. (DIEESE, 2001, p. 132).

The issue presented above brings us back to the veiled forms of racism in Brazilian society, which are subtly manifested, sometimes almost imperceptible. In the Brazilian social imaginary there is a place for blacks and a place for whites and one way of perceiving the distinction of places is to observe the "strangeness" of seeing a black person outside their place. This place, like any other, has coordinates of its location. Santos (1995) selects the phenotype (black), social status (poor), cultural heritage (popular), historical origin (African ancestry) and identity (self-definition and definition by the other) as coordinates to fix (position) blacks in certain spaces. Thus, there is this sensation of strangeness when blacks are seen in command posts, in leadership positions, in high positions in the public sphere, in the legislative branch, and in the judiciary, and so on, because they would be out of "their place": on the basis of the stratified class structure of the Brazilian capitalist model, reproduced in all spheres of social life, including in the labor market. Thus, these location coordinates of blacks in Brazilian society, marked by inequality, end up determining the positions that blacks should primarily occupy, namely the positions destined to reproducing cheap labor, both in training and in the remuneration of the workforce.

According to Hasenbalg (2005), in Brazil, the black population in the labor market is also subject to the mechanisms of class domination that affect other groups. Nevertheless, blacks still suffer a peculiar discrimination as a result of their racial condition. The accumulation of disadvantages caused by being black in Brazil, says Osório (2004), proves the existence of racial barriers in the process of career mobility. The over-representation of blacks in the lowest strata of the labor market implies a disadvantage, from the outset, for the new generations. In addition, the origin of poverty, the occupation of parents and the difficulty of access to education and qualification limit the career mobility of this social group.

Carlos Hasenbalg (1999) analyzed the social mobility of whites and blacks, unfolding his study in three stages: intergenerational mobility; the influence of the parents' social position on their children's achievements, and the influence of education on access to the labor market. The main conclusions of this study were: blacks experience an upward mobility deficit that allows them to reject the idea of equal opportunities for them; the intergenerational mobility showed that among the people who were born in the lower stratum

of rural occupation, the white population had a small advantage in the chances of social mobility; blacks were more vulnerable to downward mobility than whites; blacks were more concentrated in the lower strata of the social structure and higher educational levels had limited impact on the process of social upward mobility of blacks.

Therefore, the authors of this model confirm that social origin and racial discrimination interact in the processes of social upward mobility. Although there is evidence of barriers limiting the social upward mobility of blacks in the labor market, some individuals in this group reach prominent positions in public and private organizations in Brazil. The possibility of career advancement, even being small among the black population, reveals that, despite the existing racial barriers, one cannot rest on a deterministic and fatalistic view of social conditioning. An analysis that intends to take into account the complexity of social reality must place under suspicion both a purely deterministic view that considers racial barriers as insurmountable obstacles and a purely individualistic view that explains the processes of upward mobility solely on the basis of individual merits.

THE SOCIAL MOBILITY OF BLACK MANAGERS AND THE MERIT DISCOURSE

As already mentioned, 25 interviews were conducted with black professionals who are responsible for important areas or sectors of public and/or private organizations. We characterized the managerial work of these professionals judging the level of their responsibilities, the requirement of specific qualification for the position and the nature of their relationship with subordinates and clients / beneficiaries of the organization. Most of them had a college degree, were married, had children and a standard of living characteristic of the Brazilian middle classes. The barriers transposed by the managers we interviewed were related to the social position of the family of origin (poverty, higher number of children and level of education of parents), the need for early insertion in the labor market, the difficulty of completing the whole schooling cycle and the perception of manifestations of prejudice throughout life. When crossing this barrier, most interviewees experienced inter and intra-generational mobility, mainly motivated by the ideal of not reproducing the difficulties of their childhood and youth. We observe that all of them have ascended in the social structure when compared to the family of origin. However, episodes of racism were present in the lives of the interviewees since childhood and the early school years, as shown in the following reports:

Yeah, in my school my nickname was 'monkey.' I used to be upset about it. To this date, every black child, or black person, who enters school discovers racism. School is a place where you discover strong racism. Because in the family environment... The family protects, the family takes care of us. And it's when we go to school that we have the exact notion that you are different. And there's our hair that people are always criticizing and ridiculing and there's the color of the skin. In adolescence, in a small town, it is complex because the black girl does not have a boyfriend, it's difficult to have a relationship. (Maria, municipal public school manager).

In my school they used to say that I had bad hair. Then I would braid my hair to look better. And on the street there were always swearing [...]. I didn't

understand very well why that used to happen. (Ana, manager of a furniture store).

There were always racist jokes at school, I did not laugh. I was upset. One day I was coming back from the library, when I was eight, and I heard someone say: he's black. I tried not to care. But I always knew that Brazil is a racist country. Since I was a child. (Ricardo, manager in a large industry.).

When I was a child I always heard jokes about my color in my school. (Flora, municipal public manager).

I always had problems with my classmates and teachers about my color. There were jokes, curses and fights. The teachers never stood by me. (Dirceu, manager in a large industry).

If in the past the social mobility of blacks was the result of patronage and affiliation by some white benefactors, today such elements are no longer present. For those interviewed, support from the family of origin, the individual's willingness to work and to qualify, persistence in the face of adversity, acceptance of organizational values and the form of reaction to discrimination seem to be more decisive for professional success. In companies, manifestations of racial prejudice were almost always related to the internalisation by whites of a negative image of blacks, especially with regard to the skills and abilities necessary for the exercise of the managerial function.

At this point it is important to emphasize that internal competition and subjective dimensions in the process of hiring and evaluating employees make the organizational environment a perfect place for discriminatory practices (BENTO, 2002). Therefore, it is necessary to consider that not always an event of discrimination in the work space is directly related to prejudice, since the discriminatory action can be primarily motivated by the maintenance of privileges, or by the search for power within the company. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that, even when the motivation for discrimination against black people is the maintenance of privileges, this type of discrimination, by having a very specific target (a black person), is based on racism and a vision of superiority of the notably white population.

According to Bento (2002), institutional discrimination occurs regardless of whether or not the person demonstrates open racism or the intention to discriminate. After all, for those who discriminate, we live in a racial democracy, so those who are not successful at work are regarded as the most incompetent, the least diligent and the least dedicated to work. Institutional discrimination is so effective that most of the interviewees consider themselves an exception because of the situation of the majority of blacks in the country. For them, the problem is the individual, not the institutions. This was evident in the interviews: 25 blacks were interviewed, 80% of the managers answered the questions in a quick and succinct manner, disqualifying questions about racism in the work environment, justifying their trajectory, on the basis of their personal and professional qualifications or skills, as can be observed in the following narratives:

There was a lot of internal competition in the Bank. Once I was approved in the exam, those approved in the previous exam were suspicious, because they thought I would be promoted before them. But it didn't happen. Instead, when

I entered the Bank as an employee, a black woman entered too. We were both assigned to work in the administrative sector. There were 16 new employees. Only the both of us were black. They assigned us to work on the bank's file, which is a sector that is not visible to clients. We had no contact with the public. We worked with control and research of documents, distribution of bank statements and things like that. All white colleagues were promoted before us. We were the last ones. One day a colleague of mine, in disgust, asked the head of the sector: 'Hey, we will not have a rotation of duties here? They (me and my colleague) have been in the same sector for a long time.' The boss replied: "No, their place is here" [...] My colleague threatened to contact the union and I told him not to do that [...] After all, we were still on probationary period and that would not help us. So it took us longer than the others to move up. Among all, I was the last one to be promoted. (Rafael, manager at a public bank.)

When I took over as shopping mall operations manager, some store owners fired an anonymous e-mail with the following message: 'So the mall hired a black manager [...] What does a black man know how to do? Blacks, when they don't (sic) in the beginning, , they do in the end!, and many other things.' This email was sent to the mall administration, and to other managers. But I feel nothing, I believe that prejudice is inside people's heads. It makes no difference to me. I keep doing my job, the best as I can. When I was a child, I used to fight [...] now I don't care. But one thing is true. If there is a white person and a black person, with the same level of education, with the same knowledge and experience, the white one will be chosen. You can check in other malls in BH (Belo Horizonte). Have you ever seen a black person in the Administration? I don't think so. (Pedro, manager of operations of a mall).

Once I went out to lunch with my superior to discuss business of the company where I was a manager, and a curious fact happened. We walked into restaurant Y, ordered a bottle of wine and the waiter served only her glass. I think he thought I was her driver or her security guard. (Paulo, commercial manager in an industry).

The 25 interviewees stressed that the promotion took place because of dedication, education, professionalism, experience and good interpersonal relationships built within the organization. For most of them, their skin color and gender had no influence on the process of career mobility. According to the interviewees, overcoming racial barriers almost never involved adopting a confrontational stance. After all, 'being successful', 'getting there', occurs in this environment, which can discriminate the black population and other social minorities. It was through an individual regulation stance that managers treated the episodes of racism in the workplace. In some cases, we observed confrontation, but, in most of them, what prevailed was the lack of reaction or the disqualification of the episode by the interviewees. Bento (2003) says that there are three ways for blacks to react to situations of discrimination: denial, confrontation and non-confrontation. In denial, Blacks do not consider themselves the target of discrimination and the prejudice that affects all of society is a situation far from their reality. In the case of non-confrontation, they recognize themselves and others as the target of prejudice, but choose not to act against it. And confrontation presupposes some reaction from an individual or collective point of view. In our research, we identified that 84% of the respondents took a denial or non-confrontational stand, while only 4 of them

(16%) took a stance against racism. These attitudes reveal these professionals' need to disqualify race/color as a 'marker' of social differentiation.

Therefore, most managers' discourse has shown us that contradictions are concealed, favoring meritocratic discourse, which fulfills its role of hiding the social differences and injustices. And it must be reaffirmed that the strength of such discourse is so significant that even those who are victims of racial discrimination are also responsible for their reproduction. Discrimination events, at some points in the interviews, were reconstructed in order to strengthen the idea of personal effort in career mobility.

Despite the barriers and difficulties encountered by most of the interviewees in the process of professional advancement, all of them confirmed that it was their education, competence and personal effort that contributed to professional success. The color of the skin or race was perceived by many as a disadvantage that had to be overcome by commitment, qualification and dedication to work. That is, skin color, as a 'disqualifying' element for the labor market, could be neutralized by individual commitment. Thus, in contrast to the reports of discrimination present in social relations, when it comes to analyzing the reasons for career mobility, the racial issue leaves the social sphere and becomes an individual issue. This discourse is also in line with the meritocratic ideology, and it is necessary to silence all social determination that builds individuals destined to success and failure according to one social identifier or another.

When questioned about the situation of blacks in Brazil, most managers used the pronoun 'they' rather than 'we'. Expressions such as "they need to study more" or "they need to qualify" were frequent during the interviews. That means most of them did not see themselves as a member of a social group upon which prejudice and discrimination could fall on a larger scale. 'Getting there', for them, overcoming social and racial barriers, meant breaking with a stereotype that identifies the majority of blacks in Brazil as incapable and disqualified. During this research, we noticed that the interviewees' upward trajectory implied, almost always, the distancing from Afro-Brazilian culture, political-racial movements, as well as lack of knowledge of public policies aimed at the black population.

Among all the interviewees, only 05 (20%) expressed support for affirmative action. In this sense, the process of concealment of the social sphere can also explain the position of a large part of the interviewees in relation to racial quotas, because when valuing individual merit, the construction of meritocratic discourse grounds the criterion of justice in the "result" achieved by the individual, translated as a consequence of their commitment, ability and merit.

Affirmative action, and specifically racial quota, aim to compensate the black population and other minorities of the disadvantages accumulated in the present in function of the past, promoting social actions in the field of education, work and health, among others, with the purpose of promoting equal opportunities for all individuals. Affirmative action policies admit a prospect of reparation and, at the same time, a compensatory character in order to correct present wrong doings that could jeopardize the future of young blacks (MARTINS, 2005). In addition, by ensuring equal individual opportunities, such actions turn any form of discrimination into crime. Finally, we know that the controversy surrounding the adoption (or not) of affirmative action in Brazil also contemplates a universalist dilemma, based on individual merit and equal opportunities. In their narratives, the managers focused on the

issue of individual merit to justify their position against these policies, as the testimonies reveal:

The quota, for example, is the greatest discrimination of all. Why is it necessary? It is not because some are able to study in private schools that it is necessary to guarantee a small percentage for blacks, no!. This policy ends up discouraging blacks, because some feel satisfied with this alms [charity]. (John, manager in an association of workers).

No, I'm not against it. Without it, it would be worse. I think it should even be expanded, because if we had equal treatment we would not need it. In public universities, if there is a black person and a white person, the white goes ahead and the black one does not; This is normal. In a big company, in a big industry, as you can see, that I already mentioned there, in the malls. You can go there, to Y bank that you will not see blacks; you can't find any there. (Pedro, manager of a retail trade).

I'm not in favor. I think this is not just a racial but a financial issue. The less financial conditions the person has, the more difficult it is to reach a social level. Creating quotas for blacks does not solve the problem if the person doesn't have a basis. I, for example, had a hard time in college. The quota helps, but it's not the most efficient way to handle the issue. Teaching as a whole should improve. I have friends who don'tt have enough knowledge and have already graduated from college. (Renato, manager of a retail trade).

Another feature of meritocratic ideology, as discussed by Jessé de Souza (2011), is to blame the individual who does not "succeeds" because he believes that in today's Brazilian society, blood and birth barriers are not impediments to career mobility anymore. According to this line of thought, nowadays only the differential performance of individuals is taken into account and the notion that each one must earn according to their own merits. Cida, in her testimony, clearly indicates this functionality:

I think we have to fight. Fight to study and not lower our heads. Overcome difficulties. If I had not studied I would not be where I am. The issue of the blacks is associated with poverty. We need to make an effort to finish college. I have two sisters who studied and two who didn't follow the same trajectory, didn't study, didn't attend Higher Education. Today they're experiencing difficulties. Blacks need to study more than whites. (Cida, manager in the public sector).

However, we believe that individualism and the ideology of merit, as well as the value system that structures these views, are only "an ideological façade to mask the systematic practice of oppression and exploitation of dominated and discriminated groups" (GUIMARÃES, 1996, p. 236). In the case of this study, it conceals a strategy of undeclared racism, characteristic of Brazilian society. Another possible observation, based on this last statement, which denies the idea that racial barriers impede the upward mobility of blacks in the labor market, is based on the assumption that education is sufficient for one to overcome social inequalities, ignoring the symbolic capital that operates in distinguishing whites and blacks in the labor market. Pierre Bourdieu (2013), when describing and explaining how classification systems work, emphasizes that the signs of distinction are not restricted to the

material domain but imply symbolic aspects, which indicate whether or not the individual is recognized as a member of a given class/fraction of a class.

So we may ask ourselves: in order to be recognized as members of a higher social class in a stratified society, would black managers have to assume and naturalize the meritocratic discourse and deny race-based affirmative action?

The data collected suggests that, in order for black managers to complete their process of upward mobility, it is not enough to just have a managerial position that translates into higher income (economic capital). It is necessary that they incorporate the values and discourse of the class they are entering (symbolic capital), among them the principle of meritocracy and the valorization of individual competence, which often means the refusal of any affirmative action.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In view of the racial inequalities observed in the Brazilian labor market, we can note that it is clearly marked by differentiated situations and conditions at the time of insertion, in the construction of the occupational trajectory and also in the possibility of career mobility of whites to the detriment of blacks. However, such conditions are not recognized as manifestations of racial discrimination.

In our study, we analyzed the content of interviews conducted with 25 black managers from public and private companies in Belo Horizonte and, in the light of the works of authors such as Pierre Bourdieu, Jessé Souza and Carlos Hasenbalg, sought to identify the assumptions, functionalities and the productive character that the idea of personal merit assumes in the discourse of the interviewees as an explanation for the advancement in the professional career.

The results of the research point to the affirmation of 'merit' in the professional trajectory of the majority of the interviewees. We observed a discourse aimed at the disqualification, by the managers, of any argumentation that reinforces the racial barriers in their processes of career mobility. The managers' discourses revealed hidden or disguised contradictions for the construction of a meritocratic discourse. That way, the racism evidenced in their statements was, in most cases, relativized or silenced to strengthen the idea that their success is rooted on personal merit, and thus dismissing the social bases of discrimination. Most of them said they opposed the adoption of affirmative action policies because they believe they devalue all the efforts made by some blacks who managed to get to the highest positions in the labor market. For them, granting quotas, for example, would mean recognizing that they are unable to achieve benefits on their own. It seems that these few professionals, in disregarding the political dimension of racism in the country, place themselves in the social structure as 'winners', that is, as 'those who have gotten there', and therefore must be examples of success and achievement. Most disregard the fact that the low percentage of blacks in leadership positions, far from being an exception to the rule, reinforces the certainty that racial discrimination has not been overcome. Most are unaware that discrimination actually has two sides: while on the one hand it excludes the members of the discriminated group, on the other it benefits and facilitates the life of discriminators.

In addition to weakening the political mobilization of the black population in the struggle in order to ascend socially, the ideology of merit also manages to cover up the subtle violence that most individuals in this group experience on a daily basis. In addition, it distances those who 'got there' from their racial identity, breaking possible ties of solidarity that could contribute to changes in racial and social inequalities. Blacks, especially those who moved up in the social structure, are forced to share the idealized version of the racial order and their pragmatic acceptance may result in a less painful way of dealing with the stigma related to the color of their skin (HASENBALG, 2005).

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WAGE DIFFERENTIALS ASSOCIATED WITH RACE BETWEEN 2002 AND 2014 IN BRAZIL: EVIDENCE FROM A QUANTILE DECOMPOSITION

Diferenças salariais devido à raça entre 2002 e 2014 no Brasil: evidências de uma decomposição quantílica

Gustavo Saraiva Frio*
Luiz Felipe Campos Fontes**

ABSTRACT

Throughout the 2000s Brazil went through a great phase of economic development. The present study seeks to investigate whether this movement was accompanied by a reduction in inequality in the labor market, measured here by the wage gap between whites and non-whites. To do so, three cohorts of time (2002-2004, 2007-2009 and 2012-2014) were analyzed using the microdata of the National Household Sampling Survey (*Pesquisa Nacional de Amostragem Domiciliar* - Pnad). The applied method is the counterfactual Oaxaca-Blinder along with the Recentered Influence Function Regression (RIF-Regression) so that the main determinants of wage inequalities can be detailed throughout the salary distribution. Our results showed that wage gap (totals, due to observed factors and discrimination) are higher in the higher quantiles of the distribution, that is, in professions or activities with higher wages. The results also point that the wage gap between the groups decreased during the analyzed period, which was mainly due to observable characteristics, especially educational levels. However, discrimination decreased only between the first and second triennium and in low magnitude. Apart from that, the main determinants of racial wage gap are returns related to education, experience and professions considered unregulated (self-employment and informal workers).

Keywords: Racial wage gap. Oaxaca-Blinder. Recentered Influence Function Regression.

RESUMO

Ao longo da década de 2000 o Brasil passou por uma grande fase de desenvolvimento econômico. O presente trabalho busca investigar se este movimento foi acompanhado por uma redução na desigualdade no mercado de trabalho, medido aqui pelo diferencial salarial entre brancos e não brancos. Para tanto, são analisadas três coortes de tempo (2002-2004, 2007-2009 e 2012-2014) a partir dos microdados da Pesquisa Nacional de Amostragem Domiciliar (Pnad). O método aplicado é a decomposição contrafactual Oaxaca-Blinder conjugado com o Recentered Influence Function Regression (RIF-Regression) para que se possam detalhar os principais contribuintes do fenômeno observado ao longo de toda distribuição salarial. Nossos resultados apontaram que as diferenças salariais (totais, oriundas de fatores observados e de discriminação) são maiores nos quantis mais elevados da distribuição, ou seja, em profissões ou atividades cujos salários são maiores. Os achados também apontam para uma aproximação salarial entre os grupos ao longo do período analisado, que se deu principalmente por características observáveis, a destacar os níveis de escolaridade. Entretanto, a discriminação caiu apenas entre o primeiro e o segundo triênio e em baixa magnitude. Fora isso, os principais determinantes da discriminação salarial de raça são os retornos à educação, experiência e de profissões consideradas sem regulação (trabalho autônomo e sem carteira assinada).

Palavras-chave: Diferenças salariais de raça. Oaxaca-Blinder. *Recentered Influence Function Regression*.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Brazil has recently undergone transformations in the labor market and in the socioeconomic field of a magnitude not observed in previous periods. Komatsu and Menezes Filho (2015), using data from the Monthly Employment Survey (PME), point out that from 2002 to 2014 a real growth of 17% was observed in relation to the average wage, largely as a result of the real minimum wage increases that, during these 12 years, amounted to 70%. Also noteworthy for the same period is the drop in the labor income Gini index by about 15%, the increase in the formal employment sector by 10% and the drop in unemployment from 12% to 5%. Data from the World Bank (2002-2014) show that such changes occurred together with the evolution of some social indicators, such as: a 59% increase in GDP *per capita*¹; the reduction of the population in the poverty line from 22.2% to 7.4%; and the decrease in the Gini index by 14%, reaching the level of 51.48 in 2014.

In this context, the wage difference between races should be noted, since this factor is a reflection of both social inequities and inequities in the labor market. According to Lang, Lehmann and Yeon (2012), these wage differences can have a direct impact on the socioeconomic development of a country by producing inefficiencies in the labor market through the transfer of resources between the groups. In this sense, Leite (2005) points out that wage discrimination associated with race is the main source of inequities in the Brazilian labor market.

Figure 1 (below) shows the hourly (natural log) wage density of whites and non-whites in Brazil for the 2002-2004, 2007-2009 and 2012-2014 triennia. It should be noted that there is a wage gap between the groups in the three time cohorts analyzed, since the density function of whites is always to the right of the non-white density function. However, it can be observed that over time there was some convergence between the wages of whites and non-whites, reflecting the transformations already mentioned above.

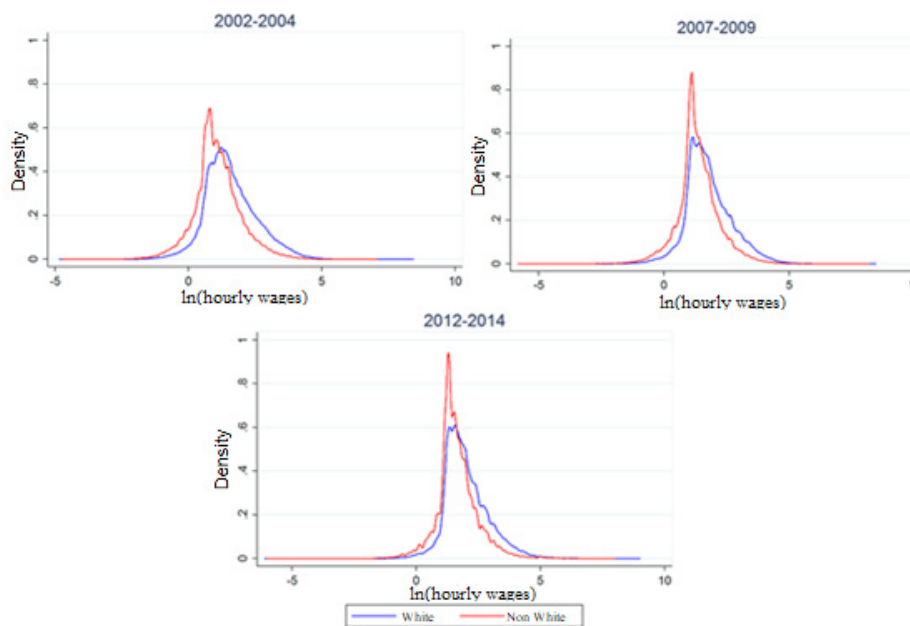
Thus, this paper aims to analyze, in detail, the apparent convergence of whites' and non-whites' wages over the period 2002-2014. To do so, we use the microdata of the National Household Sample Survey (Pnad) and the Oaxaca-Blinder counterfactual methodology (1993) combined with the Recentered Influence Function Regression (RIF-Regression) proposed by Firpo, Fortin and Lemieux (2009). This combination of techniques allows us to analyze, over the wage quantiles, whether the decrease in the wage gap between whites and non-whites was due to the productive characteristics of workers or the result of a drop in discrimination. In this sense, we want to further measure which variables contributed the most to the observed phenomenon. The quantile approach is justified in this case because of differences in the wage pattern across races throughout the distribution, as can be observed in Figure 1.

Moreover, this work progresses in order to show, in a special way, how occupation types affect discrimination, especially occupations that are not governed by the Consolidation of Labor Laws (CLT), such as employees without a formal contract or self-employed workers.

1. GDP *per capita* increased from 9.468 to 15.972 at the current purchasing power parity (PPP).

These results contribute to the intense debate on the Brazilian labor reform, recently approved by the National Congress.

Figure 1 - Density (kernel) of hourly wage (natural log) for whites and non-whites - 2002-2004, 2007-2009 and 2012-2014.



Source: Prepared by the authors using microdata from Pnad/IBGE.

The paper is divided into four more sections besides this introduction. The second section discusses the methodology used in this work. The third one presents the variables and data used, as well as an exploratory analysis of the latter. In the fourth section, we report the empirical results, and also bring a subsection for the discussion of data based on the literature. Finally, the final considerations are presented.

2. METHODOLOGY

The wage determinants have been studied for a long time by economists, based on the income equation of (MINCER, 1974):

(1)

$$\ln Y_i = \alpha + \beta_i X_i + \mu_i$$

where Y is the worker's wage i , α is a constant, β is a parameter vector associated with an explanatory variable vector, X , in addition to the error term, μ , which also contains unobservable characteristics. In this sense, the average wage differential between whites

and non-whites could be analyzed through the inclusion of a dummy variable referring to these groups. However, in this case, we would not be able to analyze whether the difference in income results from productive characteristics that differentiate white from non-white workers or are due to discrimination.

Therefore, methods of counterfactual decomposition are used, with the purpose of analyzing the determinants of wage differentials in detail. In addition, these methods have been expanded, using quantile approaches, to analyze the differences throughout the wage distribution and not only in the mean (FORTIN; LEMIEUX; FIRPO, 2011).

In this study, the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition method is applied in combination with the Recentered Influence Function Regression (RIF-Regression) method proposed by Firpo, Fortin and Lemieux (2009), which can be used in the case of unconditional quantile distributions for the outcome variable (in our case, wages). This combination of techniques allows us to robustly analyze the wage differences between races for each quantile, as well as to decompose this difference between observable and unobservable factors, and finally, to analyze how each workers' characteristics affect these results

2.1 OAXACA-BLINDER

Based on the work of Blinder (1973) and Oaxaca (1973), the counterfactual decomposition procedure called the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition was originated. Starting from equation 1, one can think of the estimation of wages for two groups of workers $i \in \{A,B\}$, where A denotes whites and B non-whites. In short, the wage differential is analyzed through two prisms: the part explained by productive factors and the unexplained part, which the literature usually attributes to wage discrimination.

The difference in wage average expectations is given by:

(2)

$$R = E(Y_A) - E(Y_B) = E(X_A)' \beta_A - E(X_B)' \beta_B$$

where, by assumption $E(Y_i) = E(X_i' \beta_i + \varepsilon_i) = E(X_i' \beta_i) + E(\varepsilon_i) = E(X_i)' \beta_i$, $E(\beta_i) = \beta_i$ and $E(\varepsilon_i) = 0$

Considering a coefficients matrix β^* , we can rearrange equation 2 by adding and subtracting $E(X_A)' \beta^*$ and $E(X_B)' \beta$, so that:

(3)

$$R = [E(X_A) - E(X_B)]' \beta^* + [E(X_A)' (\beta_A - \beta^*) + E(X_B)' (\beta^* - \beta_B)]$$

Thus, we have the decomposition into two parts, where $[E(X_A)'(\beta_A - \beta^*) + E(X_B)'(\beta^* - \beta_B)]$ is the unexplained part² of the wage differential and $[E(X_A) - E(X_B)]'\beta^*$ is the part explained by productive attributes, such as education and experience.

2.2 RIF-REGRESSION

The RIF-Regression method was developed by Firpo, Fortin and Lemieux (2009) and provides a simple way to estimate detailed decompositions of any statistical distribution for which an influence function (IF) can be computed. In this case, the procedure is similar to a traditional regression, but the dependent variable is replaced by the IF of interest. The model approach assumes that the conditional expectation of the RIF-Regression can be modeled as a linear function, as follows:

$$E[RIF(Y;v)|X] = X\gamma + \varepsilon \quad (4)$$

where parameters γ can be estimated by ordinary least squares (OLS).

In the case of unconditional quantile regressions, there is equality between $Q_\tau + IF(Y, Q_\tau)$ and $RIF(Y; Q_\tau)$ which can be rewritten as follows:

$$RIF(y; Q_\tau) = Q_\tau + \frac{\tau + 1 \{y \leq Q_\tau\}}{f_Y(Q_\tau)} \quad (5)$$

where $f_Y(\cdot)$ is the density function of the distribution, in the margin of Y , Q_τ is the τ -quantile sample of the unconditional distribution of the independent variable and $1 \{.\}$ is an indicator function.

Computationally, the point density is estimated through kernel methods. Given the coefficients of the unconditional quantile regression for each group, we have:

$$\hat{\gamma}_{g, \tau} = (\sum_{i \in G} X_i X_i')^{-1} \sum_{i \in G} \widehat{RIF}(Y_{gi}; Q_{g, \tau}) X_i \quad (6)$$

where g represents groups A and B.

Thus, it is possible to describe the unconditional quantile model in a manner equivalent to the Oaxaca-Blinder model as:

2. The unexplained part is interpreted as discrimination provided the assumption is made that there is no omission of relevant variables.

(7)

$$\hat{R}^\tau = E(X_A) \hat{\gamma}_{A,\tau} - \hat{\gamma}_{B,\tau} + (E(X_A) - E(X_B)) \hat{\gamma}_{B,\tau}$$

As before, \hat{R}^τ has the total difference of the groups in the estimated quantile. The first part of equation 7 represents the unexplained part (attributed to discrimination) and the second part of the sum is the difference explained by productive attributes.

3. DATA

This study uses data from the National Household Sample Survey (Pnad) from the years 2002 to 2004, 2007 to 2009 and 2012 to 2014. A pseudo-panel composed of three triennia was set so that the phenomenon of racial inequality in the labor market could be analyzed over time. Thus, we can compare the three periods in order to analyze the temporal trajectory of the wage differences. The sample is composed of men and women aged 18 to 65 years. Table 1 presents the variables used in this study. Wages - deflated - are a logarithm, according to standard literature. As an explanatory variable of worker productivity, we can highlight education (Fox et al., 2015), measured in years, and two variables of experience: working time in the current job (specific experience) and the total work experience throughout life.

Table 1 - Description of variables

Variables	Description
Ln_Wages	Wage/hour natural logarithm.
Education	Worker's years of education.
Specific Experience	Worker's experience in the company they are in, in years.
Specific Experience ^ 2	Specific Experience squared.
Experience	Current worker age - the age at which they started to work, in years.
Experience ^ 2	Experience squared.
Unionized	Dummy equal to 1 if the worker is unionized and 0 if otherwise.
Metropolitan	Dummy equal to 1 if the worker lives in a metropolitan area and 0 if otherwise.
Urban	Dummy equal to 1 if the worker lives in an urban area and 0 if otherwise.
Married	Dummy equal to 1 if the worker is married and 0 if otherwise.
Male	Dummy equal to 1 if the worker is male and 0 if otherwise.
White	Dummy equal to 1 if the worker is white and 0 if otherwise.
Head of the household	Dummy equal to 1 if the worker is the head of the household and 0 if otherwise.
Born in the municipality	Dummy equal to 1 if the worker lives in the city where they were born and 0 if otherwise.
Occupationa	Dummies for the following work occupations: formal contract, military, public service, no formal contract, domestic with a formal contract, domestic without a formal contract, self-employed and employer.
CBO	Dummies for professions according to the 2002 Brazilian Occupations Classification (CBO).
UF	Dummies for federated states (UF).

Source: Prepared by the authors. ^a Occupations associated with having a formal contract or not do not comprise workers who do household chores, so there are specific dummies for domestic workers with or without a formal contract.

Some dummy variables are used in this study in order to control other factors that, despite not being productive, also affect the worker's wages³, such as: being unionized (BALDWIN; CHOE, 2014; GUIMARÃES; SILVA, 2016; LUBRANO; NDOYE, 2014; SILVA; GUIMARÃES, 2017), male (LIU et al., 2016; MICHELMORE; SASSLER, 2016), and head of the household (HERRING; HENDERSON, 2016).

Location variables such as: metropolitan (GUIMARÃES; SILVA, 2016; SILVA; GUIMARÃES, 2017), urban (MA, 2016; SENGUPTA; DAS, 2014; ZHU, 2016), being born in the city, which is a form of immigration if the answer is negative (CHENG et al., 2013; GRANDNER AND GSTACH, 2015; MA, 2016) and the state. According to IBGE, the metropolitan region consists of a set of municipalities that have public functions that, of course, require cooperation. In addition to the integrated performance of public power, it should be noted that the limitation is determined by the political-administrative limit of the households that make up the region. In turn, the urban zone is a municipal definition by law which is composed of city (municipal seat), district (district seat) or isolated urban area. Thus, there are four types of home location: in the urban area of a metropolitan area, in an urban area of a municipality outside the metropolitan region, in a municipality rural area of a metropolitan region, and in a municipality rural area outside the metropolitan region.

There are also variables on the profession of individuals, such as the type of occupation (CASTAGNETTI; ROSTI, 2013; DOUGLAS; STEINBERGER, 2015; MICHELMORE; SASSLER, 2016; WANG; GUO; CHENG, 2015) and also the professions defined in the Brazilian Occupations Classification (CBO) of 2002, which is divided into binary variables for each main subgroup, totaling 48 subgroups.

Table 2 shows the mean and standard deviation of the variables used in this study. Regarding the wage gap between races, it can be noted that in the first analyzed triennium the salary of non-whites equaled 53% of the salaries of whites. In the final period, this number rose to 61%, which reflects the salary convergence between the groups, already highlighted in the Introduction. It is also important to note that in the last three years the salaries of non-whites managed to exceed the salaries of whites in the first triennium, which indicates the large wage difference between the races. The number of observations is at the end of Table 2. It should be noted that people with missing information about any of the explanatory variables or the wage variable are not in the sample.

A possible explanation for the wage convergence (in percentage terms) between whites and non-whites is the evolution of the average education level of both groups, since this factor can be understood as one of the main determinants of wages. There is an increase of 15.71% in the education of whites and 23.89% in the education of non-whites over the triennia. Therefore, although both groups have evolved in years of study, this evolution was higher for non-whites, which may also reflect their higher salary increase when compared to whites.

Another productive factor that is determinant for wages that needs to be analyzed is the level of experience of the worker. However, it can be observed that this is very close between the groups in all analyzed periods. Whites, however, have more time in the company in which they work (specific experience), but the evolution of this variable is marginal

3. In parentheses, we explain through the literature why these variables are included.

throughout the triennia for both groups. As for unionization, non-whites remain stable in the percentage of unionization, while whites decrease by 2 percentage points. It should also be noted that, on average, the proportion of married, municipal immigrants and residents of urban and metropolitan areas is higher for whites. On the other hand, there is a higher percentage among whites who are heads of the household - as of the second period - and a higher percentage of male individuals.

Table 2 - Descriptive Statistics for whites and non-whites

Variables	2002-2004		2007-2009		2012-2014	
	White	Non-white	White	Non-white	White	Non-white
Wages	8.04 (23.18)	4.29 (9.69)	9.33 (24.64)	5.44 (14.13)	13.38 (61.94)	8.22 (31.1)
Education	9.04 (4.37)	7.14 (4.22)	9.81 (4.33)	8.07 (4.32)	10.46 (4.25)	8.81 (4.33)
Specific experience	7.28 (8.58)	7.00 (8.73)	7.59 (8.93)	7.2 (8.98)	7.84 (9.22)	7.40 (9.31)
Experience	21.96 (13.85)	21.77 (13.36)	22.27 (13.61)	22.04 (14.50)	22.74 (13.70)	22.54 (13.61)
Unionized	0.19 (0.39)	0.15 (0.35)	0.19 (0.39)	0.16 (0.37)	0.17 (0.80)	0.15 (0.36)
Metropolitan	0.41 (0.49)	0.38 (0.48)	0.40 (0.49)	0.37 (0.48)	0.41 (0.49)	0.36 (0.48)
Urban	0.89 (0.31)	0.84 (0.36)	0.88 (0.32)	0.83 (0.37)	0.90 (0.30)	0.84 (0.36)
Married	0.77 (0.42)	0.74 (0.44)	0.76 (0.43)	0.73 (0.44)	0.75 (0.43)	0.72 (0.45)
Male	0.47 (0.50)	0.49 (0.50)	0.47 (0.50)	0.49 (0.50)	0.47 (0.50)	0.49 (0.50)
Head of the household	0.40 (0.49)	0.39 (0.49)	0.40 (0.49)	0.41 (0.49)	0.41 (0.49)	0.43 (0.49)
Born in the city	0.48 (0.50)	0.50 (0.50)	0.50 (0.50)	0.51 (0.50)	0.52 (0.50)	0.54 (0.50)
Observations	217,844	216,312	256,486	221,864	197,164	251,072

Source: Prepared by the authors from microdata of the 2002-2004, 2007-2009 and 2012-2014 Pnads.

Note: Averages above parentheses and standard deviation between parentheses.

Table 3 shows the distribution of occupations during the triennia. It should be noted that the occupations with the highest percentage of workers are: employment with a formal contract, without a formal contract and self-employed, in descending order of participation. For the former, the participation of whites is higher than that of non-whites in all triennia. In addition, whites showed an increase of 8.7 percentage points in their participation among employees with a formal contract, reaching 43.85% of the total in the last period. Non-whites increased by 10.36 percentage points, reaching 37.86% of total workers in the period 2012-2014.

Table 3 - Participation of occupations by race

Occupation	2002-2004		2007-2009		2012-2014	
	White	Non-white	White	Non-white	White	Non-white
Employee with a formal contract	35.15%	27.5%	39.98%	32.33%	43.85%	37.86%
Military	0.4%	0.37%	0.36%	0.35%	0.43%	0.43%
State Public Service	8.1%	6.44%	8.56%	6.8%	8.84%	6.94%
Employee without a formal contract	15.55%	20.54%	14.25%	18.64%	12.37%	16.01%
Domestic worker with a formal contract	1.95%	2.36%	1.85%	2.43%	1.82%	2.46%
Domestic worker without a formal contract	4.28%	7.31%	4.05%	6.9%	3.35%	5.63%
Self-employed	21.67%	24.01%	19.98%	22.06%	19.88%	22.09%
Employer	5.98%	2.56%	5.98%	2.68%	5.36%	2.3%
Other occupations	6.92%	8.91%	4.99%	7.81%	4.10%	6.28%

Source: Prepared by the authors from microdata of the 2002-2004, 2007-2009 and 2012-2014 Pnads.

Employees without a formal contract declined considerably over the analyzed period, however, non-whites always have a higher participation in these types of jobs, as do domestic workers without a formal contract. Self-employed workers decline from the first to the second triennium and then remain stable, but non-whites again have a higher relative rate in this occupation. It should be noted that these occupations are not regulated by the CLT (Consolidation of Labor Laws), so this fact can facilitate discrimination, especially in relation to professions where the minimum wage is paid.

In this sense, occupations can play an important role in explaining the wage gap between races, since there is a higher participation of whites in relation to non-whites in occupations with formal contracts (CLT), which generally pay higher salaries than occupations that are not regulated by the CLT - in relation to these, participation is higher for non-whites. Nonetheless, non-whites, with respect to whites, had a greater increase in participation in jobs with a formal contract and lower participation in unregulated occupations. Thus, the dynamics observed in the increasing participation of the groups in these occupations may also have led to reductions in the salary differences between them.

As for the military, there is a very small number of whites and non-whites present in this occupation. In addition, the relative is very similar between both groups, becoming equal in the third triennium. In occupations associated with public service, there is a majority of whites, as already pointed out in the literature (CAMPANTE; CRESPO; LEITE, 2004; VAZ; HOFFMANN, 2007). Finally, employers are, as expected, mostly whites, which can also explain part of the wage gap between races. In those occupations, the dynamic has barely changed along the triennia. Other types of occupations (such as own-use production work) are arranged in the "Other occupations" line; there was a clear reduction in the relative percentage of this group for both whites and non-whites - however, these workers, because they did not have a salary, are not in the descriptive statistics, neither in the results.

4. RESULTS

The first empirical analysis to be carried out in this study consisted of the estimation of income equations, by means of RIF-regression, for whites and non-whites, nine salary quantiles and for the triennia 2002-2004, 2007-2009 and 2012-2014. For the sake of brevity, Table 4 presents only the result in the mean, that is, in the fifth quantile of the wage distribution. It should be noted that, among the productive factors, education seems to be the most impacting regarding wage gains and this coefficient is higher for whites *vis-à-vis* non-whites in all the analyzed periods, which already seems to reflect the discrepancy between groups. Also in relation to the wage returns associated with education, it is noted that it decreased for both races over the analyzed triennia, which may be due to the increase in the average education level, previously seen in the descriptive data analysis. Other productive characteristics - specific experience and experience - also provide positive wage returns which are favorable to whites, although the coefficient related to specific experience presents a discrepancy well above the coefficient related to experience, when comparing the races. It should also be noted that the wage returns of specific experience and experience increase at decreasing rates, which is captured by the negative coefficient of these variables squared for both races and for all analyzed periods.

Table 4 - Income equation (RIF-Regression) in the mean, for all proposed triennia

Variables	2002-2004		2007-2009		2012-2014	
	Whites	Non-whites	Whites	Non-whites	Whites	Non-whites
Education	0.066* (0.001)	0.046* (0.001)	0.061* (0.001)	0.039* (0.000)	0.058* (0.001)	0.037* (0.000)
Specific Experience	0.029* (0.001)	0.020* (0.000)	0.026* (0.001)	0.015* (0.000)	0.024* (0.001)	0.015* (0.000)
Specific Experience ^ 2	-0.001* (0.000)	-0.0004* (0.000)	-0.0005* (0.000)	-0.0003* (0.000)	-0.0004* (0.000)	-0.0003* (0.000)
Experience	0.019* (0.000)	0.016* (0.001)	0.020* (0.000)	0.016* (0.000)	0.018* (0.001)	0.016* (0.000)
Experience ^ 2	-0.0002* (0.000)	-0.0002* (0.000)	-0.0003* (0.000)	-0.0002* (0.000)	-0.0003* (0.000)	-0.0002* (0.000)
Unionized	0.117* (0.004)	0.104* (0.004)	0.110* (0.004)	0.095* (0.004)	0.099* (0.005)	0.080* (0.004)
Metropolitan	0.169* (0.004)	0.123* (0.005)	0.138* (0.004)	0.105* (0.004)	0.122* (0.004)	0.096* (0.004)
Urban	0.112* (0.007)	0.078* (0.006)	0.102* (0.007)	0.054* (0.005)	0.097* (0.007)	0.056* (0.004)
Married	0.090* (0.004)	0.066* (0.004)	0.077* (0.004)	0.057* (0.003)	0.063* (0.004)	0.052* (0.003)
Male	0.103* (0.005)	0.062* (0.005)	0.155* (0.004)	0.093* (0.004)	0.175* (0.004)	0.138* (0.003)
Head of Household	0.145* (0.004)	0.118* (0.004)	0.103* (0.004)	0.077* (0.003)	0.095* (0.004)	0.059* (0.003)

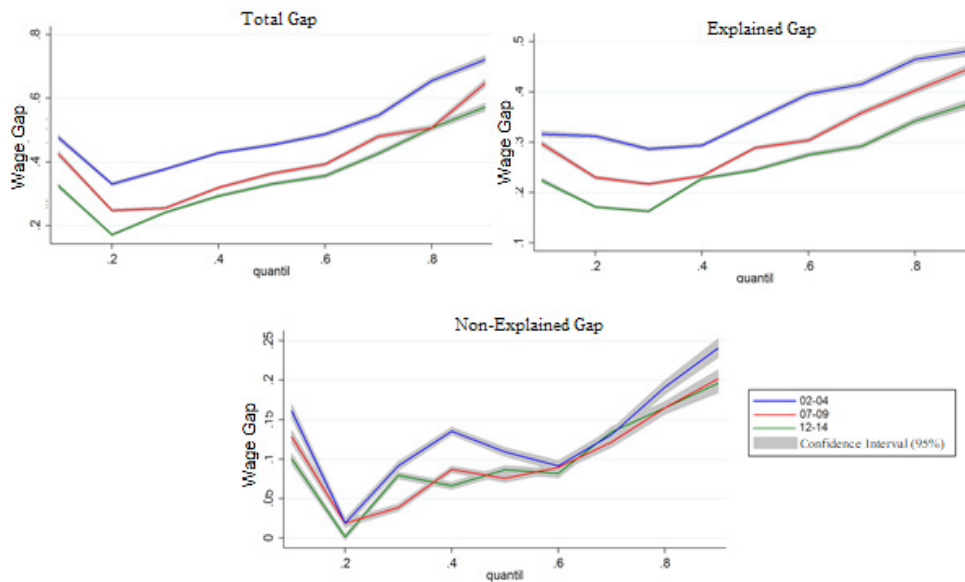
Born in the city	-0.044*	-0.059*	-0.042*	-0.050*	-0.041*	-0.051*
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Constant	0.583*	0.781*	0.705*	1.086*	1.124*	1.223*
	(0.067)	(0.083)	(0.069)	(0.062)	(0.087)	(0.077)
Observations	217,844	216,312	221,864	256,486	197,164	251,072
Adjusted R2	0.372	0.320	0.364	0.295	0.340	0.273

Note: Robust standard error in parenthesis. * $p < 0,01$, ** $p < 0,05$. They are also regression controls: occupation dummies, UF and CBO.

The other RIF-regression coefficients show that the workers with the highest salaries are male, married, heads of household, unionized, municipal immigrants and residents of urban and metropolitan areas. All of the variables mentioned above favor whites in relation to non-whites and, with the exception of the coefficient referring to the male sex, the others had a decrease over the analyzed triennia for reasons that still have to be studied in the literature.

It should be noted that the problem of discrimination, as indicated in Table 4, is not exclusive of whites and non-whites, but also of men and women. The difference between male and female also grows over time varying from 10.3% to 17.5% for whites and from 6.2% to 13.8% for non-whites. This result also appears in the literature that focuses on gender differentials (CASTAGNETTI; ROSTI, 2013; FRIO; UHR; UHR, 2017).

Figure 2 - Quantile decomposition of wage differential between races



Source: Prepared by the authors. Results in percentage.

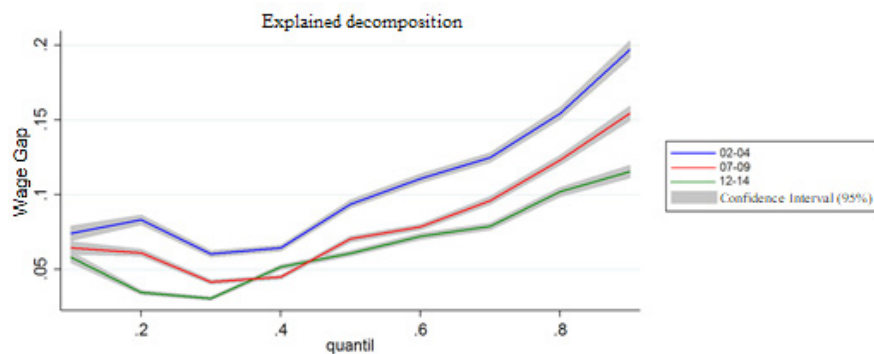
Once the quantum efficiency equations are estimated, we proceed to the Oaxaca wage decomposition, in order to analyze the wage differential between whites and non-whites, as well as its explained and unexplained components. The results for the 9 quantiles

and for the three triennia proposed in this study are presented in Table A.1 of the appendix and in Figure 2.

When we analyze the total wage differential between races, it is clear in Figure 2 that this component increases along the quantiles of the wage distribution, regardless of the analyzed period. Investigating the phenomenon along the time cohorts, we can observe the salary convergence between the groups, confirming the exploratory analysis already performed in the article. This decrease seems to have been more marked between the first and second triennia, as well as proportional among wage quantiles - with the exception of the eighth, between the second and the third triennium. In this sense, it should be noted that in the period 2002-2004, the income of whites was 72% higher than that of non-whites, in the ninth wage quantile. In the period 2012-2014, the estimated difference was 52%.

The explained difference drastically decreases over the triennia. On average, the percentage difference decreased by 10 percentage points. The unexplained difference decreased (in low magnitude) between the first and second third triennia and then remained constant, suggesting persistence in racial discrimination in the labor market. It should be noted that the unexplained part of the differential grows from the second quantile and keeps increasing as the population advances along the wage distribution, in which the discrimination goes from nonexistent in the second quantile to 25% in the last one. In this sense, the discriminatory effect seems to be higher among activities paying higher wages.

Figure 3 - Wage decomposition explained for education



Source: Prepared by the authors. Results in percentage.

It should be noted that the main cause of the wage differential by observable variables is years of education, especially when the highest salaries are again analyzed (Figure 3, Table 5). Thus, in general, whites earn more than non-whites, because they have higher education levels. However, by analyzing the wage decomposition explained by this variable over the triennia, we confirm the hypothesis previously raised in the descriptive data analysis that education would be one of the main responsible factors for the decrease in the salary gap between whites and non-whites over the last decade. When analyzing the mean, there is a reduction in the wage differential from 9.4% to 6.1% due to this productive factor. This effect starts to increase in the fifth quantile, reaching its highest value at the end of the wage distribution, where the decrease in the wage gap between whites and non-whites

dropped from 19.7% to 11.5% between 2002-2004 and 2012-2014. However, even if it decreases over time in the quantiles and in the mean, the wage difference due to education remains high.

Table 5 - Detailed decomposition of the wage difference explained between whites and non-whites, in the mean and in the distribution tails

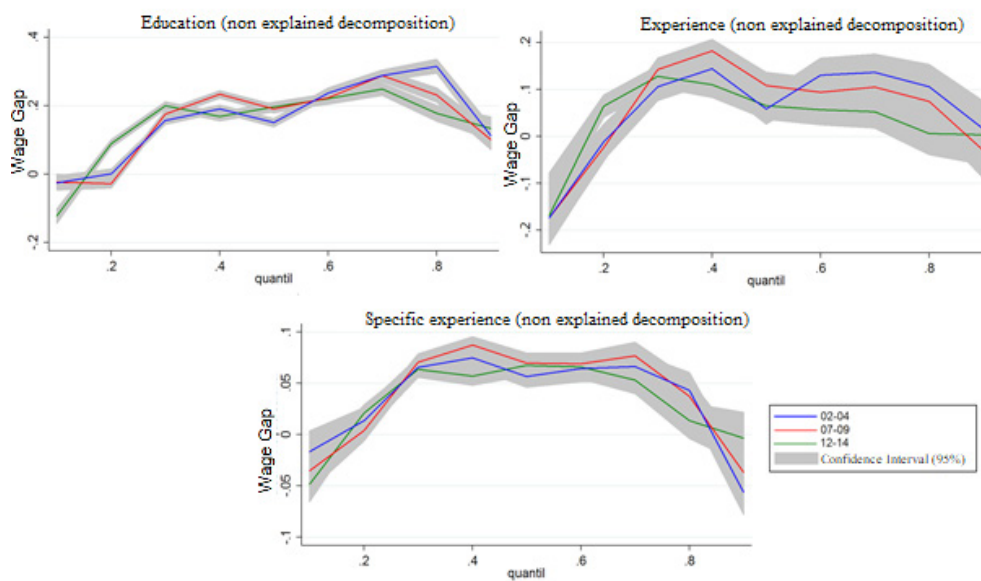
Variable	2002-2004			2007-2009			2012-2014		
	Q.10	Q.50	Q.90	Q.10	Q.50	Q.90	Q.10	Q.50	Q.90
Years of education	0.074*	0.094*	0.197*	0.064*	0.070*	0.154*	0.058*	0.061*	0.115*
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Specific Experience	0.005*	0.008*	0.015*	0.008*	0.008*	0.017*	0.009*	0.009*	0.016*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Experience	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.002*	0.002*	0.004*	0.002*	0.003*	0.004*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Unionized	-0.003*	0.005*	0.018*	-0.002*	0.003*	0.011*	-0.002*	0.002*	0.006*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Metropolitan	0.005*	0.004*	0.004*	0.004*	0.002*	0.003*	0.007*	0.003*	0.005*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Urban	0.004*	0.003*	0.005*	0.005*	0.002*	0.006*	0.008*	0.002*	0.006*
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	0.002*	0.002*	0.002*	0.002*	0.002*	0.002*	0.001*	0.001*	0.002*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Male	-0.006*	-0.002*	-0.007*	-0.006*	-0.004*	-0.010*	-0.008*	-0.006*	-0.012*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Head of Household	-0.002*	-0.002*	-0.003*	-0.002*	-0.002*	-0.003*	-0.002*	-0.002*	-0.004*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Born in the city	0.001*	0.001*	0.001*	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*	0.001*	0.000*	0.001*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Statutory	-0.003*	0.002*	0.013*	-0.003*	0.002*	0.017*	-0.002*	0.003*	0.015*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Employee without a formal contract	0.028*	0.014*	-0.008*	0.029*	0.009*	-0.009*	0.024*	0.004*	-0.006*
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Domestic worker without a formal contract	0.033*	0.011*	-0.014*	0.036*	0.005*	-0.013*	0.028*	0.000	-0.008*
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Self-employed	0.022*	0.003*	-0.010*	0.021*	0.001*	-0.010*	0.021*	-0.001*	-0.008*
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(-0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Employer	-0.003*	0.009*	0.043*	-0.004*	0.007*	0.041*	-0.004*	0.007*	0.036*
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)

Note: Standard error in parenthesis. * $p < 0,01$, ** $p < 0,05$. Regression controls also include: UF dummies, CBO and other occupations (military, formal contract and domestic workers with a formal contract).

Other variables have a much less significant effect in explaining the wage difference between whites and non-whites, and, moreover, they remain practically constant throughout

the analyzed triennia. Nevertheless, experience, specific experience, being unionized, metropolitan and living in urban areas are some of the factors that contribute to increase the wage gap between races. Among the occupations, it should be noted at the end of the salary distribution that when the individual is both the employer or statutory, both occupations favor whites. This suggests that in these occupations activities that pay the highest wages are more often taken by white employees. Interestingly, however, occupations with less legal regulation (domestic workers without a formal contract and self-employed workers) also favor whites, however, only at the beginning of the wage distribution.

Figure 4 - Unexplained wage decomposition for education, experience and specific experience



Source: Prepared by the authors. Results in percentage.

The decomposition of unexplained effects is presented in Table 6. Again, education is the component that most affects the wage differential between whites and non-whites, but in the unexplained part of the total difference (Figure 4 helps to visualize the result better). This suggests that, by keeping everything else constant, the wage returns associated with education are higher for whites than for non-whites. There is extensive literature on the subject, ranging from access to education by non-whites to the heterogeneous education quality available to the groups (ANDRADE; DACHS, 2007; GISI, 2006; GUIMARÃES, 2013; OSORIO, 2013; ROSEMBERG, 2013). Concerning the effects along the distribution, it is observed that these are low in the first two quantiles, suggesting that in activities that pay close to the minimum wage the education return does not seem to have as much relevance as it does in the unexplained effect of the wage difference between races. However, from the third quantile the effects are already very high and remain almost constant until the tail end to the right of the distribution. Evaluating the triennia, we can even note the progress of this component in explaining the wage discrimination that progresses from the average of 15.1% to 19.6% between 2002-2004 and 2012-2014.

Table 6 - Detailed decomposition of unexplained wage difference between whites and non-whites, in the mean and in the tails

Variable	2002-2004			2007-2009			2012-2014		
	Q.10	Q.50	Q.90	Q.10	Q.50	Q.90	Q.10	Q.50	Q.90
Years of education	-0.026*	0.151*	0.113*	-0.023**	0.191*	0.101*	-0.123*	0.196*	0.134*
	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.006)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.017)
Specific Experience	-0.017	0.057*	-0.056*	-0.035*	0.070*	-0.037*	-0.048*	0.067*	-0.004
	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.013)
Experience	-0.174*	0.059*	0.016	-0.174*	0.108*	-0.029	-0.123*	0.065*	0.004
	(0.029)	(0.016)	(0.030)	(0.027)	(0.015)	(0.030)	(0.023)	(0.015)	(0.032)
Unionized	0.008*	0.002**	-0.018*	0.008*	0.002**	-0.011*	0.012*	0.003*	0.004
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Metropolitan	-0.024*	0.018*	0.026*	-0.043*	0.012*	0.031*	-0.059*	0.010*	0.072*
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.005)
Urban	0.027	0.029*	0.005	0.029**	0.041*	-0.019	-0.096*	0.036*	-0.026*
	(0.017)	(0.008)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.008)	(0.015)
Married	-0.022*	0.018*	0.006	-0.009	0.014*	-0.002	-0.019*	0.008**	-0.003
	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.009)
Male	-0.079*	0.025*	0.010	-0.064*	0.037*	0.000	-0.075*	0.022*	-0.008
	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.009)
Head of Household	-0.037*	0.014*	0.028*	-0.027*	0.013*	0.020*	-0.021*	0.018*	0.017*
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.006)
Born in the city	0.026*	0.007*	0.007	0.021*	0.004*	-0.002	0.028*	0.005**	0.009
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.006)
Statutory	0.007*	0.005*	-0.050*	0.007*	0.003*	-0.045*	0.008*	0.003*	-0.020*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Employee without a formal contract	0.022*	0.030*	-0.021*	0.028*	0.022*	-0.027*	0.058*	0.013*	-0.014*
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.003)
Domestic worker without a formal contract	0.012*	0.027*	-0.000	0.017*	0.017*	-0.002**	0.039*	0.011*	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Self-employed	0.076*	0.053*	-0.065*	0.073*	0.041*	-0.050*	0.123*	0.034*	-0.037*
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)
Employer	0.002*	0.001*	-0.020*	0.002*	0.002*	-0.015*	0.002*	0.001*	-0.012*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)

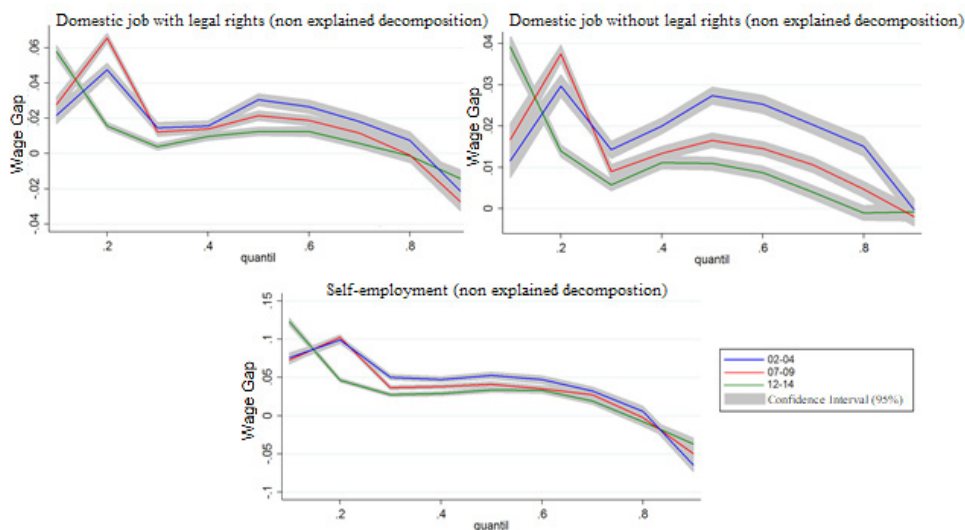
Note: Standard error in parenthesis. * $p < 0,01$, ** $p < 0,05$. Regression controls also include: UF dummies, CBO and other occupations (military, workers with a formal contract and domestic workers with a formal contract)

Other productive factors are also shown in Figure 4. Both experience and specific experience are relevant determinants of wage differentials. In this sense, the income paid to the more experienced workers and those with more years of experience within the company in which they work seem to favor whites. The effect of these variables over the triennia remained close to constant, where in 2012-2014 they determined around 6.5%, on average, of the unobserved wage gap between races. Interestingly, the specific experience favors non-whites at the edge of the distribution (except in the last period, when there are no

significant differences in terms of race among those who are paid more). Controls for gender, unionization, metropolitan region, married, head of household have significant effects on the mean and even greater effects on the tails. It is worth mentioning that living in the urban area increases discrimination, ranging from 2.9% to 4.1%.

The occupation type deserves special mentioning, as it seems to strongly affect discrimination. Non-white workers, with the same characteristics as whites, have significantly lower wages in traditionally less regulated occupations, such as work without a formal contract, domestic work without a formal contract, and self-employment (Figure 5). The average determinant of the unexplained wage decomposition of these variables is 3%, 2.7% and 5.3%, respectively. However, when analyzing the wage distribution, we can see that these values gain magnitude in the second quantile, where for the same variables, the values reach approximately 6%, 4% and 10%, respectively. In this sense, we suggested that in these occupations, less qualified jobs are more susceptible to wage discrimination against non-whites. In these cases, as there is direct contact between the contracting and the contracted parties, a possible tendency towards racial discrimination can be present, since this working relationship is not regulated by formal laws. However, it should be emphasized that these were the only analyzed variables where one can notice a decrease in the effect not observed along the wage quantiles, with emphasis on the first ones.

Figure 5 - Unexplained wage decomposition for work without a formal contract, domestic work without a formal contract and self-employment



Source: Prepared by the authors. Results in percentage.

5. DISCUSSION AND FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This paper aimed to analyze the wage inequalities between whites and non-whites in the Brazilian labor market during the period 2002-2014. A counterfactual decomposition methodology (Oaxaca-Blinder) was used along with a quantile regression approach (RIF-Regression) and PNAD microdata. Our results showed that wage differences (totals, due to

observed factors and discrimination) are higher in the higher quantiles of the distribution, that is, in professions or activities whose wages are higher. In addition, we noticed a marked decrease in the wage gap between races, determined basically by observable characteristics, mainly the proximity between whites and non-whites in terms of level of education. On the other hand, wage discrimination appears to have declined very little over the analyzed period. There is a moderate decrease in the mean in this effect between 2002-2004 and 2007-2009, which then remained constant until 2012-2014. Works such as Mora (2008), Cacciamali; Tatei and Rosalino (2009), Silva; Carvalho and Neri (2006) show, as well as this article, the persistence of wage discrimination between races over time, an effect not only observed in Brazil, but also in other countries, such as the USA (see DOUGLAS; STEINBERGER, 2015).

Our results are complementary to some studies found in the literature, with similar methodologies and proposals. Differing from the works cited above, Salardi (2016), when analyzing the wage gap between races in the period 1987-2006 (with Pnad data) found as a result a decrease in the discriminatory effect over the analyzed period, which according to our work did not last for the remainder of the last decade. Álvarez (2013), using the 2001 and 2011 Pnad data and the wage decomposition of Melly, found that between the first and the second analyzed period there was a decrease in the wage gap between the races, mainly provided by observable characteristics, while the unobservable determinants remained more constant. Moreover, even after using another quantum econometric methodology, their results along salary quantiles are similar to those found in the present study: the observed and unobserved total differences decrease until the second quantiles, then increase proportionally to the higher quantiles of the distribution. This same behavior of the effects of wage decomposition along the distribution is also observed in Freitas Filho and Sampaio (2015) where the authors use the same methodology of the present study only with data from the 2010 Census, without comparing different periods.

It is also important to highlight the role of education in reducing inequalities in the labor market. Our study shows that education is the main determinant of the wage gap between races, both in the decomposition by explained factors and in the decomposition by unexplained factors (the effect in this case is due to different wage returns associated with education). These results are also in line with Salardi (2016), Álvarez (2013) and Freitas Filho and Sampaio (2015). However, in the present study we show that during the analyzed period (2002-2014) this productive factor was the main responsible for the decrease in the wage gap between whites and non-whites. It is interesting to note that the decrease in the wage gap due to the increase in years of education occurred with greater magnitude in the higher levels of the distribution, that is, in relation to higher paying jobs. Between 2002 and 2014, the fall due to this productive factor was approximately 8 p.p. in the ninth quantile. As higher-paid occupations generally employ workers with at least higher education, this result may be related to the focus given over the decades of 2000 and 2010 to higher education policies, among those, the creation of racial quotas deserves to be highlighted. In this sense, the importance of active policies in the area of education in order to reduce socioeconomic inequalities becomes evident. Corroborating such a discussion, there is a concern that whites have greater returns associated with education than non-whites. It is therefore imperative that a higher quality public primary education is sought, favoring the less fortunate and giving them more opportunities to enter higher education.

Emphasis is also given to the role of occupations in wage discrimination, a result hitherto little discussed in the literature. Our results suggest that there is a greater tendency of wage discrimination between races, especially in activities that pay less (beginning of wage distribution), such as in domestic work without a formal contract, other jobs without a formal contract, and autonomous jobs. The hypothesis was that such effect may be the result of the direct contact between the contracting and contracted parties whose working relationship is not regulated by formal laws. In this case, the contracting party could assert this possible tendency towards discrimination. Freitas Filho and Sampaio (2015) also observe an important component to explain discriminatory effects of wages, only comparing men and women. However, it should be noted that the Oaxaca-Blinder, Oaxaca-Ransom, and other models estimate the differential component that is not explained by the productive attributes. The literature on the subject, however, attributes this part of the differential to discrimination. The labor economics literature looks for ways to increase R^2 so that wages are better understood, but the innate ability, which is the main component to explain wages, is not observable, so the R^2 found here are similar to that of the specific literature (BALDWIN; CHOE, 2014; DOUGLAS; STEINBERGER, 2015; HERRING; HENDERSON, 2016).

Finally, it should be noted that, among the variables analyzed to evaluate the discriminatory effect of wages, occupations without regulation were the only ones that showed a decrease in their effect over the analyzed period. This decrease was higher in the professions paying lower wages, which, because they are less valued, could favor even more discrimination against non-whites. In this sense, the decrease observed in this effect may be a reflection of a process of social inclusion experienced in the period of analysis. We suggest that future studies focus on such occupations in order to better understand the mechanism that operates in the wage discrimination of race experienced in these professions.

We also suggest that in future studies such a methodology should be replicated for the gender wage differential, in order to highlight the differential that is determined by the types of occupations, since the literature still finds unexplained differences between men and women, however, no studies were identified that consider the type of occupation as an explanatory factor for Brazil.

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APPENDIX A

Table A.1 - Oaxaca decomposition in the (10-90) quantiles of wage distribution

Quantile	2002-2004			2007-2009			2012-2014		
	Difference	Explained	Unexplained	Difference	Explained	Unexplained	Difference	Explained	Unexplained
10	0.477*	0.316*	0.161*	0.425*	0.297*	0.128*	0.325*	0.224*	0.100*
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.003)
20	0.331*	0.312	0.019*	0.248*	0.230*	0.019*	0.172*	0.171*	0.001
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
30	0.378*	0.286*	0.092*	0.256*	0.217*	0.039*	0.242*	0.163*	0.079*
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
40	0.429*	0.294*	0.136*	0.320*	0.233*	0.087*	0.294*	0.228*	0.066*
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
50	0.454*	0.345*	0.109*	0.364*	0.289*	0.075*	0.332*	0.245*	0.086*
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)
60	0.487*	0.396*	0.092*	0.393*	0.304*	0.089*	0.357*	0.275*	0.082*
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)
70	0.546*	0.415*	0.131*	0.480*	0.359*	0.121*	0.427*	0.292*	0.134*
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)
80	0.656*	0.465*	0.191*	0.558*	0.403*	0.155*	0.507*	0.342*	0.165*
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)
90	0.722*	0.481*	0.241*	0.647*	0.445*	0.201*	0.572*	0.376*	0.196*
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.006)

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BLACK ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND ETHNIC BEAUTY SALONS: POSSIBILITIES FOR RESISTANCE IN THE SOCIAL (RE)CONSTRUCTION OF BLACK IDENTITY

Empreendedorismo negro e salões étnicos: possibilidades de resistências na (re)construção social da identidade negra

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the case of five Black entrepreneurs who own businesses in a public space that for years has denied a specific aesthetic and phenotypic traits. These spaces, branded as 'ethnic salons', aim to take care of the curly and / or Afrohair of Black men and women. In the face of this context, we ask: how can Black entrepreneurs and enterprises confront colonial mentality in social relations, by creating businesses aimed at giving value to, and appreciating the identity of Black men and women? The field research was conducted via observations and interviews, collecting narratives from both. The narratives went through a process of synthesis and analysis processes that allowed us to flag the motives behind these enterprises, as well as the racial/ethnic acceptance present in these spaces. Thus, the main contribution of this paper is to discuss 'hairtype' as a constitutive element of Black racial identity, and the opportunity for more autonomy when entering the labor market.

Keywords: Coloniality. Black Identity. Ethnic Entrepreneurship. Beauty Salons.

RESUMO

Este trabalho aborda o caso de cinco empresários negros que possuem empreendimentos voltados para um público que há anos tem a sua estética e traços fenotípicos negados. Esses espaços, nomeados de salões étnicos, têm como finalidade cuidar do cabelo crespo e/ou cacheado de mulheres e homens negros. Frente a essa contextualização, pergunta-se: como empreendedoras e empreendedores negros enfrentam uma lógica de colonialidade nas relações sociais, mediante criação de negócios que partem da valorização e da identidade dos negros? Realizou-se a pesquisa de campo por meio de observações e entrevistas, e a partir destas colheram-se narrativas. As narrativas passaram por processos de síntese e de análise que permitiram sinalizar as motivações que dão suporte a esses empreendimentos, bem como o movimento de aceitação étnico-racial presente nesses espaços. Dessa forma, a principal contribuição deste texto é discutir a categoria cabelo como elemento constitutivo da identidade racial negra e a oportunidade de uma inserção mais autônoma no mercado de trabalho.

Palavras-chave: Colonialidade. Identidade Negra. Salões Étnicos. Empreendedorismo.

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INTRODUCTION

Black, mixed-race and blackness are not just adjectives of color nor of skin tone, but they are also "[...] a social construct, persistently conceived as an opposition to whiteness: it is not only that which defines whiteness but is also inferiorized by it". (MAPEDZAHAMA; KWANSAH-AIDOO, 2017, p. 1). There is the burden of being black (AUSTIN, 2004), a burden heaviness which manifests itself as, among other things, problematic stereotypes and social constructs, (in)visibility, the onus of racial duality and the burden of minimizing racism.

The trajectory of Blacks, not only in Brazil but also elsewhere (e.g., USA and France), has been marked by social inequality, discrimination and prejudice, arising from a historical and cultural construct of slavery from which phenotypic traits and Afroculture were treated as inferior in comparison to those of whites (FANON, 2008).

Hair proves to be an important, constituent element of Black identity in this context, one which, once denied, imposes a barrier to the confrontation of inferiority and can even reinforce racism. According to Austin (2004), inferiority permeates what has been socially constructed as Black, since the meanings attributed to it are negative (MAPEDZAHAMA; KWANSAH-AIDOO, 2017). The exotic, the black girl who is good in bed, the 'little black girl', the denial of hard, "Brillo Pad" hair are just some of the derogatory meanings and outcomes. So it is not about having this or that ancestry or having a certain skin color and hair texture, but of being labelled under a socially inferior construct.

This type of inferiority results in a constant struggle to not be ashamed of curly hair. Then, people begin to look for alternatives such as chemical treatments that straighten or transform curly hair into a symbol of self-esteem, consumption and personal pride (SANTOS, 2000). The discourse of self-esteem is intertwined with a type of beauty linked to the aesthetic standards of that which is not white, but also does not have the Black appearance/phenotype. This appearance can increase the possibilities of better integration in the labor market and, even, of upward mobility. Curly/Afro hair is therefore denied and, consequently, the proposition of an identity that denies race can be noticed.

However, in contrast to the denial/negation of Black identity, we have, in recent years, witnessed the strengthening of concepts such as the Strong Black Woman (SBW) in organizational studies, erudition about Black femininity linked to postmodern discourses on identity and resistance (NELSON; CARDEMIL; ADEOYE, 2016) and, in Brazil, social movements such as the Slam Resistance (*Slam Resistência*). There is also the strengthening of ethnic economic ventures, associated with the construction of an ethnic identity (SANTOS, 2000). Among these initiatives are the beauty salons aimed at the Black population, who defend and share the idea that curly hair is as beautiful as straight, and that acceptance of the phenotype is part of the process of both strengthening self-esteem and of racial identity.

Ethnic beauty salons are commercial enterprises that comprise companies and alternative sites for the assimilation of another beauty standard, since the discourses produced in these enterprises developments are directed toward ethnic reaffirmation. These salons enable the creation of an "alternative" esthetic to the dominant images in Western aesthetics (SANTOS, 2000).

Nevertheless, even with the growth of these enterprises, their purpose and survival face daily challenges that can be observed from a decolonial perspective. This perspective aims to break away from Eurocentric and hegemonic paradigms that assume a universal point of view, neutral and objective, concealing and silencing the person who speaks out, as well as breaking from the epistemic and geopolitical seat of colonial power structures (MALDONADO-TORRES, 2007). Without this rupture/separation, it is impossible to truly understand the violence, prejudice, and racism that are consolidated and operate through coloniality.

Despite the strength of coloniality, Lugones (2015) states that one should not think of the global capitalist system as being successful in destroying peoples, relationships, knowledge and economies, because there is constant resistance to these processes. The colonized should be considered henceforth, a fractured locus, that is, a space doubly constructed by the colonized in which there is a constant tension between resistance and coloniality.

The notion of fractured locus helps us to understand ethnic beauty salons, the object being studied in this research, because although curly/Afro hair is seen as a symbol of inferiority, in these spaces, on the other hand, there is the possibility of appreciation and re-signification of the stereotype in the struggle against subalternization, as well as in the construction of racial identity. This appreciation can go beyond the individual, even reaching the racial group to which the subject belongs (GOMES, 2003). Moreover, these entrepreneurs find better positions in the job market, both because of the appreciation of curly/Afro hair, and the development of specific techniques to treat it. Even with all the inherent appropriation that comes with the capitalist system, this type of enterprise is understood to be a somewhat more autonomous form than the conventional way Black entrepreneurs enter the labor market.

In view of the above, the question of this research is: how do Black entrepreneurs face colonial logic in social relations through the creation of businesses that are based on start from the appreciation of Black identity? Therefore, the objective of this study is to understand how the Black entrepreneurs of special beauty salons resist the logic of subalternity and contribute to the construction of racial identity.

The aim of this research is to contribute within the scope of the collective, antiracist actions that are currently in Brazilian society (JAIME, 2016). Firstly, because it is empirically based on the specific trajectories of Black entrepreneurs who argue that hair type is a constituent element of racial identity. Secondly, because the results suggest that there is an opportunity for more autonomous entry into the labor market in ethnic ventures and, therefore, a less subaltern opportunity for entry of these Black entrepreneurs. Thus, they can value their aesthetics and offer their customers and employees less colonizing conditions for hair treatment and, through that, worship their identity.

To present this study, based on the narratives of Black entrepreneurs who own beauty salons, this article is structured in five sessions, the first of which is this introduction. In the second session, we discuss issues related to colonialism, coloniality, subalternity, racism, Black entrepreneurship and ethnic beauty salons, which comprise the theoretical foundation of the construction of the text. The third session presents the methodological procedures and the data analysis. In the fourth session, the considerations are elaborated and evaluated, and, finally, in the fifth session, the references used are made available.

FROM COLONIALISM TO COLONIALITY: SUBALTERNITY AND RACISM

Criticism of the modern Western world and resistance to colonialism may involve the way you choose to manage, work, think and decide in contemporary organizations (PRASAD, 2003).

Some authors reveal the prevalence of an epistemic coloniality in organizational studies in Latin America (IBARRA-COLADO, 2006). Others suggest discomfort regarding the possibility that Brazilian researchers have a colonized outlook (MISOCZKY; AMANTINO-DE-ANDRADE, 2005), and there are also those who address the effects of colonialism on the contemporary world, recognizing the need to decolonize the field of organizational studies (ROSA; ALCADIPANI, 2013), as well as the need to listen to peripheral voices, that is, those that are not from the global centers (ALCADIPANI et al., 2012).

The presence of multiple identities in Brazil is a historical process (ROSA, 2014). If, on the one hand, the process of colonization was fundamental for the creation of the conditions for the multiplicity of the variety of conditions between these identities, it, on the other hand, triggered the emergence of a number of inequalities related to the experience of colonial domination that still pervades some contemporary societies (QUIJANO, 2005). The colonial nature of a phenomenon rests on the hegemonic power of Modernity (LANDER, 2005; QUIJANO, 2007).

To rebuild itself both historically and politically, Modernity in Europe, has had the collective notion that the European identity is superior to that of non-European peoples and cultures. This notion comes from the contrast between the European "us" and the non-European "them" (or "others"), consolidating the hegemonic European culture. Constructing such a vision of European superiority guarantees and legitimizes various types of racism, imperialism and dogmatic visions of the other (SAID, 2007). It is therefore necessary to recognize the world as a system beyond Europe (DUSSEL; IBARRA-COLADO, 2006), even though Eurocentric patterns and ways of thinking continue to prevail in most parts of the world (WALSH, 2012).

Coloniality, the hidden face of Modernity, is characterized by violence justified in the superiority of the European civilization. Thus, violence became part of the process of hegemonic modernization that then became the reason for emancipation and therefore liberation. The patterns established by Europe guided the formation of the rest of the world, and it was therefore considered justifiable to sacrifice and deny the other in sex, gender and race (DUSSEL, 2000).

Modernity presents itself as a phenomenon of which the world is part, but each part has different positions of power (MIGNOLO, 2005). Hence, the decolonial perspective seeks to both criticize Modernity and Eurocentrism as well as how to recover Latin American contributions from postcolonialism, even if this means deviating from the postcolonial canon (BALLESTRIN, 2017). It is this "decolonial turn" that urges an epistemological movement for the critical renewal of the social sciences in Latin America in the 21st century and that defends the decolonial option (BALLESTRIN, 2013).

The discourse of emancipation, defended by Modernity, seems to be a myth (MIGNOLO, 2007) since while Modernity includes (those that it is concerned with - the do-

minant), it is used as justification for practices of violence (used by Europe in its worldwide expansion) against all those who do not belong to this group of the emancipated (MIGNOLO, 2007; QUIJANO, 1992; DUSSEL, 2000).

Even with the end of colonization, coloniality still remains as a mindset that legitimizes discrimination and differences. The notion of coloniality takes up the ideas of the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano, who developed the concept of coloniality of power in order to understand the historical context of inequality in Latin America. This concept allows us to observe a pattern of power constituted together with modern/colonial capitalism, which began with the conquest of America in 1492 (BERNARDINO-COSTA, 2013).

The modern/colonial world-system was established through this conquest, generating a pattern of world power based on the idea of race. Thus, subjects became classified and their racial identities were associated with hierarchies, places and social roles that responded to a pattern of domination (QUIJANO, 2005). The colonial difference is articulated, according to Mignolo (2005), based on through discussions that were about ethno-rationality, the place of the Amerindians in the Christian economy but were silent in the face of African slavery. The modern-world system was responsible for defining categories that hierarchized people by race. Thus, it defined who were Indians, who were Blacks, whites and "mixed-race". (QUIJANO; WALLERSTEIN, 1992).

According to Quijano and Wallerstein (1992), the category of race was not simply a categorization that was imposed. Families socialized their children in cultural forms associated with ethnic identities, reinforcing these differences that were (and still are) widely used to dominate and exploit people, which take the shape of racism.

Using race categorization, the exploitation of labor was justified, and the colonizers defined a new, negative identity for colonized native populations. Thus, people coming from different regions of Africa, for example, were classified with a negative colonial identity, they became "the Blacks". The colonizers, on the other hand, already self-identified as Spanish, Portuguese, Iberian, British, European or white. Those who were the fruit of the relations between the now different races came to be identified as 'mestizos'. Such distribution of identities was the basis for the social classification of the population of the Americas (QUIJANO, 1999).

According to Fernandes and Souza (2016), racism hinders interaction between the different groups that compose a society, since it is responsible for creating rigid symbolic boundaries that create binaries and opposites, such as natural / unnatural; good/ bad; authentic/inauthentic (THOMPSON, 2009) or even the identity binary, such as being white/ being black (FERNANDES; SOUZA, 2016), which are based on negative stereotypes that attribute an essence of inferiority to Blacks.

Black people are incessantly associated with social, economic and intellectual positions inferior to those of whites. Many people, just by looking at a black person, classify them as poor and/or question their intellectual capacity in comparison to whites. In this scenario, Blacks learn to live with the denial of their social position and, therefore, resort to the naturalization of the "place" of the Blacks, the "role" of the Blacks (PATTILLO, 2003). This is what Fanon (2008) calls the construction of the colonized subject based on a stereotypical

discourse, which establishes a false image, allowing discriminatory practices and racist discourses.

When Fanon (2008) wrote about Blacks in France in the 1960s and 1970s, in his work entitled "Black skin, white masks" he describes da black man who wants to whiten. A man who sees the possibility of legitimization in whiteness. It is necessary to consider that the Black identity is not only constructed by the force of the dominator, but also by the acceptance and incorporation of the subordinate. Identity, for Quijano (1992), can not be treated as something given neither as an attribute of isolated entities, nor as something that must be discovered or assumed: "The question of identity has been established in Latin America since the violent destruction of Aboriginal societies / cultures by the invaders, the Europeans" (QUIJANO, 1992, p. 74). Confronted with this reality, it is necessary to think of identity as a solidification of relations produced, reproduced and modified, and therefore changeable, in process and permanently unfinished. As the legitimacy of a people or its identity depends on the recognition of its culture, its way of life, its language, its customs and its inherent specificities within a social group, it can be said that identity itself is constructed in a process of interaction and dialogue established with others (FERNANDES; SOUZA, 2016; SOUZA, 2012; QUIJANO, 1992).

Therefore, discussing identity, stereotypes, skin color and questioning the naturalization of the negative attributes associated with Blacks is fundamental to tackling racism and stimulating social change. Over the centuries, the inferiorization of Blacks in front of whites has embedded, in the social imaginary, the idea that Blacks are naturally inferior and can only be recognized by a process of whitening, whether by miscegenation or self-violence aesthetics.

BLACK ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND ETHNIC BEAUTY SALONS

The inclusion of Blacks in the business context, as is the case of any other group that suffers from prejudice, is both complex and paradoxical. This is because career opportunities are not the same for everyone, especially in the case of Black men and women (JAIME, 2016). Thus, the entry of Blacks into the Brazilian labor market is marked by racial inequality (CHADAREVIAN, 2011), since, from a very early age, they have to face a significant disadvantage in order to be recognized both professionally and intellectually. They are often associated with the "crooked" path of violence and crime or by escape on the path of disqualified work (MACIEL; GRILLO, 2009).

In the 1970s, prejudice in the accession and promotion of Blacks to prominent positions in large corporations led them to adopt individual and defensive 'whitening' strategies that bordered on self-whitening. However, in the twenty-first century, Blacks have had the opportunity for professional achievement in organizations where they work, through collective, anti-racist actions that have been developing in Brazilian society (JAIME, 2016).

Black entrepreneurship can be seen as a way, or an attempt, to overcome unequal and subordinate relations in the labor market. Social influence plays a part in Brazilian ethnic relations in business operations. In addition to the challenges inherent in business operations in Brazil, ethnic issues influence this dynamic, especially when it comes to fun-

draising activities, and relations with clients, suppliers and employees (OLIVEIRA; PEREIRA; SOUZA, 2013).

Race relations are, therefore, an aspect of the social and historical context of Brazil that can shape organizations as spaces of social segregation. This is due to the fact that, throughout their history, many organizations have been constituted as spaces which are symbolically exclusive to particular social groups (NASCIMENTO et al., 2015). In many of these spaces, discussions about race and problems affecting Blacks in society may not be well regarded.

The ethnic beauty salons are spaces that allow Blacks to discuss matters related to Afro hair. These salons play a key role in providing hair styling services to Black women, even promoting the empowerment of these women in the community. Despite the main purpose of these environments being to style their hair, when entering a salon, Blacks also find a place of refuge, in which they can share experiences. In addition, these spaces provide opportunities for Black entrepreneurs to set up their own businesses, thereby achieving some degree of economic freedom (HARVEY, 2005; NIMOCKS, 2015).

Wingfield (2008) argues that systemic gender racism is a significant and important factor for the business experiences of Black women who primarily act as beauty salon owners. In this segment there are the ethnic beauty salons that have clearly defined their target audience as being Black, and who seek to conquer their clientele through discourse that brings together ethnic identity, Black beauty and solidarity through the appreciation of Afro hair.

These spaces are responsible for rescuing, producing and developing aesthetic and identity references that contrast with the Western hegemonic model of the West. Ethnic beauty salons are at the very core of the tensions that involve the construction of Black identity in Brazil, since "[...] in these spaces, Black identity as a process is problematized, discussed, affirmed, denied, concealed, rejected, accepted, re-signified and re-created" (GOMES, 2002, p.179).

As Wingfield (2008) suggests, another factor impacting these issues is systemic gender racism, which induces business patterns among black women understood as "racially-minded economies". These, in turn, reflect on race and gender realities as systemic factors for the creation of unique entrepreneurial experiences often neglected by management training.

By branding themselves as "ethnic" and proclaiming themselves as promoters of a positive self-image of Blacks in a racist society, salons are at the center of a political and ideological struggle. The racial question, in a racist country, will always be political as well as ideological" (GROSSI, 2005, p. 164), because to counteract racism is to oppose practices, attitudes and ideologies. It requires attitude and behavioral change (GOMES, 2002).

For Sansone (2000), it is possible to communicate by means of hair, since it can be manipulated and adorned in different ways. There is a movement that recognizes the changes in portrayals of the Black body and Black hair, even though black hair is often represented as difficult hair. So, accepting natural, Afro hair that reflects the *Black form* contributes to the revolution of a Black aesthetics that helps re-signify Afro hair.

Hair is symbolic and assumes different meanings in the various dimensions of culture and Black lifestyle. In some cultures, it even has religious and spiritual overtones. In Africa, for example, hair was used to designate age, religion, social status and even marital status. Hair is intrinsically linked to the cultural identity of a people. During the period of Black slavery, with the express intention of dehumanizing the Africans, the Europeans cut the hair of the enslaved who arrived at the Americas. Cutting hair meant cutting off African culture. It also represented the removal of any vestige of African identity. Therefore, the removal of hair from those enslaved by their owners was the first method used to suppress their identity (JOHNSON; BANKHEAD, 2013; SYNNOTT, 1987).

The social movements to strengthen Black identity contribute, in a certain way, to a new portrayal of Blacks and their hair. Such a change finds support through access to beauty spaces aimed at Black body and hair care, as well as changes in the way Blacks deal with the racial difference, inscribed on both their bodies and hair types. The handling of these aspects contextualizes and underpins the outcome of this qualitative study, whose methodological procedures and analysis of the data obtained are presented in the next session.

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES AND DATA ANALYSIS

This qualitative study was conducted in five beauty salons located in the city of Belo Horizonte, in the state of Minas Gerais. These are classified by their entrepreneurs as spaces dedicated to the appreciation of Black aesthetics or African ethnic beauty, taking human diversity into account.

For the collection of data, moments of interaction in the beauty salons were observed, and interviews via oral history were also used (GODOI; BANDEIRA-DE-MELLO; SILVA, 2006; VERGARA, 2005). The oral history interviews enabled the gathering of information on the enterprises, regarding the business as an extension of the lives of the subjects. The choice of oral history was justified by the requirement to listen to the stories of the subjects, to identify how they constructed meanings about themselves and narrated events from their lives, as well as the need to understand the contradictions (colonialities) in their narratives.

The interviews were conducted with three black businesswomen and two black businessmen, owners of beauty salons. In Table 1, we can see the profile of the interviewees. In order to preserve their identity, we chose to use fictitious names to represent them.

Table 1 - Summary of the profile of the research subjects

Interviewees	Sex	Age	Profession	Education Level
João	Male	43	Hairdresser	Environmental Management college degree
José	Male	49	Hairdresser and makeup artist	Completed high school
Joana	Female	55	Businesswoman and Hairdresser	Completed high school
Juliana	Female	25	Businesswoman	Sciences of the State college degree
Julia	Female	61	Businesswoman and Hairdresser	High school (incomplete)

Source: prepared by the authors.

The data obtained was analysed using the Narrative Analysis method (BASTOS; ANDRADE BIAR, 2015). Through these narratives, subjects were able to convey life experiences from the construction of meaning about themselves. The stories told by the subjects allow us to comprehend events in social life.

Analysis categories: The categories of analysis that emerged from detailed reading and analysis of the narratives, seeking to identify shared meanings by the narrators in their discourse are: a) the salon with space for discussion and Black militancy, and b) the constant struggle for the affirmation of the Black identity in the context of capitalism, emerging from the reading and detailed analysis of these narratives, seeking to identify meanings shared by the narrators in their words. At first, each interview was analyzed separately. The second time, the narratives were read in an integrated way, seeking to identify striking aspects and events that are on the trajectory and in the actual construction of the identity of the subjects. These aspects and events were flagged and denominated, respecting the words and expressions used by the interviewees. Thus, the first categories of analysis emerged. After the previous analysis, the discourses were regrouped in a smaller number of categories. This reduction was relevant to the research objective and was also consistent with the theoretical approach that supports this work.

THE SALON WITH SPACE FOR DISCUSSION AND BLACK MILITANCY

The salons studied were mostly created to meet either a personal, or family need, related to both identity and survival. They represent the search for a place in the market that, historically, has been denied to Blacks. In addition to entering the labor market, the development of the knowledge, skills and confidence needed to conduct these projects have emerged within the family environment. All of the interviewees are Black and have grown up in Black families, where they experienced the specific need to care for Afro hair on a daily basis. Such questions have aroused interest in investing in businesses to serve this client-base, as exemplified in the following narratives:

Excerpt 1: José

I went into the profession to meet a family need. I am one of seven siblings, four men and three women, and it was a constant disappointment when we went to the salon. The only way Mama could be happy with her hair was if she travelled long distances to look for people who always took care of hers and who, most of the time, were not working then or were only available whenever they wanted to. And when she put herself in the hands of anyone else, they could not control Afro hair. So it was necessary to solve the need at home. That's how I started the profession, I realized that a lot of the family had the same problem and my first clients were my own family (JOSÉ, 2016).

Excerpt 2: Joana

I worked down here in the backyard for thirty years. I worked, like that, I started with family, worked on the hair of family members, worked on the hair of friends, you know [...] (JOANA, 2016).

Juliana (excerpt 3) reports that the motivation to open her own salon arose from the desire to offer potential clients a space in which no chemical products are used in Afro hair treatment or care.

Excerpt 3: Juliana

I tried to enter into a dialogue with some salons in Belo Horizonte, so they would address that [Afro hair care without using chemicals that straighten hair] and they were very resistant. Not least, because, economically, financially, chemical treatments are the largest revenue source of the salon. So, if you give that up you give up money (JULIANA, 2016).

Of all the spaces analyzed, the Salon belonging to Juliana (excerpt 3) is the only one that does not offer chemical treatments to alter the structure of Afro hair, adopting a more radical posture. In the other Salons studied, although it is possible to undergo chemical processes that alter the hair structure, the first option to be offered to the client is always non-chemical treatments. There is a conversation with the client in order to show them the possibilities or choices of wearing using the strands of hair without any chemical process or even alternative hairstyles, which also refer to the concept of racial identity, as is the case with braids.

In most cases, however, the search for hair treatment offers the opportunity to discuss the meaning of hair, beauty standards, choices and self-esteem. Besides these issues, with this form of work, the salons also face standards related to the hegemonic business model by questioning or avoiding the use of chemicals. Chemical treatments are some of the core elements of the beauty industry: in addition to generating more revenue, they also generate patents when developing a new product. However, when using manual techniques for hair care, which are not widely available on the market, such as braids, there is a loss of revenue for the salon and the developer of the technique - if we compare with the option of using chemicals.

All interviewees had to deal with the difficulty of professional training to maintain their businesses. Although they have a lot of knowledge from practice and experience within the family, Black entrepreneurs have reported that they would like to have developed their skills on vocational courses - which does not detract from the knowledge and the way of organizing and undertaking their business ventures these professions (CARRIERI; PERDIGÃO; AGUIAR, 2014). However, according to the narratives, the courses that existed either did not offer further development in the techniques of natural treatment of curly hair or were directed mainly to the processes of hair straightening, as Júlia reports in excerpt 4.

Excerpt 4: Julia

So, you got there [the vocational courses], you had to learn how to straighten your hair. So, I straightened everything, straightened badly, because that stuff burned and then, I left that business like that, kind of, I said: "I do not want to mess with this business of straightening, no". And the teacher said, "No? if you do not do this straightening, you will not pass". So I stopped doing that, so much so that today, I do not straighten any kind of hair. I had temper tantrums to make that hair very straight. So, later, I analysed the reason for my

questioning. It was an excuse not to allow such straight hair. Because I did not have straight hair like that [...] (JULIA, 2016).

In the 4th excerpt, Júlia affirms states that the professional courses that taught the care of Afro hair sought to perpetuate a 'white' beauty standard, according to which long, straight hair was seen to be beautiful hair (SANTOS, 2000). Even so, Julia, in reporting that she "stopped doing that, so much so that today, I do not straighten any kind of hair" (excerpt 4), resists this coloniality, the Eurocentric standard, the power of which still determines various scopes of society. Quijano (1992) points out that this coloniality can press for imitation and reproduction, as occurred in the professional training course attended by Julia, which said that completion of the course was only possible by learning to straighten Afro hair.

As a result, entrepreneurs have had difficulties hiring people to work in salons. Often family members, people who shared the difficulties and the path of self-teaching, or people who were trained by owners within the salons themselves were hired. Two of the five salons offer training courses to the public who are interested in learning how to care for Afro hair. Classes take place on Mondays, the only day that salons are not open. The courses are paid, but scholarships are also offered for students in need.

This is how many have become instructors in courses designed to meet the specific demands of a Black clientele. With all this, these spaces have proven to be more than simply places to take care of hair. In them, Black people share experiences and fight for greater racial acceptance, as reported by José, excerpt 5.

Excerpt 5: José

For the Black, it was school [the salon was seen by the Black as a school]. And when there was a Black man in the chair who had the same attitude I had, he helped the other to understand. Because, many times, as I said, the greatest difficulty was not to make white people accept the new techniques and possibilities, they did not. It was to make the Black man who had these troubled habits understand the possibilities he had. So he often asked difficult questions in an attempt to understand. And who helped him [client 1] to understand? It was another client [client 2]. It was not me, it was the client who had already understood. Then he would talk to the other client. So the interaction between clients of the same ethnicity, of the same habits, of the same type of hair, he [client 2] helped the other [client 1] to understand (JOSÉ, 2016).

In the narrative from Jose (excerpt 5), it can be seen that the experience in the salons contributes to a change of focus: Black clients are (now) not concerned with the acceptance of the white aesthetic standard, but with the mobilization of Blacks (JAIME, 2016). This is a meaningful change when one thinks about the quest for whitening that many Blacks have undergone (FANON, 2008): it is a movement opposed to this quest, to become who you are not. Today, Blacks (or Black clients) seek to rebuild their own identity based on aesthetic criteria which differ from hegemonic standards.

The Blacks who once had difficulties taking care of their hair in the so-called 'traditional salons' find a place where the natural look is valued in these spaces. José's nar-

rative, excerpt 5, reveals a change in this reality; Afro salons were granted the status of a school, since "the interaction between clients of the same race, of the same habits, of the same type of hair" took place in them, and the subjects themselves "helped the other to understand" (excerpt 5).

Ethnic beauty parlours, while they are businesses (mercantile enterprises), they are also alternative spaces for the construction of a Afro beauty standard, since the discourses in these environments strengthen an ethnic and racial affirmation. In this way, these spaces of aesthetic appreciation play an important political role in the context of race relations established in Brazilian society (GOMES, 2002; SANTOS, 2000).

The businesspeople and the clients who understand the movement care about showing new clients that they are beautiful with their natural hair. That straight hair is an imposed beauty standard and that choosing to use natural hair should be an enlightened choice, and there should be no imposition or attitude where the aim is to become less Black (at least apparently). Accepting natural hair is a long process, one in which the person knows their own hair and rediscovers their racial identity simultaneously. The aspects that were once concealed as a consequence of the search for the white-European beauty standard (FANON, 2008) have strengthened racial identity in this context. As Juliana (excerpt 6) shows, in narrating what motivated the creation of the salon:

Excerpt 6: Juliana

[...] when I thought here [the salon], I thought, "I do not want to sell 'solutions' for anybody's hair". Because hair is not a problem to be solved. We're going to make your hair be your hair. Yeah, and there are a couple of cool questions too. I attend militant women, who have always worried [...] But, so, always used natural hair, like this or that, will stop and have never attended the salon. And, for the first time, they found an environment where they feel at ease [...] And even here, in this environment, where everyone is always talking a lot and then, we discover and strengthen ourselves, right. It had become a network of articulation (JULIANA, 2016).

It is important to note that the search for natural hair does not happen suddenly. The use of natural hair occurs through a slow process of acceptance. Many women who had straightened their hair since childhood and who had accepted a whitened ideal of beauty sought the ethnic salons in search of perfect straightening. It can be seen in the narrative of Juliana (excerpt 6) that ethnic salons have become safe spaces, also, for those who are militant, from the Black movement, for example.

Corroborating José's narrative (excerpt 5), Juliana (excerpt 6) indicates that whether positioning themselves as militants or not, in ethnic salons, people can share experiences that strengthen their racial identity and talk about the struggles of Blacks in Brazilian society.

The salons aimed at the Afro public play a role breaking with stereotypes related to Afro hair and point out the need to develop aesthetic empowerment from the appreciation of the beauty of Blackness. The dynamics of the salons, narrated by the interviewees, reinforces the idea that hair is a symbol of resistance to racism. So, it is necessary to (re)discover the hair - the actual structure and texture of the strands without chemical processes, without changing it with a hot iron - and thus (re)build Black identity.

Excerpt 7: João

A customer who comes up with some stereotypical ideas about Afro hair, we explain. Oh, bad hair, bad hair, it has to be cut, it has to be soft, it has to be shaved. And we explain that he does not have bad hair, there is badly treated hair. So, each one has the hair of their ethnicity. And his Afro hair is not straight, it is tightly curled. It has volume, it has a life of its own, it has everything. We try to justify this in the person's mind so that they understand; Then after that, the person understands. 'Ah, that's right!', my hair is like that, that's right. Nowadays, people are a little more accepting. (JOÃO, 2016).

Arriving in ethnic salons with stereotypical ideas about Afro hair, such as "ah, bad hair has to be cut, it has to be soft, it has to be shaved". (excerpt 7), clients externalize what Fanon (2008) addresses as the inferiority complex suffered by Blacks. There is an epidermalization of inferiority, from which arises a need not to be Black. The 'epidermalization of inferiority' was used by Franz Fanon (2008) as a metaphor. The intention was to make the concept of the inferiority that Black people feel when relating to white people more didactic for him. In other words, it is the behaviors that emulate the white man. Thus, Blacks become slaves of their appearance. It can be seen that there is an attempt to reduce the social construction of Blacks to the opposite of the whites, leading them to elaborate a social-historical corporal scheme according to elements provided by the other, the white, and not by themselves (FANON, 2008).

THE CONSTANT STRUGGLE FOR THE AFFIRMATION OF THE BLACK IDENTITY IN THE CAPITALIST CONTEXT

Businesses targeting the Black public are promising an increase from 21.4 million people to 23.5 million (almost 10%) between 2003 and 2013 (BEDÊ, 2015). Of these deals, 22% are in the hairdressing business. Despite this promising scenario, everything focused on Black beauty still suffers from a lot of prejudice, the subject addressed in this category of analysis. Even the business proposal (ethnic salons) is not well regarded, both by customers (whites) and by the beauty market itself. José (excerpt 9 and excerpt 10) and Joana (excerpt 11) flag the difficulties of owning a business aimed at the Black population.

Excerpt 9: José

[...] We no longer had the shyness to assume [to assume the salon as a space for the Black public], to say [...] we saw that automatically we were losing clientele [the white clients], and really, those who were not comfortable, were little by little evading. (JOSÉ, 2016).

Excerpt 10: José

When they came in and found the salon full of jabuticaba [the term used by the Black community to characterize Black people], they would say: "your work is different, right?!" This word, different, one hurt in my heart hurt my soul. Is my work any different? (JOSÉ, 2016).

Excerpt 11: Joana

It's really like facing a battle [...] Because discrimination is really insane. One day they talked to a teacher like this: "You're not going to the normal people's salon. It is not normal. They call me crazy, they call me stupid". (JOANA, 2016).

The image of ethnic salons is stigmatized. Skin is used as a key meaning for the cultural and racial differences that are established in the stereotype (BHABHA, 1998). The white client and colleagues of the profession can not perceive the possibility of business when it is aimed at an audience that has been marginalized for years. There is a denial that Black-oriented products, services, or businesses are promising, despite the economic and social changes that Blacks have gone through. And entrepreneurs are branded as "dumb", "crazy" because they have to face the issue of non-professional and intellectual recognition to which Blacks are subjected (JAIME, 2016).

In order to survive in this context, entrepreneurs resist the logic of domination, and accept themselves as Black and as the advocates of a cause. Due to the fact that they call themselves "ethnic" and take on the role of spreading and stimulating the positive self-image of Blacks in a racist society, the salons and their owners are at the center of a political and ideological struggle (GOMES, 2002). This struggle has been evident since the entrepreneurs began searching for a space to rent and start operations, as Júlia says in excerpt 12.

Excerpt 12: Júlia

My father had a car of his own, we have a house of our own, thank God and such [...] Then she asked the guarantor for rent. My father had [...] He was this guarantor with income and property. Then she asked for another one with rent. Fine, I got it. Then she asked for a third. Then, I questioned her: Why a third? [...] if she told me that I need two guarantors? Then, she: "Ah [...], right!". Then I understood why, do you understand? Then, it is no use talking saying: oh, no! You who are prejudiced, racist. I was in [the name of a noble neighbourhood in the city of Belo Horizonte], a Black woman speaking of the salon, see? right, in 87 [1987], 86 [1986], speaking of the Afro salon. [...] Then, I arranged the third, which was my godfather, that he has several rented houses. Then I got the third one and said, Here, look! Then, she looked and such and such: Oh, these properties are all his? They are all his". And such and such [...] And then, okay!, she signed the papers and I have been here for thirty years (JÚLIA, 2016).

Júlia (excerpt 12) recounts the obstacles that were created by a real estate agent when she tried to rent a space to open her Afro salon. Being Black and being in a upmarket neighbourhood of the city of Belo Horizonte - MG, talking about a business proposal aimed at the Black population, more than two guarantors (enough) were required of Julia so that she could rent the property. The suspicion, based on prejudice, made Julia have to work harder than expected to overcome all obstacles created by the real estate agent, and thus be able to rent the space (OLIVEIRA; PEREIRA; SOUZA, 2013). As can be seen in João's account (excerpt 13).

Excerpt 13: João

Black women sare getting better at accepting themselves, they want to arrive ata storeand buy stuff! So..., shop owners and business owners, they want money. It does not matter if they are Black or white, they want their money. Then they sell. But it's not because they want to sell to Black people, it makes no difference to them. If the could take their money and see no one, they would not see. I do not know if it's Black people's money that's different, I do not know. They think that Blacks don't drink milk, do not ride a car, do not parade, do not buy anything. But you get there with your money, even the people who have money, even imposing the financial power on top, have not yet accepted in this society, society does not accept". (JOÃO, 2016).

João's account (excerpt 13) portrays the appropriation and the distortion that the market makes of the demands of Black identity. Even in a capitalist society in which it is possible to achieve some degree of purchasing power, the Negro remains discriminated against. João's narrative (excerpt 13) shows that, even with purchasing power, Blacks are still not treated as consumers (or when they are, they shouldconsume products that have been made for other consumer profiles). Hence, they receive little attention from the beauty market and are treated as inferior, including their demands. This contradiction is sustained through the coloniality of power (QUIJANO, 2005), which, by classifying people based on racial hierarchies, associates Black men and women with certain social positions.

From the point of view of consumption, there have been changes, and Blacks have been treated in a new way, as João (excerpt 13) points out, saying that store owners and entrepreneurs seek money and are willing to pay for products, for example, there is currently a variety of products for Afro and Curly hair. In this way, many female entrepreneurs sell, for different reasons that include not offering the Black public something that has been taken away from them, like a treatment that reinforces their racial identity, but by foreseeing the laws of capitalism, where supply and demand generate revenue.

It is necessary to analyzethat the traditional market was directed to the standards of hegemonic beauty and not to the specific demands of Blacks. That is, there is an even greater dispute for a Black population that can - thanks to several conquests - consume.

Excerpt 14: Joana

[...] I'm telling you that I heard: "What day, Joana, are you going to stop working for Blacks, poor? [...] That I saw a businessman [...] a person saying: Blacks don't even have the money to buy soap, how will they buy imported products?" (JOANA, 2016).

Excerpt 15: Juliana

[...] there, the supplier, like... that, he does not understand how you're going to sustain the business without messing with chemicals (treatment). So, no [...], but there's this one. It does not smell. Honey, the problem is not the smell. The problem is that my clients already have wonderful hair and they do not need chemicals. No! But isn't it bad hair that you work with? No, bad hair [...] Here, we do not work with bad hair, no. We work with hair. Understand? We work with hair. People think that Black people don't have money to buy any products that cost more than ten reais. (JULIANA, 2016).

Even perceiving a change in the consumption patterns of the Black clientele, suppliers and the market itself still see this audience as people with no consumption potential. This way of seeing Blacks, linking racial identity with an economic profile, reflects the arbitrariness and difficulties encountered when starting a business in Brazil (OLIVEIRA; PEREIRA; SOUZA, 2013). For Black entrepreneurs, there are even more obstacles in our society and they are perpetuated to this day. After the end of slavery, the Blacks, who were totally subject to the slave system, assumed the role of the unemployed or migrated to less skilled jobs. As a consequence, they acquired a lower income (wages) (MACIEL; GRILLO, 2009).

Over the years, Blacks have achieved plenty and improved the situation. However, there is still an imaginary coloniality, one in which all Blacks are poor and, therefore, it is not advantageous to work for them, since they cannot afford to buy soap, for example, as Joana reports in excerpt 14. The capitalist system feeds and reproduces prejudice and racism when using such arguments to classify a business, an entrepreneur or a consumer.

Contrary to this imaginary in the consumer environment, Blacks want to acquire products and services developed specifically for them. However, the market, the industries, and the stores are not concerned with meeting the demands of Blacks as potential consumers. It is because of this fact that, formerly, there were few hair products for this audience. Nevertheless, today the capitalist system has incorporated this criticism and offers a range of products for Afro and curly hair on store shelves.

Excerpt 16: José

I saw a megahair being made in the front, an African braid being made in the middle, another cool style there, another there doing a job to be able to curl with a product that was not so fragrant, because unfortunately, the products to work with frizzy, Afro hair are not perfumed like white hair products (JOSÉ, 2016).

Even with the same financial resources and demand for goods, Afro hair products are of poorer quality. The market appropriates the demands of Blacks and offers them a single chemical product with attributes inferior to those developed for white consumers. The problem of the products goes beyond the bad smell mentioned by José (excerpt 16) and Juliana (excerpt 15). According to Nimocks (2015), many women suffer from the products used to straighten the curly strands, since they have chemicals that can cause problems ranging from scalp burns to serious health issues, such as cancer.

Ethnic beauty salons, with all their potential for change and support for the construction of racial identity (or, perhaps, precisely because of this), face difficulties that permeate several areas, such as: (a) the profile of their clients - rooted in hegemonic standards; (b) the market - in the resistance of service providers and suppliers that insist on not recognizing the rights of entrepreneurs, by offering them low quality products; (c) the competitors - that disqualify the initiatives. All these attitudes reinforce the hegemonic standards of beauty.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study sought to understand how Black entrepreneurs of specialized beauty salons resist the logic of subordinacy and contribute to the construction of racial identity. The prejudice in Brazil is not broken by the performance of the ethnic salons nor the acceptance of Afro hair, what has happened is the emergence of a culture that has been silenced for a long time. In this movement, Blacks demonstrate the need to have their demands met and their identity respected.

The ethnic salons are spaces that allow the care of Afro hair to the group of various Blacks who have this demand in common. In these spaces, such clients are taught to know their hair in its natural form and there is a process of deconstruction of established aesthetic standards. Thus, ethnic beauty salons also present themselves as a form of resistance to coloniality insofar as they produce, reproduce, and maintain specific knowledge outside the dominant capitalist axis.

Developing a study with and within the environment of ethnic salons empirically strengthens the project, developed from the notion of coloniality of power. This project indicates the need to recover stories hitherto silenced by the dynamics of Modernity/rationality. With actions in this sense, subjectivities hitherto repressed and knowledge that had a subaltern status gain status as protagonists.

From the analysis of all the categories selected in this study, a struggle for the acceptance of Afro hair is observed, which reflects in greater racial acceptance since it is as external as the color of the skin. Thus, by taking on their natural style, Black men and women move toward ethnic-racial acceptance. Accepting Afro hair is a big step toward the self-acceptance of subjects as Blacks.

In describing their own family relationships, it is noted in the interviewees' narratives that the reasons that support entrepreneurship arise from personal needs, they represent a movement from the interior of those researched to their exterior. Experiencing the difficulty of the mothers/grandmothers themselves when dealing with Afro hair has aroused interest in creating a business aimed at this public, which has little choice of salons when it comes to dealing with natural Afro hair and not just the chemical treatment of the hair.

Despite the political power that the consciousness of the processes of coloniality has, it is not totally successful. By assuming Afro or natural hair, Black women and men demonstrate the appreciation of a phenotype denied since slavery. The Afro hair assumes the status of the protagonist in the fight for humanization and respect towards the other, towards those that are not white and represent more than half of the Brazilian population. In observing this new demand, Black entrepreneurs have idealized businesses that are characterized as ethnic salons, that is, beauty salons that have the Afro public as their target audience. In these environments, Blacks are taught to take care of their natural hair and relate to others who have experiences in common. The salons support a social articulation that seeks to value and appreciate Black racial identity.

In view of the importance of ethnic salons for the construction of the Black racial identity, they are considered inadequate in the capitalist context. It is difficult to perceive

and accept a space that is aimed at the Black population as a viable business proposal, especially when the entrepreneur is Black.

Keeping an establishment like this open is a cry of resistance, which sheds light on the need to break through imposed standards. Every day, within the salon itself, the owners face prejudice. Every day, when they stop buying chemicals that straighten hair and thereby contradict the whitened standards of the fashion industry, they face ethnic hierarchy.

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SELECTIVE AND “VEILED” DEMARKETING FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF BLACK FEMALE CONSUMERS

Demarketing seletivo e “velado” na visão de consumidoras negras

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ABSTRACT

This study sheds light on the perspective of Black female consumers in regard to certain effects of marketing initiatives adopting the literature on demarketing as a framework. The context examined is their experience with the market of hair beauty and care. Media actions are analyzed along with narrative interviews in order to understand the phenomenon. The findings reveal a dominant structural pattern which perpetuates the marginalized status of Black women's natural traits. Emerging market initiatives point to movements concerning the visibility of these female consumers, who despite being eager to consume, have their demand discouraged. This suggests that they perceive selective and veiled demarketing as one of the results of marketing actions. The analysis invites for theoretical reflections on demarketing and veiled racism in Brazil.

Keywords: Demarketing. Veiled Racism. Consumption. Hair. Black Women.

RESUMO

Este trabalho traz a visão da consumidora negra sobre efeitos de ações de marketing, apoiando-se na literatura sobre demarketing. O contexto investigado é sua experiência no mercado de tratamento e beleza dos cabelos. Informações originadas de diferentes manifestações midiáticas se somam às entrevistas narrativas para a interpretação do fenômeno. Os achados revelam um padrão estrutural dominante, que perpetua a condição marginal dos traços naturais dessas mulheres; aspectos emergentes do mercado, que apontam movimentos rumo à visibilidade dessa consumidora, e que essas mulheres se mostram ávidas por consumir, mas se sentem desencorajadas em sua demanda. Isso sugere que percebem o demarketing seletivo e velado, como um dos efeitos das ações de marketing. A análise dá origem a reflexões teóricas sobre demarketing e racismo velado no Brasil.

Palavras-chave: Demarketing. Racismo Velado. Consumo. Cabelo. Mulher Negra.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Black Brazilians experience unequal relations in several areas of social life (IPEA, 2013) and consumption is one of them (MARTINS, 2015; TELLA, 2006). Market research has paid little attention to the consumer behavior of Black people, despite their obvious presence in consumption spaces. Within the corporate environment a “White logic” prevails and seems to control both the decisions on products and services offers, and the positioning of such offers in mass or specialized media (ROCHA; CASOTTI, 2017). As pointed out by Lázaro Ramos in his autobiography (RAMOS, 2017, p. 126), “[...] the world today revolves around the rules of the market and Black children that don’t learn how to deal with these rules will achieve little to nothing in life”.

The focus of the present study is on the experience of Black female consumers with offerings of hair beauty and care products and services. Available data sustain the continued importance of this industry in the country, even in a scenario of economic recession (ABIHPEC, 2015). “How do Black female consumers perceive current marketing actions related to the offerings of hair beauty and care products and services?” This question stimulated our reflections concerning a group of consumers that has started to broadly manifest their dissatisfactions with the market and to expose the racism experienced in the quotidian life (ZAMORA, 2012). In order to investigate how Black female consumers perceive current marketing actions within the hygiene and beauty markets, we have followed social media posts, virtual groups, blogs, YouTube videos and other media initiatives related to the topic for two years. The data was analyzed along with the in-depth narratives obtained from fifteen interviews with Black women concerning hair care.

The concept of demarketing was selected to support the research findings due to the nature of Black female consumers’ experiences in the marketplace. Demarketing is a concept that departs from the perspective of corporations and deals with “[...] discouraging customers in general or a certain class of customers in particular on either a temporary or permanent basis” (KOTLER; LEVY, 1971, p. 75). A significant part of products and services available in the market does not explicitly target Black consumers (BARBOSA, 2004; MARTINS, 2015), which characterizes the group’s demand as latent (KOTLER, 1973; LENGLER; VIEIRA; FACHIN, 2002). Their modest presence in the media also suggests that they are not a relevant target audience for the services and products being offered (GROSS, 2014; MARTINS, 2015). Lengler et al. (2002, p. 89) reinforce the idea of latent demand and selective demarketing when they point to vastly adopted market segmentation practices permeated with discrimination, resulting from social and historical relations based on the secondary and submissive role of Black people, while the White population enjoys a dominant and oppressive status.

How do Black female consumers experience the market of hair care? It was possible to identify a number of studies correlating the hair with the construction of female identity (HARRISON et al. 2015; BOUZON, 2008; McCracken, 1995). Other works describe the experiences of Black women with their hair (THOMPSON, 2009; NDICHU; UPADHYAYA, 2018). Yet, no studies could be found when it comes to examining how Black female consumers see (or don’t see) the management of marketing offers or questioning if they feel any kind of discouragement vis-à-vis product and service offerings.

This study reverses the conventional perspective on the concept of demarketing, which focuses on the actions of enterprises, by contemplating the consumers' perception regarding the management of marketing practices, more specifically the consumers' point of view concerning the practice of demarketing by companies. The literature on demarketing is comprised by essays (CULLWICK, 1975; GERSTNER, HESS; CHU, 1993; KOTLER, 2011; KOTLER; LEVY, 1971), and a number of research studies (BEETON, 2003; GRINSTEIN; NISAN, 2009; GROFF, 1998; GUNDLACH; BRADFORD; WILKIE, 2010; KARYY; TRACH, 2014; LEE; CUTLER; BURNS, 2005; MCGRATH, 2008; MARK; BRENNAN, 1995; MIKLOS-THAL; TODA, 2006; WHITE; THOMAS 2016), albeit always from the perspective of the companies.

This inversion of focus raises new issues, reflections and debates in the field of marketing management, since the nature of marketing activities is the creation of demand, not its destruction (GERSTNER; HESS; CHU, 1993). Understanding Black female consumers' discouragement experiences becomes relevant given that consumption is also a means to resignify cultural representations associated with social discrimination, racism, and stigma (GOFFMAN, 1963; LAMONT; MOLNÁR, 2001; OLIVEIRA, 2011; TELLA, 2006; SANDIKCI; GER, 2010; ZAMORA, 2012).

In the present paper we intend to instigate researchers and marketing professionals to reflect on the “invisible” (BARBOSA, 2004) or “undesirable” status of Black consumers, terms taken from the literature on selective demarketing (KOTLER, 1973). In sequence, we present studies that examine how Black consumers' invisibility manifests itself. The following sections describe the research steps, analyze the findings, and present a final discussion covering the main reflections and contributions of this study.

2. THE DISCOURAGED CONSUMER: DEMARKETING

The concept of demarketing was proposed by Kotler and Levy (1971) to analyze a marketing strategy that instead of conquering new consumers, wishes to discourage them. The authors discuss demarketing intension to “creatively” handle excessive demand, discouraging consumption by general consumers, or just by a specific set or group, limiting their access to products or services. This discouragement practice may be permanent or temporary. The practice of demarketing was originally conceived within a context of abundance (CULLWICK, 1975). Limitations resulting from moments of shortness led companies to adopt marketing strategies that would reduce the demand (CULLWICK, 1975; GROFF, 1998).

Kotler and Levy (1971) present three types of demarketing. The first, “general demarketing”, is adopted in the case that the company wishes to reduce the overall level of demand. The second, “ostensive demarketing”, is a resource used when companies just want to give the impression of demand discouragement, although aiming at the opposite: a demand increase. The last, “selective demarketing”, is an option for companies wanting to discourage the demand by a certain segment or group of consumers. Gerstner, Hess and Chu (1993) list some demarketing strategies: i) demarketing through “price discriminating” which intends to control the demand, giving discounts at specific times of the day, for example; ii) “bait and switch” demarketing - a questionable and possibly illegal practice - is adopted

to discourage customers from buying certain brands, while channeling the demand to more lucrative ones; iii) “stock outage” demarketing means completing sales, though guaranteeing product delivery at a future date; and iv) “crowding costs” demarketing, when an enterprise charges higher prices in order to control limited offerings, thus avoiding overcrowd and consumer lines.

The authors add “differentiation demarketing”, a strategy used by companies to control demand, differentiating their offers from the competition. Gerstner, Hess and Chu (1993) mention that firms may create a “nuisance factor”, such as low stock levels, in order to establish a differentiation from well-established competitors. The authors highlight that companies selling the same product, without differentiation demarketing, would be subjected to eventual price wars, negatively affecting their profits. The use of the “nuisance factor” by a company practicing low prices would shift part of the demand to a well-established competitor. As a consequence, the latter could increase their prices due to the higher demand. The benefit for the business originally adopting the “nuisance factor” is the possibility for a future price increase, following the competition, though continuing to satisfy the needs of customers that tolerate such annoyance. According to Gerstner, Hess and Chu (1993), both companies benefit from such segmentation strategy as they are then able to practice prices above the costs.

Whatever strategy is adopted, it is possible to infer that the demarketing strategy described by Gerstner, Hess and Chu (1993) has been used as a counterpoint - or as consequence of - marketing actions targeting customers that theoretically receive regular offers. In the case of Black consumers, few are the offers explicitly directed to them, suggesting that in regard to some product categories their demands are modestly satisfied (MARTINS, 2015; ROCHA; SCHOTT; CASOTTI, 2016). In other words, while segmenting their markets, and with disregard to the existing economic inequalities between racial groups in Brazil, companies end up adopting criteria that place Black people at the margins in terms of consumption relations (LEGLER et al., 2002).

Kotler’s (1973) seminal work defines eight demand states related to marketing management tasks. For a demand classified as negative, disapproving or avoiding certain offers, the author suggests marketing efforts to convert it into a positive one. “No demand” is a state that points to indifference or lack of interest towards the offerings. In this case, the author recommends marketing professionals to look for connections between the offer and some existing need, or to attempt to change environmental aspects to add value to the offer. Faltering demand is defined as a situation when the demand is lower than usual, and at risk of a greater decline, and therefore the objective should be to revitalize the life cycle of declining products. Demand fluctuations fits into what Kotler classifies as irregular demand, requiring actions that synchronize offer and demand, e.g., the adoption of lower prices during low season. In cases of full demand, market and demand are aligned in terms of timing and desired level, and it becomes the marketing manager’s responsibility to sustain such demand state. When demand level surpasses the market supplying capacity, a state of overfull demand occurs, and demarketing actions are suggested in order to reduce the demand. Unwholesome demand is a state in which demand is always considered excessive once it is associated with products which have undesirable qualities (e.g. alcohol and drugs). A state of latent demand is characterized by consumers’ interest in inexistent or more adequate products vis-à-vis market offers. In this situation, the recommendation is the coordination of

marketing efforts towards market development and the conversion of the latent demand in actual demand. This last demand state seems to be closer to the situation of Black female consumers, who are eager to acquire proper services and products (LAMONT; MOLNAR, 2001; LENGLER et al., 2002).

Since the concept of demarketing emerged (KOTLER; LEVY, 1971), the literature has expanded. There are research studies dealing with the practice of demarketing related to tourism (GROFF, 1998; BEETON, 2003); to health care (LEE; CUTLER; BURNS, 2005; MARK; BRENNAN, 1995; WHITE; THOMAS, 2016); to natural resources (GRINSTEIN; NISAN, 2009; MCGRATH, 2008; KARYY; TRACH, 2014; KOTLER, 2011); to products deviated from legal sources to illegal consumption (GUNDLACH; BRADFORD; WILKIE, 2010); and to the quality perception of certain offers (MIKLOS-THAL; ZHANG, 2013). It was possible to notice a common trait in these works: a degree of moral judgement that leads to a positive social attitude towards demarketing. This means that the use of the strategy is commonly related to practices associated with people’s well-being or the preservation of non-human assets, such as the environment.

In the Brazilian context, the recent study by Toda (2016) follows a different path. The author makes use of the demarketing concept to approach strategies adopted by companies to handle undesirable customers, such as those perceived by service providers as having “bad manners”. In this case, customers are not previously discouraged to consume, but rather become unwelcomed due to the behavior displayed in interpersonal relations taking place along the consumption process. Research in which demarketing practices may receive a negative social judgement, for example, when certain customers are previously segregated, i.e., are discouraged to consume, could receive more attention.

3. THE CONSUMERS WITH “NO COLOR”? CONSUMPTION INVISIBILITY

In recent years, Black people have achieved a new consumer status in Brazil and have started to occupy new consumption spaces (IBGE, 2014). Yet, this group remains “invisible” (BARBOSA, 2004), being subjected to the “White logics” in the marketplace (ROCHA; CASOTTI, 2017), i.e. one that favors the non-Black population and disregards race issues in great part of the offers and communication about products and services (GRIJÓ; SOUZA, 2012; MARTINS, 2015). It is as if offers targeting White consumers could, for instance, reach Black people in their motivations (BAUER; CUNNINGHAM; WORTZEL, 1965; BULLOCK, 1961; TELLA, 2006).

Advertising is one of the most common tools employed in Marketing when communicating offers. The study by Martins (2015, p. 43) helps to understand the development of myths related to the generalization of offers that initially targeted non-Black consumers. The author retrieves statements made by advertisers in regard to Black consumers some decades ago. One of them asserted that Blacks covet White people’s possessions, a rationale for the use of White models in advertising campaigns targeting the general audience. Another statement assumed that Blacks are underprivileged in order to justify their little presence in advertising and reinforce the belief that depicting White people means representing the majority, the stereotypical consumer.

Another professional cited by Martins (2015, p. 43) explains that Blacks are not depicted in advertising because people want to be represented as rich, beautiful and powerful, attributes associated with the White population. Martins adds an old quote from an advertiser that clearly exemplifies the exclusion and invisibility of Black people in promotional pieces: consumers have no color, but they are not Black. Although Martins (2015) refers to the past, these statements seem to remain contemporary given that, in the author’s opinion, advertising has not yet made a substantial progress in the depiction of Black people, a conclusion shared by other authors (GRIJÓ, 2014; GRIJÓ; SOUZA, 2012).

Television is regarded as a crucial mass communication vehicle in Brazil (ARAÚJO, 2008). GEMAA (Grupo de Estudos Multidisciplinares de Ações Afirmativas/Multidisciplinary Group of Affirmative Action Studies) (2015) has conducted a study to survey the number of soap operas’ (*telenovelas*) Black protagonists between 1994 and 2014. Only 4% of the main roles were performed by Black actresses. Vascounto (2016) listed the racist stereotypes that Brazilian soap operas should abandon, such as the “sassy, subservient, gossiper, seductive and submissive” maid. In the book (ARAÚJO, 2000) and documentary *A negação do Brasil - O Negro nas Telenovelas Brasileiras* (2000), Araújo also explores the influence of soap operas in the process of construction—or “lack of construction”—of a Black identity. Black actor Lázaro Ramos (2017) claims that changes in the media are signs of changes in the society and considers that the protagonist roles he has performed constitute exceptions. Ramos reminds us that exceptions ratify rules, and he adds that racism inhibits people from following their path and prejudice may end up dictating their actions (RAMOS, 2017, p. 102).

Aside from issues related to the ways and the amount of Black people exposure in mass media, there are peculiarities in the Brazilian context that reinforce the invisibility condition of the Black population as consumers. First, there is some indifference towards the effects of social inequalities, which mainly affect Black citizens (CARNEIRO, 2002). Also, while the existence of racism in the country is denied (MIRANDA-RIBEIRO, 2006), veiled racism behind an appearance of social acceptance is common (DA MATTA, 1986; LEITÃO, 2015). Issues related to racial differences remain relatively unknown and are not sufficiently debated among Brazilians (FREYRE, 1986; GOMES, 2003). Few Brazilians have heard in or out of school that one of the purposes of the early 20th century White immigration wave intended to “whiten” the local African descent population (DOMINGUES, 2002).

Part of the Brazilian society still sustains the myth of racial democracy (ZAMORA, 2012), but Blacks live a reality of stigma (GOFFMAN, 1963; TELLA, 2006) and racism (ZAMORA, 2012). The topic is not clearly dealt with in the country, though Black consumers’ characteristics seem to be socially understood as a defect or disadvantage (GOFFMAN, 1963). Race theories, both older and recent, point to physical traits to explain racism (APPIAH, 1997, p. 30). Appiah (1997) presents a painful realization that meanings and practices were built in such a way that distinct aesthetics would be mistakenly understood as moral distinctions, with Blacks being subjected to an inferior position, both in regard to their appearance and their morals.

The consumption sphere contradicts the myth of racial democracy and unveils the existing racism within the market of goods and services (TELLA, 2006). Black people often experience public sanctions and discrimination in consumption situations (BENNETT et al.,

2014; CROCKER; MAJOR; STEELE, 1998; LINK; PHELAN, 2001), and they have to create ways to deal with the issue (TELLA, 2006). Social media emerge as a means to disclose the discrimination and racism experienced by Black consumers, while serving as a space to expose the existing painful prejudice, such as the one surrounding Black women’s hair. The natural afro-textured hair is a target for negative representations -“bad”, “coarse”, in need of “taming” (BOUZON, 2008 p. 245). Identity is expressed, displayed and revealed by the physical body which is subjected to myths, representations, and distinct consumptions.

A number of research studies have been dedicated to understanding consumption practices and identity construction (e.g. BELK, 1988; LUNT; LIVINGSTONE, 1992; SLATER, 1997; TOMLINSON, 2006; WARDE, 1994). Belk (1988) emphasizes how people subjectively perceive who they are and how identity construction is a continuous process permeated with conflict. Holt and Thompson (2004) describe identity formation as a malleable process, constructed through codes, practices, and performances, where consumers deal with contradictions and identity difficulties posed by the marketplace in their search for a coherent self. Arnould and Thompson (2005) describe the market as a source of myths related to identities, in which a simultaneous process of identification and differentiation from others takes place.

Some studies cover the difficulties caused by market structures in the construction of coherent and dignified identities (ARVIDDSON, 2005; HOLT, 2002), and the challenges for the achievement of utopian ideals created by the market (KOZINETS, 2002; BELK; GER; ASKEGAARD, 2003). Firat and Venkatesh (1995) describe an “empty self” or a “decentralized self” that results from identity games played within the market. Fordham (1996) analyzed the identity dilemmas faced by Black youngsters. The author brings the expression “act like a White person” that refers to a standardized ethics imposed by White hegemony and that may lead to a deconstruction of the Black identity still in search for their affirmation. Breakwell (1986) tackles identity construction departing from some characteristics such as continuity, distinction, agency, control, and self-esteem. Giddens (1991) highlights the social interactions that comprise this continuous process. Those characteristics may constitute a challenge for Black female consumers facing a marketplace dominated by Eurocentric representations. These representations have historically (and socially) discriminated Black aesthetics, contributing to their invisibility. It is noticeable that companies in the hygiene and beauty sector direct their offers favoring culturally hegemonic White identity, in a social context that judges and disapproves people based on physical attributes (HALL, 1993). The hair may act as a tool to classify, hierarchize, qualify, disqualify, exclude and include people (BOUZON, 2008 p. 232); and for Black women, this touches identity issues that are even more specific and sensitive (THOMPSON, 2009; NDICHU; UPADHYAYA, 2018).

4. METHODOLOGY

This study adopts an interpretive approach (ARNOULD; THOMPSON, 2005) and qualitative methods to capture the consumer perspective on the phenomenon, through primary and secondary data (REMENYI et al., 1998).

The work examines how Black female consumers understand current marketing actions. We depart from the assumption that Blacks are overlooked by the market in regard

to the development and communication of offers, and experience a kind of discouragement in the consumption of services and goods. The context of analysis is the experience of Black women as consumers of products and services for hair beauty and care.

Narrative interviews (MILES; HUBERMAN; SALDANA, 2013) with 22 women were conducted. From this group, which is part of a larger study, 15 interviewees were selected. Their accounts were more specific in relation to market experiences, suggesting a discouragement in the consumption of hair beauty and care products and services. Rio de Janeiro city residents, participants were women between 28 and 57 years old, with varied hairstyles (natural, straightened, braided, dreadlocked, among others).

In the beginning, there was some curiosity regarding a better understanding of the affluent Black female consumer behavior given that Blacks are often associated with lower income groups (OLIVEIRA; VIEIRA, 2009). Family income was abandoned as the main criteria for participants' selection when early accounts suggested that there were no differences in the ways women of distinct social strata were affected by marketing actions applied in the market of hair products and services.

According to Pedrosa and Schwarcz (2014), in Brazil different skin color tones are observed when people are asked to self-declare. Selected participants self-declared as Black women. In some cases, self-declaration occurred after the guideline initial questions were asked. The final group was comprised of women who self-declare as Black and belong to different strata within the Brazilian socioeconomic pyramid. Interviews were an hour-long on average and were conducted in places chosen by the respondents, e.g., home, workplace or coffee shops. The accounts were recorded and transcribed, resulting in approximately 320 pages of material for analysis.

Aside from the consumers' interview narratives, a two-year systematic recording of manifestations related to the Black community media was carried out, contributing to the interpretation of the phenomenon. We followed 105 links, including social media (Facebook and Instagram), YouTube, websites, and blogs. The links were analyzed and associated with five preliminary categories. The first covers aesthetic standards, racism and activism (62 links), topics more closely related to the main research focus. Market offers are the second category and 22 links within the scope of this article were found. Other categories complemented the study: social movements progress (8 links); pages specialized in Black beauty (7 links); and history of the Black people (6 links).

If, on the one hand, the almost exclusive use of Facebook for the data collection could imply some limitation; on the other hand, it allowed a greater proximity of the researchers with current and widely discussed topics in Brazil. We followed the Facebook group *Cacheadas em Transição (OFICIAL)* (“Curly in Transition - Official”) for 6 months. This is a space that offers support for Black women throughout transitioning stages, from straightened hair to natural texture. The group was chosen due to the significant number of members, close to 278 thousand at the time of data collection completion. In our search for Facebook pages that deal with hair transition, the word “transition” was used as the keyword.

The narrative interviews, the collected posts, the information gathered on the media, blogs and websites were analyzed conjointly. Sometimes information coming from different sources were supportive, i.e., similarities and convergence were detected. In other

situations, they were complementary, adding details not found in another source. Information collected in the media help us understand the markets and the diverse existing (or non-existing) connections between the offers and the demand, as well as the complexity of this context.

Fieldwork findings were analyzed following Bardin's (2006) content analysis guidelines. At the data pre-analysis stage it was possible to identify the most relevant information for the study. In sequence, the selected material was examined in order to establish categories consonant with the research question and the adopted theoretical framework. As initially planned, data was processed using Atlas.ti as reading and rereading narratives was sufficient for inference, interpretation and critical verification, as recommended by Bardin (2006). Data was analyzed and, along with the interviews' accounts, led to identification of three categories (BARDIN, 2006). Categories that emerged are described and analyzed in sequence.

5. MAIN FINDINGS

The identified analysis categories show three facets of the consumption discouragement experienced by Black female consumers. The first reveals a prevailing structural pattern that points to a perpetuation of the marginal status of Black women natural traits. The second part of the analysis presents emerging market aspects which suggest paths and movements towards a greater visibility of Black female consumers who are returning to their natural hair texture and facing racism. The last category shows women who are eager to consume, but who seem to have their demand discouraged, pointing to a perception of selective and veiled demarketing behind the current marketing actions.

AVOIDING NATURAL HAIR AND ACCEPTING THE STANDARD

The condition of "invisibility" through hair starts in childhood, when consumers are exposed to a beauty standard to be followed - "the White standard" - without being introduced to alternative aesthetic styles. Straightening their natural hair is a practice that would, to a certain degree, get these Black female consumers closer to the socially accepted hairstyle. (see BOUZÓN, 2008). When adopting this style, part of the consumer's ethnic background "would disappear". Magda (45 years old), for example, has lived in Denmark for more than ten years, but still holds the memories of her experiences as a child and adolescent in Brazil: "where the beauty standard is the White standard". Today Magda wears wavy hair extensions.

Interviewees are conscious that, in Brazil, Eurocentric beauty standards are valued, something quite distant from their natural looks. Vilma (44 years old) remembers feeling as "the ugly duckling in childhood". In her account, she also suggests that erasing her racial identity seemed to be the norm, and certain discomfort could be experienced when she didn't subject to the standard:

My parents never explored the possibility that I would need to accept myself as a Black woman, with kinky hair. They never told me so. I thought I was ugly, that my hair was horrible, it wouldn't grow, I hated it, I hated everything about myself.

Today Vilma keeps her hair with the natural texture and has abandoned the use of chemicals. For some interviewees, straightening their hair seems to be a solution for making them somewhat “visible”. In specific contexts, straight hair makes them feel closer to the imaginary, which is sometimes associated with their White peers who are socially “visible”. In her interview, Maria reported that “since a kid she always wanted to have straight hair”. The school environment was important for the construction of her perception regarding the hairstyle to be adopted. The interviewee described her choice for straight hair as an element of belonging to a certain group, of higher socioeconomic status, and closer to the Eurocentric standard:

I studied in a school where most students were middle class, so there were richer people, of a higher social class. A great part [of the female students] had straight hair and I thought their hair was beautiful, and I didn't want to wear curly hair; firstly because nobody did, every person of color like me, or even Whites, who had curly hair used to straighten it, so I didn't want to feel different from the group.

Later, in adulthood, Maria's “straight” hair would increase her chances of acceptance and reduce social disapproval in other spheres of life. The interviewee narrates her perception regarding the proper hairstyle for a corporate environment (a topic pointed out by PIRES; MOCELLIN, 2016). Such social adjustment is reported by the participant as something she believes to be common sense. It is as if not only her look, but the look of the “Other”, would lead her to an interpretation regarding straightened hair, which helps to understand the context in which she lives and some related outcomes. An excerpt from the interview clarifies the point: “It's not just the hair, there is the whole context. Today if you straighten your hair and put on a women's suit, you look like a business woman [...] when [the person] gets to an interview, she's going to be rejected because of her [curly] hair”. Along with Maria, other interviewees pointed to the natural afro-textured hair as the least acceptable in corporate environments.

The natural texture of Black hair is viewed by some interviewees as a “problem” with which they must deal along their lives. Part of the explanation may come from the maternal look when they were still children or adolescents; or the masculine look at the hair as an aesthetic attribute in the adult life. Some accounts detail how mothers used to impose that natural hair needed to be “tamed”. One participant of the group *Cacheadas em Transição (OFICIAL)* reported her husband's initial objection to her decision of abandoning hair straightening.

We found a highly critical article from a famous band with no Black members in a magazine targeting teenagers (RIBEIRO, 2015). One of the band members, when giving his opinion on braided hair, suggests that “for those who have bad hair [natural afro-textured hair]”, wearing braids meant a kind of “salvation”. According to the article, “their racist

response was followed by laughter from the three [band] members”. Respecting the natural hair and avoiding chemicals becomes a gesture of resistance in a context that imposes a specific standard. According to a number of interviewees, the adoption of natural hair by a Black woman is something that requires courage. Marilda (51 years old) explains that a woman who chooses the natural afro-textured hair

[...] is a woman with courage, because it's too difficult, people pressure you, because everyone wants you to flat iron, to straighten your hair; everyone thinks it's ugly, a lot of people confuse this kind of hair with being sloppy, lacking care.

RESPECTING THE NATURAL BLACK HAIR TEXTURE AND CONFRONTING RACISM

Black Brazilian women are in search of visibility in several social spheres. The internet has become a platform for portraying Black women in a new and more proud social status in relation to aesthetics and beauty. Movements of collective support to face the difficult transitioning from hair straightening to natural texture are an example of the new possibilities brought up by digital media, where opinions and protests get widespread very quickly. At the same time, this exposure opens up a space for racist comments and attitudes, such as offensive words and aggressive manifestations against Black aesthetics, having Black actresses as a target, for example, attitudes that were denounced and openly covered by the media (G1, 2015). In web search pages one can identify Black women rebuking racist practices in general (RIBEIRO, 2016).

To these examples, we can add Facebook pages directed to issues that have currently mobilized Black women (*Pipa Azul*, *Pretas Simoa*, *Cacheadas em Transição e Gelledés - Instituto da Mulher Negra*, among others). Martins (2015) notes the representation (or under-representation) of Blacks in advertising. It is on the internet that different debates regarding image are arising and are helping to forge a “new” Black female consumer identity.

Black Brazilian women are depicted occupying new spaces of recognition. Beauty is a theme of paramount importance in Brazil and it remains privileging women with features closer to the Eurocentric standards. A Black woman was recently elected “Miss 450th Rio de Janeiro’s anniversary” (R7, 2015); a contrast to the White, blonde with light-colored eyes, “Miss 4th Centenary”. (ARGENTO, 2014). The winner of Miss Brazil 2016 was the second Black woman elected in more than five decades (REVISTA DONNA, 2015). Black women marched in the streets of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Curitiba (G1, 2016) under the slogan *Marcha do Orgulho Crespo* (“Afro Hair Pride March”) using the hair as a symbolic element for the representation of their political activism. Universities have institutionalized spaces such as Núcleos de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros/Center for Afro-Brazilian Studies (NEAB) - for the debate of issues that bring Brazilians closer to their African roots (NEAB UERJ, s.d.). All these examples distance Black female consumers from the inferior status often attributed to them (GRIJÓ; SOUZA, 2012; GRIJÓ, 2014).

Young Black women have become the protagonists of internet videos giving them certain fame and positive reception from the audience. Carolina became known when she clarified that her hair “was not bad, bad is hearing ignorant people say that your hair is

bad". (MONTEIRO, 2015). Within the area of consumption, the campaign *Se Não me Vejo, Não Compro* ("If I Don't Recognize Myself, I Don't Buy It") has circulated on the internet portraying kids holding signs with the phrase (RITTER, 2016). The campaign was a response to the decision made by a brand of costumes to represent the character Finn, from Star Wars - performed by Black actor John Boyega - as a White man. Social media gives space for movements that invigorate Blacks in their fight against stigma, invisibility, and prejudice (TELLA, 2006; ZAMORA, 2012).

In public spaces it is possible to observe Black women abandoning hair straightening and returning to their natural hair texture. Moving from one hairstyle to the other represents a period to which they refer as "hair transitioning". Participants of the community *Cacheadas em Transição (OFICIAL)* deal with this stage as an opportunity for "knowing your hair" and "accepting your roots", "a voluntary experience and the desire for change", pointing to a "learning process about your own self". One member of the community mentions: "I had no idea that I had the right to do whatever I wanted with my hair, even to cut it, if that were the case". Another topic of debates within the community is the "fight and the political activism" implied in abandoning straightening and returning to the natural hair texture. Participants recognize how "difficult" the process is, because "sometimes you get ugly", "sad", and receive "criticism from people".

Among the videos dealing with hair care found on YouTube, we identified videos of young Black women giving tips on how to "transition" without major "trauma" (see GOMES, 2016). The high number of consumers participating in social media communities is noticeable (SIMÕES; SANT'ANNA, 2010), and it serves as a source of support for the stage when the hair has not gained a defined style yet. *Cacheadas em Transição (OFICIAL)* members mention feeling "encouraged by the Facebook [community]" along the process, also commenting on the gains - "self-esteem, self-confidence and reassurance" - that transitioning in itself may provide.

It seems to be a usual practice among Black women with natural afro-textured hair to "make their own products", as they cannot find good products available in the market. Although interviewees have mentioned some products or brands (products by *Beleza Natural* salon, the brand "Hair Shine", and the product *Morte Súbita* among others), "homemade" production seems to have become naturalized. Gaps left by the market made it possible for Black women entrepreneurs to look for solutions that would meet their own needs and others' needs. The salon *Beleza Natural*, for example, a reference in regard to customer service designed for women with natural afro-textured hair, was born through the initiative of one of its owners who "[...] being a woman that cares for her looks, was unsettled by the lack of products and treatments for hair with natural texture like hers" (SUAREZ; CASOTTI; ALMEIDA, 2008, p. 556).

MARKET OFFERS: SELECTIVE AND VEILED DEMARKETING?

It was possible to gather Black female consumers' complaints regarding the lack of proper products for their hair within Facebook posts or the interviewees' accounts. Among the participants, Flávia (50 years old), a mother of a teenager, was assertive: "No, I don't find [products] for me, neither for my daughter's [hair]. It's hell". The gap left by the market

can be fulfilled by the consumers’ social network, by the exchange of information and tips concerning the use or not of certain products. This is the case of Amanda (38 years old) whose sister lives in England and “brings loads of [products]” for her.

The current status of the relationship between the market and Black female consumers seems to be somewhat “blurry” concerning hair products offerings. Statistics suggest that many Black Brazilians have gained access to new products and, as a consequence, became more present in various consumption environments (NERI, 2011). This does not seem to have been assimilated by the market of products for natural afro-textured hair. In her account, Cândida (51 years old), for example, deconstructs the recent discourse about a more accessible market when she states that “there are no products for Black women’s hair”, though she recognizes slight advancements in this direction. According to the interviewee, “they are making products [for Black hair]”, albeit her comparison is with “the old days”, when “there was nothing; in the past Vaseline was the option” Magda (45 years old), despite showing dissatisfaction and disbelief towards the market for her hair type, points to some developments in terms of product offerings:

When I was a child and an adolescent it was awful [finding good products]. There was only *Neutrox* [moisturizer cream], *creme de mocotó* [calf’s foot jelly] and, at a certain point, when American products arrived, such as relaxants, the Brazilian industry woke up to the fact that there was a huge space for Black hair products. From the moment those American products got into the market, all of sudden, new releases of Brazilian products started to happen, but by then I was practically leaving Brazil [...] But I’ve never found one product, till today, that I’d say it’s a real good one.

Among the interviewees, even the ones that recognize some improvement in the offers, there is a consensus that “the access to products is not that easy”, especially when compared to the market that aims non-Black consumers. Aside from the insufficient offerings, the participants refer to unprepared retailers and salespeople, incapable of providing them a good customer service. Going to a store specialized in hair products may be an unpleasant experience that reminds the consumer of her neglected condition in the marketplace, both in regard to products promotional information and to availability on the shelves. Vanda (44 years old) proposes an explanation for this: “There are companies that have [products], but they are not publicized on TV and don’t get attention [referring to a product promotion] because they think that products for Black hair don’t sell”. Amália (38 years old), on the other hand, ponders that the offer is not compatible with the volume of demand. She said:

It’s not easy [to find products] because the ones that target our type of hair sell out quickly [in the stores], because a lot of women you see out there with straight hair, don’t have straight hair. She uses a flat iron every day, she blow-dries every day: [the hair] got wet, shrunk, it needs to be treated; and the treatment is with products for afro-textured hair.

The gap left by the market is also recalled when they describe experiences in beauty salons. They talk about the scarcity of services specialized in the treatment of natural afro-textured hair. Establishments do not have professionals properly trained to deal with

Black hair texture, and this is a significant complaint among interviewees. Vanda, who has "embraced her natural hair texture", talks about the lack of specialized hair salons, despite recognizing that there are hairdressers specialized in specific styles, such as "braids, Nago braids [similar to African box braids] and dreadlocks". The respondent justifies her choice for becoming a hairstylist due to the lack of proper service so that she could "take care of [her] own hair". The "inexistence" of products and services is also part of the history behind *Beleza Natural*. The chain gained space as a result from the lack of alternatives and offerings of innovative services and products for Black hair texture (SUAREZ et al., 2008). This "non-market" gives space for creativity and to what the marketing literature defines as "prosumer" (see CORDEIRO; CAMPOS, 2015).

Amanda (38 years old), who uses ethnic braids, reinforces the level of informality that Black female consumers experience. Amanda's braids are done by "two hairstylists who are not hairstylists", they are "her friends". These "non-professionals" are praised for their braiding technique skills, an opportunity described by the respondent as "a privilege", "a luxury". Other informal spaces were mentioned by the interviewees, such as a neighbor's home, for example, where "we care for each other's [hair]".

Although they are no longer in operation, two hair salons were mentioned by the interviewees as spaces that promoted Black culture: AfroDai and Afonjá. Those salons were visited by "afro-hair icons" and "*pretas da situação*" (prominent Black women), celebrities such as actress Zezé Motta, journalist Glória Maria, actor and singer Tony Tornado, politician Benedita da Silva, and actor Antônio Pitanga. Magda (45 years old) suggests an explanation for the recurrent reference to these salons. According to the participant, AfroDai and Afonjá "[...] were the only salons, at the time, having hair care options for Black people, places that offered possibilities of getting a treatment not too far from natural Black traits". Amanda (38 years old) tackles the issue from another perspective: "Afonjá was a rooftop terrace in *Copacabana*, a salon for the upper class: it was for Blacks, but for the privileged ones". Nowadays the salon *Beleza Natural* became the reference, more specifically for relaxed hair. Different from AfroDai and Afonjá, *Beleza Natural* is not associated to the black culture reproduction, but as a space that contributes to the democratization of hair care, albeit promoting one specific hair style-relaxed.

A significant number of salons dedicated to the Black clientele are located in regions far from upscale neighborhoods. According to the interviewees, a woman with straight hair has several options of beauty salons next to her home. A Black woman, on the other hand, depending on her home location, will need to travel long distances and go to another neighborhood if she needs care for her type of hair texture. Claudia (57 years old), for example, lives in an upper-middle class region and finds herself lacking specialized beauty salon options. The participant clarifies that salons targeting Black people are located in poorer areas: "In the periphery, the outskirts, in the north zone". In her attempt to avoid long journeys, Claudia gets her hair treatment in a salon for straight-hair women, close to her home. The result is not always satisfactory, as she says: "Now I go to a salon here, but there's a problem; this girl that does my hair doesn't know, she's not trained; because we don't have professionals here, there are no ethnic hair professionals". Margarida (28 years old) tells that she made several trips to go to a salon along her life. In a narrative excerpt, she lists a number of neighborhoods in the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro, making clear the ordeal Black consumers go through in order to gain access to proper beauty salon services:

Then I moved to Penha; it was more distant [from the salon]. It would take me 1 hour or 1 hour and a half to get there, but it was a real salon. I remained a customer there for 1 year, doing afro perm. Then I stopped going there and ended up in Água Santa, next to Méier. I went to Praça Seca. Then I quit Praça Seca and went to Duque de Caxias. Duque de Caxias is close to my home, it's not far; I used to get there in 30 to 40 minutes.

Aside from the time spent in trips to beauty salons that offer Black hair care, some interviewees remember the long hours needed to get their hair treatment. Magda generalizes: “When a Black person goes to the hairdresser, she doesn't spend 1 hour, she spends an entire day at the salon”.

The interviews' narratives and the data collected from the internet point to several difficulties related to the experience with Black female consumers' hair beauty products, services and treatment of. Women also talk about actions and practices they promote and reinforce within their kinship network, such as friends and neighbors, and also through social network online sharing, collaboration and support. Where is the market? In relation to the consumption of services and goods for Black hair, according to the testimonial accounts and internet posts, the market seems timid and discouraging. Would this be selective demarketing? At a certain point during her interview, Heloisa (31 years old) reveals feeling invisible by a market that “pretends” to meet her demands. Would it be selective and veiled demarketing?

What I feel sometimes is that there are creams that don't moisturize a damn thing. [My hair] feels more like straw. Was the [the product] tested on someone? Who was it made for? Who was the model for the development of this moisturizer? I can't see the result in my hair or my friends' hair.

6. FINAL DISCUSSION

Black women learn that the existing beauty standard differs from their natural traits. Their stories describe a market that offers products and services that intend to change their genuine aesthetics, instead of keeping or recovering them. Straightened hair is “practical” (NDICHU; UPADHYAYA, 2018), but render their natural physical attributes invisible. Straightened hair approximate Black women to White aesthetics and might diminish the stigma related to their natural hair texture (kinky, coiled or curly). Representations and market practices may have led Black women in a direction opposite to that of identity building which is something closely related to consumption (BELK, 1988; SLATER, 1997; WARDE, 1994) i.e. market actions, in this case, seem to disrupt or even deconstruct the identity of this group of women. Firat and Venkatesh (1995) explain the phenomenon as the development of an “empty self” or a “decentralized self”.

Despite pertaining to distinct socio-historical contexts, our findings have a parallel with the research by Ndichu and Upadhyaya (2018) on the trajectory of identity change followed by Kenyan Black women, which happened through the adoption of natural hair texture. Within our primary and secondary data we also identified movements promoting the embracement of natural hair, for example *Marcha do Orgulho Crespo* and the Facebook

group *Cacheadas em Transição*. These new movements seeking identity construction should instigate Brazilian companies to see the "invisible". Marketing actions, however, are predominantly directed to the non-Black population, and seem to demotivate the participation of Black people in the marketplace. The interviewees reported feeling discouraged and recounted their search for alternatives to fill in the gaps left by the market.

The concept of selective demarketing encourages reflections regarding the business side. Companies that in fact want to control the demand or, in other words, discourage the consumption by Black women, may find in this group an "easy target". Racism has been historically denied in Brazil. It is not possible to assert that neglecting situations those consumers face in the marketplace result from a voluntary selective demarketing, although the accounts do point to the existence of selective demarketing, even if veiled.

Going back to Kotler's (1973) seminal article on demarketing, in which the author places it among marketing managerial tasks, our findings point to a paradox. The narratives suggest the existence of a latent demand, i.e., Black women need products and services that are not properly offered by the market. Kotler reminds us that latent demand is a sign of a favorable environment for innovation within companies, though the examined experiences seem distant from actions aiming at demand development ("developmental marketing"). The author gives hints to elucidate the paradox posed by our research findings, when "latent demand" is interpreted as selective demarketing. Kotler (1973, p. 47) correlates this kind of demarketing to situations when organizations are not willing to reduce overall demand, but are instead focusing on certain relevant market segments.

Kotler's article does not cover socioeconomic or racial issues when referring to "non-profitable" or "undesirable" market needs. Nevertheless, market segmentation strategies in Brazil seem to obscure the importance of Black people as consumers, while reinforcing the hegemony of the non-Black population (LEGLER et al. 2002). Meanwhile, new movements, mainly developed within digital platforms, instigate the Brazilian market to see the "invisible" and the "undesirable".

This study contributes to stimulate Brazilian companies' reflection upon racial issues that influence the market and marketing actions. "The consumer has no color, but they are not Black". The content of such expression, coined decades ago, seems to remain present in the imaginary and in business practices. It reveals the veiled racism. Racism is a crime in Brazil. Yet, on a daily basis, veiled racism exists in discourses and representations suggesting that social acceptance of Black people is not real, but a pretense. Brazil is not a racial democracy as many Brazilians wish to think or have been led to believe and disseminate. In practice, this belief makes the debates on existing racism within the marketplace even more difficult, precisely where a number of topics need to be explored in order to challenge knowledge that has been developed in the theories and practices by predominantly White researchers.

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THE MYTH OF RACIAL DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MARKET: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PARTICIPATION OF AFRO-DESCENDANTS IN BRAZILIAN COMPANIES

O mito da democracia racial no mercado de trabalho: análise crítica
da participação dos afrodescendentes nas empresas brasileiras

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ABSTRACT

This research sought to identify the participation of different races in organizations and to investigate the opportunities for black people, in terms of employability and professional growth, in Brazil. To meet this objective, documentary research was undertaken with 117 companies, which are among the 500 largest in Brazil. The results indicated that racial democracy is a myth in our society, hence the need to move forward with social policies that minimize inequalities between white and black people in the most significant company positions. The process of producing and reproducing racism continues to restrict the of black people to the highest hierarchical levels. In order to achieve equality for black people in the labour market, we must evolve from social policies of 'good intentions' to the concept of praxis and be positioned among the benchmarks of militant sociology, establishing a set of affirmative government policies, accompanied by practices that encourage diversity in companies and denounce ideologies which reinforce the myth of racial democracy.

Keywords: Diversity. Race. Affirmative policies. Racial democracy. Labour market.

RESUMO

Esta pesquisa buscou identificar a participação das diferentes raças nas organizações e em decorrência investigar as oportunidades dos negros em termos de empregabilidade e ascensão profissional em nosso país. Para o atendimento do objetivo estabelecido se desenvolveu uma pesquisa documental com 117 empresas que fazem parte do conjunto das 500 maiores empresas do Brasil. Os resultados apontaram que a democracia racial constitui um mito em nossa sociedade, daí a necessidade de se avançar com as políticas sociais que minimizem as desigualdades entre brancos e negros nos cargos mais relevantes das empresas, pois o processo de produção e reprodução do racismo continua a tolher a ascensão de pessoas negras aos níveis hierárquicos mais elevados. Para a inserção do negro no mercado de trabalho de forma equânime se efetivar, é necessário evoluir de políticas sociais de "boas intenções" para o conceito de práxis e se situar nos marcos de uma sociologia militante ao se estabelecer a conjunção de políticas governamentais afirmativas acompanhadas de práticas que estimulem a diversidade nas empresas e, ao mesmo tempo, denunciem as ideologias que apregoam o mito da democracia racial.

Palavras-chave: Diversidade. Raça. Políticas afirmativas. Democracia Racial. Mercado de Trabalho.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Studies on prejudice and social discrimination in Brazil are characterized by two predominant and basic perspectives. The first, supported by sociological tradition, conceives the term “racial democracy”, as a myth, a false illusion, by ideologically omitting the socio-economic asymmetries between white and non-white people. The second, related to Social and Cultural Anthropology, considers that Brazilian society was formed on hybrid bases and that, in racial terms, the colour of a person’s skin does not prevent a meaningful own identity and integration between the dominators and the dominated. The myth of racial democracy in Brazil is founded on the presumed absence of legal segregation mechanisms and in the affirmation that there are no barriers to upward mobility for black people, given the “absence of prejudice and discrimination”.

The sociologist, Gilberto Freyre (1933), although recognizing the existence of racial prejudice in the country, inspired the idea of racial democracy, being the main articulator of this myth, arguing that the social distance between black and white people in Brazilian society is the result of class differences, and not the outcome of colour or racial prejudice. Along these lines, studies by Bourdieu and Wacquant (2002) which analyse race relations, highlight that unlike the cultural imperialism of the United States and its historical particularisms, translated into binary categories of black and white, although there is racism in Brazil, colour prejudice is not expressed as a social division, in which white people deliberately oppress the black population.

Historically, the myth of racial democracy is a constant reminder that Freyre (1933) bequeathed to contemporary Brazil, according to which Brazilian society was constructed from the desire to deny racial categorizations, since it is a country of mixed races, which believes in coexistence and the acceptance of different ‘races’, cultures and religions. In the past, this miscegenation generated a democratizing force between the masters and the slaves and, today, has produced an equivalent memory.

From this perspective, the myth of racial democracy is confirmed, and this position recognizes the existence of racism in Brazil but does not formulate it as our structuring force. Therefore, social exclusion does not stem from racism but is the product of poverty and the socio-economic model, which has concentrated income for decades, leading the poor to remain in poverty and contributing to the rich remaining wealthy. Consequently, the myth of racial democracy assumes that there is a peaceful coexistence between ethnic groups in Brazil, unlike other countries, such as South Africa and the United States, and everyone has equal chances of success (COELHO JÚNIOR, 2013).

Contrary to this vision, which disregards relevant aspects of the history of slavery in this country and its ramifications in forming a society, it is understood that in the origins of colonial society, Brazil was marked by racism and, specifically, by the exclusion of the black population. More than a simple inheritance from our past, this racial problem continues in contemporary times, in very different ways.

In addition, debating race relations implies discussing the different forms of power relations which permeate society, since the fundamental problem of race relations issues lies in the process of hierarchization, dehumanization and the justification that

discrimination exists among the various populations, becoming clear when it is part of the historical analysis of the position that the black population occupies in the country (MUNANGA, 2006). As Figueiredo (2012) clarifies, this position includes the absence of market segmentation specifically oriented toward the black population.

Along these same lines, Rosa (2014) suggests that the so-called logic of group assimilation has prevailed in Brazil, which means the integration of cultural differences, in which minority groups undergo an acculturation process, incorporating ideas which the majority group proposes. These ideas have the capacity to transmit all-encompassing ideologies in which the existence of a society free of racial conflicts emerges and, consequently, allows for utopian interpretations of discrimination and racial prejudice.

At the same time, affirmative actions emerged in various countries, as a way of reducing social inequality and can be considered a set of policies and practices which seek “[...] to promote the social recognition of citizens excluded from the benefits of their citizenship and inclusion in the world of work” (FREITAS, 2015, p. 90). According to the author, in Brazil these actions were strengthened in 1989 with Law n. 8213/89, which regulates the allocation of jobs to people with disabilities. This was expanded in 2002 through Decree n. 4228, which suggests the creation of targets to include female professionals, black people and people with disabilities in public institutions and service providers, and includes the provision of guidelines to monitor these actions (BRASIL, 2002). Although there are legal arrangements which encourage diversity in public management, these initiatives have proven to have little effect in the labour market as a whole.

Based on this brief contextualization, the problem which this article sought to address was: in the present day, in the corporate universe, as a result of the development of integration policies aimed at those who were excluded in the past, can racial democracy be considered a myth?

Drawing on the documentary analysis method, this research sought to identify the participation of different races in organizations and to investigate opportunities aimed at black people, in terms of employability and career mobility in this country. The broader objective is to present data which enables an understanding of the influence of racial prejudice in companies as an element of integration or social exclusion.

This article is divided into six sections, including this introduction. The next section presents the theoretical framework, in order to analyse the varying aspects of the controversial racial democracy, with an emphasis on the labour market. The methodology section presents the techniques used in this research. This is followed by a presentation of the results discussed in the light of the conceptual framework defined in the theoretical framework and, as a result, the reflections which originated from the investigation. Final considerations about this study are presented in the final section, clarifying the existing limitations and suggesting directions for future research.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

One of the first difficulties which a social science researcher encounters is related to integrating theoretical aspects and language practices. Specifically in relation to studies

on racial democracy, the complex aspects of the theoretical-methodological nature of the research stem from the initial difficulties which the researcher encounters in order to establish the “race” category, connected to others such as “colour”, “ethnicity” and “class”, etc., which can be used as an analytical or native concept. Guimarães (2003) highlights that a distinction of concepts is established in social sciences, in two categories: analytical and native. For the author, while the analytical concept analyses a phenomenon in which the meaning is restricted to the body of a theory, the native concept is, in opposition, establishing meaning in the practical and effective world.

Therefore, in this approach, when asking “what is race?” the answer is: it depends. It depends on whether we are referring to race in scientific terms or to a category in the real world, and whether “it has a historic and specific meaning for a certain human group” (GUIMARÃES, 2003, p. 95). However, this apparently logical distinction became complex and even controversial, when the concept of Afro-descendants emerged, since this concept cannot be classified as either analytical or native, as “[...] it was not analytical because neither sociology nor biology upheld it, nor was it native, except for a small proportion of the Brazilian population” (GUIMARÃES, 2003, p. 103).

Faced with this dilemma, the solution found by Guimarães (2003) was to establish colour as a racial category: “[...] colour is not an objective category; colour is a racial category, as when people are classified as black, mulatto and of mixed-race, it is the idea of race which orientates this form of classification” (GUIMARÃES, 2003, p. 103-104).

For the purposes of this research, colour is adopted as a concept of race, in line with the classification proposed by Guimarães (2003, p. 103), according to which “[...] the classification of people by colour is orientated by a discussion on qualities, attitudes and essences transmitted by blood, which trace back to a common ancestral origin [...]”.

Based on this guiding argument, which is essentially concerned with an analysis of colour prejudice, it is observed that studies and discussions on racial democracy in Brazil incorporate labour relations, market characteristics and company management. It involves the analysis of multiple aspects which are not only conditioned by economic imperatives but whose inequalities are legitimized by education, culture, religion, literature, art, science and the means of communication. Therefore, various aspects of this problem need to be analysed, in order to consider their complexity in current times.

With regards to educational aspects and social origin, Osorio (2004) analysed racial and income inequality in Brazil, in order to investigate the validity of the theory that their persistence is predominantly due to the exacerbated weight of social origin in stratification processes. Among other causes, it was noted that the main source of racial inequality lies in the difference in income levels for black and white people and that this difference in remuneration is predominantly due to educational inequalities between black and white people. It is highlighted that educational inequalities between racial groups are largely determined by social origin.

In cultural terms, Brazilian society is quite diverse, as a result of various migratory movements registered in the country. Due to the vast territorial range of Brazil, some regions have a greater influence from a specific colonization process.

Despite this social diversity, the labour market does not reproduce the same diversity, whether of gender or race. In her studies, Rosa (2014) argues that organizational diversity results from a historic need, while the research performed by Uhr et al. (2014) demonstrates the existence of salary differences in Brazil, which discriminate against gender and race in the administrative sector of the labour market. From this perspective, professionals with the same level of productivity, potentially earn lower salaries, as a result of gender or race, while executing the same type of activities.

Also, in relation to salary differences between black and white people and their consequences on social upward mobility, Costa Ribeiro (2006) presents an overwhelming distinction by confirming that racial inequalities prevail in disputes for hierarchically higher social positions, however, this does not take place in the search for positions and duties related to the low classes, which are entirely determined by their class position. Thus, racial inequality prevails at the top of the class hierarchy of companies, but not at the base.

The treatment of race-related issues usually occurs within the context of diversity, which also includes issues pertaining to gender, age, those leaving the prison system, indigenous people and the integration of transvestites and transsexuals. The term “diversity” has not yet been presented as a robust construct, as Fleury (2000) indicates, establishing difficulties for the development of research on the topic. The present research interprets diversity in line with the perspective of authors such as Fleury (2000) and Queiroz, Álvares and Moreira (2005) who present diversity in the cultural context.

Gender inequality can be observed in the research conducted by Barroso (2015), with regards to female participation at the highest levels of public administration in Brazil. The study indicates that female participation in the Federal Executive Branch is small in managerial positions. Female participation in managerial positions is 28% and 19% as high-level advisors. Marques and Ferreira’s (2015) research analysed the differences between men and women who occupy leading positions in Portuguese companies. According to the authors, a lower percentage of women was observed in leading company positions, but the data found indicate that leadership capacity among men and women is similar, with no differences identified between genders in the leadership process. The research also revealed that there was no significant difference between men and women’s salaries.

Diversity within a company’s staff, which in the context of this study is interpreted as differences in gender, race, place of origin, academic studies and ideology, can be beneficial for the company. Focusing attention on a specific group of professionals - board members - studies are identified which indicate neutral aspects when establishing boards with different members. In this context, the study of Gallego-Álvarez, García-Sánchez and Rodríguez-Dominguez (2010) is highlighted, which analyses board diversity and its influence on the performance of companies listed on the Spanish stock exchange. The results obtained by the authors indicate that companies which present greater diversity among board members do not demonstrate a different performance in relation to companies with less diversity. Upadhyay and Zeng’s (2014) research indicates that it is not possible to infer that greater diversity of board members results in greater independence of board members in relation to organizational management. The analysis of these studies can be approached from the perspective that having more homogeneous boards does not necessarily translate into better

results. In this regard, companies can adopt greater diversity when forming their boards, as this action does not imply lower performance.

The advantage of establishing a diverse board is presented in the context of agency theory, which suggests that the potential to better monitor managers is established under this condition. This occurs as diversity provides members with greater independence to act (CARTER et al., 2007). In this regard, Campbell and Mínguez-Vera (2007) indicate that board members of different cultural or ethnic origins can pose different questions. For the authors, members with very similar backgrounds tend to take similar approaches and, as a consequence, ask similar questions, thereby reducing company managers' breadth of analysis. This approach proposes that the inclusion of a more heterogeneous group in the structure, taking the question of race into account, establishes positive points for the board and, consequently, throughout the company.

Inequality is not restricted to specific sectors of an organization and needs a broader approach. In this sense, Freitas (2015) affirms that the Declaration of Human Rights was the first document to recognize the relevance of differences between individuals, and of the respect for these differences through legal and social mechanisms, so that a reduction in inequality became a goal defined by the United Nations (1948) for the new millennium. Inequality culminates in socially addressing difference, in other words, in the way a society has historically produced and dealt with difference.

In this aspect of socially addressing difference, it is observed that, in social relations, the position of status and class, although they correspond to distinct dimensions, are commonly related; in other words, they enable the conversion of economic capital into symbolic capital (BOURDIEU; WACQUANT, 2002). However, this relation does not take place with the black population. Figueiredo (2004) exposes countless evidence that racial discrimination affects the allocation of status to black people, even those with a high purchasing power. This evidence is also confirmed in research about black identity and class undertaken by Tosta and Alves (2013), in which it is noted that for the reduced number of the black population placed in the higher economic segments of society, problems related to social interaction and integration are similar to those experienced by the lower economic layers.

Biderman and Guimarães Araújo (2004) highlight that the determinants of inequality vary in importance, with factors linked to gender and colour discrimination being more decisive, particularly between women and black people who climb to positions at the top of the social hierarchy. This class condition is worse for women. The condition of a black woman with high purchasing power is not enough to convert the affluence of her economic condition, into a position of status (ROCHA, 2017).

Corroborating this evidence, Silva and Reis (2011) describe the "elitist profile" of racial discrimination in Brazil through 80 in-depth interviews with black professionals in Rio de Janeiro. The authors also noted that middle class black people who occupy leadership positions are the victims of stereotyped and prejudiced behaviour; in other words, colour prejudice overlaps with economic inequality. They conclude that: "They recognized racism, prejudice, racial inequality, and negative stereotypes about blacks in Brazil. Negative stereotypes about blacks are widespread in Brazil". (SILVA; REIS, 2011, p. 75).

In sociological terms, the acculturation process emerges, which refers to the idea of physical and social whitening, since even on achieving high levels in the social hierarchy, black people still face, from some of the white people in their very social class, the expectation that they incorporate the values and behaviour of the dominant sectors as an acceptable procedure to attain greater opportunities for personal and professional growth (MAIO, 2017).

Nóbrega, Santos and Jesus (2014) comment that the term “diversity” is assigned different meanings by authors, and it can refer to cultural, demographic and social characteristics. In their qualitative study, seeking to relate diversity to creativity and organizational competitiveness, the authors were not able to identify a causality between the variables, as the organizations do not perform quantitative surveys to determine these relations. However, the managers interviewed in the research believe that diversity has an influence on the capacity to innovate and on company competitiveness. In conclusion, the companies researched, two of which were large and one medium, located in the state of Bahia, show knowledge about diversity but do not have effective management practices for this resource. Therefore, diversity takes place purely by chance, and unintentionally, at these companies.

Bibliometric research performed by Ferreira et al. (2015) reinforces Fleury’s (2000) position, indicating that recent studies which address diversity, compared to organizational practices, take a tangential and sentimentalist position on the topic. For the authors, organizations can best meet their objectives when there is more diversity among their co-workers, as this composition adjusts better to any disagreements which companies are subject to. In this approach, greater diversity among employees contributes to management, since it enables the establishment of different propositions, visions and understanding, thereby optimizing the possibility of identifying better alternatives to solve problems. It is highlighted that the research performed by the authors presents a list of 46 articles submitted to the National Association of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Administration (ANPAD) Organizational Study Meetings, which address the issue of diversity in different forms.

Hasenbalg (1979), in his study which dates back to the late 1970s, indicated that the problem of inequality between black and white people is not restricted to aspects related to social class but progresses to the occurrence of racial discrimination. For the author, the existence of factors related to racial discrimination in professional exchanges precludes black people from establishing full social integration and, therefore, full exercise of their citizenship, hindering economic mobility.

Santos (2006) uses the term “image discrimination”, exposing the lack of participation of black workers in managerial or leadership positions, and in jobs which include customer service. This is in clear opposition to the myth of racial democracy, which establishes the existence of a peaceful co-existence between the different ethnic groups in Brazil, in which everyone has equal opportunities for personal and professional success (JAIME, 2011). Jaime (2011) highlights the importance of the social context, when seeking to identify the changes which result from constructing the trajectories of black executives in companies, classifying them in two generations: the first one, from the Brazilian dictatorial context of the 1970s and, the second one, whose reference is the consolidation of the social rights achieved by Afro-descendants in the 21st century.

Gonçalves et al. (2016) who draw on data from the Inter-union Department of Statistics and Socio-Economic Studies (DIEESE), demonstrated the incidence of lower salaries for black people when compared with non-black people. The authors also put forward that black people have a higher rate occupation without a formal work contract, the majority have precarious jobs and are a smaller percentage is in leadership positions. Additionally, in its research on income inequality, the Inter-union Department of Statistics and Socio-Economic Studies (DIEESE, 2013) identified that black people earn lower salaries than non-black people in the cities of São Paulo and Salvador.

Oliveira and Barreto (2003) analyse the research performed by the Centro de Articulação de População Marginalizada (Advocacy Centre for the Marginalized Population - CEAP) and the Núcleo de Pesquisas, Informações e Políticas Públicas (Research Centre for Information and Public Policies) from the Fluminense Federal University (DATAUFF) in Rio de Janeiro in 2000, and identify a contradiction, according to which although people state that they are not racially prejudiced, they accept that racial prejudice and discrimination are clearly impregnated in Brazilian society.

The adoption of diversity policies does not show any sign of improvement in companies' financial performance. However, as suggested by McKay et al. (2007), there are indications of improved organizational performance: when the organizational environment incorporates cultural diversity, operational benefits can be observed. According to the authors, positive feelings are observed between employees and employers in this situation, which involves variables such as job satisfaction, organizational commitment and task identification. Thus, the authors state that companies with greater diversity tend to have better product and service quality indicators, better productivity and efficiency and a much lower staff turnover. In this regard, Puente-Palacios, Seidl and Silva (2007), also indicate that cultural diversity contributes towards better performance by the working teams.

Despite the potential benefits of adopting cultural diversity, Coutinho, Costa and Carvalho (2010) show the difficulties of distinguishing the companies which encourage a multicultural environment because they believe in the benefits of this practice, from those which implement this practice for marketing reasons or in response to pressure from society and the government. For Serrano and Brunstein (2007), the insertion of diversity in companies occurs as a response to crises and conflicts with external groups. Thus, the adoption of cultural diversity is associated with following policies such as racial quotas, or as a response to consumers who want companies to have greater social responsibility. The position of the authors mentioned here, indicates that there still are differences in companies' motivations for adopting more cultural diversity in their organizational structures.

As an element to favour the expansion of cultural diversity in organizations, affirmative actions and public policies are identified. Galeão-Silva and Alves (2002) understand affirmative actions as a group of compensatory policies allocated to compensate those who have been excluded from various opportunities. Iizuka (2006) explains that compensatory policies are intended for social groups who were excluded from equal possibilities in the past and who need actions which enable them to compete on equal terms in the labour market. For Valentin (2005), on the other hand, affirmative actions are supported on the understanding that social phenomena are not natural, and, consequently the occurrence of imperfections should be the object of policies which enable the establishment of equalities, by reversing

inequality and exclusion. It is observed that in Brazil, black people (average salary BRL 1,534.00) have lower salaries than white people (average salary of BRL 2,697.00), and this factor acts to encourage policies specifically destined to reverse inequalities (GOMES, 2018).

Data from the 2017 National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) released by the IBGE (GOMES, 2018) indicate that black people receive an average monthly salary lower than white people (BRL 1,534.00 compared to BRL 2,697.00). Additionally, this research indicates that the proportion of black workers without a work contract is higher, with 21.8% of black people and 14.7% of white people; the unemployment rate is higher (14.5% of black people, 13.6% of mixed-race and 9.5% of white people), and, similarly, access to education for this population is lower, with only 8.8% of black people aged over 25 attending higher education courses, compared with 22.2% of the white population. Data from the 2016 Annual Social Information Report (RAIS) disseminated by the Ministry of Work and Employment (GOMES, 2018) confirms that professions such as engineer, higher education lecturer, pilot and flight attendant are predominantly occupied by white workers, while work in rural farming, telemarketing operators and other occupations, which do not require specific training, are predominantly occupied by black workers. This data indicate more positive results for whites, as opposed to black people.

Therefore, in general, it can be suggested that racial discrimination in the field of work is broad, spanning from the admission processes, promotion routines and payment parameters.

The following section presents the methodology used in this study.

3. METHODOLOGY

This study is classified as a documentary and bibliographical research. The documentary analysis relies on the process of identifying, verifying and examining documents, in order to obtain the information contained in them, and which, in turn, is contextualized according to the facts under study. Documentary analysis is characterized as developing an investigation in texts which are not classified as bibliographical (BASTOS, 2009). This investigation is characterized as a documentary research, supported by reports and yearbooks provided by official institutions.

The documentary research is supported by data provided by the Ethos Institute (2016). The document "Social, racial and gender profiles of the 500 largest companies in Brazil and their affirmative actions", produced and published by the Ethos Institute, in cooperation with the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), presents quantitative research developed by applying a self-administered questionnaire sent via the internet. Additionally, the research complemented the data through interviews with managers from the responding companies. This stage of the research was undertaken using a sample.

The questionnaire was forwarded to the 500 largest Brazilian companies, listed in the 2014 Largest and Best yearbook (REVISTA EXAME, 2014). This yearbook is a publication from the publishing company Editora Abril, which presents the results in Exame magazine. The questionnaire was intended for employees and managers.

Of the 500 companies invited to take part in the research, a return from 117 companies as respondents was recorded, and which are positioned within the universe of this research. The response period for participants was between 9th December, 2014 and 28th May, 2015. In the 2015 data, of the companies which form the sample, there is a predominance of the industrial sector (52.1%), followed by the service (17.1%), commerce (17.1%) and agricultural product sectors (13.7%). Most of the head offices of these organizations were located in the southeast (57.3%) and south regions (21.4%), and among those located in the southeast region, 62.7% were based in the municipality of São Paulo. The majority of the respondent companies (57.3%) had a turnover of up to BRL 500 million in the year that the data was collected and 64.6% had more than 1,000 employees.

It is highlighted that the classification used: WHITE, NEGRO, BLACK, BROWN, YELLOW AND INDIGENOUS is the same used by the IDB and Ethos in their published report. No judgement analysis of the appropriateness of these terms is made in this research.

The methodological option of using data provided by institutions and/or official authorities is similar to that used by other research, such as Yang, Xu and Shi's (2017) who used the yearbook made available by the Chinese central government; Webb, Hawkey and Tingey's (2016), with data provided by the British government, and Mrkajić and Anguelovski's (2016) who drew on data provided by the city of Novi Sad in Serbia. The research undertaken by Gonçalves et al. (2016), which evaluated the participation of black people and women in leadership positions in Brazilian companies is also highlighted. In order to develop their research, the authors used data from performance appraisals and annual reports of the 30 largest organizations, according to the publication *The Largest and the Best of 2013* by the magazine *Revista Exame*. The appropriateness of using documents disseminated by public institutions or class associations is therefore demonstrated. The following section presents and analyses the research data.

Critical discussion was employed as the theoretical axis for the bibliographical research, with authors related to the three main pillars of racial prejudice as reference:

- a) The European and North American (principally Chicago's) sociological tradition which, historically, has always denied the existence of racial prejudice and racial groups in Brazil, arguing that these groups would be classes and not castes; in other words, groups open to mobility and, therefore, not "races" per se (PIERSON, 1971).
- b) Cultural anthropology inspired by the ideas of Freyre (1933) and his followers, according to which, by means of the concept of "racial democracy" to some extent sought to update the precarious political balance between social inequality, political authoritarianism and formal freedom present in modern Brazil in the language of the emerging social sciences;
- c) Political activism, accomplished in two components: governmental and non-governmental organizations which range from the struggle for quotas to the proposition of black praxis; in other words, an alternative discourse against the Eurocentric modernity disseminated in Brazilian culture (MOURA, 1983).

Thus, in the first perspective there is the concept of racial denial and the reinterpretation of the differences among peoples in terms of “culture”; in the second one, racism is defined not in terms of asserting physical or cultural differences between races but its hierarchization and possible oppression; in the third one, the concept of affirmative actions, whose political expression of demands and the black movement’s agenda should be expressed in ethnic language, as racial democracy is nothing but a myth, illusion or farce.

4. PRESENTATION AND DATA ANALYSIS

This section presents and analyses the research data based on the selected theoretical framework. First, the profile of the employees at the responding companies is presented, divided into racial categories, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 - Racial distribution by hierarchical levels at the companies

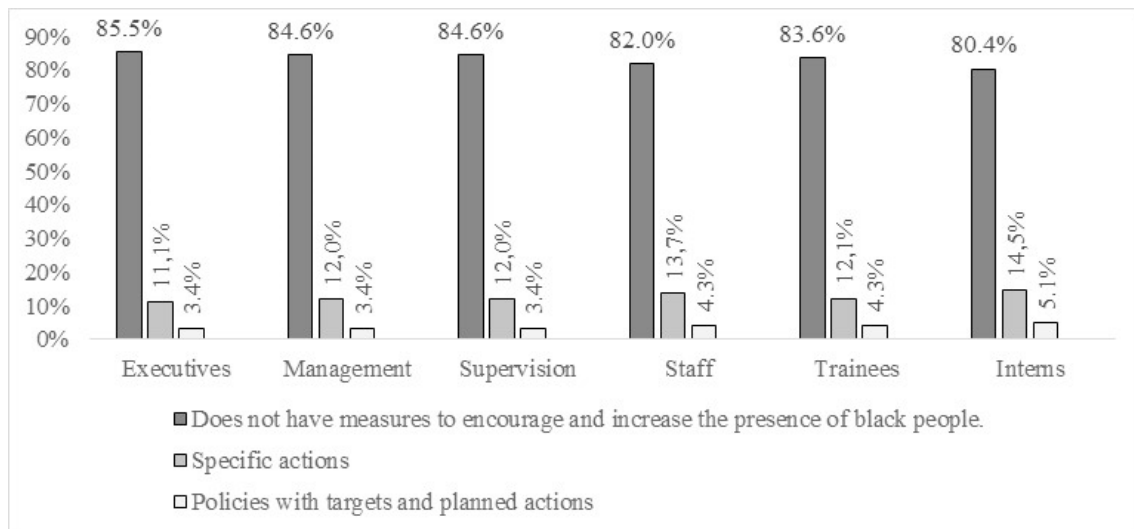
Hierarchical Level	Indigenous	Yellow	White	Black Total	Black Category	
					Black	Brown
Board	0.0	0.0	95.1	4.9	0.0	4.9
Executive	0.0	1.1	94.2	4.7	0.5	4.2
Management	0.1	3.5	90.1	6.3	0.6	5.7
Supervision	0.1	1.8	72.2	25.9	3.6	22.3
Staff	0.2	1.3	62.8	35.7	7.0	28.7
Trainee	0.0	0.5	41.3	58.2	2.5	55.7
Interns	0.2	2.0	69.0	28.8	4.4	24.4
Apprentice	0.4	0.5	41.6	57.5	12.2	45.3

Source: Social, racial and gender profiles of the 500 largest companies in Brazil and their affirmative actions Report - Ethos Institute (2016).

Note: The last two columns of Table 1 which present the classification of black and brown, are a breakdown of the previous column - Black Total.

The data shown in Table 1 indicate the hierarchical levels: board members, executives, management, supervision and staff, positioned at the highest levels of the company, which are predominantly filled by white people. This performance indicates a lack of diversity in organizations’ main managerial positions, not allowing these companies to reap the benefits indicated by Fleury (2000), McKay et al. (2007), and Puente-Palacios, Seidl and Silva (2007). The trainee and apprentice levels are the only ones which are predominantly filled by black people, and although they are positioned at the initial levels of the hierarchy, this indicates greater diversity in the future. However, if this really is a possibility, it is not related to the existence of in-company measures implemented to increase the presence of black people in companies. This lack of measures to increase the presence of black people at organizations can be observed in Figure 1, which also demonstrates the absence of promotional actions for black people, observable at all hierarchical levels.

Figure 1 - The existence of measures to encourage the presence of black people in companies



Source: Social, racial and gender profiles of the 500 largest companies in Brazil and their affirmative actions Report - Ethos Institute (2016).

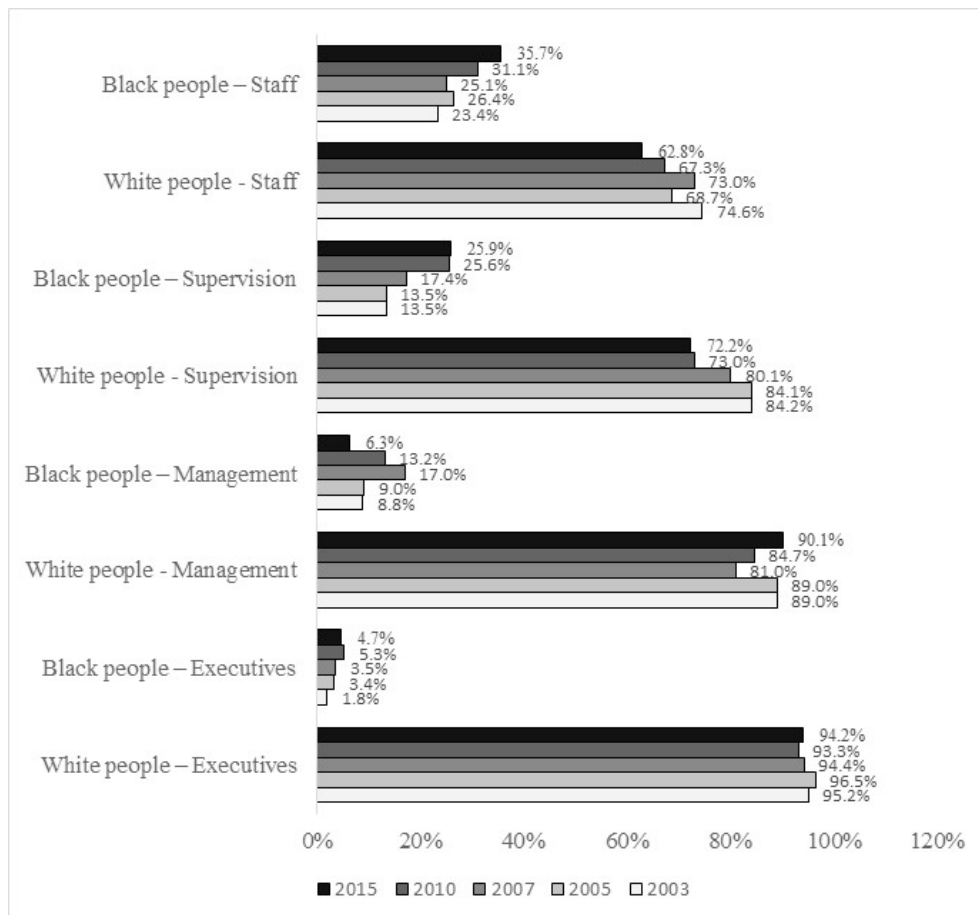
Tapering is observed when moving through the organizational hierarchy; in other words, although there is a predominance of black people at the base levels of the pyramid (apprentices and trainees), their progression to higher levels does not occur, particularly at management, executive and board levels. Additionally, the researchers observed that many of the companies participating in the research do not have policies to permanently employ these young apprentices (only 58.1% answered this question and only 64.7% of these confirmed that they have effective policies for these young people), which helps to understand the under-representation of black people at higher hierarchical levels.

In the general data, 88% of the companies confirmed that they do not have policies to promote equal opportunities among ethnic groups. Only 9 of the 117 companies confirmed that they had at least one affirmative action focused on racial equality, independent of the hierarchical level, and predominantly the establishment of professional training programmes to qualify black people to occupy positions at higher hierarchical levels.

This data suggests that diversity occurs in organizations in a more non-intentional way than as a result of management and planning this resource, which corroborates the argument of Nóbrega, Santos and Jesus (2014). In addition, from interviews held during their research, Diniz, Carrieri, Gandra and Bicalho (2013) observed the belief that diversity policies implemented in organizations are strongly related to the image of social responsibility which they wish to transmit to the market and not the desire to encourage difference as a resource and competitive advantage. Figure 2 presents the relation between black and white people in the following positions: executives, management, supervision and staff in the period between 2003 and 2005. The data indicate that during the period under analysis there is an increase in the presence of black people in relation to white people at all hierarchical levels researched; however, the tendency is very slight in more strategic executive and management positions. It is highlighted that Figure 2 does not present data related to

indigenous and yellow people. For this reason, the sum of the values does not come to one hundred per cent.

Figure 2 - Colour composition in the main positions at organizations

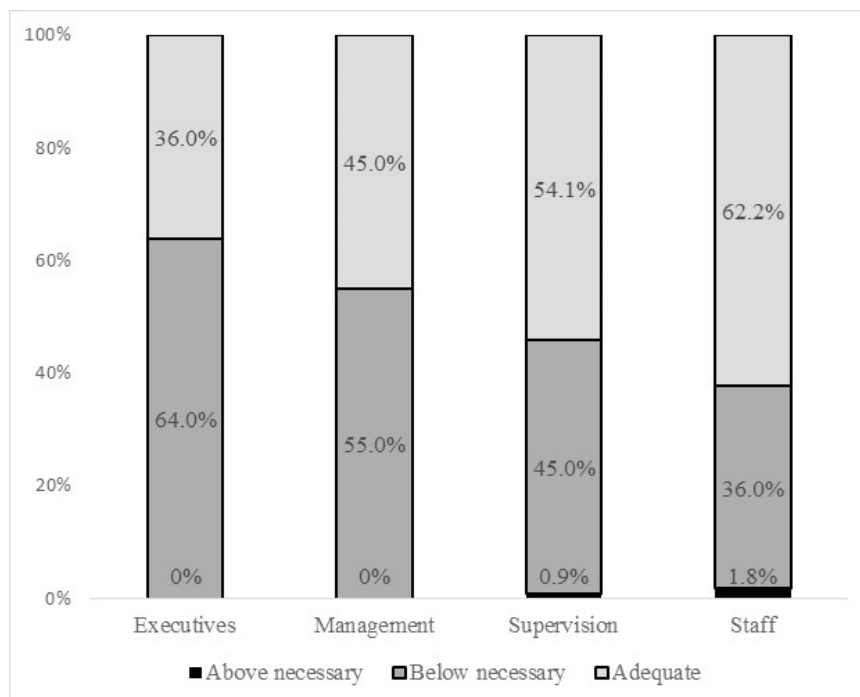


Source: Social, racial and gender profiles of the 500 largest companies in Brazil and their affirmative actions Report - Ethos Institute (2016).

On the other hand, in general terms, it was observed that the organizations researched showed concern for the question of diversity, since 68.4% of them have a code of conduct which establishes the principles of diversity and equality; 85.5% offer scholarships to qualify their employees; 69.2% train their leaders in the principles of equality and the consequences in the corporate environment; 76.1% have a channel to report cases of discrimination and harassment and 53.8% disseminate good management practices, which culminate in respect for human rights and inclusion. Consequently, it is noted that mainly there are global actions to promote diversity; however, very few of them are specifically for Afro-descendant professionals, so the effectiveness of these actions could be enhanced if there were a focus on specific vulnerable groups and not only black people but also women, people with disabilities and the LGBTIQ public, etc.

Part of the research consisted of inquiring the managers of the organizations researched about their perception of black representation among their staff members and 36% consider the proportion of professionals from this ethnic group as adequate for executive staff; 45% consider it adequate for managerial positions; 54.1% for supervisory positions and 62.2% for members of staff. Therefore, a perception of greater adequacy is observed when the hierarchical level is lower. However, it is noted that the number of managers who consider the presence of black people to be adequate in higher positions is expressive, even when this is only 4.7% in executive staff and 6.3% at managerial level. This data suggests the need for effective actions in the search for organizational ethnic equality, which go beyond best practice manuals and channels to report abuse. Besides organizational actions and policies, a cultural change is required, which incorporates diversity in its broadest and most multifaceted way in the organization's daily activities, whether in recruitment and selection routines or career mobility. This scenario can be observed in Figure 3.

Figure 3 - Adequate presence of black people in organizations in the managers' view



Source: Social, racial and gender profiles of the 500 largest companies in Brazil and their affirmative actions Report - Ethos Institute (2016).

When questioned about the reasons why the proportion of black professionals was less than adequate, 48.3% of the managers researched attribute this fact to these professionals' lack of qualifications and 41.4% attribute it to the difficulty that companies have in addressing the subject of equality. This result is in line with the findings of a study by Diniz, Carrieri, Gandra and Bicalho (2013) who analysed diversity policies in organizations from the perspective of homosexual workers. In their study, the authors noted a discrepancy

between discourse and the reality of management practices, not only with regards to the representation of different sexual orientations but to diversity as a whole.

The correlation between the perception of an adequate proportion of black people and the representativeness of this ethnic group in the different hierarchical levels is $r=0.96$, indicating that the more the proportion of Afro-descendants is conceived as adequate, the higher the real proportion of these professionals in the company. To conclude, managerial support for the implementation of diversity is fundamental, so that ethnic plurality is established in the organizational environment.

Therefore, it is confirmed that despite the social policies implemented, racial democracy is a myth, since social discrimination in terms of opportunities in the labour market are clearly evident in corporate relations. The situation of black people's employability and social upward mobility faces numerous barriers in order for them to be consolidated as democratic.

In the face of this observation of disseminated stereotypes and prejudice in relation to the black population, we sought to find a set of factors to minimize this discrimination and, as a result, decrease inequalities and increase opportunities for the placement of Afro-descendants in the labour market.

Based on an analysis of the bibliographical data collected (FLEURY, 2000; BARRETO, 2003; BIDERMAN; GUIMARÃES ARAÚJO, 2004; FIGUEIREDO, 2004; OSORIO, 2004; GUIMARÃES, 2004; 2006; QUEIROZ; ÁLVARES; MOREIRA, 2005; COSTA RIBEIRO, 2006; SANTOS, 2006; SILVA; REIS, 2011; JAIME, 2011; TOSTA; ALVES, 2013; UHR et al., 2014; FERREIRA et al., 2015; MARQUES; FERREIRA, 2015; OLIVEIRA, 2016; GONÇALVES et al., 2016; MAIO, 2017; ROCHA, 2017) possible alternatives were identified, listed as responses associated to a set of factors, and the following are highlighted:

1. The formulation of specific public policies for the sector;
2. The effective application of racial quotas in public entrance exams;
3. Respect for the Statute of Racial Equality;
4. Severity in the punishment of crimes of racism, with an efficient reporting system which receives, records and forwards complaints to the relevant authorities;
5. Support for ethnic diversity programmes in public and private companies;
6. Incentives to hire and promote Afro-descendant employees;
7. Programme to eradicate child and teenager labour (PETI), with an emphasis on Afro-Brazilian families;
8. Creation of a system for the reservation of vacant posts in public entrance exams through Law No 12.990 of June 2014.

Typically, the experiences of social movements indicate that only with long periods of economic growth, together with affirmative action policies, particularly aimed at education, is it possible to decrease inequalities in the labour market and improve placement opportunities for the black population. However, the unfavourable performance of the economy and its

reflections in the labour market as of 2014 has led to an increase in the unemployment rate, which was more intense among the black than the non-black population, besides significant cuts on racial equality programmes and policies. The following section presents reflections stemming from the data collected.

5. REFLECTION ON THE RESULTS

The belief that there are no racial conflicts in Brazil is the result of promoting the concept of racial democracy, mainly from the second half of the 20th century. This belief was implicitly disseminated in Freyre's work (1933), "*Casa Grande e Senzala*" (The Masters and the Slaves), which disseminated the idea that there were peaceful and harmonious racial relations in Brazil between black and white people; although as Guimarães (2004) cautions, the author himself had never explicitly adopted this so-called "racial democracy" in his writings, but rather the synonymous expression "ethnic democracy" in his communications as of 1944.

More than seventy years have now elapsed since the publication of Gilberto Freyre's classic work, "*Casa Grande e Senzala*" (FREYRE, 1933), which inspired the creation of the myth of racial democracy in our times. In the corporate universe, as a result of the development of integration policies for those who were excluded in the past, racial democracy can be considered a myth. Discrimination and racial prejudice are barriers to the integration and mobility of Afro-descendants in the labour market and are demonstrated ideologically.

Although he described, in *Casa Grande e Senzala*, situations in which relations between white and black people were marked not only by asymmetry, but also sadism, he preferred to celebrate Brazil as a racial paradise. That is because, from his point of view, when compared to the English colonial model, Portuguese colonization was more moderate to what is referred to as race relations, allowing and even encouraging miscegenation. This resulted in the idea that Brazil conveyed to the world the message of racial democracy, namely, of a mixed nation in which white, black and indigenous people live harmoniously (JAIME, 2011, p. 162).

Despite advances in recent decades, discrimination and prejudice still predominate in the corporate universe. Besides the lack of opportunities for the black population, the ineffectiveness of an ethnically segmented market is highlighted.

In terms of the consumer market, historically, in Brazil, the creation of an ethnically segmented market has not been considered. Although the Brazilian market is racially distinctive, namely, in the configuration of the labour market, black people's participation is concentrated in activities with a lower income and status, in contrast to white people who are over-represented in occupational categories with higher pay, status and prestige (FIGUEIREDO, 2012, p. 181).

In political terms, Oliveira (2016) reflects on the influence which the colour and/or racial identity of candidates exercises in the definition of the discursive strategies of black politicians in relation to their adversaries in electoral campaigns.

[...] in Brazil, we live in a multi-racial and classist society, where racial representations not only orientate expectations of social roles, but also provide material and symbolic advantages to actors in various areas of society, especially in the political and electoral field, and it is inevitable that issues of identity and group interests are inserted into political speeches. Consequently, it is inevitable that an “allusion” to the colour of candidates influences discursive strategies when a black candidate takes part in bi-racial races in Brazil (OLIVEIRA, 2016, p.28).

In terms of placement in the labour market and career mobility, Jaime (2016), through ethnographic research in the state of São Paulo, sought to identify the changes which took place in constructing the trajectories of black executives in companies, dividing them into two generations: the first one, from the 1970s on, and the second one, at the start of the 21st century.

For the first generation, still in the period of the military dictatorship (1964-1985), the context was largely unfavourable to their affirmation as black people, as well as the construction of their trajectories as executives. Racism was construed as a minor misdemeanour, which contributed to increase the possibilities of its manifestation in people’s everyday lives. Typically, these Afro-descendant professionals were around 50 years old and tended to deny the existence and effects of racism. In order to protect themselves from prejudice and discrimination in the work environment, they used defensive strategies and avoided conflicts, tending to circumvent explicit incidences of racism.

The context of the second generation presented unique characteristics in relation to the first one. The State started to take new approaches in relation to the racial issue, by creating government policies to help combat racism, as pressure to meet the old demands of the black movement grew. Companies were forced to adapt to the new context, starting to promote the management of diversity, in order to value the insertion of black people as members of staff.

Thus, the social context promoted significant differences in the actions of black executives. The first generation of executives had to construct their career paths in isolation; those from the second generation, in a new context, tend to act through collective action for the chance to develop a positive perception of their black identity. Although situations of racial constraint still persist, the very attitude adopted is the result of a more positive affirmation of identity.

Generally speaking, Theodoro (2014) demonstrates that the levels of inequality for the black population are expressed through the empirical observation of the precarious living conditions of Brazilian Afro-descendants, including from the point of view of the naturalization of this phenomenon. Therefore, the lack of opportunities for the black population is the most serious consequence of racism.

Consequently, affirmative actions are an essential strategic element to minimize racial discrimination, including quotas, not just aiming to promote fairer social relations for internal aspects at companies, since they mainly seek to assist in tackling institutional racism and their cultural bases.

Peaceful coexistence between black and white people has not yet been achieved in large companies, especially in higher positions. Seeking to raise awareness of discrimination and prejudice without the participation of black people is not presented as a viable or effective proposal.

Consequently, as a matter of principle, tackling racism involves unveiling historically constructed power relations. This involves a critical review of consolidated practices in this country.

Strictly speaking, there is no formal decision about the veto on black people in the labour market. It is a tacit agreement in which nobody needs to say anything; it is all implied. The policy which discriminates against black people at work is rarely discussed formally - it is cultural fact internalized by everyone. This is one of the characteristics of Brazilian "cordial racism". It operates - well - without anyone arranging anything. Everything flows, driven by a culture of black exclusion (SANTOS, 2006, p. 21).

The report "Inequalities in Brazil. The divide that unites us", published and disseminated by the non-governmental organization, Oxfam (MAIA; GEORGES, 2017), shows that, in Brazil, 67% of those who receive up to 1.5 minimum salaries are black; approximately 80% of black people earn up to two minimum salaries, and for every black person with an income of over 10 minimum salaries, there are four white people. The research concluded that the income of black and white people would only be equivalent in Brazil in 2089 (MAIA; GEORGES, 2017, p. 27-28). Ethnic prejudice was demonstrated, conceived as antipathy, based on an erroneous and inflexible generalization that seeks to prevent members of a specific group to benefit from salaries which match those received by other ethnic groups.

The report data portray racial prejudice in the different layers of the black population. Racial inequalities in the labour market also affect black people in the middle and upper classes; in other words, even for the reduced number of the black population inserted in the economically higher strata of society who have climbed to positions at the top of the social hierarchy, obstacles to convert the affluence of their economic condition into a position of status are observed (FIGUEIREDO, 2004; BIDERMAN; GUIMARÃES ARAUJO, 2004; SILVA; REIS, 2011; TOSTA; ALVES, 2013; ROCHA, 2017). This discriminatory condition is further exacerbated in an acculturation process, which refers to the idea of physical and social whitening, in order to access opportunities for personal and professional growth (MAIO, 2017) and whose discrimination and prejudice become more intensive for black women with a low purchasing power. As Bairros (1991, p.192) suggests, "[...] 'more than sex', race carries forceful determinations in defining a lower participation of female black workers in occupations which are more valued socially and, clearly, with higher salaries".

In this culture of discrimination and exclusion of black people, recovery of black praxis as a key category in the process of their symbolic reconstruction is required: namely, the recovery of black identity and the condition of a political subject who can operate on

a symbolic and subjective level, which is based on new perceptions about integration and overcomes the marginalization of black people as a subaltern social group in Western society.

[...] black identity as a method of participant observation represents unity between theory and practice in the sense of dealienating not only the black populations but all those segments of the population who, in one way or another feel oppressed and/or marginalized by the dominant system to any extent (MOURA, 1983, p. 43).

Accordingly, the term “negritude” (black identity) means historical and collective consciousness, and a way of initiating political action, in order to overcome a situation of objective marginalization and, as a result, combat the myth of racial democracy, not in the sense of a fable but in the sense of examining its practical consequences. As Guimarães (2003, p. 104) highlights, a “myth is not only a false ideology, a myth [...] is a discourse about the origins of things; a discourse about daily activities, which does not need to be real; on the contrary, it is only effective in as far as it orientates people’s actions, giving meaning to everyday social relations”. Overcoming this myth requires strategic attitudes for its combat. In ideological terms, among other conflicts, it also involves tackling the pressure which the media and intellectuals in the system exercise over scholars and mili-tants who confirm the existence of a racial problem in Brazil (AZEVEDO, 1996).

Therefore, actions proposed to combat racism in this country, require the adoption of social policies which incorporate the concept of praxis, such as affirmative actions. Firstly, they do not simply require good intentions but operationalization of a reflection which problematizes and questions the organizational bases of Brazilian society. For this reason, there is an overriding need for the concept of praxis; in other words, an alternative discourse against Eurocentric modernity (GILROY, 2001), which enables advancement beyond silence and denial, which accompanies the complexity of the topic, historically associated to controversies and disputes. The following section presents the final considerations

6. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Racial democracy is a myth which is still present in Brazilian culture and cannot be explained simply in terms of social classes, but instead, indicates racial prejudice as an element that is present in our culture.

The research data suggest that the problem of racial inequality needs to be tackled head on and not merely covered up as an issue which results solely from socio-economic inequality. The reason is that, if the problem of inequality in Brazil were merely the divide between the rich and the poor, logically there would be an equal representation of black people, both in the working classes and ruling classes.

Social policies need to be created, which minimize the inequalities in question, since the classic model of social policies has not reversed the setting of inequality between black and white people. There is an urgent need to focus on this segment of the population, since the process of producing and reproducing racism continues to deprive this population from the access to the most basic. Therefore, it is in the midst of this issue that incorporation

of the discussion of affirmative action policies in the professional context is required. The research enabled to identify that management support is fundamental for the implementation of diversity so that ethnic plurality is consolidated in the organizational environment. Thus, in order for black people to be placed equally in the labour market, a combination of affirmative public policies is required and, at the organizational level, practices which encourage diversity in companies which, at times, involve changes in organizational culture.

At the end of the research, from the perspective of the definition of race proposed by Guimarães (2003), it was confirmed that racial democracy, in Brazil, is a myth. Specifically, in the labour market, a reduced participation of Afro-descendants is observed in Brazilian companies, and even for the very small number of those who have attained a prominent position, prejudice and stereotypes are present. Clearly this research has limitations; if on the one hand it provides important answers on the topic which the authors proposed to discuss, on the other, it leaves unanswered questions, which other researchers would be interested in. One of these questions is related to the risks of dissolving and mischaracterizing public policies related to affirmative actions, which are an important element to eradicate racial discrimination in companies and, in a broader way, in society. As the result of changes in the overall picture, it is suggested that future research analyse the influences and characteristics of public policies to combat the myth of racial democracy, which continues to be an obstacle in the recognition of the problem of racism in Brazil.

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JUDGING GOOD APPEARANCE IN PERSONNEL SELECTION

O julgamento da boa aparência em seleção de pessoal

Altair dos Santos Paim*
Marcos Emanuel Pereira**

ABSTRACT

Judgement of what one views as good appearance in the selection of job applicants may reveal racial bias in access to the labor market. The purpose of this study is to evaluate the effects of racism in judging physical appearance in personnel selection. The non-random sample was composed of seventy-four (74) participants, of whom forty-two were human resources professionals (57%). The instruments used were an assessment of résumés, a set of prejudice scales, an inventory of racism in the labor market, an indicator of good appearance and a sociodemographic questionnaire. Three hypotheses were tested. Hypothesis 1, which postulated a preference for white candidates was confirmed. Hypothesis 2 was corroborated, because the professionals showed a higher tendency to choose candidates with a fairer complexion. Hypothesis 3, which made reference to good appearance was rejected, because the participants elected hygiene as a further element present in the judgment in selecting candidates. Finally, it is considered that the selection process should be based on the acceptance of racial diversity, a key element for the development of creative and innovative organizations.

Keywords: Social Psychology. Racism. Good looks. Personnel Selection.

RESUMO

A boa aparência nos processos seletivos pode revelar o viés racial no acesso ao mercado de trabalho. Este estudo teve como objetivo avaliar os efeitos do racismo no julgamento da boa aparência em seleção de pessoal. A amostra, não aleatória, foi composta por setenta e quatro (74) participantes, sendo quarenta e dois profissionais (57%). Os instrumentos utilizados foram uma avaliação de currículos, um conjunto de escalas de preconceitos, um inventário sobre racismo no mercado de trabalho, um indicador de boa aparência e um questionário sociodemográfico. Três hipóteses foram testadas. A hipótese 1 que postulava a preferência por candidatos brancos foi confirmada. A hipótese 2 foi corroborada, pois os profissionais mostraram uma maior tendência em escolher candidatos de cor mais clara. A hipótese 3 referente à boa aparência foi rejeitada, pois os participantes elegeram a higiene como um elemento mais presente no julgamento em seleção de candidatos. Considera-se por fim que os processos seletivos devem se fundamentar no acolhimento da diversidade racial, elemento fundamental para o desenvolvimento criativo e inovador das organizações.

Palavras-chave: Psicologia Social. Racismo. Boa Aparência. Seleção de Pessoal.

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INTRODUCTION

Personnel selection represents the process used for hiring qualified professionals to meet the needs pointed out by several sectors of an organization. In order to be efficient, it is essential that the previous stage, screening/shortlisting, be performed in an adequate and consistent way (MAZON; TREVIZAN, 2000). From the candidates recruited, the person selecting the applicants evaluates the most suitable candidates for the position, and, to do so, must use objective criteria such as education, skills, knowledge and professional experience.

This process, however, is not free from stereotypes and social prejudices. Shared beliefs and representations guide practices and distort the perception of the recruiter in the process of comparing candidates. A choice that should be made on the basis of competencies for professional performance may suffer the effect of biased judgment based on assumed and stereotyped attributes. The recruiter's bias can guide strategies for recruiting and selecting people for the organization. The professional is confronted with the information overload associated with the number of candidates and the dynamics of the interactions in the various stages of the selection process. In this context, they can reproduce cultural stereotypes to minimize uncertainties, simplify and justify their decisions (UHLMANN; SILBERZAHN, 2014).

The expression has been perceived by the black movement as a subtle mechanism of institutional racism that operates constant and regular practices of racial discrimination in organizations. (FIGUEIREDO, 1994; PAIM, 2005; DAMASCENO, 2011). Damasceno (2011) investigated, in Rio de Janeiro's newspaper ads from the 1930s to the mid-1950s, the meanings of this requirement for domestic work. The association between the term and skin color of the candidates was explicit in advertisements until the mid-1940s. From the 1950s on, the expression was restricted to functions that were more valued socially. This phenomenon demonstrated the blatant exclusion mechanism of a society that only four decades before had gotten rid of slavery and did not have any type of legislation to combat racism. In the master's dissertation, "Physical appearance, stereotypes and professional insertion: a study on the profession of executive secretary according to the students' perception" (*Aparência física, estereótipos e inserção profissional: um estudo sobre a profissão de secretariado executivo segundo a percepção das estudantes de secretariado*) the object of study was the judgment on good looks (PAIM, 2005) among students of Executive Secretary programs, in two colleges, a public and a private institution. The hypothesis that such a criterion is fundamental to be a secretary was attested, and the students who participated in the study acknowledged the existence of racial discrimination practices in this professional space in the city of Salvador.

In some Brazilian states and cities, regulations have been created aiming to avoid this discriminatory process. Law 1905 of 11/24/98, in Mato Grosso do Sul, and Law 5876/2015, in the State of Rio de Janeiro, are examples of norms that prohibit the use of the expression good appearance in any job advertisement. Gomes, Braga, and Vieira (2008) in their survey of job ads in a major newspaper in the Federal District noted a warning that advertisers do not include requirements considered discriminatory.

In Salvador, specifically, the Public Prosecutor's Office and the major newspapers made an agreement, in 1992, so that advertisements with such a requirement would no longer be published. Law 5.420, published on September 4, 1998, specifies the prohibition of such expression in advertisements of employment, in the capital of Bahia, providing for the punishment of those who fail to comply.

The judgment of physical attributes in human resources (HR) practices reveals how current racism combines flagrant and subtle forms of expression that circumvent the anti-racist norm in democratic societies (LIMA et al., 2006; PEREIRA; VALA, 2011). The newspaper job advertisements in the capital of Bahia no longer have any explicit demands regarding the appearance of a candidate for different job openings. Nevertheless, the recruiters still ground their choices on this criterion (PAIM, 2005).

A gap on the criteria that determine the requirement of good looks remains. The present article is a research report that sought to answer specific questions about these criteria in personnel selection and to what extent racist beliefs determine the process of screening. The purpose of the research was to evaluate the effect of the candidate's racial categorization on the selection of personnel. In order to do so, the following specific objectives were defined: comparing the judgments on black and white candidates for external (direct contact with the client) and internal (no client contact) functions; checking the criteria used to determine the good appearance of a jobseeker; and evaluating the effect of racial prejudice on the selection of candidates in personnel selection. To achieve the objectives, a simulated selection of résumés was carried out with the participation of human resources professionals and undergraduate students.

STEREOTYPES AND RACIAL PREJUDICE IN THE LABOR MARKET

The perception of physical appearance is fundamental for the process of categorization and, therefore, for the creation and development of stereotypes. Appearance facilitates the maintenance of labels attributed to a group, as it allows the perceiver to distinguish and homogenize the members of a target group under judgment. Stereotypes are embedded in the culture in which they are shared and are reproduced throughout all social structures (BROWN, 2010), being transmitted through socialization, in the family and at school, in repeated exposure to images in books, television, newspapers and the media in general (BAR-TAL, 1997; BROWN, 2010). These stereotyped beliefs represent a particular constellation of features and functions associated with a group (DOVIDIO; HEBL, 2005; JUSSIM et al., 2009) and serve as the foundation for judgments based on the supposedly shared attributes (BIERNAT, 2009), creating a context of expectations against which an individual member of the group is assessed.

Biernat, Fuegen and Kobrynowicz (2010) evaluated how stereotypes of work-related incompetence affect the hiring process of the applicant. This happens when people judge an individual member of a stereotyped group and might use a stereotyped expectation as a standard or reference point. Such expectation, influenced by the stereotype then lowers the standards in relation to certain attributes when members of excluded groups are evaluated. Stereotyped beliefs are at the basis of biased attitudes.

Prejudice, as other attitudes, provides an outline for interpreting the environment, and preparing people to make decisions (DOVIDIO; HEBL, 2005) supporting discriminatory behaviors (PEREIRA, 2002; BROWN, 2010), such as maintaining and justifying hegemonic hierarchies of power and status and social invisibility that makes the group become under-represented (FRYBERG; TOWNSEND, 2008). Racial discrimination usually is the expression of an attitudinal structure that is produced in a society marked by inequalities between groups.

Race, in this study, is understood not as a biological condition, but as a construction erected in sociocultural relations (GUIMARÃES, 2003), since racial interactions are structured as a function of group disputes over power, status and social space. Guimarães (2004) emphasizes that the adoption of a mistaken view of human biology, expressed by the concept of "race", established a justification for the subordination of other individuals and peoples. The nineteenth-century scientific ideology, expressed in Biology and Law, transformed a temporary inequality (cultural, social and political), into a permanent, biological inequality (GUIMARÃES, 2003).

The works of Pager, Western and Bonikowski (2009), Pager and Western (2012) allow us to reflect on the discriminatory behavior in personnel selection. In their research, individuals who differ only by their race or ethnicity were trained and rigorously chosen to apply for real job openings. In the studies, men between the ages of 21 and 24 were hired to play the role of job seekers. These young people (testers) were matched based on their physical characteristics (height, weight, attractiveness), verbal skills, interaction styles (eye contact level, behavior, and verbosity), educational attainment, work experience (quantity and type) and neighborhood of residence. The dependent variable in each study would be any positive response in which a job was offered or they were called back for a second interview. The rate of positive responses for white candidates was up to twice as high as the rate observed for equally qualified black candidates. In most of the selections, participants did not detect signs that employers would anticipate a different treatment, but the white candidate was chosen for the job.

Rooth (2010) conducted an experiment to evaluate discrimination against (Arab) minorities in personnel selection. Two different field experiments on ethnic discrimination in hiring personnel were combined with a measure of automatic attitudes of recruiters and performance stereotypes toward Arab and Muslim men compared to Swedish men using the Implicit Association Test (IAT). The results showed how negative attitudes toward Arabs and Muslims can predict discrimination in selection processes. These conclusions are in line with the discussions of Bendick Jr. and Nunes (2012) who have studied how the effect of negative associations on selection processes affects socially excluded groups such as blacks, who are perceived as uneducated, and women, who are viewed as not being committed to the professional career.

Harrison and Thomas (2009) analyze the influence of "skin tone" or colorism on racial discrimination in the labor market, arguing that most studies fail to recognize the role of skin-tone stratification. Therefore, they created an experiment in which the participants should evaluate résumés which contained one of the three photos of the same black candidate (there were three photos of the same man and three photos of the same woman with skins with various color shades, that is, with a dark, medium and light skin tone). Partici-

participants evaluated the candidate based on academic background, previous work experience and general curriculum. The participants then received six image options and indicated the one that had appeared in the résumé they had read. The results suggest that skin tone plays a considerable and more prominent role than the educational background and prior work experience: there was a preference for candidates with a lighter skin tone.

Brown-Iannuzzi, Payne and Trawalter (2012) conducted two experiments on racial discrimination in selective processes. Participants in the experimental condition were asked to imagine an ideal employee for a skilled job in a company. The authors used a measure of prejudice to identify the effect of negative attitudes on choice. The hypothesis that people could bias the judgment in favor of white candidates was corroborated and this occurred independently of explicit prejudice, suggesting that even less prejudiced individuals may be affected by this bias.

A racist society spreads negative stereotypes about racial groups (bad hair x straight hair, a black person with a white soul, dirty belly x clean belly) that resonate in all spheres of social institutions. Stereotypes reinforce negative feelings that define social distance and preferences in the daily life of Brazilian society. Racism is based on prejudiced feelings, stereotyped thoughts of individuals who are biased and prone to discriminatory actions. Racism and other forms of oppression consist not only of obstacles that unjustly prevent the inclusion of people who are members of oppressed groups, but it is also present in the creation of a system of privileges for people belonging to dominant groups.

Dovidio, Gaertner, and Kawakami (2013) consider that racism represents an organized system of exclusion that is systematically structured on the basis of disadvantages for a group because they are members of a certain race. For the authors, there would be three defining elements of racism. First, it reflects a culturally shared belief that groups have physical characteristics that are common to their members and distinguish them from other groups. Second, some physical characteristics renders one group as inferior to others. Third, racism involves not only negative beliefs and attitudes, but also social disadvantages and limited opportunities.

Attributes such as beauty, competence and intelligence would supposedly be shared according to the perceived race. This phenomenon does not derive, but is associated with the socioeconomic structure of the country that segregated the black population from opportunities for upward mobility and condemned them to negative indexes of social inclusion. Racism is distinguished from prejudice because it is a historical product that, in its structure, presents "the naturalization of differences, the hierarchization of cultures, and consequent infra-humanization of racialized minorities, as well as the ideological function of justifying the social and economic position of the groups which are the targets of discrimination". (LIMA, 2005, p.85).

Contemporary racism is characterized by being indirect and wrapped with imprecision and uncertainty (LIMA; VALA, 2004; NUNES, 2010). In the literature, the expressions of subtle racism receive different denominations such as Symbolic, Modern, Ambivalent, Aversive and Subtle Racism (LIMA, 2004, AUGOUSTINOS; WALKER, 2006). In their research, Camino et al. (2001) discussed the reduction of explicit acts of racial discrimination in Brazil. Facing laws that prohibit such practice, people have started inhibiting the expression of prejudice, while retaining negative attitudes. Nunes (2010), in a doctoral thesis,

investigated the phenomenon. The study was conducted to evaluate prejudice against blacks in Brazil, as well as to analyze negative attitudes toward gypsies in Spain. The research used open interviews and scales of subtle and flagrant racism. The results demonstrate how flagrant racism has less expression in both countries. The subtlety of racism came in the form of racist jokes, blaming the blacks and the gypsies for their disadvantage. In addition, participants asserted that black people should be responsible for changing their situation, and thereby refuse the proposals of racial public policies such as affirmative action.

In opposition, direct and declared forms of racial hierarchy are perceived (ZÁRATE, 2009). Racist insults on social networks, offenses with the same content in sports competitions and discourses against affirmative action policies reinforce this theory. Brazilian racism was structured, among other forms, on the basis of explicit disqualification of the physical appearance of the black population. Skin color, hair texture, nose and lip shape were the main targets of stereotyped images. The judgment on white aesthetics (straight hair, fair skin and narrow nose) would be positive and, therefore, the pattern to be followed by other racial groups.

The labor market is an essential context for analyzing this phenomenon, since racism is shown explicitly in this space. People need to conform to the social norms demanded, whether implicit or not, according to expectations of behavior that are reinforced in organizations. By electing physical attractiveness as a criterion, the personnel recruiter would define the hiring of personnel on the basis of an aesthetic standard (SALGUEIRO, 2009) that must be socially imposed. In this case, professional experience is often neglected for the benefit of an attribute that is more related to the physical attractiveness of the candidate, and, consequently, attractive faces are favored in decision making in personnel selection (HOSODA; STONE; STONE-ROMERO, 2003; SHAHANI-DENNING, 2003; HARRISON; THOMAS, 2009; LITTLE, 2012).

In order to understand decision-making in the selection of people on the basis of race, it is essential to discuss how the perception of a candidate's racial belonging is configured. Racial belonging depends on the subject's position, target or picker. In the case of the recruiter, it is subject to the acceptance of the racial condition and the perception that the subject constructs about that social group. The target (candidate) undergoes an evaluation of their physical appearance in the sense of being identified as belonging to a racial group. The recruiter can fit the candidate into a racial category (black, white, brown, indigenous) regardless of self-perceived phenotypic characteristics. An individual with a darker skin tone may perceive her/himself as not being black because s/he has straight or wavy hair. The evaluator, however, can define her/him as being black. That means that a person may have a lighter skin tone and be perceived as black. Social judgment about physical appearance refers to the color, skin tone and hair type of the individual being evaluated.

Racial belonging, perceived under the filters of prejudice, restricts the candidates perceived as white to the vacancies that are destined to direct customer service or in a prestigious organizational position. In a selection context, the perceived physical appearance reinforces the stereotypes that hold expectations about the members of a target group (MOURA; LOPES, 2014). The interviewer associates stereotyped beliefs with the characteristics established by the work and makes a biased decision in favor of a candidate who represents the ideal professional expected for the position. Studies on racial bias in staff selection have

shown how the perception about skin color can determine restricted spaces in the access to the labor market (BROWN-IANNUZZI; PAYNE; TRAWALTER, 2012; MOURA; LOPES, 2014).

HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1 postulates that participants preferably choose white candidates in personnel selection. The decision-making in this sense (SHAHANI-DENNING, 2003; AGTHE et al., 2014) is influenced by stereotyped beliefs and expectations about the physical appearance of the target candidate (LANGLOIS et al., 2000). Hypothesis 2 indicates that, unlike the choice pattern of the students, HR professionals tend to make choices yielding to the racist norm. The labor market pressures those responsible for selecting personnel in their organizations to choose a candidate to fill a position (LANGLOIS et al., 2000; SHAHANI-DENNING, 2003; AGTHE et al., 2014), influenced by stereotypes. Hypothesis 3, regarding good appearance, supposes that in the judgment on the items that define this criterion in a selection of personnel, the color of the skin would present a lower rate of acceptance, as participants tend to control prejudice by denying that skin color defines 'good appearance' or physical attractiveness.

METHODOLOGY

PARTICIPANTS

The non-random sample consisted of seventy-four (74) participants; forty-two were professionals (57%) from the Human Resources area. The participants declared themselves mostly female (77%), black (41%) and brown (23%); and their age ranged from 19 to 56 years ($M = 29$; $SD = 7.75$).

INSTRUMENTS

A software was built to make it easier for participants to simulate a selection of résumés in two conditions, with a photograph or without a photograph. The résumés were constructed based on the template¹, and changes were adopted based on the suggestion of two consultants, one with a master's degree in organizational psychology and a personnel management consultant.

The photos were taken from the prototypical image database developed by Mendes, Arrais and Fukusima (2009), and submitted to validation by judges. A scale was then produced with the following formatting: at one end was the prototypical image of the darker man, who was given the value one (1) and, at the other extreme, the most prototypical picture of a white, which received the value eight (8). The other photographs represented

1. Available on <<http://office.microsoft.com/en-us/templates/curriculo-TC102918880.aspx>>.

black men according to a gradient of fairer skin (2, 3, 4) and white men with a skin tone that was a little darker (5, 6, 7), representing an ascending scale of skin tone evaluation. The positions of salesperson (direct contact with the client) and typist were chosen for the recruitment simulation.

To maintain the standardization, an advertisement that was found in a newspaper of great circulation in Salvador was chosen, because it met the specifications for the seller and typist positions. This advertisement was adjustable for candidates in both areas, as it presented only three explicit requirements: high school degree, the requirement of good looks and property of a vehicle. The requirement for good appearance was excluded from the advertisement to avoid the influence of social desirability on participants' responses and to identify to what extent this criterion still persists in the evaluation of candidates in personnel selection. Five human resource professionals evaluated the software by identifying inadequacies and flaws.

PROCEDURE

The participant, after having read and accepted the Informed Consent Term, evaluated three résumés according to the advertisement presented for the seller position, in accordance with five criteria: professional experience, training and personal development, academic background and professional profile; then they would choose the most suitable candidate for the position. Three résumés for the typist position were also analyzed under the same criteria.

In the photo condition, the software randomly adjusted the résumé and photo for evaluation of the participants, so that everyone had the same chance to evaluate all the photos of the scale. In the no-photo condition, the résumé was presented with a silhouette of the image.

After the evaluation of the résumé, the participants answered a set of five-point scales, with the following extremes: I totally disagree (1) and totally agree (5), namely: Motivation Scale to Respond Without Prejudice (GOUVEIA et al., 1998), Scale of Racial Privilege (NEVILLE et al., 2000), Scale of Flagrant Racism (NEVILLE et al., 2000) and Scale of Affirmation of Differences (SANTOS et al., 2006). The participants also completed an Inventory on Racism on the Labor Market, based on the reflections and discussions proposed by Pereira (2015) on racial discrimination, with choices of responses (1) yes or (2) no, an indicator of good appearance and a sociodemographic data questionnaire (PAIM, 2016).

In view of the Resolution 466/2012 of the National Health Council, which assists the rights and duties that concern the scientific community, research subjects and the State, this study was conducted according to the ethical principles present in the scenario of research with human beings

All data collection was performed on a Pentium 200 Mhz notebook, running the Windows XP operating system. The instruments used were an evaluation of résumés, a set of biases, an inventory of racism in the labor market, an indicator of good appearance and a sociodemographic questionnaire. The instruments were elaborated with the Asymetrix Toolbook Instructor II, version 5.03.

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

JUDGMENT ON APPEARANCE

The hypothesis regarding appearance indicated that participants in the condition with photo, on average, would preferably choose candidates with a lighter skin color. The data confirmed the hypothesis. In the evaluation of *résumés* for the position of seller, the white candidates presented a greater percentage of choices in all the items, with or without the presence of a *résumé* with the photo of a black candidate. The *résumés* that presented the white prototypical photo obtained a greater percentage of choices regarding the profile (60%), professional training (54%), experience (58%) and courses (52%). *Résumés* with prototypical photographs of blacks received a higher percentage of choices in items judged for the typist advertisement: academic background (61%), experience (60%) courses (57%) profile (57%).

In order to evaluate the effect of the skin tone criterion in the evaluation of the photos for the seller and typist *résumés*, we conducted two t-tests for a single sample. In both, the value 4 was adopted (corresponding to the black candidate's measure with less prototypical characteristics). In the case of the seller, a significant difference was identified in relation to the test value (Mean (M) = 5.0, Standard Deviation (SD) = 2.45, $t_{(35)} = 2.45$ $p < .05$), which did not happen in the case of the typist (M = 4.6, SD = 2.29, $t_{(35)} = 1.53$ $p = .135$).

Shahani-Denning (2003) reflects how the presence of photos in a *résumé* influences the choice of the most attractive candidate for this position. The seller position demands, in principle, direct contact with the public. The recruiter directs their choice, guiding themselves by an image which is deemed appropriate to a supposedly standard of attractiveness for this job. This ideal image for a candidate, a professional with a fairer complexion, determines the decision making process, biasing the judgment in favor of a candidate who meets the expectations of physical attractiveness (BROWN-IANNUZZI; PAYNE; TRAWALTER, 2012; MOURA; LOPES, 2014). When using this parameter for the choice, the recruiter combines stereotyped beliefs with the supposed characteristics for the job. And, in doing so, discriminates the candidate based on the apparent lack of adjustment between the job and the profile of the candidate.

The photo highlights a striking feature: the color of the skin, which allows the perceiver to receive specific information contained in the category. This additional information then becomes part of the basis for judgment, regardless of its relevance to the decision making. The results are consistent with the discussions proposed by Ruffle and Shtudiner (2011) and Little and Robert (2012) on evidence linking physical appearance to staffing and professional success.

It is important to note that the evaluation pattern for the photos in the *résumés* for the position of typist did not show significance in the evaluated items. It should be noted that the results show a tendency towards a candidate profile that is less white. It is possible to discuss how skin color and other physical attributes would be of little importance to a typing

professional. Job ads for typists do not include appearance as a criterion, as this job does not require contact with outside public or clients.

It should be emphasized that the participants, in making the choice of résumés, should present the reasons that led to the decision. The contents identified in these justifications for the selection for the seller position were divided into the following themes: academic background; professional experience; competence.

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE JUDGMENT OF STUDENTS AND HUMAN RESOURCES PROFESSIONALS

The following hypothesis assumed that, unlike the students' choice pattern, HR professionals tend to make choices by acquiescing to the racist norm. The labor market pressures those responsible for selecting personnel in their organizations to choose a candidate to fill a position, influenced by racial stereotypes. (SHAHANI-DENNING, 2003).

When the participants' choices are analyzed according to their skin color, the results show another discrepancy in the assessment made by professionals and students. Professionals tend to choose candidates with a lighter skin tone for the seller position. These participants show preference for résumés with photos that are closer to the prototypical images of blacks for the typist position. Students, on the other hand, show less tendency toward a selection based on skin color.

There was no moderating effect of racial affiliation ($F_{(1)} = 0.674$, $p = 0.983$), nor of the sex of the professional participants ($F_{(1)} = 0.423$, $p = 0.524$) in choosing the résumés with a photo for the seller. For the typist function, similarly, these participants, according to gender ($F_{(1)} = 0.99$, $p = 0.757$), do not differ in the judgments of the résumés. Professional experience, however, seems to determine the different pattern of choice for customer service positions and positions that do not require direct contact with the public/client. The discrepancy in these results motivated a more refined analysis to evaluate these data. There is a tendency for professionals to choose candidates with a lighter skin color for the seller position ($M = 5.0$, $SD = 2.4$, $t_{(41)} = 2.9$, $p < 0.05$), which is not manifested in relation to the evaluation of candidates for the position of typist ($M = 4.2$, $SD = 2.2$, $t_{(18)} = 0.42$, $p = .68$). The students, however, despite choosing, in average, the candidates with lighter skin tone, presented a lower mean ($M = 4.6$, $SD = 2.62$) for the seller position and higher for the typist ($M = 5.0$, $SD = 2.4$). These results do not demonstrate statistical relevance for the evaluation of the seller's ($t_{(16)} = 1.01$, $p = .32$) and typist's résumé ($t_{(16)} = 1.72$, $p = .11$).

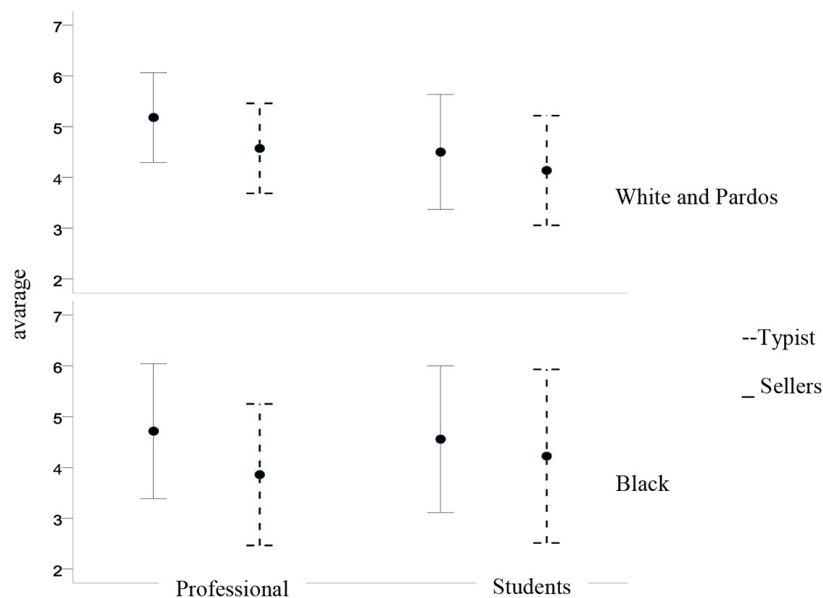
Racial belonging ($F_{(1)} = 5,530$, $p < 0.05$) showed a significant influence on the results of professionals (Figure 1). Professionals who declared themselves brown and white tended to choose résumés with photographic images depicting a fairer complexion ($M = 4.9$, $SD = 2.7$). On the other hand, the résumés with prototypical photos of candidates with a darker skin tone were more often chosen by participants who see themselves as blacks ($M = 2.7$, $SD = 1.21$).

The choice of professionals for this position, even though they do not have direct contact with the public, is influenced by the perception of the candidates' photo. The discrepancy between the means of the groups of participants has an effect when taking into

account the skin color of the professionals. Professionals who have not declared themselves to be black maintain a choice based on the appearance of candidates even in a position that does not require contact with customers.

It is noted in-group favoritism in this choice, in accordance with studies on social identity. Lima and Vala (2004) and Vala (1997) discuss how the activation of an identity dimension, when intergroup differentiation proves to be salient, triggers more positive endo-group evaluations.

Figure 1 - Graph of the 95% confidence intervals of the averages of choices by skin color of sellers and typists, depending on the professional category and color of the participant



Source: Research Data.

Students who participated in the survey in the photo condition show the same pattern of results when choosing a seller. The pattern of choice of these participants is not different between those who declare blacks, browns or whites ($F_{(1)} = 0.354, p = .561$) and between male and female participants ($F_{(1)} = 0.004, p = 0.527$). In the selection process for the typist position, the results show that sex ($F_{(1)} = 0.93, p = 0.765$) and racial identification ($F_{(1)} = 0.23, p = 0.370$) do not influence the responses of participants either.

Professionals, in the no-photo condition, faced with the scale of motivation to control prejudice, showed a tendency toward internal control of prejudiced attitudes ($M_{IC} = 4.07, SD = 0.65, t_{(22)} = 7.94, p < 0.05$) ($M_{EC} = 2.2, SD = 0.73, t_{(1)} = -5.12, p < 0.05$). The results showed the same pattern in the condition that the résumés were evaluated with a photo ($M_{IC} = 4.10, SD = 0.75, t_{(18)} = 6.38, p < 0.05$) ($M_{EC} = 0.73, t_{(1)} = -5.46, p < 0.05$).

With the scale of motivation, students and professionals show greater internal control of prejudice in the condition with photo ($M_{IC} = 4.0, SD = 0.81, t_{(14)} = 4.91, p < 0.05$), ($M_{EC} = 2.1, SD = 0.66, t_{(1)} = -5.07, p < 0.05$) and no photo ($M_{IC} = 4.3, SD =$

0.37, $t_{(16)} = 14.374$, $p < 0.05$) ($M_{EC} = 2.4$, $SD = 0.85$, $t_{(16)} = -2.86$, $p < 0.05$). Such a finding reveals how external standards and social norms would have less influence on the expression of prejudice than personal beliefs among participants.

The dynamics of race relations in the contemporary world translates into the attempt of people to appear to be less prejudiced. The studies of Plant and Devine (1998) show how the external and internal motivations for controlling prejudice are two different motivational forms, but which are interrelated in the attitudinal structure of an individual. Gouveia et al. (2006) indicate that people who are internally motivated to respond without being prejudiced tend to be less prejudiced than those who are motivated externally. The participants respond without being prejudiced, driven more by personal interests (motivated internally) than by the characteristics of the social context and pressures to agree to non-biased norms (externally motivated). The internal motivation to respond without being prejudiced presupposes that people tend to position themselves on the basis of internal and personal standards.

The professionals in the no-photo condition present the same mean pattern in the racial privilege factor ($M_{RP} = 3.9$, $SD = 0.72$, $t_{(22)} = 6.43$, $p < 0.05$) that the participants in the condition with photo ($M_{RP} = 4.0$, $SD = 0.72$, $t_{(18)} = 9.28$, $p < 0.05$). The mean of the students for the racial privilege factor, in the no-photo condition ($M_{RP} = 3.7$, $SD = 0.42$, $t_{(14)} = 6.86$, $p < 0.05$) and with photo ($M_{RP} = 3.9$, $SD = 0.63$, $t_{(16)} = 5.73$, $p < 0.05$) is also close to the professionals'. Participants demonstrate agreement with the existence of privilege based on skin color that negatively affect blacks in their professional insertion. Racial privilege is a factor composed of six items (6) extracted from the "racial blindness" scale of Neville et al. (2000). It refers to an attitudinal structure that is characterized by a "blindness" to the existence of privileges and advantages for the white population to the detriment of the other racial groups.

In Brazil, racism determines unequal relations, despite racial mixing and fluidity between groups (TELLES, 2003). Racism represents an organized system of exclusion that structures itself on the basis of social disadvantages and limited opportunities for a group because of its racial belonging (DOVIDIO; GAERTNER; KAWAKAMI, 2013). In this context, racial privilege is revealed through socioeconomic injustices among racial groups, especially in the labor market. The data of survival conditions disclose the precariousness to which the black population is subjected, in opposition to the benefits generated to the white population (SABINO, 2006). The exclusion or insignificant representation of blacks in prestigious positions reiterates the discussion that social structures determine rights in terms of racial belonging. (SMITH; BRIEF; COLELLA, 2013).

In our study, the professionals, in the no-photo condition, presented the same pattern of mean in the Labor Market Racism Inventory ($M_{IR} = 0.7$, $SD = 0.23$, $t_{(22)} = -45.916$, $p < 0.05$) that the participants in the photo condition ($M_{IR} = 0.7$, $SD = 0.23$, $t_{(18)} = -45.916$, $p < 0.05$). The response of students to the Inventory of Racism in the Labor Market, however, points to another direction of the value presented by professionals. On average, in the no-photo condition they agree less that racial membership affects discrimination in insertion on the labor market or career advancement ($M_{IR} = 0.5$, $SD = 0.26$, $t_{(14)} = -57.601$, $p < 0.05$), as well as in the condition with photo ($M_{IR} = 0.5$, $SD = 0.28$, $t_{(1)} = -58.466$, $p < 0.05$). The comparison between the means of the groups showed statistical

significance in relation to the condition without photo ($F_{(1)} = 8.53$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$) and with photo ($F_{(1)} = 6.78$, 1 , $p < .05$).

The job market places pressure on those in charge of recruiting staff in their organizations to fill positions according to a candidate profile which has a pre-defined physical appearance. The logic that defines skin color as a reference for this pattern of choice translates how racism defines entry, permanence and growth of people in the business environment. In this sense, the attractiveness factor in decision-making and its implications for the discrimination in the labor market (PEREIRA, 2015; SHAHANI-DENNING, 2003; AGTHE et al., 2014) is influenced by stereotyped beliefs and expectations of behavior in relation to the attractiveness of the target (LANGLOIS et al., 2000). Professionals, whether or not they adhere to the thesis on racism, seem to be more in favor of the racist standard by choosing candidates with a fairer complexion.

In this study, it was verified that beliefs about Racism in the labor market did not influence the results in the choices for seller ($F_{(1)} = 3.03$, $p = 0.86$) and typist ($F_{(1)} = 0.802$, $p = 0.591$). The judgment of candidates' résumés did not depend on the perceptions about racial inequalities in employment.

Modern racism is revealed in indirect ways and many times imprecise manners (LIMA; VALA; 2004; NUNES, 2010), and also in some other direct and declared ways of racial hierarchization (ZÁRATE, 2009). The laws which prohibit racism tend to inhibit its manifestation. Lima and Vala (2004) state that, in Brazil, there is a "Cordial Racism" that coexists in a harmonious way with the anti-racist norm, which makes this type of racism much more difficult to detect and fight. It is in this context that we can situate the results of judgement on good appearance in our study.

JUDGMENT OF GOOD APPEARANCE

The skin color of the participant did not influence the results, as there is no difference between the black, brown and white participants on the definitions among the criteria on the suitable appearance for a job vacancy. The sex of the participants has the same pattern of racial belonging, having no effect on the answers on the items ($F_{(1)} = 0.327$, $p = 0.569$) ($F_{(1)} = 0.223$, $p = 0.638$).

Table 1 - Average indicators of good appearance between professionals and students

Indicator/participants	Professional	Student
Hygiene	M = 2,79; SD = 0,42	M = 2,97;SD = 0,18
Attire	M = 2,50; SD = 0,51	M = 2,41; SD = 0,56
Hair	M = 1,74; SD = 1,01	M = 1,60; SD = 0,87
Skin color	M = 0,62; SD = 1,06	M = 0,19; SD = 0,47

Source: Research data.

There is a significant difference in relation to the four criteria (skin color, hygiene, attire, hair). The hypothesis that skin color would have a lower frequency as a defining

criterion was corroborated. The participants chose hygiene as a more present element in the evaluation of a candidate, rejecting the hypothesis that the attire would present a higher frequency among the participants (Table 1).

The use of good appearance is an everyday practice in decision making in personnel selection. It is assumed that certain positions should be filled only by candidates with characteristics that would transcend professional skills. Regardless of professional background, this would be a key criterion for recruiting a candidate (LITTLE; ROBERTS, 2012).

There is a discussion in the literature that associates the requirement of a particular appearance for certain jobs to the subtle and concealed form of Brazilian racism that was structured on the basis of stereotyped beliefs and negative representations of the black population or the denial of positive attributes (SILVÉRIO, 2002; DAMASCENO, 2011). Such an argument is reinforced in the studies of Damasceno (2011) who identified job advertisements from the 1930s, associating the requirement of good appearance to the racial group of the candidate. It should be clarified that this judgment is recurrent for vacancies that require direct contact with the client, such as salespeople and executive secretary (PAIM, 2005).

The results demonstrate that, for the participants, the skin color would have a lower influence than the other items to define good appearance. It is possible to analyze this result based on two considerations: the participants' attempt not to demonstrate racial prejudice and the valorization of professional competence instead of less objective criterion for the selection of a candidate.

The scientific literature refers to the implicit forms of racism that present themselves in the face of norms that have prevented the manifestation of unequal attitudes and beliefs. People, in an attempt to respond without being prejudiced, are guided by two forms of independent motivations: external and internal (PLANT; DEVINE, 1998; GOUVEIA et al., 2006). Internal motivations are guided by personal interests, and external motivations are driven by social contingencies. In the studies by Plant and Devine (1998), participants motivated by external pressure showed differences in their endorsement of racial stereotypes as a function of providing responses in private or in public. They, it seems, strategically alter their responses in public to avoid revealing their true prejudices. In the absence of outside observers, they responded with strong support of the stereotype. Those who were internally motivated, regardless of their external motivation level, as well as those who reported not being particularly motivated to respond without showing prejudice, showed little difference in the expression of stereotypes whether public or not. The authors discuss the importance of considering the joint influence of internal and external motivation to respond without showing prejudice when evaluating the probable situational impact of the responses.

Gouveia et al. (2006) validated a scale of motivations to respond without prejudice to blacks in Brazil. Such study becomes reference in this research by its pioneering in the use of this scale. The internal motivation factor to respond without prejudice has some items like "According to my values, it is right to use stereotypes in relation to blacks" and "I try to act in a non-prejudiced way because it is important to me". The external motivation factor to respond without prejudice presents items such as "I try not to present prejudice to avoid disapproval" and "because of norms do not show prejudice against blacks".

Participants may seek control of their prejudiced attitudes in their judgment of the factors that determine the ideal look for job openings. However, there is no interaction between the participants' responses on the motivation scale to control prejudice and the evaluation of good appearance, both among students ($F_{(1)} = 0.282$, $p = 0.602$) and among professionals ($F_{(1)} = 0.037$, $p = 0.850$).

It is necessary to discuss social norms to understand the reasons for controlling biased attitudes, the forms of internalization and the social pressures that give rise to motivations to respond without prejudice. Anti-racist norms seek effective control over the behavior of individuals to prevent social expectations and judgments from negative stereotypes that promote social exclusion. Lima et al. (2006) investigated the effect of social norms on automatic prejudice against blacks, based on two normative contexts (egalitarian and meritocratic). The results indicated that prejudice is influenced by situational factors represented by response contexts. The context of competition has made people more prejudiced. The context of solidarity equality inhibited prejudice against blacks. The authors state that racism in Brazilian society manifests itself violently by finding an appropriate normative context that can justify or disguise its practices of exclusion against social minorities. Current racism combines flagrant and subtle forms of expression that circumvent the anti-racist norm in democratic societies (LIMA et al, 2006; PEREIRA; VALA, 2011). The present, more open forms of expression of racism allow us to discuss how racism is a complex phenomenon that articulates subtle and direct hierarchies.

Research on racism in the labor market can be categorized in three perspectives, individual, group and systemic (DIPBOYE; COLELLA, 2003). Individual perspective, such as the theory of social categorization, includes discrimination based on stereotyped beliefs and prejudices (DOVIDIO; HEBL, 2003). Gelfand et al. (2003) found that the relevant research on group relations focuses on problems involving social categories and disadvantages based on shared or assigned characteristics. Finally, systemic theories refer to approaches that view organization as an open system in which broader aspects such as culture, leadership, human resource systems and organizational climate can contribute to or mitigate discrimination. These aspects would be mediated by cognitive processes and interpersonal relationships and influenced by the socio-cultural environment (THOMAS; CHROBOT-MASON, 2003). The research on diversity in organizations is an example of systemic studies (ROSA, 2014; TORRES; PÉREZ-NEBRA, 2004), mainly as a strategy for identifying and evaluating business practices for inclusion, development and management of human resources performance.

Dipboye and Colella (2003) propose a multilevel model of analysis of discrimination in the labor market, articulating these perspectives of analysis. A study of the judgment of good looks in this sense requires a complex articulation of organizational processes at all levels, which are articulated as determinants of the obstacles that the black population faces in accessing job openings

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The objective of this investigation was to evaluate the effect of race on the judgment of candidates in personnel selection. The phenomenon of good appearance is present in the discourse of recruiters and candidates and is criticized for its association with racist beliefs

and representations. The job ads in the 1980s presented this requirement in staff selection. The behavior of recruiters and candidates was openly and explicitly guided by this criterion. Recruiters maintained an explicitly discriminatory process, while the candidates conformed to that standard. This criterion is no longer visible in the ads, but is still present in HR practices, revealing a subtle form of Brazilian racism, which was structured based on stereotyped beliefs and negative representations of the black population or denial of positive attributes. To reach the proposed objective, a simulation of the selection of personnel was conducted, with the participation of human resources professionals and undergraduate students.

The results showed that the inclusion of photos has an effect on the evaluation of résumés in the case of professionals. Unlike students, professionals chose candidates who had a lighter skin tone when selecting personnel for positions that demanded good appearance. Résumés with prototypical pictures of blacks were more likely to be excluded in the selection processes than résumés with prototypical images of whites.

The hypothesis that the color of the skin would show a lower frequency as criterion that defines good appearance was corroborated. Participants chose hygiene as a more present element in the evaluation of a candidate. The results demonstrate that, for the participants, when defining good appearance, skin color would have a smaller influence when compared to the other items used to define good appearance. It is possible to analyze this result based on two considerations: the participants' attempt not to demonstrate racial prejudice and the valorization of professional competence instead of less objective criterion for the selection of a candidate.

In an Organization that does not value competence in staff selection, what counts is the subtle or explicit racist beliefs and representations that tend to guide the behavior of the recruiter and the Personnel Management policy. On the other hand, the choices in a selection process must follow the premise that the differences between people transform the organizational environment into an innovative, creative and productive space.

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THE INVISIBILITY OF THE BLACK POPULATION IN MODERN SLAVERY: EVIDENCE BASED ON CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL VULNERABILITY

A invisibilização do negro no trabalho escravo contemporâneo:
evidências a partir das condições de vulnerabilidade social

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to identify the associations between the social conditions of vulnerability and the racial profile of modern slavery. It presents findings from qualitative research developed between 2011 and 2016 on the institutional and organizational mechanisms responsible for the maintenance of modern slavery in Brazil, based on the theoretical framework of Crane (2013), Bales (2004) and Datta and Bales (2013; 2014). From a methodological point of view, this study makes use of socioeconomic, geographic, sociocultural and social vulnerability indicators produced mainly by the reports published by members of the National Pact for the Eradication of Slave Labor Institute (*Instituto Pacto Nacional pela Erradicação do Trabalho Escravo* - InPACTO) and the public sector. The article's contribution centers on the incorporation of the variable race and color, indicating its relation to modern slavery, in addition to showing how contemporary slave labor coexists with the economically representative productive chains in Brazil, some of which are members of InPACTO.

Keywords: Contemporary slavery. Vulnerability. Race. Skin color.

RESUMO

Este artigo objetiva identificar as associações entre as condições sociais de vulnerabilidade e o perfil racial da escravidão contemporânea. Ele é fruto de um recorte de uma pesquisa qualitativa desenvolvida entre 2011 e 2016 sobre os mecanismos institucionais e organizacionais responsáveis pelo sustento da escravidão contemporânea no Brasil, fundamentado na estrutura teórica de Crane (2013), Bales (2004) e Datta e Bales (2013; 2014). Do ponto de vista metodológico, este estudo faz uso dos indicadores socioeconômicos, geográficos, socioculturais e de vulnerabilidade social produzidos principalmente pelos relatórios publicados pelos membros do Instituto Pacto Nacional pela Erradicação do Trabalho Escravo – InPACTO e do poder público. A contribuição do artigo diz respeito à incorporação da variável preditora raça e cor, indicando sua relação com a escravidão moderna, além de o trabalho escravo contemporâneo coexistir com as cadeias produtivas economicamente representativas no Brasil, sendo algumas delas, inclusive, membros do InPacto.

Palavras-chave: Escravidão contemporânea. Vulnerabilidade. Raça. Cor.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Contemporary slavery exists and affects approximately 160,600 workers per year in Brazil and 48.5 million in the world, manifested in the form of degrading and unsustainable labor relations that include factors such as the absence of freedom, exhausting working hours, and physical, moral and psychological violence that deny the basic rights of the workers involved (REPÓRTER BRASIL, 2011; CAZETTA, 2007; CRANE, 2013; WALK FREE FOUNDATION, 2014; DATTA; BALES, 2014).

Modern slavery¹ is a global phenomenon present in various countries. The phenomenon may be related to economic or sexual exploitation and may be an outcome of low schooling and the population explosion at global level, correlated with reduced labor costs. Slavery intentionally transforms human beings into disposable parts, called thus due to the fact that many workers are easily replaced (BALES, 2002; 2011²; DATTA; BALES, 2014, CRANE, 2013; OIT, 2004). As a rule, the phenomenon of modern slave labor tends to be considered a peripheral problem for many of those involved, even though governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are working to combat this issue (BALES, 2004). Another dilemma of contemporary slave labor is related to the low amount of recognizable debate in the social sciences, as shown by the incipient publication of works on the theme and the fact that it remains virtually absent in the field of organizational studies (BALES, 2004; 2011; COOKE, 2003; CRANE, 2013; BALES; TRODD; WILLIAMSON, 2009).

For Crane (2013) and Bales (2004; 2001), conditions of socioeconomic, socio-cultural and geographic vulnerability and the ineffectiveness of the State form a structural inertia, since they are used by informal and criminal work networks to sustain slavery practices in the present day, through the so-called 'hidden mechanisms'. Bourdieu (1989, p. 8) provides the means to understand the 'invisibility' of these 'hidden mechanisms,' when he attributes their effectiveness to the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to them or even that they operate them. Bourdieu (1989) refers to symbolic power, indicating that it is a form of establishing a logical order that in some form regulates a social reality. In the context of this article, the field as defined by Bourdieu (1989) is understood as the social space shared by the different actors involved in contemporary slavery, which possesses its own structure (*habitus*) and is relatively autonomous vis-à-vis other social spaces with specific objectives that guarantee a particular logic of operation and structuration. Bourdieu (1989, p. 9-10) proceeds to argue that structured and structuring mechanisms of the symbolic system act as "means of communication and knowledge production", but also perform political functions, as it helps to ensure that one class dominates another (symbolic violence). For now, it is crucial to emphasize that it is not a question of analyzing the relations of force within the field of power of contemporary slavery, but of establishing a relationship between the variables of the phenomenon and the racial profile, based on the identification of the elements that structure the field.

1. The terms modern and contemporary will be used as synonyms in this work, since the literature does not establish differences in the use of these adjectives when referring to the new configuration of slavery.

2. In this article, all reference to this work are verbal information obtained at the 4th International Seminar of the National Pact for the Eradication of Slave Labor held in Brasilia.

This article presents findings from a study developed between 2011 and 2016 on the institutional and organizational mechanisms responsible for sustaining contemporary slavery in Brazil. The aim is to identify the associations between social conditions of vulnerability and the racial profile of contemporary slavery. Until very recently, the official data in Brazil did not include the racial issue as one of the elements contributing to contemporary slavery.

From the methodological viewpoint, this study makes use of socioeconomic, geographic, sociocultural and social vulnerability indicators produced mainly in the reports published by members of InPACTO (The National Pact for the Eradication of Slave Labor Institute/*Instituto Pacto Nacional pela Erradicação do Trabalho Escravo*)³ and public authorities. It also presents results from the observation of the events promoted by InPACTO and semi-structured interviews conducted from 2011 to 2016. The object of study was InPACTO itself, which establishes commercial rules among the associated signatories that voluntarily assume responsibility for fulfilling the agreements and contractual clauses with their suppliers throughout the production chain.

The text is structured in six sections, including the present introduction. The second section is dedicated to an overview of contemporary slavery, describing its main characteristics and conceptual background. This description includes the main studies to have explored the issue, as well as a set of data and assumptions designed to show the configuration of contemporary slavery in Brazil. The third section describes the methodological approach used in the research, indicating the data sources and the procedures used for their analysis. The fourth section presents and discusses the research findings, demonstrating the relationship between the predictor variables of contemporary slavery and the main sociodemographic data. The fifth section details propositions that organize the data in accordance with the constructed theoretical arguments. The last section outlines some final reflections on the theme under discussion, pointing to challenges and proposals for future research.

2. CONTEMPORARY SLAVERY: CONCEPTS AND CONFIGURATION

From the 1990s, Bales (2004) initiated his study of the configuration of the 'new slavery' in five countries, using the multiple case study as a methodology: Brazil, Mauritania, India, Thailand and Pakistan. Kevin Bales is considered one of the leading authors on the theme worldwide (OIT, 2009). His research has been grounded in Conventions 29 and 105 of the International Labor Organization, seeking to discuss the introduction of legal regulations in the diverse countries attempting to deal with the problem. Several victims, slave recruiters, business owners, NGOs, governments and local communities were interviewed. The researchers concealed the objective of the research from some interviewees, since the issue of slave labor could not be openly debated by the companies, small businesses or recruiters.

The patterns discovered in Brazil, Mauritania, India, Thailand and Pakistan led to the identification of three key factors in the new slavery: the intense population growth; the

3. InPACTO was cited as a benchmark of best practices by the International Labor Organization (OIT, 2009; InPACTO, 2015).

globalization and modernization of world agriculture; and the ease with which social rules are violated.

The first factor, the dramatic growth in the global population, becomes clear when we observe that over the last 50 years a demographic explosion has taken place with the world population rising from 2 billion to 7 billion people. This fact has driven down the value of labor on the world market, oriented towards the generation of value and optimization of costs in production chains, principally in activities related to raw material extraction (BALLOU, 2007; BALES; ROBBINS, 2001; GOLD; TRAUTRIMS; TRODD, 2015; SAKAMOTO, 2008). The second key factor – the globalization and modernization of world agriculture – forced small farmers without capital resources to search for other means of survival (MARTINS, 2008; LUXEMBURGO, 1984). Peasants and small producers adapted their tasks and routines to meet the demands of big rural producers and, in situations where they lacked the conditions to sustain themselves, also showed a strong trend towards migration to cities (MARTINS, 2008; LUXEMBURGO, 1984; BALES, 2004).⁴ Finally, the third key factor is based on the violation of social rules and traditional relations of legal work as an outcome of greed, corruption and violence, especially in developing countries (BALES, 2004).

Later, Datta and Bales (2013) estimated the incidence of slave labor through the results of a survey and secondary data from the pioneering research of Pennington et al. (2009). The information used included data on national population sizes, average family size, estimated number of families in the country, and the number of families cited in reports on trafficked and enslaved human beings. Human trafficking was used since it comprises the first stage before a condition of modern slavery (CRANE, 2013). Datta and Bales (2013) argue that, based on the estimated number of trafficking victims/enslaved individuals per country, it is possible to calculate the proportion of enslaved victims. According to the Walk Free Foundation (2014), the number of workers in conditions analogous to slavery in Brazil was 209,622 in 2015, with an interval below 200,000 and above 220,000. Worldwide, modern slavery directly affects 45.8 million people employed for both sexual and economic purposes.

The conditions of population growth, globalization and modernization of agriculture, associated with the opportunity to exploit workers, resulted in what was termed as 'hidden mechanism' (BALES, 2004; CRANE, 2013; AGUINIS; GLAVAS 2012).⁵ Hidden mechanisms are the outcome of institutional and organizational articulations that maintain and sustain slavery (BALES, 2004; CRANE, 2013). Pursuing the same line of argument, Linstead, Maréchal and Griffin (2014) use the term 'dysfunctional conformity' to describe a practice commonly found in management, the logic of which is to constantly search for the cheapest available labor, reducing resources to a minimum in order to diminish unit production costs.

4. The same pattern was seen in Brazil: in 1960 the urban population was 41 million, rising to more than 170 million in 2015. This population increase ended up generating opportunities for exploiting workers lacking the most basic resources and became a fertile field for slavery practices in both rural and urban environments.

5. The term 'hidden mechanism' was discussed by Aguinis and Glavas (2012, p. 953) in the theoretical review of Corporate Social Responsibility. The term can be associated with what Crane (2013) calls the institutional deflection of organizations.

As recently as 2013, Andrew Crane presented the theoretical model of contemporary slavery as a management practice. The theoretical structure of this model was elaborated with the following elements: human trafficking, economics of crime, informal business ventures and organized crime (BECKER, 1968; DICK, 1995; UNITED NATIONS, 2001; WEBB et al., 2009; SALT; STEIN, 2002; BALES, 2004). Crane (2013) divides the model into three parts: the conditions for slavery to occur, the capacities of organizations to exploit these conditions, and, finally, the support and adaptation of criminal networks that maintain and protect themselves from punishment for criminal practices in the face of multiple external pressures. The author examines the conditions for slavery in an industrial, socioeconomic, geographical, cultural and regulatory context.

Crane (2013) discusses the capacity of business ventures to exploit the conditions and, at the same time, annul the critical views of the victims of modern slavery. The latter generally fail to recognize that they are subject to slavery practices. Finally, the author speaks of the reproduction of these practices and the adaptation of the responses of criminal networks to institutional pressures. This dynamic is very similar to what Bourdieu (1990) identifies as the set of forces within the field that keep the 'game' functioning among the actors – in this context, the symbolic power exerted by mechanisms that conceal domination and make it acceptable and even desirable for victims of modern slavery.

Crane (2013) shows that multinational companies and small businesses exploit institutional niches at the same time as they develop the capacities to isolate, sustain and shape slavery routines and tasks to gain competitive advantages. As a result, they occupy a double position in the field: legitimate and illegitimate simultaneously, since they need careful positioning to take advantage of institutional spaces that can also be strategically exploited to support unlawful practices (LINDSAY, 2010; CRANE, 2013). Crane (2013) argues that certain institutional and organizational characteristics and contexts can contribute to the successful management of these informal or illegal organizations. Sometimes the institutional environment fails to attain the ideal form for complying with the rules and norms of conduct. In such cases where there is insufficient adaptation to norms, an institutional deformity arises since the norm is ineffectively institutionalized and thus unable to fulfil its function (DIMAGGIO; POWELL, 1983; SCOTT, 1995).

Based on the bibliographic survey conducted in this research, we argue that the basic premise of modern slavery is related not just to the social psychological condition, but above all to relations of economic-political power (BALES; ROBBINS, 2001; BALES, 2004; DATTA; BALES, 2014; GOLD; TRAUTRAMS; TRODD, 2015; CRANE, 2013). This perhaps comprises one of the repertoires of meaning re-elaborated in response to the contemporary capitalist context involving a globalized and competitive scenario in diverse production chains (GOLD; TRAUTRAMS; TRODD, 2015). Along these lines, the set of variables that constitute the economic-political panorama of modern slavery, what we call predictor variables, were used in the analysis of the data, as Table 1 shows.

Table 1 - Propositions and Predictor Variables of Modern Slavery

Authors (Year)	Category of analysis	Proposition	Predictor variables of modern slavery
Bales (2004); Datta and Bales (2013; 2014); Crane (2013); Bourdieu (1989; 1990)	Socioeconomic context	The exploitation of slave labor, which occurs in contexts of high unemployment, chronic poverty and low schooling, stimulates the adoption of slave labor by business ventures.	Population density, MHD and vulnerability
	Geographic context	The geographic isolation of the business, combined with the psychological, political and physical isolation of workers, stimulates the adoption of slave labor by business ventures.	Geographic isolation and people trafficking
	Sociodemographic context	Inequality naturalizes coercive labor relations, and thus stimulates the adoption of slave labor by business ventures.	Race and color
	Regulatory context	The absence of an effective regulatory context capable of imposing sanctions on the exploitation of labor under slavery-like conditions stimulates the adoption of slave labor by business ventures.	Inspections and corruption

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

The predictor variables are thus called in this article since they help explain the probability of slavery occurrence. We have based the propositions that articulate these variables as predictors on the seminal studies of Pennington et al. (2009), which measured the number of modern slaves in Europe using data on the number of people trafficked, and the research carried out by Datta and Bales (2013; 2014). Geographic isolation and the lack of contact with family were important psychological factors in the study, besides the need to obtain employment and income. Other factors include: unemployment, poverty, education and the limited awareness of enslaved victims (CRANE, 2013; FIGUEIRA, 2008). Studies by Bales (2004) in Brazil, Mauritania, India, Thailand and Pakistan indicated the relation between poverty, HDI, vulnerability, corruption and the isolation of enslaved people. Later, Datta and Bales (2013; 2014) used research criteria from Pennington et al. (2009) to apply a multiple regression analysis and argue that poverty, social dissatisfaction, corruption, population density and the perception of opportunity, or its absence, can be taken as factors that induce modern slavery. Datta and Bales (2014) presented the significant model for the risk of State instability, freedom of expression, access to financial services, geography and age. The predictor variables indicated a significant result for the transnational variation of slavery throughout Europe (DATTA; BALES, 2014).

2.1. THE CONCEPT OF SLAVE LABOR IN BRAZIL

The concept of contemporary slave labor in Brazil advanced in the fight against slavery practices following the changes made to Law 10803/2003 through Article 149 of the Brazilian Penal Code. Article 149 criminalizes the practice of reducing someone "to a condition analogous to a slave", presenting four elements that, combined or in isolation, characterize the crime: a) submission of the worker to forced labor; b) submission to

exhausting working hours; c) submission to degrading work conditions; d) restrictions on their locomotion (MTE, 2016; 2009; 2012). The term ‘analogous’ is used in the Law due to the fact that the Brazilian State does not recognize any human being as a ‘slave’ in the present-day context.

The first paragraph of Article 149 also details that slave labor is characterized by: curbing the use of any means of transport by the worker, maintaining ostensive surveillance in the workplace, or seizing possession of the worker’s documents and/or personal objects to retain him or her in the workplace. The penalty for the crime is imprisonment for two to eight years and a fine, as well as the penalty corresponding to the violence used. The penalty may also be increased if the crime was committed against a child or adolescent, or for reasons of racial, color, ethnic, religious or any other type of discrimination.

Conceptual differences exist in the definitions of modern slavery used in Brazil and the rest of the world (OIT, 2005), both in the terms used and in the elements implied by the terms – in other words, their characteristics. The form in which the concept is delimited has a direct impact on the regulatory process and dynamic. The Table 2 below shows the differences in how the topic is treated in the respective legal frameworks:

Table 2 - Comparison of the definitions of contemporary slavery of Brazil and the ILO

Brazil	ILO
Term	
Work analogous to slavery	Forced or compulsory labor
Legislative Framework	
Articles 149, 197, 203 and 207	Convention n. 29 – 1930 and n. 105 – 1957
Elements of Slavery	
Lack of freedom, exhausting working hours and degrading conditions	Coercion, punishment, penalties, threats, imposition of work
Argument delegitimizing the Brazilian concept	
Abusive interpretation of the definition of degrading labor conditions	

Source: OIT, 2009; Melo, 2007. Adapted from OIT (2009; 2014).

Elements such as lack of freedom, exhausting working hours and degrading conditions contribute to the perpetuation of slave labor in Brazil. In February 2017, the National Justice Council (*Conselho Nacional de Justiça* - CNJ) presented an award to Judge Jaiza Maria Pinto Fraxe of the 3rd Federal Court of Manaus (Amazonas state) for her work in combatting slave labor, as a form of encouraging other judges to endeavor to protect human rights through the social purpose of work (CNJ, 2017).

Even so, a long path remains ahead. Article 149 of the Brazilian Penal Code on slave labor, introduced in 2003 (BRASIL, 2003), presents a text with a certain amount of conceptual elasticity. Parliamentarians, politicians and some business sectors allege that it is impossible to refer to slavery because the legal ownership of another person is prohibited (CAZETTA, 2007; SÃO PAULO, 2015). Based on this argument, auditors and prosecutors

from the Ministry of Labor and Employment (*Ministério de Trabalho e Emprego* - MTE) and the Ministry of Labor (*Ministério Público do Trabalho* - MPT) (MTE, 2011; 2009) argue that the term 'slave labor' refers to "work in conditions analogous to slavery". The expression slave labor allows the interpreter to potentially associate the term 'slavery' with the colonial system of the past.

This elasticity of the concept generates complaints to the Brazilian government and NGOs. Debates surrounding the issue claim that Brazil drifted away from the international concept adopted by ILO. For the latter (OIT, 2004, p. 11), "[...] every form of slave labor is degrading work but the reverse is not always true. What differentiates one concept from the other is freedom". Indeed, ILO Convention 29 establishes the illegality of forced labor, defined as "[...] all work or service which is exacted from any person under the threat of a penalty and for which the person has not offered himself or herself voluntarily" (OIT, 2004, p. 27). However, the border between coercive and non-coercive exploitation is subtle. ILO itself calls attention to the involuntary action of workers faced with the need to find employment. For example, involuntary consciousness can be associated with the lack of employment opportunities combined with a situation of extreme poverty and low levels of education. They have no alternative, therefore, save to accept terrible working conditions.

For Bales, Trodd and Williamson (2009) the ideal would be to have a definition of modern slavery that encompasses all its elements. This could be an ideal solution for the attempts to delegitimize business organizations opposed to the inspection of production chains. In the meantime, these loopholes allow other regulations or laws to be used to redefine slavery practices as less harmful and more acceptable, which to some extent also contribute to rendering the phenomenon invisible.

3. METHODOLOGICAL TRAJECTORY

Through a qualitative approach, the research triangulated and analyzed primary and secondary data from 2011 to 2016. The decision was taken to utilize the testimonies from real cases of workers employed in conditions analogous to slavery in the MTE database. Each real case was transcribed since it depicted the trajectory from recruitment to the practices expressed in Article 149 of the Brazilian Penal Code. In addition to the real cases of the workers, the research compiled secondary data and a bibliography on the theme. The leading of this study also participated in three seminars about modern slavery in Brazil, held in São Paulo and Brasília, in order to collect data from conferences and presentations (a total of 26 sources of data). Also, 12 interviews were held with academics, NGO professionals, civil servants and business representatives. All the interviews, presentations and seminars'conferences were recorded and transcribed using the NVivo software to manage the data. Primary data were collected, such as the observation diary, semi-structured interviews and photo and video records, as well as secondary data such as diverse documents and reports produced by members responsible for coordinating InPACTO.

InPACTO was chosen as a research object due to its internationally recognized work in combatting slave labor and the close liaisons between the signatories (OIT, 2009; InPACTO, 2015). Around 380 companies and institutions are signatories of InPACTO and together these represent more than 22% of the entire productive business wealth in the

country (REPÓRTER BRASIL, 2011; OIT 2004). Members of InPACTO range from civil society institutions, NGOs and, principally, companies from sectors such as agriculture, cattle-raising and the textile industry, as well as private banks and a law firm. In the context of InPACTO, discussion focuses on themes concerning institutional measures, some of them informed by the discourse of social responsibility, with the objective of preventing and eradicating slave labor in production chains.

In 2004, the Special Secretariat of Human Rights (*Secretaria Especial de Direitos Humanos* - SEDH) requested ILO Brazil to fund a study on production chains to identify economic sectors affected by slave labor. Through this study, ILO, the Ethos Institute of Business and Social Responsibility (*Instituto Ethos de Empresas e Responsabilidade Social*), the NGO *Repórter Brasil* and the Social Observatory Institute (*Instituto Observatório Social* - IOS) revealed a network of national and multinational companies that reduced workers to labor conditions analogous to slavery: in other words, 200 national and international companies that sell products and services deriving from enslaved employees (InPACTO, 2015). Provided with this information, ILO supported the Ethos Institute to arrange meetings with the companies identified in the study. The dialogue led to the launch of the National Pact for the Eradication of Slave Labor on May 19th, 2005 (InPACTO, 2015). The business sector commitment to combat the problem through the adoption of measures involving commercial restrictions on suppliers who employ slave labor was made public through the Pact. In 2014, with the institutional progress of the pact, InPACTO was created – the Pact for the Eradication of Slave Labor Institute. The Institute has the goal of strengthening and broadening the actions realized by the National Pact for the Eradication of Slave Labor, first created in 2005. A governance structure shared by 380 signatories was set up and coordinated by the International Labor Organization (ILO), the Instituto Ethos, the Social Observatory Institute (IOS), and the NGO *Repórter Brasil* with the collaboration and financial support of the companies Cargill, Carrefour, C&A, Eletrobrás Eletronorte, Grupo André Maggi and Wal-Mart Brasil. InPACTO's management model unites the interests of companies, civil society organizations, and organizations representing workers to focus on promoting actions of social responsibility (InPACTO, 2015).

The NVivo software assisted in the selection and counting of the sections representing each theoretical category and in the construction of the correlation matrix, used to examine the consistency of the responses between peers with the objective of verifying the saturation of respondents (HOWE; EISENHART, 1990). The data were analyzed using the content analysis technique (BARDIN, 1977). The initial analyses were conducted simultaneously with the data collection to confirm that data saturation had been reached. Over the course of the analytic procedure, multiple sources of evidence were used, as well as input from specialists who provided critical reading of the versions, and triangulation of qualitative techniques supported by software designed to organize and categorize data around the empirical and theoretical categories.

The theoretical categories are the set of predictor variables presented in the theoretical framework of this article: the socioeconomic context, geographic context, sociodemographic context and regulatory context. Considering this background, the survey conducted by the research included the following contextual subcategories: (a) socioeconomic – population density, Municipal Human Development Index (MHDI) and vulnerability; (b) geographic – geographic isolation and human trafficking; (c) sociodemographic – race or

color; and (d) regulatory – corruption and inspection. However, data on race and color also traverse both the socioeconomic and sociodemographic dimensions.

Over the course of data collection and analysis, the decision was taken to focus on understanding the relationship between the racial, social and cultural patterns and the victims of work analogous to modern slavery in Brazil. Consequently, the data relating to race and color were explored in more depth in the theoretical subcategories. In terms of research procedures, a multicenter approach was adopted given the number of actors involved in confronting the problem and the fact that these actors coordinated certain actions through networks (SECCHI, 2010). On this point, the institutional actors identified in this study connected to this issue are: (i) public authorities; (ii) organized civil society; (iii) the private sector.

4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

This section presents a systemization of the main sociodemographic data on modern slavery in Brazil, setting out from the premise that this data function as a set of predictor variables for this phenomenon (BALES, 2004, DATTA; BALES, 2013; 2014; CRANE, 2013). Consequently, given the existence of these predictor variables acting concomitantly as a symbolic normative set (*habitus*), the cycle of modern slavery cannot be modified. The notion of *habitus* can be understood through the writings of Bourdieu (1989; 1990) and his definition of a social field. For the author, social spaces can only be understood through the dual relation involving the interiorization of exteriority and the exteriorization of interiority. The first element – the interiorization of exteriority – relates to the notion of *habitus*, in which individuals, in the everyday production and reproduction of their practices, embody rules, symbols and concepts of the social reality to which they belong and which constitute them. In this dynamic, the structure of social relations and their conducts are articulated in a process that mixes the subjective and objective dimensions. Secondly, these same practices are the result of the historical evolution of the group and guide social practice – the exteriorization of interiority. Once the schemas of thought, perception and action are embodied, it is possible to ensure compliance with practices and rules, forms of control and patterns based on past experiences. An unconscious and cognitive component exists, but rather than being limited to this dimension, it assumes a multitude of meanings.

Applying these concepts, *habitus*, in the context of contemporary slavery, is also manifested through the structural inertia exploited by the ‘gatos’, the workforce recruiters who promise employment and income and fail to deliver either (MTE, 2016; OIT, 2009; InPACTO, 2015). Here it is worth recalling Bourdieu’s (1990) definition that fields possess general laws of operation: all fields possess their own rules, with each actor occupying a consolidated position and possessing specific interests in accordance with this position and, in this sense, they organize a game that possesses inherently political traits.

Bales (2004; 2006) and Crane (2013) associate modern slavery with economic-political power in the form of hidden mechanisms. Table 1 shows this relational structure of contemporary slavery in Brazil through the analysis of data from the Brazilian states with the highest incidence of freed workers between 1995 and 2015. The data were evaluated vis-à-vis the Municipal Human Development Index (MHDI) and the number/percentage of

workers from each state who declared their race or color: white, black, brown, indigenous and yellow. The MHDl measures: education – literacy and school enrolment rates; lifespan and life expectancy at birth; and income per capita in relation to GDP. The use of the MHDl aims to provide greater precision and strength to the localized data from each state. The MHDl is considered high above 0.700 and low between the range of 0.500 and 0.599.

Table 3 - Operations from GEFM/MTE, MHDl and Data on Race or Color

States	HDMI General	HDMI Income	HDMI Education	Percentage and Number of individuals by race or color					N. of operations	Freed workers 1999 to 2015
				White	Black	Brown	Indigenous	Yellow		
Brazil Av.	0.727	0.739	0.637	45%	9%	45%	0.0001%	0.01%	1798	50660
MA	0.639	0.612	0.562	1064371	241966	3862395	2394	7187	145	3227
PA	0.646	0.646	0.528	1558645	616683	5915825	87548	14269	399	12523
BA	0.660	0.663	0.555	3004647	3043122	9059812	91482	21272	82	3105
AC	0.663	0.671	0.559	172219	62190	537108	32938	1927	24	196
PE	0.673	0.673	0.574	3044387	766157	5488300	39138	21512	22	726
AM	0.674	0.677	0.561	785697	165994	2896635	96326	7808	29	439
CE	0.682	0.651	0.615	2530016	364692	5979370	29576	19870	19	535
RO	0.690	0.712	0.577	557390	143189	1061556	7293	3513	49	896
TO	0.699	0.690	0.624	353312	142596	1018409	761	4307	120	2938
MT	0.725	0.732	0.635	1086843	269300	1898680	7882	11384	232	5533
MS	0.729	0.740	0.629	1203191	135645	1286687	12371	21208	70	2578
MG	0.731	0.730	0.638	8825684	2217569	9787525	47955	21157	173	4558
GO	0.735	0.742	0.646	2593851	518128	3470649	8589	39334	132	3790
RS	0.746	0.769	0.642	9021918	626170	1553608	48850	14142	23	302
PR	0.749	0.757	0.668	7613046	380200	3049544	15361	128361	73	1123
RJ	0.761	0.782	0.675	7541131	2525723	6435387	28020	47488	39	1143
SC	0.774	0.773	0.697	5830697	139727	845523	10750	12181	64	856
SP	0.783	0.789	0.719	27399505	3122843	13329148	103058	540755	83	1529
PI	0,646	0,635	0,547	692896	329844	2180547	3378	-	41	863
AL	0,631	0,641	0,52	901696	296366	2131168	9439	6292	8	799

Source: Authors, elaborated using MTE (2016a) and PNUD/IPEA/FJP (2016).

Three questions emerge from the data presented. The first concerns the declaration of race and color in each state in relation to the number of workers rescued in the operations conducted by the MTE. Around 80% of the population in Pará do not declare themselves white, the state presenting the highest number of freed workers between 1999 and 2015 (12,523). The majority of the population in the states of Mato Grosso, Minas Gerais, Goiás, Maranhão, Bahia, Tocantins and Mato Grosso do Sul also do not declare themselves white. The data thus indicate a relation between this variable and the practice of modern slavery.

Secondly, corroborating the data of Bales (2004, 2002), there seems to be an affinity between low indices of MHDl General, Income and Education (PNUD/IPEA/FJP, 2016) and the number of workers freed from 1999 to 2015 (MPT; OIT, 2017). This is

deduced from the fact that the data show a coherent relation with the results of the number of workers freed. The states with a lower MDGI General, Income and Education – Maranhão, Pará, Bahia, Tocantins, Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul (PNUD/IPEA/FJP, 2016) – are those with a high number of rescues (MPT; OIT, 2017).

The third question concerns an opposite situation observed in the literature (Bales 2004) where the states of Minas Gerais, Goiás, Paraná, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo present the highest levels of MHDl General and Income, but the number of workers freed by GEFM/MTE is also high. The high levels of MHDl, representing favorable socioeconomic conditions, should reduce the incidence of slave workers, yet this was not verified by the data. Only the MHDl Education of these states presents levels below the national average. Three possible explanations exist for this apparent contradiction: the first is the fact that the information on the number of rescued workers is incomplete, since the information system had yet to become fully effective. Hence fewer denunciations may exist in those states with a more precarious information system than the states of Minas Gerais, Goiás, Paraná, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Another explanation is based on the difficulty of conducting inspections compared to the number of denunciations, which reflects the inconsistency in the figures obtained for slavery-like work in regions lacking adequate infrastructure, such as the Brazilian North and Northeast. A third possible explanation may be provided perhaps by the Gini index, which shows the conditions of inequality in these states and includes, in the analysis, the condition of vulnerability to which the lured workers are subjected. In sum, the assumption here is that the connection between the higher MDHI and modern slavery exists, but it should be remembered that this association is more complex than it seems and additional quantitative and qualitative studies are required for revealing further researches (DATTA; BALES, 2014; CRANE, 2013).

Figure 1 - Intensity of colors and measures showing location (municipality) of rescue, origin and residence of enslaved workers



Source: Digital Observatory of Slave Labor in Brazil – Smartlab of Decent Work MPT (2017).

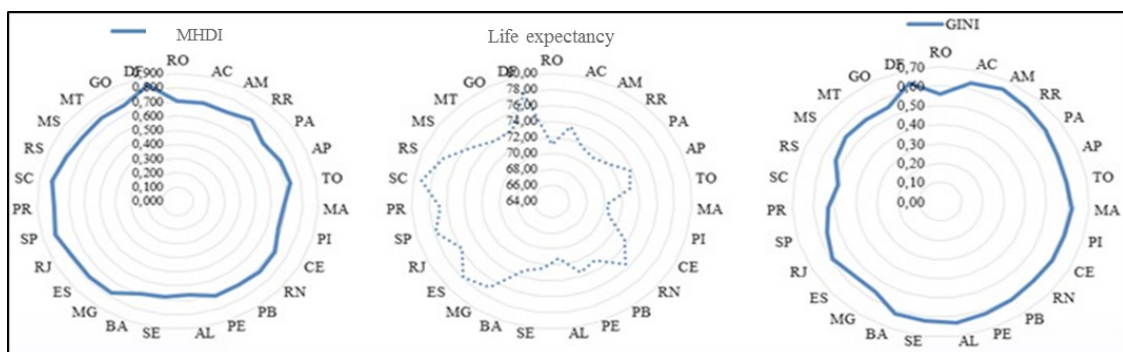
When data on the place of origin and residential status of the enslaved workers is observed, this configuration is confirmed. Figure 1 shows, from left to right, the municipalities where workers were rescued and their origin and residence.

The heat map in Figure 1 dynamically represents, in color, the levels of intensity of the occurrence of slavery-like work in Brazil (DIGITAL OBSERVATORY, 2017). The variation

between cold and warm colors shows where there is a concentration of rescued workers their origin and their declared residence. From left to right, Figure 1 shows the highest concentration of rescued workers in the Northern region, followed by the Northeastern and Center Midwestern regions. A lower volume is evident in the South and Southeast compared to the North and Center West. In terms of origin, warm colors are more prevalent in many of the regions with lower intensity in the South, Southeast and Center West. As for residences declared by the workers rescued by GEFM/MTE, warm colors occur more in the Northern region, followed by the Northeast, Center West, Southeast and South. Since the activity with the highest incidence of slave labor is cattle farming and agriculture, it seems that the region on the fringe of Amazonia is a fertile area for luring workers into slave labor and for the re-occurrence of the practice. Vulnerability is characterized by the gap between the availability of material resources and the person's access to the structure of social opportunities (ABRAMOVAY, 2002; MOSER, 1998). This difference can result in disadvantages both for the worker's performance and for the risk of his or her social mobility⁶ (RODRIGUEZ-VIGNOLI, 2001).

In the case of modern slavery, it can be observed that social (im)mobility is a direct result of the social conditions of vulnerability to which the potential victims are subjected and, consequently, could also be a predictor of re-occurrence in the dynamic of the game of slavery. The panorama of vulnerability is shown in Figure 2, based on three graphs produced from data taken from the Atlas of the Human Development (PNUD/IPEA/FJP, 2016). The first graph illustrates the MHDI General, the second shows the differences in life expectancy and the third indicates the Gini index for each state.

Figure 2 - Panorama of vulnerability in Brazil in the regions with the highest incidence of modern slavery



Source: Authors, adapted from the Atlas of Human Development (PNUD/IPEA/FJP, 2016).

The states with the highest indices of vulnerability are Maranhão, Alagoas, Piauí, Acre, Paraíba, Pará, Tocantins, Ceará, Bahia, Pernambuco and Rio Grande do Norte. These states are those with the worst conditions of health, access to education, child mortality and family structure (MHDI General), the lowest life expectancy at birth and the highest levels of social inequality (PNUD/IPEA/FJP, 2016). It is important to recall that the Gini coefficient

6. This relates to the capacity for socioeconomic change through access to resources associated with knowledge.

registers the differences between social classes, with these states presenting almost the same value. The highest indices of vulnerability also coincide with the lowest municipal human development indices shown in Table 1.

Still in relation to the sociodemographic context, it is important to point out that vulnerability can also be characterized by indicators for race and color, gender and schooling. Based on cultural symbolic constructs (BOURDIEU, 1990), these characteristics may refer to and constitute a set of historically constructed beliefs that establish a consecrated status in relations of dependency and work. The data on freed workers between 2003 and 2017 was unavailable in the previous database which shows operations undertaken from 1999 to 2015. The data also indicate that 48% of the individuals freed from slavery declared themselves *mulato*, *caboclo*, *cafuzo*, *mameluco*⁷ or mixed black with a parent of another color or race. 13.62% declared themselves black. Just 32% declared themselves white (MPT; OIT, 2017). The demographic data from the latest IBGE Census (IBGE, 2016) show that 54.9% of Brazilians declared themselves black or brown (46.7% as brown and 8.2% as black) and 44.2% declared themselves white. Therefore, compared to the last Census (2010), an increase was observable in the number of individuals declaring themselves black or brown. Hypothetically, this increase may be associated with a higher birth rate among the black and brown population, or greater individual self-recognition. Rescued white individuals comprise 32% of the total, while the data is worse for black workers, who comprise 14% of those rescued. Brown people account for 46.7% of the general population and 48% of those rescued, a higher equivalence than the case of black individuals who represent 8.2% of the population and 13.62% of those rescued.

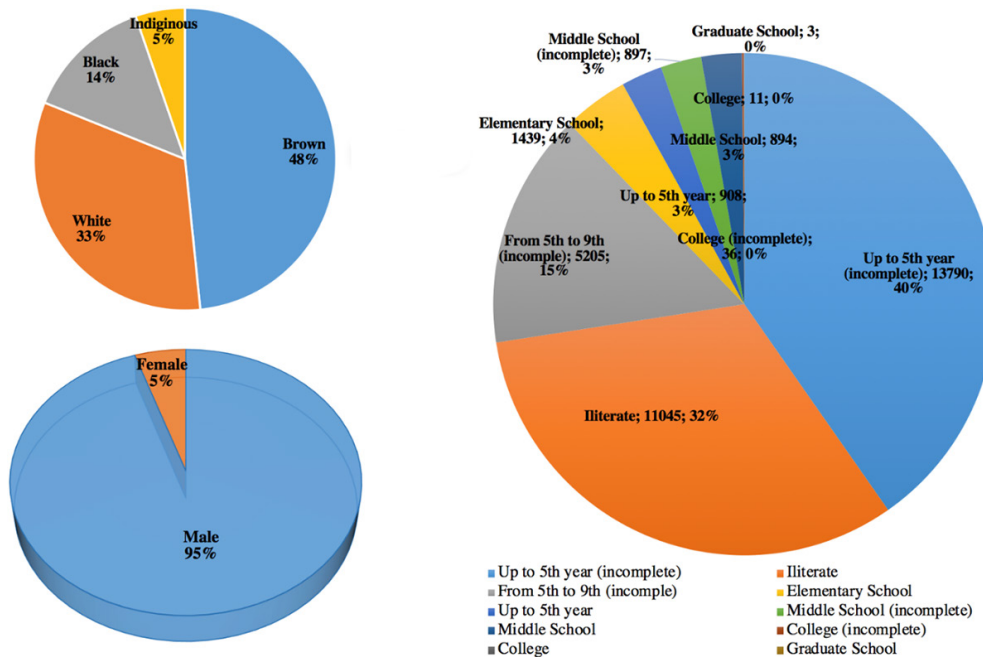
However, the new database confirms that slave labor in Brazil has a definite race/color identity, as can be seen in Figure 3.

In terms of the level of schooling of the freed workers, 40.29% are illiterate, 32.27% have not completed the fifth year of primary education. The data point to a strong indication of structural inertia reproducing individuals with very few years of study. The number of illiterate workers combined with those who completed up to five years of basic education totals 72.56%, which represents 24,835 individuals freed from slave labor in Brazil between 2003 and 2017. In this case, Figure 3 measures the interaction between race, color, gender and schooling in relation to predictor variables of slave labor. In relation to gender, around 95% are men and 5% women. Compiling and combining this data with the indices presented previously, it is possible to observe that slavery practice in Brazil shows a definitive identity based on these variables. It is important to note that men are associated with rural work and women are more associated with activities related to sexual purposes. Within this panorama, it should be emphasized that as a 'general rule,' enslaved workers present a profile of vulnerability associated with their socioeconomic condition and, because of a *habitus* consolidated by the different fields. This situation remains unchanged as long as there are no changes in this profile. In this sense, progress has been slow, despite all the efforts of actors in this field. The question of race/color does not appear in isolation since, historically speaking, in Brazil this variable has been connected to the person's sociocultural condition (MARTINS, 2008; FIGUEIRA, 2008). Bourdieu (1990, p. 136) argues that "the structure of the field is a state of the power relations among the agents or institutions

7. Brazilian terms for people of mixed ethnic origin (white, black and/or indigenous).

engaged in the struggle". In the configuration assumed by modern slavery, this structure is also composed by this same profile, perpetuated in Brazilian society as one of the 'strategies' underlying the dynamic of the field of power. One example of this is perhaps the case of the maintenance of the state and the position of the actors: the consolidated position of the slave.

Figure 3 - Profile of workers rescued from slave labor between 2003 and 2017 by race/color, gender and level of schooling.



Source: Digital Observatory of Slave Labor in Brazil – Smartlab of Decent Work (2017).

In a survey conducted by ILO in 2011, in conjunction with GEFM/MTE, interviews made with 121 rescued workers were systemized.⁸ An underlying factor in the results was the question of social (im)mobility when the level of schooling of freed workers was compared to their parents'. Although 63% of rescued workers were illiterate or functionally illiterate, the percentage of parents who were in the same situation was higher. The data appears to show an improvement in access to formal education, indicated in the decline in the number of illiterate and functionally illiterate individuals to 18% and 45% respectively. However, even with an improvement in schooling, no social mobility occurred for these workers, demonstrating that this social structure may be sustaining contemporary slavery (FIGUEIRA, 2008). In summary, all the indications are that slave labor, in its modern form, presents a structure characterized by preferably luring black/brown individuals with low level of schooling, living in regions and states with low levels of development in health, education and income. The index of vulnerability can explain the higher probability of human

8. The ILO data was collected through interviews with workers freed in 2011 via the activities of the MTE's GEFM (Special Mobile Inspection Group).

beings experiencing the eminence of becoming the targets of 'recruiters' who lure them into degrading work that ends up enslaving them.

The ILO study (OIT, 2011) includes an important datum that has not been considered in the MTE's surveys, namely re-occurrence. The result shows that among the 121 interviewees, 59% had already been a victim of slavery in the past. This corroborates the reduced social mobility of individuals with low levels of education and income, principally for those declaring themselves black or brown.

On the other hand, the companies or organizations that promote the activities also constitute the field and reveal a "specific capital accumulated in past struggles", in the words of Bourdieu (1990, p. 136). Data from the MTE (2016a) and MPT (2017) ranked the economic activities that most reduce workers to a condition similar to modern slaves. The sectors showing the highest percentages in terms of the use of rural slave labor is beef cattle farming, rice cultivation, alcohol production, sugarcane cultivation, raw sugar production and logging in native forests. Combined, these activities correspond to 75% of the labor being exploited in conditions of analogous to modern slavery (DIGITAL OBSERVATORY, 2017). It is important to point out, however, that cattle farming and agriculture represent the economic activities with the highest number of inspections and rescues in the combatting of slave labor in Brazil and show the highest number of denunciations. Data also indicate that the municipalities with the highest number of inspections were São Feliz do Xingu-Pará, Açailândia-Maranhão, Marabá-Pará, Paracatu-Minas Gerais and Rondon do Pará-Pará. The municipalities with the highest number of rescues were Confresa-Mato Grosso, Ulianópolis-Pará, Brasilândia-Mato Grosso do Sul, Campos dos Goytacazes-Rio de Janeiro and São Desidério-Bahia. Data from the ILO (OIT, 2011) show that of ten farms inspected in the states of Pará, Mato Grosso, Bahia and Goiás, 44% worked in activities linked to cattle farming, 17% coffee, cotton and soybean, 14% sugarcane, 19% tomato and 5% rice. The activities are diversified in regions like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro where there are incidences of slavery-like labor in civil construction, the clothing industry and the manufacture of accessories. These municipalities are considered geographically isolated, conferring a degree of invisibility to the practice while at the same time hindering the access of the operations developed by the GEFM/MTE. The data on rescued workers likewise show evidence of human trafficking, especially when the origin of the enslaved workers is known to differ from the state where they were rescued.

Bribing, trading of influence to the benefit of third-parties and frauds may precede the slave labor practices themselves. In an interview, the auditor of GEFM/MTE (2011)⁹ from Campinas said: "[...] during the inspection of the lodgings it was observed that the workers had been lured in their town of origin, which is there [far away] in Piauí. They were transported in clandestine passenger vehicles, 220 reais for each one". The 'gato' ['cat'], the person who recruits and lures the workers, organizes and hires the clandestine transport, generally avoids federal highways and tries to 'buy' the inspectors to avoid the vehicle without a safety certificate from being impounded. In the case cited, the document required by the MTE for the transportation of workers, the worker transportation certificate, did not exist.

9. Verbal information provided during an interview with the Auditor of the Ministry of Labor and Employment (MTE), June 30th 2011.

Data from the NGO Transparency International (2016) indicate that Brazil is perceived to suffer from high levels of corruption, occupying the 79th place from 176. From a range of 0 to 100 points, the country received just 40, showing a worsening trend from 2012 to 2015. According to the Coordinator of the NGO *Repórter Brasil*, attempts were made to corrupt the MTE-GEFM auditors at the Camargo Corrêa work site at the Jirau Hydroelectric Dam in Rondônia: “[...] even the fiscal auditor of Rondônia reports that a beam was about to fall on the head of five workers, but he was unable to suspend the work automatically. The auditor received a phone call from the manager of Camargo Corrêa: ‘have you told your boss that you’re going to stop the work here?’”.¹⁰

Attempts are made to undermine the independence of GEFM/MTE’s work by recourse to a hierarchical structure, linked to a political structure that has connections to companies such as Camargo Corrêa and Odebrecht. The attempt to impede the suspension of the work was justified by the delay in meeting the schedule. The cost of this interference is the risk of a serious accident, capable of taking a worker’s life. Another situation was described as follows: “[...] we were going to call IBAMA to come here, but there’s no way IBAMA can be called here, it’s no good because news of the operation leaks, it leaks the day before”.¹¹ In this specific case, there was a structure linking IBAMA (Brazilian Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources) to the company targeted by the MTE’s inspections. The communication of this structure is established before the inspecting team arrives at the farm or the construction site. This structure may be the result of corruption and influence peddling.

Assuming the probable occurrence of modern slavery along with factors such as poverty, vulnerability, race/color and very low levels of education can form a starting point for deepening the discussion. Management systems work to promote a dynamic of modern slavery, with responsibility falling on the private sector, civil society and public authorities to elaborate public policies articulated with the institutional structure.

5. DISCUSSION OF THE THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

The qualitative results of the research, combined with the panorama presented and explored in more depth in the previous section, led us to construct five central propositions that are discussed here with the additional support of four real cases collected from the databases of the Ministry of Labor and Employment (MTE) in 2016. These propositions are founded on the theoretical categories (Table 4) proposed in the study and presented in summarized fashion in the table below.

10. Verbal information from the Coordinator of the NGO *Repórter Brasil*, on August 17th 2014 at the head office of the ILO in Brasília.

11. Verbal information from the Coordinator of the NGO *Repórter Brasil*, on August 11th 2014 at the head office of the NGO *Repórter Brasil*.

Table 4 - Theoretical categories of analysis

Categories of analysis	Summary of the research	Predictors of modern slavery
Socio-economic context	<p>The global population has tripled over the last 50 years thanks to rural migration to the cities in Brazil and the rest of the world, intensifying the supply of people seeking work and income, and lowering wages in rural areas and urban centers. The urbanization rate in the 1960s was 57% in the Southeast region, reaching more than 92% in 2010. The states of Maranhão, Piauí and Pará present the lowest rates of urbanization in the country: 59%, 67% and 70%.</p> <p>Production chains seek to lower production costs through the reduction of labor costs, without investing in decent working conditions.</p> <p>Formation and organization of cheap labor with mechanisms of substitution, cheap production costs and cheap sales prices – formed an institutionalized system combined simultaneously with low remuneration: outsourcing. Denunciation to CADE for unfair pricing in the cattle farming chain.</p>	Population density
	<p>School attendance, lack of employment and income, as well as the lack of resources for health are related to the incidence of slave labor in Brazil. Brazilian slaves tend to originate from states with the country's lowest MHDI indices.</p>	MHDI
	<p>The state of poverty places individuals in direct line of fire with the luring mechanisms used by 'gatos.' Begging, hunger, malnutrition, earthquakes and migration can intensify the vulnerability of Brazilian and foreign workers. Certain vulnerable regions (N and NE) coincide with slave labor.</p>	Vulnerability
Geographic context	<p>[...] "I'm a Northeasterner, I was born in a small town. There it is rare to find good job opportunities. So it was normal to see family and friends leave for other states in search of opportunities. In 2011 it was my turn to head south. A man appeared in my town to recruit people, it was a project for a leading construction firm, he said, good work, good wages, and travel costs, accommodation and meals were covered. I needed [the work] and accepted it. After two days in a coach, I arrived in São Paulo. And there the conversation changed. [...] I thought about giving up and returning home, but I had no money for the ticket and was obliged to stay" (MTE, 2016b). [...] "Pedro, 13 years old, lost count of the number of times he felt cold, soaked by the Amazonian storms, underneath the yellow tarpaulin tent that served as home during the week. Before dawn he would gulp down black coffee thickened with manioc flour, grab the 14 kilo chainsaw and begin work transforming the Amazonian forest around him..." (OIT, 2007, p. 28)</p>	Geographic isolation
	<p>[...] "I didn't have an easy life. At 14 I ran away from home and my violent stepfather. Since then I've worked hard, I always wanted to improve. That's why I didn't think twice when a Brazilian appeared in La Paz. [...] I had two options, pay the R\$450 for the trip or work for him for a year for no money. Without any option, I submitted [to the latter]. I learnt to sew. I worked every day from 7 in the morning to 11 at night" (MTE, 2016c). CASE D [...] "immigration is extremely high. We do not know how many Paraguayans, Bolivians and Peruvians have already entered. Even Haitians, they caught 200 Haitians trying to cross the border to work in the construction projects for the Olympics" (ILO COORDINATOR, 2013, verbal information). [...] "we're about to host two major events in Brazil, the World Cup and the Olympic Games, which are already attracting [workers], including... coming from there in Mato Grosso, and there are already reports of people arriving here in Brazil from outside the country, and even migrating internally to work in these construction projects" (ILO COORDINATOR, 2013).</p>	Human trafficking

Cultural context	[...] “there is a lot of resistance in the Brazilian congress, a lot of resistance in various sectors of Brazilian society, to deepening affirmative action policies, but clearly, a dividing line needs to be drawn between public policies and State and civil society actions against slavery. It needs to be recognized that slaves in Brazil are mostly black. Denying this fact is to fly in the face of reality” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011). Verbal information [...] “look, we cannot accept that a load of blacks and Africans board an overcrowded boat to try to reach Sicily and there the boat sinks and they drown, so it’s a human rights issue, what we have to do to solve the problem is close the border” (COORDINATOR OF REPÓRTER BRASIL, 2014).	Race and color
Regulatory context	[...] “in an operation in Goiás, GEFM released 128 workers in two farms. The coordinator recounts that the inspection met with resistance despite the presence of the Federal Police. The farm managers did not reply to the questions, ignored them and addressed them aggressively. They mocked the inspection. Two civil police officers went to the location and even started interfering in the inspection work until they were removed by the team from the Federal Police. The mobile group confirms that the ‘gato’ has two brothers in the Civil Police (COSTA, 2010, p.132).	Corruption and inspection

Source: Elaboration by the authors.

Proposition 1 – Socioeconomic context: *contexts of high vulnerability such as unemployment, chronic poverty and low schooling stimulate the adoption of slave labor by some business ventures.*

For Crane (2013), the hidden mechanism exploits vulnerable inert niches that become active due to the coordinated action of informal business ventures. The hidden mechanism refers to the operational logic of inert and vulnerable population niches that become active due to the coordinated action of informal ventures which use slave labor. These inert niches are characterized by the state of vulnerability and are associated with color/race in diverse regions of Brazil: in effect, they are black and brown. The hidden mechanisms are also associated with unsustainable management practices that the slavery-based network does not seem to deem necessary to explain or even defend when they reduce human beings to the condition of modern slaves.

The characteristics of slave labor are revealed in the degrading work conditions such as the lack of bathrooms, inadequate meals, exhausting working hours and unsafe work environments. Sugarcane harvesting is known to be arduous work that causes various health problems. Extreme physical and psychological violence and the phenomenon of poverty need to be understood in more depth. This is what Crane (2013) found in his study of the independent variables – poverty, vulnerability and education – since they need to undergo rigorous statistical testing in order for us to apprehend their correlation in any depth. The Municipal Human Development Index (MHDI) presents an average level in the states of Maranhão, Tocantins, Pará and Bahia, and a high level in the states of Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul. However, the data show that states like Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Santa Catarina and Paraná present a higher number of workers freed from 1995 to 2016 compared, for example, to the state of Piauí (PNUD/IPEA/FJP, 2016). Theoretically these states should present a lower number of enslaved workers due to their higher level of MHDI. Comparing, for example, the states of Piauí and Alagoas, both present a MHDI below these higher wealth-generating states, but also present a lower number of freed workers. The incidence of Piauí and Alagoas is higher in relation to workers born and rescued from slave labor in these states. Data show that the number of operations from 1995 to 2016 was

higher in Pará, Mato Grosso and Minas Gerais. It seems that MHDl may be another condition for slave labor, but a double effect can be observed, which is similar to the one observed in relation to poverty (TONNEAU; AQUINO; TEIXEIRA, 2005). However, geographic data contained in the latter study show that where poverty exists, people are born in a state of vulnerability, later migrating to engage in work analogous to slavery (TONNEAU; AQUINO; TEIXEIRA, 2005).

Proposition 2 – Geographic context: *The geographic isolation of the activity, combined with the psychological, political and physical isolation of the workers, stimulates the adoption of slave labor by some business ventures.*

The incidence of freed workers and cities of birth of rescued workers is high in the states of Maranhão, Tocantins, Pará and Bahia, as well as Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul where the average percentage of the black population is 8.3% and the brown population 60.9% (MTE, 2016; PNUD/IPEA/FJP, 2016). In relation to isolation, data from IBGE (2016) reveal that the states of Maranhão, Piauí and Pará present the country's lowest urbanization rates: 59%, 67% and 70%, respectively, where the black and brown population show higher rates of migration in search of employment in large cities. Slave labor shifted from rural areas to the city due to the Brazilian population explosion and the mechanization of agriculture: [...] "the number of inspections of slave labor in urban operations has been growing in large-scale engineering projects and textile workshops" (COORDINATOR FROM THE NGO REPÓRTER BRASIL, 2014).

The Brazilian regions with the highest incidence of vulnerable workers are the frontier regions – the North and Northeast. Brazil takes in people coming from vulnerable situations in countries neighboring its northern region such as the French Guiana, Suriname, Guyana, Venezuela and Colombia, as well as Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia to the west, and Argentina and Uruguay to the south (ABRAMOVAY, 2002; MOSER, 1998; RODRÍGUEZ-VIGNOLI, 2001). Haiti has no border with Brazil, but the entry of Haitians into Brazil is explained by the 2010 earthquake, as well as the population's poverty and the friendly relation between the countries. The supply of vulnerable immigrants may form part of human trafficking, which lures people into economic or sexual exploitation. For example, Haitian workers were rescued from a construction site in Minas Gerais and another construction site for the *Minha Casa Minha Vida* housing program in Mato Grosso. The state of vulnerability also helps explain the problems some farmers face in obtaining agricultural loans (IBGE, 2016). It is extremely difficult for families living under the impacts of vulnerability to prove their income and capacity to pay as a requirement for obtaining these loans. The voluntary acceptance of a dangerous and undignified job appears in diverse testimonies from rescued workers and, it seems, may be associated with the vulnerable state of the individual concerned (LE BRETON, 2002; MTE, 2016).

Proposition 3 – Sociocultural and sociodemographic context: *Inequality naturalizes coercive work relations, which stimulates the adoption of slave labor by some business ventures.*

Data show that the Brazilian culture of acceptance is linked to the repertoire of *coronelista* traditions that implanted arduous and oppressive work routines over time (LE BRETON, 2002). The interaction of this repertoire with the spirit of honor of certain workers shows that modern slavery can be explained by the commitment of enslaved but honest wor-

kers to pay unlawful debts: “[...] I’m a Northeasterner and I grew up listening to my father, who taught me to have the honor of paying for my debts and I’m going to pay for this debt no matter what”. The habitus is consolidated through the permanent and continuous sociocultural and socioeconomic conditions that maintain contemporary slavery as an ‘acceptable’ practice in Brazilian society. These conditions are reproduced with the tacit agreement of all the actors who possess consolidated positions: companies, the local community, public authorities, institutions and the workers themselves. The oppressor culture shows a strong racial dimension insofar as it preferentially oppresses black and brown individuals, who, being more vulnerable, tend to assimilate oppressive labor practices as a natural fact of the workplace.

The social space is a product of the group’s historical evolution and guides social practice. Sociocultural conditions cannot be seen merely as a static characteristic of a vulnerable social group of black and brown workers. They are the result of the permanent actions of a regulatory context that promotes public policies (which are still deficient) to reduce the conditions of vulnerability of this group. They are also articulated with the action of the companies and economic groups with their interests. Furthermore, they are similarly articulated with a set of beliefs, symbols and meanings that the local community shares. The fact that color/race and gender are associated with the profile of the enslaved worker is considered a correlated element, since the stereotypes are socially constructed, not biologically. In this sense, the *habitus* in the symbolic field of slavery in Brazil articulates the biological characteristic of black/brown with a social condition of vulnerability. And this consequently propels modern slavery.

Proposition 4 – Regulatory Context: *The inefficiency of the regulatory context does not impose sanctions on the exploitation of labor in conditions analogous to slavery, which encourages the adoption of slave labor by some business ventures.*

In prosecutions, the MTE, MPT and justice system argue that companies with more economic power, even when they establish a contract with their suppliers stipulating ‘non-responsibility’ for the workers under the latter’s care, can be held jointly responsible if slave labor occurs. The TST (Superior Labor Court) of the state of São Paulo has sentenced companies for what it calls subsidiary responsibility. The prosecution argument shows that large retailers or stores introduce a fashion item designed by a professional stylist and at the end of the productive chain the outsourced and subcontracted workshops are obliged to produce the same model. This is what happened with the company Riachelo: “[...] the target, per hour, was to place elastic in 500 trousers or sew 300 pockets. [...] [workers] avoided drinking water to reduce the trips to the bathroom. Everything was controlled by the floor manager through the use of record cards. The former worker developed Carpal Tunnel Syndrome, which causes aches and swellings in the arms” (CAMPOS; ARANHA 2016, p. 2). The degrading conditions include the physical effort to sew without ever pausing to rest since the targets were inhumane, while meals had to be eaten at speed. Physical violence is characterized here through excessive work leading to Carpal Tunnel Syndrome. The time cards can be considered a hidden mechanism of degrading work that institutionalizes control and curbs the freedom of the workers who are required to meet inhumane targets. According to Campos and Aranha (2016), the legal action against Guararapes Confecções – a clothing factory from the Riachuelo Group – resulted in the requirement to pay a lifetime

pension to the seamstress injured because of the work activities performed for the company. The company had decided to utilize a cost reduction strategy via outsourcing from 2013 and, because of the regulatory inefficiency of the public authorities in the inspection of subcontractors, the company failed to apply basic rules of the Consolidation of Labor Laws (*Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho* - CLT). According to Campos and Aranha (2016, p. 2), due to an agreement with 40 clauses that the company signed with the Ministry of Labor and Employment, the factory paid fines and had problems maintaining its competitiveness due to the reformulation of its costs.

6. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The aim of this article has been to identify the associations between the social conditions of vulnerability and the racial profile of contemporary slavery. Based on the results obtained in the research, the proposal of this study was to incorporate the race and color variable into the theoretical model conceptualized by Bales (2002; 2009), Crane (2013) and Datta and Bales (2013; 2014) for its application in Brazil, proposing secondary data and primary sociodemographic and vulnerability indicators as predictors of modern slavery in the Brazilian context .

The sociodemographic data is redefined as sociocultural data when it becomes a component of social vulnerability. The declaration of race/color and gender are considered sociocultural elements of vulnerability due to their historical construction. In this sense, race/color and gender may be strong conditions for the cyclical and permanent reproduction of modern slavery due to the social representation that they possess in the context. The explanatory model of contemporary slavery could be made more robust with the incorporation of these elements as components of sociocultural vulnerability.

According to the data presented, modern slavery in Brazil has a color. A clear relation exists between the black and brown population and slavery practices. Triangulation of the data from the 2010 IBGE Census with the data on enslaved workers released in Brazil by the MPT and MTE indicate an increase in black or brown individuals rescued in production chains in Brazil. Brown workers represent a higher percentage of people rescued from slave-like labor in comparison to black workers. Compared with the last Census in 2010, there was an increase in individuals declaring themselves black and brown. Hypothetically, this increase may be associated with higher birth rates among black and brown people, or greater individual self-recognition.

It seems that race/color can be a predictor variable for the probability of slavery occurring in Brazil, due to a historically constructed and socially reproduced context. The race/color variable cannot be considered a determining factor for the existence of modern slavery, but without doubt it is a strong condition. The number of black and brown workers rescued in diverse regions of Brazil indicates a preponderance of the black population among those subjected to the condition of slaves. Despite presenting strong indications in this direction, future quantitative research and rigorous statistical tests are necessary for the race, poverty, MHD, vulnerability and education variables in order to better understand, for example, the moderating effect of these conditions and the persistence of slave labor.

In terms of the empirical results, other implications and important findings were systemized. Firstly, it was possible to observe that contemporary slave labor coexists with the economically representative productive chains in Brazil and, indeed, with the signatory companies of InPACTO. The coexistence is consolidated in a relatively invisible organization run by 'gatos' or contractors who, in some cases, are themselves 'former slaves.' This difficult to perceive organization emerges in the rural environment of agribusiness and in the urban environment, particularly in civil construction and the textile industry (COSTA, 2010; MTE, 2012; 2016). These institutional arrangements are made possible by a context that in some form enables this articulation. For example, the research revealed that routines are developed and functions are delimited through actors and their interlinked structures, in which each actor occupies a consolidated position, combining interests, resources and strategies to maintain the structure (*habitus*) and the game. Besides the direct actors ('gato,' farm owner, cook, hotel owner, workers), the indirect actors also sustain this dynamic. The relation of dependency between workers and slave organizations completes the picture, given that it is strongly influenced by hidden mechanisms related to extreme violence and murders involving bosses, 'gatos,' workers and other suppliers, taking advantage of the sociocultural and economic-political conditions of structural inertia (CRANE, 2013, DATTA; BALES, 2014).

From the survey, it can also be observed that a significant lacuna exists in the Brazilian legal framework, derived from a definition of the concept that does not expressly recognize forced or compulsory labor as modern slave labor. The existence of this lacuna in an environment with a high possibility of corruption sets the terrain for the development of an ambiguous political struggle in which some institutions can use the very legal and regulatory frameworks to promote the practice of slavery. This can be observed in the definition of the crime and in the existing institutional arrangements. In turn, this configuration points to one of the implications of the study, namely its exposure of the maneuvers adopted by certain companies or farmers in response to the GEFM inspections through lawyers aware of the impact of the 'dirty list' and, very often, ready with an appeal to submit to the courts. A defense mechanism has developed to avoid punishment involving restrictions on loans intended for agribusiness.

In the Brazilian context, the slave practices in chains of cattle farming, agriculture, civil construction and the textile industry persist concomitantly with the 'responses' to the institutional regulatory pressures, monitored by InPACTO or the 'dirty list,' and to the prices of a competitive market. This response demands that some links in the chain adapt to meet the market and the regulatory environment. Another implication of the study showed that the actors participating in the production chain do not communicate with all the links of the chain, and do not detect or correct the potential slavery practices (GOLD; TRAUTRIMS; TRODD, 2015). There is a need for companies to assume the role of managing the entire production chain, for example, by implementing technology and management of people in a participatory manner, not only by means of audits or certifications. This participatory activity can be developed with the cooperation of interested NGOs and institutions, such as InPACTO, principally in the first links of the chain, in order to promote the eradication of contemporary slave labor.

The study's limitations are associated with the scant attention paid by some companies to the issue of slave labor in production chains. Along these lines, over the course

of the study a strong sense of distrust and self-protective responses were perceived, which limited the number of interviews that could be conducted, especially with companies. However, participation in seminars and presentations held by InPACTO in São Paulo and Brasília, along with a visit to the ILO head office in Brasília, was used as a strategy to collect primary data and triangulate this material with the secondary data.

The path for future research involves a better understanding of ‘whether’ and ‘how’ institutional deformity can hinder the instruments used to combat slave labor in Brazil. Consequently, a research agenda is proposed that emphasizes the unsustainability of aspects of the globalization of production and consumption. A research agenda is also proposed, that prioritizes modern slave labor as a central rather than peripheral problem, investigating the role of the MTE, the MPT and the Federal Attorney General (AGU), alongside NGOs and ILO. It is necessary to rigorously investigate the independent variables such as race/color, poverty and vulnerability associated with the incidence of slave labor in certain regions. In addition, an opportunity is created to better comprehend how the creation of institutions can contribute to the discussion of alternatives and the proposal of solutions to problems.

The results point to the need to examine, in more depth, how economically representative supply-chain companies can implement the audits and routines of international certification practices so as to reach the invisible organizations formed and maintained by ‘gatos’ or contractors. Another opportunity for future research resides in understanding how organizational capacities are developed to meet institutional demands and, along the same lines, which of these demands are related to the promotion of racial integration in the management of diversity. The study also opened up a range of opportunities to the activities of NGOs, companies and the public authorities in the formulation of public policies to combat slave labor – its articulations, interests, hidden mechanisms and interferences. Such approaches need to problematize the racial dimension of slave labor in the country’s socio-demographic and economic composition, reflecting its historically constructed trajectory. By recognizing that the Brazilian population has a historical legacy, still present in the forms of treating the racial profile in organizations and in information on slave labor, such an initiative would help make public and private actions more effective. Ignoring this perspective, on the contrary, means perpetuating certain conditions of vulnerability and colluding with the persistence of an inhumane organizational practice.

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WORLD MODELS AS ORGANIZATIONAL MODELS: GLOBAL FRAMING AND TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVISM IN THE BRAZILIAN BLACK MOVEMENT

Modelos de mundo como modelos de organização: *framing* global e ativismo transnacional no movimento negro brasileiro

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to explore the appropriation that the Brazilian black movement makes of diasporic content. Throughout history the black diaspora has produced different interpretations of what it means to be black, of what racism is, and produced different ways to fight it. Among these visions is the Black Atlantic, which presents itself as a macrostructure capable of influencing the formation of several frames around the world. The frames are interpretative schemes, world views that serve as a guide for the action of social movements, forming microstructures that represent the diagnoses and prognoses developed during their activities and proposals for struggle, as well as in its organization, forms of action, and resource mobilization. The results show that all these dynamics are related to the alignment of black activism to what is called global framing, which is a process of transnational diffusion formed during local adaptation processes.

Keywords: Framing. Race relations. Black movement. Transnational activism.

RESUMO

O objetivo deste artigo é explorar a apropriação que o movimento negro brasileiro faz dos conteúdos diaspóricos. Ao longo da história a diáspora negra produziu diferentes significados do que é ser negro, do que é o racismo e de como combatê-lo. Entre estas visões está o Atlântico Negro que se apresenta como uma macroestrutura capaz de influenciar a formação de diversos *frames* ao redor do mundo. Os *frames* são esquemas interpretativos, visões de mundo que servem de guia para ação dos movimentos sociais, formando microestruturas que representam os diagnósticos e prognósticos desenvolvidos durante suas atividades e propostas de luta, bem como na sua organização, formas de atuação e mobilização de recursos. Os resultados mostram que toda esta dinâmica está relacionada ao alinhamento do ativismo negro ao que se denomina de *framing* global, que é um processo de difusão transnacional formado durante os processos de adaptação local.

Palavras-chave: Framing. Relações raciais. Movimento negro. Ativismo transnacional.

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INTRODUCTION

In order to understand contemporary social movements one must bear in mind the internal and external aspects that constitute collective action (ZALD; ASH, 1966). In Melucci's words (1989) that means that we should not take such action as presented, nor as being the only thing the movement says about itself. That is, a relationship must be established between the macro and microstructural aspects that influence collective action. An important point that permeates the discussion of social movements is the cultural context that influences collective action (WILLIAMS, 2006). In the case of black movements this context corresponds to the diasporic thinking represented by Pan-Africanist and *Négritude* movements reinterpreted by the Black Atlantic thesis (GILROY, 2001), which analyses them as a macrostructural dimension responsible for the articulation and diffusion of content across the different regions of the world. That, in the language of multiculturalism, means the various places of exile for Afro-descendants (HALL, 1999).

The Black Atlantic is a metaphor created by the English sociologist Paul Gilroy (2001) to represent the transnational dynamic that characterises black culture. It is a cosmopolitan approach that aims to go beyond the nationalisms that tend to imprison this culture to the "national territory", disconnecting it from its African roots. In this way, the use of the Atlantic Ocean is shown as a way of displacing the representation of this culture from fixed ground (the land) to moving waters (the sea), and with that, to highlight the fluid character that planetary identities can assume nowadays. In this space of representation, the multiple forms of expression of black culture (in music, literature, religion, politics, and organizational forms) that were taken by the black diaspora to the various places of exile that connect geographically to the Atlantic Ocean and culturally to the Black Atlantic.

Part of this content came to life through the civil rights movement and its organizational innovations that, because of their effectiveness, spread within and outside the United States (MORRIS, 1999). They are transmitted by relational mechanisms (interactions and contacts among activists) and non-relational (documents, manifestoes, and shared projects) that contributed to the formation of a global framing that begins to be appropriated by the Brazilian black movement soon after its reorganization, with the founding of the MNU (Unified Black Movement) in 1978. As Guimarães (2003) observes, this diasporic content is incorporated into the repertoire of the black movement, reflected in the proposals for racial classification and public policies based on race. Considering that this content does not have an inherent meaning, as its meaning is developed by the appropriation that is made by the activists, to understand the content it is necessary to access its microstructural dimension, which is determined by the interpretation that is made of such content.

Thus, when the Brazilian black movement interprets this content, it produces its own version of what racism is in Brazil, and of the best way to fight it. This particular version of content generated in a broader context materialises in cultural texts that will have a specific meaning for activists, the groups that are around them, and for those interested in what the movement has to say about the question of race. The thread that runs through these levels of analysis, which goes from the elements that form the cultural text (the Black Atlantic and its diffusion) to the social practice of the Brazilian black movement (interpretation and mediation), is intertextuality. It helps us to understand how world models become

organization models insofar as the texts produced by the black movement carry elements of other texts produced and diffused transnationally.

With the relationship between text and its context in mind, the objective in this article is to explore the textual dimension of the appropriation that the Brazilian black movement made of the diasporic content in producing its own narrative texts. According to the narrative levels that form the text (PENTLAND, 1999), we have the Black Atlantic as a mechanism which is the generator of a global narrative, that is, macrostructures that provide the elements that influence the tales (accounts) and stories (reports) that are told by and about the black movement, that is, the microstructures that materialise in the narrative texts and represent the diagnoses and prognoses developed by the black movement during its activities and proposals for struggle, as well as in its organization and ways of acting and mobilizing resources. Both are aligned with what is called global framing, which is a process of transnational diffusion generated during the course of local adaptation (TARROW, 2006).

In order to develop these points, the methodology used was the analysis of narratives (RIESSMAN, 1993; NYGREN; BLOM, 2001). Narratives are not only stories about individuals, the social space in which they live, or the society in which they are inserted, but also stories about the intersection of these three elements (LASLETT, 1999). It is these intersections that make narrative analysis a research method that helps us to understand the macro and microdimensions discussed above. The lives narrated cannot be taken as an “element” of the society, because in fact they are the society itself. In fact, the stories about the black movement narrated in this article are based on 38 testimonies granted between 2003 and 2007 by members of the Brazilian black movement for the Oral History program conducted by the Center for Research and Documentation of the Contemporary History of Brazil (CPDOC / FGV-RJ), published in the book compiled by Alberti and Pereira (2007), and also based on the 67 speeches given by activists, intellectuals, and politicians, recorded on shorthand notes at the National Congress, Federal Senate, and Federal Superior Court during the debates on the positive and negative aspects of quota policy and the statute of racial equality carried out between 2007 and 2010.

The article is organized in a narrative structure, and therefore, intertwines stories with theories beginning with a brief historical digression on the trajectory of the Brazilian black movement, highlighting the shifts made in the collective action frames of the movement. It then tells how the process of global framing influenced the pursuit of the internalisation of this content within governments and other actors in civil society. In this process Brazilian activism developed a structure of intra-institutional and party mobilization, which made it possible to construct a diagnosis, prognosis, and resonance aligned with the content spread by black transnationalism within the spheres of power and political decision. In the final part, we discuss how these processes influenced the forms of organization of the Brazilian black movement.

FRAGMENTS OF ORGANIZATIONAL HISTORY AND COLLECTIVE ACTION FRAMES: FROM COLONIAL RESISTANCE TO THE CONTEMPORARY BLACK MOVEMENT

A critical reading of any or all official historiography reveals that the trajectory of many minority social groups tends to be told in an erroneous and/or mean-spirited way

(CHAKRABARTY, 1992). This seems to be the case with the history of black and indigenous minorities in Brazil. Accounts of the laziness of the Indian and the adaptability and docility of the Negro to slave labour perversely hide the nature of the struggles for equality and justice that characterised, for example, the black resistance throughout the centuries.

In the sixteenth century, the first mass flight of forty slaves in the south of Pernambuco, resulting in the formation of the first quilombos (communities organized by fugitive slaves) and reviving the social organization of the ancient African peoples, represents a milestone in the organized black resistance of Brazil. From then on, a series of other resistance movements would take place, such as the Revolt of the Tailors in 1789; the Malê revolt in 1835; the *Balaíada* revolt in 1838, among others, with these last revolts having depended on the decisive participation of the black community engaged in the changes in the power structure of Brazilian society (MUNANGA; GOMES, 2006).

According to Fernandes (1989), until the tardy signing of the *Lei Áurea* ("Golden Law": the law that decreed the end of slavery in the country in 1888), black resistance was engaged in the struggle for the abolition of slavery in Brazil. However, even after 1888, because of the deplorable social conditions of the independently emerging black community, unprepared to compete with white immigrants, the struggle for abolition continued with the understanding that there was a historical debt to the black community. Thus, the common thread of the struggles that have followed has been the collection of this debt motivating other movements of resistance throughout the republic. Among these are: the *Revolta da Chibata* (Revolt of the Lash) in 1910 (CARVALHO, 1995); the creation of associations, guilds, and clubs for blacks between the years 1910-1920 (DOMINGUES, 2007); the *Frente Negra Brasileira* (Brazilian Black Front) in 1931 (BARBOSA, 1998); the *União dos Homens de Cor* (Union of Men of Colour) in 1943 (SILVA, 2003); the *Teatro Experimental Negro* (Experimental Black Theatre) in 1944 (NASCIMENTO, 2004) and the MNU (Unified Black Movement) in 1978 (COVIN, 2006), which now celebrates its 40th anniversary and represents the main organization of the black movement, engaged in anti-racist struggle.

When we analyse the trajectory of the black movement throughout the twentieth century (DOMINGUES, 2007), we can observe a maturation of the movement in order to better define its identity and, above all, to take a more radical stance in the face of racism and the miscegenation discourse. During the period from 1978 to 2000, after the creation of the MNU, there were a series of splits with the earlier phases of the black movement, among them: (1) a shift in the political position of the movement from right to Marxist left in 1970 and 1980, in the first stages of the MNU; (2) greater permeability of the movement in relation to international influences, with emphasis on Afrocentrism and the American civil rights movement; (3) the use of the term "afro-descendant" as a self-identification of Brazilian blacks, following the model used in the North American context; (4) the search for the causes of black marginalisation, now as a result of slavery and also of the capitalist system; (5) the search for the solution for racism, now through the educational path and within the framework of a socialist society; (6) the systematic denunciation of the myth of a racial democracy and a radical stance against miscegenation, viewing it as a strategy to dilute black identity; and (7) an increasing proximity to the icons associated with black culture, highlighted by the shift of Black Awareness Day from May 13 to November 20, to honour the date of the death of "Zumbi dos Palmares", one of the pioneers of resistance to slavery.

In the years that followed, this set of events generated a new profile for the black movement, with new configurations of the frames that guide the action of the movement. In social movement theory, the frames are defined as the basis of an action oriented to sets of meanings and beliefs that inspire and legitimise the campaigns and activities of a social movement. In other words, they are interpretative frameworks that define certain conditions as fair or unfair, assign responsibility for injustice, and point out the alternatives that could be achieved through collective action (SNOW; BENFORD, 1988). In the face of perceived injustices, social movements begin a process of articulation that aims to build alternative mobilization to face some problematic situation or condition that needs to be changed in order to not be unjust. According to Benford and Snow (2000), frames of collective action develop from three functions: diagnosis, prognosis and motivation.

The diagnosis is characterised by the identification of the source, the conditions, or the culprits of the injustice. It is about assigning responsibility to a particular aspect that will be the focus of collective action. The prognosis is characterised by the formulation of one or more proposals to combat the problem diagnosed, as well as tactics and strategies of action that will be used. Thus, there is a close relationship between diagnosis and prognosis insofar as the identification of specific problems tending to restrict the range of possible solutions and strategies that can be used to resolve such injustices. After the prognosis has been defined, the time comes for action and to foster the motivation of the group. This is what Gamson (1995) calls "agency", a process of awareness in which activists believe that it is possible to change a given situation based on the defined prognosis. However, the success of this agency depends on the ability of the movement to "align" the individual and collective spheres around a given prognosis. That is to say, so that the prognosis can cause enough impact to motivate the participation of individuals and the social movement into social action.

Moreover, for a diagnosis and its prognosis to have legitimacy in the social context in which they are being presented, social movements must have resonance. This means that they must reach the public debate so that the proposals have social approval and come to occupy space on the agenda of the decision spheres that can influence and support the movement's action (BENFORD; SNOW, 2000).

For a frame to have such resonance it needs to fulfil some requirements that are fundamental to its acceptance outside the social movement. According to Snow and Benford (1992), these requirements will define the characteristics that the frame may assume, and likewise its resonance, with the requirements being: (1) the coherence of the frames, since they must be logically complementary in their different aspects: tactics, diagnosis, prognosis, set of values and beliefs, etc.; (2) empirical credibility, since they must make sense according to the worldview of that society; (3) the credibility of the promoters of the frame, because its ability to convince that society will depend on who divulges it; (4) experiential commensurability, since the frame must provide the possibility of being tested in the everyday experience of that society; (5) centrality, since they must have values and beliefs essential to the life of the people in that society; and (6) narrative fidelity, since frames must be based on or aligned with the culture of that society, expressed from its narratives, its myths, and its basic assumptions.

These conditions are not always in place for social movements; conditions that can lead them to develop, elaborate, and diffuse their frames within the society from which they require support. In that sense, the years that followed the political openness to redemocratisation were decisive for the black movement, since they opened many possibilities for the presentation of effective proposals for racial equality policies that converged with the historical demands of the movement. Thus, the solution of racism through politics (“blacks in power!”) gained strength in the 1980s and 1990s with the increased proximity of the black movement with political parties (GUIMARÃES, 2001) and, especially in the 1990s, with its movement into the State, participating in its decision-making spheres (SANTOS, 2006).

In that sense, the Zumbi dos Palmares March against Racism, and for Citizenship and Life, held on November 20, 1995, was an important milestone for the black movement and its insertion into the Brazilian State, since it culminated with the creation of a federal agency capable of intervening directly in the formulation of public policies aimed at the black population (SANTOS, 2014). The outcome of the march was the meeting between the then President Fernando Henrique Cardoso and the National Executive Committee for the signing of the decree of November 20, 1995, which established the Interministerial Work Group for the Valorization of the Black Population (GTI), which would be the embryo of the Special Department for the Promotion of Racial Equality (SEPPIR), created years later, in 2003, during the first term of President Lula’s administration. After this period of the repositioning of the black movement and, as we shall see below, of its alignment with effective results of collective action, there was a certain consensus building in favour of affirmative action within the contemporary black movement. In large part, the activists understood that this was a valuable tool to end the exclusion of blacks from the labour market and also to combat so-called systemic racism, which tends to reproduce poverty among blacks and their descendants (SANTOS, 2001). Thus, it has become essential to defend quotas and to endorse the statute of racial equality, which are affirmative actions aimed specifically at the black population, whose significance is associated with the Black Atlantic and the principles of racialization that are behind this notion.

FROM GLOBAL FRAMING TO LOCAL ACTIVISM AND INSTITUTIONAL POLITICS: THE CONSTRUCTION OF MEANING IN THE COLLECTIVE ACTION OF THE BRAZILIAN BLACK MOVEMENT

Affirmative action - and its spearhead, quota policy - is the main “remedy” proposed by the Brazilian black movement for the problem of racial inequalities in the country. According to proponents, such an initiative can balance economic asymmetries and enhance black identity at the same time. However, as is to be expected, the prescription of this remedy responds to a diagnosis. In this case, we have a clear diagnosis that blacks are at the margin of power spaces in Brazil, are not represented in their various forums, and still find economic, social, and racial barriers to Social mobility (IPEA, 2011).

To formulate both the diagnosis and the prognosis, the black movement needs to mobilize a set of references and justifications that underpin these positions and make them palpable within the context. It means building a base of support within (motivation) and

outside (resonance) the movement. Proposals should be consistent with the frame shared by activists within an interpretive scheme that gives meaning to the perceived injustices.

DIAGNOSIS

The social movements develop diagnoses to identify the factors responsible for the injustice that they intend to fight through collective action. The finding of these factors passes, firstly, through the definition of *who suffers these injustices*, and then, of *the kind of injustice that is suffered*. Taking the case of the black movement within this process, we have the development of a diagnosis that aims to identify *the identities of the discriminated blacks* and *the kind of discrimination they suffer*. Clearly, there are multiple possibilities in developing a diagnosis that answers these questions, but when it comes to the Brazilian black movement and its connections to the dynamics of the Black Atlantic, this diagnosis has a very particular aspect starting with the very definition of who is black in Brazil.

I work with the notion of being black from three possible benchmarks. Firstly, I consider all African descendants black. All the descendants of Africans are black. A second reference is: who considers themselves as such. You have to be an African descendant, and second, you have to consider yourself black. And a third reference is: who is treated as such. That is, who suffers such discrimination? (ROLAND, 2007, p. 411)

According to the above report, the first reference in defining those who are black is ancestry. That is, the American classification system known as the "One-drop rule" or principle of Hypo-descendence. In this system, every subject born of interethnic relations involving blacks will also be considered black (HOLLINGER, 2003). The second reference requires the subject to recognise himself/herself as black *within* this system. That can often be a difficult process to face when you are still under the influence of previous racial frames. In some cases, as the following report shows, it will be from the third reference - to be treated as black - that the subject will recognise himself as such.

[...] he suddenly said, "Do you have your mother's photo there?" I said, "Yes, I do". I dug into my wallet, took out a picture of mother and showed him. He looked: "Your mother's white?" I said, "Of course. I'm white, my mother has to be white". He dropped the subject. Then, as soon as he saw that I was totally relaxed, he asked the following: "Is there a picture of your father?" I said, "I don't have one". He said, "Isn't there one?" I said, "There is Friar, I have one, but it's in the bag". "Go get it". I said, "But the bag is already closed and I'm ready to leave". "You're leaving, I want to at least get to know your father by his photo". I open the bag, get the photo of father from deep within, and take it to show him, all humiliated. He says, "Your father is black". I was in complete shock. Immobile, I couldn't move, forwards, backwards, nor downwards. He took a glass of water and said, "What's going on?" I couldn't speak and he said, "Look, you suffer from a serious illness that you're not to be blamed for. You suffer from a very dangerous, contagious disease. It is called 'whitening ideology'". (DAVID, 2007, p. 50).

The narrated episode occurred during the youth of an activist while he was still attending the seminar. Until that occasion, he identified with his mother and saw himself as a white man. That is, as his interlocutor in the story points out, he reproduces the logic of whitening, an ideology that reverses the logic of hypo-descendence. According to Hofbauer (2006), it is biological bleaching aimed at “lightening” the Brazilian population. Thus, instances of racial mixing involving whites, made their descendants “white”. Culturally, whitening aimed at assimilating blacks and mestizos, instilling in them the beliefs and values of European white culture. It is, therefore, a principle of Hyper-descendence that, even after Gilberto Freyre’s praise for miscegenation, still lasted for a long time, permeating the social imaginary of those who sought to integrate into society.

Friar David’s embarrassment in showing his black father’s photo also shows us that his being mestizo, the son of an interracial union, puts him ambiguously between two frames with contrary logic that, when imposed, eliminate the possibility of forming an intermediate position, a mestizo identity. It is in this field of ambiguities and possibilities that racial classification systems operate, pushing the mestizo into one of the poles. In the classification proposed by the Brazilian black movement, the mestizo is pushed to the hypo-descendence and then “darkens” in the statistics already naturalised in the form of official discourse. As the speech by the then Minister of the Secretariat for Policies for the Promotion of Racial Equality (SEPPIR) shows:

First of all, I would like to say that, from the point of view of self-declaration, today the national survey by domicile sample points to the Brazilian population declaring itself black, that is to say, black or brown, 50.06% of the population of our country, which shows what is being discussed as a theme that reaches the majority of the Brazilian population. (SOUZA, 2010)

Thus, the first question of the diagnosis about *the identities of the discriminated blacks*, is answered with the use of the equation: black + brown = black. It now remains to be seen the kind of discrimination these blacks suffer. In this sense, the black movement sees social indicators with racial boundaries as a valuable tool for an adequate diagnosis.

Denial of information has been one of the most virulent instruments in Brazil, a product of racism and discrimination. A problem about which you have no information doesn’t exist. You cannot fight what doesn’t exist. If it is not documented, inequality doesn’t exist. So we’ve been struggling for decades for all public information systems in Brazil regarding the population to have this information. Be it in work, education, health, housing, access to credit, to capital [...] all these need to have such information. Before, the only place where the colour was registered was with the police. The Brazilian State was only interested in proving that blacks are marginal and commit crimes. So we need to have information on the other side of the coin. What are the existing social conditions that lead the black population to a situation of marginality? (ROLAND, 2007, p. 282)

According to the above report, only with the racialization of information systems would it be possible to have a precise dimension of the racial issues in Brazil. With this information, the black movement can make comparisons with the situations of blacks in

other countries. This helps to further illustrate the asymmetries, not only between whites and blacks in the country, but also among blacks in different countries. Most common comparisons are made between countries such as Brazil, the USA, and South Africa, given the varied forms of racism experienced by these localities and their different strategies to combat it (GUIMARÃES, 1999; SILVA, 2006; SOUZA, 1997). Education is often a subject used in comparisons, since it has been considered by the black movement as the best option in reducing inequalities between blacks and whites. In comparative terms, it can be said that Brazilian blacks were

Unlike North American blacks for example, also victims of slavery, who had their mule and their acre of land, have been subsidised by the state and have been able to create, for example, their schools, their churches, and their universities. When we were slaves here, Cheyney University in Pennsylvania, in the United States of America, founded in 1837, was already receiving its first class of young blacks. Even today in the United States one hundred and seventeen historically black universities carry out this service of including and permitting access to knowledge for blacks in the United States. (VICENTE, 2010)

In addition to the differences in access to higher education that black Americans had, it is important to note that the report also cites that they were able to create their own schools and their own churches, initiatives aligned with W.E.B. DuBois' proposal to create *black organizations* as a strategy for the conservation of races (DUBOIS, 1897). Not by chance, José Vicente is the rector of the Zumbi dos Palmares Faculty, the only Latin American higher education institution that targets black students. His proposal is inspired by the so-called North-American black colleges, founded in the 19th century to serve black students who were not allowed to study in white universities because of racial segregation (ALLEN; JEWELL, 2002).

Although there have never been legal barriers to the entry of black Brazilians into university, solutions such as these emerge in the Brazilian scenario result from comparisons with the US and the inclusion of blacks through such black institutions. Note that colleges oriented toward the black population are a solution that addresses a specific US problem. However, this does not prevent it from being appropriated by the Brazilian black movement to solve a similar issue, which is the exclusion of blacks in Brazilian higher education, not because of a formal segregation, but because of social and economic mechanisms that have historically placed Brazilian blacks at the margin of this educational level.

PROGNOSIS

The prognosis consists of one or more solutions that are proposed by social movements to address the injustices identified in the diagnostic stage. For the Brazilian black movement, such proposals revolve around its main "remedy" against the evils of racial exclusion: affirmative action. As discussed earlier, this is one of the few consensuses celebrated by the Black movement and has been its main battle flag.

The racial issue naturalizes inequality; the racial issue naturalizes the fact that people, by having a certain colour of skin, naturally don't have shelter, it is natural that they beg. That is naturalized in society, and must be changed. The only way we think we can move is through policies that are complementary to universal policies. Complementary policies are policies of the new generation; policies we call affirmative action. (THEODORO, 2010)

There are at least two doors to affirmative action on the agenda of the black movement. The first is through legislature; such as the bill proposed by deputy Abdias do Nascimento after returning from exile in the United States. In the words of Abdias himself

[...] I believe that one of the most important measures of my mandate was to set, in the National Congress, the precedent of a proposal that today is gaining more and more prominence: the institution of specific public policies for the population of African origin, through the so-called Affirmative Action, or Compensatory Action in the language of my Draft Law No. 1,332 of 1983. (NASCIMENTO; NASCIMENTO, 2000, p. 222)

The second door opens by means of a partnership with multinational companies of North American origin that, by requirement of their headquarters, already practice affirmative action with their employees (ALVES; GALEÃO-SILVA, 2004, MYERS, 2003), and contact occurs between these practices and the black movement.

In 1991, when I took over the Coordinating Body of Blacks in the city of São Paulo, news came to me that there was a company in São Paulo that applied affirmative action: Levi Strauss. So one day, I called and said, "I want to meet the director of the company". I got a car and drove to Levi Strauss in the city of Cotia. There, it was mapped out to me the way things happen in the company and I began to realise certain things. Firstly, that it was possible. Secondly, there were some very concrete points. What were they? That affirmative action is not done merely through discussion. Money is needed. The guys had spent almost a million Reais to be able to change because it involved a lot of training, a lot of empowerment, events, support for community projects, anti-racist NGOs [...] (SANTOS, 2007, p. 354)

After this meeting, the affirmative action proposal became palpable by concrete experience. Based on that

I had no doubt: when we adopted it here in Brasília, the first thing I did was to get the companies together so they could share their experiences. We held a meeting at a Sesc (Social Service of Commerce) building in São Paulo, calling Levi Strauss, Johnson & Johnson, Motorola, these big companies, all of which I knew had affirmative action policies. I called for a meeting and a seminar. It was really good. There I made a document together with the OIT (International Labour Organization), a very important document. What's the most important thing in this process? I was seeing these companies confirm what I had seen three years ago in 1991. It was possible, right? So I started to work on this topic a little bit within the government, with this directive. (SANTOS, 2007, p. 355)

Along with quotas, the teaching of African History complements the prognosis of the black movement to promote racial equality. Introduced in the school curriculum of basic education by Law no. 10,639 of 2003, the proposal aimed to break with the official historiography - which places blacks at the margins of the great national events - and to recognise the contribution of Africans and their descendants in the construction of the country. In addition to being considered a long-standing demand of the black movement, the proposal aligns itself to Afrocentrism insofar as it seeks to displace historical narratives from Europe to Africa (HOSKINS, 1992). This implies deconstructing the European versions of the abolition of slaves and their participation in this process.

Because it's that thing we always say: taking Zumbi out of the cellars of history has already been a tremendous victory, but much is still lacking; there is still that which I call the "kidnapping" of blacks from Africa to Brazil. And there is also much more to be said about how liberation happened. Princess Isabel is still the reference. We brought up Zumbi, but Princess Isabel still exists in schoolbooks, there is still this notion that Blacks did not fight for their emancipation. (BATISTA, 2007, p. 438)

Like the proposal of quotas, the teaching of African History has been in operation for some time in the country and therefore occupies a prominent place in the debates on racial inclusion. Other proposals in the areas of education, culture, health, religion, labour market, media, access to housing, access to justice, and sport and leisure are included in the Racial Equality Statute (Law no. 12,288, July 20, 2010), which consolidates the set of proposals that form the prognosis of the Brazilian black movement.

MOTIVATION AND RESONANCE

Once the diagnosis and prognosis have been defined, social movements must convince their activists and motivate them to fight for the cause of the movement. When the Brazilian black movement redefined its platform of struggles after its re-establishment in 1978, it also redefined the frames of collective action that support the diagnosis and prognosis presented. This led to internal disputes between black organizations that did not fully align with this new profile. In addition, one had to consider how this new profile of proposals would be received outside the movement. That is, what would be the resonance of that new black movement?

These two processes share their benchmarks in the form of the founding of the Unified Black Movement (MNU), the intention of which was to align the various organizations with a common platform to form a broader front for racial equality that would be more effective than earlier versions.

The MNU brings a greater level of politicization to racial debates and places the black movement in a more left-wing perspective, which I think was the fundamental influence of all the activism of my generation. I think the most important political fact of the contemporary black movement was that of July 7, 1978, because everything that's happened since is referenced to that

inaugural act of re-establishment, the contemporary black movement so to speak. Many of the organizations that exist today are reinterpretations of the theses that had existed, because the strategic vision that was put in place at the time is still a guide for today. No other grand thesis ever created was as comprehensive as that which the MNU brought, and it's probably possible to say that it had and has a greater political influence than that of the MNU itself as an institution. In time, the theses ended up surviving longer than the institution itself as originally conceived. (CARNEIRO, 2007, p. 148-149)

The "grand thesis", cited by Sueli Carneiro, is characterized by the alignment of the MNU with the content disseminated by the Black Atlantic. According to Covin (2006), the strategic vision posed by MNU is guided by the principles of pan-Africanism and Afrocentrism. Among them is the preservation of races through racialist thought. The MNU itself, during the Third National Congress held in April 1982, in criticising the myth of a racial democracy and its effects stated: "Many of us believe that "miscegenation" has been a means of preventing racial discrimination and prejudice - as white-black marriages generate "mulattos" and "morenos" (brown-skinned people) - emptying the two extreme poles: blacks and whites", and from that concluding: "[...] for us of the Unified Black Movement, blacks and their descendants constitute a single race and a single people". (MOVIMENTO NEGRO UNIFICADO, 1988, p. 20; 24)

However, in adopting this "grand thesis", the MNU distances itself from the class struggle and places race as an element of autonomous articulation. Although guided by a left-wing perspective, as was common with social movements in the 1970s and 1980s, the MNU could not be considered a classic left-wing movement. In effect, this "left-wing racialism" (RISÉRIO, 2007), coupled with the academic profile of activism, hampered the acceptance of their proposals for a more significant share of activism, with such activism still motivated by other theses.

I didn't feel motivated by the MNU. I found them to be sectarian, within my Marxist vision that I never abandoned - it is interesting, because I deal with the race issue without having abandoned the class paradigm; I never threw away old Marx and company. [...] Another reason why I didn't want to join the MNU is because I dreamt of an entity that was really grassroots, that made illiterate blacks literate, because I had come from an extremely poor family and, besides that, had social commitment installed in me by the church and by the "Partidão" (PCB - Brazilian Communist Party). So it wasn't about racial preaching, so to speak, to an educated audience, because I also understood that as an extremely limited audience. (MOREIRA, 2007, p. 271-272)

If, on the one hand, the link with the base, with the black masses, remains a question mark in the thesis defended by the MNU and the black organizations that came after it, on the other hand, the commitment to the transformation via revolution - typical of the Marxist thesis - was redefined according to that "grand thesis" of the MNU. That is to say, a consensus was gradually built up among the activists that affirmative action would also be a form of revolution. This allowed for a broader adherence, as the following account tells.

It was a very slow maturation and also very painful, because at various points the question was whether adhering to such a demand would mean an ideological surrender: we, who so loved revolution, would now, let's say, be content with the possibility of sharing the cake without social transformation. Until someone said that we were making an extraordinary social transformation in everyday relations, of the relations of micro-spaces of power, and the very question of the empowerment of the black population, and, the loftiest thing, the most daring in politics, in intersubjective relations. Someone had to say that we were creating the revolution, that quotas in Brazil IS revolution. Now history is showing that it is revolution. There has possibly never been a theme in the Republic that mobilized as much energy as the issue of quotas, either for or against. So we started to think it was cool, it was indeed a revolution. (SILVA Jr., 2007, p. 397)

The level suggested by Edna Roland refers to the diagnosis of blacks in Brazil, which, in turn, refers to the principle of hypo-descendence that guides the model of racial classification proposed by the Brazilian black movement and is currently used by official statistics. The media's interest in Brazil's participation within the Durban conference, as Roland points out, opens up space for the internal articulations of the movement to reach the general public and to allow percentages such as this, 45%, to be introduced into the debate. By placing the race issue at this level and demanding rights through it, the black movement now demands almost half of the "opportunity cake", which invariably alters the logic of competition historically dominated by whites. This causes whites to enter the debate to challenge the prognosis presented.

I think the affirmative action debate has interesting aspects: it brings whiteness out of the closet. Today, there is a reaction from white people to affirmative action in Brazil. Whiteness - as an absolutely articulated, organized, political movement that manages the economy, politics, and communications of that country in tranquillity - showing its hand, so to speak. This ostensibly increases stress in race relations more, because until today that which has gone to the microphone, which has gone to public debate, was blackness - if I were to think of blackness as the antithesis of whiteness. Not now; now whites have been called into the public debate in order to say what they think of race relations. They're being forced to, in fact, because the debate about affirmative action forces the white people to speak up. (SILVA Jr., 2007, p. 470)

Consequently, the black movement succeeds in accomplishing what it always wanted to, since the Brazilian Black Front era in the 1930s, which is to promote a national debate on racial inequalities in Brazil.

Now, it's clear that the quota also provoked a debate, which is: how is black defined in Brazil? What I'm talking about is somewhat intuitive but the view on racism in Brazil is changing. I think that the generation to come already has a different conception, different to the generation of which I was part, which was more about a period of affirmation of the black struggle. We now enter into another stage, which is: what do we mean by being black in Brazil? What do we mean by racism in Brazil and in the world? Because Durban also influenced our generation a lot. (SILVA, 2007, p. 409)

When whites enter the discussion questioning the proposals of the black movement, especially policies of redistributive character that are the basis of affirmative action policies in the areas of education and health (LIMA, 2010), an important opportunity opens up for detailed diagnoses and prognoses to be discussed, broadening their understanding in the various sectors of society. The risk of this resonance is that while the details are discussed, the defects of the proposal are also discussed, undermining the claims of the movement in the face of arguments against the proposal. In any case, the black movement gains visibility in this process and race relations become part of the national agenda.

GLOBAL FRAMING AND ORGANIZATION: POSSIBILITIES OF BLACK TRANSNATIONALISM

The directions of collective action described above and their consequences in the development of diagnoses, prognoses, and motivation/resonance, reflect the dynamics of the global framing formed from the connections of the Brazilian black movement with transnational activism. Considering that this frame contributes to the alignment of individual and collective experiences within an interpretative scheme that serves as a guide to action, its consequences can be perceived in the organization of the black movement itself, that is, in its organizational structure, in its strategies of action, and in its mobilization of resources.

STRUCTURE

Throughout its history, the Brazilian black movement has been characterised by its internal plurality. The organizations that have composed it have managed to converge around certain proposals (for example, affirmative action policies), but within this convergence each followed its own organizational structure in response to the context of the struggles it was experiencing. In fact, we can say that there are different currents within the movement that over time have opted for different forms of struggle, as shown in the following report:

In an attempt to periodize the black movement, I usually say that 1971 begins what we would call the contemporary period of black struggles in Brazil. [...] and later on, in 1978, there is the emergence of the MNU, the Feconezu (Negro Zumbi Community Festival), in São Paulo, and there are other facts besides these that were mentioned. So, there are three divisions: from 1971 to 1978, which I call "the historical turning point;" from 1978 to 1988, which is a phase of organization of the movement, in which new entities arise, have their protests, their accusations [...] In that phase, a split also takes place, involving the party line, the Christian line, and the movement itself, which follows its historical flow and depends neither on parties nor on Christian religious denominations, and identifies itself, in religious terms, with the religiosity of its black African origin. At the same time, there is work, for example, in the Constituent Assembly, which results in the inclusion of blacks in the constitutional text, a result of the movement's work, which sensitised parties or drew from the opportunism of parties. (SILVEIRA, 2007, p. 270).

The divisions presented by Silveira even help differentiate the segments that make up the black movement, but in practice the boundaries are poorly defined, with overlaps occurring that generate disputes among the lines and within the organizations themselves. In the line he calls "the movement itself", we have several black organizations that follow "its historical flow". Among them is the MNU, the author of the "grand thesis", which at its base deals with internal disputes in defining the profile it will assume.

We made a revolutionary statute. We took the book of Samora Machel, *The Struggle Continues*, which has the statute of Frelimo, and, based on the Frelimo statute, we made a revolutionary 20-point document. But Hamilton thought that it was bourgeois, very out-dated, Vera Mara supported him, and they were against it. [...] Then they made another [statute]. That came as a recommendation from the organizing committee, but they have already come up with another one. (PEREIRA, 2007, p. 159)

There was a fundamental difference between the two statutes. Why? Our statute said: the MNU has to be a mobilizer. In their statute, it said that the MNU had to be a demand. And this discussion, although it seems a simple thing, is of a theoretical nature; it's a matter of principles. If it is a demand, it does not propose anything, it is only within the scope of making demands. And we said that it would have to mobilize, as we saw that it would have to work within the masses of blacks. Not simply to demand the rights of a black elite - that was what we put forward at the time - but to mobilize the masses of blacks to demand them, because they are underemployed, ghettoized [...] But they didn't have that understanding, didn't want to, didn't agree, they ignored it. This was the argument that really caused the split. (FERREIRA, 2007, p. 160)

In the dispute over the definition of the MNU's statute, the report shows that a non-revolutionary and avant-garde profile prevailed, far from the "masses of black people". On the one hand, it illustrates the origin of the problem being faced, that is, of not being able to be a grassroots organization. On the other hand, it allows a rupture with the horizontal structure of the organizations before the MNU.

The structure of organizations was generally collegial in nature, because people often had difficulty delegating powers. For a long time black organizations refused to have a vertical structure. One might say that this is an inheritance of Catholic political action, because Catholic organizations in general have the collegiate form. But there are also those who say that it was due to difficulties in the delegation of power. This internal work was a task of purging us of the heritage of racism, which is going to manifest itself and manifested itself for a long time. It was manifested in the black organizations themselves, no doubt. The basic idea was that everyone should be on the same level, or that no one could stand out from the group. This would be absolutely normal if people did not coexist with other white organizations, in which the structure was absolutely vertical. (SILVA Jr., 2007, p. 445)

The verticalization of the MNU drew a distinction principally from the line of Christian denomination, but it brought problems of adaptation to the local representations

of the movement, who had difficulty following the bureaucratic routine demanded by the movement. The following report illustrates the consequences of this organizational structure.

We began to create the MNU groups here and to encourage all those principles and regulations, which eventually became excessive and strangled the MNU in Rio Grande do Sul: those requirements of statute, minutes, reports, frequently impossible to be fulfilled. That was a year, two, three, and four. At first it was a marvel. (MACHADO, 2007, p. 167)

The party line, although seen as separate from others, is formed by the activists linked to the black movement "that follows its historical flow". Therefore, there are overlaps between the party line and the historical line as the activists move between one line and another.

I said, "I'm starting a black movement". She said, "Why don't you come to the PT?" I said, "Party? No". "Edson, why not a party? It is an open party, of the social movements. You can enter the party to get it done. "So, through this invitation from Arlete, and entering into this conversation that it was an open, social movement, I joined the PT (the Worker's Party) to create the PT Black Commission in the Federal District. As I didn't know anyone, I went out looking for people: "Do you know any black activists?" "I know so-and-so". From there we set up the PT Black Commission in August 1984. (CARDOSO, 2007, p. 228)

This capillarisation of the black movement within other institutions allowed the activists to access important spaces of political articulation. In addition, the relationship with the political parties created another important opportunity for black movements, which was appointments to public offices, allowing a voice within the Executive Branch.

I met Ivair, and he and Hélio Santos were setting up the Black Community Council in São Paulo and wanted a unionist to play a role with the central unions. They called me there; I had a job in the union, taught classes to workers, had good traffic within the CUT (a labor Union) in the whole state. In short, I had experience even of the union activism beyond the activism of the black movement. So they proposed that I take that role in the Council. I went to Sao Paulo. (SILVA Jr., 2007, p. 221)

Access to the State allows the black movement to know its functioning structure, its routines, decision processes, and sources of resources that are important to meet part of its demands.

At Sedepron (Extraordinary Secretariat for the Defense and Promotion of Black People, created in 1991) in Rio during the Brizola administration, we didn't manage to make much headway; we were constrained by the State machine. Technical things that bring you down: you think you have great ideas, but these ideas need to be translated into bureaucratic language; you have to have a project, you have to distribute the project budget between the rubrics and so on. [...] And some people have done that work. Ivair is a guy who has

always been in this junction between the State and civil society, which I think is valid and necessary. You need to have these instances of contact, which, in some way, will lead to the demands of the social movement. They cannot replace the social movement – that’s a temptation that one can sometimes be subjected to - but they have a role to play. (MEDEIROS, 2007, p. 351-352)

The common view that social movements behave as challengers, that is, as organizations that must be against the State, preserving its status as an outsider or extra-institutional, has been reviewed in the practice of contemporary social movements. Studies show that there is an increasing permeability between institutionalised and non-institutionalised politics, so that “[...] state institutions and parties are interpenetrated by social movements, often developing outside movements, in response to movements, or in close association with movements”. (GOLDSTONE, 2003, p. 2) In the case of the Brazilian black movement

[...] there was great tension, due to the following: any participation in the state was co-optation; you were being co-opted and such. I was clear that it was another political arena in which we were working. But that prevented us, for example, from having a closer relationship with the movement, which was very suspicious of what was going to follow. (SANTOS, 2007, p. 217)

Despite the black movement's distrust of the ramifications within the State, when we observe the action of these activists in the last decades, within the political parties and the State, it would seem that in order to understand the dynamics of the contemporary black movement we must shift our eye attentively to this tendency to view the State as “one more political arena” and away from that common vision of social movements as necessarily extra-institutional organizations.

STRATEGY

The strategies of action of the Brazilian black movement can be thought of in two phases, according to the structural changes pointed out previously. There is a first phase of greater informality, autonomy, and extra-institutionality, which is marked by street protests, rebellion and hand-to-hand activism. Then, with the entry of the movement into political parties and the State, these strategies take on another form and become more focused on the outcome, with interorganizational alliances and greater use of the political opportunities that arise in these new spaces. The game became more complex and sophisticated, which required bureaucratic skills that few activists possess.

This second phase is called the “racialism of results” by Risério (2007), in which the black movement begins to adopt a more instrumental posture towards the objectives and does not avoid making alliances as long as they allow for greater effectiveness. This strategic perspective contrasts sharply with the first actions taken by the activism.

Sinba (Brazil-Africa Exchange Society) did it this way: we would go to the street and shake it up, go to the suburban sidewalks to sell the Sinba newspaper. We would take brass megaphones with huge speakers. Chagas

Freitas, trying to urbanise a little, made the great commercial spaces become boardwalks, where traffic couldn't flow. Then they become entirely advertising spaces, places as seedbeds. And there it was great, because we arrived with a paraphernalia of maps, posters with traced letters. For example: we got extracts of the speech against the colonialism by Aimé Césaire, phrases from Luther King; Roberto K-zau made drawings of Angela Davis for us, the Black Panthers, Mahatma Gandhi, Malcolm X. We would put them in the squares, take a preacher and preach from the trees. (PEREIRA, 2007, p. 197-198)

It was a kind of hand-to-hand mobilization, with the advantage of being very close to people, but with the disadvantage of having very little scope. Not to mention the risk of clashes with the police or groups opposed to the proposals presented in the "brass megaphones". This was also accomplished through cultural actions, which sought to mobilize black youth around African music and traditions.

This form of mobilization has been seen by the black movement and by some analysts as a cultural practice that, because it is not a political practice, contributes little to the anti-racist struggle. For Hanchard (2001), practices like this were responsible for the low effectiveness of the Brazilian black movement in breaking with the white hegemony, which was based on the myth of racial democracy, the dynamics of which were the main reason for the invisibility of racism. For the author, the black movement was trapped in a kind of "culturalism" that prevented the politicization of the theme and the formulation of more effective public inclusion policies.

Among the cultural and political dimensions were the actions of the black movement in the field of education. With an approach distanced from the street, but still hand-to-hand, some activists sought black awareness in school, working on black self-esteem and recognition of the contribution of blacks to the history of Brazil. As the following account tells us:

And then we started to adopt a practice. Before beginning lectures, we would ask, "Who here is black?" No one. "Ah, no blacks?" Then, in the end, after we had shown the whole story of the Negro, we would ask: "And now let's see: who here is black?" Everyone raised a hand. And so we were learning from that. We weren't on the periphery, on the inside, just to teach, it was an apprenticeship. And with my camera, I started taking pictures of those also on the periphery. Later I would return with those photos and my slide projector, I would roll out a sheet in the middle of the street, and they got used to seeing each other. (ARAÚJO, 2007, p. 205)

Looking now at the black movement solely in the political arena, but still with hand-to-hand and partly extra-institutional actions, the marches appear as a very fruitful strategy of action, judging by the results obtained with the March against the Abolition Scam in 1988, and the *Zumbi dos Palmares* March in 1995. In both cases, it was possible to mobilize a large number of activists and also attract the attention of the mainstream media to the protests that aimed, above all, to denounce racism in Brazil.

However, as we have already pointed out, when we look at the March of 1995 and the result achieved by it with the creation of the GTI (Ministerial Working Group, which eight years later would become SEPIIR, or Secretariat of Politics of Promotion of Racial Equality),

we have in fact a mixed strategy, involving extra and intra-institutional actions. That is, on the one hand there was the link-up between the black organizations and the unions so that there was the largest possible number of people in the march; on the other, there were the links made inside the State so that President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC) would welcome the march and sign the commitment with the GTI.

We coordinated well in Brasilia with the support of the government of Cristovam Buarque, who was the governor. It was a period when I was doing that kind of thing: traveling, talking to people, going to São Luís, saying that the march was real ... Because when it's time to mobilize a black movement you don't know what ghosts will appear. So it's not easy to do such a thing. What was the advantage we had in 1995? In government was Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and then PT and CUT made their assessment that the march might be interesting. Yet, at the same time, they were not accepting of a black claims agenda or the autonomy of the black movement. They were keeping an eye on the opposition to Fernando Henrique. Already there were rumours of people who were going to shout "FHC Out!" at the March - 1995, which was the first year of Fernando Henrique [as president of Brazil]. (CARDOSO, 2007, p. 338-339)

If the march had not counted on the links made within the State, probably those "ghosts that appear" could have harmed the creation of the GTI. In that sense, when the black movement assumes the state as "one more political arena", it understands that often - as in the case of the creation of the GTI - extra-institutional action alone may not be the best way to go. This understanding comes to the black movement from the first experiences within the State of São Paulo, still at the time of the Montoro government, when the creation of the Black Community Participation and Development Council was formed in 1984.

Right from the very beginning of the government there was great dissatisfaction, because there was no effective participation of blacks within the government; very few people had managed to be named in the government. But two people were in the Palace: myself, who worked on political issues, and Hélio Santos, who worked in the Montoro ceremonial. But I could see, for example, that the women had set up a council, the Council for Women's Affairs. From that experience I suggested to the Secretary of Political Affairs, to the chief of staff Carlos Figueiredo: "Why not create a black council?" He found the idea interesting and gave me the green light. I started working on it. I talked to Helio, who found it interesting, and talked with other colleagues: Antônio Carlos Arruda and Genésio. And the four of us started working on this idea politically. [...] but between the decision to create the Council and it actually being created, that involved a process, because people saw the creation of a governing body of blacks as a body that would contribute to racism. At that time the Afonso Arinos Law (First Brazilian Law, created in 1951, to include among criminal contraventions the practice of acts resulting from race prejudice) was still in force. So the whole task was to convince others that that body was going to use politics to fight racism. And since we worked in government, one soon learned one thing: that it was important to guide the actions of the movement within the governmental agenda, the political agenda of the country. We started working with that outlook. (SANTOS, 2007, p.215-216)

On another occasion, during a world conference against racism in Durban, proximity to the representatives of the Brazilian government enabled access that the black movement would seldom have if its members did not have transit within the State. As Edna Roland, who was appointed rapporteur for the conference, recalls:

When I thought I had a suggestion to make, I would put it in his ear, write it down: "Ambassador, say so and so, do this". I had to offer tools so he could intervene in the debate. And he even asked me, at a certain moment, to negotiate for Brazil, to participate in some groups that were negotiating texts or concepts. (ROLAND, 2007, p. 381)

In all experiences of intra-institutional activism, we can note that some aspects are fundamental to the success of activism in this political arena: (1) attention to the spaces in the governmental agenda; (2) anticipation of events involving government decisions; (3) proximity to decision makers; and (4) ability to have a dialogue with different political profiles. Although they contain the imminent risk of being co-opted or of not precisely meeting the demand of the black movement, we cannot fail to recognise the results obtained by what I term here as intra-institutional activism. This insertion of the black movement into the political system is a benchmark of the antiracist struggle in Brazil and may be one of the factors that differentiate it from other movements of this kind in other countries.

MOBILIZATION OF RESOURCES

The approach to the mobilization of resources helps us understand how social movement organizations (SMO) acquire resources to develop their activities and to achieve their goals. To this end, "[...] each SMO must have resources, including legitimacy, money, facilities and labour, which are controlled by individuals and other organizations" (MCCARTHY; ZALD, 1977, p. 1220). In this sense, similar to what occurs with structure and strategy, the mobilization of resources in the Brazilian black movement can also be considered through two phases.

Funding of the black movement has also expanded in recent decades with the black NGO boom, notably in the 1980s and 1990s, seeing funding coming mainly from the public budget and from international cooperation (HERINGER, 2001). However, to reach this stage, the movement had to nurture the idea of external financing within activism. The first such financing, as early as the 1970s, occurs in an unplanned manner and with strong resistance on the part of some activists.

In 1977, an American named Jimmy Lee, who had come to Brazil to play basketball for Flamengo, proposed to obtain funds from the Interamerican Foundation for the purchase of a headquarters. This appeal would become a grant, because Interamerican was from the US Congress and would lend money for the purchase of a house. And Benedito Sérgio bought his headquarters at 208 Mem de Sá Avenue, and there he installed the IPCN (Research Institute in Black Culture). [...] and it was distressing for Benedito Sérgio to buy his headquarters, because people were against it, they thought that the

money was from the CIA, which was kind of dangerous [...] I was one of those myself. (FERREIRA, 2007, p. 145-146)

Due to the Cold War and the political moment that the country was experiencing in the 1960s and 1970s, there was much distrust of social movements in relation to government actions (GOHN, 1995). Especially in the United States, which supported military regimes in Latin America. With the beginning of political openness, during the Geisel government, the suspicions diminished and some black organizations began to see an important ally in international cooperation.

So the seed began to emerge, the idea of building the Ceap (Center for the Articulation of Marginalized Populations). In fact, it is work that has been going on since 1979, that represents more than 25 years of work, although as a formal institution, Ceap was created in 1989. It would be the first black NGO, in fact, with NGO characteristics. And it started that controversy in the black movement: "international money!" All that confusion, mistrust I would even say. Today everyone is 'on the boat', but at that time we got a lot of stick because there was a lot of mistrust. [...] The CUT and everyone else was born out of these types of resources that were linked to so-called international cooperation, which had an agenda for the democratisation of the country and human rights issues – that's what we entered into. This was a conversation with Rubinho, who was a friend of mine, an anthropologist who works with the indigenous people of the National Museum, who ended up introducing me to this area of international cooperation, which had already helped the Alumni Association – such was its framework. (SANTOS, 2007, p. 288-289)

Even with openness to external financing, and putting everyone "on the boat", this has not eliminated controversies surrounding international cooperation, especially in the field of race relations where suspicions remain of the manipulation of international agencies in regard to the parameters of racial classification in Brazil. To refute the accusations against American foundations, Telles (2002, p.145) addresses the case of the Ford Foundation, which "[is] the largest financial supporter of black movement organizations in Brazil and the largest philanthropic supporter of research on race relations". The author argues that the foundation does not impose racial models on the projects it finances, but that these projects aim to, in part, "[...] strengthen black leadership, sponsoring training such as in public administration courses, campaign elections, and the English language" and that the Human Rights program may "[...] *provide important lessons* for Brazilian peers". (TELLES, 2002, p. 151, my emphasis) That is to say, if the Ford Foundation cannot be accused of disseminating models of racial classification or anti-racist struggle, we can say that it is able to exert great influence in that process.

Thus, contributing to the formation of activists, exchanges between international organizations, and with the legal lessons of the American anti-racist struggle, the Ford Foundation broadens the channels of dialogue between the black movement and international cooperation, as all this accumulated background translates into new fundraising projects, which are developed according to the expectations of these foundations, whose rationale is restricted. In this sense, black women's organizations stand out the most.

The following year, I think it was 1990 already, Ford's financing of SOS Racism came along. It was the first major funding. The Coalition was small, for that excursion, but along came Ford, which was big funding. At the same time, Carmem Barroso, who was from the Carlos Chagas Foundation in Brazil and had gone to the United States to run a Population Program, came to Brazil and was looking for interesting projects and institutions to finance. She had been my scientific methodology teacher at USP (University of Sao Paulo) when I studied social sciences. I sought out Carmem to say that we were with this black women's organization, and ask whether the MacArthur Foundation could support us. She showed interest and asked us to come up with a project. The MacArthur Foundation supplied the second major funding. Ford financed the Geledés Human Rights Program and the MacArthur Foundation, the health program. (ROLAND, 2007, p. 283-284)

This support is not only restricted to US foundations, but also includes multinational corporations and the Brazilian government.

We have had institutional support from the Ford Foundation since 1991, 1992. I think our first funding was from an international organization that deals with the area of health, the Coalition. Historically we were, or have been, supported by the Coalition, the Ford Foundation, and the MacArthur Foundation, and we have also had some projects with the Ministry of Justice - because we have a human rights program that is quite vast - the Palmares Cultural Foundation, the Levi Strauss Foundation, Kodak of Brazil, Xerox, and the Bank of Boston Foundation - these are more recent. (CARNEIRO, 2007, p. 280)

It is important to emphasise that even in the light of this financing channel being opened by international cooperation, many black organizations still face the same difficulties identified by Fernandes (1965) in the 1960s, which is the lack of political support and financial resources. Many of them survive from donations or their own resources. When we talk about resource mobilization within the Brazilian black movement, we have to consider the existence of these two realities. This also applies to the structure and strategy of the movement. Thus, borrowing the two profiles coined by Risério (2007) and the three questions analysed in this section, we can define the organization of the black movement according to Table 1.

Therefore, we have two organizational profiles that coexist in the Brazilian black movement. One of them more aligned with the early moments of the black movement in which a left orientation prevailed, with more horizontal structures and street protest strategies focused more on the relationship with the community and on person-to-person contact for racial awareness. The other profile is more structured, with strategies of political articulation within the power spheres of political parties and the State, with more financial resources and a planned pursuit of results. Both recognize blackness as the fruit of an African ancestry, which cultivates the values of the black race and, therefore, seeks to preserve it by rejecting the existence of the mestizos.

Although the left-wing racialism profile still guides the functioning of some black organizations, it gradually gives way to the more structured profile of racialism of results. As

the latter gains more ground, black participation in the various sectors of society, especially in political parties (now with an eye to the black vote) and in the State that begin to create and/or to mature secretariats and ministries directed towards the racial cause. This also increases the chances of a more active activism in these areas of decision and power.

Table 1 - Organizational profiles of the Brazilian black movement

Profile Aspects	Left-wing Racialism	Racialism of Results
General Guidance	Radical change in society, left political alignment and rupture with the capitalist system	Incremental changes in society, center-left political alignment and maintenance of the capitalism system
Structure	Collegial decision-making, with a low degree of verticality and lacking orientation towards the achievement of results	Centralized decision-making, high degree of verticalization and very oriented towards the achievement of results
Strategy	Street protests, marches, distribution of pamphlets, and school awareness	Marches, awareness in the media, a political voice
Resource Mobilization	Donations, government, and own resources	Donations, business, government, and international cooperation
Area of Operation	Closer to the community, with local, regional, and national scope, and extra-institutional movement	Closer to elites, with regional, national, and international scope, and intra-institutional movement

Source: Developed by the author.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The dynamics of the Black Atlantic leads us to think of the black movements of the post-colonial countries connected to the Atlantic as a mere reflection of global struggles against racism. In particular, those that occur in the U.S., because as Gilroy himself says (2001, p.23), “[...] black people everywhere are increasingly encouraged to accept and internalise North American interpretations of blackness that circulate through corporate agents called to develop remote markets for African-American ‘software’”.

However, unlike the more common interpretations that speak of a mimetic Brazilian black movement, which tends to copy the civil rights movement in its practices of mobilization and action, we note that this is not entirely true. We may even acknowledge that there are points of convergence, but there are also points of divergence that make the antiracist struggle in Brazil such a unique experience. Through diagnosis and prognosis, they approach them insofar as they work within the racist perspective and understand that the best “remedy” for dealing with inequalities is the adoption of affirmative action, with quotas as the spearhead of these actions. However, when we compare motivation, resonance, and especially organization, we observe a divergence.

In the US, the anti-racist struggle established itself from a grassroots movement, involving several black communities in different social and religious segments, with mostly extra-institutional forms of action. In Brazil this struggle takes another form, as it leans towards a vanguard struggle, articulated by black organizations with low adherence in communities and mostly by means of intra-institutional forms of action.

It can be observed that the greatest advances of the Brazilian black movement were based on the racialism of results, which ideologically aligned with transnational activism, but developed its own form of organization with party and bureaucratic alliances, which made it more politicised and less culturalist. Paradoxically, this change comes close to Hanchard's (2001) prognosis, when he defends a political stance in the place of culturalism, but at the same time distances itself when the same author warns of the need for the black movement to become less diasporic and more parochial. Indeed, if the movement does not confront problems in the organizational field, it may be in the ideological field that it will have its greatest impact, since parochialism will be its greatest obstacle during the process of local adaptation.

Although the Brazilian black movement has superseded the discourse of "racial democracy", it is still present in several segments of society. Although many analysts attribute this phenomenon to an alleged exceptionality of the Brazilian case, Sansone (1996) shows that the phenomenon of miscegenation is present in countries like Venezuela and Colombia where the "mestizo" is called *cafe con leche* (coffee with milk), in Puerto Rico *trigueño* (brown), in Santo Domingo *indio quemado* (burned Indian) and in Haiti *prietos* (dark-skinned). Thus, we can say that in the scope of Brazilian society the processes of local adaptation of the racist frame can find difficulties when confronting a type of non-racist frame aligned to the idea of miscegenation. In fact, an emerging issue to be investigated would be to analyse this same phenomenon in other Black Atlantic countries, such as African, Latin American, and Caribbean countries, which could reveal interesting dimensions of struggle and organization to better understand our own anti-racist struggle.

In the very cradle of the racist frame, the USA, this idea of miscegenation has been slowly developing since the 1970s, when there was an increase in the number of interracial marriages and the consequent increase in the number of mixed race children. This new segment begins to question the binary classification system (SPICKARD, 1992) and to claim the right to freely choose one's ethnic identity without being constrained by the criterion of hypodescence represented by the one-drop rule (ROCKQUEMORE; AREND, 2002). This has generated multiracial collective actions that have been organized in the last three decades to modify the information of the American census and include the mestizo population as an autonomous category, unrelated to the old black/white binary classification system (SPENCER, 1997). The actions of organizations such as the Association of Multi-Ethnic Americans (AMEA) have been pressing the US government to make changes in this direction. However, these organizations have faced resistance from blacks, who see this as harmful because it divides the "black community" into smaller and weaker ones. On the part of whites, there is a resistance to change the *status quo* of the one drop-rule, created by whites themselves to keep blacks and their descendants in subalternity (LEE; BEAN, 2004). What strikes us in this dynamic is that while the Brazilian government has been pressured to create a system of bipolar racial classification similar to the one in the US, the latter, in turn, have been pressured to create a system similar to ours. A comparative Brazil-US analysis could reveal why this reverse movement occurs and how this dynamic will be put into circulation in the Black Atlantic.

Finally, a provocative theme that has been on the margins of our analysis - and has in fact sidelined most studies dealing with race relations - is the so-called *anti-racism without race*. As Gilroy (2000) argues, race can be a "toxic" concept that contaminates

and weakens society as a whole. Thinking of the world in terms of races, whether for good or bad, does not improve our perception of human differences at all, since it supports a colonial construct designed to imprison certain groups in a subordinate position. At a time when genetics has proven that there are no significant differences between humans from the biological point of view, and there are increasing numbers of those of mixed race, fruits of centuries of interethnic miscegenation, attributing a human classification based on phenotype or ancestry has become difficult to sustain. This puts forward, therefore, the challenge of thinking about social relations as phenomena mediated by culture and not by skin colour or the physical traits that people bring with their bodies. Even if these bodies are malleable to the point of being able to be transformed. Models of alternative worlds may perhaps inspire the next organizational models of the twenty-first century.

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ASSOCIAÇÃO BRASILEIRA DE NORMAS TÉCNICAS. **NBR 6023**: informação e documentação: referência - elaboração. Rio de Janeiro, 2000.

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AZEVEDO, M. A.; GUERRA, V. N. A. **Mania de bater**: a punição corporal doméstica de crianças e adolescentes no Brasil. São Paulo: Iglu, 2001. 386 p.

f) Dissertação ou Tese. SOBRENOME, PRENOME abreviado. Título: subtítulo (se houver). Data de defesa. Total de folhas. Tese (Doutorado) ou Dissertação (Mestrado) - Instituição onde a Tese ou Dissertação foi defendida. Local e data de defesa. Descrição física do suporte. Exemplo:

FANTUCCI, I. **Contribuição do alerta, da atenção, da intenção e da expectativa temporal para o desempenho de humanos em tarefas de tempo de reação**. 2001. 130 f. Tese (Doutorado em Psicologia) - Instituto de Psicologia, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo. 2001.

g) Folheto. SOBRENOME, PRENOME abreviado. Título do folheto: subtítulo (se houver). Edição (se houver). Local de publicação, data de publicação, total de páginas. Exemplo:

IBICT. **Manual de normas de editoração do IBICT**. 2. ed. Brasília, DF, 1993, 41 p.

h) Capítulo de livro. SOBRENOME, PRENOME abreviado do autor do capítulo. Título: subtítulo (se houver) do capítulo. In: AUTOR DO LIVRO (tipo de participação do autor na obra, Org.(s), Ed.(s) etc. se houver). Título do livro: subtítulo do livro (se houver). Local de publicação: Editora, data de publicação. paginação referente ao capítulo. Exemplo:

BANKS-LEITE, L. As questões lingüísticas na obra de Piaget: apontamentos para uma reflexão crítica. In: _____. (Org.). **Percursos piagetianos**. São Paulo: Cortez, 1997. p. 207-223.

Obs.: O destaque é para o título do livro e não para o título do capítulo. Quando se referencia várias obras do mesmo autor, substitui-se o nome do autor por um traço equivalente a seis espaços.

i) Artigo e/ou matéria de periódico. Elementos essenciais: autor(es), título do artigo ou matéria, subtítulo (se houver), título da publicação, local de publicação, título do fascículo, suplemento, número especial (quando houver). Indicação de volume, fascículo ou número, paginação inicial e final do artigo ou matéria, informações de período e data de publicação.

j) Artigo de periódico. SOBRENOME, PRENOME; SOBRENOME, PRENOME abreviado. Título: subtítulo (se houver). Nome do periódico, local de publicação, volume, número ou fascículo, paginação, data de publicação do periódico. Exemplo:

SANTEIRO, T. V. Criatividade em psicanálise: produção científica internacional (1996-1998). **Psicologia: Teoria e Prática**, São Paulo, v. 2, n. 2, p. 43-59, jul./dez. 2000.

l) Artigo de jornal. SOBRENOME, PRENOME abreviado. Título: subtítulo (se houver). Nome do jornal, local de publicação, página, data de publicação do jornal com o mês abreviado. Exemplo:

ADES, C. Os animais também pensam: e têm consciência. **Jornal da Tarde**, São Paulo, p. 4D, 15 abr. 2001.

m) Artigo em vias de publicação (No prelo). SOBRENOME, PRENOME abreviado. Título: subtítulo (se houver). Nome da publicação. No prelo. Exemplo:

SAMPAIO, M. I. C.; PEIXOTO, M. L. Periódicos brasileiros de psicologia indexados nas bases de dados LILACS e PsycInfo. **Boletim de Psicologia**. No prelo.

n) Entrevista/Depoimento. SOBRENOME, PRENOME abreviado do entrevistado. Título: subtítulo (se houver) do artigo. [data da publicação do documento]. Local de publicação: nome do documento. Entrevista concedida a fulano de tal. Exemplo:

SILVA, A. A. **Mulheres no ataque**: depoimento. [9 de junho, 1996]. São Paulo: Revista da Folha de São Paulo. Entrevista concedida a Cristiana Couto.

o) Trabalho publicado em Anais de Congresso. SOBRENOME, PRENOME abreviado. Título: subtítulo (se houver). In: NOME DO EVENTO, número., ano. Local de realização do evento. Anais... Local de publicação dos resumos: Editora, ano. paginação. Exemplo:

AZEVEDO, M. A.; GUERRA, V. N. A. Quando a violência doméstica contra crianças e adolescentes pode ser considerada terror? In: CONGRESSO LATINOAMERICANO DE PREVENCIÓN Y ATENCION DEL MALTRATO INFANTIL, 6., 2001, Buenos Aires. **Anais...** Buenos Aires, 2001.

p) Artigo publicado em periódico eletrônico. SOBRENOME, PRENOME abreviado. Título: subtítulo (se houver). Nome do periódico, local de publicação, volume, número ou fascículo, mês(s) abreviado. ano. <<http://endereço da URL>>. Data de acesso: dd/mm/aaaa. Exemplo:

PAIVA, G. J. Dante Moreira Leite: um pioneiro da psicologia social no Brasil. **Psicologia USP**, São Paulo, v. 11, n. 2, jul./ago. 2000. Disponível em: <<http://www.scielo.br/>>. Accessed on: 12 mar. 2001.

q) Documentos legislativos. JURISDIÇÃO. (ou cabeçalho da entidade no caso de se tratar de normas), título. Edição. Local: Editora, ano. Total de páginas. Exemplo:

BRASIL. **Estatuto da criança e do adolescente**. 5ª ed. São Paulo: Saraiva, 1995. 210p.

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