The role of race relations in the Brazilian labor market: recruitment and selection processes in focus

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Abstract

The aim is analyzing the race relations present in Brazilian society intersect gender and social class, and have an influence on the insertion in the formal labor market of black and white women through discourses of female students, and agents of Brazilian companies which capture professionals for their own company or for national and international other companies. The study adopts the qualitative approach. It uses the corpus of 26 discourses that encompass the linguistic-textual-discursive factors imbricated in the referencing process and in the construction of meanings, borrowed from Bakhtinian dialogism and Circle. The metanarratives of the agents of the companies emphasize race relations in the labor market, in line with the myth of racial democracy, meritocracy and the low schooling of women. The female students argue racism, sexism and social class as barrier to get a job in private labor market.

Keywords: Racism. Black women. Intersectionality. Sexism.

O papel das relações raciais no mercado de trabalho brasileiro: processos de recrutamento e seleção em foco

Resumo

O objetivo é analisar como as relações raciais presentes na sociedade brasileira interseccionam gênero e classe social, e têm influência na inserção no mercado de trabalho formal de mulheres negras e brancas, por meio dos discursos de estudantes e de recrutadores brasileiros que atuam para suas próprias empresas ou para outras nacionais e internacionais. O estudo adota abordagem qualitativa e utiliza o *corpus* de 26 discursos que englobam os fatores linguístico-textual-discursivos imbricados no processo de referência e na construção de significados, emprestados do dialogismo Bakhtiniano e do Círculo. As metanarrativas dos responsáveis das empresas enfatizam as relações raciais no mercado de trabalho, em consonância com o mito da democracia racial, da meritocracia e da baixa escolaridade das mulheres. As alunas destacam o racismo, o sexismo e a classe social como barreira para conseguir um emprego no mercado privado.

Palavras-chave: Racismo. Mulheres negras. Interseccionalidade. Sexismo.

El papel de las relaciones raciales en el mercado de trabajo brasileño: procesos de reclutamiento y selección en el punto de mira

Resumen

El objetivo es analizar cómo las relaciones raciales presentes en la sociedad brasileña interseccionan género y clase social, e influyen en la inserción en el mercado de trabajo formal de mujeres negras y blancas, a través de los discursos de estudiantes y agentes de empresas brasileñas que captan profesionales para su propia empresa o para otras empresas nacionales e internacionales. El estudio adopta el enfoque cualitativo y utiliza el corpus de 26 discursos que abarcan los factores lingüístico-textuales-discursivos imbricados en el proceso de referencia y en la construcción de significados, tomados del dialogismo bajtiniano y del Círculo. Las metanarrativas de los agentes de las empresas hacen hincapié en las relaciones raciales en el mercado laboral, en línea con el mito de la democracia racial, la meritocracia y la baja escolaridad de las mujeres. Las estudiantes destacan el racismo, el sexismo y la clase social como barreras para conseguir trabajo en el mercado privado.

Palabras clave: Racismo. Mujeres negras. Interseccionalidad. Sexismo.

INTRODUCTION

The present study examines the insertion of female students in the private labor market, based on listening from the speeches of these students and agents who work for national and international companies, observing the first phase of the recruitment and selection process. The objective is to analyze the racial relations present in Brazilian society that permeate gender and social class and influence the insertion of black and white women in the formal labor market.

The context shows, nowadays, that remnants of slavery in the field of management persist because of structural racism in Brazilian society, in addition to patriarchy, which makes it difficult to insert and include Black women in companies, which justifies the adoption of anti-racist practices, in organizations if there is strategic action of human resources management.

The race relations present in Brazilian society intersect gender and social class and influence the insertion in the labor market. Black and white women face barriers to their insertion and inclusion in the labor market due to subjectivities related to sexism and racism, especially if these women are Black, situation aggravated by their position in social stratification. Discrimination has been going on since the recruitment (Acker, 2006) and the selection (Acker, 2006; Paim & Pereira, 2011, 2018), that is, from the moment when there are first contacts with the organization.

The growing internationalization of business since the 1990s, as pointed out by Fleury (2000), has brought changes through American subsidiary companies in Brazil. Regardless of the existence of legal provisions such as in the United States of America (USA) and Canada, these companies have sought to adapt their organizational context to the diversity of the workforce, in order to avoid discrimination in the workplace, which was a strategic cultural barrier. One of the ways to eliminate the discrimination in companies was the internal and external incorporation of cultural diversity (Fleury, 2000), because the labor market is the place where power relations are fiercer and more excluding (Kang & Kaplan, 2019).

It appears, however, that cultural diversity in Brazil has not equitably incorporated the black people and other groups considered to be minority, in addition to not having reduced social and racial inequality. Ferreira and Nunes (2020) point out that black women still suffering discrimination due to their phenotype, mainly because of their hair and skin color, since the standard of beauty is white women with straight hair.

The study is based on the analytical framework of intersectionality (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013; Crenshaw, 1991). Lewis (2018) points out that intersectionality permeates sexism, racism, and class showing that this cultural structure still forms the oppressors of women in contemporary society. The narrative of race function as a metalanguage to justify all inequalities of power and position (Carroll, 2017).

To point of the research is that, until few years ago, a silence on race and whiteness prevailed in organizational studies (Nkomo & Al Ariss, 2014; Plaut, Thomas, Hurd, & Romano, 2018; Rosa, 2014) in the sphere of diversity. There were very studies on gender, but the same silence on relations of power, such as race (Liu, 2017). To Dar (2018), diversity terminology is inappropriate in the whiteness of academy, and can lead to the meaning of failure of whitening policies and difficulty in assimilating a colorful academy. The study covers a gap in academia and the labor market, by bringing statements of female students and of agents who capture professionals and ratify the issue of gender, race, and social class in race relations in Brazil.

The conditions of Black women are more challenging primarily because they have their voices hidden is or silenced by male's preponderance (Bourdieu, 2002a; Spivak, 2010), in addition to social, political, economic, cultural, and sanitary aspects. Talking about race in Brazil refers to the talk of Black people and race currently seen as an indicative phenomenon of segregation and social inequality (Teixeira, J. S. Oliveira, & Carrieri, 2020).

Data from the Departamento Intersindical de Estatística e Estudos Socioeconômicos (DIEESE, 2021) for the second quarter of 2021 show that only 1.9% of black women held management/director positions, while white women occupied 5.0%. In the case of men, 2.2% were black and 6.4% were white. The average income, in Reais (R$), for black women was R$1,617.00 and for whites, R$2,674.00, while for black men it was R$1,968.00 and for whites, R$3,471.00. In terms of schooling, the high school completion rate among black women was 67.6% and white women, 81.6%, indicating that black women have

more difficulty to study and to complete high school than white women (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística [IBGE], 2018). These data show the presence of sexism and racism in Brazilian society and reinforce the justification for carrying out this study.

BLACK FEMINISM TO INTERSECTIONALITY

Brazilian structural racism (Gurgel & Colaço, 2020; Teixeira, J. S. Oliveira, Diniz, & Marcondes, 2021) and North American societies are showed in several studies (which can be considered a plague) (Yancy, 2018), which directly and indirectly decimates black populations, excluding them from access to universal principles, compromising their social identity through negative racist stereotypes (Gaertner & McLaughin, 1983; Goffman, 2004; E. M. Souza, 2019a). As a branch of structural racism, the institutional (Avery, Volpone, & Holmes, 2018; Rotondano, 2019), perceived in Brazil and the United States, is detected, as proved in the study by Burgard et al. (2017), which shows that there is greater discrimination between black people, both in Brazil and the USA.

The issue of prejudice is different in Brazil compared to the USA (Costa, 2009; Rosa, 2014). While in Brazil brand prejudice predominates, whose critical point is the aesthetics of black people, in the USA, origin prejudice predominates, linked to black ancestry and the ancestral ethnic group. The result in both countries is a marginalized black population, subordinated and with difficulties in entering the formal labor market.

Institutional racism causes discrimination in terms of race resulting from returns from education, experience, and profession without regulation as self-employed work and without a signed work permit (Frio & Fontes, 2018), having therefore the myth of racial democracy that excludes blacks from having good educational education, requiring social policies, such as the quota reserve law, to enter higher education (Machado, Bazanini, & Mantovani, 2018; Silva, 2018). It showed through discriminatory norms, practices, and attitudes, which have been naturalize over time in the context of work, as well as in other environments of society, raising ignorance, lack of attention, prejudice, or racist stereotypes.

In fact, it is perceived that racism is covered by the myth of racial democracy, in the process of insertion in the labor market, and the term is perceived in the employment notices: "good looks are required" (K. C. Oliveira & Pimenta, 2016, p. 397), which is a barrier to the selection for black women, since the biotype of these women is not considered a good-looking standard, when they are looking for work in private companies.

Discrimination is more frequent as the level of education increases because meritocratic discourse still prevails in the face of unequal conditions such as: social, emotional, moral, and economic (Fernandes, 2016; A. A. Souza & Dias, 2018). Therefore, sex and race are drivers of social inequalities, and Black women are a high share in the lower classes (Mariano & Carloto, 2009). E. M. Souza (2019b) corroborates Machado et al. (2018) and Silva (2018) by emphasizing that racial aspects diminished in the face of the issue of social class.

This means that race eventually summed up to the social class. Therefore, there is a reduction of race to the social class, favoring the denial of structural racism, which causes inequalities in view of the existence of the myth of racial democracy (E. M. Souza, 2019b; Teixeira et al., 2020), because whites occupy a privileged place in society (Gurgel & Colaço, 2020). The social class is an exclusionary structure that low-income people manage to overcome with a lot of effort and resilience, through education (Lemos & Fraga, 2021).

Such a situation occurs due to the social structure multidimensional that consists of three dimensions: the structure of capital in presence, the volume of capital and its evolution over time. These dimensions make up the types of structural and structuring capitals. Structural capital formed by economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital; and structuring capital is symbolic capital. It is the sum of capital that defines the probability of gain in each field at a given time. People have different capitals that delimit which group to belong to and the social space that occupy, from their habitus, because the social world is symbolic system (Bourdieu, 2002b, 2005).

The theoretical contributions of feminism that contribute to the study of black women is black feminism, because it sought to bring the condition of race-ethnicity to gender discussions, denounce racism, confront racial issues about gender relations and humanize black women questioning universal feminism without taking into account neither race nor social class (Hill-Collins, 2000, 2016).

One of the ways women used to gain visibility in society was political identity, considered a form of pressure with the dominant conceptions of social justice (Gonzalez,1984; Hill-Collins, 2000; Hooks, 2000; Palmer, 2020). Mason-John (1995) emphasizes that black homosexual women were at the forefront of black feminism and organized themselves separately due to exclusion, but they remained invisible.

For race, gender and other identity categories have endured violence and exclusion for decades, still being on the sidelines in liberal discourses (Crenshaw, 1991). Therefore, the study is based on intersectionality as an analytical category (Crenshaw, 1991; Cho et al., 2013) for envisioning the crossings of class, race/ethnicity, gender.

For Crenshaw (2002), women subordinated to gender discrimination, in addition to other factors such as class, race, caste, color, ethnicity, religion, nationality, sexual orientation that are "differences that make differences" (Crenshaw, 2002, p. 173). It also argues that the association of other factors of subordination lead to other forms of discrimination such as composed, multiple or double loads or triple discrimination, and that often these subordinations are invisible. Thus, intersectionality captures the structural and dynamic consequences of society between two or more factors to which women are subject. Black women are usually position in a situation where racism or xenophobia, class and gender meet and create basic inequalities (Crenshaw, 2002).

The intersectionality between gender, race, and social class are consider as social markers of difference (Hendricks, Deal, A. J. Mills, & J. H. Mills, 2021; Lugar et al., 2020; Mirza, 2018), in addition to the fact that Black women suffer more from structural racism than Black men due to aesthetic considerations in Brazil (Lage & E. M. Souza, 2017; Ferreira & Nunes, 2020).

The relationship between Black feminism and intersectionality for Mirza (2018) stems from the fact that Black feminism reconfigures the situational tangles of the marginality of Black women, in a contextual and contingency way from the theorization of real experiences. The intrinsic intersectionality supports the construction of meanings for the symbolic struggle and narratives of Black women, in addition to provisioning a complex ontology of practical and applicable knowledge, systematically transposition of the day to day of Black women. These women are simultaneously accustomed and positioned to various structures of domination and power such as genders, races, social class, colonized and sexualized, among others (Mirza, 2018).

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURE

The study is anchor in the hermeneutic matrix of the interpretive logic because it provides a deeper vision of the subjects and organizations, as processes that appear from the intentional actions of people, individually or in line with other social power structures (Paes de Paula, 2016). The approach adopted was the qualitative one (Merriam, 2002), in the interactionist analytical perspective, leading to the production of meanings, with loans from Bakhtinian and Circle dialogism (Lopes, 2004).

Research subjects and field research

The research project was carried out with 11 female students considered black and 11 white from various courses on the Eucharistic Heart campus, as well as 4 professionals who work in recruitment and selection in the private sphere in Belo Horizonte, Brazil (3 Women and 1 Man). Box 1 shows agents who participated the research, description of the place where they work and listening time.

Box 1
Ambience of the field research

Field search site	Subject	Description of the place	Listening time
Recruitment/ selection agency	Manager-A1 Psychologist White race Age between 31 and 40 years Works for 11 years	Company for 25 years in the market. It operates in Belo Horizonte and metropolitan region of Minas Gerais and others. Recruits and selects temporary and indefinite labor. He operates in the industry and services area in operational positions mainly.	32 minutes
Recruitment/ selection agency	Associate Consultant and Group Leader- A2 Psychologist White race Age more 40 years Works for 22 years	Company with 20 years of experience in the market and operates at national and international level. Since 1995 the company has been a member of the Association of Executive Search Consultants - AESC. Selects professionals for medium and high management levels.	60 minutes
Accounting Office	Manager- A3 Accountant Black race Age more 40 years Works for 9.5 years	Company has been operating in the market for 18 years, specializing in the industrial, commercial, agricultural and third sector.	45 minutes
College	Director and owner - A4 Accountant White race Age more 40 years Works for 28 years	Institution of higher education with several undergraduate courses, in addition to technological and graduate degrees, technical courses, among others. It has been on the market for 16 years and has 100 employees.	35 minutes

Legend: A1... A4 - letter and number for identification of the subjects.
Source: Elaborated by the authors.

And twenty-two female students, Brazilian and university students at Pontifical University Catholic in Minas Gerais, divided into black (11) and white (11). The mean age the students: 22.7 years (black) and 23.4 years (white). The students have chosen based on inclusion criteria: age equal to or greater than 17 years for both groups; and acceptance of participation in the interview, with knowledge of the Free and Informed Consent Form.

The female students had been contacted in the various spaces of the university campus, such as cafeterias, classrooms, and corridors, during the breaks of the classes, when the invitation to take part in the research was make. Also, due to the difficulty of accessing interviewees, Black students asked to show other Black women who were attending this same university. Thus, the Snowball technique configured (Nardi, 2018), in which a research participant shows other potential people from his network.

The location of the interview was classroom that was vacant at the time or another location that the interviewee showed, such as a snack bar or open areas near her course building. The total listening time of these interviews was 684.9 minutes. Participants showed by codes formed for letters and numbers, being E (interviewees), N (black): EN1, EN2... EN11 and B (White): EB1, EB2…EB11.

Procedures

The script for the semi-structured interview (Berg, 2009) had 16 questions for agents and 18 questions for students. For Berg (2009), the choice for semi-structured script is the attitude that supplies the maximum communication between the ideas of the researcher and the respondent. For Amossy (2011, p. 139) "the study of the interview shows the co-construction of the author's image in the dynamics of dialogue". Before starting the interview, the purpose of the research explained to the subjects. The transcripts were review, taking the audios thoroughly. The interviewees confirmed the transcription. The interviews were individual, previously scheduled and all of them were transcribe in full. The study approved by the Ethics and Research Committee of PUC Minas, CAAE: 09517719.9.0000.5137. Quality techniques adopted for qualitative research such as construct validity, reliability, and internal validity (Castro & Rezende, 2018).

The corpus consisted of extracts from the twenty-six individual interviews, from the central theme Black Woman for the construction of meanings. Corpus understood as the principle for the collection of qualitative data widely applied in the Social Sciences (Bauer & Aarts, 2002). The study is a primary discourse gender because it consists of spontaneous verbal communications (Bakhtin, 2000).

The interviews were individual, and the questions of the script had central topics and these generated other topics that appeared, two of which refer to the selected referents: racial relations and schooling. The topics according to Brown and Yule (1983) refer to what spoken, supplying the assimilation of knowledge sharing and the situations of conversation. These topics of conversation configured in a central position, which Fávero (2003) recognizes as a reflection of the speech about something using implicit or inferable referents, and from the development of the topic other new topics appears.

Analysis

The data analysis strategy was the process of referencing, under the interactionist-discursive perspective, considering the pragmatic, textual and linguistic dimensions of production of meanings, with loans from Bakhtinian and Circle dialogism (Lopes, 2004). This choice arises from the fact that the discourse is building through pre-existing linguistic resources and allows describing, from the simplest phenomena to the most diverse ways of how language is building (fissure to the language tradition, constituting a direct route to real beliefs or events, being a reflection on how the facts happen). Also, as a form of action and a conviction in the eloquent organization of speech, seen as a social practice, which aims to interpret the context, and therefore always contingent (Gill, 2003).

According to Volóchinov (2017), any real statement, to a greater or lesser degree and in one way or another, agrees with something or denies something. Every statement responds to something and oriented towards a response, being only a link in the unbroken chain of verbal speeches. Finally, the closer social situation and the broader social environment completely decide, from within, the structure of the statement.

Every ideological positioning reflects and portrays the reality that lies outside the natural and social limits. Therefore, everything that is ideological has a meaning, stands for, and replaces something found outside, that is, is a sign and where there is a sign, there is ideology. That prove the Black body and racial signs refer to stigmatization (Sales, 2006).

A subject is any agent capable not only of "appropriating the language" to act through it (Benveniste, 1989; Lopes, 2004), but also of constituting himself as a subject by language (Bronckart, 1999; Lopes, 2004; Possenti, 1993). It is in the analysis of the constitutive processes of referencing that the subjects construct, through discursive and cognitive practices, socially and culturally situated, public versions of the world, which undergo transformations according to differentiated contexts (Bronckart, 1999; Lopes, 2004; Possenti, 1993).

Every word has two faces, decided both by the fact that it comes from someone as by the fact that it addressed to someone. The word shows the product of the interaction of the speaker and the listener, and every word serves as an expression to one in relation to the other. Through the word, the individual defines himself in relation to the other, that is in relation to the collective. "The word is a kind of bridge between me and others" (Bakhtin & Volochínov, 2006, p. 117).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The topics extracted from the referring race: race relations in Brazil: the myth of racial democracy and influence of education level for insertion in the labor market, based on the narratives of the four agents and twenty-two students.

Race relations in market labor on Brazil

The subjects interviewed did not explicitly state that racial democracy is a myth, as can be seen in the following statements: A4: "there must be in companies to reward meritocracy and competence. It is difficult to say so much that there is no racial democracy because it linked to the manager/management style, but we are moving towards racial democracy in companies"; A1: "thinking that we are in the first part of recruitment, yes. It's the same for everyone"; A3: "I believe that diversity and the racial issue have improved in recent years." In turn, A2 makes a counterpoint to the other agents: "no, of course not. No company is democratic. There is no democracy... it is a matter of entry... Equity... No, it's never... We'll get there... it's time...".

The diversity emphasized by A3 is a metanarrative of a strategy to mitigate the myth of racial democracy that has been gradually introduced in companies, aiming to mitigate discrimination due to race and ethnicity.

For EN1 and EN2: there are discrimination. EN1: "yes. Racial prejudices [...] have a standard of beauty; [...] depending on the position, we see the scenario of people who currently work. There are still fat people, with some type of disability, not just black people, [...] the highest positions are not held by these people [...]"; EN2: "yes. [...] (laughter). Oh, gender, race, physical appearance, there is also prejudice against university". This shows the complexity of the concept of diversity in companies because it is a variable subject to cultural meanings and values and is often nothing more than an action focused on commercial purposes (Ferreira, I. L. Oliveira, Nunes, & Castro, 2020). In addition, it is evidenced how stigmas are impediments to ascension to high-ranking positions in organizations.

Racial democracy propagated with the ideology of meritocracy favors whites and hinders the fight against racism, therefore the importance of the role of the black movement that fights for social policies to repair all the various violence caused by about three hundred years (1550 to 1888) of explicit slavery. Apart from is not providing Black women with the same opportunities for insertion and growth in the profession, due to stereotypes considered negative (Paim & Pereira, 2011, 2018) or stigmas (Goffman, 2004; Santos & Scopinho, 2011) leaving them marginalized in Brazilian society. Therefore, the Black body in race semiotics refers to the predetermined place of subordination and exclusion and racial signs refer to stigmatization (Sales, 2006).

Influence of education level for insertion in the labor market: insertion and selection

In the discourse of four agents, Black women have the same opportunities as white women to get a job, but A4 recognizes that Black women are a minority in the selection process for the teaching function for graduation. These four agents emphasize that the focus is on behavioral skills, in addition to the experience found in the work portfolio, on relationship skills. A4 reinforces the above said: "they are a minority in the selection processes, perhaps due to their lower schooling, since it is a selection of professors for graduation". According to A1: "we will focus on those behavioral skills, in addition to experience, on that work portfolio that the person brings, in previous jobs, the selection will focus on the skills that she presents, on the relationship skills, all the same, no restriction no".

Inequality is a barrier for Black students mainly:

> EN3: I believe so, because [...] a young man who attended a private school for a lifetime, a good school, has access to an English course, a computer course, is always there, sometimes, just in the course and in school. And in public school, what I saw many in my reality, were people like this who had to work, after school I had to work. No one has ever done an English course, no one has ever done a computer course, few had done computer course.

In this direction, the discourses prove how social inequality can interfere in the selection of employment and the rise to power. For EN1, "all people who suffer from racial inequality, they just do not rise socially, because everything has a direct influence type, education, health, food (laughter)". This is also confirmed by EN8, "Yes hinders. Because [...] there is prejudice against the classes with lower purchasing power, of thinking that they will be less intelligent, less qualified by financial condition."

> EB3: I think inequality in our country is not only social, it is intellectual, it is cultural, it makes everything difficult, to have access to various goods and services [...], that this ends up affecting a lot, but mainly, the excluded population, because I would never the course, if it were not a social program. I would have starved with my children, so so, an exclusion.

Dias and Pinto (2019) point out that through education appears a new social reality, configuring itself as a tool of transformation. The importance of education in the labor market is reveal in Brazilian Institute of Geographic and Statistics (2019), which show an unemployment rate of 14.1% for Black people and 9.5% for whites. As the white population has a higher level of education – higher education, the unemployment rate always hangs on the black side. For this reason, it is important to have access to higher education as a means of reducing inequality.

The discourses insinuate meritocracy to show that everyone has the same opportunity (A. A. Souza & Dias, 2018). Fernandes (2016) points out that this ideology is related to universalism, sexism, and racism, which in meritocracy produces discriminatory attitudes of racism and machismo. The myth of racial democracy excludes Black people from having good education, and leads to the need for social policies, such as the quota reserve law, to enter higher education (Machado et al., 2018; Silva, 2018).

One of the agents disagrees with equal opportunities, saying that it is rare to have Black candidates for vacancies that meet the demands of the position and adds that he does not know how the entry is due to the challenge of prejudice:

> A2: The big question is, in fact, schooling. [...] rarely has Black candidates for vacancies [...] because vacancies require... a lot, the vast majority, require an "X" schooling that Black women rarely get there. But it has changed [...] today you already see leading role of women and see blacker in the process. In the agency, the choice is by competence, but in the company "in there the people does not know.... I do not know how much has actually entered, [...] I think: (reinforcement in speech) that bumps into prejudice, because that is when the manager has to choose, unconsciously or consciously, him and exclude...".

Black people in general have taken part through a vulnerable and unequal condition in relation to whites. Even if black women are competent, they have not the opportunity to show due value (Santos & Scopinho, 2011). Due to the racism and aesthetics of Black women, apart from the situation of racial inequality, research shows the difficulty of insertion in the labor market.

> A4: Yes. Although it is not in my company a criterion for admission, I believe that lower schooling is a limiting for this insertion, because increasingly the technological process needs from employee's skills and abilities that are sometimes built from the realization of improvement courses and more years of formal education and it is possible to infer those black women have less time of formal education and educational level, such as graduation and posterior.

And A3 states: "in our case, there is no distinction of race, so I see no challenges in this." With different sense effects, the following narratives are form:

> A1: Very. It is incredibly challenging... The woman has very challenges, the Black woman even more, because I think we must keep proving themselves all the time ... That is exceedingly difficult... you prove yourself... it is difficult, to make invisible in appearance and only visible in competence... it is a great challenge... so I think it's the question of overcoming some schooling disability that might exist.

> A2: How to show competence if I do not have the opportunity? So, it is difficult. I think this issue of the relationship network, for you to have these indications... she is critical. [...] The Black woman, [...] does not need to be worked... she needs to be empowered... Capable... so, thus, the search for training, it is important... she has, yes, to put herself able, but once she is able, it's not her I have to work with, it's the other side.

The agents' metanarratives about the process of insertion into the labor market are based on behavioral and technique competence; sexism/stereotypes; professional allocation depends on the position, difficult to give women equally. The selection occurs through competence, indication (internal, external), personal appearance and cost of the recruitment and selection process. These statements are congruent with the racist practices exported from the USA and still adopted in Brazil today (Alves & Galeão-Silva, 2004).

The situation of social class to which the Black woman belongs or belonged is a limiting, since her primary socialization, of access to a quality education and of her permanence in school, which is a privileged space for her to have access to various knowledge that are not common to her social class. Cultural capital comes from formal education that gives basis to the individual and gives access to the qualified market (Bourdieu, 2002b, 2005) and the social capital qualifies the relative position of people in the structure (Bourdieu, 2005). In addition, cultural capital can influence social capital due to the probability of trusting and connecting with other people of higher status (Bourdieu, 2002b).

Social class is another conditioning factor for black women that crosses gender and race in intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991, 2002; Cho et al., 2013), which causes greater difficulty to access these women to a quality education, diversification of their skills to meet the needs of the labor market, as well as their insertion and inclusion in jobs compatible with their skills. It is noteworthy that racism in organizations is materialized with brand prejudice with the denial of the identity of black women (Ferreira & Nunes, 2020), due to hair and skin color being considered negative stereotypes (Goffman, 2004; Paim & Pereira, 2011, 2018). This demonstrates that it is necessary to break the racist structures in companies to advance the insertion of black women and reduce racial and social inequality, preventing them from approaching the stereotypes of whiteness.

Institutional racism in organizations that have not elected diversity in practice is more prominent, disregarding Black employees due to negative stereotyping, underestimating the competence of these people, which is reflected in recruitment and in internal promotion and payment policies. This situation occurs because the recruitment and selection process well designed by gender and race, through the separation of classes, such as managers and workers, generating categories of employees with differentiated salaries. Both interactions and behaviors are affected by the constructs race, gender, and social class, showing the invisibility of inequality (Acker, 2006) and the intersectionality of gender, race, and social class as a challenge for Black women to realize professionally (Crenshaw, 2002; Cho et al., 2013).

The signs of language originated from the narratives of the twenty-six subjects show the social situation of Black women in terms of educational issues for the labor market and, therefore, appreciative accents perceived and constitute the trait of enunciation (Bakhtin & Volóchinov, 1995). Social stratification is a way to end subjects with racial signs in the capitalist system. As any sign seen as an association of a sign if sign and meaning (Ducrot, 1984), and the discourses here called agents bring potential meanings, performed only in the production of the discourse of exclusion by its signs and social class.

Discourse is the space of privilege of the organization in society (Marcuschi, 2004), so in the analysis of the constitutive processes of reference, they prove how the subjects construct, through discursive and cognitive practices, socially and culturally situated, public versions of the world, which undergo transformations according to different contexts (Lopes, 2004).

In linguistic analysis, one can perceive the thinking of professionals and students associated with their social externality, represented by the actions of language that intercede the social. According to Bronckart (1997, p. 13), these actions are capacities of action and intention to be able to do and want to do. The human being, when communicating through speech or writing, develops actions that prove his intention and, at the same time, his experience, and the way he influenced by it (Saussure, 1972).

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The aim is analyzing the race relations present in Brazilian society intersect gender and social class and have an influence on the insertion in the formal job market of black and white women through discourses of female students, and agents of Brazilian companies which capture professionals for their own company or for national and international other companies. The modern discourse of capitalist society shows racial democracy, with the argument of meritocracy, as if at some point there was racial equality in Brazil. The practice of the experiences of black students and pointed out by white students denounce the intersectionality of gender, race, and social class, with triple discrimination and contradict the discourse of some agents of the study.

The low participation of black women in companies, regardless of educational level, is conditioned by the subjectivities of managers, so a strategic management of human resources manages to interrupt the discriminatory recruitment and selection, allows diversity in companies in practice, not only of gender, it includes racial and others. To point out how the intersectionality of oppressions and also of privileges makes the meritocratic discourse of selection processes unviable; since there is a clear difference between the pro-diversity discourse (selection process) and the reality of the actual contractions (average profile of entrepreneurs in Brazil). This study points out the need for affirmative policies for the Black population, especially for women, due to the triple discrimination to which they are subject in Brazilian society.

Limitations and suggestions: Agents restricted to companies in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. The method of analysis itself already clearly proves that the statements reflect the social and historical context of the subjects. Further studies are suggesting about racial relations in other American countries, using intersectionality that has the purpose of denouncing how race relations influence in life Black women.

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Simone Costa Nunes: Data curation (Lead); Formal Analysis (Lead), Supervision (Lead); Validation (Equal); Visualization (Equal); Writing - review & editing (Equal).

Jair Nascimento Santos: Validation (Equal); Visualization (Supporting); Writing - review & editing (Equal).