

Artigo de Revisão

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.13732659>**GENDER BIAS IN BRAZILIAN WOMEN'S CAREERS: AN INTEGRATIVE REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE**

PRECONCEITO DE GÊNERO NA CARREIRA DE BRASILEIRAS: UMA REVISÃO INTEGRATIVA DA LITERATURA

Leilane Serratine Grubba¹ **ABSTRACT**

Context: Brazilian studies communicate that there are difficulties and segregation in women's careers in Brazil in diverse occupations, such as Politics, journalism, Sports, Business, Science, and Technology. These difficulties are visible in motherhood but also interpersonal relationships at work. The hypothesis is that segregation prevails in Brazilian institutions, an obstacle to gender equality/equity. Objective: The research seeks to understand gender asymmetries in women's careers. Method: Integrative review method. It uses the integrative review method, with a search on SciELO, Capes journals, and LILACS. The research selected 40 studies (n=40) for qualitative analysis. Relevance/Originality: The study found limitations in the intersections between gender, race, and sexuality based on the data in the selected studies (quantitative, qualitative, and literature review). Results: The results show the same difficulties for women in different careers. It also provides organizational policies to guarantee gender equity, including diversities, and reducing asymmetries. Findings are: The analysis of the selected studies confirms the research hypothesis. As for gender segregation, studies point to a low representation of women in various professions, as well as in leadership positions, gendered occupational ghettos, harassment, and prejudice. In all careers, studies indicate difficulties for women. Theoretical/Methodological contributions: It uses the integrative review method, with a search on SciELO, Capes journals, and LILACS. The research selected 40 studies (n=40) for qualitative analysis. Contributions: The study points out that specific policies do not make it possible to reverse the segregation scenario because they usually culminate in equality through differentiation, generating occupational segregation.

KEY-WORDS: Women; Gender Bias; Work organization; Career.

Autor corresponde: Leilane Serratine Grubba, leilane.grubba@atitus.edu.br

1 Atitus educação, Passo Fundo – Rio Grande do Sul.

RESUMO

Estudos brasileiros apontam para a existência de maiores dificuldades e segregações em carreiras de mulheres no Brasil, em variadas áreas, como política, jornalismo, esporte, empresas, ciência e tecnologia. Essas dificuldades, em geral, são visualizadas na maternidade, mas também nas relações interpessoais no trabalho. A hipótese é de que a segregação vertical e horizontal é prevalente nas organizações brasileiras, um obstáculo à igualdade/equidade de gênero. A pesquisa buscou compreender as assimetrias de gênero nas carreiras das mulheres. Trata-se de uma revisão integrativa de literatura, a busca foi realizada no SciELO, periódicos da Capes e LILACS. A pesquisa selecionou 40 estudos (n=40) para análise qualitativa. Relevância/originalidade. O estudo encontrou limitações nas intersecções entre gênero, raça e sexualidade, a partir dos dados evidenciados nas pesquisas selecionadas (quantitativas, qualitativas e de revisão de literatura). Os resultados mostram as mesmas dificuldades para as mulheres em diferentes carreiras. Também prevê políticas organizacionais para garantir a equidade de gênero, a inclusão das diversidades e a redução das assimetrias. Os achados são: o resultado da análise dos estudos selecionados confirma a hipótese de pesquisa. Quanto à segregação de gênero, estudos apontam para uma baixa representação de mulheres em diversas profissões, em cargos de liderança, guetos ocupacionais de gênero, assédio e preconceito. Em todas as carreiras, estudos apontam dificuldades para as mulheres. Contribuições teóricas/Metodológicas: Utiliza o método de revisão integrativa, com busca no SciELO, periódicos da Capes e LILACS. A pesquisa selecionou 40 estudos (n=40) para análise qualitativa. O estudo aponta que políticas específicas não permitem reverter o cenário de segregação porque geralmente culminam na igualdade por meio da diferenciação, gerando segregação ocupacional.

PALAVRAS - CHAVE: Mulheres; Preconceito de gênero; Organizações do trabalho.

INTRODUÇÃO

The fifth sustainable development objective (SDG) of the United Nations predicts gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls. The world must achieve its goals by 2030, eradicating discrimination, violence, and harmful practices. It foresees the encompass of equal rights to economic resources, the guarantee of effective participation, and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic, and public life, through policies and legislation (UNITED NATIONS, 2015).

The SDGs converge with the Declaration and Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing), articulating women's empowerment and equal

participation in social fields, decision-making process, and access to power. Regarding the irregular progress of the representation of women in all socio-cultural and political fields, SDGs verified the existence of inequity and obstacles to development, for example, barriers that intersect with gender. Equality between men and women includes access to economic structures and policies, the exercise of power, and decision-making (UNITED NATIONS, 1995).

The representativeness of diversities in organizations is a world goal. Scientific literature points to numerous barriers to equitable inclusion, such as gender, race, age group, sexuality, and disability (FERDMAN; DEANE, 2014; TRIGUERO-SÁNCHEZ; PEÑA-VINCES; GUILLEN, 2018). One of these barriers is the glass ceiling, an expression by Marilyn Loden to indicate situations that prevented women from occupying positions of hierarchy in careers. At present, it embodies the invisible barrier that entangles specific individuals, such as women, in attaining positions of authority and prestige within the organizational environment, including promotions. These barriers are not corporate policies but socially and culturally accepted prejudices and norms.

Therefore, the glass ceiling indicates the lower speed with which women rise in their careers and underrepresentation in the leadership positions of organizations. In Brazil, the glass ceiling manifests in public and private organizations, with the stagnation of women's careers, gender inequality, and wage gap (FRAGA; ROCHA-DE-OLIVEIRA, 2020; SOUZA; CORVINO; LOPES, 2013). In addition, Eagly and Carli (2007) mention the image of the labyrinth to indicate that women's underrepresentation in leadership positions is due to forms of discrimination that they are subject to, with no specific obstacle to the ascension to the highest offices.

The second barrier is occupational segregation, which refers to the segregation of women in spaces considered feminine according to socially predisposed gender stereotypes. In this sense, women work in a feminine environment, such as caring spaces and managing people (RIBEIRO, 2018). On the other hand, the professional ideology of neutrality states that men are proper for the objective public dimension (BONELLI, 2016). This segregation implies the so-called stick floor - barriers existing in lower organizational positions (CASTRO; STADUTO, 2022).

From the fifth SDG and its goals, this study thematizes the prevalence of gender asymmetries in the careers of Brazilian women, which prevent equal access to economic structures and policies, the exercise of power, and decision-making. It aims to understand gender asymmetries in women's careers. It starts from the hypothesis that vertical and horizontal segregation is prevalent in Brazilian organizations, an obstacle to gender equality/equity. The study uses the integrative review method, as described below. It is qualitative and exploratory research with data content analysis.

MÉTODO

This study uses the integrative review (IR) method, which allows the synthesis of the results of theoretical and empirical research already carried out (ERCOLE; MELO; ALCOFORADO, 2014). IR is an evidence-based practice method. The protocol involves six research stages: (1) elaboration of the question or hypothesis; (2) literature search or sampling; (3) data collection; (4) critical analysis of included studies; (5) discussion of results; and (6) presentation of the IR (SOUZA; SILVA; CARVALHO, 2010). To understand the integrative review protocol, see the book *Pesquisa jurídica aplicada* (RODRIGUES; GRUBBA, 2023).

According to the methodological protocol, an integrative review starts with a guiding problem or a hypothesis. In this study, the hypothesis is the existence of vertical and horizontal segregation in Brazilian women's careers. The IR aims to synthesize the knowledge produced in the literature on the subject, making it possible to analyze the bottlenecks related to gender equity in work organizations, emphasizing women and comparing different careers.

The literature search focused on the Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO), Capes journals, and Latin American and Caribbean Literature in Health Sciences (LILACS) on Aug. 5, 2022. Data collection used the following descriptors: (a) primary descriptor ((vertical segregation) or (horizontal segregation) and (women) and (organizations)); and (b) secondary descriptor ((equity) and (gender) and (careers)).

Descriptors follow the TQO model (MARCOS-PABLO; GARCÍA-PEÑALVO, 2018), which involves T (theme), Q (study characteristic), and O (research object,

population, and procedure). T is the gender bias in Brazilian women's careers. C is any study method. O is the equity or inequality (horizontal and vertical segregation) and women.

The inclusion criteria were articles written in Portuguese and published in peer-reviewed journals between 2015-2022. The exclusion criteria were: studies that needed to fully describe the theme, published in foreign journals, written by foreign authors, and duplicated.

Inclusion criteria relate to the theme and the up-to-dateness of the studies. The exclusion of studies written in a foreign language or published abroad is due to the thematic division, which focuses on the careers of Brazilian women in Brazil.

Regarding the collection from the first descriptor, the search on the LILACS and SciELO platforms did not result in eligible or selected studies. The search in Capes's journals resulted in 544 eligible studies. After applying the inclusion criteria, we took 118 studies. After the exclusion criteria, we selected 14 studies for qualitative descriptive analysis (n=14). Regarding the collection referring to the secondary descriptor, the search on LILACS resulted in 2 eligible studies, only 1 of which we selected based on the inclusion criteria; afterward, we excluded by the theme. The search in SciELO resulted in 1 eligible study, but we excluded it by the duplicity criterion. Finally, the search in Capes's journals resulted in 600 eligible studies. After applying the inclusion criteria, we selected 158 studies. After the exclusion criteria, we took 26 studies for qualitative descriptive analysis (n=26). We sorted out 40 studies (n=40) for qualitative descriptive analysis. We will perform a content analysis (BARDIN, 2016).

RESULTADOS E DISCUSSÃO

From a meritocratic point of view, the connection between education and work is an organizational principle in modern capitalist economies. However, studies in several areas of knowledge criticize meritocracy because the link between qualifications and occupations is not automatic. It obeys different logic and temporalities (ZUCCARELLI, 2021). Concerning gender and its intersections, such as race, class, and sexuality, the greater representativeness of women in work

organizations did not generate wage equity and the equal possibility of hierarchical ascension (BRUNELLI; VERNI; GASPARINI-BASTOS, 2019).

The meritocratic model fails to capture the mechanisms by which gender bias and its norms associate with the economic and social order (ZUCCARELLI, 2021). Still, it fails to capture gender and race segregation mechanisms, resulting in black women's less representativeness in higher hierarchical positions.

In large Brazilian companies, men's average earnings are higher than women's, even for the same occupation. Wage asymmetry, considering hourly remunerations, occurs in higher hierarchical positions and at bottom levels. Besides being more difficult for women to hold higher positions than men, at other inferior levels, female representativeness is also low (PRONI; PRONI, 2018). Meinhard and Faria (2020) analyzed awarded Brazilian companies in 2016 by the United Nations Women's Empowerment Principles (WEPs). In these companies, only two showed female representativeness at 39% and 50%, within the range recommended by WEPs. They concluded that the practices adopted in the organizational environment reinforce the masculine model as the legitimate one for the exercise of work activities, despite the reports issued by the companies that mention efforts to identify causes of inequity and effective policies to eradicate it.

The mentioned study identified the existence of occupational segregation, mediated by the hierarchization of gender relations, maintaining an understanding by which the attributes socially inflicted on women would be biological. The discourse of the natural gender difference under equality reveals the contradiction between equality and difference. To affirm equality, they emphasize the difference. As for the representativeness of women in management positions, the report mentioned a percentage from 0 to 60%, with a concentration of women in human resources, recognized in the business environment as typically feminine. It shows that behind the isonomy, there is occupational segregation by gendered area. Meinhard and Faria (2020) indicate that one analyzed company implemented the non-identification of gender and name in the CVs policy. It is a stance that seeks to eradicate gender inequality. However, it fails to question the origin of this inequality: Why is there a preference for hiring men?

Ramos and Félix (2019) analyzed the effects of gender on hiring and promotions policies. Literature states that the preference for hiring men stems from rational factors linked to women's time availability and motherhood. On the contrary, the quantitative research they carried out indicates the existence of subjective gender bias and stereotypes underlying the hiring and promotion processes. This results in evaluating women's CVs as less suitable, with a preference for hiring men, particularly for leadership levels. Male personality traits are associated with leadership roles because of assertiveness and competence. Also, based on gender stereotypes, women are considered less qualified for leadership roles. Evidence suggests that the preference for hiring and promoting men originates from preconceived judgments based on gender stereotypes.

In this sense, it is relevant to indicate that gender relations occur in the socio-cultural field, with stereotyped role distinctions. As such, the stigmatization of femininity in work environments affects females but also gay males (MOURA; NASCIMENTO, 2020). In the organizational context, the priority on virile and aggressive masculinity implies a subject rejection of the feminine. Behaviors associated with femininity reach women and gay men, who are considered fragile and unsuited for leadership positions. Many gay males must assume a heterosexual male pattern and, for this reason, abdicate feminine traits in favor of work.

Women in leadership positions also point to gender asymmetries in the organizational environment. In qualitative research, the women interviewed indicated wage inequality, prejudices about motherhood, judgments concerning their appearance, and difficulties in managing teams (CEMBRANEL; FLORIANO; CARDOSO; 2020). Despite that, Felix, Laurett, and Kalume (2021) emphasize that one needs to analyze segregation in women's careers from the perspective of the queen bee theory to understand the effects of women's behavior in breeding barriers for other women. The authors state that many women who broke the glass ceiling adopted behaviors that make it difficult for others to achieve the same results instead of acting as facilitators. Thus, gender stereotypes and asymmetries relate to organizational environments. Another aspect that highlights gender inequality within careers is sexual harassment (HIGA, 2016, p. 484-496).

Inequality connects with motherhood. Still, we need to understand that in a macro-sociological way in gender studies, but we cannot detach it from the discussion undertaken. Based on the socio-family gender inequality in androcentric societies, in which the care arising from motherhood falls almost exclusively on women, it becomes difficult to reconcile it with a career. In general, women experience disadvantages concerning their trajectories in the labor market. They can be less preferred for decision-making positions in various professional areas because they are responsible for their children and the house (BITENCOURT, 2017). Besides, the analyzed studies highlight that gender asymmetries cannot be separated from geographic, racial, and class factors, even though most studies remain silent on these variables. Vertical and horizontal segregation in impoverished and black women's careers is even more harmful (PETTINELI-SOUZA; COVRE, 2021). For example, the study by Almeida, Dias, and Santos (2021) indicates multiple discrimination against black women, more than those faced by white women.

In Politics, Panke and Iasulaitis (2016) indicate that the increase in women's participation remains disproportionate in Brazil, despite gender quota laws. Politics is still a masculine structure. Focusing on gender stereotypes in Politics, the authors indicate that they influence the stages of the electoral process, including campaigns, votes, and final results. The media coverage of female candidates has a sexist trait, with gender stereotypes; however, candidates often use these stereotypes in their campaign strategies. Many strategies focus on gender specializations, indicating that female candidates are better suited to social and welfare issues such as poverty eradication, education, social assistance, and the environment. Sexist media coverage involves ambivalent questioning about the behavior of female candidates, considering them inappropriate to the gender or not very masculine (neutral, firm), and understanding that masculine values are still a priority for political positions. Many questions involve the candidate's private life and clothing. Therefore, sexism harms women's political careers, although many candidates appropriate gender stereotypes as electoral strategies.

Studies in public security and defense careers highlight obstacles to women, such as occupational segregation, manifested in the feminized spaces destined for

them, prejudice, and harassment adding to vertical segregation with barriers to promotion. Ribeiro's (2018) quantitative study on the military police encountered gender bias in gendered job tasks matching gender roles (virility and docility traits). Moreover, women progress less in their careers and suffer more harassment. The insertion of women in the police career at the end of the 70s was not due to the need for gender equity but to social attributes of gender, understood as an opportunity to guarantee humanity, modernity, and less truculence to police forces. Since then, in police careers, a quota exists for female entrants in the contests, which prevents female representativeness. The justification lies in gender attributes, such as women having lower strength and virility. Gender attributes also account for horizontal segregation within these careers. The police force allocates female officers to internal activities, including management, officership, administrative functions, and public relations. A few female officers work in operational activities, understood as masculine and external. In this way, the police reproduce the gender pattern that reserves men's public space and women's private environment. Female police officers are also more victimized by moral and sexual harassment, with a high incidence of this type of harassment and sexual favors for career progression.

Queiroz, Paiva, and Lima (2019) reiterate these conclusions in qualitative research focusing on the Military Police of Ceará, Brazil. The authors assumed that despite the myth of gender equality, female officers usually have private and administrative tasks. Also, the military organizational culture lies in patriarchal values. Even at the Federal Police, Menezes et al. (2021) reiterate the same conclusions. In the mentioned career and organizational structure, there are barriers to women's progression, causing stagnation —gender bias and harassment result in female segregation in their careers. Women are allocating them to bureaucratic, administrative, and public service activities, which are less operational. Women report colleague discourses that reduce their capacity. As a result, many female police officers indicate the need for masculinization as a form of professional framing and to ensure respect. They also report several difficulties encountered in the promotion policies due to gender bias, with an incidence of career stagnation. Finally, Reis and Zucco (2020) present a study with Brazilian Navy Officers in a commando army, representing women who broke the glass ceiling. These are pioneer women in their

roles who faced challenges concerning gender and race and needed to adapt to masculine etiquette.

Studies that address sports careers focus mainly on football. They indicate that, despite the lift of the official Brazilian ban on sports practices unsuited to women in 1979, its effects remain in current practices. One is the beauty of athletes' evaluation, to the detriment of their performance. Another is the discourses that point to their possible masculinization when they practice sports associated with men (ANJOS, 2018). In Brazil, women's football career faces several obstacles. Most female athletes need decent remuneration for survival and lack opportunities in sports federations and the Brazilian confederation. The very initiation of young women into football has its obstacles and a need for access to opportunities. The sports institution, therefore, is a gendered and unequal organization between men and women in terms of access and permanence (VIEIRA; JUSTO; MANSANO, 2021).

The technical committee and arbitration positions in the Brazilian Women's Football Championship (2013-2019) are male predominant at 85%. There has been an increase in female participation over the years. However, leadership positions are still associated with masculinity and power, reproducing gender hierarchies, which hinder female access and progression (PASSERO et al., 2020). Thus, one must consider the numerous barriers in sports careers regarding race, gender, and sexuality. In addition to the low representativeness of women, low remuneration, and the occurrence of gender bias, with an incidence of name-calling and insinuations about fragility and sexuality (NOVAIS et al., 2021). Barreira (2021) indicates that we should not analyze the barriers to sports leadership positions from a glass-ceiling perspective. Many women reached these positions these positions and still experience gender and race inequalities. There are various obstacles at the lowest levels of the career, such as harassment, salary imbalance, and disregard for technical capacity. Therefore, Barreira chooses the labyrinth metaphor to indicate the challenges in women's careers related to sexuality, class, and race. Thus, equity policies must focus on career progression and the obstacles at the bottom of the system.

In Journalism, Lelo (2019) points to a progressive tendency for the entry of women, which does not result in gender equity. There is a gendered wage gap, including unequal working conditions, obstructed access to prominent career

positions, long periods of unemployment, and even affecting productive routines permeated by harassment and disrespect. The journalistic organizational culture is androcentric. Female representativeness lies in young, single, and childless women, who conform to current aesthetic standards, and whose salaries are lower than men in the same position. Many female journalists mention being treated in a paternalistic tone by colleagues and bosses, often sectored in topics considered more feminine and with less public impact, for example, home economics, beauty, and fashion, to the detriment of investigative agendas. Also, there is a high occurrence of sexual violence and harassment. Therefore, Lelo considers that more women's representativeness does not eliminate gender segregation in the journalistic organizational culture.

In Science and Technology, studies address gender representativeness, asymmetries in scientific production, access inequality, career progression, and the concentration of women in some areas of knowledge, especially the human and social areas. The large representativeness of women in undergraduate courses decreases with the progression of the academic career. In quantitative research, Silva, Avelino, and Nascimento (2021) evidenced the low representativeness of women in board positions, interruptions of women's speeches by men, fewer opportunities at work, and restrictions, such as fewer invitations to consulting and lectures than men. The study participants reported gender discrimination in the academic environment. They pointed to the ambivalence between men's paternalism and superiority or aggressiveness speeches when communicating with women. Also, participants declared various criticisms from male professors addressing female students regarding their clothing, depreciation of work and intellectual capacity, and sexist jokes. Many participants were asked not to get pregnant.

Some still perceive several scientific areas as stereotypically masculine. One of them is Agricultural Science. Oliveira and Serra's paper (2018) shows the underrepresentation of women in this area. Besides, there is gender bias in career progression, with women's low rise, despite the isonomy of qualification and productivity between women and men. Another area is Engineering, in which the low representativeness of female students was pointed out, in contrast to the high ratio of graduates to female students. This study's participants declared gender discrimination in the university environment, sexual harassment, and discredit of women's intellectual

capacity. They mentioned difficulties reconciling career with family and motherhood (LOCH; TORRES; COSTA, 2021).

In Physics and Physical Education, Teixeira and Freitas (2015) point to the low representativeness of female professors and students, including a high bottleneck as one progresses between undergraduate and graduate courses. They identify that women in high positions take a more masculine posture, indicating the influence of educational organizations' masculinist codes. In summary, gender inequality in the academic environment is due to social, micropolitical, psychological, symbolic, and economic factors. One is the overload of domestic tasks on female scientists, which only happens with their male colleagues in a different proportion. Another is the less empowerment of women to occupy high positions, a psychological phenomenon resulting from a type of socialization common in androcentric cultures. Besides, women have less access to the organizations' network than men, which prevents them from creating collective strategies for career advancement in the same proportion as their male peers. Finally, androcentric academic micropolitics devalues female achievements. Feminine perceived values and behaviors are considered less professional and more emotional.

In Chemistry, one study evidenced that a small percentage of women receive public support in scientific initiation and throughout their careers. In this sense, women need more representativeness and higher support. Still, they suffer segregation, with a small percentage that holds headship positions (AMARAL; ROTTA, 2022). Melo (2017) concludes similarly in Mathematics. Women must be more representative in academic careers, textbooks, and staff positions at the National Institute of Pure and Applied Mathematics (IMPA) or the Brazilian Society of Mathematics (SBM). The erasure of women's knowledge could indicate their low interest in the area. However, this absence is due to androcentric cultural bias.

The segregation panorama in scientific and academic careers is multifaceted. Other studies have pointed to the same referred conclusions. For example, a 2008-2012 survey covering Brazil's northern region shows that the underrepresentation of women in scientific careers grows according to progression, with few women holding scholarships and leadership positions. The significant women representativeness is in human and social areas, indicating horizontal segregation in areas typically feminine.

Nevertheless, in these areas, men still have more scholarship grants. We cannot explain this disparity simply as women's difficulty reconciling careers and family. We need to address it as a multifaceted problem and discuss the institutional and promotion policies and the low representativeness of women in evaluation commissions, including in Advisory Committees, which judge the merits of research for promotion purposes (TAVARES; PARENTE, 2015).

Regarding segregation, career, and maternity, some may think motherhood and family lead to women's lower productivity, affecting career progression and less competitiveness for scholarship grants. Nonetheless, Rodrigues and Guimarães's (2016) study at Fundação Oswaldo Cruz identified that in absolute percentage, women's bibliographical production is higher than men's, even though men present a higher average production. Men have more articles published (51.8%). Nevertheless, as for knowledge transfer to society, women produced 24% more texts for newspapers and magazines, 24% more technological products, and 26.4% more technical work. Therefore, in absolute percentage, women are the most productive. However, few women hold higher hierarchical/decision-making positions.

Unequal access to grants also occurs at the beginning of scientific careers. Research by Gomes (2021) at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), between the years 2013-2014, stated that male students gained greater access to the Science without Borders Program (CSF), a support policy to internationalization. The male advantage is 12% higher in obtaining scholarships to carry out the exchange offered by the CSF. Also, CSF prioritized the area of Engineering, typically male, which may have reflected in unequal gender statistics, demonstrating the gendered division of science. Furthermore, concerning the peer group that makes up the Technological Innovation Centers (NITs) in São Paulo, a quantitative-qualitative survey shows an increase in women's representativeness, with gender parity. Despite this, the glass ceiling prevailed in leadership positions (LIBERATO; ANDRADE, 2018).

In this sense, the increase in women's representativeness in Science and Technology did not generate gender equity within careers and organizations. According to Liberato and Andrade (2018), gender barriers remained, for example, the androcentric and neutralist culture and vertical and horizontal segregation of female scientists. Costa and Carvalho (2020) presented the same conclusion about the reality

of institutionally sexist and misogynist environments in the sciences. Returning to the report published in 2017 by Elsevier, the authors said that, despite advances in gender balance in Brazilian science, it remained tied to the discourses and practices of objectivity and scientific universality, for which science is still space to the “white man in a lab coat, not a woman in lab coats.” (2020, p. 46) Therefore, we need a macro analysis that dialogues with gender and race to deconstruct the androcentric bias of science and its academic practices and discourses, which culminate in unequal gender relations as well as in the maintenance of gender stereotypes, harmful to women's careers (HEERDT; BATISTA, 2016). From this perspective, programs that qualify women for these careers, such as the social startup {reprograma}, founded in 2015 (São Paulo), can positively influence the scenario of asymmetries (FOLLADOR, 2021).

In conclusion, some careers are still understood as eminently male, as is the case of STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics). In these careers, women lack representativeness and suffer from barriers and mechanisms of exclusion. Throughout history, some studies have indicated that the low representativeness of women is due to their choices for other careers. Nonetheless, many empirical studies refuted this sexist explanation, denouncing the hostility of the STEM organizational environment towards women. In particular, they mention gender bias, the glass ceiling, the need to adjust to masculine environments, the lack of support from family and other professionals, insecurity, family-work conflict, the desire to give up a career, and difficulty in progression (OLIVEIRA-SILVA; PARREIRA, 2022) Thus, there are internal, such as family and socialization processes, and external barriers, such as harassment and discrimination.

For all careers, studies show that gender inequality is permeated by the wage gap between men and women, even when they occupy the same hierarchical position and function. Unequal wages can be equitable for differences in productivity and are asymmetrical when there is discrimination in the remuneration of workers with equal productivity and similar educational background and experience. In Brazil, there is discrimination when men and women or whites and blacks with the same productivity have different wages. As so, in Brazil, there is female income segregation. In this sense, “Female-dominated occupations, on average, have lower wages than male-

dominated occupations, and the residual or discriminatory component of gender wage differences tends to be higher in male-dominated occupations.” (OLIVEIRA-SILVA; PARREIRA, 2022.) The average female earnings per hour worked in 2015 were lower in all occupations, including the public sector, with a percentage of women's income between 65.39% and 31.73% less than men. In the case of the public authorities, despite the salary determination present in the tender notices, discrimination is manifested in the hierarchical structures, with a glimpse that men hold positions that pay more and better (CASTRO; STADUTO; KRETER, 2022)

Regarding public services, there is evidence of vertical segregation and gendered wage inequality at all federal levels. The presumption of wage isonomy for men and women in the public sector is not confirmed (SEVERI; FILHO, 2022). In the judiciary, Severi and Filho (2022) analyze eight Courts through the matching technique, for which there was a wage pairing between female and male judges conditioning the position, the month and year of remuneration, and the court. However, in addition to wages, whose values are law fixed, there are other existing salary advantages, which are variable. Therefore, the final remuneration refers to the sum of the wage value plus other advantages. In this sense, we cannot affirm a systematic gender wage gap in the judiciary. However, there are wage differences depending on the availability of work hours. Men usually assume internal positions with more work hours or take improvement courses at hours that are not favorable for women. Female judges generally do not occupy career positions that generate higher remuneration. There is an unequal privilege and disadvantage in gender distribution in the career.

In dialogue with the mentioned conclusions, in Brazil, Castro, Staduto, and Kreter (2022) indicate that when considering income inequality and its link to occupational segregation, public policies that seek to combat wage inequalities must link the complexity of the existing segregations in the organizational scope.

The integrative review study corroborates the hypothesis, especially that there is vertical and horizontal segregation in Brazilian women's careers, public or private. Despite the career differences, for example, in journalism, judiciary, police, science, technology, or sports, gender asymmetries prevail, which prevail equality between men and women. Analyzed literature ratifies gender studies that imply the existence of gender roles in sociocultural and political contexts (BEAUVOIR, 1970). Besides,

gender roles are the effects of a belief in the mirroring of sex in the constitution of subjects, which comes from natural dispositions as the result of the binary sex-gender mimetic system (BENTO, 2006).

Gender roles suggest the radical sociopolitical separation between masculine and feminine. In the Western and modern definition, there is active and aggressive masculinity and submissive femininity (GROSSI, 1995). In analyzed literature, masculinity is proper for some functions in organizational environments. Therefore, the differential valence of the sexes expresses a hierarchical relationship between males and females (POMBO, 2019). It is a symbolic violence imposed on male domination, with conditions of effectiveness inscribed in the bodies through predispositions (aptitudes or inclinations). The androcentric vision imposes as neutral, but it is a symbolic order that ratifies male domination in all aspects of social and private life, excluding females from public spaces (BOURDIEU, 2002).

Most studies indicate the underrepresentation of women, especially in masculine-understood careers. They mention the existence of vertical segregation to demonstrate that the underrepresentation of women enlarges according to progression, with few women managers, directors, or other leadership positions in organizations. Career progression is more difficult for women than men because of gender bias (glass ceiling). Most of the women managers work in feminine departments, demonstrating occupational segregation. These data reiterate what Bourdieu (2002) said about the forms of feminization inscribed in domination, mainly the reduced representation of women in positions of power - economic and political power.

The studies identified the existence of occupational segregation in all analyzed careers, with the allocation (or segregation) of women in spaces understood as feminine, such as people management, administrative functions, and public relations. In various careers understood as masculine, such as science and technology, or the police and defense forces, the organizational environment is hostile, along with the incidence of prejudice and gender stereotype. Gender asymmetry exists in hourly wage, final pay, and access to productivity grants in academic careers when men and women occupy the same hierarchical position, function and have similar productivity.

It exists in public and private jobs. Also, it occurs in low and management positions. Women suffer from violence and harassment workspace. Also, there are gender discrimination and jocular jokes that discredit the intellectual and working capacity of women.

This study demonstrates that one cannot separately analyze gender bias in women's careers and organizational environments because they are interrelated to androcentric assumptions such as the supremacy of masculine social values. The asymmetries result from gender bias and prejudices that permeate the organizational environment, reinforcing masculine attributes - or the model of virile masculinity - as legitimate for the exercise of various careers. Among these, the aggressiveness, neutrality, and objectivity, which are considered appropriate for leadership. Some still perceive women as inappropriate for some responsibilities and tasks, for their gender attributes refer to docility, weakness, and subjectivity. They experience sexist attitudes and harassment and often adopt masculine behaviors to ensure respect in their career. As stated by Bourdieu (2002), the requisite of women to become more masculine refers to the training of bodies - a determinant in the relations of domination and its naturalization.

The ideological and androcentric assumptions that permeate the organizational environment are effects of the heterosexual system, which is the social device for producing femininity and masculinity that operates through division and fragmentation of the body, and identifies it as natural and anatomical centers of sexual difference. It is not about revealing the hidden truth in nature but making explicit the cultural, political, and technological processes through which the body, as an artifact, acquires a natural status. Above all, to reveal the arbitrary assignment of sexual roles to genders, with the exploitation of one over the other. Heterosexuality, far from following spontaneously from each newborn body, must re-inscribe or re-instruct itself through constant operations of repetition and recitation of gender codes socially invested as natural (PRECIADO, 2017).

Considering the organizational problem of gender asymmetries, sociopolitical policies such as the non-identification of gender and name in the curricula help lower the underrepresentation of women in careers. However, they cannot reverse gender asymmetries and bias since they are subjective assumptions of gender and socially

and culturally constructed prejudices (MEINHARD; FARIA, 2020). Thus, the mentioned policy does not affect vertical and horizontal segregation in women's careers nor prevent salary asymmetries, prejudice, and harassment. Another important policy is educational actions in organizations, especially organizational culture, to eliminate gender stereotypes and prejudices (PRONI; PRONI, 2018). Also, there is a need for specialized training for managers and employees on gender equity, inclusion, and diversity, which fight harassment, stereotypes, and other sexist practices.

As a public policy, there is a need for affirmative actions in favor of equity, combating moral and sexual harassment, and affecting wage equity and representation. Other policies are (a) promoting, within organizations, gender equality for access to opportunities and progression; (b) guaranteeing flexibility for work, including in the workplace, to make it possible to reconcile career and motherhood for women; and (c) guarantee access to daycare centers and other actions for mothers (RODRIGUES; GUIMARÃES, 2016). To be effective, “corporate programs for the empowerment of women must contain actions aimed at reconciling work and family life that enable better conditions for more women to be able to take on leadership roles.” (PRONI; PRONI, 2018, p. 17)

CONCLUSIONS

The study thematized the gender asymmetries in Brazilian women's careers to understand the literature on the subject. The hypothesis is the prevalence of vertical and horizontal segregation in women's careers. The integrative review reinforces the hypothesis. The study concludes that there is an absence of studies on the interrelationships between gender asymmetries in careers, racial factors, and motherhood in the analyzed literature.

The study shows that gender asymmetries affect women vertically and horizontally in the most diverse careers. Besides, gender asymmetries underlie the organizational culture, based on prejudices and socially and culturally accepted norms about gender relations and stereotypes. Thus, to ensure gender equity in careers,

educational policies that affect the organizational environment and society are necessary. In the organizational context, there is a need for opportunities for access and progression, equal pay, representativeness, stop harassment, and policies aimed at maternity.

REFERÊNCIAS

ALMEIDA, Emmanuelle Lopes de; DIAS, Pâmela Karolina; SANTOS, Elisabeth Cavalcante dos. Desafios de empreendedoras na economia criativa periférica: um olhar interseccional. *Pensamento Contemporâneo em Administração*, v. 15, n. 1, p. 122-146, 2021.

AMARAL, Diana Stefanny Santos; ROTTA, Jeane Cristina Gomes. Mulheres cientistas e o ensino das ciências naturais: um panorama das publicações do ENEQ e ENPEC. *Revista Insignare Scientia*, v. 5, n. 2, p. 167-182, 2022.

ANJOS, Luiza Aguiar de. et al. Guerreiras Project: futebol e empoderamento de mulheres. *Revista Estudos Feministas*, v. 26, n. 1, p. 1-16, 2018.

AZEVEDO, Mário Luiz Neves de. Igualdade e equidade: qual a medida da justiça social? *Avaliação*, v. 18, n. 1, p. 129-150, 2013.

BARDIN, Laurence. *Análise de conteúdo*. Lisboa: Edições 70, 2016.

BARREIRA, Júlia. Mulheres em cargos de liderança no esporte: rompendo o teto de vidro ou percorrendo o labirinto? *Movimento*, v. 27, p. 1-18, 2021.

BEAUVOIR, Simone. *O segundo sexo: a experiência vivida*. 2. ed. São Paulo: Edições Europeias, 1970, v. 2.

BENTO, Berenice. *A reinvenção do corpo: sexualidade e gênero na experiência transexual*. Rio de Janeiro: Garamont, 2006.

BITENCOURT, Silvana Maria. A maternidade para um cuidado de si: desafios para a construção da equidade de gênero. *Estud. Sociol.*, v. 24, n. 47, p. 261-281, 2019.

BONELLI, Maria Glória. Carreiras jurídicas e a vida privada: intersecções entre trabalho e família. *Cadernos Pagu*, v. 46, n. 1, p. 247-277, 2016.

BOURDIEU, Pierre. *A dominação masculina*. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2002.

BRUNELLI, Anna Flora; VERNI, Rafaela de Paula; GASPARINI-BASTOS, Sandra Denise. Modalidade, ethos e estereótipos nos aconselhamentos sobre finanças para mulheres. *Cad. Est. Ling.*, v. 61, p. 1-19, 2019.

BUTLER, Judith. *Problemas de gênero: feminismo e subversão da identidade*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003.

CASTRO, Bruna de; STADUTO, Jefferson Andronio Ramundo; KRETER, Ana Cecília de Medeiros Nitzsche. Diferenças salariais por ocupação entre homens e mulheres no Brasil. *Revista Gestão & Regionalidade*, v. 38, n. 114, p. 5-22, 2022.

CEMBRANEL, Priscila; FLORIANO, Leonardo; CARDOSO, Jéssica. Mulheres em cargos de liderança e os seus desafios no mercado de trabalho. *Revista de Ciências da Administração*, v. 22, n. 57, p. 57-67, 2020.

COSTA, Cláudia de Lima. O sujeito no feminismo: revisitando os saberes. *Cadernos Pagu*. v. 19. p. 59-90. 2002.

COSTA, Lilian; SAMPAIO, Joelson de Oliveira; FLORES, Eduardo Silva. Diversidade de gênero nos Conselhos Administrativos e sua relação com desempenho e risco financeiro nas empresas familiares. *RAC*, v. 23, n. 6, p. 721-738, 2019.

COSTA, Verônica Soares da; CARVALHO, Carlos Alberto de. Mulheres podem falar de ciência? Análise de comentários sexistas em vídeo do canal Nerdologia. *Em questão*, v. 26, n. 1, p. 42-64, 2020.

CRENSHAW, Kimberlé. *Mapeando as margens: interseccionalidade, políticas identitárias e violência contra mulheres de cor*. Curitiba: Appris, 2020.

GOMES, Catarina Barbosa Torres. Desigualdade de acesso ao Programa Ciência sem Fronteiras: uma interlocução com a perspectiva dos estudos de gênero. *Revista Estudos Feministas*, v. 29, n. 1, 1-15, 2021.

GROSSI, Miriam Pillar. *Masculinidades: uma revisão teórica*. Florianópolis: UFSC, 1995.

HEERDT, Bettina; BATISTA, Irinéa de Lourdes. Questões de gênero e da natureza da ciência na formação docente. *IENCI*, v. 21, n. 2, p. 30-51, 2016.

HIGA, Flávio da Costa. Assédio sexual no trabalho e discriminação de gênero: duas faces da mesma moeda? *Revista Direito GV*, v. 12, n. 2, 484-515, 2016.

EAGLY, Alice; CARLI, Linda. Women and the Labyrinth of Leadership. Harvard Business Review, v. 85, n. 9, p. 62–71, 2007.

ERCOLE, Flávia Falci; MELO, Laís Samara de; ALCOFORADO, Carla Lúcia Goulart Constant Alcoforado. “Revisão integrativa versus Revisão Sistemática”. REME – Revista Min Enferm., Minas Gerais, v. 18, n. 1, p. 1-260, 2014.

FELIX, Bruno; LAURETT, Rozélia; KALUME, Mary Correia Moreira. Síndrome da abelha rainha? Uma comparação ao avanço de carreira entre mulheres seniores e juniores. Revista Pensamento Contemporâneo em Administração, v. 15, n. 4, p. 119-131, 2021.

FERDMAN, Bernardo; DEANE, Bárbara. Diversity at work: The practice of inclusion, 2014.

FOLLADOR, Silvia Rodrigues. {reprograma}: gênero e tecnologia em um estudo de caso preliminar. Revista Estudos Feministas, v. 19, n. 1, p. 1-15, 2021.

FRAGA, Aline Mendonça; ROCHA-DE-OLIVEIRA, Sidnei. Mobilidades no labirinto: tensionando as fronteiras nas carreiras de mulheres. Cad. EBAPE.BR, Rio de Janeiro, v. 18, ed. esp. p. 757-769, 2020.

LAURETIS, Teresa de. Technologies of gender: essays on theory, film, and fiction. Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987.

LELO, Thales Vilela. A feminização do jornalismo sob a ótica das desigualdades de gênero. Revista Estudos Feministas, v. 27, n. 2, p. 1-14, 2019.

LIBERATO, Tatiane Furukawa; ANDRADE, Thales Haddad Novaes. Relações de gênero e inovação: atuação de mulheres nos NITs paulistas. Revista Estudos Feministas, v. 26, n. 2, p. 1-18, 2018.

LOCH, Rayane Monique Bernardes; TORRES, Kelly Beatriz Vieira; COSTA, Carolina Reciate. Mulher, esposa e mãe na ciência e tecnologia. Revista de Estudos Feministas, v. 29, n. 1, p. 1-11, 2021.

MARCOS-PABLOS, Samuel; GARCÍA-PEÑALVO, Francisco José. Information retrieval methodology for aiding scientific database search. Soft Computing, v. 24, n. 8, p. 5551-5560, 2018. Disponível em: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s00500-018-3568-0>. Acesso em: 14 nov. 2022.

MEINHARD, Vera Regina; FARIA, José Henrique de. Representatividade das mulheres na hierarquia das empresas: um estudo de caso com base no women's empowerment principles. *Revista Eletrônica de Ciência Administrativa*, v. 19, n. 1, p. 34-59, 2020.

MELO, Carlos Ian Bezerra de. Relações de gênero na matemática: o processo histórico-social de afastamento das mulheres e algumas bravas transgressoras. *Revista Ártemis*, v. XXIV, p. 189-200, 2017.

MENDES, Karina Dal Sasso; SILVEIRA, Renata Cristina de Campos Pereira; GALVÃO, Cristina Maria. "Revisão integrativa: método de pesquisa para a incorporação de evidências na saúde e na enfermagem". *Texto Contexto Enferm.*, v. 17, n. 4, p. 758-764, 2008.

MENEZES, Raissa Mota; et al. "Muito além da Capitã Marvel": socialização profissional de policiais federais. *RPCA*, v. 15, n. 1, p. 147-164, 2021.

MOURA, Renan Gomes de; NASCIMENTO, Rejane Prevot. O estigma da feminilidade nas Organizações: um estudo a partir da visão de sujeitos gays. *Revista Eletrônica de Ciência Administrativa*, v. 19, n. 2, p. 203-226, 2020.

NAÇÕES UNIDAS. Declaração e Plataforma de ação da IV Conferência mundial sobre a mulher. Pequim: Nações Unidas, 1995.

NAÇÕES UNIDAS. Transformando nosso mundo: a agenda 2030 para o desenvolvimento sustentável. Genebra; Nova Iorque: Nações Unidas, 2015.

NOVAIS, Mariana Cristina Borges; et al. Treinadoras e auxiliares do futebol de mulheres no Brasil: subversão e resistência na liderança esportiva. *Movimento*, v. 27, p. 1-18, 2021.

OLIVEIRA, Kris; SERRA, Márcia. Mulheres, tempos e espaços na ciência agropecuária paulista. *Revista Ártemis*, v. XXV, n. 1, p. 203-218, 2018.

OLIVEIRA-SILVA, Ligia Carolina; PARREIRA, Vanessa Aparecida Diniz. Barreiras e enfrentamentos de mulheres em carreiras predominantemente masculinas. *Revista Estudos Feministas*, v. 30, n. 1, p. 1-14, 2022.

PANKE, Luciana; IASULAITIS, Sylvia. Mulheres no poder: aspectos sobre o discurso feminino nas campanhas eleitorais. *Opinião Pública*, v. 22, n. 2, p. 385-417, 2016.

PASSERO, Julia Gravena; et al. Futebol de mulheres liderado por homens: uma análise longitudinal dos cargos de comissão técnica e arbitragem. *Movimento*, v. 26, p. 1-18, 2020.

PETINELLI-SOUZA, Susane; COVRE, Isabel Gomes. Mulheres na teoria geral da administração: por uma educação não sexista. *Revista em Pauta*, v. 47, n. 19, p. 217-231, 2021.

POMBO, Mariana Ferreira. Estrutura ou dispositivo: como (re)pensar a diferença sexual hoje? *Revista Estudos Feministas*. v. 27. n. 2. p. 1-11. 2019.

PRECIADO, Paul. *Manifesto Contrassexual*. São Paulo: N-1 Edições, 2017.

PRONI, Thaíssa Tamarindo da Rocha Weishaupt; PRONI, Marcelo Weishaupt. Discriminação de gênero e grandes empresas no Brasil. *Revista Estudos Feministas*, v. 26, n. 1, p. 1-21, 2018.

QUEIROZ, Glicielle Bezerra de; PAIVA, Luis Eduardo Brandão; LIMA, Tereza Cristina Batista de. Socialização organizacional na perspectiva de mulheres da polícia militar. *RPCA*, v. 13, n. 2, p. 148-165, 2019.

RAMOS, Amanda Marques; FÉLIX, Bruno. Efeitos do gênero sobre a decisão de contratação e promoção de líderes. *Revista Íbero-Americana de Estratégia*, v. 18, n. 1, p. 77-89, 2019.

REIS, Vanessa Coelho dos; ZUCCO, Luciana Patrícia. As experiências das Oficiais da Marinha do Brasil no exército do comando. *Revista Estudos Feministas*, v. 28, n. 3, p. 1-14, 2020.

RIBEIRO, Ludmila. Polícia militar é lugar de mulher? *Revista Estudos Feministas*, v. 26, n. 1, p. 1-15, 2018.

RODRIGUES, Horácio Wanderlei; GRUBBA, Leilane Serratine. *Pesquisa jurídica aplicada*. Florianópolis: Habitus, 2023.

RODRIGUES, Jeorgina Gentil; GUIMARÃES, Maria Cristina Soares. A Fundação Oswaldo Cruz e a ciência no feminino: a participação feminina na prática e na gestão da pesquisa em uma instituição de ensino e pesquisa. *Cadernos Pagu*, v. 46, p. 198-222, 2016.

SCOTT, Joan. Gênero: uma categoria útil de análise histórica. *Educação & Realidade*, v. 20. n. 2. p. 71-99. 1995.

SEVERI, Fabiana Cristina; FILHO, José de Jesus. Há diferenças remuneratórias por gênero na magistratura brasileira? *Revista de Administração Pública*, v. 56, n. 2, p. 208-225, 2022.

SILVA, Isis Tamara Alves da; AVELINO, Bruna Camargos; NASCIMENTO, Eduardo Mendes. Gênero e o ambiente acadêmico contábil: percepções de docentes e de discentes sobre a trajetória das mulheres. *Revista de Gestão, Finanças e Contabilidade*, v. 11, n. 1, p. 73-93, 2021.

SOUZA, E. M.; CORVINO, M. D. M. F.; LOPES, B. C. Uma análise dos estudos sobre o feminino e as mulheres na área de administração: a produção científica brasileira entre 2000 a 2010. *Organizações & Sociedade*, v. 20, n. 67, p. 603-621, 2013.

SOUZA, Marcela Tavares de; SILVA, Michelly Dias da; CARVALHO, Rachel de. Revisão integrativa: o que é e como fazer. *Einstein*, São Paulo, v. 8, n. 1, p. 102-106, 2010.

TAVARES, Ariane; PARENTE, Temis Gomes. Gênero e carreira científica: um estudo a partir dos dados das Universidades Federais da região norte do Brasil. *Revista Ártemis*, v. XX, p. 66-75, 2015.

TEIXEIRA, Adla Betsaida Martins; FREITAS, Marcel de Oliveira. Aspectos acadêmicos e profissionais sobre mulheres cientistas na física e na educação física. *Revista Ártemis*, v. XX, p. 57-65, 2015.

TRIGUERO-SÁNCHEZ, Rafael; PEÑA-VINCES, Jesús; GUILLEN, Jorge. Como melhorar o desempenho da empresa por meio da diversidade de colaboradores e da cultura organizacional. *Revista Brasileira de Gestão de negócios*, v. 20, n. 3, p. 378-400, 2018.

VIEIRA, Talita Machado; JUSTO, José Sterza; MANSANO, Ronia Regina Vargas. Corpo e gênero na experiência inicial de jogadoras de futebol. *Revista Estudos Feministas*, v. 29, n. 2, p. 1-14, 2021.

ZUCCARELLI, Carolina. Trabalhadores com educação superior e as transformações no mundo do trabalho. *ECCOS*, n. 57, p. 1-19, 2021.