

Theoretical-empirical article

A Woman's Place is... in Politics: Reflections about Micro and Macroaggressions of Identities

Lugar de Mulher é... na Política: Reflexões sobre Micro e Macroagressões de Identidades



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ABSTRACT

Objective: analyze the identity constitution of women who have entered politics in Brazil, in the face of a scenario of micro and macroaggressions. **Theoretical approach:** identity theory, in which identity is defined as a self-reflexive concept that allows individuals to know and understand themselves in the midst of cultural, social, and organizational specificities. **Method:** basic qualitative study carried out with assistance of semi-structured interviews content analysis. **Results:** the main results showed that the identity of women active in politics is gradually formed; however, this construction is permeated by attempts of invalidations since the intention of candidacy. The invalidations through microaggressions permeate the organizational context and, because they are present on a larger scale, they highlight what is pointed out as macroaggressions. **Conclusions:** this study contributes to the literature by proposing the concept of macroaggressions. In practical terms, this study brings as a contribution a discussion focused on SDG 5 and the need for a greater female insertion in Brazilian political organizations.

Keywords: women; politics; identity; microaggressions; macroaggressions.

RESUMO

Objetivo: analisar a constituição identitária de mulheres inseridas na política brasileira perante um cenário de micro e macroagressões. **Marco teórico:** teoria da identidade, em que se define a identidade como um conceito autorreflexivo que permite a um indivíduo conhecer e compreender a si mesmo em meio às especificidades culturais, sociais e organizacionais. **Método:** estudo qualitativo básico realizado com o auxílio de entrevistas semiestruturadas concedidas por mulheres inseridas em organizações do Poder Legislativo brasileiro e análise de conteúdo. **Resultados:** os principais resultados demonstraram que a identidade de mulheres atuantes na política forma-se gradativamente, contudo, essa construção é permeada por tentativas de invalidações desde a intenção de candidatura. As invalidações por meio de microagressões perpassam o contexto organizacional e, por estarem presentes em maior escala, destacam o que se pontua como macroagressões. **Conclusões:** O estudo contribui à literatura ao propor o conceito de macroagressões. Já em termos práticos, traz como contribuição discussões voltadas ao ODS 5 e à necessidade de uma maior inserção feminina em organizações da política brasileira.

Palavras-chave: mulheres; política; identidade; microagressões; macroagressões.

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INTRODUÇÃO

Even though women are increasingly integrated into organizations, their participation in various sectors is still permeated by adversities due to prejudice and discrimination related to female performance, especially when women hold leadership positions and roles. As pointed out by [Basabe-Serrano \(2020\)](#), one of the sectors in which women are most excluded is the political sphere.

Throughout the world, women's participation in politics is lower than men's ([Romero & Kerstenetzky, 2015](#)), which can be explained by the fact that women face a series of challenges that, commonly, are not faced by men. In addition, parties are often more responsive to the preferences of men than women in their actions and even in relation to distributed resources ([Homola, 2019](#)). In this context, data from the latest ranking of female representation in congresses indicate that Brazil ranks 146th out of 235 countries surveyed, highlighting the need for progress in this scenario ([Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2022](#)).

The underrepresentation of women in certain organizations can have a series of consequences, even interfering with their identities and identification with the activities carried out. In this article, identity is understood as “the process of meaning construction based on a cultural attribute, or a set of interrelated cultural attributes, which prevail over other sources of meaning” ([Castells, 2018, p. 58](#)). It should be noted that in this construction process, social interactions are one of the most relevant elements ([Berger & Luckmann, 2007](#); [Caldas & Wood Jr., 1997](#); [Fernandes et al., 2010](#)).

Given this perspective and considering the numerous challenges faced by women who managed to insert themselves in organizations that make up Brazilian politics, as well as the fact that this institution is predominantly male, this research aims to analyze the identity formation of women who have entered politics in Brazil, facing a scenario of micro and macro invalidations.

In this study, microaggressions are understood as forms of prejudice, discrimination, and insults to certain actors ([Nair et al., 2019](#)) and, when linked to identities, they are divided into three forms: microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations, as subtle ways of suppressing identity in certain contexts ([Sue, 2010](#)). Given this conception, this study proposes the concept of macroaggressions that, unlike microaggressions, can be seen on a larger scale, especially when analyzing a macro context, such as the national level. Macroaggressions encompass attempts at macroinvalidations shared by a large portion of the population, such as the prejudice and resistance of

a country's population toward women's participation in politics.

With the aid of the basic qualitative study strategy ([Merriam, 2009](#)), semi-structured interviews were carried out with 18 women inserted in Brazilian political organizations, specifically in legislative assemblies and/or city councils and who, at the time of the interviews, acted as city councilors or state legislators. In the interviews, the research participants reported their trajectories from the pre-application until the moment the interviews were carried out. The analysis, carried out through content analysis, was based on two periods: (a) the construction of identity as a woman in Brazilian politics and the microaggressions they experienced; and (b) the moment when microaggressions intersect with macroinvalidations.

The main results showed that the identity of these women as actors in politics is gradually formed as they conquer their spaces and gain experiences in this scenario. This construction is permeated by invalidation attempts since the very intention of running for office. It was observed that the microaggressions, contrary to what the literature points out and what was expected to be found, worsened as these women reached the desired positions and reached greater prominence in the organizations in which they work, which are legislative assemblies and city councils. This fact brought the discussion of macroaggressions to the forefront and highlighted their significance in this scenario, representing one of the contributions of this study.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

Identity, microaggressions, and macroaggressions

Often described as “the story that the subject would tell about themselves” ([Fernandes et al., 2010, p. 37](#)), an identity can be understood as “the process of meaning construction based on a cultural attribute, or a set of interrelated cultural attributes, which prevail over other sources of meaning” ([Castells, 2018, p. 58](#)). It is, therefore, an element of notable relevance for fulfilling existing gaps in the experience of an individual, whose aspects refer to the culture and groups of which they may be a part ([Caldas & Wood Jr., 1997](#)).

Identity is constituted by human activity, especially through language and shared symbols ([Caldas & Wood Jr., 1997](#)) and, because it is an important aspect in people's lives, it is responsible for allowing a better understanding of both individual and collective practices ([Brown, 2020](#); [Machado, 2003](#)).

An identity is never something given, but a continuous construction (Brown, 2019; Dubar, 2005). Its formation occurs mainly due to the existence of identification processes that allow the individuals to develop the assimilation of aspects or attributes with which they come into contact, developing perceptions about themselves and those they interact with, establishing bonds and constituting their personality. Consequently, these processes reinforce their behavior when they are part of a specific group (Freitas, 2005; Laplanche & Pontalis, 2001).

It is understood that identity construction occurs gradually, adapting to the relational context in which the individuals are inserted, being proportional to the period and their stage of life (Saraiva & Duarte, 2010). However, when it comes to minority groups in certain environments, an identity can suffer what is delineated by microaggression. As described by Nair et al. (2019), microaggressions, when not specifically targeted at an identity, denote subtle forms of prejudice, discrimination, or insult.

The term 'microaggressions' was coined in the 1970s, referring to "subtle, stunning, often automatic, non-verbal exchanges that constitute humiliations" (Pierce et al., 1977, p. 65). The early studies on it focused on issues related to racism (Sue et al., 2007). Nonetheless, Nair et al. (2019) point out that the scope of the study regarding microaggressions has increased and, currently, the implications for the identity of affected individuals and groups are discussed.

Sue (2010) classifies microaggressions in three different ways: microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations. Microassaults are conscious, deliberate, subtle, and explicit attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors regarding gender, race, and sex through biased attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors, usually verbalized. They usually focus on the intentional attack on a person's group identity, and, despite sharing characteristics aimed at prejudice and discrimination, microassaults are only expressed in conditions that provide the perpetrator with some form of protection due to the strong public condemnation of such behavior.

Microinsults, in turn, are characterized by interpersonal or environmental communications that convey stereotypes, rudeness, and insensitivity to a person's racial, gender, or sexual identity. They are often expressed through insults and represent subtle slights, often beyond the awareness of the perpetrator, but which convey offensive messages to their recipients (Sue, 2010).

Finally, microinvalidations are communications or 'environmental cues' that exclude, negate, or nullify thoughts, feelings, or the reality experienced by certain groups. They occur unconsciously, yet they represent the most harmful type of the three microaggressions because they occur in an insidious and less 'clear' way. Due to their

'invisibility,' they are often not recognized by those who perform them or by those who suffer their consequences (Sue, 2010). According to Sue (2010), it is this feature that highlights its strength and makes it powerful in the organizational and social context. Nair et al. (2019) point out as an example of microinvalidation the attribution of a male pronoun to groups that have participants of both genders and emphasize that with its existence the identities of such minorities become marginalized. It is understood that, in general, the exchanges arising from microaggressions, regardless of their aspects, are so widespread and automatic amid daily interactions that they are often even discarded or overshadowed (Sue et al., 2007).

This article suggests that when considering a macroenvironment, one should not disregard the existence, often not so subtle, of such aggressions. Thus, with the combination of these aspects, we have what is proposed here as macroaggressions that are, in a context focused on identity, aggressions related to race, culture, and gender, among others, but on a larger scale, in an attempt to invalidate the identities inserted in these scenarios. In this way, the concept of macroaggressions used in this study is linked to the pressures and aggressions arising from a patriarchal society on the identity of women. In the case under analysis, macroaggressions focus on women involved in Brazilian political system organizations, but their existence in other organizational and even social environments is not disregarded.

It is pointed out that macroaggressions, even those present in an organizational scenario, come from society in general. If in circumstances characteristic of microaggressions the resulting events were mostly veiled, in macroaggressions there is the opposite, especially with the advent of technologies that allow people to express their hatred without 'fears' or 'barriers.'

Macroaggressions are not veiled and are usually manifested through aggressive messages, as occurred in the 2018 and 2020 elections in Brazil, through expressions of hatred toward women candidates for political office on social networks and actions taken after they were elected by their own colleagues. Such aggressions are also perpetuated through insults to personal appearance, ostensive forms of humiliation that aim to hurt the identity and self-esteem of those who suffer them, among other forms that are elucidated here and that have the focus of preventing the identity constitution of women in contexts other than those traditionally and culturally pre-established. Macroaggressions can reflect the patriarchal culture of a country, as seen in Brazil and discussed here. Below, a summary table (Table 1) is presented to differentiate what the literature indicates as microaggressions from the concept of macroaggressions elucidated and proposed here.

Tabela 1. Summary table of micro- and macroaggressions.

Microaggressions	Macroaggressions
Intentional or unintentional	Intentional
Predominantly veiled	Open/Blatant
Seen and felt by those who suffer them	Seen and felt by those who suffer them, but also by those who witness them or live with their targets
Subtle	Explicit
Interpersonal/Group	Organizational/Social
In essentially face-to-face daily interactions, in environments where the aggressor feels safe	In daily interactions, social media, comments in media outlets, sent via email, Messenger, websites

Note. Microaggressions: Based on Sue (2010). Macroaggressions: Developed by the authors.

It is understood that both micro- and macroaggressions are induced by gender violence, since, as highlighted by [Bandeira \(2014\)](#), this type of violence is motivated by expressions of inequalities based on gender, often initiated in the family universe, where gender relations constitute the prototype of hierarchical relations. In their bibliometric survey of academic works that address women in the field of administration, [Souza et al. \(2021\)](#) even discuss the fact that academic works themselves often naturalize this role without problematizing it. Within this scope, it is relevant to emphasize that women who work in organizations face these aspects daily. Therefore, it is important to discuss the reasons why unfavorable opinions and behaviors expressed in a hostile, unfair, and unfounded manner influence not only the everyday lives of organizations but also of society itself.

Thus, the next section is dedicated to the context of women in politics, which constitutes the empirical field of this study.

Women in politics

Discussing female participation requires the knowledge that almost no country in the world has 50% or more women in its legislative bodies ([Paxton & Kunovich, 2003](#); [Sacchet, 2018](#)). Since the beginning of democracies, women have been discouraged from participating in the political space because, when political culture is discussed, there is a perception that power is something exclusive to men ([Araújo, 2010](#); [Karawejczyk, 2013](#); [Pinto & Silveira, 2018](#); [Tosi, 2016](#)).

Historically, politics has always been considered an environment of male predominance, since the exercise of citizenship was only granted to a few men selected according to social characteristics, such as financial condition, social status, and race, among other aspects that emphasized voting as a privilege ([Tosi, 2016](#)). As a result of its establishment,

there is minimal participation by both women and marginalized individuals in organizations that make up the political system, and, as discussed by [Paxton and Kunovich \(2003\)](#), this low participation rate, especially in relation to women at the highest levels of politics, is a lasting problem related to this existing stratification in the sector.

Another factor that justifies the underrepresentation of women is related to stereotypes of women in leadership positions. The existence of gender stereotypes ends up interfering with the development of a better understanding of the real role of women in society as well as their skills when acting in public ([Biroli, 2010](#)). Stereotypes or stigmas aimed at the female figure within the field of politics characterize manifestations of gender traditionalism that turn to an ingrained set of beliefs about which attributes are considered socially, politically, and culturally 'more appropriate' ([Matos, 2020](#)). There are, in the literature, indications on the subject that show that the population itself expects more rigorous standards from female candidates regarding their attitudes and qualifications, whose requirements, in a way, limit the execution of their activities. It is noticed that this limitation is imposed by means of several barriers to women, since both the world of power and politics are not equal in terms of recognition, determining, among other consequences, not only the lack of electoral support on the part of the population, but also the poor distribution of economic resources and less access to party resources and private donations ([Bauer, 2020](#); [Biroli, 2010](#); [Pinto & Silveira, 2018](#); [Schneider & Bos, 2014](#)). The above mentioned raises the discussion that the way women are defined in politics carries elements related to how they are also treated and perceived in other areas of social life ([Biroli, 2016](#)). According to the author:

"Political violence manifests itself as physical, sexual, psychological, symbolic and economic aggressions and constraints that intimidate women in politics, burden their careers and, in some cases, put their physical

integrity and lives at risk. Its symbolic dimension is related to the reaffirmation of conventional sexual roles in changing political and social environments " (Biroli, 2016, p. 585)

Some research shows that the gender of political representatives has important consequences in policy formulation (Beaman et al., 2009; Grant et al., 2018). In an attempt to reverse this difference, many countries have modified their constitutions, electoral laws, or party formats, adopting rules or quotas for female participation (Hughes et al., 2019). According to Krook (2009), the origins of many of these policies are the result of the Fourth World Conference on Women, held by the United Nations (UN) in Beijing in 1995. Sacchet (2018) points out that quotas are the most commonly used mechanism in attempts to reduce the discrepancy in the sector. The core idea behind such plots is to ensure the recruitment of women into the political system and try to somehow encourage greater participation (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2018; Tribunal Superior Eleitoral, 2018a).

In Brazil, the establishment of quotas occurred through Law No. 9,504, of September 30, 1997, called Quota Law (Law no. 9.504, 1997), which defined the percentage of women on the list of potential candidates. As the law did not cover the final number of women candidates, in 2009 amendments were made by Law no. 12.034 (2009) that, this time, made it mandatory to fill out the candidacy with women. Despite the new law's greater restrictions, there were still loopholes that potentiated the existence of 'dummy' candidates. It was then, in 2015, with Law no. 13.165 (2015), that parties began to commit at least 5% of their campaign resources and 15% of the Party Fund resources to women's candidacies. Finally, in the year 2022, with Constitutional Amendment no. 117, political parties, in addition to fulfilling the quotas, had to reserve at least 30% of the resources from the Special Fund for Campaign Financing to finance female candidacies. In addition, the amendment also outlined that the same percentage should be considered in relation to the time allocated to free electoral advertising on radio and TV (Emenda Constitucional n. 117, 2022).

These changes, added to greater access to education, professional opportunities, laws that criminalize violence against women, and more qualified political participation (Biroli, 2016), enabled a significant increase in the number of women candidates for political office. Even so, the number of elected women is still very low (Agência Senado, 2020). Although there is female underrepresentation, it is important to bear in mind that this does not mean that Brazilian women are not actively involved in politics (Biroli, 2016). Krook (2009) points out that, although the institution of quotas is motivated by the empowerment of women, they

also have a pragmatic dimension since they are perceived not as being the ideal, but, perhaps, one of the few effective ways to increase female representation. Matos (2020) points out that although many actions were successful, there were no significant or sustainable changes in political attitudes toward women, especially black women, inside or outside institutions. As exposed by Sacchet (2018), the institution of quotas did not 'solve' the problem of underrepresentation in Brazil. According to the author, this did not happen because the real problem that causes the low participation of women in Brazilian politics lies in the country's electoral system, or, as pointed out by Araújo (2010), this problem also has its roots in the role that political parties have in this context, especially concerning the intentions of the actors regarding the gender variable and the pragmatic logics that surround electoral competitions.

Currently, 52% of the voting population in the country is made up of women, yet, despite this representative amount and the conditions for the exercise of popular sovereignty, women still receive fewer votes than men (Tribunal Superior Eleitoral, 2018b). In the current government, there are 77 female deputies out of the 513 total seats in the Chamber of Deputies, representing 15% of the total. In the Senate, there are 12 female senators out of 81 elected, which is approximately 15% of the total (Câmara dos Deputados, 2019). Regarding the municipal level, the percentage of women elected to the position of councilors in the 2020 elections was 16.1%, and for mayors only 4.4% (Ministério dos Direitos Humanos e da Cidadania, 2021).

An interesting factor to highlight is that, when analyzing women with long-standing political careers, Pinto and Silveira (2018) highlight that, among the total number of candidates elected between 1950 and 2014, the southern region of the country was the one that least elected women in Brazil, while the northeast region had the most women elected in the aforementioned period. The authors point out that, considering the populations of each region of the country, the significant presence of women in politics in the north, central-west, and northeast regions is very significant, despite the fact that these regions are considered less developed and more agrarian, factors that would initially suggest less openness to women's participation.

It is important to note that elections have taken place since the first Portuguese village was founded in Brazil in 1532. However, it was only with the 1934 Constitution that Brazilian women began to have the right to exercise their votes without restriction or parental authorization, husband, or responsible man because, for a long time, suffrage was not seen as a right but a privilege, usually attributed to the 'political head of the family' (Cajado et al., 2014). Prior to these dates, Grazziotin (2015) reports that systematic campaigns were organized against the role of women in

Brazilian politics, who were ridiculed and seen as incapable of occupying public elective posts.

Even though the region has the highest number of elected female presidents in the world (Aguilar et al., 2015; Reyes-Housholder, 2018), data from DataSenado (2014) indicate that Brazilian parties still have great difficulty filling the minimum quota of female candidacies. This fact indicates that female political representation is an important problem to be worked on and studied, as only with its increase will it be possible to verify a greater diversity of thoughts, new voices, new policies, and aspirations that are not biased toward a specific public (Chattopadhyay & Duflo, 2004). When debating the Brazilian context, Matos (2010) points out that the absence of women in decision-making spaces of institutionalized politics is a determining factor not only in the quality of the democratic process, but also in the quality of attention given to public policies and the overcoming of social inequalities that plague the country, whose aspects reveal difficulties that are often not put on the agenda when the subject is women in politics. Among the themes that often do not receive due attention are political violence and harassment against women and black people, which constitute behaviors that target women specifically with the aim of making them abandon politics by putting pressure on them and encouraging them to drop out, first as candidates and then by leaving office. The focus of such violence is to exclude them from public spheres, depriving them of their hard-won rights and citizenship (Matos, 2020).

Krook (2020), in highlighting and emphasizing the various ways in which violence against women in politics can occur, discusses that this type of violence represents a threat to democracy, to human rights and gender equality around the world, something that can never be normalized as an inherent cost of political participation, but rather combated, so that women around the world can fully participate in politics.

Matos (2020) points out that cases of violence occur because, even having gone a long way in the struggle for equality, women who politically crave spaces of power are still perceived as threats to the privileges of many men. Biroli (2016) argues that violence is related to the position that society places on women and occurs when women evoke changes in the patterns reproduced in everyday practices, assume different roles, and occupy different places than those previously considered appropriate. The author argues that, in a way, violence against women is reproduced because it is based on cultural and institutionalized issues, and the low presence of women in institutional politics reduces the possibilities of change and fighting against the violence suffered. In this same field, Krook (2020) states that violence against women in the political sphere ends up being less recognized as a 'problem' and even women politicians

who suffer from its consequences consider it as a kind of 'cost of doing politics'.

Notwithstanding, it should be noted that women have qualifications, experiences, and positions that differ from men, and, in a way, this directly influences their acceptance, which is significantly higher among female voters due to the positions that, generally, are due to women's rights and to issues related to health and family (Bhalotra & Clots-Figueras, 2014; Costa e Schaffner, 2018; Ennser-Jedenastik, 2017; Ng & Muntaner, 2018).

That way, after presenting the concepts underlying this analysis, the following section outlines the methodological procedures used in this research.

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

This article consists of a basic qualitative study (Stake, 2010), supported by a qualitative approach (Merriam, 2009). A basic qualitative study is one that aims to discover and understand a phenomenon according to the perspectives and worldviews of the individuals involved in it (Merriam, 2009).

Selection of participants

For the selection of participants in this research, women who were inserted into Brazilian political organizations and who currently act in their respective positions were sought. Thus, to carry out this selection and with the purpose of delimiting the scope of the research, initially, the websites of city councils and legislative assemblies were accessed, which are the organizations considered in this analysis, with the purpose of finding the contacts of the women working there. It is noteworthy that the focus given to such organizations comes from reflections aimed at the insertion of women in the economic, social, and political spheres. Specifically, political organizations are still predominantly male-dominated, and, in the Brazilian context, women's participation was only allowed from 1932 onward. However, it is evident that even after 90 years of such change, there is still a pressing need for greater female representation in this sector.

After the selection of women, the researchers accessed the respective websites to find their public electronic contacts (emails) and, through these, check the possibility of scheduling the interview, moment when the objectives of the research and confidentiality issues regarding their participation were explained. Out of approximately 120 women contacted, only 16 responded positively, making up the total number of respondents for this research.

Currently, the 16 participants hold political positions in organizations of the Legislative Power, both municipal and state, in the capitals of the states of Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, and São Paulo. It is important to mention that, according to Article 2 of the Federal Constitution (*Constituição do Brasil, 1988*), there are three branches of government in Brazil: the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judiciary. The current Brazilian political system also consists of three levels with different responsibilities related to health, education, security, and justice: municipal, state, and federal. The choice, in addition to being justified by the question of access, is also due to the

fact that the participation of women in the political scene of the Legislative Power is still critical due to Brazil occupying the 141st position in the ranking of female representation in congresses (*Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2022*) and, at the municipal level, only 15% of the available positions are occupied by women (*Tribunal Superior Eleitoral, 2018a*).

To ensure confidentiality, the participants' names were replaced with those of female mythological characters who possessed characteristics related to the causes advocated by these women. Thus, Table 2 presents a brief characterization of the research participants.

Table 2. Respondents' presentation.

Respondents	Age	Education	Causes advocated	Office	Political experience	Self-identified racial background	Party ideology
Hera (goddess of marriage, family; queen of the gods)	56	Complete high school	Family	State Representative	3rd term as deputy; 1 term as councilwoman	Mixed-race	Right
Athena (goddess of civilization and wisdom concerning strategic warfare)	60	University education	Women, human rights, environment, and security	City Councilor	1st term as councilor	White	Center-Left
Hemera (goddess who personifies the day and its light)	43	University education	Ethical control of animals, control and restriction of animals' trade, inspection and mistreatment punishment, responsible custody, and free veterinary care	City Councilor	1st term as councilor	White	Right
Artemis (protective goddess of animals)	70	University education	Public policies aimed at the public health of the municipality, as well as animal causes	City Councilor	2nd term as councilor	White	Right
Nike (goddess of conquest and victory)	44	Complete high school	Health, tourism, education, women's, children's, and adolescents' rights	State Representative	1st term as state rep.; 2 terms as mayor	White	Right
Metis (goddess of health, virtues, protection, prudence, and cunning)	51	University education	Female representation in politics	State Representative	1st term as State Rep.	White	Center
Gaia (goddess of Earth, mother of all life)	72	University education	Culture, development, education, urban planning, and senior citizens	City Councilor	6th term as councilor	White	Center-Right
Themis (goddess of justice and guardian of the oaths of men and the law)	70	University education	Education and resocialization	State Representative	3rd term as state rep.	White	Center
Demeter (goddess of agriculture, harvest, fertile lands, and seasons)	64	University education	Women, agriculture, sports, public health, and municipal development	State Representative	2nd term as state rep.	White	Center
Aphrodite (goddess of beauty and love)	33	Doctorate degree	LGBTI+ movement and feminism	City Councilor	1st term as councilor	White	Left
Irene (goddess of peace)	36	University education	Education, culture, and tourism	City Councilor	1st term as councilor	White	Right
Rhea (goddess of fertility and motherhood, queen of the titans)	44	University education	Public safety, women's rights, education, and responsible management	City Councilor	1st term as councilor	White	Right
Theia (Titan goddess of light, sight, and vision)	36	University education	Women, entrepreneurship, fight against violence, and assistance to needy communities	State Representative	2nd term as state rep.	Mixed-race	Center
Ananke (goddess of destiny)	38	University education	Entrepreneurship, freedom, and supervision	City Councilor	1st term as councilor	White	Right
Eos (goddess of dawn)	35	Master's degree	Education and entrepreneurship	City Councilor	1st term as councilor	White	Right
Hestia (goddess of family)	43	University education	Health, environment, and fight against inequalities	State Representative	1st term as state rep.	White	Right

Note. Developed by the authors.

Data collection and analysis

Data collection was carried out through semi-structured interviews guided by a questionnaire based on the presented literature and the outlined research objectives. In short, the participants were asked about their trajectory (for example: the paths that led them to enter politics and what the election process was like). Aspects related to the participants' identities were also addressed, including their roles, the political environment, their perceptions of politics, as well as challenges and obstacles encountered in their political journey, among other aspects that varied depending on the course of the conversation.

The interviews began in July 2019, but in 2020, due to being an election year, it was decided not to conduct interviews. The interviews were resumed remotely in April 2021, in compliance with social distancing recommendations due to the COVID-19 pandemic. All interviews, both face-to-face and remote, were recorded and later transcribed to gain a better understanding of the information provided.

Data processing was carried out from the transcripts of the interviews, using content analysis (Bardin, 2011; Saldaña, 2016). This type of analysis allows the researcher to interpret subjective aspects present in the collected data, and it is carried out through a set of diversified methodological instruments that apply to different types of discourse (Saldaña, 2016).

The analysis followed the steps outlined by Bardin (2011) and it was divided according to the three stages outlined by the author. The first step in the pre-analysis, as postulated by Bardin (2011), is the phase of data organization. Thus, the initial conceptions about the content of the interviews were organized, as were the actual transcriptions. This first moment is seen as a period of intuition, but its objective is to operationalize and systematize the ideas obtained to make it possible to conduct a scheme for the next stages of the analysis plan.

In the second stage, the coding and categorization of contents were carried out, in which the dimensions of analysis were defined based on the researched literature and the emergence of themes in the field. Thus, the dimensions of this study are: "From identity construction as a woman in Brazilian politics to microaggressions" and "When microaggressions intersect with macroaggressions." Then, considering the existence of context units that allow the researcher to code the outlined dimensions and understand the relevant meaning of each one of them, 'difficulties,' 'identity under construction,' 'election process,' 'adaptation to the context,' 'acceptance,' and 'microaggressions' were defined for the first dimension as context units. As for the second dimension, the context units were: 'political performance: perceptions,' 'political performance as a

woman,' 'attitude and positioning,' and 'culture and macroinvalidations,' which allowed the analysis of the transcription content.

In the third and final stage, the treatment, inference, and interpretation of the results were carried out with the purpose of forming a reflective analysis regarding the findings from the interviews. Thus, the main results of this research are presented below.

RESULTS ANALYSIS

From identity construction as a woman in Brazilian politics to microaggressions

Brazil has 513 federal deputies and, of these, only 77 are women. Of the 11 positions on the board of directors that include alternates, two are held by female deputies. There are 25 permanent committees in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies and four of them are chaired by women (Câmara dos Deputados, 2019). In historically male-dominated organizational environments, women around the world have had to fight to be entitled to their roles as citizens, and even after this right has been acquired through the possibility of voting, they still face several obstacles that are not commonly faced by men in this sector (Tosi, 2016). In a country where the female population accounts for more than 50% of the electorate (Tribunal Superior Eleitoral, 2018a), it is possible to state that the underrepresentation of women in Brazilian politics still exists and is critical (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2022). As pointed out by Matos (2020), in Brazil, women are the majority of voters in elections but remain a vast minority among those elected.

Despite the presence of women in the region of the world where more women were elected to the highest office of democracies (Aguilar et al., 2015; Reyes-Housholder, 2018), the scenario by itself is not the most inviting to their insertion, not only for cultural reasons, but mainly due to the logics that have been perpetuated since the foundation of the process (Araújo, 2010; Paxton & Kunovich, 2003). Even so, they are present, as is the case with the women participating in this research.

Initially, the discussion focused on the difficulty of meeting quotas and other existing challenges in the Brazilian political context concerning women (DataSenado, 2014; Grazziotin, 2015; Krook, 2009; Sacchet, 2018), which made it possible to verify that the challenges go beyond political structures and frameworks.

A first example is the fact that, in this research, 16 women were interviewed and, of these, only two declared themselves as brown. This aspect, of the lower number of black and brown women interviewed, reflects the lower number

of these women elected to political office in Brazil, which demonstrates that gender political violence is articulated with racial political violence, in an intersectional perspective. Data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2022) indicate that the black population represents 55.8% of Brazilians, and black women occupied only 2% of the positions in the National Congress in 2022 (Amorim, 2022). Thus, we face the reflection of a reality experienced not only in politics, but in more sectors in the country and that expresses underrepresentation at its core. It can be seen that social characteristics reflect the experiences and dynamics of the nation's political institutions, expressing the weakness of a truly democratic state, given that according to Matos (2010), underrepresentation in state spaces is one of the main indicators of the strong presence of colonial and patriarchal patterns in Latin American States.

Nevertheless, women who reach such positions are faced with a series of obstacles to overcome. It was noticed that the participation of these women is linked to the identification processes as well as to their identity formations, since, as outlined by Castells (2018) and Machado (2003), identity is constituted through human activity, shaping itself as individuals come into contact with meaningful elements. This can be seen in Themis' statement: "Politics for me 'is like oxygen', because it's been my world, my life, for so many years!! I have been affiliated with my party for 48 years! I helped establish the party, I was the seventh member to join it in the city where I lived" (Themis, emphasis added).

It is noteworthy that the formation of identity also allows individuals to develop perceptions about themselves and their environment, developing bonds and composing their personality (Freitas, 2005; Laplanche & Pontalis, 2001), a fact that is highlighted in Nike's statement: "I don't know, I am convinced that politics for me is like a life mission" (Nike).

In a way, identity can be interpreted as the story that a person tells about themselves (Fernandes et al., 2010) and it is something in continuous construction (Brown, 2020; Dubar, 2005) representing relevance to their existence (Saraiva & Duarte, 2010). This relevance, in addition to being perceived in the participants' statements, became more evident with Metis, who stated that she felt "an instrument of society" when she saw herself as a woman in politics. Gaia also reinforces this view by indicating that politics "is part of who I am" and, even assuming the awareness that there are mishaps for women in politics, Hemera stated that she believes she "was born for this" (Hemera).

It is evident that the role of these women in politics was a personal choice based on their experiences and what they believe. However, in the course of each interview, even if they reported positive aspects regarding their actions, microaggressions were present (Nair et al., 2019;

Sue, 2010). An example of this was reported by Demeter, who emphasized that, because she had family members in politics, she already had some notion of the specificities of the environment, but when effectively entering the environment, she realized that the fact of being a woman and having a different mindset from the men there was both motivating and challenging.

All interviewees reported having already received threats when they disagreed with the majority present in their legislative houses and for defending specific projects. In these threats, there were retaliations for their projects in the legislative houses, even death threats made anonymously. Some of the interviewees even stated that they had already thought about abandoning their jobs because of the pressures and negative emotions, such as fear, sadness, disgust, and dismay. What can be seen here is that the 'disruption' of expectations regarding the performance of women in organizations that make up the political system (which indicate that they must submit to the majority and avoid different positions) results in the existence of microinsults that later turn into macroaggressions, since these power disputes aim to diminish the person's identity in such an environment due precisely to the stereotypes attributed to them (Sue, 2010). In addition, it is noted that macroaggressions are formed and gain strength when they are faced with a context of political violence against women. As detailed by Krook (2020) and Matos (2020), this type of violence targets women and constitutes 'gendered' violence in its form, with the purpose of discouraging women from being or becoming active in politics and, in a way, becomes an interference to the political process. It can be seen that, as discussed by Krook (2020), the most common type of violence against women in politics occurs in terms of psychological violence and, by having to deal with such circumstances and due to the fact that they are a minority in these environments, the possibilities of changing such scenario become even more challenging (Biroli, 2016).

It is important to highlight that microaggressions (Nair et al., 2019; Sue, 2010; Sue et al., 2007) are present throughout the trajectory of these women, from the moment they demonstrate their intention to run for office, during electoral campaign periods, until the end of their mandates; and, as Matos (2020), discusses, political violence against women, in the context of a domain of white and male parliamentary representation, can occur at all stages of this process, from the moment of access to the political exercise, during the electoral campaign, in the first months in which they take office, and throughout the remainder of their representative mandate. In this sense, Artemis claimed to have suffered a lot during her election process for taking a stand on a popularly not so prioritized and accepted cause, becoming the target of prejudice: "It was distressing, very painful, I was heavily persecuted, and made fun of,"

“What is that woman doing there in the chamber?” The same was reported by Hemera: ‘I have seen/heard extremely unnecessary comments from men, like: “What is she doing there? Go wash the dishes!” ... I feel that the way in which men and even women often refer to female parliamentarians is a bit derogatory, it’s a bit heavy, you know?’ (Hemera).

Rhea, in turn, also highlighted a similar situation when she was at a solemn ceremony: I was the only authority on stage, and my husband was in the audience. There was a person next to him who nudged him and said: “I wonder who she is ‘sleeping with’ to be up there.” My husband said I was his wife, and the guy lowered his head and left” (Rhea).

The participants’ statements express exactly what [Pierce et al. \(1977\)](#) defined when discussing the existence of microaggressions. In this sense, it is also possible to perceive aspects related to gender violence, as highlighted by [Bandeira \(2014\)](#) and in some articles analyzed by [Souza et al. \(2021\)](#). There is, in a way, a naturalization of the type of behavior mentioned by the interviewees, because despite having elements socially condemned, they are still perpetuated by society in a ‘common’ way and, often, unconscious on the part of those who carry them out, agreeing with [Sue \(2010\)](#). It is noticed, though, that even though they are directed, these acts can reach not only the actors in question, but also the people close to them.

When discussing microaggressions, it is also important to keep in mind that these can be and often are present in subtle ways within an organizational context. In this regard, Themis’ story makes one reflect on the different ways that microaggressions can exist: she and her husband ran for office together, and, as a result of their previous performances, they were elected together and thus acted in politics for several terms together, but two months before the interview took place, her husband passed away. After returning to her job, her colleagues asked her if she would continue working given that her husband was no longer with her, which made her answer: “I didn’t get elected because of him, and I believe he wouldn’t be happy if I abandoned what I believe and have been fighting for my whole life.”

Hestia also reported cases where her actions were questioned due to her private life. During her campaign period, the deputy reported that one of the most prominent points for which she was most attacked was the fact that she was affiliated with a different party than her husband. It can be interpreted from what has been exposed here that the association of a woman’s professional performance with her husband consists of an attempt to invalidate the identity that she built on her own during her career. In their study, [Cajado et al. \(2014\)](#) point out that the role of women, especially in the political context, is no longer associated with their ‘responsible men’ as occurred in the suffrage

period. What is perceived, though, is that even after so long, this intertwining still occurs.

[Saraiva and Duarte \(2010\)](#) point out that in the context of building an identity, the individuals tend to adapt to their situation, and, considering that the political system is composed of predominantly male organizations, not only in Brazil, but worldwide ([Paxton & Kunovich, 2003](#); [Sacchet, 2018](#)), some interviewees, such as Hemera and Athena, reported that they felt the need to change their behavior to adapt to the reality of the organizations in which they work, and they did so. These accounts reinforce what [Machado \(2003\)](#) discusses in his study, namely that individuals shape themselves and their identities based on their perceptions of belonging to one or more groups, dedicating actions in common agreement. It is understood here that this adaptation and change occur due to the need for acceptance in this environment, as pointed out by [Machado \(2003\)](#). The possibility that this adaptation occurs as a result of the attempts at invalidation at the macro level of the women who are inserted there is also brought to the discussion, as perceived in Hera’s statement: “I confess to you that the first day I was elected councilor, the first day I was in the plenary session... I asked myself, “What am I doing here?” You know?! “What environment is this? What am I doing here?” Then I had to try to digest it all and understand that I was where I wanted to be. A woman can be wherever she wants to be” (Hera).

It is noted here that there is an attempt on the part of these women to create an identity as women in politics. Nevertheless, in the face of a scenario of microinvalidations, this identity is threatened by doubts and the relevance of ‘feeling accepted’ in an organization, as it directly influences the stances taken there. An example of this can be seen in the reflections that the participants made in relation to their actions, especially in circumstances in which their positions went against the majority of people working in the researched organizations. Hestia’s statement translates a little of what was exposed by the others: “I feel that women are not very cold-blooded to be false ... I can’t have to build on top of myself another image to be accepted... This does not represent me ... I cannot lose my essence.” In this same context, Hemera highlighted that, at the beginning of her role as a woman in politics, she tried to change her behavior so as not to cause disagreements with other colleagues. However, she highlighted that she currently feels the need to position herself more firmly because, according to her words, “Being a woman is not very easy, being a woman in politics is a little harder.” According to the statements, it is possible to perceive the relevance that identification has in the organizational scenario. It is observed, then, that when there is identification, the positions taken are made without taking into consideration whether they are accepted by others or not. The stances are based on what one believes

and not out of fear of facing some form of invalidation from others.

In organizations of the political system, such as city councils and legislative assemblies, acceptance ends up becoming a critical component of this trajectory in the face of perceptions that power is something masculine (Araújo, 2010; Karawejczyk, 2013; Pinto & Silveira, 2018; Tosi, 2016) and because of the direction that women's actions can take in this scenario (Bhalotra & Clots-Figueras, 2014; Costa e Schaffner, 2018; Ennsner-Jedenastik, 2017; Ng & Muntaner, 2018). In this context, it appears that microaggressions take on a greater proportion, being present in daily life not only organizationally, but also socially, as discussed below.

When microaggressions intersect with macroinvalidations

Microaggressions, which occur through microinvalidations, bring into discussion the marginalization of certain actors and their respective identities in the organizational context. It is understood, yet, that the existence of microaggressions may be linked to the presence of conflicts of roles and power relations in this scenario, as expressed by Gaia: "Politics is not a profession, politics is representation." In the same sense, Aphrodite even compared her political activities to marriage "because politics has no limits, if you open up your life, your agenda, your time, the demands are endless." The same was highlighted by Irene, who pointed out that in her opinion "the worst part of working in politics is juggling time" (Irene), highlighting what was highlighted by Machado (2003) that as an identity develops, reflections are also developed regarding the performance of the individuals themselves.

In this perspective, it is highlighted what was pointed out by Theia: "Many people do not believe in the capacity that women have to manage the municipality, state, or country, they think that women do not have the competence or the firmness to do this type of thing." Hestia also indicated such issues when reporting that because she became pregnant during her mandate, her own assembly colleagues began to exclude her from demands and reduced her workload, but not due to empathy or sensitivity toward her. "They said — now she has other interests that are no longer part of that context." This, according to the congresswoman, made no sense since taking on other roles in her life would not exclude those she already had.

During the interviews, the participants highlighted that there are aspects related to decision-making and responsibilities that are linked to mandates and the insertion of women in the political environment, emphasizing some points seen in the literature according to which individuals can transmit an illustration of themselves, which is built by

belonging to a group on account of similarities or differences (Caldas & Wood Jr., 1997; Fernandes et al., 2010). In this scope, Hemera highlighted: "Women already have, by instinct and their very nature, a tendency to be more sensitive, to be more emotion-driven than rational, and I think that can be a bit difficult to deal with... because men, we see how they articulate themselves" (Hemera).

With Hemera's statement, it is possible to verify the naturalization of characteristics aimed at gender violence, as punctuated by Bandeira (2014), and, taking into account what was exposed by Souza et al. (2021), a dichotomy is perceived to exist between femininity and masculinity, mentioned by the authors, in which the characteristics related to sensitivity, propensity to care, humility, patience, and other types of behavior are attributed to women. Consequently, professions in the fields of education, care, and arts and not management are associated with them, which presuppose behaviors aimed at self-confidence, power, and security skills, considered natural to men and not to women (Souza et al., 2021). It is worth noting as well that such stereotypes, besides influencing the development and understanding of women's roles in society, also interfere with their perceptions of themselves regarding their capabilities for involvement in public life, as already discussed in Birolì's (2010) studies.

Themis also stated that, many times, feelings can try to interfere with one's performance, but according to the respondent, it is necessary to remain focused. The above brought forth a reflection on how the gender of political representatives has consequences for the policies to be formulated (Beaman et al., 2009; Grant et al., 2018). However, it is understood that these particularities (being sensitive and bringing emotions along) are one of the points that differentiate the actions of women from those of men, as they bring greater sensitivity to issues that are inherently delicate and require attention, as pointed out in Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2004). As exposed by Matos (2010), the absence of women in decision-making spaces in politics becomes a determining factor for the quality not only of the democratic process but also of the policies formulated, further highlighting the need for a greater number of women in this sector.

Athena, Nike, and Ananke, when emphasizing the stereotypes they face as women in predominantly male organizations, also highlighted the need for changes in attitudes and positions to ensure that these perceptions do not overshadow their actions. In this context, Nike highlighted the importance of one's demeanor in such an environment: "People won't get your message if you don't show firmness, you know?" In this regard, it is worth noting the points made by Schneider and Bos (2014) and Bauer (2020), stating that women are often expected to adopt

more assertive stances due to the existence of stereotypes that can act as barriers to their advancement in leadership positions. Often, women are assigned representations that imply that, despite their excellent qualifications for such roles, due to latent prejudices, they lack what is considered necessary to perform such roles. These stereotypes and prejudices characterize women as sensitive, among other qualities that contrast with the expectations of a politician, as the latter is generally expected to exhibit more aggressive behavior. Given the specificities focused on stereotypes and power, Eos stated: "I see that politics is a cockfight, and sometimes it is hard for people to understand that there are strong women in this field."

Still on the same topic, Ananke pointed out: "Women take on more responsibilities at home, which is why they dedicate less to their careers and politics, and that's why we have more men than women in leadership positions. It's not necessarily sexism; when we are in a male-dominated environment, certain characteristics that women find challenging to act upon are more predominant" (Ananke).

Based on the above, it is understood that the underrepresentation of women in politics can, in part, be justified by the culturally ingrained values not only within this environment but also in society at large, as the obstacles faced by these women extend beyond organizational boundaries and affect the entire population (Bauer, 2020; Pinto & Silveira, 2018; Schneider & Bos, 2014). Ananke's statement reflects this, as it indicates the subtle nature of microaggressions. Despite being aware of what happens, it is observed that the interviewee finds justifications at a macro level to excuse those who commit microinvalidations, and it is precisely due to these subtleties that gender-based violence itself is understood as one of the factors that fuel the existence of these phenomena. However, this 'letting it go' is one of the reasons that allow microinvalidations to gain strength and operate on a macro level, reflecting what is pointed out as macroinvalidations.

These macroinvalidations also occur in scenarios where women end up facing prejudices not only from their colleagues at work but also from the general population, extending beyond organizational levels and affecting the social sphere as well. Currently, insulting a female parliamentarian, attempting to silence, offend, or attack her are examples of political violence against women, and yet, despite being acts of violence, the lack of greater public pressure normalizes such behaviors (Efraim, 2022). The author highlights a case where an elector attacked the mayor of their city on social media, calling her derogatory names. Another notable case was that of a female state deputy from São Paulo who experienced harassment from a male colleague during a plenary session. The incident gained national attention as it was captured by the session's cameras,

and the involved deputy had his mandate suspended for six months (Reis, 2021). Another example involves a mayor from Minas Gerais who, during a campaign, was asked by one of the city's voters the following question: "If you have such a busy schedule with a young child, etc., how do you expect to be mayor?" In response, the mayor said, "Do you think male candidates receive questions like this?" (Caixeta, 2021). Due to such situations, in 2021, Law no. 14.192 (2021) was approved, establishing it as a crime to harass, embarrass, humiliate, pursue, or threaten women with contempt or discrimination based on their gender or their color, race, or ethnicity, both regarding candidates and women who already hold elective positions. Through this research, it was possible to verify that the aggressions derived from being women did not differ based on their positions. An interesting finding, though, was that when serving as female deputies, due to greater exposure, the occurrences of aggression and invalidations were more frequent.

It is noted that these situations have occurred due to the roles and power levels having exceptional relevance within an organizational context. They not only interfere with the identity formation of individuals directly dealing with them but also affect the identities constructed by the rest of the organization. Consequently, within the realm of roles, there are patterns not only of power but also of powerlessness and control to be developed and exercised, allowing the maintenance of constructed identities.

This understanding aligns with previous studies, such as those by Castells (2018) and Simpson and Carroll (2008), which point out that the construction of an identity is a form of self-awareness that enables humans to be conscious of their emotional, cognitive, and social attributes that serve as sources of meaning and self-construction (Castells, 2018; Simpson & Carroll, 2008). By forming an identity in a particular environment, a critical sense can also be awakened regarding what occurs in that scenario, as seen in Nike's account: "I think we need to rethink who we are and reconsider these age-old customs that have accompanied us throughout history."

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

With the purpose of analyzing the identity constitution of women who were inserted in Brazilian politics, in the context of micro- and macroaggressions, this study allowed us to understand that in organizations where a certain profile predominates, such as in political organizations with a male majority, the identity formation of certain individuals occurs more gradually than expected and is permeated by challenges that often extend beyond organizational boundaries.

The literature indicates that the construction of identity is based on cultural attributes that interrelate with other sources of meaning (Castells, 2018). However, when these elements are internalized, confusion can arise regarding what constitutes an identity and what defines the individual, as observed in the accounts provided by the research participants, since identity formation itself is one of the components of their personalities.

The fact that identity is a crucial element for an individual's personal and professional performance highlights how much the existence of micro- and macroaggressions can have considerable consequences in the context of identity construction since, in addition to the natural cycle of personal changes arising from such constitution, there are changes in the form of their professional performance, which may not always be beneficial to the individual. In attempts to build an identity and want to feel accepted in an organizational environment, one might question how much behavioral adaptations are positive.

The challenges faced by women in an organizational setting are diverse, and it becomes evident that, depending on the position occupied, these challenges extend beyond the organization and affect the social level. Instead of encouraging the participation of underrepresented women in organizations, such movements further marginalize them not only within the organizational context but also in society, as they have to deal with attempts to invalidate not only their formed identities, but also their own stances.

In this context, the concept of macroaggressions is introduced as a contribution to the discussion, since the literature on identity evaluates attempts to invalidate identities in specific scenarios, relating them to daily interactions. However, it does not consider the possibility of it occurring on the part of a larger number of actors, such as, for example, a large part of society in a country and in other forms of interactions, like those arising from technology, such as social networks. While the literature on microaggressions indicates that these are predominantly veiled acts that are perpetuated in environments in which those who carry them out feel relatively safe, in the scenario of macroaggressions such concern does not exist, since the aggressions take place in a public and explicit way, and they can be permanent if registered on the internet. It is emphasized that while microaggressions are essentially interpersonal, macroaggressions are characterized by being

organizational and social, highlighting their scope and magnitude.

Another contribution lies in the verification that even at higher levels of power in an organization, identity can still be gradually built, indicating that, as Castells (2018), suggests, this construction can be continuous. It is hoped that this research will foster greater interest and further theoretical knowledge in the field of organizational studies regarding changes in women's individual identity in organizations, thereby increasing knowledge about this topic in the Brazilian context.

From a practical perspective, this study contributes to addressing some aspects related to Sustainable Development Goal 5 (SDG-5), which aims to promote gender equality and end all forms of discrimination against women and girls. SDG-5 also emphasizes the need for ensuring full and effective participation of women and equal opportunities for leadership at all decision-making levels, including the political level. Thus, this study raises reflections on the ongoing necessity to expand the debate regarding women's involvement in politics and in predominantly male organizations. Another practical contribution of this research is to draw attention to this topic among both women and men, not only to encourage greater female participation in politics but also to discuss some points that are often overlooked not only by the government but also by political parties and the general population.

As an example, we mention the support for women involved in politics, not only due to the quotas established by law and not just financial support, but also to find ways to minimize conflicts and clashes in their roles, helping, at least, mitigate the challenges raised by the study.

As a suggestion for future research, it is recommended to expand the scope in the field of administration and investigate the participation of women in other predominantly male organizations, as well as other organizations that are part of the political system. Although there is already a national debate regarding subjective aspects within organizations, as verified in the studies by Silva and Francisco (2010), Ferraz (2019) and Faria (2019), as well as discussions on identity in the Brazilian organizational context, such as the studies by Machado (2003), Lourenço et al. (2017), and Araújo et al. (2022), further research could explore how identity intertwines with other elements present in the organizational context, such as emotions and power relationships.

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