



## ***PHYSICAL BEAUTY AND IMMATERIAL WORK: A LOOK THROUGH WORKERS WHO HAVE PERFORMED AESTHETIC PLASTIC SURGERY***

### **EMBELEZAMENTO FÍSICO E TRABALHO IMATERIAL: UM OLHAR ATRAVÉS DE TRABALHADORAS QUE EFETUARAM CIRURGIA PLÁSTICA ESTÉTICA**

**ESTÉFANI SANDMANN DE DEUS**

Professora Adjunta do Curso de Administração da Universidade Estadual do Rio Grande do Sul.

#### **ABSTRACT**

This work resulted from an investigation that also aimed to verify and analyze whether and how the characteristics of immaterial work are presented in the narrative of workers who underwent aesthetic plastic surgery. The literature review covered immaterial work (GORZ, GRISCI AND PELBART) and physical beautification (MANSANO, BAUMAN AND LIPOVETSKY). It is a qualitative and exploratory research, and, for its realization, six workers were interviewed, who underwent aesthetic plastic surgery, indicated by plastic surgeons. The interviews took place in three cities in Rio Grande do Sul. The data analysis took place according to the parameters of Minayo (2001). Empirical evidence showed that characteristics of immaterial work were found in the narrative of the workers studied. Lastly, the narratives revealed that cosmetic plastic surgery is also an artifice used by the workers interviewed in an attempt to maintain themselves within a certain standard of physical beautification that can generate income from immaterial work.

**Keywords:** Physical beautification; Managerial management; Immaterial work; Aesthetic plastic surgery; Work and family.

#### **RESUMO**

Este trabalho resultou de uma investigação que teve, também, como objetivo verificar e analisar se e como as características do trabalho imaterial se apresentam na narrativa





das trabalhadoras que efetuaram cirurgia plástica estética. A revisão da literatura abrangeu trabalho imaterial (GORZ, GRISCI E PELBART) e, embelezamento físico (MANSANO, BAUMAN E LIPOVETSKY). Trata-se de uma pesquisa qualitativa e exploratória, e, para sua realização foram entrevistadas seis trabalhadoras, que se submeteram a cirurgia plástica estética, indicadas por cirurgiões plásticos. As entrevistas ocorreram em três cidades do Rio Grande do Sul. A análise dos dados deu-se segundo os parâmetros de Minayo (2001). As evidências empíricas mostraram que características do trabalho imaterial encontravam-se na narrativa das trabalhadoras estudadas. Por fim, as narrativas revelaram que a cirurgia plástica estética é também um artifício utilizado pelas trabalhadoras entrevistadas na tentativa de manter-se dentro de um determinado padrão de embelezamento físico que pode gerar rendimentos ao trabalho imaterial.

**Palavras-chave:** Embelezamento físico; Gestão gerencialista; Trabalho imaterial; Cirurgia plástica estética; Trabalho e família.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

For the purpose of physical beautification, today, more and more people are resorting to aesthetic procedures, some of which are permanent and invasive, such as cosmetic plastic surgery. The Brazilian Society of Plastic Surgery (SBCP, 2017a) states that Brazil is already the first in the world ranking of aesthetic plastic surgery performed. This fact is evidenced by the headlines of popular magazines of great circulation that follow: "How beauty, in Brazil, became religion and the body, an obsession" (BEIRÃO, December / 2014, Carta Capital on-line); "As beauty standards are becoming more demanding and unreal: In Brazil, a country that recently became the world champion in cosmetic surgery, the wave is to talk about the body of others, anybody" (DUARTE, January / 2015, Zero Hora) ; " (WADE; March / 2015, The New York Times); "MEI records of the beauty market grows in Brazil" (SHINAMOTO; March / 2016, Investments and Online Business); "Number of beauty salons has almost quadrupled in the last four years - in 2012 there were 155 thousand salons. Today there are almost 600 thousand, according to SEBRAE" (BAST; June / 2016, G1 online).





In liquid-modern society, the boundaries between personal life and work are increasingly blurred (BAUMAN, 2009). The demands related to ways of living and working go beyond working time, advancing over lifetime (GAULEJAC, 2007). The appeal that individuals suffer includes, even, the production of bodies in line with the demands of immaterial work, taken from the perspective of managerial management (GAULEJAC, 2007; GRISCI, 2008; GRISCI; DEUS; RECH; RODRIGUES; GOIS, 2014).

Immaterial work - understood as that which makes up the bodily, intellectual, creative, affective and communicative activities mobilized by workers in terms of ingenuity, information management, initiative taking, personal investment in the task and relationships, anticipation and problem solving (GRISCI, 2008) - sees itself as a new production-consumption relationship that seeks to evoke feelings of trust, security and comfort in consumers, and this relationship is now considered indispensable to the production and competitiveness of companies (LAZZARATO; NEGRI, 2001; GORZ, 2005). It is in this way that immaterial work mobilizes the worker to also produce himself (GORZ, 2005).

Physical beautification, taken from the perspective of work, was associated with the studies of Hamermesh and Biddle (1994), Leist (2003), Hamermesh and Parker (2005), Morris (2007), Grisci (2008), Harper (2008), Fletcher (2009), Batista (2011) and Grisci et al. (2014) point to a certain supremacy of physical beautification in diverse work environments (banks, universities, etc.). Understanding immaterial work as the one that requires and mobilizes personal characteristics for its exercise (GORZ, 2005), and managerial management as a management practice that seeks to make everything profitable (GAULEJAC, 2007).

Thus, the guiding questions are: Which body corresponds to the demands of immaterial work? What are the relationships established between immaterial work and physical beautification? In view of this, the following study question emerges: How does the relationship between physical beautification and immaterial work take place?

To answer the research question, this study uses a qualitative and exploratory approach (BAUER; GASKELL, 2002). Considering that exploratory research was





developed “with the objective of providing an overview, of an approximate type, about a certain fact” (GIL, 2008, p. 27). In other words, the objective of exploratory research is to explore a little-known or explored subject. Although the first part of the results involves research on secondary sources and the use of spreadsheets for their development, their analysis is all based on qualitative parameters. From the objectives listed for the present study, the participants of the study were outlined: workers, who work from the perspective of immaterial work and who performed aesthetic plastic surgeries.

It is noteworthy, at this moment, that the use of the name workers occurs because only women were contacted, a phenomenon explained later in this study. The workers were contacted via SBCP, having as their starting point the first surgeon interviewed, considered to be one of the most active in aesthetic plastic surgery in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. With such information in hand, the contact occurred via telephone and e-mails exchanged with the secretaries of these surgeons, who scheduled the interview at their private clinic. The surgeon was asked to indicate a patient to be interviewed and also a professional colleague to continue the case studies presented. Thus, the strategy used outside the “snowball”, in which “[...] the first people investigated suggest others, or establish, in the course of verbalization, strategic points, structures, important connections for the discovery of relationships” (MARRE, 1991, p. 12). In total, 6 (six) plastic surgeons and 6 (six) workers indicated by the first were interviewed, considering that the set of study participants was carried out from the outline of the needs that arise as a result of the study (FLICK, 2009).

Data collection took place through non-participating observations and interviews. Such ways are considered by Gil (2008) as more flexible to collect data in a study. The data analysis took place from the premises of Minayo (2001). With the concern to build a reliable work the reality explored and to deliver value, in addition to the expected theoretical, for the society in which the object of study coexists, this work met the criteria of validity and reliability for qualitative research. Validity is understood as the confidence that can be attributed to the conclusions drawn from the analysis, considering the competence of the data collection instrument to achieve the objectives of the investigation;





as reliability, there is the consistency with which a research procedure can explore a certain phenomenon.

## 2 IMMATERIAL WORK

The shift from corporate discourse to what Bernardo (2009, p. 19) calls “an optimistic discourse about the characteristics of the world of work today”, characterized by the use of terms such as “collaborator”, are linked to the flexibility of work in nowadays, compared to previous labor systems (Fordism and Toyotism, for example). In practice, the worker ceases to be called human resource and becomes an employee of the organization. Bernardo (2009, p. 30) proposes that these manifestations "are directly related to the needs brought about by the new configurations of capitalism". However, such denominations would be only rhetorical, since the intensification of the work continues, only the discourse used is changed (DAL ROSSO, 2008).

If previously the combination of techniques related to the study of times and movements with moving walkways were considered ways to intensify work (DAL ROSSO, 2006), currently the intensification is due to new technologies (cell phone, tablet, laptop) that bring workers together of your daily tasks, and often never take you away from them. Galvão, Silva and Cocco (2003, p. 7) emphasize the importance of new forms of technology for the transformation of the industrial economy and the productive process into "immaterial activities". In other words, innovation and circulation have made immaterial work emancipate from the factory and wage labor (GALVÃO, SILVA, COCCO 2003). Thus, it was the new information and communication technologies, which, by enabling new forms of distribution and commercialization of products,

Grisci (2008, p. 4) understands that immaterial work is “the set of bodily, intellectual, creative, affective and communicative activities inherent to the worker, currently valued and demanded as an indispensable condition for production”. According to the author, the new technological paradigm related to the new information technologies, linked to the





current forms of work control, has been “collaborating so that management demands an unprecedented subjective mobilization from workers” (GRISCI, 2008, p. 3).

According to Gorz (2005, p. 15), “material production work, measurable in product units by time units, is replaced by so-called immaterial work, to which the classic measurement standards can no longer apply”. The work, therefore, is no longer measurable by pre-established standards and norms, as the way of carrying out the tasks cannot be prescribed at all. What is prescribed is “subjectivity, that is, precisely that which only the operator can produce 'when giving' to his task” (GORZ, 2005, p. 19). Therefore, it is expected that the worker will be in the production process “with all the cultural baggage that he acquired in games, team sports, disputes, musical and theater activities, etc.” (GORZ, 2005, p. 19). It is the experiences outside the company that develop the skills required in this new paradigm; therefore,

Cocco (2001, p. 108) discusses the “immaterial worker” and states that this is the most accurate result of a new “mode of production based on the production of information and languages. In other words, the worker of the immaterial is all that subject who, living in these times, has a constant concern to see himself as productive and active. Complementing this analysis, Lazzarato and Negri (2001, p. 45) explain that immaterial work is one that “[...] is at the intersection (it is the interface) of this new production / consumption relationship.” Immaterial work “is affective work in the sense that its products are intangible” (PELBART, 2000, p. 36), it is immaterial because it deals with something that is immaterial: “human subjectivity” (PELBART, 2000, p. 36).

For the present study, the concept of immaterial work is one that includes bodily, intellectual, creative, affective, and communicative activities, mobilized by workers in terms of ingenuity, information management, initiative taking, personal investment in the task and relationships, anticipation and problem solving (GRISCI, 2008). Because of this, immaterial work fosters a new production-consumption relationship that aims to raise feelings of trust, security, and comfort on the part of consumers, and are now considered indispensable to the production and competitiveness of companies (LAZZARATO; NEGRI, 2001; GORZ, 2005).





Therefore, there is a “total mobilization”, in which the worker produces himself, that is, “the activity of producing himself is a necessary dimension to all immaterial work, and that he tends to appeal to the same capacities and the same dispositions that have free activities outside of work” (GORZ, 2005, p. 22). Thus, work extends and embraces life, since the construction of the working subject occurs concurrently with existence; there are no limits between life and work, between the beginning and the end of each one. The discussions related to physical beauty are inserted there, because an activity commonly related to private life, to how the subject takes care of his body and his appearance, becomes an important part of the discussions in the context of immaterial work (GRISCI; BECKER; SCALCO; KRUTER, 2008; GRISCI, 2008; BATISTA, 2011; GRISCI; DEUS; RECH; RODRIGUES; GOIS, 2014). In this way, “work needs life as never before, and its product affects life on an unprecedented scale” (PELBART, 2000, p. 37).

### **3 FEMALE WORKERS WHO HAVE UNDERGONE COSMETIC PLASTIC SURGERY AND THEIR PROFESSIONAL TRAJECTORIES**

The interviewed workers comprised two distinct groups: that of middle-aged women, who reaped the rewards for the hard work done 20 to 40 years before - these were the cases of Cleopatra, Berenice, Tiia and Eurídice; and that of young women, who had worked for about 10 years and were very focused on a professional future considered successful, as is the case with Kiya and Nefertiti. In both groups there was a clear effort, already made or in progress, to give “everything of yourself” to work, in a total approximation with the idea of immaterial work.

In all cases, there has been an intensification of work over the years, even in a public environment, as is the case with Berenice, who has worked in the public sector for over 20 years, and Eurídice. In this way, even the civil service - traditionally considered as a place of “less work” - is a place for its intensification (DAL ROSSO, 2008). In the interview extract from Berenice (p. 2) below, the following sentence is highlighted: “for me work is fundamental, I, for many years of my life, I think I stayed more for work [...]”, which





exemplifies what Boltanski and Chiapello (2009) warn of as the primacy of work over private life.

For me, work is fundamental, I, for many years of my life, I think I stayed more for work, at least before I have kids. I am and I was extremely, and I am still, very demanding in relation to my work. I wanted to work in the health area, in the area of violence against women and against women's harassment. (Berenice, p. 2, my emphasis).

Right. I graduated with twenty-three years in Data Processing, I worked twelve years with informatics. And in those twelve years I was an employee in a private company. And two years ago, I started my own microenterprise. I developed computer applications in the area of games and electronic bingo. So, when the bingos were closed, which the law no longer allows, you know ... if bingos work, I did the contest and spent [...] ten years of public service. (Eurydice, p. 1).

Tiia, when talking about her professional career, was very lean. However, throughout the interview, it became clear and evident how much work became his major concern and life goal. Below is the narrative about Tiia's work trajectory:

Ah, I started at, my entire career was based on the financial area. I started in 1978, right ... it's been a while. I started ... my first job was at Banco X, right ... and since then I've worked at four banks and, until today, always in the financial area. So, I started as an assistant at Banco X and left Banco X as general manager, then I spent 21 years as a manager. (Tiia, p. 1).

In the cases of Kiyá and Nefertiti, the work started right at the beginning of college, through internships or aids used as a way to acquire experience and, also, to start a future profession. Even though the professions of these two interviews are different - doctor and lawyer -, it was observed that the work, in both cases, was intense and covered practically the entire life of these.

Then, when I graduated, I continued in that office, participating in the banking. I really wanted to work for a company. In the labor area, only in a company. To get that idea of a company. And I ended up going there in 2006 and then I stayed there until 2011. [...] I got pregnant there and ended up going back to law. I did a post in labor law and a post in people management. At this company I started as a legal advisor. [...] So I structured all the work and, after about three years there, the opportunity arose to manage human resources, which was something very different for me, right? And then I did some tests, to see if I was able. And I ended







up staying in management for two and a half more years and then I got pregnant and ended up leaving and went back to law. More or less that. (Nefertiti, p. 1). As a teenager I covered vacations for the secretaries at my parents' doctor's office. At 17 I was approved in medicine. And as soon as I started college, I started working as an assistant in surgeries and dressings, even before, from January to October, when they started classes, with my father. During this period, he accompanied surgeries on Saturdays. I graduated as a doctor in 2008 and started doing clinical shifts in Porto Alegre, Esteio, Canoas, Sapucaia, Cachoeirinha, Gravataí. I spent at the General Surgery residency, maintaining shifts and surgical aids, when possible, but much less frequently. I graduated as a general surgeon in 2011 and started my residency in Plastics. During this period, I intensified the frequency of assistance to plastic surgeons and on call at Hospital X as a general surgeon once or twice a week. I graduated as a plastic surgeon in 2014. [...] I perform surgical aids, aesthetic, and reconstructive plastic surgeries, I think that's it, not too long ago, right? (Kiya, p. 1).

It is noteworthy that, even in the description and analysis of professional trajectories, outlines of immaterial work are outlined, considering that the intensification of work and the overlap between private and professional life are fundamental and important characteristics of this concept. In order to continue the analysis, the characteristics of immaterial work are presented in the narrative of the workers who underwent cosmetic plastic surgery. Such characteristics are confused with those necessary for the exercise of the work of each one, because, in immaterial work, there is a total mobilization of the subjectivity of the worker in favor of their work (GORZ, 2005).

#### **4 CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMATERIAL WORK IN THE NARRATIVE OF FEMALE WORKERS WHO UNDERWENT COSMETIC PLASTIC SURGERY**

Dejours (2005) defines work for those activities developed in an attempt to perform a task that cannot be done only by the prescribed organization. In other words, the tasks of each worker focus on his human condition and are adjusted by him (DEJOURS, 2005). That is how the work ends up depending not only on the execution of tasks, but on the knowledge and practices - the personal skills - necessary for this execution and which are intrinsic to each worker. Because of this, the personal skills of Cleopatra, Tiia, Kyia, Nefertiti, Berenice and Eurídice are analyzed and how they are related to the execution of their work tasks.





The adjustment made so that the workers' personal skills are useful to the performance of their work is based on flexibility (SENNET, 2012). Flexibility makes use of the skills of workers to the maximum; in addition, it brings advantages to the work environment and corroborates practices that impose even more activities on the worker. It is a new power, because even though the environment is considered flexible, it makes the worker feel more and more pressured to perform other tasks, in a constant and intermittent work (BERNARDO, 2009). Being flexible often means having different skills, fitting each one with a demand for your work. Tiia corresponds exactly to that profile. When answering about your personal skills, the interviewee lists, one by one, those necessary to fulfill each function performed by her in the banking environment. It is persistent, positive, focused, updated, reliable and whatever else your organization needs it to be. All this to meet the demands received, such as finishing a job, attracting customers, keeping customers, teaching subordinates and any other task that needs to be accomplished. In this sense, she is flexible and assumes a certain skill when necessary. Here is the extract from the interview for understanding: teach subordinates and any other task that needs to be accomplished. In this sense, she is flexible and assumes a certain skill when necessary. Here is the extract from the interview for understanding: teach subordinates and any other task that needs to be accomplished. In this sense, she is flexible and assumes a certain skill when necessary. Here is the extract from the interview for understanding:

What else could I say? As a characteristic ... ah, and I don't give in easily, you see ... ah, the market is bad, I don't know what. No use let's go get this sleeve and let us look for what we want. Being persistent. You go and get it, that sometimes a lot of people give themselves up and stuff, but no, I say: I'm going to the field. I will search, needing, I, thanks to God, all these years, I built a reliability in Caxias, right ... My name, being a little bit different, is not very common, so people identify slightly. Ah, Tiia ... oh yeah; so, we created a very high reliability with customers. (Tiia, p. 1, my emphasis).

The excerpt in which Tiia (p.1) states "I don't give myself easy" is noteworthy, because when there is a crisis, or for another reason the market is going badly, she seeks alternatives. It is important to note that she does this, exclusively, because her job





demands it, because the bank requires this skill. However, she translates it as an important personal skill, and that made her a great professional. And, in return, your work organization receives the financial return for such dedication. It is a matter of creating, in the case of Tiia, competences to develop certain behavioral capacities necessary to carry out their tasks (HARDT; NEGRI, 2005).

Cocco (1999) says that post-Fordism defined the dimensions of space and time in globalization; the factory was forced to become more flexible and volatile due to an existing new dynamic and flexible market (COCCO, 1999). The apparent flexibilization of work hides its intensification, which includes, even, the knowledge acquired by the worker. This flexibility created new competencies that accompany this work and are related to the capacity for technical and communicational innovations, by which workers are required a greater intensity of cooperation and subjectivity (COCCO, 1999). The subjectivity of the worker is placed to work in the service of capital, and cooperation makes it available its subjectivity to the organization (LAZZARATO; NEGRI, 2001).

My personal skills, I understand that they directly interfere with my work [...]. I believe that, for us to coordinate any work, it is essential that we put ourselves in the place of the other, both the patient and the professional, so that we can understand the patients and the relationships between the people at work, and this comes, for sure of a family base. It comes from a maturity that is acquired not only in college. Not only in undergraduate, graduate, master's, and doctorate courses, but it is very linked to the range of knowledge and especially emotional knowledge that we carry in the family. (Berenice, p. 2.).

This is how immaterial work is presented, as “the set of bodily, intellectual, creative, affective and communicative activities inherent to the worker, currently valued and demanded as an indispensable condition for production” (GRISCI, 2008, p. 4). Gorz (2005) states that skills that cannot be taught, such as cooperation and expression and the knowledge acquired in everyday culture, are put to work by capital. There is a mobilization of the subjectivity of this worker in favor of work, because, according to Tiia:

[...] we take most of our time ... we take all of our personal experiences and expectations even, people, no matter how professional you are, you carry the story of your life with you, you carry your concepts ethical, moral, political, and





religious. And this influences the way you work, and the way work relations take place. (Tiia, p. 2).

Bauman points out that, although the work remains as immobile as the manual labor of the Industrial Revolution, it lost its solid base, because once anchored in strong roots, today it is subjected to a new, volatile, and constantly changing market (BAUMAN, 2001). Because of this, the worker is considered responsible for understanding and unveiling his skills and abilities to serve his work (BAUMAN, 2001). This is how, according to Eurídice: "I consider myself very responsible. I can't let the service accumulate, I have to do everything ... you know ... walk and I'm punctual" (Eurídice, p. 2).

Alves (2008) states that, behind an apparent consensual and participatory involvement of workers, there is manipulation, capture and use of workers' subjectivities by the organization. It is in this capture of subjectivity that immaterial work is found, as it is the set of activities and skills that is highlighted and put to work by capital (ALVES, 2008). Thus, workers with different personalities will also be used in a different way, in order to achieve the final goal, which is profit. So, in the case of a lawyer with writing skills, his work will be condensed on paper:

[...] yeah, I think I'm just like that ... introspective. Shy, more serious, well focused, like this, at work. I think I have a little difficulty with this issue of externalizing what I think. So, my work is more written than spoken. (Nefertiti, p. 1).

Plastic surgeon Kiya and Doctor Cleopatra - self-employed - need to understand these skills and make them work for their own professional success. Even if there is no organization doing this manipulation, the professional herself has no alternative but to impose this duty on herself.

It is necessary to have enough security and conviction for patients to indulge in a surgical procedure, in addition to empathy and manual ability to perform the procedure. It is necessary to know that there is no reason not to be on "a good day", because every day that a patient is operated on will be decisive in his life. I am safe, determined and I focus on work, the main and important skills, I believe. (Kiya, p. 2).





I think the ability to listen, the patience, the tolerance ... tolerance easily and the desire to see the person really more balanced in every way, right? It is the desire to minimize human suffering. (Cleopatra, p. 3).

It is considered that immaterial work is the result of a new way of producing, based on the use of information, and, furthermore, that it is that work that lies in the overlap of this new relationship between production and consumption and that is immaterial because it deals with something that is immaterial: "human subjectivity" (PELBART, 2000, p. 36). The personal characteristics of Cleopatra, Nefertiti, Tiia, Kiya, Berenice and Eurídice are important for the exercise of the immaterial work of each one,

Boltanski and Chiapello (2009) affirm that the link between affective relationships and useful relationships, with regard to the work environment, is becoming increasingly closer. In this way, the worker can identify herself as part of her clients' family, as seen as such, according to Tiia's case (p. 2):

So, you serve the families, so you end up having, creating a very great relationship with the family. You attend the grandfather, the father, the son, the grandson, you end up learning about the family. You end up, in many cases, I am almost one of the family, and when one had a problem, he would go there and talk to me. To try to soften it. (Tiia, p. 2, emphasis added).

In the same sense, working relationships become close when lunches, coffees, dinners, and even physical exercises are carried out in the workplace or with colleagues, when the family approaches this environment, it is part of it (BOLTANSKI; CHIAPELLO, 2009). Second Tiia, "[...] so my family, the husband participated in parties and such, we ended up forming a family, so it's very good" (Tiia, p. 10).

There is an apparent attenuation of the intensification of work carried out through the use of speeches considered optimistic, such as the use of the term collaborator (BERNARDO, 2009). Such speeches are considered only rhetorical, since the intensification of the work continues (DAL ROSSO, 2008). The cell phone, tablet and laptop are some of the current intensification features, bringing workers closer to their daily tasks and rarely removing them from them. This fact is clear in the case of Tiia, as evidenced below, especially in the italics, where she affirms that, although she does not





have control of attendance and punctuality through a point, she is always connected to work via cell phone.

Today, for you to have an idea, look ... I ... our schedule, we did it. We don't have to have to hit the spot. No, you know ... we are very independent, I don't have time to get there, to go out, to ... I have to do what I need to do. My director will never charge me for hours, he knows that if he wants to find me, he will find me on his cell phone, you know ... you don't have to be calling ... so the hours we have no problem. (Tiia, p. 9, emphasis added).

The intensification of work continues when several activities not originally related to it are carried out in the workplace or with colleagues. In the case of Nefertiti (p. 7) "But I usually have lunch at the office, right? I get something and end up having lunch there". This is because "you have to dedicate yourself, because otherwise you won't be able to, and normally you won't have a lot of people" (Tiia, p. 9). Because of this, "I started to work ... just so you have an idea, around eight, sometimes I didn't even go out to lunch, I grabbed a snack. I was tired of leaving there at eight at night" (Tiia, p. 9). This is how immaterial work also comprises a new relationship of space-time of life and work (GRISCI; CARDOSO, 2014). Abandoning the standards of working time, once they exist, such as the daily 8/9-hour journey. In immaterial work, life and work are mixed, there is no separation. This characteristic is clear in all interviews conducted and is highlighted in the following extracts listed below:

Work takes life: We start at 8:30 am until noon and from 1:30 pm until 5:30 pm, 6 pm. [...] and I always leave at 7pm. I can never leave before that time [...] I never leave on time, unless I have an appointment, like this ... a doctor, or something very urgent. But it's usually that time. (Nefertiti, p. 7).

You don't have a fixed schedule, you know? The surgeries can start at 7:30 am and last almost all day. But if it ends 12:00, for example, I attend the office in the afternoon. I take care of all patients, so I can leave there, I don't know, at 21:00 at night. But that doesn't always vary, as I said, it depends on the surgeries. (Kiya, p. 2).

Work extends and takes on life, since the construction of the working subject occurs according to existence; the limits between life and work are closed, between the beginning and the end of each one. There is a "total mobilization", in which the worker produces





himself, that is, “the activity of producing himself is a necessary dimension to all immaterial work, and [...] this tends to appeal to the same capacities and same dispositions as free activities outside work” (GORZ, 2005, p. 22). In this total mobilization, the worker does not even see the finish line, that is, retirement. This is how “work needs life as never before, and its product affects life on an unprecedented scale” (PELBART, 2000, p. 37). His work is his life, and he has no alternative but to continue working:

From now on? Well, I don't intend to stop working, if I can. If possible. If, within my physical capabilities, I manage to work until I am eighty years old, I will continue working. For me, work is vital. I can't see myself without working. I wouldn't even know what to do with my time. (Cleópatra, p. 6).

## 5 PHYSICAL BEAUTIFICATION IN THE NARRATIVE OF FEMALE WORKERS WHO UNDERWENT COSMETIC PLASTIC SURGERY

Hamermesh and Biddle (1994) carried out the first economic study in the United States with the aim of relating physical beauty and the labor market. In summary, the authors found that beautiful people earn more than ugly people. Fletcher (2009) found that the most attractive earn between 5% to 10% more than the less attractive. Hamermesh and Parker (2005) claim that students pay more attention to teachers considered more beautiful. In addition to these surveys, the disclosures found in magazines and newspapers of great circulation are able to inform the workers who read them that, yes, such surveys are correct and, therefore, it is important to be beautiful, to be tidy and with the body in shape to the work. In this way, all the interviewed workers considered physical beautification for work to be important,

[...] I think beautification ... Your body is your home, so if you are not feeling well, not feeling well will end up influencing your professional life. I do not say that a person needs to be beautiful to get along or to move up in their careers, it's not like that, but it is ... If we're not happy with us, we're not well, we don't like ourselves, anyway ... I think that this ends up negatively influencing your professional performance, and even with personal relationships, that you start to shrink, to feel some constraints, so that's why I think it is important. (Berenice, p. 5).





Indirectly yes ... right ... because the moment you feel good about yourself and you're happy with yourself and your self-esteem is more right ... high ... you're better, you work well, I think you have, you know ... better development, I don't know, you work happier. (Eurydice, p. 5).

Berenice, although initially saying that being beautiful would not influence her career, admits in the end that beautification is important. Such narrative corroborates the perspective that the relationship between work and physical beautification does not occur immediately. The workers believe as soon as they arrive at the office that the reason for doing cosmetic plastic surgery is exclusively personal. However, from this moment on, the narratives will show that their work influences the workers to resort to aesthetic procedures. Physical beautification is shown as an individual's desire, but it is the process of producing this desire that needs to be clarified. This happens through self-management, which is consistent with immaterial work, also through the management of the body (GAULEJAC, 2007; GRISCI, 2008)

Leist (2003) studied the relationship between health and physical beauty. He states that the search for physical beauty linked to the use of invasive techniques, such as plastic surgery, can put health at risk (LEIST, 2003). However, the correlation between health and beauty is made directly. In the case of Cleopatra, a doctor who seeks the health of her patients, this relationship is evident. And the relationship between beautification "with work? Without a doubt. Especially those who work with people. I think that having a sloppy appearance is a lack of respect for the people you serve. It is essential" (Cleopatra, p. 5). Cleopatra exemplifies this relationship:

As I told you, appearance in my work is essential, right? So, a patient where I do anti-aging, the patient cannot come and think that I am ten years older than I am. I have to look like I am ten years younger than I am. Otherwise, I won't convince anyone. So, for me this touch-up is essential. We take care of the body through food. For nutrition. There is no way to stop time, no matter how much you do, there is no way not to grow old. Everyone gets old. So natural touch-ups are necessary, right? (Cleopatra, p. 6).

Ah, it is fundamental. It is fundamental. Because if a patient arrives at the office and sees a fat, obese, aged, and wrinkled doctor, he will never believe my work, so I have to do exactly what I advise my patient to do. Of course, the plastic surgery part, when well oriented, helps a lot, right? Appearance is fundamental to me. (Cleopatra, p. 3).







It is evident in Cleopatra's narrative the effort made to stay within the standards of physical beautification, taking care of food, nutrition, for example. In addition, the total availability for work is evident when the body is delivered as an element of profitability. However, as the body does not cease to age, cosmetic plastic surgery appears as a necessary "natural touch-up". Necessary for adaptation to the standards of physical beautification and necessary for your work. The body is no less regulated because of this new submission imposed by the managerial management in immaterial work, on the contrary, it is even more regulated. However, if, one day, this regulation came from society in general or from companies, today the one who regulates the body of each one is the worker himself (BAUMAN, 2009).

In addition to the concern with building and modeling their bodies for work, some interviewees report their ideas in this regard. It was said, for example, by Nefertiti, owner of a selection company, that beautification matters when she makes the selection. Following are the narratives for understanding.

I think there is. I think people still value physical appearance a lot. They think that being well groomed, being beautiful, it is a matter of more security. More power. I had this impression a lot. Especially when I worked at the company. Although ... mainly I think it happens with women ... maybe they choose initially who is more beautiful, is well groomed, but for you to stay in this position afterwards, mainly strategic positions, you have to prove much more than the handsome men, that you really are able to be there, that you are able to do that job and that it is not just physical appearance or beauty. But he has a degree of intellectuality that he needs for the job. (Nefertiti, p. 8).

In addition, Nefertiti reflects on his own contraction, previous years, in a company. She says that, although she did not know everyone who competed for the position with her, she now realized that, perhaps, beauty was a significant factor in her hiring. Although, in a modest way, she claims that she doesn't consider herself beautiful, she understands that some things interfere. Follows narrative for understanding

I didn't know them all, but there were people who certainly had all the requirements to get into that position and I think that maybe this issue weighed a little. Because there were also well-trained men there, there were women, but maybe, I think that sometimes it weighs a little. Beauty and all ... Not that I think I'm beautiful, that's





not it, but we know how far some things go, so we know it interferes. (Nefertiti, p. 18).

It is noticed that physical beautification is used as a stimulus for employees to "take care". For example, "I had a colleague, in the company I worked for, he held a coordination position and then the director started to question him: oh, you are getting fat, getting fat. He was kind of on the front line. And he decided to make liposuction. He made liposuction" (Nefertiti, p. 16). Thus, cosmetic plastic surgery, although it is not treated within organizations and in the work environment as a management tool, is actually used for workers to fit within a certain pattern of physical beautification, a pattern that also makes profitable, the organization. This fact is evident in the following narrative:

We noticed when we had meetings, like this ... especially among managers, directors, and coordinators, they said: oh, it's beautiful, you have to stay like this, you have to be careful not to get fat. Oh, it's nice the woman who takes care of herself, who does her hair. So, I noticed that ... I charged myself a lot for that. I used to go to the gym every day ... (Nefertiti, p. 16).

The study by Grisci et al. (2014) carried out in a banking institution, with 265 participants, made it possibly understand physical beauty as: investment in career; managerial management tool; defining the visibility / invisibility of bodies; and source of suffering at work. The narratives of the workers in this study confirm such aspects, for example, about the visibility / invisibility of bodies. Nefertiti states that, in the selections she needs to make for the sales area, beauty is a condition for the candidate to be selected:

I think it is usually a pattern. In the sales area I feel that sometimes they come with the order: I want a very beautiful woman, to sell more and to go out and sell the person ... Look, right? Because then when they go to buy the material from the electrical company ... I want a very beautiful woman for her to be at the counter and the guy to be so ecstatic with her beauty that he buys everything she offers. (Nefertiti, p. 17).

For example, administrative positions, a secretary, or a salesperson, a sales representative, yes. She has to be beautiful; she has to speak well, she has to be very presentable, at most 40 years old. Now, for example, in accounting there is a lot of that, the accounting offices, in short, it is that or not, I want a person with experience and desire. When you're on the front lines with the public, sales,





commercial, secretary who will serve the public, they evaluate more, they do require questions related to appearance, yes. When the person becomes more ... there is no more internal contact ... it is not so much required. (Nefertiti, p. 11).

Grisci (2008) made a study about control in a Portuguese banking institution and concluded, among other issues, that the use of "image management" affects "individuals in their intimacy" (GRISCI, 2008, p. 16). Thus, there would be an image pattern to be related to the banking work environment. Likewise, Batista's study (2011) on physical beauty in immaterial banking work concluded that there are implicit and explicit factors linked to practices such as promotion and favoring within the banking environment. Among these factors, physical beauty ends up being important in the context of immaterial banking work studied by the author (BATISTA, 2011). On the banking environment, Nefertiti makes a brief analysis that corroborates the research done and makes it clear that, yes, beauty is important in the banking environment.

I noticed these days when I talked to a girl who was doing professional replacement. That is a professional that I follow more, that is that professional who wants to seek a certain position. In a particular company. With such a salary, such a place, then we direct doing all the work with the professional. And she was going to the banking area and then she told me that there she saw it a lot, that when she operated on her nose, which changed completely, people started to see her differently. So, I think it ends up influencing in a way. (Nefertiti, p. 10).

The question of the impediment to stop time matters when talking about work. It is important that time is stopped, and, as has been seen, this, apparently, only occurs through aesthetic plastic surgery. Surgery delays time leaves the patient 10, 20 years younger, and this brings benefits to the work, yes, because "Whoever is in direct contact with the client, this weighs more, and I also see this for the question of what we observe in recruitment and selection. What companies require and even in terms of age [...] age does interfere in the positions "(Nefertiti, p. 11). Still in this line, Nefertiti (p. 11) adds:

[...] because, for example, depending on the position, they say: oh, only one person up to 50. Or at most 40. Then I realize that this is beginning to interfere. Age ends up limiting the professional. He can be an excellent professional. But depending on the position he no longer gets the job.





Thus, if the worker is no longer 40 years of age, it is necessary to seek procedures to at least appear that age. That's because "looking old is no longer enough, you know, nowadays you have to be 70 years old, but you must be working and look like 58, at the most, right. So, the work does, yes, it requires a lot, it makes it necessary, in fact "(Kiya, p. 5).

It happens, however, that looking younger includes using artifices such as clothes, gym, supplements, makeup. Such devices are useful, as was seen in the study, if the worker is still young and beautiful (fits the pattern of physical beautification). If the worker grows older, cosmetic plastic surgery ends up becoming the only and fundamental way to remain young. Thus, cosmetic plastic surgery is essential and constitutes a condition for the worker to be the best professional who can be:

So, I always invested a lot in my intellectual, but plastic surgery gave me security in my physical exposure, actually, because I am a small woman. I wear number 36; I have no beauty. I was not born blonde, beautiful, with blue eyes with 1.80m, I am a small woman, mignon, with 1.60, thin. [...] And then it was important for me to do. Because, in some way, I think I made my body more attractive, and not that it is a primary factor in my profession, only that it gave me more security. (Berenice, p. 7).

In this way, aesthetic plastic surgery is related to work at the moment it allows the worker to reach her full potential. Aesthetic plastic surgery provides security, increases self-esteem and, consequently, generates benefits for everyone's work, since, by improving the worker's performance, she yields and produces more. Following are narratives that affirm the perspective:

Ah, they did. Because they affected my self-esteem and, as I started to feel better, I think I returned to work with more desire, with more pique. Feeling better, feeling more beautiful, anyway ... and consequently the production in my work also increased, because I was feeling better. (Berenice, p. 6).

Casaca (2012) carried out a study on emotional work and aesthetic work in call centers, in which, among other issues, he concluded that gender mattered for the





performance of a given job. In this case, women did customer service work, while men worked in technical service (CASACA, 2012). Thus, "especially in a company that has many men, men look a lot, you know ... this question of the masculine attribute, of the body" (Nefertiti, p. 18). Still on the issue of gender, Nefertiti (p. 9) affirms that "Society, I think that women are increasingly charged with physical issues, appearance, beauty", because of that it is essential to be "very presentable depending on the position you hold" (Nefertiti, p. 9).

On the issue of gender, Kiya, who is a plastic surgeon (although she was interviewed only as a worker) highlights the existence of this difference within her circle of work. She says that nutritionists and plastic surgeons are under greater pressure to adapt to the standard of physical beautification necessary to carry out their work. When asked about how cosmetic plastic surgery has to do with her work, if it helped her, she replied:

I think it matters more to women than to men. There are a lot of fat, ugly surgeons who don't take care of themselves, but women, you can't, right? It's like going to a fat nutritionist, right? Can't you believe her? So, I have to convey the image that I represent at work, you know? The image of a thin woman, who does surgery, but who always takes care of her body, skin and hair, these things, you know. (Kiya, p. 5).

In addition to cosmetic plastic surgery, other factors corroborate the studies previously mentioned about work and beautification and were cited by the interviewed workers as conditions for the exercise of their respective jobs. Among them, a good presentation stands out, using clothes, makeup and certain pieces and accessories that, together with issues related to hygiene and cleanliness, become an indispensable complement to the work.

I think ... especially in the area where I work, first of all, the cleanliness, you know ... the personal cleanliness I think is essential and also knowing how to dress according to the environment, because we are in an environment of work, we cannot use certain pieces or certain accessories that refer to our festive life or home ... I think it is very important. Because it imposes respect and qualifies you as a professional. (Berenice, p. 3).

I thought she was a woman with unparalleled decision-making power. Super objective. He was able to resolve conflicts. She was a beautiful woman, but she was not beautiful, but she dressed very well, very elegantly. Heels, a suit, a suit,





super-messy hair, and I think that also conveyed an image of security. Of power. I think it interfered a lot in my view of her. (Nefertiti, p. 6).

Nefertiti, when addressing issues related to clothing in the workplace, also inserts the question of "being noticed". One of the factors considered as an important benefit of cosmetic plastic surgery, for the workers interviewed, is the fact that it is noticed in the work environment.

So, some patients praised what I did, that I was younger than my eyelids. I think that's what I did. But of course, right? If you are going to add the whole, you will always have a more harmonious appearance, right? And people will notice, even if they don't say it. They will notice. No doubt. (Cleopatra, p. 7).

Of course, a lot, because people accept you more, they receive you better, understand? And people receive you: wow, but how are you, wow, but you are beautiful ... Sometimes they don't know why you're like this, sometimes they come, praise you, so it's good for you, it's good for you client too, you know ... a mutual thing, something that happens naturally. So, if you don't look for it, you will not have ... your client will not have this perception that you changed, that you did something, both in plastic surgery. (Tiia, p. 14-15).

The work environment also contributes to the exaltation of physical beautification in favor of work. Whether in the case previously mentioned in which the superior warns that his subordinate is overweight, or through group activities done in favor of physical beautification in the work environment and which give an idea of the magnitude and importance of this for the exercise of work.

Ah, I personally feel better when I'm better dressed or when I think I'm beautiful, right? I feel good ... Oh, and it's also good to work with beautiful people, the environment is more beautiful, more pleasant. People have to be clean. Smelling and tidy, right? (Euridice, p. 3).

If disciplinary power (FOUCAULT, 2004) aimed to make bodies useful, docile, productive and in conditions for the exercise of material work - which required physical strength -, in the eyes of self-management, corresponding to immaterial work, according to characteristics analyzed, the body would be the receptacle of a set of devices of physical beautification, which include aesthetic plastic surgery. Physical beautification, although it appears at first as the worker's desire, has an intrinsic relationship with work,





mainly associated with self-management. Aesthetic plastic surgery is the element that shows self-management in favor of immaterial work that requires attributes from the body that are consistent with the logic of profitability. And it goes further, aesthetic plastic surgery is practically a necessary condition to obtain full use of the body. So, as Berenice concludes (p. 8), "I hope I helped, but I think it is fundamental and important for the work, because it influences your self-esteem, your emotional and this is reflected, yes, in the way you perform any task and, in your positivity,".

## 6 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The subjectivity of the worker can be used by a new form of domination - managerialist management -, so that even his body can be shaped in order to make possible profitability. In the search for an apparent improvement in self-esteem in the life of each worker, he also undergoes surgical procedures, to also make his body fit for the exercise of immaterial work.

Immaterial work, therefore, mobilizes the worker to also produce himself (GORZ, 2005). In the production process of the worker, physical beautification, carried out through various devices, promotes the profitability of this. The workers who underwent aesthetic plastic surgery show in their narratives that the beautification devices can be used as resources to promote them in the context of immaterial work. Aesthetic plastic surgery stands out among such devices and can be related to the exercise of the work of each one.

Therefore, from the perspective of immaterial work that proposes to workers, by capturing their subjectivity, making their bodies useful and profitable for the performance of their tasks, physical beautification, especially the use of aesthetic plastic surgery, can be one of the means used by the investigated workers to achieve this end. From this statement, the results found follow.

This study corroborated the results found in the research by Hamermesh and Biddle (1994), Harper (1999), Leist (2003), Hamermesh and Parker (2005) and Morris





(2007) on the relationship between work and physical beautification, especially about artifices of physical beautification used by workers in an attempt to become competitive. Thus, it confirmed and expanded the analyzes already made on the subject by other authors. It was also found that, in addition to changes in the hair and clothing of workers, profound changes are made in the bodies of workers and such changes can be associated with the idea of making bodies useful and profitable in the exercise of their immaterial work.

## REFERÊNCIAS

ALVES, Giovanni Pinto. Backward subjectivity: toyotism and "capture" of the subjectivity of labor by capital. Notebooks of social psychology of work, vol. 11, n. 2, pp 223-239, 2008.

BAST, Elaine. Number of beauty salons has almost quadrupled in the last four years - In 2012 there were 155 thousand salons. Today there are almost 600 thousand, according to SEBRAE. São Paulo, June 20, 2016, G1 [online]. Available at <<http://g1.globo.com/jornal-hoje/noticia/2016/06/numero-de-saloes-de-beleza-quadruplicou-nos-ultimos-quatro-anos.html>>. Accessed January 26, 2017.

BATISTA, Mariana Klein. Physical beauty and immaterial banking work: production, reproduction, and standardization. 2011. 101p. Dissertation (master's in business administration) - Graduate Program in Business Administration, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul - UFRGS, Porto Alegre, RS, 2011.

BAUER, Martim, W; GASKELL, George. Qualitative research with text, image, and sound: a practical manual. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2002.

BAUMAN, Zygmunt. Liquid modernity. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2001.

\_\_\_\_\_. Net times. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2007.

\_\_\_\_\_. Net life. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2009.

\_\_\_\_\_. Life in fragments. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2011.

BEIRÃO, Nirlando. Like beauty, in Brazil, it became religion and the body, an obsession. Carta Capital magazine [online], São Paulo, 25 Dec. 2014. Available at:







<<http://www.cartacapital.com.br/revista/827/liberdade-sobre-o-proprio-corpo-veio-com-o-dever-de-ser-belo-305.html>> . Accessed on: Jan. 10, 2015.

BERNARDO, Márcia Hespanhol. Hard work, flexible speech: an analysis of the contradictions of Toyotism from the workers' experience. São Paulo: Expressão Popular, 2009.

BRITO, Paulo. Beauty and power: To what extent does the appearance of a president influence the success of your company? Some leaders reveal what they face because they are beautiful. Isto É Dinheiro magazine [online]. Available at: <[http://www.istoedinheiro.com.br/noticias/37888\\_BELEZA+E+PODER](http://www.istoedinheiro.com.br/noticias/37888_BELEZA+E+PODER)>. Accessed on: 1 mar. 2014.

CASACA, Sara Falcão. Emotional work and aesthetic work. Coimbra, Almedina. 2012.  
COCCO, Giuseppe. The new quality of work in the information age. In: LASTRES, Helena. MM; ALBAGLI, Sarita (Orgs.). Information and globalization in the age of knowledge. Rio de Janeiro: Campus, 1999. ch. 10, p. 262-289.

COCCO, Giuseppe. Work and Citizenship: production and rights in the era of globalization. 2nd ed. São Paulo: Cortez, 2001.

DAL ROSSO, Sadi. More work! The intensification of labor in contemporary society. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2008.

DEJOURS, Christophe. **The human factor**. Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2005.

DUARTE, Leticia. As beauty standards are becoming more demanding and unreal: in Brazil, a country that recently became the world champion in cosmetic surgery, the wave is to talk about the body of others, any body. Zero Hour Newspaper[online], Jan 31, 2015. Available at: <<http://zh.clicrbs.com.br/rs/noticias/proa/noticia/2015/01/como-os-padroes-de-beleza-estao-se-tornando-mais-exigentes-e-unreal-4691165.html>>. Accessed on: 12 fev. 2015.

FLETCHER, Jason M. Beauty vs. brains: early labor market outcomes of high school graduates. Economics letters, v. 105, n. 3, p. 321-325, 2009.

FLICK, Uwe. Qualitative research design. Porto Alegre: Bookman, 2009.

SOURCES, Malu. The paths of the body in contemporary culture. In: COUTO, ES; GOELLNER, SV (Orgs.). Mutant bodies: tests on new (d) body efficiencies. Porto Alegre: UFRGS, 2007. cap. 5, p. 76-88.

FOUCAULT. **The subject's hermeneutics**. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2004.





GAULEJAC, Vincent. Management as a social disease: ideology, managerial power, and social fragmentation. São Paulo: Ideias e Letras, 2007.

GIL, Antônio Carlos. Methods and techniques of social research. 6. ed. Atlas: São Paulo: 2008.

GALVÃO, Alexandre Patez; SILVA, Geraldo; COCCO, Giuseppe. Cognitive capitalism. DP&A: Rio de Janeiro: 2003.

GORZ, André. The immaterial: knowledge, value, and capital. São Paulo: Annablume, 2005.

GRISCI, Carmem Ligia lochins. Immaterial work, rhizomatic control and subjectivity in the new technological paradigm. RAE - Electronics, v. 7, n. 1, art. 4, Jan./Jun. 2008.

\_\_\_\_\_; DEUS, Estéfani S. de; RECH, Sabrina; RODRIGUES, Maura F. ; GOIS, Pedro H. de. Physical beauty and immaterial banking work: from politically correct to profitability. In: BRAZILIAN CONGRESS OF ORGANIZATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY AND WORK, 6., 2014, Bonito. Anais ... Bonito: Association Brazilian Organizational and Work Psychology. 2014.

HAMERMESH, Daniel S.; BIDDLE, Jeff E. Beauty, and the labor market. The American Economic Review, New York, Vol. 84, n. 5, p. 1174-1194, ten. 1994.

\_\_\_\_\_. PARKER, Amy. Beauty in the classroom: instructors' pulchritude and putative pedagogical productivity. Economics of Educacion Review, v. 24, p. 369-376, 2005.

HARPER, Barry. Beauty, stature, and the labor market: a British cohort study. Oxford bulletin of economics and statistics, Oxford, v. 62, n. 1, p. 771-800, 2008.

LAZZARATO, Mauricio. Work and capital in the production of knowledge: a reading through the work of Gabriel Tarde; in GALVÃO, Alexandre Patez; SILVA, Geraldo; COCCO, Giuseppe. Cognitive capitalism. DP&A: Rio de Janeiro: 2003 p 61-82.

LAZZARATO, Mauricio; NEGRI, Antônio. Immaterial work: forms of life and production of subjectivity. Rio de Janeiro: DP&A, 2001.

LEIST, Anton. What makes bodies beautiful. Journal of Medicine and Philosophy, Zurich, v. 28, n. 2, p. 187-219, 2003.

LIPOVETSKY, Giles. The era of emptiness: an essay on contemporary individualism. Lisbon: Relógio D'Água, 1983.





MANSANO, Sônia Regina Vargas. Smile, you are being controlled: resistance and power in the control society. São Paulo: Summus, 2009.

MANSANO, Sônia Regina Vargas; CARVALHO, Paulo Roberto de. Subjectivation policies at work: From disciplinary society to control. Maringa: Psychology in study, 2015.  
MARRE, Jean L. Life history and biographical method. Sociology Notebooks, Porto Alegre, UFRGS, v. 3, n. 3, p. 89-141, 1991.

MINAYO, Maria Cecília de Souza (org.). Social Research. Theory, method, and creativity. 18th ed. Petrópolis: Voices, 2001.

MORRIS, Stephen. The impact of obesity on employment. Labor economics, vol. 14, p. 413-423, 2007.

PELBART, Peter. Vertigo by a thread: policies of contemporary subjectivity. São Paulo: Illuminations; FAPESP, 2000.

SENNETT, Richard. Corrosion of character: personal consequences of work in the new capitalism. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2012.

SHINAMOTO, Marina. MEI records of the beauty market are growing in Brazil. Investments and Online Business. São Paulo, March 5, 2016. Available at <<http://www.investmentosenoticias.com.br/noticias/negocios/registros-de-mei-do-mercado-da-beleza-cresce-649>>. Accessed January 26, 2017.

BRAZILIAN SOCIETY OF PLASTIC SURGERY - SBCP. Available at: <[http://www2.cirurgioplastica.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/ISAPS\\_quick\\_facts.pdf](http://www2.cirurgioplastica.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/ISAPS_quick_facts.pdf)>. Accessed on: 17 jan. 2017a.

WADE, Nicholas. Scientists Seek Ban on Method of Editing the Human Genome. The New York Times[online], sea. 2015. Available at: <[http://mobile.nytimes.com/2015/03/20/science/biologists-call-for-halt-to-gene-editing-technique-in-humans.html?\\_r=0](http://mobile.nytimes.com/2015/03/20/science/biologists-call-for-halt-to-gene-editing-technique-in-humans.html?_r=0)>. Accessed on: 24 mars. 2015.

